INDIGENISING ANTHROPOLOGY WITH GUATTARI AND DELEUZE
Plateaus – New Directions in Deleuze Studies

‘It’s not a matter of bringing all sorts of things together under a single concept but rather of relating each concept to variables that explain its mutations.’

Gilles Deleuze, Negotiations

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## Contents

Acknowledgements

Prelude: The Wooden Egg Made Me Sick  
by Nakakut Barbara Gibson Nakamarra

1 Becoming Land

### Part I: The Indigenous Australian Experience of the Rhizome

2 Warlpiri Dreaming Spaces: 1983 and 1985 Seminars with Félix Guattari

3 Guattari and Anthropology: Existential Territories among Indigenous Australians

### Part II: Totem, Taboo and the Women’s Law

4 Doing and Becoming: Warlpiri Rituals and Myths

5 Forbidding and Enjoying: Warlpiri Taboos

6 A Topological Approach to Australian Cosmology and Social Organisation

### Part III: The Aboriginal Practice of Transversality and Dissensus

7 In Australia, it’s ‘Aboriginal’ with a Capital ‘A’: Aboriginality, Politics and Identity

8 Culture Cult: Ritual Circulation of Inalienable Knowledge and Appropriation of Cultural Knowledge (Central and NW Australia)

9 Lines and Criss-Crossings: Hyperlinks in Australian Indigenous Narratives

### Part IV: Micropolitics of Hope and De-Essentialisation

10 Myths of ‘Superiority’ and How to De-Essentialise Social and Historical Conflicts
INDIGENISING ANTHROPOLOGY

11 Resisting the Disaster: Between Exhaustion and Creation 321
12 Standing with the Earth: From Cosmopolitical Exhaustion to Indigenous Solidarities 340

Part V: Dancing with the Spirits of the Land

13 Cosmocolours: A Filmed Performance of Incorporation and a Conversation with the Preta Velha Vô Cirina 359
14 The ngangkari Healing Power: Conversation with Lance Sullivan, Yalarrnga Healer 377

Bibliography 410
Index 439
The other night, after Yakiriya told you the Emu Dreaming, I dreamt I was sitting with her and some ancestral women. We were getting ready for a ceremony and a crowd of white people were taking a photo of us! My mother-in-law called me, very angry, and said she did not want to be photographed by all these white people. But I answered, ‘Don’t worry, they are going to give us a truck!’

The next day I had to go to Yuendumu for a royalty meeting where I was intending to claim compensation from the mining company for my traditional land-rights over the Granites area!

My dream continued by revealing to me two new Dreaming songs, one for Emu and one for Rain. They were given to me by the female egg. Poor fellow, he is alone now that Yakiriya gave you the male one. I made them both years ago for her that is why the egg sang for me, making me sick even before my dream. I was cold and I did not know why. When I took the plane, I was feeling worse.

When I came back from the meeting, I told Yakiriya, ‘It is Yankirri, emu, the cracking foot, who made me feel so sick in my stomach! I was carrying his two songs in the plane!’

Yakiriya was in the dream with two other Nangala who were singing the new Emu song: ‘Karnanganja nangu nangu mangurrularna mangurrungurru.’

*Karnanganja* means the parents of the egg, *nangu nangu* is the water-hole they saw, and the rest means that they had a rest there. All the singing women of my dream, me included, were painted with the Rain Dreaming.

Two Napanangka, Betty and Nyilirpina, erected the *mangaya* stick, right in the spot where Emu and his wife brooded their eggs. I was dancing with the other women and we were singing the new Rain song: ‘Muraninginti kutakuta jurrdungku jurrdungku luwarninya.’

*Muraninginti* means the other side, that is, west from the Emu trail; *kutakuta* is the storm; and *jurrdujurdu*, the sand whirlwind. Finally, *luwarni*, throwing, refers to the bolt of lightning.

Suddenly, a cloud of sand rushed upon us. A very strong wind lifted the sand. We were covered with dust. And it started to rain. Because we were
singing the Rain Dreaming, he was sending us the sand storm and the lightning.

All the women ran to the bush shelters which formed a circle around the dancing ground. ‘Come here, there is too much dust!’ I shouted to the two Napanangka. But they continued to dance to get the sacred stick they had previously erected. And they joined us to hide it.

This is when I woke up, in the middle of the night. I thought about our old Rain and Emu yawulyu. I thought about two Nangala now deceased. They used to be the bosses of these rituals, being custodians of the Rain Dreaming from Kulpulunu and the Emu Dreaming in that region where the couple discovered the miyaka nuts. These two women taught me, like in school. All the Kulpulunu mob was my family because my father-clan would visit them every dry season. Thinking about these two elders, I felt very sad.

Falling asleep again, I went back into the same dream. The sand storm was over. There was only a small group of women now, two Nakamarra, my sister Beryl and myself, Yakiriya and another Nangala, one Nampijinpa and Betty Napanangka who was leading. We danced up to the Kuraja swamp, near Katherine. All around there, black stones called ‘black clouds’ are the trace of the Rain Dreaming. They also refer to the salt water, the sea further north (Darwin).

The Rain Dreaming paintings we had on our chests turned into Emu paintings. ‘Now you are going to track the Emu Dreaming up to the salt water’, Napanangka said. She took a big wooden dish that she painted with the Emu Dreaming. We danced far away to Jikaya, a place with many small waterholes. Each of us was dancing and dipping her foot into the holes, pulling it out as soon as the water was coming up. It was fun we tasted the water of all the holes with our feet!

We danced all night. At dawn, just before the day rose, we saw the sea, the huge black salt water. ‘This is where you have to finish because the Emu brother and sister disappeared here’, Napanangka said. So each of us tasted the sea with a foot like we had done in Jikaya. Gigantic waves lifted up and I got scared. Suddenly we found ourselves back in the ‘black clouds’ waterhole near Katherine (200 km south of the sea). I saw a ring place there and a crowd of ancestral women whose faces I could not recognise.

I woke up. The sun was rising. The Dreaming women had shown me the whole Ancestral Dreaming for Rain and Emu right up to where the two trails finish far away from the Warlpiri country. We dance and sing all this trail during the man-making Law (initiation). We dance all day and night. Before dark we sing Kulpulunu, a site crossed by Rain and Emu. Around midnight the songs bring us to Jikaya. And at dawn we sing and dance the arrival to the sea where the two Emu children bodies are resting for ever.
We paint all this journey on the ritual parraja dish. We dance with the dish and in the ground we erect the *mangaya* stick painted with black and white lines, representing, as on the dish, the sea and the clouds.¹

Nakakut Barbara Nakamarra Gibson, who told me that dream in 1984, was born just before the Second World War on the land of her Warlpiri father in the Tanami Desert. Her mother was from a neighbouring tribe, the Mudpura. Nakakut grew up living a semi-nomadic life of hunting and gathering. A severe drought forced her family to seek refuge near the sacred site of the Granites which was occupied by goldminers. There, the government had situated a ration depot for all the Warlpiri people who were chased away from their land and shot while trying to get rid of the settlers’ cattle that were spoiling their waterholes. Nakakut’s father was the ritual custodian of that region, but the family was forcibly moved to Yuendumu, a reserve built in the late 1940s. Hundreds of Warlpiri were forced to live there and the pressure of such miserable cohabition with so many people led to the eruption of regular conflicts. In the 1950s the government built another reserve on the northern edge of the Tanami Desert where some families, including Nakakut’s, were forced to move. The early conditions were horrific. In the 1960s the Warlpiri people and other Aboriginal people across the continent saw their struggles recognised by a series of new laws. The reserve became the Lajamanu self-managed community. The Warlpiri won a huge land claim in 1978 which allowed them to negotiate with mining companies and receive royalties for explorations that they authorised. If any elders expressed concern about the destruction of their land, including the risk of spoiling the underground network of water, other Warlpiri signed and continue to sign various agreements, which generated constant conflicts.

Ten years after that dream, Nakakut came for the birth of my second daughter, Nidala, when I was living in Broome, on the Indian Ocean. I took her to Gantheaume Point, which the local Aboriginal custodians, the Djugun ancestors of my daughters’ father, associate with the Giant Emeu Dreaming, Karnanganja, whose trail is shared with the desert tribes. On the bottom part of the big red cliff, there are many little pools that are filled with water after the tide goes

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¹ Recorded in Lajamanu, NT, Australia in 1984 in Warlpiri, translated by Nakakut Barbara Nakamarra Gibson and edited in 1995 for the CD-ROM *Dream Trackers* (Glowczewski 2000). A French version was published with a commentary (Glowczewski and Nakamarra Gibson 2002).
out. When we ‘tasted’ that salt water with our bare feet, I suddenly felt transported to the desert, while Nakakut who was carrying my baby backed away a few steps from what she called the power of the place. I felt a sense of *déjà vu* in relation to her dream where she travelled on the tracks of the ancestral Emu and ‘tasted’ a Rain Dreaming sacred waterhole with her feet. Feeling the water and the earth with my feet and accessing a different experience of time-space was one of the many ways in which I have been invited by her people and other Indigenous people that I met over the past forty years to share with them a becoming land, to decolonise my mind, and through their lessons to indigenise anthropology.

*Figure I.1* Nakakut Barbara Nakamarra Gibson leads her Nakamarra sisters (Perilpa, Jenny, Beryl) and Melody Napurrurla during the ritual dance for her Black Plum Dreaming, Lajamanu © B. G. (1984)
I was eighteen, when, during a stimulating course on the history of philosophy ranging from Heraclitus to Foucault, our young professor invited us to read *Anti-Oedipus*.¹ I devoured it with a passion. In those post-1968 days, an education scheme had been established in high schools to fund creative activities. So seven other classmates and I wrote a script and acted in a film which we called *Angoisse* (1974: Anguish). Our professor agreed to play the role of the king fool in this strange film which questioned both religion and power:

Our faces covered with psychedelic designs, disguised in a neo-ancient Greek style, we took turns placing an object at the bottom of a hill of sand in a huge quarry (in the forest). Every offering throughout the procession was interspersed with a scene of the person making the offering that depicted, within their daily life, some sort of anguish or anxiety that was crystallized into the object he or she provided as offering. As for me, I offered an empty (painting) frame since during my filmed sequence I tried to draw the contours of my reflection, starting with my left hand placed on the mirror, going all the way to my right hand which held the marker and which couldn’t draw its own contour: the impossibility of representing this movement was an allusion to Escher’s famous piece where a hand emerges from off the page of a drawing in order to draw another hand, creating the optical illusion of a Moebius strip. The film ended with a banquet in the quarry where one of us, covered in white sheets, was carried onto a table to be be painted using the food from the feast.²

The following year, enrolled at the University of Jussieu-Paris 7 (now known as Université Paris Diderot) to study economic and social administration, I drafted a short commentary around *Anti-Oedipus* that consisted of systematically pointing out every time the

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¹ Special thanks to Drew Burk for translating and commenting this introductory chapter, and to the Laboratory of Social Anthropology (CNRS/EHESS/Collège de France) for the translation grant.

² Glowczewski (2012); see film on: https://vimeo.com/315628049
authors mentioned Marx. It was my way of validating a course criticising capitalist development throughout the countries of the Third World. At first rather sceptical upon receiving the text, the professor ended up thanking me the following week for having prompted him to read Deleuze and Guattari since his Marxist circle of economists viewed _Anti-Oedipus_ with suspicion. It was quite a different story for all the fans who packed themselves into the lecture hall at the University of Vincennes Paris 8 where Deleuze presented his lectures in constant dialogue with Guattari. I ended up enrolling there in 1977 for a masters in cinema with a minor in philosophy. This was long before Deleuze’s publication on _The Movement-Image_ ([1983] 2003). But he had just released the essay ‘Rhizome’ with Guattari and its proposition for an anti-hierarchical conception of things was very exciting to me. I was not one of those students or attendees who arrived way before the course began in order to grab a seat within the crammed lecture hall. I preferred the margins, in every sense of the term.

There were so many creative things happening inside this experimental university located at the edge of the woods of Vincennes. In particular, the meetings organised by the MLF (Movement for the Liberation of Women), the seminars held by the group Psyche & Po organised by Antoinette Fouque and, not to be forgotten, the courses held by Hélène Cixous (1976) who, in 1974, founded the first Centre for Women’s and Gender Studies in Europe in the university’s new Department of Texts and Societies. I happened to film and document a truly remarkable feast reserved specifically for women only and which gathered together hundreds of women dancing on the esplanade around a fire of joy.³ It was under the direction and supervision of Claudine Eizykman, author of experimental films and creator of the Paris film co-op, that I completed my masters presenting one of the experimental films I had made with a tiny spring-loaded, hand-cranked webo camera. For this experimental film, _Picturelure_, I ended up creating all sorts of visual effects based on little drawings and animation techniques, using no sound and working frame by frame. All my other experimental films focused on the exploration of the female body. Many women in those days discovered their bodies through a variety of experiences, both private and public, through love, writing, political action and artistic performances. I was

Becoming Land

fortunate to have benefited from a summer workshop in women’s studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz in 1974, followed by a course taught by the American feminist anthropologist Judith Brown at the University of Jussieu-Paris 7. She provided us with a synthesis of the male bias found in all anthropological literature that was being thoroughly criticised at that time, mostly notably by certain female anthropologists who systematically reinterpreted anthropological history, especially in the United States. One could also see this feminist movement in anthropology begin to take place in France under prominent figures such as the anthropologist Nicole-Claude Mathieu (1985) at the EHESS who co-founded the journal Questions féministes in 1977.

While Anti-Oedipus and A Thousand Plateaus are both brimming with anthropological references, they contain hardly any critique of masculine domination and debates concerning gender. Certainly, the ‘becoming-woman’ is posited as of one of the rhizomatic virtualities traversing both sexes, which to a certain extent calls into question the duality of gender, but the exacting work and findings questioning male bias found within the interpretations of the social and human sciences, including within psychoanalysis, are in no way mobilised within either of the two volumes on Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Guattari, nevertheless, supported a number of minoritarian struggles, including the movement of the FHAR (Front homosexuel d’action révolutionnaire) created in 1971 by the writer Guy Hocquenghem along with Françoise d’Eaubonne, co-founder of MLF. The FHAR would later split into a number of homosexual liberation groups in particular in response to the rise and spread of AIDS. D’Eaubonne would eventually create the Ecology-Feminism association in 1978 and propose the concepts of ecofeminism and phallocracy.

Guattari was a friend to several anthropologists, most notably Pierre Clastres, who had become rather well known for his Society Against The State inspired by Amerindians from Paraguay and Brazil, along with Robert Jaulin, author of La mort Sara and La Paix Blanche, two books criticising colonisation, one focusing on Africa and the other on the Amazon Rainforest. Jaulin denounced the ethnocide taking place among Indigenous people, a concept created

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4 Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974); Rubin (1975); Ortner and Whitehead (1981); Moore (1988).

by the anthropologist and Vietnam specialist Georges Condaminas ([1957]1977). In the aftermath of May 1968, Jaulin was also responsible for creating the Department of Ethnology at Jussieu-Paris 7. Michel de Certeau who also taught there, would end up becoming the supervisor of my masters thesis, ‘Anthropologie des 5 sens’ (Anthropology of the Five Senses) whose final page, like the preceding sixty-three, was typed on a tiny typewriter and punctuated with a myriad of elipses:

If I had to undertake this work again starting from the very beginning, I would not take myths as my starting point so as to attempt discerning the sensorial apprehension of different cultures, but rather, I would create and take as my mode of research what has become known as ethnographic documentary films. And this doesn’t mean that I consider information to be more objective: there is just as much subjectivity in the visual transcription of human behavior as can be found in writings and the interpretation of a myth. But in finally arriving at a hypothesis – having initially endeavored to accumulate the necessary ‘matter’, the required ‘material’ from other cultures’ philosophies for demonstrating the relativisation of our confined Western perception – I realised that the act of ‘demonstration’ is metaphysical whereas my goal was precisely an attempt to escape this metaphysics … throughout this long process and journey, it’s as if everything that could suggest itself as being matter ended up systematically evaporating, thereby satisfying the principle of permanent metaphorphosis that I had evoked throughout the entirety of my work: I had become ensnared in the logic of my own reasoning … what’s important to retain from this text is the sensation of a voyage that is no more physical than metaphysical but rather alchimical … it’s a feeling of jouissance, of joy that I in no way regret, even if it already has fallen into the schema of an old dream (which doesn’t take away the initial premonition!): the past of others can be our future …

My desire for images of (felt) presence today corresponds to a new need perhaps awakened by this bath of intemporal images, of so many myths … It’s certainly with new eyes that I view an Aboriginal person carefully preparing flour or a Fulani shepherd watching over and minding his cattle, or an Indian who paints himself in traditional guise or a Polynesian who traditionally burns portions of the land … the rhythm of these gestures, their complexity within space. What seems to be suggested by these acts besides a certain automatism, besides an extreme sense of contemplation, is the living presence of a specific kind of sensuality that escapes our grasp. These rhythms and rituals have taught me, in a much more immediate and indelible way, about a sensuality that is always personal and cultural, and complicit with a certain relation of love with specific objects, plants, animals or more generally a
Becoming Land

relation with regions above or below the earth, a relation similar to that which we have sadly reduced to only being accessible by humankind and unfortunately oftentimes not considered accessible to all of humankind or everything else that exists . . .

I have often had the impression that magic is a way of being surprised in allowing ourselves to see something new that we had not allowed ourselves to encounter in what we were already looking at, to hear something within what we are listening to that we didn’t know was there, to detect and smell an odor which we were sure wasn’t really present, to allow ourselves to be swept up in the throes of ecstasy upon eating a sliver of chocolate where we no longer recognise the limit point between one’s skin and what we touch . . . We could all therefore be sorcerer apprentices and the magic wand would be nothing more than our thousand and one senses . . . (Glowczewski 1978)

This excerpt represented a myriad of diffuse ideas which, during that time period, directly nourished themselves off writings and images derived from other cultures but also from personal experimentation of the senses, such as my practice of experimental films that had strived to elicit feelings, a kind of optical music, to affect perception without attempting to represent some sort of symbolic intention. I was also imbued with the struggles of women that, throughout every corner of the world, began to seriously question masculine domination, and with the creative responses of various peoples oppressed by colonisation, most notably the Indigenous populations who were organising themselves so as to affirm their own sovereignty. Bringing along my tiny 16 mm camera to Australia, I tried to continue the experimental technic by filming the rituals of Warlpiri women frame by frame but, after reviewing the special effects of acceleration and superimposition of their movements that I used in the first developed rolls of film, the Warlpiri women dissuaded me from continuing to film in this experimental way. They simply asked for me to stick to the rhythms of their dances and to not show the films to the men of my country as their rituals were restricted to women only. This trip would completely change my life and every layer of my existence specifically regarding questions of gender.

6 In a 16 mm film as I used it there were twenty-four frames per second but the mechanism of the camera allowed one to imprint each frame separately or as short sequences of two to twelve frames in a row and then to wind back the film strip to film again frame by frame, creating superimpositions.
The Indigenous Australian Experience of the Rhizome

For the Indigenous people of Australia, a manner of wandering, of movement, situated along earthbound pathways (called Dreamings) of mythic heroes, defines a specific space-time. The ‘Dreaming’ voyages of mythic ancestors (whether as anthromorphic incarnations, as plants or animals, or incarnated in the forces of nature themselves) have all left their marks on the earth which shows itself today as proof of what has also been called the Dreamtime. The land with its mountains, caves, creeks, and water sources, its freshwater springs, its minerals, and vegetation and its animals is therefore the space of the Dreaming and can be read as a network of signs in intimate correspondence: the earth, by ‘incarnating’ the Dreaming, materialises the human’s memory and, as such, guarantees in a certain way their connection to the land as well as with the Dreaming.

The Dreaming is not a space-time of creation but of the transformations of pre-existing conditions that are never completely explained within the myths. The Dreaming rids itself of the question of the origin of things. It is an active principle of various metamorphoses and, as we shall see, metamorphosis is the image of social dynamics particular to the Aboriginal people. It’s through the Dreaming that everything takes on a life and a meaning, but throughout all that exists, it’s the earth itself, the land, that is the source of power or the force that makes of the Dreaming this force which passes throughout all the inherent ‘energies’ found within matter, the so-called vital forces of the species that constitute the Dreaming and life.

The term ‘Dreaming’ – ‘to be in the middle of dreaming’, ‘the activity of dreaming’, – has been the translation used by ethnologists to encompass the Aboriginal terms that the 500 different Indigenous Australian ethnic groups (language groups) use in order to speak about both their mythic histories, of the time referring to these stories and histories, and to the earthly pathways corresponding to the voyages of the heroes of these stories, linked with the natural species with which the Indigenous Australians identify themselves. For the Aboriginal people, ‘Dreaming’ is the Law. The present continuous grammatical form in English, ‘being in the middle of’, doesn’t have an equivalent in French, but this English way of translating the term clearly indicates the notion of becoming that is unique to the Aboriginal people, that of the ‘Dreaming’. We thus posit the problem of exactly knowing just what is supposed to be in becoming within this formulation since, a priori, nothing allows us to postulate that there is a subject ‘in the process of dreaming’. Out of convenience and utility, we will use the term Dreaming to speak of stories, of time and the mythic pathways that make up what the Aboriginal people call their Law.7

7 In French, the progressive form of ‘dream’, dreaming, literally ‘rêvant’, is not used as a noun which is why the author has translated ‘Dreaming’ to Rêve (Dream with
The Dreaming, as Law, is the principle of adaptation par excellence at both the symbolic and social level. We will see how fluctuating can be for each Aboriginal man or woman his or her identification with the mythic heroes defined as his/her ancestors, for whom he or she inherits the responsibility as spiritual custodian of the specific terrestrial pathways corresponding to their mythic voyages. We will see that the spiritual control of the earth and land, to a certain degree, corresponds to a specific Aboriginal identity and, on the other hand, to a specific political functioning where women play a very active role. (Glowczewski 1981a)

So began my PhD dissertation in anthropology, ‘Le Rêve et la Terre – Rapports au temps et à l’espace des Aborigènes d’Australie’ (The Dreaming and the Land – Relations to time and space of Aboriginal Australians) that Félix Guattari had just finished reading when he called me up one day to invite me to come speak at his apartment Rue de Condé. On that day, 18 January 1983, after a number of hours of questions, he asked me to stay in order to continue our discussion in public since it was time for his weekly seminar (there were no students, mostly scholars and people working in mental health, activists, etc. . . .). The seminar was recorded and four years later it was published in the first issue of Chimères, the journal that Félix Guattari would create with Gilles Deleuze in 1987. A second seminar that we did together in 1985 was also recorded, still at his same apartment on Rue de Condé. The transcription of these two seminars ‘Warlpiri Dreaming Spaces’ constitutes the opening of Part I of this present book, entitled ‘The Indigenous Australian Experience of the Rhizome’.

Guattari met twelve Warlpiri men from Lajamanu (the community I spoke about in my dissertation) when they were invited by the organisers of the festival d’Automne [The Autumn Festival] in 1983 to paint a ground painting made on a ton of sand covering an entire room of the Museum of Modern Art in Paris. They were also invited to dance a ritual dreamed by a Warlpiri woman, Janjiya Nakamarra (see Figure 4.1), at Peter Brook’s theatre, Théâtre des Bouffes du Nord (see Figure 4.2). We then attempted to organise – within the framework of the transcultural foundation that he had initiated with Jean-Pierre Faye – an encounter with healers coming from what we then called the Fifth World – to differentiate it from the First World (Western capitalist countries, including Japan and South Korea), the
Second World (the Soviet Union and the Communist Bloc), the Third World (‘undeveloped’ countries from the Southern Hemisphere) or the Fourth World (designating people suffering from poverty in rich countries). The Fifth World for Guattari brought together Indigenous peoples who had been colonised by different states but who resisted within their affirmation of an existential sovereignty alongside other groups proclaiming their autonomy in such regions as Corsica, the Basque Country or Palestine. For Guattari ([1985] 1986), these sorts of movements were ‘nationalitary’ (*nationalitaires*) and not ‘nationalistic’. We were unable to secure the proper funding to organise the event that Félix wanted to call the Rainbow Gathering. The colours of the Rainbow ended up later becoming a flag of recognition used both by Indigenous peoples along with the Gay Pride and equal marriage rights’ movements. Rainbow colours became a sign of recognition for a collective call against homophobia but also against the homogenisation of the world so as to affirm the multiplicities emerging throughout the globe within transnational cultural gatherings, shamanic or other neo-pagan festivals.

My thesis in anthropology was supervised by Maurice Godelier, a specialist of Papua New Guinea, who analysed the purported universal domination of women through a Marxist lens. I did not agree with him, as both my own personal experience and my enlightening time on the ground in Australia in 1979 convinced me that recognising feminine singularity does not necessarily induce a domination of women by men. As I explain in Chapter 2, ‘Warlpiri Dreaming Spaces’, the women custodians of the rituals – who call themselves ‘businesswomen’, business being the Aboriginal English translation of their ritual activities – helped me to live my very own feminine subjectivity from the inside out. Along with the Warlpiri women, I experienced a troubling and overwhelming experience of a complete dissolution into a collective body that couldn’t be captured by any essentialisation of the feminine but rather affirmed a cosmological singularity of a becoming feminine traversing all forms of life. The Warlpiri people who during the 1950s had forcefully and unwillingly been made to adapt to a sedentary lifestyle had just reacquired their rights to a vast territory (600 km N/S × 300 km E/W) and had begun to invent new forms for self-managing the old reservation and reoccupation of their sacred ancestral sites. The opportunity to partake in the community life of these Warlpiri families, who had to learn to re-nomadise themselves in automobiles, gave me reason to believe and imagine a future world where Aboriginal peoples would perhaps
be capable of helping us respond to numerous questions regarding gender as well as the impasses we were experiencing in relation to consumption caught within destructive forms of development and living environments of the current social fabric and mentalities.

In the 1970s, some alternative or ‘underground’ media, like the French magazine *Actuel*, were promoting a postmodern collusion between Indigenous tribes and hightech science fiction. Arriving in Lajamanu in 1979, I was struck with an apocalyptic vision: the entrance of the old Hooker Creek reserve, established on the edge of the Tanami Desert hundreds of kilometres from the first petrol station, had piles of old cars, fridges, and other Western waste, spread in the bush as a parody of our consumption society but also like a spare parts shop for the Warlpiri people who would pick up what they needed from there to build shanty camps or repair their cars. I was attracted to this oneiric end of the world landscape, which would later resonate with the ‘Zone’ of *Stalker* (1979) by Tarkovski. The minimalist mental and physical resistance of the ‘Zone’ was a forbidden, ‘dangerous’ place to cross. In a way, during the many months I spent each time in Lajamanu – as well as in other Aboriginal places – I also learned how to manoeuvre through forbidden spaces of knowledge, embodied in the landscape: zones of information and ritual camps were restricted either to men or women and to different levels/classes/groups of initiates, camping spots and pathways to be avoided because of a death, sacred sites that could not be attended or that needed a ritual protocol of introduction to the spirits. The landscape was full of spirits crossing time in a perpendicular way but leaving traces and symptoms of disease. The language was constantly fragmented with taboo words to be replaced by whispers and gestures evoking the deceased, synonyms, or simply left as holes ‘without name’, a punctuation of memorial vacuums, the space also for virtual re-emergence through new dream revelations after the lifting of the mourning period. (Glowczewski 2014)

Upon returning from my initial fieldwork in Australia, I dreamed of places of refuge that would allow for drifting into the imaginary of futurist disaster and survival like the Warlpiri attempted in the desert, having themselves already experienced colonisation and its violent impact starting at the beginning of the twentieth century through to the 1960s. A collective research group that I led in urban anthropology introduced me to various clandestine groups, amateurs of a network of some 300 km of tunnels cut in old Parisian underground stone quarries whose access was forbidden to the public. With them, I explored their nocturnal practices of walking through the subterranean world beneath Paris as well as their different motivations for investing their time in doing so (Glowczewski et al. 1983). Félix
agreed to write a preface for our book *La cité des Cataphiles* (The city of Cataphiles) which was subtitled ‘Anthropological mission in the Paris underground’:

What’s the purpose of these vertiginous implosions within the lower beyond [endeça] of the day and night? To reinitiate the battle between Eros and Thanatos one more time, both of them exhausted by decades of psychoanalytic abuse? It’s certainly not into this area of research that our authors guide us! Their viewpoint of the underbelly of the city is not some sounding of a death knell. Quite the opposite: the rhizome of catacomb-intensities they lead us to discover constitutes a mega-machine of desire, a bearer of incandescent life or, at the very least, the most mad-dening ‘revivals’, as the suprising and ‘addictive’ character of the book bears witness to. (Guattari [1983] 1986: 242)

Chapter 3, ‘Guattari and Anthropology: Existential Territories among Indigenous Australians’ was first published in the collective book *The Guattari Effect* (Alliez and Goffey 2011) derived from the conference hosted by the Department of Philosophy at Middlesex University in 2007. In this chapter, I discuss the various debates around the notion of a rhizome of intensities proposed by Deleuze and Guattari. For those peoples who sustain themselves through gathering yams that grow as underground rhizomes, this term is not a mere poetic metaphor, but a daily reality, a figure of thought that in turn becomes simultaneously a model of social, environmental and mental organisation. This encounter between the form of a plant, a way of behaving collectively and thinking, is one among many other ways of interweaving what Guattari called the three ecologies at the core of his ecosophy: an ecology of the environmental (the natural and cultural environment, including any additional machinic overlays), a social ecology (of both the local and the global) and a mental ecology (of processes of subjectivation concerning the individual as much as the collective).

Many Indigenous Australians define the space-time of their Dreamings – Yam Dreaming, Kangaroo Dreaming or Rain Dreaming – as their Law, where the life of human beings is intimately linked with all forms of living beings be they animals, plants, the rain or the stars, but also with a multitude of sites that they are connected to and consider to be sacred. This simultaneous oneiric and geologic geography made a lasting impression on Félix and would end up leading him to orient his common work with Deleuze a bit differently. In his *Schizoanalytic Cartographies*, Guattari ([1989] 2013) will develop a way of thinking his concept of existential territories
and the refrain [la ritournelle]⁸ that is simultaneously more multisituational and oneiric. For the Warlpiri and their desert neighbours, each named thing has its specific Dreaming, its dream as image-force, a becoming of a model of thought and a way of acting that concerns human as much as some other living beings, including places in the land which are also imbued with life. Consequently, the Yam Dreaming is the Dreaming of a network opened up to an infinite number of unpredictable lines that etch the earth from above and below, that crack the earth open when the tubers grow large and the liana cling onto the trees they encounter that cross their paths. The Yam Dreaming is also a series of relations between generations and local groups, the simultaneous singular and common experience of a spirit that becomes incarnated within certain people at the same time as it places them in resonance, throughout waking-life and the space-time of the Dreaming, with an infinite multiverse.

Puurda (Yam) came from the East, from Yawulawulu and he travelled to Talala. The vines were coming up and the roots were shooting underground, many of them, going towards Lajamanu. Small yams came out. These yams, the Japanangka, Napanangka, Japangardi and Napangardi⁹ saw all the Wirntiki Stone Curlew, and they went down in the ground. As they were going, the ground became soft.

They went to Munju. The food was spreading everywhere. The Yam people looked back at their country. My Dreaming, my Jukurrpa had grown everywhere, the Yam from Yawulawulu that belongs to the Japanangka, Napanangka, Japangardi and Napangardi.

My Jukurrpa also went to Yumurrpa. Not really the yam, but the yuparli leaves that gave birth to new yams. The root grew underground and went to Jukakarinya. Yam looked at the other one from far. He went on. The people from Yawulawulu continued their way, crossing Talala. Then they stopped for ever. They were tired from trying to go

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⁸ The refrain (ritournelle) first appears in one of Guattari’s clinical summaries titled, ‘Monographie sur R. A.’ which was written in 1956 – when he was only twenty-six years old – then, ten years later in ‘Réflexions pour des philosophes à propos de la psychothérapie institutionnelle’ (Cahiers de philosophie de la Sorbonne 1, 1966). These are referenced by Guattari (1972: 18–22, 86–97), as indicated by Guesdon (2016: 18–19).

⁹ Classificatory names called ‘skin-names’ by Aboriginal people or ‘subsections’ in anthropology. Warlpiri have eight skin-names, each having a female version (starting with N) and a male version (starting with J). The eight (× 2) names form a system of relations that has the mathematical properties of a diedric group that can be diagrammatised by two interconnected circles (see Figure 1.4) and also a cube (see Figure 6.1).
all over, everywhere. Our fathers Japanangka and Japangardi stopped. That is why Yumurru is not owned by us but by Jupurrurla, Jakamarra, Napurrurla and Nakamarra. (Nelly Morrison Napanangka)

Such is one of the mythic narratives of the ancestors of the Yam Dreaming common to the yams of today and the men and women who bear the Dreaming’s name and its totemic becoming, i.e., the obligation to take care of the yams so they may continue to grow. If the ancient, semi-nomadic hunter-gatherer peoples didn’t farm anything, they sang, danced and made paintings to ensure the reproduction of the species, that is, by way of these ritual activities (that for us are also artistic), they re-actualised the memory of the relations of interdependence that allow for the proper continuation of the species. For example, one had to transmit, by way of songs, tales, cartographic paintings and the dances that perform them, the so-called sites of the multiplication of the species. For the Yams, it has to do with a particular sacred cave where the very ancient roots must not be disturbed at the risk of placing the entire network in danger. For the Warlpiri and their desert neighbours, it’s with the help of the stars in the night sky that they know when it’s ok to begin digging into the soil in order to dig up the yams. The season is indicated when the so-called ‘pointer’ stars of the Southern Cross constellation touch the horizon, it’s ‘feeding time’ for the yams that are exchanged for beef. The women are the ones who provide the yams to the men in exchange for the kangaroos they hunt, and this exchange is more about the exchange between genders: the men must give the game to their mothers-in-law, who, following ritual obligation, must in turn give them the yams. This ritual of exchange, reminding everyone of the alliance between the sexes, is at the heart of the Fire ceremonies and conflict resolution, Jardiwanpa, that must specifically be performed at the moment when the two stars of the Southern Cross shine on the horizon.

The sung versions of the myths are encrypted or coded into some sort of minimalist code in order to memorise important and vital landmarks, as beacons or markers in the terrestrial and celestial landscape integrated into the songlines that become interconnected on the continent into a multitude of superimposed networks punctuated by sacred sites.

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10 Recorded in Lajamanu, 1984, translated from Warlpiri with B. Nakamarra Gibson (Glowczewski 2000).
11 See Lajamanu (60’), documentary by B. Glowczewski, 2018: https://vimeo.com/289440509; see also Laughren et al. (2014).
Becoming Land

Miyikampi kampi yarlaangka warlawuru
The Yam Dreaming from Miyikampi takes different roads between Mt Theo and Yawulawulu.

ngamarna nguluna marimari pijarra ngulu
Root one walks around and small one come along.

warlawurulu Talalapungu wirlimpangulu Talalapungu
Warlawuru the leafy vine go up the tree and that is the mother one (yam)
wirlimpangu big one making young ones in Talala.

mardi mardila jutajutarla
When the yam makes the soil crack because mardi is a big yam and jutajuta mean they dig it out.

mardinya laparparka ngamarna lapirpunga
Mardi big mob they get from the root everywhere.

yarla pari pari ngamarna pirlpiwangkanya
Yarla is everywhere outside when they get it and leave it.

papirdaji taja wararujuru
Papirda is yarla, the sweet potato.12

If the verses of the songs are coded it’s because their performativity resides elsewhere than within the narrative contents of the verses. It’s about singing the attachments to the land as engrams that simultaneously become inscribed into the earthen soil, body and mind. Moreover, each child is supposed to be an incarnation of one of the verses of the song, sowed into the ground by one of the ancestors of a Dreaming whose name and site of insemination is revealed in a dream to the father, to the mother or to a relative or a close friend of the family in the camp. As Betty Jamanawita Nungarrayi explains:

Jukurrpa (Dreaming) took Ngarlajiyi (Yam) from Yarduralinyi. He took the name of my father. My father’s spirit went with the Dreaming to Yamakangu. The yam flower talked to the Yam Dreaming. She said Ngarlajiyi and the yam grew, the spirit of my father.

Jukurrpa went. He went to a kumanjayi place. The leaves grew. A new yam was born. The roots spread very far. They took the Dreaming to Ngarrnka. They went in parallel lines. The yam flower talked.

In Yalingparunyu a new yam was born. The Dreaming made a yam in the wet ground. The leaves lay down. They were shining bright green, fed by the water of the ground. My father’s Dreaming took his name. Yam spread his roots. New roots, long, very long, travelled to Yinikimpi. All along they gave tubers which shoot to the top or the bottom.

My father felt the ground, he hit it. The land was hard where the tubers had grown. The roots spread to Lapurrkurra. Tubers were born. My father dug the ground. He found many of them. He dug and dug and followed the roots to Ngarranj. The Dreaming made the roots fall very close, in Yarunkanyi, the place of Napaljarri, Nungarrayi, Japaljarri and Jungarryi skins. This is where my father’s name was left. He left him with other Kurruwalpa spirit-children. My father’s name fell in the Pankulmanu waterhole. My father’s conception Dreaming continued to Waputarli, but there the story does not belong to me.

I am from Yarunkanyi. This is where I was conceived. My parents were collecting seeds they made into a damper and they ate. This is how my mother caught me inside her. My father found my spirit-child in the seeds of his country. This spirit was coming from the Ngarrka (Initiated Man) Dreaming who lies there. My father and his brother were the custodians of this Dreaming. He organised the dances and the Law ceremonies for this land. I was born and learnt how to dance, sing and paint my Dreaming. (Jamanawita Betty Nungarrayi)\textsuperscript{13}

After my fourth long period of fieldwork in Australia in 1984 I found myself without any permanent lodging in Paris. Félix Guattari offered me an empty room in his flat in which to stay for a couple of months, where I began to write down my notes for what would become Desert Dreamers. The book garnered some success upon publication in 1989 primarily from the fact that I wrote candidly about my experiences conducting fieldwork with a very critical point of view by expressing my doubts and my disappointments as much as my passions and enthusiasms for the feminine world that I had discovered there. I state in ‘Guattari and Anthropology’ (Chapter 3) that each morning we would discuss my fieldwork and what I attempted to write. Félix would take notes on some of the passages that I would read to him and played around a bit with the translation of my words from the Warlpiri language. I tried to gain an understanding of where he positioned himself in relation to a non-Freudian reading of the myths and dreams that I had just recorded. He was very excited by the fact that the Warlpiri claimed to travel

\textsuperscript{13} Translated by B. Nakamarra Gibson in 1995 from original 1984 recording in Warlpiri by Glowczewski (2000).
within the mythic time-space of the Dreaming and at the same time bring back from these voyages oneiric revelations directly connected to what they were living in their daily lives.

Nakakut Barbara Gibson Nakamarra’s testimony above bears witness to this (Prelude). Her narrative shows the way in which ancestral women from the Emu and Rain totems – the Warlpiri say *Jukurrpa*, Dreamings – revealed two songs to her, whereas the women of her entourage who she also saw in her dream will take her to task because she will end up having meetings with the Whites in order to negotiate the land rights for an area that a mining company wishes to explore: she could indeed become the beneficiary of royalties that are distributed among the Aboriginal people identified as traditional owners of a specific region. In her dream, this compensation takes the form of a ‘truck’ since most of the Indigenous Australians who receive royalty compensation often end up buying 4 × 4s (four-wheel-drive vehicles) in order to have a more expedient way to journey through their territories.

In addition to the right for some sort of compensation regarding the minerals mined, the Aboriginal tribes concerned also receive veto power so as to refuse any mining explorations or operations on their lands. These rights have been recognised in the Land Rights Act from 1976 applied to the Northern Territory, and allowed for Indigenous Australians to make land claims on territories where male and female members of each local group had the functions of spiritual and ritual custodians by way of their spiritual connections with sacred sites: sites of their Dreamings. The Warlpiri had won their land claims in 1978, and when I arrived at that time into their territory they had just begun experimenting with this new freedom to agree or to decline any new forms of development proposed by the state or private companies. The debates at that time would include hundreds of people who would discuss whether or not they should accept mining exploration for minerals and, if so, what the conditions would be. Many of the elders were reluctant to accept exploratory mining expeditions that could potentially disturb the already fragile networks of the water table in the desert. Others pushed for the economic autonomy from the state that this mining godsend seemed to offer. Enormous sums of money were injected into Indigenous organisations by way of mining companies which for thirty years drilled holes throughout every part of the continent’s desert landscape. Meetings concerning the mining of the lands continued to increase throughout the decades to the point that for some Indigenous members of the community it became
almost a full-time job travelling to diverse regions from one meeting to the next in order to listen to traditional landowners make claims to monetary compensation as a result of their Dreamings and songlines that criss-crossed the territories. But with each new permit for mining exploration, the Australian laws force the Aboriginal people once again to establish their sacred ancestral ties to specific sections of the land, through a demonstration of their proprietary totemic regimes as they have been described by the anthropologists of old and those anthropologists who are still recruited today either by the mining company, the state or by the myriad of organisations and lawyers that represent the various members of different Aboriginal families, who can either form alliances or create conflicts between themselves concerning shared interests.

The Aboriginal people in Australia have been able to develop impressive social and ritual strategies in the face of colonisation. While they were initially rather inclusive with their relatives and allies in distributing compensation, so as to prevent any inequalities with regard to resources and the emergence of dominant groups, the rights-holders eventually became more and more exclusive and the resulting conflicts have led to divisions within the community. During each new meeting, the debates become more and more heated, all the more so since today the Warlpiri must not only deal with negotiations regarding oil and gold, but also uranium and fracking. The immediate response to this, by a number of Indigenous groups from the Northern Territory and the rest of the Australian continent, is to come together in solidarity and in opposition to this continuing extraction of fossil fuel energies. The anti-extractivist movement is gaining in popularity particularly with the younger generation which – via social media – has witnessed the struggles of other Indigenous populations around the world who have also experienced first-hand the significant amount of damage that can be done to the environment by certain multinational companies and such extraction processes. Confronted by daily reminders of the mounting evidence and warnings regarding climate change, this younger generation is proud to identify as Aboriginal even if today most of them now have a mixed Indigenous and European-Australian ancestry and no longer live in the countryside but attend schools in the city. The Aboriginal Dreamings and the history of traditional practices and land stewardship (such as bushfire management through controlled burns at the right season) have today become a precious resource that allows for a renewed chance at teaching and maintaining traditions, as well as
for providing important opportunities for geologists, astrophysicists and other scientists to learn vital information for the future from the knowledge maintained and passed on through these ancient practices (Glowczewski and Laurens [2015] 2018). As Noam Chomsky (2016) also recently noted:

I think there have been quite hopeful developments in the last 10 or 15 years, Chomsky said. ‘Indigenous communities have begun to find a voice for the first time in countries with large indigenous populations like Bolivia … Ecuador there are plenty of conflicts between the indigenous people and the governments they initially supported. That’s a tremendous step forward for the entire world. It’s a kind of incredible irony that all over the world the leading forces in trying to prevent a race to disaster are the indigenous communities (…) Anyone who’s not living under a rock knows that we’re facing potential environmental catastrophe and not in the distant future. All over the world, it’s the indigenous communities trying to hold us back: first nations in Canada, indigenous people in Bolivia, aborigines in Australia, tribal people in India. It’s phenomenal all over the world that those who we call ‘primitive’ are trying to save those of us who we call ‘enlightened’ from total disaster.

**Totem, Taboo and the Women’s Law**

Why have the Aboriginal concepts which were translated very early on in Australia as ‘Dreaming’ been discussed throughout the history of anthropology under the name of ‘totem’? The term totem is a word inspired by one of the concepts originating from the Algonquin Native Americans but which became generalised to define a form of spirituality common to a variety of peoples the world over in which humans claim to be connected by both the ‘body and soul’ to animals and other forms of non-human life. Specialists immediately multiplied and presented conflicting arguments striving to come to a unified agreement on the common criteria required to define this form of spirituality or social organisation that would be lived and experienced in the same manner by a multiplicity of societies and cultures that are supposedly ‘totemic’.

Durkheim and Mauss (1901–1902), his nephew, combined a myriad of complex variations so as to fit better with the theory they strived to posit as the foundational universal classification system. The totemic debates regarding the existence (or non-existence) of a religion among non-monotheistic people would then inspire Durkheim’s *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* ([1913] 2008)
whose arguments rest essentially on his interpretation of the Arrernte (Aranda or Arunta) Central Australian monographs by Spencer and Gillen (1899). I have shown elsewhere (Glowczewski 2014b) that because Durkheim was focusing on the ritual of one clan, he missed in his analysis the importance of men’s and women’s spiritual attachment to the extensive tracks of land as well as the network interconnecting the different clans and language groups beyond their local lands which extended across the continent. During this same time period, Freud was writing * Totem and Taboo* where, based on practices drawn from similar ethnographic observations of Aboriginal peoples as Durkheim, he projected the supposed universality of the incest taboo on the dawn of humanity and the early childhood of each human being. After Polish anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski dismissed his theory on the basis of his extensive fieldwork with Trobriand Islanders in the Pacific, Freud sent Geza Roheim to verify the Oedipus complex in Australia. Roheim, Freud’s disciple and a talented linguist who worked with desert people in the 1930s, developed his own interpretation of the primal scene and a complex of the fusion with the mother. I have shown elsewhere why I do not agree with Roheim’s interpretations, nor with Freudian ones (Glowczewski [1991] 2017). Whereas Roheim had a very biased vision of women, I looked at these issues from the perspective of desert women. Neither Roheim nor Freud took into consideration elements present in some ethnographies that would allow them to understand that the major taboo in Australia was not reducible to the Oedipus complex, but was of a much more complex nature that I had strived to posit in my research undertaken in the early 1980s. This of course delighted Guattari.

The well-known taboo common to all Indigenous Australians forbids any man from engaging not only with his mother-in-law, but with any women who are classified as potential mothers-in-law (who could even be the same age as him). It is not, as Freud claims, a metaphor for the mother/son incest taboo but, as I have indicated in my research, a prevention against incest between the father/daughter. The rule against men having any sort of close relations with women (even if only at the level of conversation) whose daughter he might potentially marry has to do with averting the risk that he ends up marrying his own daughter. But the taboo also has another effect: it is so shameful to be approached by one’s mother-in-law in public that when two men get into a fight, all it takes is for a real or potential mother-in-law of one of the fighters to step forward for him to
flee the scene in shame. I saw this first-hand on several occasions in 1979 and in the early 1980s. Moreover, this taboo grants to any woman the power to intervene with regard to certain men deemed to be classified as their potential son-in-law in order to prevent any spousal abuse or the abuse of other women or young girls. This dispositive had been in place for a long time and was still in use during my fieldwork; it has, however, eventually degraded over time in part because of the forced sedentarisation of Indigenous Australians and in part due to a promiscuity drenched in alcohol that has led to a rise in domestic violence and the disrespect of taboos.

At the time I wrote my first academic article, ‘Affaire de femmes ou femmes d’affaires. Les Warlpiri du désert central australien’ (Women’s business or business women), I put forth the hypothesis that certain masculine rituals consisting of making the penis bleed highlighted the fact that the castration complex in Australia wasn’t a question of ‘lack’ (in the psychoanalytical sense) on the part of women but instead indicated a man’s desire to bleed like women. The reviewer for the Journal de la Société des Océanistes (Glowczewski 1981b), Bernard Juillerat, recommended that I include the essay, ‘Les Blessures Symboliques’ by Bruno Bettleheim (1962) to my bibliography, which I did after taking the time to borrow it from the library and read it. Bettleheim’s work with suffering adolescents in France who intentionally harmed themselves and made themselves bleed proposed the hypothesis that they did this in a similar fashion as some Aboriginal practices whereby men experience the flow of female menstrual blood that they lack. I felt uneasy asserting a psychoanalytical diagnosis on ritual practices such as this. We spoke a lot about these sorts of issues with Guattari, especially during the time period in which I did research for the Prevention Committee at the Ministry of Health during the outbreak of AIDS in France in the early 1980s (Glowczewski 1994). From that research I published a book in French, Adolescence et Sexualité – L’entre-deux (1995), in which I compared ritual practices and discourses about the relation between love and death, the different cultural ways in which adults transform young people into becoming men and women, the individual, collective and environmental risks in breaking taboos, and the varying and variable recognition of the status of adulthood across the planet. Following that study, it seemed to me that Aboriginal people, rather than pointing to a man’s ‘lack’ in relation to a woman’s power of bleeding (or vice versa as is common in the Freudian approach of penis castration), were instead valuing a form
of Dreaming androgyny which is encountered among many of the
totemic heroes and re-enacted through ritual dance where men and
women are separated. Each group enacts in their own way their
man-woman or woman-man becomings where is not just about male
and female bodies but also about other, different totemic bodies:
animal, plant, wind or objects like a digging stick. A Digging Stick,
as a Snake-man or a Snake-woman. Similarly a Digging Stick woman
is not the same as a Digging Stick man. The Kana (Digging Stick)
Dreaming says that these women pierced the penis of a rapist who
was detaching his long penis from himself to send it like a snake to
penetrate them when they were urinating in the bush, as told by a
Warlpiri story-teller in this chapter. When men re-enact this they
become Digging Stick men-women but when women re-enact it they
become women-men Digging Sticks: each gender here experiments
with its transgender Dreaming power in a different way.

In the second part of this book, ‘Totem, Taboo and the Women’s
Law’, I propose three essays that deal with the relation between
totems, taboos and social organisation compared with the topo-
logical modelisation of the hypercube that I developed in my post-
doctoral thesis (1988) that was published in 1991 as Du Rêve à la Loi
chez les Aborigènes (From Dreaming to the Law among Aboriginal
Australians). Two chapters are direct excerpts from this book which
haven’t been translated into English, ‘Doing and Becoming: Warlpiri
Rituals and Myths’ (Chapter 4) and ‘Forbidding and Enjoying:
Warlpiri Taboos’ (Chapter 5). ‘A topological Approach to Australian
Cosmology and Social Organisation’ (Chapter 6) is a synthesis of
my ideas as published in the Australian journal Mankind (1989)
summarising the topological method that I have adopted, in this case
in order to compare the Warlpiri society where I worked with the
available data about other Indigenous Australian groups.

The hypercube served as an inspiration due to the way that
the cube derivation summarises the eight algebraic subsections or
skin-names – the non-hierarchised classification system interpreted
by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his book, The Elementary Structures of
Kinship ([1947] 1970), but which is also used by a number of other
mathematicians and anthropologists. My use of the hypercube at
the level of kinship structures helped me to visually show how the
Aboriginal desert people’s system of exchange cannot be reduced
or summarised as a restrained exchange (as Lévi-Strauss maintains),
the so-called ‘Dravidian’ model encountered in other regions of the
world such as in India or in the Americas where men exchange their
sisters as wives. Instead, I focused specifically on the actions of the Warlpiri who claim that they do not exchange their sisters but that two men exchange their nieces as wives: in order for this to happen, logic requires that not simply must two exogamous groups be implicated but at the very minimum four. Starting from here, the exchange is not restrained and reciprocal (A gives to B who in turns gives to A) but ‘generalised’ and ‘asymmetrical’, as can be said with regard to kinship studies which I prefer to call unilateral: A gives to B who gives to C who gives to D who gives to A in order for a new cycle that continues following the same order but that can’t start again in the reverse order. To sum it up: a minimal equation in order to ally oneself with the multiple.

A hypercube or cube with eight different perspectives was also very useful in that it presents itself as a topological figure where there is no one single point or core perspective but rather, at the very least, eight perspectives with a multitude of others above or below according to the space of reference or depending on how we situate ourselves. In this way, the hypercube, as a pair of eyeglasses, allowed me to see space more clearly as a multiplicity and thus posit an anthropological proposition that also called into question Lévi-Strauss’s position that he takes up in his book on *Totemism* ([1962] 1963) where he defines the totemic systems of Australia as a pure form of classificatory nominalism. It’s certainly true that naming plays an essential role in Indigenous Australian cosmologies, but as I emphasised in the title of the first part of *Du Rêve à la Loi* (1991), ‘Naming and Situating’ (*Nommer et localiser*), the stakes of naming are derived from a toponymical dynamics. In other words, the names set about in movement (on voyages and according to the songlines) but they are also anchored in places and linguistic territories. As such, the languages and visions of things change according to the site and the line of the Dreaming according to which we look at the rest of the network. In *The Savage Mind* ([1962] 1966), Lévi-Strauss actually pays homage to Aboriginal sacred objects by recognising that their totemic status is also territorial (something I discuss at length in Chapter 4 of this book). In *The Jealous Potter* ([1985] 1988), Lévi-Strauss uses the topological figure of the Klein Bottle in order to speak about Amerindian myths. In this light, Lévi-Strauss was quite pleased to see that I also used topological figures to place into resonnance the structures of myths, rites, kinship and Aboriginal taboos. But in contrast to what a number of my colleagues in France or elsewhere take as an understanding of my work, my method was
neither structuralist in the Lévi-Straussian sense of the term, nor Lacanian.

I was seeking out paradoxical structures which don’t posit themselves against opposites, but rather articulate them in complex ways, such as can be found in Stéphane Lupasco’s work on the non-Aristotelian logic he called ‘du contradictoire’\textsuperscript{14} – a dynamic non-exclusive logic valuing heterogeneity and complexity that Dominique Temple, who taught at Paris 7, applied to the Amerindians and which Jean-François Matteudi and myself also applied to the cataphiles’ practices of the Parisian underground (Glowczewski et al. [1983] 2008). I attempted to deploy an anthropology that was dynamic and not situated outside of history nor even outside the historical continuity of the human. To be perfectly honest, at the time, I was more inspired by the Aboriginal peoples themselves and a number of anthropologists accused me of ‘going native’. I think this criticism of my work was based on unsound reasoning that didn’t understand to what extent we still needed to decolonise our Western ways of thinking or how our sciences themselves had become too Westernised due to a certain privileging of a history of science, and even sometimes sexually biased in an unconscious manner. I worked from the model of the hypercube by considering it as an Aboriginal ‘Dreaming’, that is, as an image-force that reorganised my real: I tested it in order to organise the data I gathered in Australia and in comparison with all the other data I could find on the Indigenous peoples of Australia. I was also inspired by science fiction, such as the short story that told the tale of the construction of a hypercube house in which we never knew what outside we would head out into nor through what doorway we would return (Heinlein 1941).

The most important part of my research method at that time was to insist on the fact that, according to the Aboriginal peoples I lived with, men and women were said not to do or see things in the same way and that it was this difference, as with any of the differences among the local languages or customs, that was for them ‘same but different’. In other words, they were able to think of heterogeneity

\textsuperscript{14} Stephane Lupasco (1900–1988) was a Romanian philosopher who lived and worked in France: In Trois matières ([1960] 2003), he used ‘actual’ and ‘potential’ categories as a process of resolving contradictory elements at a higher level of reality or complexity. The three matters referred to in the title are defined as physical with a logic of homogeneity, biological with a logic of heterogeneity and psychic with a logic of the contradictory and the notion of tiers-inclus.
as simultaneously a recognition of irreducible singularities and the condition for a commons that in no way homogenised the whole: this was how the Indigenous Australians had achieved this ingenious way of practising exchange, throughout millennia, from one end of the continent to the other, without for all that becoming a lone people, but rather providing a way for the flourishing of multiple languages, ways of living and unique ways for explaining their world.

When I defended my post-doctoral thesis in 1988, Guattari criticised my topological approach, which he found several reasons to be suspicious of: on the one hand, its seeming rapport with structuralism which he and Deleuze had criticised, and, on the other hand, what appeared to be my use of topology in the same way as Lacan and certain other Lacanians who made use of topological figures such as the Moebius strip, the torus, or knots, to think the unconscious. Three years later, with the publication of my book (Glowczewski 1991), and after having made Deleuze read it, Guattari changed his mind. Having just gotten over a long depression, he now saw the world in a new light. Schizoanalytic Cartographies ([1989] 2013) and The Three Ecologies ([1989] 2008), as well as a variety of other articles on Guattarian ecosophy, had been published in the interim. But it was after his death in 1992 that Stéphane Nadeau would edit these texts together into one single volume, the 586-page, Qu’est-ce que l’écosophie? (2013) which still remains unpublished in an English translation:

I have baptized one such concatenation of environmental, scientific, economic, urban and social and mental ecologies: ecosophy. Not in order to incorporate all of these heterogeneous ecological approaches in the same totalizing or totalitarian ideology, but, to indicate, on the contrary, the prospect of an ethico-political choice of diversity, creative dissensus, of responsibility concerning difference and alterity. Each segment of life, while continuing to be inserted into the transindividual phylums which exceed it, is fundamentally understood in its uniqueness. Birth, death, desire, love, the relationship to time, to bodies, to both animate and inanimate forms, require a fresh and attentive re-evaluation that is unsullied and receptive. It is incumbent upon us to reproduce continuously this subjectivity that the psychoanalyst and ethologist of childhood, Daniel Stern [1985], calls the ‘emergent self.’ Recapturing childhood glances and poetry instead, and in the place of, the hard and blind perspective on the meaning of life according to the expert and technocrat […] We [must] shake free from a false nomadism that in reality leaves us back to where we started from, in the emptiness of a bloodless modernity, in order to access lines of flight where machinic, communicational, and aesthetic
indigenising anthropology
deterritorializations engage us [...] creating the conditions of emergence, on the occasion of a reappropriation of the forces of our world, of an existential nomadism that is as intense as the pre-Columbian American Indians or Australian Aboriginals! (Guattari [1993] 2015: 99)\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{The Aboriginal Practice of Transversality and Dissensus}

In 1985, Claire Parnet (who would later interview Gilles Deleuze in a rare, long-form interview/documentary film about the philosopher, \textit{L’Abécédaire}\textsuperscript{16}) created \textit{L’Autre Journal} with Michel Butel, Antoine Dulaure and Nadia Tazi. It was a magazine on recycled paper teeming with enchanted inherited worlds as well as those in the midst of invention. I ended up publishing several articles in the journal including an interview in Polish with the science fiction writer and author of \textit{Solaris}, Stanislaw Lem:

The theory of evolution that we teach in schools is still too impoverished: we speak of chance mutations due to natural selection, this not enough. Prigogine creates the foundations for a theory that has a place for both order and chaos. (Lem 1984)

Guattari was excited by the propositions published in \textit{Order Out of Chaos: Man’s New Dialogue with Nature} ([1979] 1984), a book by Ilya Prigogine co-written with Isabelle Stengers who often participated in Guattari’s seminars at Rue de Condé. During that time, she gave me her copy of Deleuze’s \textit{Difference and Repetition} ([1968] 1995), brimming with highlighted passages and her notes in the margins. I digested the work very slowly. It was only later on that I understood

\textsuperscript{15} In Guattari’s compilation edited in French by Nadaud (2013: 31–4), two different notes indicate that \textit{le Nouvel Observateur} published a short version of the ‘subjective city’ on 14 November 1981 without this paragraph and others like this one (p. 55): ‘The wild nomadism of contemporary deterritorialisation calls for a ‘transversalist’ apprehension of the subjectivity in the midst of emergence, a manner of grasping striving to articulate points of singularity (for example, a particular configuration of the environment or landscape), specific existential dimensions (for example, the way a space is viewed by children or those who physically handicapped or who are dealing with mental illness), functional virtual transformations (for example pedagogical innovations), all while affirming a style and an inspiration that help to recognise, at a first glance, the individual or collective signature of a creator.’

\textsuperscript{16} 1988–1989; with English sub-titles, \textit{Gilles Deleuze from A to Z}, Pierre André-Boutang, Claire Parnet, Gilles Deleuze, Los Angeles: Semiotext(e) (Deleuze et al. 2011).
to what extent how much of what I wrote could be derived from the articulation of both these notions.

After giving birth to my first daughter, Milari, in Australia, I returned with her to Paris so we could be with my mother in her final weeks as she was dying of cancer. During this same time period, Guattari gave me a copy of his last book, *Chaosmosis* ([1992] 1995). He would die four months later. I continued to live in Broome on the west coast of Australia until 1998 when I finally moved back to Paris with my family which had grown to include another daughter, Nidala, and their father, a film-maker and musician dedicated to the promotion of his Aboriginal culture, Wayne Jowandi Barker (2011, 2016). Those years in the Kimberley led me to discover a new Aboriginal universe that I examine in Part III of this present work, ‘The Aboriginal Practice of Transversality and Dissensus’, two concepts that were at the heart of Guattari’s input during his collaborations with Deleuze.

‘In Australia, it’s ‘Aboriginal’ with a Capital ‘A’: Aboriginality, Politics and Identity’ (Chapter 7) was published in a collective book entitled *The Changing South Pacific* (Douaire-Marsaudon and Tcherkezoff [1997] 2005). It discusses the issue of pan-Aboriginality and strategic essentialism in tribal territorial identification. Indeed Aboriginal people had hundreds of names to designate themselves in different regions of Australia. Some names were used to designate neighbours in a different way than the name used by members of this neighbouring group to refer to themselves. Among many Indigenous peoples in the world, the word used to identify as a group means ‘human’, but it is not systematic. Warlpiri people for instance identify as the Warlpiri tribe with language variations such as Warnayaka in the north-east, the majority of the people living in Lajamanu, and Ngulia in the South where people mostly live in Yuendumu which was the first Warlpiri reserve that was created in the 1940s. It became so overcrowded in the 1950s that a group of families were forcibly deported to a new settlement called Hooker Creek, which became Lajamanu. All the Warlpiri use the word *Yapa* (the Warlpiri term for ‘human’) to identify themselves with other language groups with whom they practise exchanges across a network that extends for thousand of kilometres to the west on the coast of the Indian Ocean and hundreds of kilometres to the north and south. Other Aboriginal people outside of this network used to be called *yapakarri* ‘other (than) human’, but today they are recognised as Yapa. Similarly, any Indigenous people or people of colour from other countries can be
called Yapa but only if they are seen as sharing a similar situation of colonial history or discrimination. This social identification can also be extended beyond colour: for instance in a film about a US basketball team where the hero was Italian and who, in the film, endured a number of hardships as a migrant, was identified by all the Warlpiri audience with a lot of sympathy as Yapa. Similarly a White person is said to be ‘like’ a Yapa when she shares experiences with Yapa that are seen as specific to them, like rituals, camping or sharing food and other things.

The word ‘Europeans’ was commonly used in Australia by non Aboriginal people to identify themselves even if they were descendants of the first generation of settlers. They are called Kardiya by the Warlpiri and many other desert groups. Similarly in the North of Australia, among the Yolngu people who also have traditional exchanges with the Warlpiri, the Europeans were called Balanda, a Kriol pronunciation of ‘Hollanders’, who were the colonisers of the Macassar islands. Long before the British colonisation, Macassan fishermen used to sail to the northern coast of Australia to collect trepang and they developed exchange relations with the Aboriginal peoples of the North until the beginning of the twentieth century when the Australian government forbid this trade.17 Throughout the period of colonisation, hundreds of different Aboriginal language groups had already established ancient networks of ritual exchange across the continent. But it was only in the 1960s that they decided to unite in their struggles for their common recognition.

In 1972, four activists set up a camp which they called the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in front of the Canberra Parliament, a political performance affirming the position of exclusion of the First Nations of Australia treated as foreigners in their own country. The Land Rights Movement then decided to adopt a common flag for the hundreds of different language groups, and this has become a sign of self-determination and Indigenous sovereignty all over Australia in protests as well as at official events. When the famous track and field star, sprinter Cathy Freeman, first raised the Aboriginal flag in celebration of her victory during the 1994 Commonwealth Games, she caused a scandal. However, during the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, upon winning the gold medal in the 400 metres, Freeman’s decision to take her celebratory lap carrying both the Aboriginal

flag and the Australian flag had by that time become recognised and accepted as a standard practice at sporting events and elsewhere. The word Aboriginality became the signifier of a common identity to help create strategies of pressure for the recognition of Aboriginal peoples as prior occupants of the continent. Chapter 6 discusses two understandings of identity. The chapter begins by exploring an identity of resistance focused primarily around the revision of contact history. The valorisation of a national aboriginal identity – symbolised by a flag, land rights and the denunciation of poor living conditions – is analysed in terms of exclusion and exploitation. The chapter then focuses on an identity of continuity, based on language, religious beliefs and practices. An Aboriginal conception of a pre-contact worldview and lifestyle is shown to be essential in the struggle to affirm the recognition of traditional rights to the land.

Since the beginning of the colonisation of the continent in 1788, Aboriginal peoples have attempted to defend their lands by opposing what the colonial law called *Terra nullius*: a land supposedly ‘without inhabitants’. And yet, the inhabitants had lived in Australia for at least the past 60,000 years. The struggle for land rights led to the Northern Territory (NT) Land Rights Act in 1976 which allowed the Aboriginal people of this region – like the Warlpiri – to reclaim their ancestral rights established by way of the distribution of ritual responsibilities along the totemic paths that connect the sites created by their Dreaming ancestors. It was only in 1992, after twelve years of judiciary process against the state for Eddie Mabo, a Torres Strait Islander, that the concept of *Terra nullius* was invalidated at the federal level for the entire continent. Today, alongside some land claims which have been won by way of restitution to local groups for the right to collectively use their ancestral lands, several hundred claims are still at different levels in the judiciary process of the tribunal set up to prove what the Mabo Native Title Law (1993) means by ‘native title’: the recognition of a native principle of pre-colonial title-holders that must be demonstrated by proving ‘the continuity of the occupation of the lands and traditional practices’. This clause is obviously biased by way of a governmental system itself that favours the groups that have survived massacres by staying on the reserves built on their land where they could continue some land usage. The continuity of traditional practice is more difficult to prove for other groups who have been born elsewhere due to the fact that their parents or ancestors had been deported or placed into a position of having to flee. Since the 1990s, the native title process
has provoked terrible conflicts that have torn families apart, but this process has also pushed many Aboriginal people to explore their past and revive some aspects of their culture.

The full extent of the ethnocide, which was a veritable genocide, still remains to be properly calculated due to the vast numbers of victims, by way of illnesses contracted through infected clothes, the arsenic injected into their watering holes to poison them, and the large number of massacres, some of which date back to the 1930s, and whose hidden mass graves we still continue to uncover. Forced into a sedentary lifestyle by missionaries, the Indigenous Australians were converted by all the Christian churches – Catholic, Anglican, Baptist or Evangelical – that continue to compete for them, after having prohibited the teaching of Islam to the Aboriginal children of mixed descent whose fathers were Muslims, either camel drivers brought from Pakistan in the 1920s to help with the exploration of the continent, or the pearl divers indentured in their thousands from Malaysia, or other islands, such as Timor, to develop the world’s biggest pearling extraction in Broome. In the early days Aboriginal people on the west coast were ‘blackbirded’ and forced to dive for pearls, but many refused despite risking a paddle to the head if they did not succeed in collecting pearls.

The Indigenous Australians also had to suffer through what became known as a politics of ‘whitening’. Starting from the genetic principle that the black colour of skin seemed to disappear within several generations of Aboriginal peoples mixing with Whites, Arabs or the Asian populations, the government had the fantasy – which was also shared in Europe and North America – that it could control Aboriginal reproduction in order to favour the White race as superior to others. Thus, the government decided to segregate the most light-skinned people so as to make sure that their children would be even more ‘whitened’, first in terms of their psychological mindset (esprit), then by way of their genetic descendence. The government thus created a ‘protectorate’ whose function was to send in its special police (including priests) in order to gather up all the ‘light-skinned’ children and take them away from their families. Between 1905 and the 1970s, one child out of five – from young babies to adolescents – was kidnapped under the pretext that their biological families were too ‘tribal’ and ‘savage’ and couldn’t raise them properly. Even though the children – resulting either from rapes or genuine love affairs with the early European pioneers – lived with their Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal families, it was actually illegal for both to raise
Becoming Land

their mixed children even if they had the necessary material means to do so. There are hundreds of poignant letters written to the protectories of different Australian states which bear witness to this. Other Aboriginal children were also taken away if their parents were killed or jailed due to resistance.

The ‘Protectors’ of the state refused to give the children back to their parents since their mission was to ‘civilise’ them (in spite of themselves), within boarding schools that functioned like orphanages, where the young children – as with the schoolchildren in the French colonies or Brittany – were punished for speaking their birth language or that of their lost family. The youngest children and babies were told that their parents had abandoned them and the older ones were told that they should never visit their ‘tribes’ under penalty of prison time or lack of access to the right to work. A successful ‘whitening’ led to educating the children to serve Whites as maids or farmhands, and then marry other young, light-skinned individuals so as to eventually, over time, erase all trace of black skin. In these institutions, as well as others throughout the world, a great number of both girls and boys were raped, and often mistreated again and again by the families of their employers. Some of the children ended up being adopted and properly loved and cared for, but as the recent documentary film, Servant and Slave, directed by Hettie Perkins (daughter of the famous boxer and activist, Charlie Perkins), shows through interviews with five Aboriginal women, the status of servant or maid often masked a form of slavery. These children who were forcefully taken away from their Aboriginal families have been called ‘The Stolen Generations’ – a name given to them by the Royal Commission that carried out its own investigation in the 1990s concerning the historical situation, and produced, as a result of the hundreds of interviews with the victims or their families, what it called the ‘Bringing Them Home’ report which recommended a variety of programmes. Since then, a number of initiatives for collective care have attempted to palliate past and present traumas, notably those traumas that are passed down through several generations, and the current discriminations that continue to provoke a variety of violent reactions, the improper treatment of young people, and even suicide. Work performed by stolen children, adolescents as well as adults, often was not paid, as was also the case with non-mixed Aboriginal peoples.\(^{18}\) The servants and sheep herders

\(^{18}\) Between 1963 and 1982, the French state established a similar method of taking very young children away from poor families on the French island of Reunion
only received flour, tea or tobacco, along with a small ration of meat, until they ended up revolting in the different regions of Australia by movements that ended up unsettling the government in place.

‘Culture Cult: Ritual Circulation of Inalienable Knowledge and Appropriation of Cultural Knowledge (Central and NW Australia)’ (Chapter 8) was published in the collective book *People and Things. Social Mediations in Oceania* (Jeudy-Ballini and Juillerat 2002). It discusses the international context of the contemporary claims to cultural property, and the concept of inalienability which, in Central and North Western Australia, surrounds the ritual circulation of sacred objects and the ceremonial cycles of which they are a part. The expression ‘culture cult’ in the title refers to an appropriation of the word ‘culture’ by Aboriginal people from the north and the desert that was not initially used when I first began my fieldwork in Australia. It is as if the popularity of the Western concept in governmental policies and laws relating to land had almost sacralised into ‘culture’ what before was only referred to by different practices, be they ritual or not. Inalienibility has been conceptualised by the anthropologist Annette Weiner who extended her fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands to other Oceanic societies. In *Inalienable Possessions. The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (1992), she also discusses some Aboriginal cases from Australia, especially my analysis of Warlpiri data. I must say that she was an inspiration to me when in 1980 she came to talk about her theory in a seminar of Maurice Godelier at the School of Social Sciences (EHESS, Paris). Her talk inspired me to extend her notion of inalienable objects produced by women – woven mats in the Trobriand islands – to hairstrings made of women’s hair cut during death rituals in Central Australia; one of the chapters of the 1981 thesis that Guattari was struck by. I was advised at that time not to publish it as a book but to translate the specific chapter from my thesis as a paper for the US journal *Ethnology* (Glowczewski 1983a).

Inalienability is also the key to understanding the circulation of rituals, ceremonial objects and other knowledge from tribe to tribe (Indian Ocean) in order to send them to be raised by and work for farmers in the then dying region of central France, the Creuse. Many were mistreated and never returned to their island. The survivors have started a similar movement as the Aboriginal people to ask for reparation. In French Guiana, Wayana and Teko from the Amazonia have been asking for many years to have bilingual secondary schools in their own villages instead of having to send their children to town where, cut off from the practice of their own people’s cultural teachings, they face mistreatment and suicide.
Becoming Land

across the whole continent. My aim in referencing the Kimberley example is to demonstrate how the circulation of ceremonial objects after colonisation (and continuing up into the 1990s) through the transmission of initiation-related ceremonial cycles was a real machine for producing culture(s), first by regenerating local specificities and second by asserting a common procedure that, beyond language differences, enabled exchange to take place thousands of kilometres. Each local group’s identity is strengthened by this ritual nomadism, which is enriched by new religious forms wherein local variants of what Aboriginal people call their respective Laws nurture those of their neighbours. This is true of men’s rituals as well as women’s rituals, for both types of rituals help create these exchanges that reinforce the bond between each group and its sacred places, and the inalienable possession of its sacred objects. Similar identity-building can also be seen in the interregional gatherings for traditional mixed dancing, commonly called ‘corroborees’. In fact, since the 1980s and up to the present we have been able to detect a similar logic of transmission which has expanded into cultural intertribal regional festivals such as those created by the Kimberley Law and Culture Council that regularly bring people from over thirty-three communities together to dance, sing and share their ideas and common strategies concerning all areas of life, be it culture, health, education, justice, economy and the environment.

In Chapter 8 I also examine the elaboration of a project for a cultural centre in the 1990s involving the representatives of a dozen Aboriginal languages and organisations based in the coastal town of Broome, because of a regional diaspora from the desert, the North and the South. This initiative reflected an attempt to control the representation given for these cultures and to reappropriate their objects and knowledge. To date, as of June 2019, the cultural centre has still not been built, but many other positive things have occurred in Broome, such as the winning of the Yawuru Native Title and the establishment of a big Yawuru language centre that has helped to revive the language. But there are also current conflicts around the issue of the status of Djugun people, who were recognised as a separate tribe in the 1930s but were incorporated in the Yawuru Native Title. Today, Djugun descendants claim their singularity and exclusive relation to the land in order to oppose fracking and

19 Pat Mamanyjun Torres speech during the UN special rapporteur visit, March 2017, film clip by B. Glowczewski: https://vimeo.com/222221650
other gas development in the region. Similarly, other groups which spread across the whole of the Kimberley and further to the North and the South use their ancient tribal affiliation and responsibilities to the land for the same kind of struggle against multinational companies that try to bribe them with a lot of money. Of course, there are always some families who accept the money and sign but the movement of resistance to fossil energies is strong.

‘Lines and Criss-Crossings: Hyperlinks in Australian Indigenous Narratives’ (Chapter 9) was published with a DVD in the *Media International Australia* journal dedicated in August 2005 to ‘Digital Anthropology’. The chapter deals with the issue of ethics, whereby pleasure (and desire) does not imply a religious or moral order but a constant re-evaluation of how each image or representation of any contemporary culture (Indigenous, musical, professional, digital, etc.) impacts on social justice, equity, tolerance and freedom. The chapter narrates two forms of anthropological restitution developed with Aboriginal peoples for a mixed audience. The first project was the CD-ROM, *Dream Trackers: Yapa Art and Knowledge of the Australian Desert*, which I developed with fifty Warlpiri artists and ritual custodians from Lajamanu in the Northern Territory and which was awarded by the 1997 Moebius Awards and eventually published by UNESCO in 2000. The second project was an interactive DVD (*Quest in Aboriginal Land*) based on films by Indigenous film-maker Wayne Jowandi Barker, documenting four regions of Australia (Arnhem Land, Central and Western Deserts, Kimberley, and the Grampians in Victoria). Both projects aimed to explore and enhance the cultural foundations of the reticular way in which many Indigenous people in Australia map their knowledge and experience of the world in a geographical virtual web of narratives, images and performances. The relevance of games for anthropological insights is also discussed in this chapter. Non-linear or reticular thinking mostly stresses the fact that there is no centrality to the whole rather there is a multipolar view from each recomposed network within each singularity – be it a person, a place (or a Dreaming in the case of Aboriginal cultures) – allowing for the emergence of meanings and performances, encounters, creations as well as new original autonomous flows.

The wide array of my multimedia experiments, from the middle of the 1990s to the explosion of the Internet and beyond, have directly transformed my way of writing, making it more reticular and leading me to develop – during my time teaching at Broome (University
of Notre Dame, 1995–2000) and then in Paris (Advanced School of Social Sciences, EHESS, 2000–2004)— what I have called an ‘Anthropology of Networks’ or ‘reticular thinking’. As explained in the chapter, this method has allowed me to value the way in which Aboriginal peoples have already been experts in ‘hyperlinks’ projected into the space and time of their environments and their dream worlds – well before the emergence of these various Internet technologies. I have written extensively about the fact that Aboriginal perception of the Dreaming is not that of a golden age dreamtime but a multifolded dynamic memory that I defined a virtual space-time. I proposed then a conception of time which is neither linear (like the arrow of calendar historical time) nor circular (like the notion of cyclical eternal return).

The fact that computers and the Internet have familiarised us with network connections and the rapid access to ideas and knowledge in a non-linear mode has made it easier to understand the complexity of Aboriginal systems of knowledge that project memory, stories and rituals into entangled pathways activated to become both in geography and the embodiment of living things, as well as mythical and oneirical narratives and performances. The experience anyone can make in his/her dreams of going beyond boundaries of space and time gives an insight into the relativity and synchronicity of Aboriginal cosmological space-time. Aboriginal artists who at an already advanced age began in the 1970s and 1980s to paint on canvas with acrylics went through the traumatic rupture of their nomadic life and various types of violence, dispossession and pressures imposed by the state. But they responded to this ecosophical disaster with an extreme creativity anchored on their reticular perception of land. I think that the originality of what they produced then as well as the success their paintings – and those of the younger generation – encountered among the audience of contemporary art is due to a paradigmatic shift corresponding to the global transversality of technology and economy affecting all aspects of our world including affective and intellectual perception (Glowczewski 2015). From survivors of the Stone Age they have become guardians of a New Age where more and more people aspire to experience, beyond universal rationality, the multiplicity of different parallel logics. Space-time

See Le Roux (2016) on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artistic use of ghost nets found in the ocean to fight against this waste that kills fish, dolpins and turtles.
relativity and current use of the notions of ‘pluriverse’ or ‘multiphase’ by astrophysicists seem to resonate with the experience of shamans from different cultures, and complex cosmologies like the Warlpiri concept of Jukurrpa.

To overcome the impasse of the alleged irrationality of the practices and beliefs of traditional people, the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss has apprehended them as symbolic manifestations of a savage mind hiding structural logics. The reaction to structuralism was two-fold: on one side a call for history, on the other a call to emotion. Today the tension seems to oppose a certain relativism claiming the pluralism of cultural dynamics, and a socio-biology aiming at reducing the symbolic language to a material determination. Philippe Descola has inaugurated the chair of anthropology of nature at the Collège de France by proposing to overcome this opposition with ‘relative universalism’. Personally, in every situation I strive to track and locate the singular and the ‘affect’ at work, while also tirelessly pursuing a comparative interrogation of societies. I look for ‘invariants’, common but dynamic principles, where the spirit carries the body as much as the body carries the spirit. I believe it is because we have acquired the universal ‘habit’ of circulating on the Web of the Internet that we can better understand today the very ancient and singular construction of reticular thinking among Aboriginal people. If biodiversity reveals to us everyday the striking capacities of the multiplication of a common language, the DNA, similarly, cultural diversity is a source of access to a common knowledge which articulates the fundamentals of life.

History has shown time and time again that systems of knowledge can change their meanings according to their applications. But they can also disappear for lack of transmission. In a long-term time perspective, the content of what transmits itself is partly not under (our) control, but the responsibility falls on all of humanity to prevent places and modes of transmission which were maintained for so long to be swept away by the illusion of modernity of the Western World which believes to have the mission of supplanting everything. Globalisation is understood as a levelling of consumption practices and discourses. Now, parallel to this process of standardisation, we are also bearing witness to a differentiation of the local that flourishes everywhere: in creole tongues, school yards, neighbourhood associations or forums online. From deep in the urban landscape to the most remote places of the outback, calls for identity, symbolic territoriality and spirituality can be heard loudly expressing themselves. Television and primarily the Internet have led to an inflation of discourses and practices in search of a territorial, historical, cultural or religious rooting. With this flow of images and speeches, humans are increasingly confronted with a paradox: the more the world globalises
itself, with its markets and means of which seem to bring us together and make us similar, the more differences emerge and the need for a local specificity affirms itself in many different ways. It is not by isolating and forbidding exchange(s) that one preserves differences, it is on the contrary by instituting modes of circulation of peoples and ideas. Even though very few anthropologists have established a link between linguistic diversity and the extent of networks of solidarity and of symbolic equivalences that exist between different Aboriginal groups, I am convinced that their current strength stands in this equation. (Glowczewski 2004)

This text is extracted from the introduction to my French book Rêves en colère, literally ‘Dreams in anger’, not yet translated in English. I wrote it as an experimental form of rhizome connecting fifteen lines of Aboriginal voices from four regions of Australia. It is constructed as a series of sixteen lessons (in history, totemism, psychoanalysis, ecology, etc.) intermingling observations and conversations with Aboriginal men and women from different parts of North Western and Central Australia to show both their local singularities and the commonalities identified by Indigenous people themselves as connecting them across the continent. I argue that reticular or network thinking is a very ancient Indigenous practice – enhancing the way memory and dreams function for all humans – but it gained a striking actuality at the turn of the twenty-first century thanks to the fact that our so-called scientific perception of cognition, Euclidian space and linear time had changed through the use of new technologies. I must admit that I would be less enthusiastic nowadays when the Internet and its algorithms demonstrate everyday their ability to consume all aspects of our life. Nevertheless, I think that there is an ancient art of connection that Aboriginal people have nurtured which resonates with the vision that Deleuze and Guattari were promoting even though some of their readers misunderstood the dangerous impact of some of the logic they described so well. Horizontal reticularity is not just ‘good’ in itself, as opposed to tree-like vertical bad power: they are poles in tension that need to be analysed and confronted in an ecosophical manner, that takes into account the milieu as around and across our subjectivities. ‘Prendre les choses par le milieu’ . . . ‘To understand things from the middle or the milieu’. The milieu invites us to turn things inside out, to be affected and traversed by the land, the city, people and things. It is not about being lost in nature, as Guattari explains in a text entitled ‘The Environment and Humans, Emerging and Returning Values or the Ethics at Stake in Ecology’:

39
Social and mental ecology, which rightfully function as complements to scientific and political ecology, should therefore not be founded upon some sort of feeling of a timeless fusion with nature, but upon the recognition and assumption of finitude, of the individual life as much as collective life, the life of various species as much as that of the planets and the Sun [. . .] so in order to confront the gigantic stakes of our current era, it is vitally important to radically re-orient its end goals, so as to move on from an backward-looking ecology focused on the defense of already acquired [acquis] knowledge toward an ecology that is completely mobilized toward creation. (Guattari [1989–1990] 2013: 523)

This feeling of existential finitude is also what Guattari became accustomed to calling ‘existential territories’, defined not from inside as eternity but on the contrary according to external determinations, which he defined as articulated together: a constellation of values or incorporeal universes, a dimension of flows (fluxes), and a machinic phylum or alterity that works as an ontological (autopoiëtic) self-affirmation. For Guattari, this ecosophical object was like a meta-model to take into account all kinds of modelisation, whether Marxist or animist. This is why Guattari, when defining ‘What is ecosophy?’, spoke of ethics in his aesthetical paradigm as being in tension between molecular micropolitics and the molar world of integrated capital. For him:

an ontology could only be cartographic, a metamodellisation of transitory figures of intensive conjunctions. The event resides within this conjunction of an enunciative cartography and this capturing of the precarious, qualitative, and intensive [. . .] starting from points of singularity, and allowing for lines of the possible to set off in movement once again. (Guattari [1991] 2013)

Micropolitics of Hope and De-Essentialisation

On 27 November 2008, Brian Massumi and Erin Manning paid me a visit at my office at the Collège de France to conduct an interview that would eventually be published online in their journal, Inflexions. Both had spent some time in Australia and wrote stimulating texts about Aboriginal art.21 To conclude the interview, Erin asked me the following question:

I want to propose three different ways to think about the micropolitical in the context of what you’ve told us. You might want to comment on one or more. One of them, it seems to me, is an interesting singularity that has to do with the complexity of the collective body that includes ‘other bodies,’ including your body. It seems to me that in a politics to come that would radically take seriously the kind of political initiatives brought forward by the Aboriginal people, there would also have to be some way of taking the temperature of these new singularities (bodies in process) rather than lumping all Aboriginal people in one box. That would be one singularity. The other singularity would be [would have] to do with the issue of memory. It seems to me that the Aboriginal cultures that I have looked into have a very important way of thinking spacetime where memory is not conceived as a simple linear passageway to a discrete past and a proposed future but is thought instead as a complex nonlinear topological field with transversal linkages. And the third singularity you might comment on would be a gesturing toward the global politics to come through the election of Obama with respect to the fear that I think a lot of left-leaning political groups have that people might perceive that with Obama’s election the important work has been done: We have now elected a black president. We have done our work. So there isn’t more work to come in any of those registers.’

My reply:

I agree absolutely with what you say and those three levels. Just on Obama, I think the same thing happened in Australia when the new government was elected, last November, from Liberal to Labor. And Kevin Rudd, for the first time after many years of public pressure, accepted to give an official apology to the Aboriginal people. This was done last February. It was like you say, like in USA: a black man is elected and it is done. And here the apology was done, which means the Aboriginal issue is sorted out. Well today, we know it is not the case. (Glowczewski, Manning and Massumi 2009)

‘Myths of ‘Superiority’ and How to De-Essentialise Social and Historical Conflicts’ (Chapter 10) was a conference paper I presented at an international conference on racism convened by the James Cook University in Cairns in 2012. It shows that accusations of racism can mask an ontology of superiority in which the victims of racism are themselves accused of being racist. I analyse the example of a famous writer from French Polynesia, Chantal Spitz, who was accused of being racist by a couple of reactionary academics because she promotes her Ma’ohi language and culture. She produces her literature in French (also translated into English) but infuses it with Ma’ohi expressions
and social and political local context, including autonomist positions: it is a perfect example of what Deleuze and Guattari called a minor literature that is not simply literature written by someone who belongs to a minority group but rather is a particular form of literary and linguistic resistance. Deleuze and Guattari use the example of Franz Kakfa (whose first language was Czech but who chose to write in German) to show how a writer from a dominated people transforms the dominant language in which he writes.\textsuperscript{22} Anti-colonial writers are accused of racism by those who identify with the colonial power. Indigenous people or migrants are accused of racism for laying claim to their history and culture. UNESCO may have proclaimed cultural diversity as a value, but in many social interactions it is not valued. Difference is either reduced to hierarchical models – such as dominant/dominated and primitive/civilised – or denied recognition in the name of universalism as opposed to cultural relativism.

My aim here was to show that a third option is possible. I chose to speak about the French situation between 2005 and 2012, because when in 2005 a historical outburst of anger followed the death of two young French men of colour (aged fifteen and seventeen years old), it made me think about how anthropologically and as a French citizen my duty is to try to compare situations. In 2005, I had just returned to live in Paris after spending two years in Australia where I had followed the process of the inquest after a violent Aboriginal death in custody on Palm Island. In 2008 I published a book in France with Lex Wotton, an Aboriginal man who was accused of a riot that broke out a week after this death in custody. The book was written in agreement with his lawyers, but I never found a publisher in Australia; thus, I uploaded the updated translation \textit{Warriors for Peace} that I paid for on the online library of James Cook University (Glowczewski and Wotton [2008] 2010). In 2017, after serving four years in jail and being released before his time, Wotton, with his sister, mother and wife, won a class action claim against the state of Queensland, which had to pay compensation of AUS$220,000 for `the acts of unlawful racial discrimination by the police\textsuperscript{23} and which led to a new way for


Aboriginal people to question government decisions in Australia. In 2018 Wotton, with 447 Palm inhabitants, won a new class action suit that questioned the intervention on Palm Island by the special emergency police section to arrest the ‘rioters’, and that led to the payment of AUS$30 million by the Queensland government and an official apology acknowledging the trauma and suffering of the Palm Islanders, with a special mention to Wotton’s family.

Today, as we see the global resonance with the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States and the way in which Black people and Indigenous people across the world recognise themselves in each other’s struggles, I can only reaffirm, as I did six years ago in that conference paper, that too many countries seem to deny their citizens the right to adopt alternative ways of living; this is true for different historical, constitutional and geopolitical reasons in France and Australia. Indeed, Australia has massive public debates and local confrontations between different Aboriginal leaders in relation to government policies such as the Northern Territory Intervention that had to overrule the Racial Discrimination Act to forcibly intervene in seventy-three communities in 2007 or the dismantling of ATSIC, the Aboriginal-elected national commission and its regional councils. Debates also rage around the change to the Constitution to suppress its racist connotations and to recognise the prior sovereignty over the land of the continent to its Indigenous people, among whom some continue to ask for a treaty to be signed so that they can be empowered with the right to protect their country from environmentally and socially destructive projects as well as to have their own form of governance. A huge body of work has been published on these matters and on what has been called the History Wars, but I would rather not enter into a discussion that would advertise the names of scholars who negate the violence of Australian colonial history or, like some in France, claim that we should not awaken the memories of that conflicted past.

My priority is to value and disseminate information about alternative and experimental solutions that have been attempted in Australia, France or in other countries that face similar problems in the global destiny of our planet. The dissemination of these creative attempts also plays a role in how I understand my own position as a researcher in circulating official criticisms that are made of the Indigenous situation or migrant crisis in Australia or France. For instance, the 2017 report of the UN Special Rapporteur, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, on the rights of Indigenous peoples, after her visit to Australia, states:
In the report, the Special Rapporteur observes that the policies of the Government do not duly respect the rights to self-determination and effective participation; contribute to the failure to deliver on the targets in the areas of health, education and employment; and fuel the escalating and critical incarceration and child removal rates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. A comprehensive revision of those policies needs to be a national priority, and the consequences and prevalence of intergenerational trauma and racism must be acknowledged and addressed.24

Similarly, the report prepared by the France Libertés foundation in France denounces the industrial goldmining megaprocess project by La Montagne d’Or (Gold Mountain, Canadian and Russian multinational consortium) that is opposed by more than 100 collectives in French Guiana: with the assistance of the foundation it was denounced by a young Kali’na Indigenous man, Yanuwana Christophe Pierre, at the Tribunal of the Rights of Earth that took place in Bonn at the COP23 gathering in November 2017. He is now the vice-president of the Big Customary Council created last year to deal with Indigenous land and other issues. The mega-goldmining not only threatens to destroy part of the Amazonian Rainforest and its biodiversity, but also to pollute the water table with cyanide leaching that is planned to replace the old mercury technique. Mercury used by the clandestine goldminers expanding from Brazil and Surinam has already poisoned the forest rivers, with very high levels detected in fish and people – who are asked not eat fish from it. And while this gold industry promises a few jobs, it threatens the very existence of dozens of Indigenous villages that already struggle against drugs and prostitution from the clandestine mafia. The French government has been summoned by the UN to consult with the Indigenous peoples, and it announced early in 2019 that the project so far was not meeting proper environmental conditions.25

In the United States the recent change in governments presents similar racist and ecological threats to the future. President Donald Trump (a figure Guattari had already warned against in his Threes Ecologies) is ignoring the Black Lives Matter movement and is now

24 Link to the UN report, September 2017: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1303201/files/A_HRC_36_46_Add-2-EN.pdf
Becoming Land

cancelling rights over Native American land in favour of big extraction companies. In Brazil, which has its own colonial and post-colonial geopolitics, Michel Temer, now followed by Jair Bolsonaro, opened up the Amazonian rainforest to massive destruction through logging and a variety of extractions while threatening the process of land demarcation for Indigenous people and the Quilombolas (descendants of escaped slaves who in agreement with Indian groups established communities in which to hide; here, their descendants still live today and saw legal recognition by the previous government). Temer also cut the FUNAI funding which aimed at protecting some Indigenous groups in the forest from invasion; these groups are now attacked and sometimes savagely murdered by mercenaries working for private interests. The lives of leaders of other groups are also regularly threatened. Despite this discouraging turn, initiatives emanating from local civil society across the world – and also from transnational alliances of solidarity – continue inventing innovative ways of envisioning a multidimensional society in which the recognition of differences and specific rights is held in the same regard as universal human rights that are respected as well as expanded to better include the realities of our current world. Despite the decision by Temer’s government to stop the mega dam projects in the Amazon, Bolsonaro’s administration again plans megaprojects in what he calls ‘unproductive, desertlike’ forest.26

In June 2017 the parliament of Victoria, a state in Australia, invited an Aboriginal delegation from the Wurundjeri people whose representative, Alice Kolasa, proposed a bill in front of the assembly (which was eventually confirmed) which granted a river on their lands status as a living entity.27 According to Alice Kolasa, the fact that this was the first time in Australian history that an official judicial text was written both in English and in one of the hundreds of Aboriginal languages – the Woi Wurrung spoken by one of the

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clans of the Wurundjeri who go by the same name – provided in law a place for her people as First Nations: the state of Victoria, by way of this parliamentary process, had recognised the Woi Wurrung as the First Nation of the Birrarung River. The name of the legislation, ‘Keep Birrarung Alive’, can’t simply be summed up as an ecological response to prevent any continuing pollution of the river and a call to be good stewards for the ecosystem, the fish, the vegetation, and the humans who live within this environment and live from it. Nor can the legislation be summed up by the new field of ‘environmental justice’ being taught in Anglo-Saxon universities and which has been put into action by Indigenous peoples (and which can most notably be seen in the inter-American tribunal on human rights and the right to life through the vantage point of the interdependence of humans, society and the environment). The legislation in Victoria resonates in a much larger and important way by redefining the notion itself of life: it affirms the existence of the river as a living entity, in the same spirit as the judicial precedence in New Zealand which in 2017 recognised the official status of the Whanganui River as a living being.

In both cases, it was the Indigenous people, First Nation peoples of colonised countries – the Maori in New Zealand and the Wurundjeri in Australia – who led the campaign for granting the river a juridical personality. This status, which the Te Urewera Park in northern New Zealand had already benefited from, allows for ‘the interest of the flow of water’ to be protected by two actors: a lawyer for the tribe recognised as the owner of the river and another lawyer for the government. According to certain people, the status of the river ends up being closer to that of a corporation than an individual. However, what’s important to retain from this is that the legislation recognises a collective voice that is inseparable from a specific site and its environment. The Indigenous peoples of two different countries didn’t need the confirmation of old anthropological debates which relativise the old Western opposition between nature and culture in order to defend their struggle. These debates, which are purported as being very recent (as part of the ontological turn), merely reformulate, albeit in a rather delayed fashion, the multiple forms of transversality practised and thought by Indigenous peoples that we, as anthropologists, are supposed to be studying: they affirm that rivers, like all water sources, are living in the same way as all forms of matter of which humans – alongside animals, plants or minerals – are merely

28 See, for example, Thériault (2015).
particular aspects. At the time I write this piece, New Zealand has also just recognised a mountain as a living being.\(^{29}\) ‘Resisting the Disaster: Between Exhaustion and Creation’ (Chapter 11) was translated from French (2011) for a special issue on *Ecologies of Change* for the online journal *Spheres*.\(^{30}\) In the same issue, I was lucky to have a discussion paper by a specialist of Félix Guattari, Gary Genosko (2002b), who defined me as an ‘anthropologist of micropolitical hope’. In the essay, I begin by quoting Chakrabarty about the anthropocene and emphasise the fact that Indigenous people all around the world have always considered themselves as being responsible for any kind of catastrophe that has befallen them. They seek out the blame as tied to some sort of disrespect regarding any of the myriad of taboos that they impose on themselves in the name of ancestral laws. As Genosko (2017) maintains, I deploy Guattari’s three registers of ecosophy ‘to understand the foliatedness of disaster in the anthropocene’ with a range of examples,

from artists’ responses to crises and neoliberal betrayals, collective intelligence marshalled against the violence of privatisation, experimentations leading to micro-social innovations challenging the criminalisation of asylum seekers, and political actions against the endo-colonialist policies of settler states. Eschewing victimal discourses traded like stocks by big media, she eviscerates the dehumanising logic of humanitarian care in the form of ‘assistancialism’ and as some Aboriginals know it, ‘sit down money’.

My priority since the 1980s has been to side-step the ‘victimisation trap’ in order to look at creative forms of resistance.

These are also at the heart of Guattari’s ecosophy which articulates four dimensions: (1) existential territories (real but virtual) that can be material or immaterial; (2) fluxes (real but actual) related with the body and the land as well as money and trade; (3) constellations of values (virtual and possible) which are incorporeal universes like the *ritournelles*; and (4) machinic phylums or machines (actual and possible) referring to cybernetic retroaction, or autopoïesis: ‘for it is

\(^{29}\) See http://www.newsweek.com/human-rights-mountain-maori-people-mount-taranaki-757237. For river rights see O’Donnell (2018). In Australia see the Birrarung (Yarra River) case in Victoria and the environmental justice struggle for Martuwarra (Fitzroy River) in Western Australia.

precisely about linking the machines of the ecosystems of material fluxes to those of the ecosystems of semiotic fluxes. Therefore, I try to widen the notion of autopoïesis, without limiting it, like Varela does, solely to the living system, and I consider that there are proto-autopoïeses in all other systems: ethnological, social, etc.’ (Guattari ([1991] 2013). Francisco Varela proposed the concept of autopoïesis (from the Greek ‘autoproduction’) in a seminar at the university of Santiago in 1972 to define how a living system can reproduce its organisation even when its composition or structure changes (Maturana and Varela 1980, 1987). Guattari extended the notion of autopoïesis to the analysis of human societies and the reproduction of social organisation, ethnic, cultural, religious, political and other factors in the face of structural transformations imposed by colonisation, and the Integrated World Capitalism. Widely used since, ‘the idea of autopoïesis, when applied as an instrument of social analysis, confirms the conclusion already established by other means of investigation – that our societies are self-mutilating, pathologic systems’ (Mariotti 1999). But for Guattari, as for me, against this destructive trend there still is a hope for machines of war and new assemblages of creative resistance.

In Chapter 11, I mention that when in 2005, at the court of Townsville, Australia, I attended the investigation of a group of twenty-three Palm Islanders accused of inciting a riot after the death of an Aboriginal man while he was held in custody, one hour after he was arrested for public drunkenness, I was impressed by the inhabitants’ capacity to withstand adversity. They had been either deported to the island or were the descendants of the 3,000 Aboriginal people deported there between 1918 and the 1970s, from the respective lands of about forty different language groups spread throughout the state of Queensland. Indigenous Australians call their displaced populations ‘historical people’. Their colonial anchoring to the deportation sites is thereby distinguished from the ancestral heritage of the ‘traditional owners’; even if both groups argue in opposition for land claims based on the priority of the principle of Native titles, they nevertheless share in part a common history, as it is built on the same place of social belonging and life.

Palm Island has become well known for the workers’ strike that took place there in 1957 led by various unions and the Labor Party. The first strike took place in Pilbara in Western Australia, 1 May 1946: 800 Aboriginal farmworkers and cowboys (stockmen) all abandoned their jobs on the same day at hundreds of ranches thanks
to an initiative launched four years previously by Dooley Bin Bin and Clancy McKenna in alliance with the White communist activist Don McLeod. The strike paralysed the sheep industry until 1949. Most of the Aboriginal workers never returned to their jobs. They would go on to create their own business for panning for gold in the desert and purchase several cattle farms. It was only much later, in the aftermath of the 1966 ‘Walk off’ initiated by the Kurintji, who left the ranch at Wave Hill in the Northern Territory and squatted on their land, that the state, in 1969, finally forced employers to pay Aboriginal workers the same salaries as non-Aboriginal workers. As a result of this ruling, many Aboriginal workers simply lost their jobs.

Beginning in the 1960s, a campaign called ‘Stolen Wages’ was initiated by an Aboriginal woman, Yvonne Butler from Palm Island, who received the support of pro bono work from a group of lawyers convinced that she would win her case since the state had held onto the archives of the salaries received from employers that it never passed on to the workers: a sum estimated at AUS$500 million. The government proposed a minimal solution: AUS$3,000 of individual compensation granted to the survivors but not to their descendents. Most of the survivors refused. In 2004, the workers’ union printed and passed out tiny cards that called for the civil population to support this campaign and to recognise that, for Australia to have become what it is today, it was in large part thanks to the work of Aboriginal people. Very few Australians are aware of this fact, presupposing that all Aboriginal peoples resemble the small number of the Aboriginal people they see in the streets – homeless and unemployed, drinking. And yet, even those people on the streets, including in France and elsewhere, should be able to have a working life, without even mentioning all the youths who are invited to engage in internships without ever receiving a diploma. As such, despite the myriad of competencies these people acquire in a variety of areas (as auto-mechanics, gardeners, construction workers, electricians, radio broadcasters), administrations prefer to employ supposedly more qualified non-Aboriginal workers who are in fact rarely more efficient at their work out in the field. An official investigation in 2006 concerning ‘Stolen Wages’ has led to bringing the term ‘slavery’ back into the current discourse in order to speak about this exploitation of Aboriginal peoples linked to the past institutionalisation of children. But despite the enormous cost of the investigation, only a very small number of Aboriginal people have been compensated and the acceptance of demands for restitution was supposed to expire
in September 2017. In 2016, three hundred Aboriginal people from Queensland brought forth a class action suit to continue their claim. The history of justice is not achieved simply through an investigation and official commission nor through the governmental appeal for certain so-called policies of reconciliation. If things change it’s because people fight. And in Australia, as in other countries, the people who have suffered through injustices have had to fight before the state began to respond by way of judiciably recognised processes.

The recent evolution of Australian politics towards Aboriginal people has aggravated this catastrophic logic throughout various regions of the continent, most notably in the Northern Territory, whose seventy-three Aboriginal communities were placed under the federal ‘intervention’ (Northern Territory National Emergency Response Act 2007) and a new centralised administrative system of city shires that suppressed Aboriginal councils. The elected Community Councils have been replaced by regional administrators who decide on municipal and individual expenses. The Aboriginal people have received debit cards to access their wages and subsidies, but they can only use them to buy food in some shops and they have to request authorisation for any other expense, such as buying a bus ticket or a plane ticket. This system has been wonderfully criticised in a fiction movie, Charlie’s Country inspired by the life of the main actor, David Gulpilil.

Chapter 11 also refers to the United Nations’ Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted on 13 September 2007 by the United Nations General Assembly. Whether among the Maori or other peoples from Oceania who have not gained independence, among Indians from North and South America, Moroccan Berbers, Touareg and Peuls in sub-Saharan states, nomadic peoples from Central Asia, everywhere Indigenous leaders currently analyse their situations by proposing to ‘subalternise Indigenous politics’ and ‘indigenise subaltern politics’. At the time I initially wrote the paper reproduced in Chapter 11 I claimed that the rejection of Indigenous singularities by states like Australia echoed the situation of the Roma and Gipsies, including the 900 settlements that were dismantled in France in the summer of 2010 despite there having been a tradition of travelling and camping in French villages for centuries. I also posed the question regarding asylum and refugee rights for people running away from countries or places affected by natural disasters, such as Hurricane Katrina that devastated New Orleans. Today the issue is even worse as we know very well that we should continue to expect a massive
displacement of refugees because of climate change disasters and the mass flooding of entire countries in the Pacific or Indian Oceans. In Europe, we are already confronted with the massive influx of refugees for a variety of reasons, including people fleeing from their countries because of the wars or misery provoked by Western powers who sell weapons or corrupt other governments to capture resources. Recently, laws concerning asylum seekers have been changed nationally and supranationally at the European level so as to close boundaries to the influx of refugees. Meantime, the life of displaced people remains a nightmare despite the presence of those who try to help them but who now, in France, as in Australia, risk jail.

‘Standing with the Earth: From Cosmopolitical Exhaustion to Indigenous Solidarities’ (Chapter 12) was translated and expanded for Inflexions following a paper I presented in June 2016 and which was published in the journal Multitudes (Glowczewski 2016b). It is inspired directly by Guattari’s ecosophical project which he restated a few weeks before his death on 29 August 1992, as a call for ‘Remaking Social Practices’. The translator’s choice has been to use the verb ‘Remaking’ instead of the literal translation of ‘Pour une refondation’: ‘For a refoundation’. In the latter sense I would propose using ‘regrounding’ instead because a ‘remake’ can be understood as a ‘reinvented copy’ which is different I think from what Félix Guattari was calling us to do.

The ‘ecosophic cartographies’ that must be instituted will have, as their own particularity, that they will not only assume the dimensions of the present, but also those of the future. They will be as preoccupied by what human life on Earth will be thirty years from now, as by what public transit will be three years from now. They imply an assumption of responsibility for future generations, what philosopher Hans Jonas /1984/ calls ‘an ethic of responsibility.’ It is inevitable that choices for the long term will conflict with the choices of short-term interests. The social groups affected by such problems must be brought to reflect on them, to modify their habits and mental coordinates, to adopt new values and to postulate a human meaning for future technological transformations. In a word, to negotiate the present in the name of the future.

It is not, for all that, a question of falling back into totalitarian and authoritarian visions of history, messianisms that, in the name of ‘paradise’ or of ecological equilibrium, would claim to rule over the life of each and everyone. Each ‘cartography’ represents a particular vision of the world that, even when adopted by a large number of individuals, would always harbor an element of uncertainty at its heart. That is, in truth, its most precious capital; on its basis, an authentic hearing of the other
could be established. A hearing of disparity, singularity, marginality, even of madness, does not arise only from the imperatives of tolerance and fraternity. It constitutes an essential preparation, a permanent return to the order of uncertainty, a stripping-bare of the forces of chaos that always haunt structures that are dominant, self-sufficient, and imbued with belief in their own superiority. Such a hearing could overturn or restore direction to these structures, by recharging them with potentiality, by deploying, through them, new lines of creative flow. (Guattari 1992: 26–7)

Chapter 12 concerns the question of the creativity of new ontologies as responses to the worldwide disaster that hovers all around us and that is already affecting the planet. I begin the chapter by referring to a science fiction novel that makes a reference to the four ontologies of the French anthropologist, Philippe Descola, as an archive found in space during a future time when humans no longer live on earth. The nostalgia for terrestrial life aroused by Descola’s interpretations of what he named respectively (by pitting each term against the other) the four ontologies of naturalism, animism, totemism and analogism will provoke within intergalactic space a multiplication of sects that will reinvent practices so as to re-facilitate one of these ontologies. In its own way, the novel shows the limits of the model. The future humans were not capable of imagining how terrestrial societies were able to live since by taking back up certain characteristics examined by Descola, we are still very far from understanding how a given society truly functioned and, more importantly, how it could continue to exist after colonisation.

Invited by Descola to respond to his book Beyond Nature and Culture ([2005] 2013) at the Collège de France, I expressed my unease with his totemist ontology that relied on information about Aboriginal cultures that was sort of picked up haphazardly, most notably from my own work, and which in no way demonstrated the complexity of Australian totemism that, according to the context, can also contain characteristics mentioned in Descola’s other ontologies: for example animism, which can be seen in the practice of Australian shamanism (which can be viewed in the same way as

the shamanism practised in South America or Siberia). One can also detect a pure analogism through the way in which the various totemic entities are placed into relation by way of their form (for example, the ray and the anchor for the Yolngu) and some other contexts can even be considered as naturalist. This last ontology is defined by Descola as the ontology of our Western universe of scientific rationality which has separated the mind (as interiority) from the body (as physicality): the man as a biological entity distinct from his mind which relies on culture being separate from nature. His book was very influential at showing that this separation is not universal since there are a great number of peoples who have not made this rupture between the body and the mind, be that in the ancient past or more recently as with Guattari and his ecosophy. However, there is still one of the aspects of this Western scientific approach that rests on these oppositions that can be seen in certain cognitive operations of totemic hunter-gatherers, for example when they are in the midst of tracking wild game, plants or geological layers. But, as is the case with astrophysics and quantum mechanics, these hunter-gatherers’ operations of deduction and perception are much more complex than the mere dualism that guided Western science until our current times. Viveiros de Castro proposed the concept of multnature, I prefer the term multiverse, but the words taken as they are can’t truly take into account the complexity hidden within the terms of the Indigenous languages and the mysteries that we are unable to explain.

The way in which Brazilian anthropologist, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, critiques the Western narcissism present in the history of the sciences by articulating Deleuze and Lévi-Strauss together made me feel as if I was navigating in a boat out in the middle of the ocean where the waves continued to crash against each other. There was something familiar in both Deleuze and Lévi-Strauss that I was capable of digesting in spite of myself, but it was also clear that Viveiros de Castro’s Cannibal Metaphysics ([2009] 2014) was deeply anchored within the history of South America, so much so that I lost my footing a bit in trying to find ‘my’ desert and other Australian landscapes. His call for a decolonisation of thought would end up

Indigenising anthropology

bringing us together in 2012 during a conference organised by philosopher Jean-Christophe Goddard at the University of Toulouse. When Viveiros de Castro was invited to São Paulo to present my Brazilian book, *Totemic Becomings: Cosmopolitics of the Dreaming* (2015), he acknowledged a lack of familiarity with the Australian data but pointed to the fact that we shared a similar allergy for the ontological reductions.

Maurizio Lazaratto and Angela Melitopoulos had taken note of what brings both of our anthropological projects closer together by publishing in the catalogue of the exhibition, *Animism*, our respective interviews partly contained in their film installation, *Assemblages: Félix Guattari and machinic animism*. I said the following, which was filmed in my kitchen in Paris:

That which appear[s] natural to us – springs, rocks – are loaded with history for the aboriginal peoples, who practice forms of totemism, and are thus cultural and non-natural . . . There are those here among us who function this way even more today than in the past, because we have less and less an apprehension regarding what is natural, while the category that philosophy contributed to setting up opposes humans to untouched nature. And the greater the desire was to leave it untouched, the more it was developed. This sort of opposition no longer really makes any sense. The nature/culture opposition nevertheless constricts our thinking a great deal.

It is still our paradigm, since we continue to fantasize about natural peoples, natural environments, about the fact that we must preserve nature. And as much as we think this way, I think we are wrong when it comes to the solutions to be found for the different problems. For example, the question of the environment is not really about protecting nature by stopping pollution. On the contrary, it is necessary to invest it with new forms of assemblages and cultural mechanisms. (Melitopoulos and Lazaratto 2010)

Descola was criticised by a number of South American colleagues and, since the translation of his book into English, *Beyond Nature and Culture*, he has also been criticised by Bessire and Bond (2014):

As Elizabeth Povinelli (2002) suggests, the figure of radical alterity may organize new regimes of inequality or create the conditions for the hypermarginality of supposedly insufficient or ‘deculturated’ Indigenous

Becoming Land

populations (Bessire 2014b). Ontological anthropology seems neither able to reflect on this slippage nor able to address the question it begs: Why is the ontological status of radical exteriority still so necessary for politics as well as for our aspirations as a discipline, and how might these projects coincide? (Bessire and Bond 2014: 445)

While I tend to agree with some of the aspects of Bessire and Bond’s criticisms regarding the ideal typologies that distance us from a politics of the common or the reification of past forms postulated outside of time, I’m not convinced that a recognition of alterities prevents us from fighting against inequalities and marginalisation. In order to engage in this fight, there are better things worth undertaking than simply continuing to criticise the so-called ontological turn that was sparked much like a marketing campaign that led to a revitalised interest in the discipline of anthropology after focusing only on promoting the work of four men: Bruno Latour, Philippe Descola, Eduardo de Castro and Tim Ingold. All of them having been friends for a great many years, united by way of the success of their ideas, they are however less in agreement with each other than it might seem – to such an extent that a recent criticism made by Tim Ingold (2016) with regard to the work of Philippe Descola led to strong criticism in return (Descola 2016). But these debates hold little interest for me.

Nevertheless, the ontological scene has revealed a more essential problem. It took some time for commentators on the work of this rowdy bunch to recognise that a myriad of complex ontological speculations have already been proposed – long before this sudden resurgence of current interest – by such thinkers as Marilyn Strathern, an anthropologist of complex theories inspired by her interpretation of the Papuan cosmologies in Papua New Guinea. A number of other women thinkers have been writing about the critical subject of the shattering of ontologies and thought regarding immanence, confronting themselves with issues of power and violence in a much more political manner than the masculine figures of the ontological turn. Such has been the case with Elizabeth Povinelli from her early Labor’s Lot (1993), dealing with the history of an Aboriginal community from Northern Australia, to her most recent geontological project. More recently, the writings of Rosi Braidotti regarding
affirmation have also offered new grounds for social critique in a Deleuzian framework. And Anna Tsing has provided a very rhizomatic work of hope taking into account many complexities in *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On The Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins* (2015), even though ruins might be the only space left for living despite the struggle against extractivism to promote another world. We all owe a great deal to Isabelle Stengers’s continuous and steadfast elaboration of cosmopolitics, her quest for new enchantments, and the promotion in France of the work of Starhawk, the WICCA activist, as well as Donna Haraway whose string figures inspire speculative gestures (Stengers and Debaise 2015). And then there are the myriad of other women and men emerging everyday, such as the ecofeminists and decolonial thinkers. Many writers and speakers are in the shadows producing works that are reappropriated, certainly as much by men as well as women from various groups across the world who are engaged with current issues with regard to migrants, domestic or racial violence, or climate justice. The environmental activism physicist Vandana Shiva is a clear inspiration, while many Indigenous scholars raise their voices through the planet. For instance Zoe Todd calls for ‘Indigenizing the Anthropocene’ (2015): when she was a student in anthropology this young Indigenous Canadian criticised Latour and his ontological turn with an online statement ‘Ontology is another word for colonialism’, based on her surprise of him never referring to Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous lawyers who deconstruct the law system by fighting for new environmental justice laws. Katerina Teaiwa who defines herself as an African-American Pacific Islander (from Banaba Island, part of the Republic of Kiribati) pays homage to the relational archipelagic notion of Pacific identity expressed by Epeli Hau’ofa’s concept of a ‘sea of islands’ and analyses the pan-Pacific activism in the following terms:

cannot be an empty and lifeless place – as the desert is depicted in fantasies of Western development – but I admire her political and cinematic engagement with the Aboriginal community very much, a community that she has accompanied and followed since 1989.

Becoming Land

Both Oceania Rising and the Climate Warriors represent post-colonial, antihegemonic movements that are grounded in contemporary customs, realities, and cultural identities, while simultaneously championing broader regional identities and unifying concerns (26) (. . .) the ‘rising’ in ‘rising sea of islands’ references not just the impacts of global warming and Hau'ofa’s expansive vision of mobile but grounded islanders but the rising and increased visibility of critical and engaged Oceanians who are thinking, writing, performing, and speaking regionally and globally about a range of important issues including climate change (Steiner 2015). (Teaiwa 2018: 29)

More than anything else, we must be open to listening and truly hearing the words, whether written, filmed or spoken during political protests by populations that have been forgotten for far too long and that have been considered as objects of study whether in an exotic manner or near at hand and that have been othered [alterisé] by their colonial origins or due to their social exploitation.36

To respond to the twofold question proposed by Povinelli and to Bessire and Bond who cite her: ‘Why is the ontological status of radical exteriority still so necessary for politics as well as for our aspirations as a discipline, and how might these projects coincide?’ First, I would like to simply state that I see two things at stake here. First, in our present time when culture is devouring nature, in the sense that urbanisation and its extractivist and digital technologies are eroding every territory, and when a number of thinkers claim that there is no longer such a thing as an outside – an exteriority – now more than ever, us humans and non-humans truly need the radical outside of peoples in struggle who affirm that other worlds are possible: whether they are Indigenous or arise from out of what Deleuze and Guattari called ‘a people that is missing’37 by reinvesting in territories worth occupying counter to a hegemonic world that not only doesn’t accept the heterogeneity of the multitudes but above all no longer thinks about anything else than benefiting a small minority of transhumanised people. The second stake is that of alliances between all these struggles. And this is where the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, and more specifically Guattari’s project of ecosophy, continues to inspire younger generations (Querrien and Goffey 2017).


37 See also Deleuze, Cinema 2: The Time-Image ([1989] 2010: p. 216): ‘the people no longer exist, or not yet . . . the people are missing’. Notice the plural here.
During the 2004 Pacific Arts Festival which gathered in the independent Micronesian state of Palau, with delegations from thirty-three Pacific countries, I attended a workshop that was organised by an association of ethnomusicologists, ICTM. A Japanese Osagawaran islander group demonstrated a dance that in 2000 became the ‘intangible cultural treasure’ of their island. The dance – inspired by a Micronesian tradition of Palau – was appropriated by Osagawaran settlers when occupied by Japan. The fact that the historical context of the dance’s origin was acknowledged by the Japanese dancers seemed to satisfy the Palauans who had invited them to the festival. A young Palauan composer explained with a step demonstration that, since those days of Japanese occupation, the dancers of Palau had changed their own steps to adapt them to the ‘groove’ of the American soldiers who occupied the island during the Second World War. An Aboriginal Yolngu elder from Arnhem Land, Joe Neparrnga Gumbula, then commented:

Looking at South Pacific, coconut brought by West wind just float to our land, we pick it up on the beach from the Ocean. Never mind that we are not faring from the sea; there is a chain from Papua New Guinea, and in Cape York Peninsula. That’s when we dance the coconut movement […] We play the part of the Ocean; move underneath the current . . .

Gumbula stood to demonstrate his Yolngu dance and explained further:

[…] this is how the songline works. And actually what we are talking about here is traditional: the song series, the dance and all that. But only the copyright is problematic: somebody talks about ‘you don’t take my song’. And that’s only what I am thinking looking at how I look at the Pacific Ocean here, the current movement.

Katerina Teaiwa, defining herself as an African-American and a Banaban Islander, who was then the Convener of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University, responded with passion:

[…] So it’s not that you stole or borrowed something because it flows to your shores. That’s a very important point and it’s important to talk about it in that way and not just lump things as identity; or culture or tradition. Like you said, it’s a process and there are lines and currents that connect.38

Becoming Land

The Aboriginal peoples or Pacific Islanders do not need to be Deleuzo-Guattarians to think through the middle (*milieu*), that is the space they live in, which is made of currents and flows of people and things, songs, or dances, be it the Ocean, the desert, the forest or the city. When people defend values of sharing together but each in their own ways, they can hold on to singularities always in becoming and whose affirmation requires new ways of existing. The Aboriginal peoples in struggle, such as Native Americans in the United States or Canada, or Amerindians of Brazil or French Guiana, impress by way of their creativity that relies simultaneously on an ancestral heritage as well as the specificity of the contemporary globalised world, without forgetting to mention their deserts and forests. For me, they create a hope for the future that parallels the youth in France who stand up to protect another possible world at Notre-Dame-des-Landes, or those youths who want to be recognised as both Black and French. The same can be said for Indigenous peoples, or the Quilombola descendants of slaves and the Black population and majoritarian mixed-race population in Brazil forced into misery and who nevertheless attempt to resist against a state machine that wants to destroy them. As expressed by Brazilian philosopher, Peter Pál Pelbart, a friend of Guattari, coordinator of the Ueinzz Theater Company, a schizoscenic project, and also co-publisher of n-1 Publications:

> Maybe we have to consider exhaustion at the heart of this existential intersection, micro- and macropolitical, biopolitical. Does exhaustion signify the end of the world, or the end of a certain world we have to leave behind? Is exhaustion the sign of the end of the subject, or of a certain subjectivation? Of a desubjectivation, or a certain desubjectivation? Is it mortifying or vital? Black hole or opening? (Pál Pelbart 2017)

Dancing with the Spirits of the Land

The final part of the book proposes two texts that attempt to focus on some of the other voices of the multiverse that I strive to explore, first in Brazil and then in Australia.

39 Documentary film subtitled in English, *Notre-Dame-des-Luttes*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Z0mfkeGp34; the project of building an airport there was cancelled by the government in January 2017 and the activists who had been occupying the land in protest since 2012 now stand for continuing their social experiment of the ZAD ‘Zone to defend’ as an alternative mode of collective land use: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4rh_6j6vLrc
Guattari visited Brazil on a number of occasions before and after 1985, when it was freed from dictatorship thanks to the Workers’ Party (PT) of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, his friend. His stimulating Brazilian encounters are documented in the *Molecular Revolution in Brazil*, first published in Portuguese:

Yes, I believe that a multiple people exists, a people of mutants, a people of potentialities that appear and disappear, that becomes embodied in social events, literary events, in musical events. It is quite well known that many accuse me of being rather stupidly or almost foolishly optimistic, of not seeing the misery of various peoples. I can see it, but . . . I don’t know, perhaps I’m delirious, but I also think that we are living in a period of productivity, or proliferation, of creation, of absolutely fabulous revolutions from the viewpoint of the emergence of a people. That’s the molecular revolution: it’s not some sort of fancy phrase, some sort of program, it’s something I feel deep down, that I live within the encounters I make, inside the institutions, in the affects as well as through reflections. (In Guattari and Rolnik ([1986] 2008: 9/preface to the 7th Brazilian edition)

Guattari left an impressive imprint in Brazil on philosophers, psychologists, anthropologists and artists. Several departments of psychology have been training students as ‘schizoanalysts’ for over ten promotions. Many young therapists of Indigenous or Afro-Brazilian background refer to his writings and practice. ‘Cosmocolours: A Filmed Performance of Incorporation and a Conversation with the Preta Velha Vó Cirina’ (Chapter 13) was first written in Portuguese with the help of Brazilian performer and schizoanalyst, Clarissa Alcantara, and translated into English for publication in the bilingual Brazilian journal of visual anthropology GIS (*Gest(ure), Image and Sound*) 2017. The chapter begins with the presentation of an art performance experience I proposed to Clarissa Alcantara, at ‘The Beast and Adversity’ (BAC) exhibition in Geneva (August 2015), consisting of projecting on her rituals I filmed in an Umbanda terreiro in Florianopolis. Chapter 13 then continues with an interview that I conducted with the spirit of a Black woman, Vó Cirina (August 2016), incorporated in the Umbanda ritual leader, Abílio Noé da Silveira, of that cult. In a way this conversation with a spirit resonates with what was at the heart of Deleuze’s and Guattari’s call for heterogeneous becomings. In that performance I propose to compare these Brazilian cults with the way Aboriginal people experiment a form of incorporation in their totemic becomings. In my conversation with the spirit of the old African woman, she proposes her own way to recognise ‘Indians’ in Australia and those of North or South
America as being ‘same but different’, like the Orixá entities of the African diaspora.\textsuperscript{40}

It’s an enormous challenge for anthropologists or historians of religion to explain what exactly it is within rituals that actualises and virtualises the heterogeneities within the rites, the persons, objects, places, rocks, etc., that can’t be reduced to symbolic ‘representations’, to the extent that the question of ‘presence’ is not considered as a support image, but, rather, its lines of flight in becoming. Deleuze and Guattari are a source of inspiration here so as to ‘imagine an anthropology that escapes representation’ (Goldman 2015), which is what I have attempted to create in my writings since my very first visit to Australia. The text proposed here mixes together genres: the narrative of performance, a film and interview with the Spirit of the Tent (Tenda Espírita) Vó Cirina disturb boundaries, and the languages produce parallel spaces that nevertheless come into contact with each other. This is my proposition for an ‘undisciplined’ anthropology which allows one to see and feel a multiplicity of lines in becoming; the Warlpiri Dreamings, the Orixás and the spirits of the dead, anthropology, philosophy, sacred art and many other things are composed in the possibility of a singular dance that would superimpose bodies and spirits in \textit{Cosmocolour-becoming}.

This type of intervention – which mixes together writings, film, performance and ritual – in some ways echoes what Félix Guattari was exploring when trying to make a science fiction film that he called \textit{A Love of UIQ} (the Infra-Quark Universe).\textsuperscript{41} This quantum and multipolar brain will become externalised in the form of a face that will constantly be in flux, without a fixed identity and without a body, a potential that is somewhat childish and that learns very rapidly by way of interacting with a variety of characters that are more or less delirious, and that ends up becoming madly jealous in falling in love; the emergence of this ‘infra-quark’ universe, whether it’s crazy or not, constitutes the tension of the story, along with the risk of a contamination of the entire universe tuning the film into a thriller of a global conspiracy. The seven years it took Guattari to write the script (1980–1987), and the different versions of it, were for

\textsuperscript{40} See also Glowczewski (2016c, 2019). Special thanks to Claude Mercier (2019) for his inspiring conversations and writings on Deleuze and Guattari.

\textsuperscript{41} Guattari ([2012] 2016) (1980s’ scripts, translated and edited by Silvia Maglioni and Graeme Thomson).
him, like so many existential territories and incorporeal universes, a testing machine for transforming, by way of fiction and the staging of the different characters, what he strived to diagrammatise elsewhere in his cartographies. If he wasn’t able to make his film, it’s perhaps not just because he couldn’t find the financial backing from the National Centre of Cinematography (CNC) and the required production, but, as his letters with the American producer Robert Kramer suggest, it was in part due to the fact that the initial ‘drive’ towards the end of the early 1980s was no longer the same. Félix wanted for his film to connect with the mainstream public following the success of *Blade Runner*. He couldn’t have imagined or anticipated to what degree the image – art, installation or cinema – and the critique of its ethnocentric representation would become the object of a reappropriation by the colonised peoples themselves, by those subalternised, and all the other peoples in resistance to an Integrated World Capitalism, but he had the intuition and the hope for this potential creativity at the beginning of the ‘winter’ years. His hope returned on the eve of his death when, in his own words – and his own eyes – he would claim to have finally gotten over a long depression.42

For Guattari, to create cartographies was a very complex practice which evoked a form of diagrammatisation of movements and tensions of space and time, in order to simultaneously grasp and ungrasp subjectivity. His cartographic metamodel constructed from four functors (flux/flow, machinic phylums, universes of values, and existential territories), polarised between a folding of the virtual/actual and real/possible into four layers, was not much used until his *Schizoanalytic Cartographies* was translated. Even though I witnessed the development of this thought tool during Guattari’s seminars in the early 1980s, it gained a new applicability for me after I saw Anne Querrien ([2008] 2011) redraw the cartography in a conference and after I read an article by Brian Holmes (2009) that showed how to articulate the functors with situations of our current times. It encouraged me to start drawing different applications of the functors in tension.

I have demonstrated elsewhere that the way in which Guattari articulates his four functors with chaosmosis can be unpacked by the

Becoming Land

way in which Wanta Steve Patrick Jampjinpa drew in the sand his five pillars for the Warlpiri system of knowledge:

I used Felix’s cartography to rethink not only Aboriginal totemic cosmology but also its recent translation by an Aboriginal man, Wanta Jampijinpa, who had made a drawing lesson of his cosmo-vision for YouTube. This Warlpiri teacher, who later became an honored researcher at ANU, had selected five Aboriginal concepts that he drew as circles of a web in the shape of the Southern Cross that would collapse if any of these five ‘pillars’ and their links were broken. It is an Indigenous cosmopolitical model responding to global digital society.

Home (ngurra, literally ‘land’, ‘place’ and ‘camp’) is the first Warlpiri concept drawn as a circle in the sand by Wanta, Law (Kuruwarri) is the second circle, Ceremony (jardiwanpa for settling dispute, kurdiji, the ‘man-making’ initiation, and other rituals) is the third, followed by Language (yimi) and Family (warlalja ‘my people’ as extended kin and classificatory relations between people, Dreamings and places). Law is a common expression used by Aboriginal people to translate concepts of different languages that relate to the Dreaming as the foundation of their cosmopolitics. The Warlpiri word Kuruwarri translates literally as ‘image’, ‘mark’, ‘track’ or ‘trace’. To suggest its cosmological meaning, I have proposed translating it as the ‘image-forces’ and ‘vital forces’ of Dreamings (Jukurrpa).

[...]. What makes Indigenous Australians resist and insist on claiming a spiritual relationship with the land despite changes in their of mode of existence from semi-nomadic to forced sedentarization with all the current economical and social pressures? How can deterritorialization be the source of their reanchoring in existential territories? Or, on the contrary, threaten their lives with despair, violence, and even death. Wanta, the Warlpiri man, answers in his own way when he says that if one of the five pillars –home, language, law, ceremony or family – is not strong and connected to the others, everything collapses, and there is no Warlpiri anymore. For him the pillars are mirrored as stars in the Southern Cross, with the vertical axis being the Digging stick Dreaming that announces in September the season for Puurda yams, a time of the year also called the waking Emu, seen as the black hole in the Milky Way, two other Dreamings which like all things in nature and culture have their songline and pathway on the earth. (Glowczewski 2015)43

According to my analysis, four of Wanta’s five ‘pillars’ echo Guattari’s functors. *Kuruwarri* ‘Image-force/Law’ operates like an Existential Territory; *yimi* ‘Language’ refers to an ‘Incorporeal Universe/Constellation’ especially through the concept of spirit-children *Kuruwalpa* who as song verses wait to be born, that is to be embodied in a new baby; all the Ceremonies are Fluxes, because it is through them that traditional economy operated, a system of exchange between different people (generations, sexes, clans and tribes), with a circulation of goods that does not treat what is traded as objects but as living things including the ceremonial media, that is songs, dances, paintings that travel from place to place; the fourth pillar *warlalja* ‘my people’, that is Family as a system of extended kinship with complex classificatory relations, corresponding to the mathematical properties of a diedric group (the cube) and the topological properties of an hypercube, are an example of Guattari’s Phylums or Abstract Machines. As for the fifth pillar that Wanta drew first in the ‘middle’, *ngurra* ‘place’ or ‘camp’ as home, multiple and different for each person through their life, I understand it as the empty centre that articulates deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation in Guattari’s chaosmatic cartography. For the Warlpiri and their desert neighbours, places and their Dreaming connections are at the heart of anchoring in space – and time – their travels as semi-nomads before colonisation. Place is also at the heart of today’s resistance against the destruction of land and the affirmation of their cosmovision.

Both Guattari’s and Wanta’s modes of thought unfold as diagrammatic practice and speculative gestures to approach the collective unconscious as intersubjectivation and as an active force to move the world. During a filmed interview in 2017, Wanta Steve Patrick Jampijinpa explained to me what I understand as the cosmopolitics of an Indigenous philosopher-mediator: from one year to the next, he transliterates his understanding of some Western concepts into Warlpiri values re-adapted to the contemporary world of interactions that pile on top of each other and endlessly create interference.

‘You can see this one ? (Wanta opens and closes his hand in a pulsating manner)
you learn that one in the Eagle one. It’s flying high. The High-flyer.
He is the high Thunder. And he can come down
(*Gesture pointing from sky to the earth*)
Mapping Warlpiri concepts of the Dreaming (*jukurrpa*) with Guattari’s chaosmosis.

**Figure 1.1** Guattari’s cartography and Ngurrakurlu system of knowledge by Wanta Jampijinpa © B. G. from Totemic Becomings (2015)
He can make the connection with the clouds or star. That’s the High-flyer.
That’s, sorry to say (laugh), penetration I call it
(Fingers to the ground)
This one penetration, always try to engage.
(Hand to the sky and back to the ground)

That’s what we call malkarri:
malkarri teaches you how to look at the sky and the earth.
When you do that you already, how I can I say …
you marry the two and you become a High-flyer
because you got knowledge from here
(Hand down the ground)
and you can read the stars, you read country. That’s the intercourse, yes.
(Wanta traces a vertical line running from his head down his body)
It’s to marry the two, and you come to existence.’
(Wanta’s line continues up his chest)

I showed Wanta a photo of an acrylic painting on canvas by Paddy Gibson Japaljarri that I had bought in 1988 in his community, Lajamanu. The Warlpiri artist called it Kurlungalinpa, the name of his sacred place connected with Stars and Ngarrka, the Initiated

Figure 1.2 The photo shows the hand of Wanta (the speaker in the book) commenting on the same painting printed in the book that I published in 2007. © B.G. 2017.
Becoming Land

Men who grew trees at their feet when they came out of the earth while a comet was falling, turning into the sacred hill. The painting is separated by a double helix, the Milky Way. Wanta traced with his finger the double helix that cuts across the middle of the painting, commenting:

‘You can see this one? that’s always marrying, always being productive, yuwayi (yes), put it that way.

Wanta followed one of the two meandering lines drawn along each side of the double helix:

And this line makes it flow, talks about flow
– But that middle one, I asked, can also be ngalypi (Vines) for the Witi (Leafy poles) dance?
– Yep, that one talks about the positive and negative consequences.
– My ‘father’ (Japaljarri, the artist who I call ‘father’ because I was given the skin-name Nungarrayi) was saying this is the Milky Way . . .
– Yeah, the Milky, all that Wantarri, Gift road, that’s the Gift road where people trade . . .
  (Wanta lifts his head up pointing to the sky)
But that story (pointing again to the sky) reflects that story (pointing to the ground) that why the two ‘moities’ . . .
  (Wanta rolls his hands forward then backward)
This one . . .
  (Wanta lifts with his hand his right breast)
This ‘moiety’ for me, for us (matriline of skin-names: Jampijinpa (his skin-name), Japanangka, Jakamarra, Jungarrayi, Nungarrayi (my skin-name), Nampijinpa, Napanangka, Nakamarra)
This side of breast milk
  (Wanta shows his left breast)
Other line sky mob
(matriline of Napangardi, Nangala, Napaljarri, Napurrurla; Jupurrurla, Japangardi, Jangala, Japaljarri matriline)44
But you know because we’re facing that way,
  (Wanta turns his back to the camera to fix the wall of the art centre to the South)
we got to try to become that star, Southern Cross, so we can face that way, the North.
  (Wanta opens his arms like the Cross turning back towards the camera)

44 See Figure 1.3; see also Chapter 6.
That’s saying you are your home when you know your history and knowledge.

Identity really.⁴⁵

Wanta is referring here to many complex things, especially the fact that classificatory kinship (the skin-name matriline) is reproduced through exchange between people and the whole totemic cosmos, ‘like’ a double helix which figures the Milky Way. Interestingly for geneticians the double helix emerged as a structure when DNA was discovered in the 1950s and more recently it has been modelised

⁴⁵ See Lajamanu (60’), film by B. Glowczewski: https://vimeo.com/289440509
Becoming Land

as a structure for the Milky Way galaxy. In Wanta’s sand model, four of his pillars – (1) extended kin, (2) rituals of exchange, (3) cosmological Law of totemic lines, (4) language of spirit-children/songs emerging from the Dreaming space-time places on earth – are connected by the Southern Cross, with the 5th pillar ngurra ‘land, place, camp, home’ at the crossing, that is embodied as a human – or any earthling– living being standing on, underneath or above the land, that is becoming land.

Wanta’s views on totemism are also expressed through the example of one of the personifications of the Emu Dreaming, that is the Giant Emu – whose tracks have been identified by scientists as those of a feather dinosaur species – that travelled East and West of the continent and is said by Aboriginal groups from different parts of Australia to have become the black hole of the Milky Way. Interestingly, among emus it is the male who incubates the eggs and looks after the babies when they hatch while the female hunts to feed them all. In that sense, Emu is one of the ‘Dreaming’ images for male and female complementarity. For the coastal people, baby emus help healers. For the Warlpiri people, it is Emu who gave them the Jardiwanpa ceremony to settle conflicts. Wanta explains the dependent totemic relationship between humans and non-humans, the earth and the sky, the different Aboriginal groups dispersed around the four corners of Australia, and the founding rituals which are anchored around feminine heroines thought of as pairs of two mothers, matrilines which are reproduced in the form of a double helix within a multitude of totemic forms. Wanta’s task is trying to explain a dynamic system of life production in accordance with the mysteries of the cosmos where the multiverse becomes entangled with space-times akin to the craziest questions posed by astrophysics. Such an entanglement is at the heart of the Aboriginal Indigenous practice of healing.

Chapter 14 proposes a conversation with another Aboriginal man, a Yalarrnga healer. Lance Sullivan was born in the southern corner of Queensland, in Boulia, a settlement proclaimed in 1879 as a reserve for his people, the Yalarrnga, who were living a hunting and gathering lifestyle and were hunted down by settlers. One of his great-grandfathers was a Pakistani cameler. Many camel owners brought to Australia by the British to help with the colonisation of the desertic continent had children with Aboriginal women, even though it was forbidden by the government administration and the children of such unions were sought out and taken away from their
parents.\textsuperscript{46} But Lance Sullivan’s mixed-blood ancestry was hidden by his Aboriginal family, and he grew up learning his Yalarrnga language and became initiated in the rituals of the desert people. After working as a cultural adviser to protect sacred sites from mining, he was offered a grant to study archaeology and anthropology at James Cook University in Townsville where we met at the end of 2004. He had just finished a book on his language (Sullivan 2005).

A few years later, Lance Sullivan was invited to France for an Indigenous workshop in Lyon at which he and Wanta, who was also invited, were asked by the director of the new Musée des Confluences under construction to make a smoking ceremony in the foundations. It was filmed by an Indigenous Peruvian film-maker.\textsuperscript{47} In Townsville, where he lived as a student and a young father, Lance was regularly asked to help people with his healing powers, including for love magic or to cure prisoners caught by panic in jail. He explains here (Chapter 14) how he can see with his mungan power (ngangkari or ngangkayi in Warlpiri) which allows healers, Cleverman, like him to see inside the body, through the skin – not just like an x-ray that would show the bones and organs – but beyond the materiality of the body into a vision of many coloured wires where a specific colour indicates the place of pain; he then acts on that ‘line’ by ‘pulling’ the pain and the ‘wire’ inside the body changes colour. This shamanistic gesture of ‘pulling’ – which can involve the distant imposition of a hand, touching or even going inside the body, is explained by what he calls the parallel glass walls that give access to parallel universes that are all present in the same material place: like a spot of grass, a stone or a wall in my flat in Paris where we talked. To me, his description suggests precisely something of what astrophysicists call multiverse or pluriverse, that is the possibility of heterogeneous assemblage, like the different logics of nanoworlds, molecular worlds, or the galactic macro-worlds, that cannot be reduced to a universal unity. In a book called \textit{Pluriverse: Essay on the End of the World}, Deleuzian philosopher Jean-Clet Martin (2010) describes various divergent worlds that cannot be reduced to a homogenous universe: ‘what is first is the place, the strength of the place, this embryonment

\textsuperscript{46} Rajkowski (1995).

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{La Terre est notre vie,} 30’ documentary, 2009, Musée des Confluences, by Cesar Galindo; filmed during \textit{Paroles autochtones} (Indigenous words), an event organised by the Musée des Confluences in Lyon in collaboration with the UN Human Rights High Commission and Survival International France.
of a space, a topos that is going to concatenate them’. It’s all about the emerging of a chaosmosis, just as Guattari was saying.\(^{48}\)

Guattari would have enjoyed a discussion with Lance about his practice of healing and his cosmovision of paralled glass walls as invisible folds in places. In my understanding, Guattari’s method can be distinguished from those of Gregory Bateson by way of at least two essential points: in relation to memory and the unconscious – which for Guattari were at work in the concepts he created and shared with Deleuze regarding the virtual and the actual as well as the refrain; and, on the other hand, in the ambiguous notion of the subject. Bateson criticises psychoanalysis for its entropic energetic paradigm and proposes to replace it with the systemic and the possibility of negentropy as the creative attitude of the patient in his or her interaction with the analyst. For Bateson, healing is posited as a question of ‘communication’, most notably in relation to the schizophrenics that he assists. In 1980, in an exposé, ‘Men are Grass’, Bateson (1991) will state the following about his theory of communication: ‘A theory of organisation would perhaps be a better way to put it, or perhaps an even better way would be a theory or resonance.’ However, for Guattari, communication is not the primary concern with regard to the cure and any other form of apprehension of relations. It is expression not representation, but self-referential emergence, the possibility of enaction.

From a Deleuze-Guattarian perspective, it would be better to say that the actual content of expression – what effectively comes to be signified, manifested, designated; its ‘object’ – emerges from expressive potential through a process of the capture of that potential, and that this emergence into being-determinate necessarily crosses a zone of systemic indeterminacy by virtue of which the whole affair is tinged with a passing element of chance. (Massumi 2002b: 12)

Guattari indeed was attracted to the practical and conceptual method of Fernand Deligny, whose work with autistic children who did not speak at all called into question the notion of the subject and focused its attention more on the concept of the network and the ‘us’ (nous) of the common created by neither one or the other, but rather a multitude of the ‘slightest of gestures’, hence Deligny’s maps, by avoiding speech and any direct communication with the children. As

\(^{48}\) Translated by the author: http://strassdelaphilosophie.blogspot.com/2012/09/plurivers-et-modalites-dexistence.html#!
the film, *Ce gamin, là* shows, this practice allowed for the children to transform themselves so as to grasp the world and its traces somewhat, allowing for what appears to be a certain joy for life. The year after Guattari’s death in 1992, Deleuze published a volume of essays, *Essays Critical and Clinical* ([1993] 1997). Chapter 9 of this volume was entitled ‘What Children Say’ and discussed the autistic children who lived in the Cévennes region of France under the care of non-specialised volunteer adults who Deligny called ‘close presences’ (*présences proches*) and who were the ones responsible for making the maps of the children’s trajectories. Deleuze reflects on these maps which Deligny called ‘wander lines’ (*lignes d’erre*) and relates them to the Australian totemic cartographies by citing one of my books:

> The libido does not undergo metamorphoses, but follows world historical trajectories. From this point of view, it does not seem that the real and the imaginary form a pertinent distinction. A real voyage, by itself, lacks the force necessary to be reflected in the imagination; the imaginary voyage, by itself, does not have the force, as Proust says, to be verified in the real. This is why the imaginary and the real must be, rather, like two juxtaposable or superimposable parts of a single trajectory, two faces that ceaselessly interchange with one another, a mobile mirror. Thus the Australian Aborigines link nomadic itineraries to dream voyages, which together compose ‘an interstitching of routes,’ ‘in an immense cut-out [découpe] of space and time that must be read like a map’.49

> At the limit, the imaginary is a virtual image that is interfused with the real object, and vice versa, thereby constituting a crystal of the unconscious. It is not enough for the real object or the real landscape to evoke similar or related images; it must disengage its own virtual image at the same time that the latter, as an imaginary landscape, makes its entry into the real, following a circuit where each of the two terms pursues the other, is interchanged with the other. ‘Vision’ is the product of this doubling or splitting in two, this coalescence. It is in such crystals of the unconscious that the trajectories of the libido are made visible.

> A cartographic conception is very distinct from the archaeological conception of psychoanalysis (. . .) from one map to the next, it is not a matter of searching for an origin, but of evaluating displacements. Every map is a redistribution of impasses and breakthroughs, of thresholds and enclosures, which necessarily go from bottom to top. There is not only a reversal of directions, but also a difference in nature: the unconscious no longer

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Becoming Land

deals with persons and objects, but with trajectories and becomings; it is no longer an unconscious of commemoration but one of mobilization, an unconscious whose objects take flight rather than remaining buried in the ground. In this regard, Felix Guattari has defined a schizoanalysis that opposes itself to psychoanalysis. (Deleuze [1993]1997: 62–3)

As much in his common works with Deleuze as in his own writings and practice as an analyst, Guattari distanced himself from Bateson’s systemic approach of ecology which he felt to be too closed off, too structuralist, but also too culturalist and behaviouralist. Guattari shared a complicity – animated with heated discussions – with Mony Elkaïm, a Belgian neuropsychiatrist, who, in his family therapy sessions, provoked situations that would propel the actors outside of their enclosure of the double bind of the familial system denounced by Bateson (1972): his method, summarised in Si tu m’aimes, ne m’aimes pas (If you like me, don’t like me) (1989), renewed interest in systemic therapy by inspiring systems outside of Prigogine’s equilibrium, the second wave cybernetics of H. von Foerster or Varela’s concept of enaction.

Guattari thought of feedback or self-reference not as a metaphor but, on the contrary, as an action of conscious and unconscious effects and affects of a subjectivation which dissolves within the process, the actualisation of an existentiel territory, and the deterritorialisation by revirtualisation of a new possible, what he called incorporeal universes of values or refrains. The Warlpiri attracted his interest specifically for the non-metaphorical ‘traces’ of the Dreamings – materialised by way of the singular sites found throughout the landscape. As we have seen, the rhizome of the Australian Dreaming paths is not a metaphor but a real image of the becoming-yam, which, for the Indigenous Australians, is one form of totemic becoming among others, directly linked to their painting-maps, their repeated gestures and their songs. In the same way as Deleuze and Guattari took their inspiration from birds in order to describe the concept of the refrain as ‘any aggregate of matters of expression that draws a territory and develops into territorial motifs and landscapes’, the Warlpiri also rely on a multitude of visual and sonic rhythms that turn into painted, sung and danced ritual matters of expression that mark the territories that connect them with the sacred site that they are attempting to define in the name of the well-being of the land and everything that lives

there. Interestingly, ethnoastronomy has recently helped to confirm the striking correlations between a series of birds, the dingo, a thorny lizard, a spider and the stars that some Aboriginal groups used to connect with each of them at the beginning of the twentieth century: they have shown that more or less over a period of six weeks the movement of a specific star corresponds to the time when the related bird lays eggs or other animals breed. Signs in the sky were thus used as a calendar for the earth. Today, seasonal indications that connect some birds to stars and some animals to specific plants are being disturbed by the ongoing transformation of the climate. Now more than ever it is wise to listen to Guattari’s ‘Ecosophical Practices and the Restoration of the ‘Subjective City’” for what I call becoming land: ‘In this situation, new transcultural, transnational, and transversal earths and universes of value may be formed, unencumbered by the fascination of territorialized power, that can be separated from the outcomes of the current planetary impasse’ (Guattari [1993] 2015: 98).

Indeed, since the climate change alert has shaken the planet, especially after the COP21 Paris agreement to reduce emissions, ‘new transcultural, transnational and transversal earths and universes of value’ have been spreading in various forms. Some, like the struggles against extractivism, advocate to completely change our way of life by stopping the extraction of fossil energies (minerals, petrol, coal, gas by fracking, etc). Ecoactivists, especially women, also struggle against the destruction of the land by so-called renewable energies such as dams, wind farms or underocean gas fields. The struggles of Indigenous people whose food resources and way of life are destroyed by this industrial predation meet with the claims of other actors of the civil society. As expressed in France by the occupation of 1650 ha of agricultural land and hedgerow (bocage) at Notre-Dame-des-Landes, the expelled peasants and new squatters opposed the construction of an airport to fight ‘against the airport and its world’, that is the acceleration of a worldwide neoliberal economic model that destroys the planet. The airport project was abandoned in February 2018 but, in April 2018, 2,500 policemen were sent to Notre-Dame-des-Landes to evacuate the 200 squatters who since 2012 have been building an alternative life there with annual gatherings for discussions of up to 50,000 people (Mauvaise Troupe Collective 2018). The inhabitants were strongly impacted by the violence of the weapons used by the military police to destroy thirty wooden houses. Despite this destruction they resisted, and some 150 people continue to occupy and work the land, in squatted farms, self-constructed cabins and caravans,
Becoming Land

looking after cows and sheeps, growing medicinal plants, with two bakeries, a carpentry, various crafts and a library. They hosted two large forums of discussions during the Intergalactic Week in August 2018 and the Common Lands weekend in September 2018, and continue to negotiate innovative land agreements with the support of many people across France and overseas. This ZAD (zone to defend) has spread across France into many other ZAD.

Some authors in settler studies are very cautious of:

the ways in which Deleuze’s (and Guattari’s) work has, in many instances, reproduced notions of the frontier or ‘rhizomatic West’ that erases Indigenous presence and reifies mythic tropes of the so-called ‘Great American West’. As Alex Young [2013] writes: Deleuze and Guattari’s conception of the rhizomatic West risks reproducing a discourse whereby an account of liberation is imagined at the expense of the indigenous peoples or whom settler colonial deterritorializations constitute a coercive expression of sovereign power rather than an escape from it. (123) [...] While we find Deleuze’s articulation useful in its diagnosis of the way the digital may operate today, we are less influenced by his articulations of radical alternatives. (Hunt and Stevenson 2016)

Such critiques could be addressed at the way some people in current colonial situations pretend to use Deleuze and Guattari, for instance the Israeli Army against Palestinians. But Deleuze, like Guattari, was supportive of Palestinians or other dispossessed people. Many Deleuzian thinkers continue to follow suit, including a recent call by Deleuze Studies to boycott a Deleuze conference in Israel. Such positions feed other debates about reversed racism, with Deleuze accused of antisemitism (Gleyzon 2015). On the other hand, there have been discussions in France about the environmental social movements and ecoactivism involving mostly White people and not addressing directly issues of racial discrimination. Such a vision forgets the struggle of people colonised by France, from Africa or Asia, Polynesians who fought against nuclear testing, Kanaks in New Caledonia who

51 For comments on both events and also updates as to what happened next, see: https://zadforever.blog/. See also: https://zad.nadir.org/?lang=en (accessed in October 2018); and also see the monthly magazine zadibao.org: https://zadibao.net
52 See http://www.metamute.org/editorial/articles/art-war-deleuze-guattari-debord-and-israeli-defence-force
53 Deleuze et al. (1998).
54 On 2 October 2018, Oscar Temaru, French Polynesian Ma’ohi autonomist and candidate for the presidency, deposited a complaint to the International
try to oppose mining and Native Americans in French Guiana who fight to protect the Amazonian against industrial as well as mafia goldmining. Not all Indigenous people in any country threatened by destruction are militantly against mining. Nevertheless, the various ‘missing people’ of today, everywhere in the world, are trying to converge their heterogeneous struggles. New local and transnational alliances emerge between many Indigenous peoples, migrants and African-Americans or Afropeans, descendants of colonisation in Africa or the slavery traffic diaspora and others.

Against the fatality of a homogenous universe which would be predetermined by the global effect of capitalism, many Indigenous people and other collectives of people displaced or excluded who try to build alternatives seem to propose what Argentinian anthropologist Arturo Escobar calls a political pluriversality, the possibility for different worlds and cosmovisions to co-exist on the planet. The title of his 2014 book *Sentipensar con la terra* (Feeling-thinking with the Earth) puts forward an Indigenous Latin American concept that has been guiding activists over decades to struggle against extractivism

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Criminal Court (ICC/CPI in French) to accuse France of a crime against humanity because of its nuclear testings. See also: https://www.ctbto.org/nuclear-testing/the-effects-of-nuclear-testing/general-overview-of-the-effects-of-nuclear-testing/

55 The concept *sentipensar* was introduced in academia in 1986 by Colombian researcher Orlando Fals Borda (2009) who promoted action-research practice in the 1970s. See also Cepeda (2017).
Becoming Land

and other predations that destroy the land that they share with other non-human inhabitants. Referring to William James’s plural universe and the astrophysicist’s notion of pluriverse, Escobar calls for a political ontology inspired by an Indigenous concept and practice, an epistemological transformation where pluriversal studies will ‘maybe have to walk along with these humans and non humans – with the Dreams of the Land, of peoples and social movements – who in a profound relationality, persist against all odds in imagining and weaving other worlds’ (Escobar 2018: 36). In other words, radical alterity is not about exotism and exclusion but about imagination in terms of how to weave different worlds in respect of their singularities always in becoming, how to recreate outsidness in our minds. This is what I call indigenising anthropology.