
ORGANIC FOOD, FARMING AND THE FAR-RIGHT

SEPTEMBER 2025

Hidden Struggles for our Future



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SEEDING REPARATIONS

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All reasonable attempts have been made to verify the nature and status of the primary and secondary sources collected here in good faith and in the public interest. Any opinions expressed are the authors own, are honestly held and based on facts true at the time of publication.



WELCOME

FROM SEEDING REPARATIONS

Anyone who chooses to buy in an ethical way understands the importance of taking everyday actions to build the world we believe is possible.

We at Seeding Reparations invite you to go one step further and reflect on other ways the organic community can contribute toward realising common values through its beliefs and applied practices.

The rise of a far-right brand of nationalism in the UK, Europe and further afield will not have escaped you. What may feel more surprising is that the countryside, farming and food production have become significant domains in which progressive and exclusionary ideas about belonging and justice are being contested. With organic principles building on a range of ideas like that of “purity”, “holism” and “organicism”, our terms are susceptible to misuse. This is made harder by failing to acknowledge periods when the European organic and wider environmental movements’ histories have overlapped with the era of Empire and scientific racism.

Fortunately, the first steps in responding to such patterns are well established – we can learn from others about the patterns they have found. We can also support those who are already working to stop the harm and heal the divisions. Perhaps most difficult of all, we can, and must, build relationships across our differences so we are able to protect the people, fundamental rights and systems which are under increasingly more brazen attack.

We hope these “letters from the field” will help us all to reflect on what it means to consume and produce organically as we continue to attempt to make a positive contribution to our communities.

A NOTE ABOUT LINKS

We’ve provided QR codes throughout so you can find out more about the authors and support their ongoing work to build a more just food and farming system. The links are also provided on page 32 for reference.

These links lead to external websites that are not under our control. We do not endorse or guarantee the accuracy or reliability of the content on these third-party sites and are not responsible for their content, availability, or any loss or damage resulting from their use.



GLOSSARY

BIODYNAMIC AGRICULTURE

A form of agriculture that has been developed as an alternative to industrial systems from the 1920s onwards, based on the occult writings of Rudolf Steiner (see below)

BIPOC

Acronym. Black, Indigenous and people of colour. See below for clarification on Indigenous Peoples.

BPOC

Acronym. Black, and people of colour.

CONSPIRACY THEORY

A conspiracy theory is an explanation for an event or situation that asserts the existence of a conspiracy (generally by powerful sinister groups, often political in motivation), when other explanations are more probable. Examples related to the themes of this booklet include the 'Jewish conspiracy', which has been invoked since the 1870s to explain the alleged plot by Jewish people to destroy the 'Anglo-Saxon' race through immigration. Recently, in the hands of the resurgent far-right, this has morphed into a Great Replacement conspiracy theory, which widens the groups said to be involved in the alleged plot to include people of colour.

Other examples include that the Covid-19 pandemic was a conspiracy to ensure that it spared Ashkenazi Jewish and Chinese people.

DIAGONALISM

Coined by William Callison and Quinn Slobodian¹, diagonalism describes the union of disparate groups across the left-right political spectrum around a suspicion of all power being involved in conspiracy. Diagonal movements see big tech, big pharma, banks, climate scientists and traditional media as accomplices in totalitarianism, including public health measures taken during the Covid pandemic and planning proposals for 15-minute cities. In almost all cases, definitions of freedom are reduced to the individual's license to act, shorn of any sense of mutual responsibility or solidarity.

EUGENICS

Eugenics is a set of discredited beliefs and practices that aim to improve the genetic quality of a human population. Historically, eugenicists have attempted to alter the frequency of various human features by inhibiting the fertility of those considered inferior, or promoting that of those considered superior. The contemporary history of eugenics began in the late 19th century, when a popular

eugenics movement emerged in the United Kingdom, and then spread to many countries, including the United States, Canada, Australia, and most European countries such as Sweden and Germany

FASCISM

Historian Roger Griffin's influential definition (to give one example of many) is that fascism is a type of ultra-nationalism based on belief in the total and complete rebirth or revival of an "ultra-nation" from a perceived state of decline or decadence². Fascists aim to conquer the existing societal order and bring about a "new order" and a reborn nation, rejecting liberal democratic values like individualism and pluralism.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

The United Nations – to give one example – defines Indigenous peoples as having in common a historical continuity with a given region prior to colonisation and a strong link to their lands³. Indigenous peoples maintain, at least in part, distinct social, economic and political systems. They have distinct languages, cultures, beliefs and knowledge systems. The UN recognises 476 million indigenous people living in 90 countries across the world, accounting for 6.2 per cent of the global population. Far-right attempts to co-opt the term indigenous often ignore that it

is intended to uphold the rights of non-dominant societies, with distinct language, culture and beliefs which have been upheld since before the era of European colonialism.

NATURAL ORDER

In philosophy, the natural order is the moral source from which natural law seeks to derive its authority. Natural order encompasses the natural relations of beings to one another in the absence of law, which natural law attempts to reinforce. In contrast, contemporary legal systems seek authority from governments and divine law seeks authority from God.

ORGANIC FARMING

A term inspired by the philosophy of organicism (see below) that has been used in the UK since the 1940s to describe an agricultural system that uses naturally occurring, non- synthetic inputs such as compost manure.

ORGANICISM

A philosophical position which states that the universe and its various parts (including human societies) ought to be considered alive and subject to a natural order (see above), much like a living organism.

RUDOLF STEINER

Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) was an Austrian philosopher, occultist, social reformer, architect, and esotericist who claimed to be clairvoyant. He was the founder of Biodynamic agriculture, which influenced the UK movement for organic agriculture. Steiner expressed views on many subjects in ways that sometimes contradicted his earlier statements. On numerous occasions he made statements indicating that a natural hierarchy existed between different races of human beings, in one lecture suggesting “the Caucasian race” to be “the truly civilized race”⁴.

WHITE SUPREMACY

A political ideology that imposes and maintains cultural, social, political, historical or institutional domination by white people and their non-white supporters. In the past, this ideology had been put into effect through socioeconomic and legal structures such as the Atlantic slave trade, the labour and social practices imposed by European colonial powers in their colonies, Jim Crow laws in the United States, the Treaty of Waitangi and activities of the Native Land Court in New Zealand, White Australia policies, and Apartheid in South Africa.

ENDNOTES

1

2

3

4

<https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2024/06/26/diagonalism-the-cosmic-right-and-the-conspiracy-smoothie/>

Roger Griffin (1993). The Nature of Fascism. London: Routledge. An electronic version can also be found online.

<https://www.un.org/en/fight-racism/vulnerable-groups/indigenous-peoples>

Peter Staudenmaier, 2008 Race and Redemption: Racial and Ethnic Evolution in Rudolf Steiner's Anthroposophy. Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions, Volume 11, Issue 3, pages 4–36.

WHAT WE MEAN BY REPARATIONS

Seeding Reparations is a coalition of organisations, academics, groups and activists working to enact repair, challenge colonial structures, and uphold many lived and rooted ways of being with food and land. This work is informed by diverse histories, cosmovisions and traditions of resistance in the wake of colonial domination.

Olúfẹ́mi O. Táíwò's *constructive* view of Reparations has served as one of our key influences. This argues that Reparation's central concern is building a fairer and more equitable world, and that the costs of this should largely be borne by those who have enjoyed the proceeds of these crimes.

Genocide of Indigenous peoples, transatlantic enslavement, colonialism and neo-colonialism have produced the systems harming the planet and its inhabitants today. The injustices that underpin how food is produced, distributed and consumed in the UK are also a legacies of this history.

Reparations thinking connects us to those who have come before us. It reminds us that for many peoples across territories and across time, the ways we produce and

consume agricultural products has already brought about unprecedented damage to their ways of sustaining life.

Could our mutual interest in Reparations be laid out in any clearer terms? By ending others' ability to sustain their lives, we are also ending our own.

Reparations requires more than a focus on resources and wealth. Colonial power relies on a way of being too – what we think of as coloniality.

Coloniality allows one to assume a fundamental disconnection from all else. It provides a way of thinking which assumes superiority over others. In doing so, it frees groups of people to render their crimes invisible to their own senses. Unlike stolen wealth or hoarded political power, coloniality has been shared without reservation. It continues to keep the neo-colonial engines in motion.

As crises of societal inequity, climate and biodiversity accumulate, more and more peoples are being harmed by coloniality. Inevitably, such people are being forced to consider how their particular experiences should inform their own philosophies of resistance and repair.

We cannot return to an imaginary past where all peoples and cultures can retreat to solitude to live a life of self-sufficiency. Even now, amongst unprecedented migratory restrictions, movement and exchange are key tools in the cultural survival kit of many peoples. Nor can we afford to replicate colonial relations between peoples fighting for the survival of the ecologies they depend on.

Seeding Reparations believes the answer lies in building decolonial relations into the heart of how we pursue justice and sustainable futures for peoples everywhere.

You can read more in our chapter in *The Runnymede Trust's* recent publication *Reparations*.

CLICK OR SCAN TO READ
SEEDING REPARATIONS'
**MANIFESTO FOR
PLURIVERSAL REPARATIONS**

(CHAPTER 10, P120)



FARMING FEAR

Across Europe and North America, far-right ethno-nationalists are working to co-opt the good food and farming movement

WHO IS HIJACKING FEARS ABOUT FARMING? A VIEW FROM STROUD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, UK

BY COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY STROUD DISTRICT

**We are seeing first-hand how the far-right manipulates people's desire
for healthy food and farming**

Disinformation and racism have been spread in Stroud in recent years by groups and individuals aligned to the far right distributing "The Light" paper. Community Solidarity Stroud District (CSSD) was formed three years ago by people who share a belief that, if unchallenged, disinformation and division become the norm.

Already investigated by a BBC radio series in relation to the rise of far-right conspiracies¹, "The Light" has promoted homophobia, transphobia, climate change denial, antisemitism, Islamophobia, attacks on refugees, Holocaust denial, misogyny, support for Putin's imperialism and attacks on public sector health workers. It has also exploited people's anxieties about health and

vaccines and used the pandemic as a vehicle to promote far-right ideologies.

CSSD has campaigned against "The Light" and its various fronts in Stroud through leafleting, public meetings, protests and media. We have developed positive partnerships with other local groups including Stroud Pride, Stroud Against Racism and Stroud Together with Refugees, alongside which we regularly campaign together.

In March 2025, CSSD received enquiries about an upcoming event organised by another local group calling itself "Our Free Town". The group's publicity makes it sound like a good thing it's all about self-sufficiency, and creating "a cultural community in Stroud – a sense of well-

being, togetherness, kindness and giving; a common-sense approach that aligns with how our local communities used to operate in the past". In fact, the group turned out to be the group that distributes "The Light" paper² in Stroud – yet another front group to recruit people into conspiracy beliefs and tolerance of far-right ideas, individuals and organisations³.

The group already variously brands itself as "The Info-Hub" or "Info-Hug", "Stroud Freedom Group" and "Stroud Peace Hub". Their stall promotes the "Our Free Town" initiative, as does the email list set up by another branded group, the "Beacon of Renewal" – used alongside "Stroud Freedom Group" to promote regular events⁴ since a physical venue called "The



Beacon" closed in January 2022⁵.

CSSD has exposed and challenged the promotion of the far-right⁶, consistent climate denial⁷, anti-women content⁸, transphobia and homophobia⁹, and events that have featured people with histories of antisemitism and Holocaust Denial¹⁰ in "The Light". "Our Free Town" organises foraging events and farm volunteering, alongside lecturers by people we consider to be pseudo-scientists and quacks. It directs people to a website which promotes "fearless speech", but which turns out to be a packed with information denying human-caused climate change, back issues of "The Light", "Stroud Freedom Group" events, and attacks on "woke" reminiscent of those in "The Light".

There's also a new "Our Free Town" magazine that appears to be edited by Richard House,

who is also the named editor of a book: "Best of The Light". House is also listed as the author of regular pieces in "The Light" paper.

The event they held in March was called "Supporting Farmers for Food Security Symposium". The flyer for the event was covered with apparently AI-generated images, with solar and wind energy portrayed as a dystopian alternative to farms. It also carried a big logo for the "No Farmers No Food" movement. The investigative group DeSmog site has alleged that there is a climate denial network behind the "Classic Astroturf" campaign, however.

The speakers included:

- Sandi Adams
- Charles Malet (Compere)
- Richard Vobes
- Mark Byford

Sandi Adams has featured before on the Community

Solidarity Stroud District website¹¹. Her website hosts a documentary on the "Jewish Crucifixion of Russia"¹² and also promotes anti-environmental conspiracy theories¹³.

The compere was Charles Malet from "conspiracy theory-oriented online media outlet" UK Column, which has "areas of overlap with the far-right"¹⁴. Examples include Malet himself equating gender affirmation surgery with "genital mutilation", and the media outlet as a whole pushing Nazi-era conspiracies about the "Kalgri Plan"¹⁵, a version of the paranoid and racist Great Replacement/ White Genocide fantasy¹⁶ that imagines a plot to "replace" white Europeans through migration.

Another speaker, Richard Vobes – a former TV writer turned YouTuber (who has also been featured in "The Light") – has denied the agency of people

from other countries seeking refuge or a better life in the UK. For him, it's plausible to wonder if these people are UN soldiers being brought in to police a future lockdown.

One of the farmers speaking – Mark Byford – works with “The Sovereign Project”¹⁷, which promotes dangerous and false pseudo-legal solutions that often land desperate people in big trouble. The “sovereign citizen” beliefs behind this group are imported from the US¹⁸, originating with the far right extremist antisemitic Posse Comitatus movement¹⁹. He recently posted a link to the “Great British PAC”^a on social media, describing this as “at last some real sanity”. A letter announcing the launch of the group talks of how “the right must be united” to “save the country from the socialists”. The organisation enthusiastically places themselves as operating in the spirit of the new US administration and its dramatic attempted use of executive powers²⁰ to attack marginalised people and force an overwhelming “shock

doctrine”²¹-style dismantling of social support²²: “This is how Trump and Musk are reshaping America”.

So what did we do?

In response, CSSD held an open meeting, “Food, farming and the Future” on 25th May 2025. Our speakers included a representative from the Real Farming Trust, a local farmer and a member of the Green Party. The meeting was well attended and explored issues that concern us all including food poverty and food security.

We have more to do but it was an important first step in acknowledging people's concerns and fears, and the fact that this is an issue, as with fears about vaccines and Covid-19, that the far-right will exploit.

While “Our Free Town” or their farming event might have seemed harmless enough, that's the point. It's not intended to introduce people from the far-right or conspiracy fans to the pleasures of growing vegetables. Instead, the aim is

to funnel people with an interest in self-sufficiency or local food towards the far-right. This isn't the only such organisation or effort by the far-right or conspiracists to recruit through issues of food and farming. We have been directing our supporters and anyone we can reach to organisations whose aims are more honest, such as Real Farming Trust²³ and Landworkers' Alliance²⁴. We have been pleased to see the launch of a new campaign to “Re-Root Agroecology” by the latter²⁵.

CLICK OR SCAN TO LEARN
MORE ABOUT **COMMUNITY
SOLIDARITY STROUD
DISTRICT**

a In the United States, a political action committee or PAC is a tax-exempt organisation that pools campaign contributions and donates those funds to campaigns.

ENDNOTES

- 1 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m001mssl>
- 2 <https://communitysolidaritystrouddistrict.org/2023/07/06/far-right-in-the-light/>
- 3 See <https://communitysolidaritystrouddistrict.org/2025/03/12/oft/#footnote>
- 4 <https://communitysolidaritystrouddistrict.org/2022/06/08/beacon-devlin/>
- 5 <https://www.stroudnewsandjournal.co.uk/news/19882703.controversial-beacon-cafe-shuts-stroud/>
- 6 <https://communitysolidaritystrouddistrict.org/2023/07/06/far-right-in-the-light/>
- 7 <https://communitysolidaritystrouddistrict.org/2022/07/25/the-light-climate-denial/>
- 8 <https://communitysolidaritystrouddistrict.org/2023/07/26/the-light-women/>
- 9 <https://communitysolidaritystrouddistrict.org/2022/05/30/transphobia-homophobia/>
- 10 <https://communitysolidaritystrouddistrict.org/2022/05/17/hart-antisemitism/>
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- 23 <https://realfarming.org/>
- 24 <https://landworkersalliance.org.uk/>
- 25 <https://landworkersalliance.org.uk/why-its-time-to-reroot-agroecology-2025/>

NATURAL FARMING AND THE THREAT OF NAZI IDEOLOGY IN GERMANY

BY CLAUDIA SCHIEVELBEIN,
ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT BÄUERLICHE LANDWIRTSCHAFT (ABL)

**The German far-right is using concern for nature and the economic
plight of rural communities to gain popular support**

Many people and politicians in Germany have pushed for both the protection of nature and animals for over a century. In 1934, the first comprehensive animal protection law came into force, followed a year later by the Reich Nature Conservation Act. It was the National Socialists, of all people, who enshrined the protection of natural resources in politics, though not without having ulterior motives.

Under Hermann Göring, the Minister of Economics under the Nazis, animal protection was claimed to have been advanced by the prohibition of the form of ritual slaughter used under Judaism. Animal protection thus became a vehicle for anti-Semitism, and Göring wanted to punish violations with

imprisonment in concentration camps. The protection of nature and the environment by the National Socialists was also a strategic step in pursuing their ideological goals.

Since the Romantic era, forests have generated rapture among Germans. This is expressed, for example, in the works of the painter Caspar David Friedrich. France's deforestation of Germany as part of reparations after the First World War was condemned using terms like "forest slaughter". The Nazis glorified nature conservation as necessary for "maintaining the health of the German soul".

After the end of the Second World War, there were initially other concerns in post-Nazi Germany than nature and

animal protection, such as reconstruction, hunger, and the resettling of refugees. As in many other areas of administration and science, particularly in what were seen as more marginal areas, the same staff who had served under National Socialism continued in their roles. There was no reappraisal of the past, nor of the ethnic, nationalist, and anti-Semitic influences on a range of policies in the period before the Weimar Republic, partly during it, and especially during the Nazi era.

It was not until the 1970s, when the consequences of industrialisation and rationalisation in agriculture had negative impacts on the environment and animal welfare, that a consciousness

and then a movement developed in more left-wing circles in West Germany, which also led to political influence.

In 1986, after the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, the Federal Environment Ministry was established. In the former German Democratic Republic, the negative effects of industrialisation were kept secret in the 1980s before the environmental movement that emerged there under the protection of the churches became a key player in the peaceful revolution. Some of those involved later turned to the growing right-wing political forces for various reasons, including frustration with federal politics. The theme of preserving the environment, the forest, and untouched nature still functions today as a source of identity for conservative but also extreme right-wing ideas.

The myth of the “German forest” makes it not only a place of longing for nature lovers but also a source of national pride with the potential for exclusion. The ecology movement must and will inevitably become increasingly aware of this, the stronger right-wing extremist forces become—once again—in the public’s perception and political debate. The German ecology movement emphasises that internationalism must be at the heart of nature and environmental protection, and nature as the common good of all people in the country.

The environmental movement of the late 1960s and 1970s in West Germany also gave rise to an agricultural counter-movement. This movement took a critical look at the industrialisation and rationalisation driven by German agricultural policy that had fueled structural changes leading to the decline of farms, forcing the remaining farms into developments that were neither environmentally friendly nor animal-friendly. The Working Group on Peasant Agriculture (AbL) was founded as an agricultural policy advocacy group and as a counter-proposal to the German Farmers’ Association. The AbL has always stood for solidarity with farmers worldwide and was one of the founders of La Via Campesina, the world umbrella organisation of peasant movements.

The AbL has also always sought alliances with other social actors, such as environmental, animal welfare, and consumer associations, development cooperation organisations, and churches. The “We’re Fed Up” demonstration has been taking place in Berlin every January for over 10 years as part of this large alliance. It is a rally for peasant agriculture that protects their livelihoods, the environment, and animals, and recognises Germany’s responsibility for peasant agriculture worldwide. This alliance also includes organic farming associations. They, too, have their roots in the early

environmental movement. However, there were also a few actors here whose motivations were open to right-wing ideologies.

CLICK OR SCAN TO LEARN
MORE ABOUT **ABL**

It is perhaps not surprising that there is an overlap between the ideas of a resource-conserving, ecological mindset based on bioregionalism and those of a self-sufficient and nationalist perspective. However, the devil is in the details. There is a difference between rejecting a free trade agreement because it specifically threatens peasant livelihoods in a particular country and rejecting it because of nationalist protectionism of one’s own country. It’s vital that these differences are recognised. At a “We’re Fed Up” demonstration years ago, a group of obvious neo-Nazis with a banner condemning ritual slaughter were identified and pushed away by the organisers. At the same demonstration, a well-respected organic farmer and activist against genetic engineering was simultaneously writing texts for a far-right

magazine and was subsequently expelled from the movement.

In recent years, especially in East Germany, an increasing number of people are moving away from the countryside, where infrastructure is declining, and towards the cities. Farms are becoming fewer and larger, while far-right nationalists have been seeking a way to settle in the countryside. They look for farms for sale, preferably with some land, which can then be cultivated ecologically as a self-sufficient enterprise. The space and isolation of rural areas enable ritual celebrations and gatherings reminiscent of National Socialist ceremonies derived from German historical cults. They serve as a networking opportunity for people with their own far-right beliefs, often with the involvement of local children and young people.

Once a farm is established in one of these communities,

families with a similar ideological outlook follow them. These are often the only new arrivals in years, so village communities are grateful when new people take on voluntary positions in the fire department or the kindergarten association, for example. While in the past, the actors were outwardly cautious with regard to right-wing extremist statements, in recent years the boundaries of what can be said have shifted ever further to the right. Since the Alternative for Germany (AfD), a right-wing extremist party, became the strongest party in some rural areas of eastern Germany, there has been a shift in discourse to the right. Some farmers are also receptive to these simplistic messages.

The AfD makes hardly any statements on agricultural policy, but claims to take sides with farmers when it comes to the popular topics of reducing bureaucracy, reducing

environmental regulations, and increasing appreciation. However, it offers no concrete concepts for implementation and benefits from the fact that conservative politicians are also moving in a direction to theirs. As both historians and other contributors to this booklet have pointed out, the fascist ideas and the breeding ground of social conditions that led to the rise of Nazi ideology were not then, and are not now, limited to Germany. We need to be honest about the fact that many in Europe's environmental, food and farming movements have paid too little attention to issues of racial and economic justice over more than a hundred years. Our lack of collective action in this area, for over a generation, has had a part to play in the rise of the far-right. Now we must work across Europe to ensure that the horrors of the 1930s are not repeated in the 2030s.

MAKE AGRICULTURE GREAT AGAIN?

BY **MARTIN BOWMAN**, FOOD SYSTEMS RESEARCHER



US food and farming has been drawn into conspiracy theories from the far-right. Our turn next?

He is a public figure who backs chemical-free food and organic farming. Combined with his criticism of the pesticide industry and opposition to GMOs, it's perhaps not surprising that Robert F Kennedy Jr's appointment to be the US Secretary of State for Health on 13 February 2025 and slogan that he would "Make America Healthy Again" was seen as a positive step by some within both the US and UK organic movements.

Others, such as Beres, Remski and Walker, the authors of "Conspiracy: How New Age Conspiracy Theories Became a Health Threat" are alarmed¹. The trio's Conspiracy podcast recently pointed to some of the "egregious and dangerous moves" Kennedy has already made in office.

These authors call Kennedy's method of argument a "Gish gallop". Named after the US creationist Duane Gish, a Gish gallop is the name for a rhetorical technique through which a person in a debate attempts to overwhelm an opponent by presenting an excessive number of arguments, without regard for their accuracy or strength, with a rapidity that makes it impossible for the

opponent to address them in the time available.

So prolific is Kennedy at misinformation that he was listed by the Center for Countering Digital Hate as one of the "Disinformation Dozen" spreading 65% of anti-vaccine content in 2021². In power, Kennedy has faced allegations he will be "personally responsible" for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of children, after refusing to renew US funding for a global vaccines body³.

Other Kennedy misinformation reported in the last six years include:

- Repeating his long-held and false claim that HIV is not the cause of AIDS⁴.
- Backing conspiracy theories that the Covid-19 pandemic was engineered to spare Ashkenazi Jewish and Chinese people, while also likening the US government's response to contain the virus to the Holocaust⁵.
- Repeating baseless assertions that hydroxychloroquine and ivermectin are effective treatments for Covid-19⁶.
- Falsely claiming African-American people have stronger immune systems than white people⁷.

- Making unevidenced and highly stigmatising remarks about autism, which some suggest implies RFK Jr has eugenicist inclinations⁸.

Kennedy's Gish galloping, spell making and "endless capacity for just pulling bullshit out of thin air" is, for the Conspirituallity team, the secret of his appeal among sections of the US public. According to the New York Times, his communication style has found particular resonance with "Conservative Christian Moms"⁹. In addition, Kennedy's Make America Healthy Again (MAHA) movement – developed as an offshoot of Trump's Make America Great Again – has amassed a strange alliance of health "influencers and entrepreneurs", "the chronically ill, who feel failed by the medical establishment", "yogis and wellness bros" who reject mainstream medicine, and Trump supporters¹⁰.

Kennedy's mixing of quack science and medical racism, alongside his calls for a spiritual reconnection, find worrying echoes in cultural trends that took place in Europe during the rise of the far-right in the years before WW2 – with its claim to be, in the words of historian Roger Griffin "regenerating a civilization allegedly dying from the poison fruits of progress"¹¹.

Kennedy is the perfect embodiment of "diagonalism" – a political tendency which avoids labels of "left and right" while "generally arcing toward far-right beliefs", blending "convictions about holism and even spirituality with a dogged discourse of individual liberties", and shares "a conviction that all power is conspiracy"¹².

Mirroring this, Kennedy initially stood as an independent in the 2024 US election before dropping out to back Trump, said that his care for the environment is "spiritual"¹³, and a 2023 Congressional Integrity Project report alleged that "Kennedy embraces virtually every conspiracy theory in existence"¹⁴.

Although Kennedy (pictured above) styles himself an independent free thinker, speaking truth to power against corporate elites, he is silent on the

racist, far-right tendencies of figures like Trump and Musk. Instead, Kennedy enables their brazen white supremacist policies, dismantling of social safety nets and democratic institutions, as well as the redistribution of wealth and power to elites. Kennedy misguidedly views the far-right as allies in his battle against imagined conspiracies – acting as a "useful idiot". The organics movement should not, in turn, mistake Kennedy for an ally.

Trump is unlikely to let Kennedy truly challenge Big Agriculture's power. Despite Kennedy's support for "chemical free" foods, the latest reports from the White House indicate that there will be no increase in the regulation of pesticides in Trump's second term, any more than in Biden's administration¹⁵. With the Trump regime's defenestration of the Environmental Protection Agency, it seems highly likely that US manufacturers of toxic chemicals will be able to pollute both land and water far more than in the past¹⁶.

Trump will, however, likely use MAHA "as a rallying cry against science-based elites"¹⁷ – Gish galloping misinformation, including on climate and diets. Kennedy promotes beef tallow (over healthier seed oils)¹⁸ and speculates that the World Economic Forum is using climate issues to impose "top-down totalitarian controls on society"¹⁹. Whilst there are valid critiques of the WEF²⁰, Kennedy appears to be lending his weight to the conspiracy theory that efforts to reduce meat consumption are part of a totalitarian plot by the WEF to force everyone to eat lab-grown meat and bugs or else starve to death²¹. Mocking Gov. Patrick Morrisey's weight, Kennedy suggested he should be put on a "carnivore diet"²². Kennedy compares quantifying the carbon footprint of foods to "what the devil does"²³.

Meanwhile, at July 2025's Groundswell, the UK's annual gathering to celebrate regenerative agriculture, numerous attendees wore baseball hats emblazoned with the slogan Make Agriculture Great Again (MAGA)²⁴, leading onlookers to wonder whether it was a misguided joke or actual support for the far-right. The dramatic electoral shift towards Reform UK, demonstrated in the

results of local council elections on 1 May 2025, was made more likely by the continuous waves of MAGA messaging rolling across the Atlantic through mainstream and social media. It leaves some of those of us active in UK “good food”

movements wondering how we should change our strategy to prevent our own far-right politicians from Gish galloping their way to control of the whole UK.

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NECESSARY REFLECTIONS

How food, farming and justice
movements can confront the
far-right and address colonial
legacies



WHAT DOES AN ANTI-FASCIST FARMING MOVEMENT LOOK LIKE?

BY SOPHIA DOYLE & ALEX HEFFRON,
ROOT AND BRANCH COLLECTIVE

The threat of fascism is growing in the UK and food and farming are becoming battlegrounds. What can we do?

British land is seen as the natural abode of the white male farmer. 99% of land is owned (or managed) by white people¹ and around 85% by men². It is no surprise that Jeremy Clarkson is able to step in as one of the de-facto leaders of the farmers' protests. Worryingly, he uses his newspaper columns to show sympathy for the "legitimate concerns" of the racist rioters we've seen across Britain in the last 12 months³. He also propagates racist conspiracies about farmers being "ethnically cleansed" and "carpet bombed" by immigrants and wind farms⁴.

Unfortunately, these ideas are catching on. Welsh protestors in Llandudno have yellow and black signs talking about a "government genocide" of farmers and Facebook is awash

with racist lies about Muslims stealing sheep. That government policy is undermining farming and that sheep rustling is a growing problem (though often by other white farmers, not Muslims) provides a hook for these racialised conspiracies but does not explain them. To understand them requires a deeper insight into the workings of race and coloniality. Groups like Land In Our Names (LION) have put the coloniality of British land on the table in recent years⁵.

In Britain, we are taught to think about fascism in a particular way. Most schools teach it as something that mostly happened "over there" in Nazi Germany, Mussolini's Italy, or Franco's Spain. Perhaps we learn a tiny bit about the British

Union of Fascists. We might learn that fascism was defeated and superseded by liberal democracy. A black and white story. So is the ascendancy of the far-right today merely an ugly remnant of the past returning, like the swing of a pendulum, to haunt us once again?

Other perspectives on fascism provide a different picture. Like that offered by anti-colonial thinker and politician, Aimé Césaire, who said fascism in Europe is a result of what he calls the "boomerang effect", whereby the accepted violence inflicted on colonial populations turns inwards and affects those living within the imperial core (the so-called "West")⁶. Pan-Africanist journalist George Padmore also described the

European colonies as the “breeding ground” of the fascist mentality⁷.

Fascism, then, looks different when viewed from the perspective of people who experience the full brunt of colonial state violence. Thinking with these perspectives we might ask ourselves what forms of violence are visible, and which are invisibilised or normalised. For example, less than 10 years after the defeat of the Nazis, the British forced Kenyans into concentration camps as part of trying to enforce colonial rule after the Mau Mau Uprising – a history few of us are taught. Perhaps central to any attempts to defeat the far-right in the UK today must be to revisit our country's historical relationship to race, colonialism and imperialism.

The politics of our current food system make this dynamic blatantly clear: from the neocolonial⁸ extraction of cheapened “natural resources” that maintains our modern lifestyles and modern farming methods, to the imperialist violence of wars, destabilisation and climate change that forces people to leave their homelands. Western governments can reap the benefits of these “push” factors. In turn, governments provide a political and legal framework that allows for some of these people to be recruited as workers in the fields and factories that are essential to the West's agrifood system.

Increasingly militarised borders allows governments to act with impunity.

Migrant workers, who do the most back-breaking labour and live in atrocious accommodation, are deprived the same rights of European citizens. They are cheated out of wages and forced into exorbitant visa and travel fees. This contributes to a form of debt bondage, which Clark McAllister has called “labour apartheid”⁹. Organic food is not exempt from this system¹⁰. Racism is key to its functioning by exploitation, as Ruth Wilson Gilmore summarises it: “Capitalism requires inequality, and racism enshrines it”. All of this complicates our notion of liberal democracy as being the standard to defend against a so-called incursion of fascism from outside.

When we turn towards and grapple with the historic legacies of racism, colonialism and imperialism in our movements, as this booklet invites us to, we also need to ask ourselves, how they continue to influence the operation of our food systems today, “mainstream” and “alternative”. Our considerations therefore cannot only be historical, but also geographical. Where are we, our initiatives, our movements, situated in relation to a global, deeply unequal, racial economic order? Is it enough to simply extend our solidarities and movements to include people who have historically been

excluded from the movement? Or do we need to fundamentally reconsider what it is exactly that we are opposing, and what is it that we are trying to achieve? To coherently conceive of Britain always requires us to think globally. Tempting, and convenient, as it is, to relegate Empire to the past, its ongoing effects live on to this day in myriad ways. As Sri Lankan-born, UK-based scholar Ambalavaner Sivanandan taught us: “we are here, because you were there”.

“Food brings people together”, we hear, but it is also food which sets people apart; control over food and resources is structured by a profoundly unequal, racial economic system. Food is never apolitical. Nowhere is this clearer than in the moment we are writing this (August 2025), as we witness how starvation is purposefully used as a genocidal weapon against the Palestinian people in Gaza. An annihilationist genocide which the governments of our so-called “liberal democracies” are not only standing by and letting happen, but actively supporting through arms exports, economic aid and trade.

So what exactly does an antifascist movement look like? Groups like Hate Out Of Farming¹¹ provide some inspiration. We have suggested, as part of an ongoing conversation, that we develop an understanding of fascism that isn't divorced from race and Britain's

central role in colonialism and imperialism¹². That we reject the “leadership” of the likes of Jeremy Clarkson, that we organise in direct resistance against the exploitation and abuse of migrant workers in the agrifood system alongside the likes of the Justice Is Not Seasonal campaign¹³, and that we struggle for a world where everyone who comes here

belongs here and experiences dignity and respect. Food and farming today can be the worst example of racial inequality but it could also be the ground upon which we build a truly just and equal world.

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MORE ABOUT
**ROOT AND BRANCH
COLLECTIVE**

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REFLECTIONS FOR WARMONDERHOF & THE FUTURE OF BIODYNAMIC AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES

BY **EMRE ISKANDER**, FORMER LANDWORKER
& **TOBIA JONES**, TOEKOMSTBOEREN

**A personal account from the Netherlands of how the organic sector is
allowing racial prejudice to go unchallenged**



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MORE ABOUT
TOEKOMSTBOEREN

We give thanks to Seeding Reparations for inviting and encouraging us to continue the collective work of recognising and uprooting racism within biodynamic, organic and agroecology movements in the Netherlands. The publication of which this contribution is part, reaffirms the need to actively engage with the shadow sides and blind spots typical within white environmentalist organisations.

We write from an alarming atmosphere of societal fear,

numbing and separation. The Dutch house of representatives recently passed national legislation to criminalise undocumented people denied asylum and anyone who assists them. The rural provinces are governed by the far-right BBB (Farmer-Citizen Party) who thrive on xenophobia, racial division and corporate sponsorship. The countryside is becoming increasingly hostile and unwelcoming to Black, Indigenous and People of Colour (BIPOC) communities. The reparative effects of land access,

dignified agrarian livelihoods and nature connection are unjustly denied. How do we respond to this?

While it's important to give space to feelings of anger, despair and helplessness, we must move through them and spring into collective action. Within our spheres of influence, we share our emerging strategy to move educational institutions to start becoming anti-racist and reparative. In this situation, that means becoming sufficiently response-able to histories and incidents of racism and proactively welcoming and supporting future generations of BIPOC farmers, growers and land workers in the Netherlands.

Our strategy, centres the lived experience of a person of colour, Emre (co-author), who shares personal testimonies of racism and institutional failures experienced at Warmonderhof; a biodynamic agriculture school which is a primary gateway for new entrants to become agroecological farmers in the Netherlands. The testimony is addressed as a letter to Warmonderhof combined with requests from Emre on what the school can do to repair from the harm.

In August 2025, this letter was sent to Warmonderhof education collectively by Emre together with Toekomstboeren. The director of Warmonderhof education responded sincerely and a meeting is being arranged.

Dear Warmonderhof,

My name is Emre Iskender. I did the full-time, four year program on the Warmonderhof. I spent four years on this campus as the only brown person, along with two black schoolmates. The total number of students was 140. I experienced a lot of racism in and around the school, but also on excursions and at internship locations. All of this happened in my "I don't see colour" period, before I came to terms with how racism had been impacting my life. If I now look back, many things happened that were actually unacceptable.

We often went on excursions to different internship locations. When we asked a white Dutch farmer who he sold his products to, he responded: "the monkey countries". The whole class fell silent. Later in the conversation it became clear that he did not mean countries where there are monkeys, but countries where there are people of colour. Our teacher was also dead-silent. As students, maybe we didn't feel we had power to say anything, this was a possible internship location, but why didn't the teacher push back against this blatant racism?

We once visited a white Dutch farmer on his farm. When my classmates asked him questions, he looked at them and answered the questions. But when I asked questions, he never looked at me. At the time it felt unsettling, but I wasn't sure why. This happened at more of the excursion locations, it was a regular occurrence.

Approximately half of the Warmonderhof program is practical. So when I did practical work on one of the farms, I also encountered racism. We had to work for a very nasty cattle farmer. A lot of students didn't like him, and in my fourth year he left. Even though I worked hard, he gave me bad assessments, without indicating beforehand that I was performing insufficiently. I heard from

the third year student who was working there said that this farmer had planned to give me a non-passing grade. The student told me that when the farmer shared this he defended me and said I had done my work well, so maybe the farmer could instead give me the lowest passing grade. Even this attempt to defend me was the literal bare-minimum. My classmate, a black man, also coincidentally got insufficient grades at this farm. In other courses, we always had sufficient grades.

I can share more inter-personal examples, but I will leave it at these.

I do want to discuss specifically what we learned in our anthroposophic courses. We learned that Rudolf Steiner believed that the best farmers are people with ancestors indigenous to the place where they farm. Hearing this made me feel out of place, unwelcome even.

We also learned Steiner's theory that there are different classes of development for people of different ethnicities. According to his theory, black people are less developed because they are marked by a powerful "instinctual life", brown and yellow people are slightly more developed with a potent "emotional life" and white people are highly developed with a potent "intellectual life". There was no critical discussion of these theories, and whenever I tried to discuss it I was told that Steiner "didn't mean it that way". This made me feel inferior. It also made me begin to lose interest in what is otherwise a beautiful way to approach working with the land. This was a painful process for me.

After the program, I worked for four years in a row during the harvest season in the countryside. I earned too little money, had to travel often to faraway places and I got offered only seasonal jobs, no full time jobs, so at the end of every autumn I had to find other jobs to make ends meet. Of course the work itself is also physically intensive. I received barely any appreciation for this work from my surroundings, and although I often applied for more permanent positions it never panned out for me.

Requests to repair from the harm:

01 Invest in anti-racism and racial justice training for all of the staff with a practical focus on identifying and responding to incidents of racism as well as engaging with Gloria Wekker's book, "White Innocence".

02 Co-create a protocol for the screening and selection of farm internships and excursions that proactively safeguards students from racist farmers.


03 If an incident of racism does happen, a member of staff acknowledges it in the whole college weekly meeting and space is made for group discussion and learning

04 Recognise and educate on the racist roots of biodynamic and organic farming with critical reflections on Rudolf Steiner's harmful thinking and how it helped create the conditions for fascism. Make this part of the curriculum and the Anthroposophy class which requires the reading of "The Agriculture Course, Koberwitz" in which several chapters contain racist ideology.

05 Recognise Steiner's appropriation of Indian and other Indigenous agriculture techniques, spiritual practices and philosophy by recognising how these elements contributed to the biodynamic and organic farming techniques for which he is wrongly credited. Pay guest educators from the Global South (diaspora) to share these knowledge and skills in the context from which they were appropriated.

06 Leverage institutional resources and privileges to support Black people, Indigenous People and People of Colour and farms to flourish in the Netherlands via equitable land access and local reparations.

Thank you for your careful consideration.
Awaiting your response in good faith.



POVERTY AND PURITY: MY LIVED EXPERIENCE OF FARMING

BY **JAVIER SANCHEZ RODRIGUEZ**, THE ANNE
MATTHEWS TRUST

**Want a better food system? Forget purity and focus
on justice.**

About me

I was born in rural Colombia to campesino (peasant farmer) parents. I identify as a Colombian farmer who continues to practice agroecology and is of Indigenous descent.

I have had conversations with my parents, about how the culture that accompanied the Green Revolution co-opted them, particularly my dad. Now he has come back to a way of thinking much more around organic ways of growing food, using traditional approaches, which I passed onto him. This is funny, because he taught me how to farm as a child.

Purity and poverty

The way the terms “purity” and “pure food” are used within the organic and biodynamic movements make no sense if we begin from the perspective of justice. If someone is being exploited then you shouldn’t even call the food

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organic because you're unfairly exploiting the people that are actually producing it, however "pure" it is in terms of lack of artificial chemicals. I decided this when I was one of the workers hired to do the weeding of organic crops on a farm in Gillamor, North Yorkshire about ten years ago.

People were lying on their stomach all day, picking weeds. It was exhausting work for which people were paid just £3.50 an hour so that people in Tesco could buy organic. That wage was exploitative, even then, and I know that these practices continue. Sometimes I think that I would rather eat something that has been grown with chemicals, if I know that the person that has grown it has done so without being exploited, than buy organic.

You hear the same thing from across southern Spain, where they have all this indentured labour – have basically people without papers, working in poly tunnels at 40 or 50C. That food should not be called organic. The concept of organic has to be linked with politics. If you can't do organics from this political standpoint, I would rather have chemicals in my food.

I think just to focus on purity also starts to bring in eugenic ideas. Steiner said people with disabilities became so as part of their self-chosen destiny. It's all linked to his views on racial and physical hierarchies and purity. This kind of purity is ableist. What about the value of people who are disabled – people that use wheelchairs, for example?

Theft of my ancestral culture

Reflecting on the story of Rudolf Steiner and his huge influence on organic and biodynamic farming makes me sad. The truth is not only that

a Rivera discovers that we all share the same principles of observing the moon for cultivation, saving seeds, for planting, for understanding the life cycles of insect pests. They understand how insects reproduce and what stage, and how the moon influences their hatching. You know, yeah, they hatched a certain moon phase, and so we observe the moon in order to know when to plant, because that's if you plant your little baby plants (what in Quechua they call wawakoona) at the wrong time you will waste them because the insects will be at the caterpillar stage, which is the most damaging to the plants before they are strong enough to withstand them. So, by observation, we decide, okay, we don't plant this plant in this moon phase. Steiner gave the impression, continued by his followers, that these ideas were his. So you see, there is an appropriation.

Steiner believed in white supremacy, but he didn't invent what we now call biodynamics. Rather, biodynamics was an appropriation of millennia of traditional knowledge.

My grandmother and my great grandparents, like many other Indigenous and peasant communities in Colombia, use the phases of the moon to practise agroecology. Their knowledge has been passed down for so many generations before. In Jairo Restrepo Rivera's amazing book "Eternal Son of the Tropics", he does an investigation of the agroecology of the Americas⁹.

If we don't acknowledge the appropriation of things, we can't move on. Steiner's appropriation of Indigenous knowledge forms part of the abuse people in colonised communities have suffered for five hundred years: the Europeans stole our knowledge as they colonised and dehumanised us. If we don't acknowledge the Indigenous origin of the knowledge that some people think Steiner and other Europeans created, and if this knowledge becomes associated with these other abhorrent views, then that is a double violence.

Farming in Wales

I am now a small-scale farmer in Wales. I convened a group of people to undertake research into the Welsh cultural context of farming. We found that the Welsh have a concept called cynefin that has no direct English translation. It means you have roots to where you live and you belong to the land where you live. You belong to the land on which you live, not that the land belongs to you. I find that very helpful as it's similar to concepts that we practice in South America (or Abya Yala).

The white middle class English people, including those who come here to rewild, can cause problems. We spoke with sixth and fifth generation Welsh farmers here. Many of them have such a hard time. Suicide rates are rocketing because of the desperation. The children have to go away because all they can afford to pay their children is £100 a week. They are being forced to manage land in a particular way by subsidies.

These farmers are very knowledgeable about the land, so they know which piece of their farms can be rewilded, and which pieces are best for cattle raising or herding sheep. They know that certain areas will only grow grass because they are depleted. To get a piece of land back to fertility takes between five to seven years of investment and an active reintroduction of organic matter and microorganisms. Who is going to subsidise that? So over here in Wales, what I found was a naivety from lots of middle class white, English, people – many of them young people – coming to Wales and preaching about how Welsh farmers who have been farming here for generations, have been doing things wrong. It's not right. It's like a new form of settler colonialism.

Dialogue not do-good'ers

Many of the middle-class settlers in Wales don't seem to realise that the fact that you can plant a carrot doesn't make you a farmer! Farming is a culture. There are certain connections here we have with our land, with our animals, with everything with which we live.

The mentality of "helping" migrants feeds even more kind of racist ideas about who we are as migrants. What I have found here in mid-Wales is

also that there is this huge mentality among the middle class of, "we are very radical". We help the refugees and the asylum seekers.

When George Floyd was lynched, everyone here was giving big statements of how anti-racist they were. People say: "I am very anti-racist", but they don't live next to a black or brown person so don't face the reality of what it means to be anti-racist in everyday life. They live in a white bubble. I wonder how they would feel if they lived in a council block with a hundred other people, in all their diversities?

It is very easy to help individuals and then feel good about yourself, but when you are constantly struggling to build relationships with people across lines of differences, that's a different ball game. So many people seem to want to have some type of pornographic experience of being with refugees and asylum seekers, often thoughtlessly asking people whether they are refugees or asylum seekers. You want to know how many killings and how many shootings and how many people in our family died getting here? You want us to relieve that trauma by telling the story all the time?

People living in poverty, whether they be poor farmers, poor migrants or poor white people, are being seen to be the problem. But the problems for which they are blamed, and their poverty, are both a byproduct of this horrific capitalist system.

We urgently need more dialogue of the kind that will hopefully be prompted by this booklet. However, it should be on our terms, not the terms dictated by those who have shaped recent debates about "pure" food and organic farming.

FROM FURTIVE FORTUNES TO FLOURISHING FUTURES

BY **FFIN JORDÃO**, *criw compostio*

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How can we look at a zero waste food system through an anti-colonial environmental justice lens?

Waste is a dirty business. The “wasteocene” includes illegal disposal activities, exposure to dangerous chemicals, workplace accidents, money laundering, untouchable communities, dumping, tipping, bad smells, noxious gases, leachates, poisoned waterways.

To environmental historian Marco Armiero, what makes the “wasteocene are the socio-ecological wasting relationships, truly planetary in scope, which produce wasted people and places, in a social process through which class, race and gender injustices become embedded into the socio-ecological metabolism producing both gardens and dumps, healthy and sick bodies, pure and contaminated places”¹. Going further, wasting is also the recurring and incessant invisibilisation of the materials, the bodies and the places doing the wasting: waste has to be burnt, sunk, jettisoned, rotted, digested, buried, crushed or recycled – it never just vanishes.

Waste is our social business. Criw Compostio is a not-for-profit micro-waste haulier employing people to make living compost from local putrescible waste. Holding onto what is unwanted and discarded and will rot, for long enough for it to transform into chaotic, unstable, soil-feeding compost.

Our wild proposition is that we might stop consigning waste processing plants to marginal places and compounding inequality in health and environment outcomes for poorer neighbourhoods, and build instead the kind of waste management sites that it's worth living with; sites where we create safe and meaningful employment within a circular economy, bringing putrescible waste management infrastructure closer to the people that produce it, preventing pollution and creating peat free compost where it can be used to grow food in a socially and environmentally just, convivial,

responsible way. Building a system that ensures waste is present while making sure there is a difference between “presence” and “dump”.

Living with waste demands new ways of sharing labour and space. Come to our microsites to find gorgeous grime, explosions of fruiting bodies, people bonding over expanding their olfactory palate for the many stages of decay. Giving waste labour visibility and value, we challenge prevailing narratives about who should do this work – both the anachronism that cleaning up work is for dirty people and the conception that centralised, industrial scale waste management systems are cheaper and more efficient.

Where do we situate these tender visions of productive rot? Most food production sites make compost, but they must also comply with expectations of tidiness and pest control, strict landowner agreements or surveillance attitudes and

negative expectations of waste processing controlling each other into compliance. The compost heap is the kinky hair equivalent within a tightly controlled productive garden.

Looking at zero waste through a critical environmental justice lens means recognising “the ways that racism and colonialism are not only products of geographical decisions about the fate of wastes but are also baked into the ways waste is generated and managed”². Out of all the types of waste our cities, towns, businesses, industries produce, organic wastes are amongst the easiest to handle with

great results and no collateral damage; we could compost so much more of it. Keeping it local – a nationwide network of small composting facilities means less waste miles, and maybe even cutting the cord on synthetic fertiliser too. Making small pockets of land available for community composting micro factories, democratising access to knowledge, tools and support for community soil makers, and spreading narratives valorising mess, chaos and bin workers.

What regulations, standards and notions of proper use do we become entangled with when we wish to compost other people’s wastes? The existing

permitting regulations expect us to merely sanitise the waste, seeing only the need to ensure an absence of pathogens, not the need to support living soil organisms, hold water or cycle organic matter. Compost isn’t made good when it is sterile.

Our compost is an anti-purity tonic, ever-evolving, in constant flux, never finished. If fascist aesthetics want us to recognise yellow corn and straight carrots as the norm, we want you to recognise the messy unstable heap of decaying organic matter teeming with life as one of the pillars of a transformed food system.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Marco Armiero, *Stories from the global dump* (Cambridge University Press 2021)
- 2 Guy Schaffer, *Compost Utopia* (University Massachusetts Press 2023)

BUILDING THROUGH AN ANCESTOR PERSPECTIVE

BY **NIELLAH ARBOINE**
WRITER

**There are advantages to being able to see past our current selves
and to become the ancestors of unimaginable futures**

I am lying on my back in the grass with my friends. We're eating mirabelle plums I picked the day before. Chewing, we trace patterns in the clouds with our hands, exhale, unknot. The sun prickles my face. I feel held by the whistling trees, nourished by the fruit's pulp, calmed and restful.

I think about how nearly all of us are Black or Indigenous and have ancestry from groups who have experienced colonisation. Some of us from homelands that were colonised, others taken from homelands through the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

And here, generations later, our worlds have converged, living a life that would have felt nearly impossible for our ancestors. Not a perfect one, not even close - but a life built on the backs of many who have come before us. I think about what the world will look like when we return to the soil and our bodies are taken by worms and mycelium. I think about

my part in it. The American philosopher Olúfẹ́mì O. Táíwò's definition of Reparations uses the framework of constructive reparations, rather than solely looking to harm repair through the distribution of finances or relationship repair between groups through symbolic recognitions. Táíwò envisions a more holistic, global perspective - one that acknowledges the past, aims to change political systems and focuses on building. And the cost of this should rely mainly on multinational companies and countries in the Global North.

In his book *Reconsidering Reparations*, Táíwò writes about the term he coined, "ancestor perspective". Our actions shape the world we are currently in and the world to come. To be able to see past ourselves and into unimaginable futures is "ancestor perspective". "Rome wasn't built in a day, and if we want to accomplish the unprecedented task of

constructing a just world rather than an empire, we shouldn't expect any more expedience than the Roman Empire had", writes Táíwò.

My ancestors survived through the horrors of the transatlantic slave trade in the Caribbean and continued to survive, live, remain, build, love and hope through generations, through empire, through migrations into the Windrush generation and into a new life in Britain. For them, perhaps their survival was instinctual, perhaps it was based on a radical hope of a better and more just society for me. Perhaps they had no time or will to dwell on the future at all.

I think about the Maroons in Jamaica who rebelled against British rule and fought through guerrilla warfare, some dying for their liberation and for future generations to come. I think about how these escaped enslaved Africans and indigenous people worked in solidarity with each other and with the land, sharing knowledge and resources.

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Welcoming a slow process can feel jarring and even scary when the need for true change and an upheaval of violent systems is so high and life-threatening. And yet a corpse flower takes around 7 to 10 years to bloom. The stars have already burned out and died, and yet we still look up at their light. There may be no quick fix; long-lasting change may take a long time.

So what might reparations look like to me and for me? I think about the clear links between climate disasters, the legacy of colonisation and racial injustices today. The first person in the UK to have air pollution as their cause of death was a young black girl from Lewisham called Ella Adoo-Kissi-Debrah. She lived not too far from where I grew up. Perhaps reparations is the clean air that we all breathe. Perhaps it's a handful of seeds. Perhaps it's changes in our global food systems. Perhaps it's a dream beyond borders.

Sankofa, meaning to go back or to retrieve, is a symbol from the Akan people of Ghana. It shows a mythological bird firmly walking forward, but with its head turned back. We need to learn from the past to create a stronger future.

Building for a future we may never live to see doesn't mean it's not worth the effort – in fact, there is no better sacrifice than doing so. We owe it to the generations to come and to ancestors before us, to see ourselves as future ancestors now. No matter who your ancestors were, you have a choice now over what type of ancestor you will be.

WHAT NEXT?

BY SEEDING REPARATIONS

How might our visions for the future of food and farming place justice at their core?

Amidst the rise of far-right sentiment in our communities, organisations and mainstream political discourse, it can feel hard to know the right course of action.

We have had a summer of “stop the boats” and anti-migrant protests outside of asylum hotels. We have witnessed a trend of individuals across England and Wales attaching their own Union Jacks and St George’s flags to municipal architecture in apparent support of those opposing immigration. Reform UK, a political party which HOPE not Hate describes as far-right¹ leads some UK voting intention polls by 8% at the time of writing², having won 41% of the seats up for election in the May 2025 local elections³.

These events threaten to overwhelm our ability to think, and undermine our agency. But everyday experience can help bring clarity amongst the noise, and help us better see where action can be meaningful. In this, the contributors to this pamphlet have done us an immense service. Their

observations and reflections point to concrete ways we might organise together without delay to ensure we are playing our part.

Purity < Justice

If we fail to define how our principles apply to societal challenges, others will undertake that work without us, and potentially to our peril. Purity serves as a poor communicator of our position on inclusion, equity and good working conditions.

Food is a basic need, a fundamental right and a key facet of our cultural lives — it will always be political. We can and should do better to communicate that any “purity” we assure is simply one of the movement’s means of furthering justice, in all its forms.

Applied Anti-Racism

As the far-right build power to attack BIPOC people and other marginalised groups, they also build power to attack

protections for biodiversity and the climate⁴. We must remain resolute in our assertion that different forms of injustice are interlinked.

There is direct anti-racist work to be done, in our very organisations and movement spaces. We must ensure in the most concrete of terms that our spaces are clear about the standards of conduct we demand, even if others compromise where we will not. Recognition of the connectivity that exists in nature is central to organic farming. Our social reality is reinforcing the same message, and it’s time we listened.

Our Own Internationalism

Far-right networks of bigotry are ever more internationalised. They are building connections which increase their ability to replicate successful tactics between geographies. As well as setting out the work before us, we hope this pamphlet has also helped serve as a reminder that internationalism has to be a key part of building effective

resistance. The collective recognition of our experiences, particularly where we may feel isolated in managing them, can support us to break free of inertia. Good food actors the world over are grappling with how to protect communities, biodiversity and values-based identities against stark odds. It's vital we relearn how to be in global community with each other, and build new reciprocal relationships which make us more effective at standing up

for what we believe in.

Courageous Leadership

The contributors to this booklet have shown, in practice and through their written words, that the time for acts of courageous, principled leadership is now. This isn't limited to those with formal organisational or institutional power. The ideas we discussed throughout are transmitted socially. And they manifest in

direct messages, classrooms and dinner tables. If that feels daunting, it is only a reminder that as we stand up for what we believe in, we must build stronger relationships that fortify us along our way.

This pamphlet would not have been possible without the time, energy and passion of the contributing authors. Nor would it be worthwhile without your time for reflection.

THANK YOU

SEEDING REPARATIONS

ENDNOTES

- 1 <https://hopenothate.org.uk/2024/09/24/reform-uk-are-far-right-heres-why/>
- 2 <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/trackers/voting-intention> (accessed September 2025)
- 3 <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-10272/>
- 4 <https://www.greenpeace.org.uk/resources/reform-manifesto-analysis/>

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