ORGANISE!

...for revolutionary anarchism

The past cannot be changed, The future is yet in your power.

THE CIS TAKE THE PISS (BUT THE TRANS GOT THE PLANS!)

OUR STRE OU PRIDE ★★★

HAPPY BIRTHDAY MA

NO JUSTIC NO PE

PHOEBE USE OTHER END

• **Anarchism, Futurism and Revolution**

• **Transphobia as a class issue**

• **CRIBS and Solidarity for Refugee Families**

90

£2.50   €3.00
FREE to prisoners

PLUS
Solidarity action with the Mapuche, Super Happy Anarcho Fun Pages, Subversive cuisine, news, reviews, comics and much more!

ORGANISE!

Organise! - Issue 90
Spring / Summer 2018

Organise! is the magazine of the Anarchist Federation (AF). As anarchist communists we fight for a world without leaders, where power is shared equally amongst communities, and people are free to reach their full potential. We do this by supporting working class resistance to exploitation and oppression, organise alongside our neighbours and workmates, host informative events, and produce publications that help make sense of the world around us.

Organise! is published twice per year with the aim to provide a clear anarchist viewpoint on contemporary issues and to initiate debate on ideas not normally covered in agitational papers. To meet this target, we positively solicit contributions from our readers. We will try to print any article that furthers the objectives of anarchist communism. If you'd like to write something for us, but are unsure whether to do so, then feel free to contact us through any of the details below.

The articles in this issue do not represent the collective viewpoint of the AF unless stated as such. Revolutionary ideas develop from debate, they do not merely drop out of the air! We hope that this publication will help that debate to take place.

For the next issue of Organise! articles can be submitted to the editors directly at:

organise@afed.org.uk or publications@afed.org.uk
or sent to the AF c/o
Freedom Bookshop,
84b Whitechapel High St.
London E1 7QX

AF Contacts

For more information about the Anarchist Federation, including membership queries, please go to our website and fill in the form:

https://afed.org.uk/contact/.

Or, write to us at
AF, c/o
Freedom Bookshop,
Angel Alley,
84b Whitechapel High St,
London E1 7QX.

...for revolutionary communism

ORGANISE!

Contents

ORGANISE!
...for revolutionary anarchism

The past cannot be changed, The future is yet in your pow...

· Anarchism, Futurism and Revolution
· Transphobia as a class issue
· CRIBS and Solidarity for Refugee Families

90
£2.50 €3.00
FREE to prisoners

PLUS
Solidarity action with the Mapuche, Super Happy Anarcho Fun Pages, Subversive cuisine, news, reviews, comics and much more!

ANARCHIST AF FEDERATION

Editorial:

"We fear change..."

It's scary breaking out of the shackles we've grown used too.

The paradigms and assumptions we've cemented into our zeitgeist as a society are often all too comforting and reliable and even for the fearless (and reckless), ready to build the new world, the way forward can seem impossible, the suffocating fear of change, of transition permeates every thread of our community, suppressing and restricting progressive development at every juncture. In this edition of Organise! We dip our toes into two very differant forms of transition, the personal and the Social and we look at how the fear of new ideas and change is having an impact.

Firstly, we've had an explosion in the visibility of transgender and gender non-comforming people, curtesy (I think) of the internet which has seemingly become a bastion for people exploring their gender and indentity. This sudden wealth of community subsequently has lead to a beautiful explosion of awareness, analysis and communal exploration of self. Unfortunately that change in conversation has brought around a growth in hostility and bigotry. Trans and gender non-conforming people are being attacked by traditionalists and conservatives almost persistantly. This abuse ranges from the monosyllabic hollering of transphobes on the street and the "I AMZ AN ATTACK HELICOPTER HUR HUR" memetic drivel online to the seemingly erudite prattle of Jordan Peterson or pseudo leftist articles from Trans Exclusive Radical Feminists, attempting to mask transphobia behind manufactured fear. Reactionary scaremongering and bigotry seem to be rising at an alarming rate as our society is forced to address it's ideas and assumptions regarding gender, sexuality and indentity.

Secondly, we look into new visions for future Anarchistic societies with ecology and socialism at their core. Whether it's giant vertical forests or living afloat in seasteaded cities we need alternatives to the concrete jungle, perhaps even in time, out there in the stars aboard space stations and distant colonies. These ideas about how we can make a society that function are themselves constantly attacked and shot down. Traditionalists demand the maintenance of the class system, patriots glorify the inherent value of servitude to the state which alongside the capitalist moguls economically throttling communities and pushing programs of gentrification ensure our cities cannot grow beyond these cold, sterile post industrialist commerical hubs. The seats of the corporate elite, London, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Belfast and the centralised authourity that reside in them continue to make forwarding even the most benign aspect of a progressive society near impossible, chocking the culture of the major cities while logistically crippling others and treating rural communites like holiday destinations to be hollowed out and preserved for those summer retreats.

Some of the wonder has been lost along the way, the brutal reality of trying to survive capitalism is slowly killing our imagination and the dreams of a beautiful society that exists in reletive harmony with the environment. We need to remember the world Anarchist Communists have fought for these past few hundred years, A world based on mutual aid and compassion, where people are truly free from the lingering residue from millenia of religous intolerance and the abuses of the nob parasites living off their labour. A world without borders, heirarchy or financial nightmares, A world where the people are free to build their dreams and be who they truly are.

We also have a wonderful interview with Sally from Cribs and articles looking into contemporary fiction and ongoing solidarity campaigns amongst other things which we hope you find useful and enjoy. We've tried to sow some seeds, hoping for some change however slight because change isn't something we need fear. We should be standing proud of our progression we've come a long way and we should keep on developing our new world. Change is something with should be striving for and celebrating it's at the core of the revolution and to building a society which functions and subsequently finding our space and place within it.

Peace, Love and Rage
Ed.

cover art commentary

The cover illustration for Organise! Issue 90 is a celebration of trans and queer resistance. I volunteered to create the cover art as myself and many of my friends are involved in these struggles, to show my encouragement and solidarity to my trans and queer siblings within the anarchist movement.

The imagery is based on my experiences of Pride marches, with a militancy influenced by other protests and direct action movements. Pride should be an act of resistance, continuing the tradition of the Compton cafeteria and Stonewall riots of the 1960s.

The centrepiece is a blue, pink and white trans pride flag with the black halved triangle common to anarchist movements. This style of flag appears again with the anarcha-feminist flag along the bottom edge. I made sure to include both to stress how vital it is for queer and feminist struggles to unite. The struggles are inseparable, despite what the right and the TERFs shout at us.

The image contains a number of homages. On the left, the green & yellow flag was the result of a famous transphobe apparently searching for 'trains flag' and embarrassing themselves, covering up transphobia with ignorance. We are reclaiming Thomas the Tank Engine. She's one of ours now. Over on the right are nods to trans Youtuber Contrapoints' character 'Tabby', a well-meaning and adorable mockery of the militant far left, and Marsha P. Johnson, the legendary Black trans activist famous for instigating the events of Stonewall. The slogan 'Happy Birthday Marsha!' is the title of a recent documentary. There are references to disabled queer struggles in the paired black and pink triangle flag, and anti-police resistance. The cops have hover-vans now, so there's a lot of struggle left to go.

See more work from **Remember'68: Design for Revolution** at *remember68dfr.wordpress.com*

TRANSPHOBIA AS A CLASS ISSUE

Transphobia is a class issue. By this I mean that in a class society that is also deeply transphobic, it is impossible to talk about transphobia in a meaningful way without also talking about class. Trans people are more likely, all other things being equal, than our cis peers to fall into the most exploited and oppressed sections of the working class and the extent to which transphobia will negatively affect any given trans person's life will be mediated by their economic class. This article is not intended to be a comprehensive analysis of every aspect of this issue, but to contribute to an ongoing conversation around it and illustrate a class struggle perspective on transgender issues.

By transphobia I mean two related phenomena:

1. Overt, intentional hostility to or disregard towards the wellbeing of trans people and;

2. Social structures and systems which put trans people at a relative disadvantage to cis people within society.

These two types of transphobia are not strictly distinct and one often creates or reinforces the other.

Often when discussing transphobia popular discourse focuses on overt, interpersonal hostility and street level violent hate crime. While these are indeed real and very serious issues, this focus on the interpersonal and the overt often leads to a failure to recognise the measurable economic effects of transphobia on trans lives. This constitutes a form of hidden, endemic, systematic violence against working class trans people.

A 2015 EU report [1] found that trans people in the EU were more likely than their cis peers to be in the bottom 25% of earners and that around a third of trans people reported experiencing workplace discrimination in the year leading up to the survey and a similar proportion had experienced discrimination while looking for housing. Unsurprisingly, given high levels of workplace discrimination and general social stigma, trans people are disproportionately more likely to experience unemployment. Emma Rundall carried out a survey of trans people as part of her 2010 PhD thesis [2] and found that 14% of respondents were unemployed, around two and a half times the then national unemployment rate (pp 139 of thesis), this is consistent with a general trend in the literature for higher rates of unemployment amongst trans people.

Housing discrimination and high rates of family rejection and abuse also lead to higher rates of homelessness for LGBTQ people as a whole and particularly LGBTQ youth. A 2015 report by the Albert Kennedy Trust [3] found that LGBTQ youth were "grossly over-represented within youth homeless populations", stating that one in four young homeless people were LGBTQ, the report also found that a majority of young LGBTQ homeless people reported rejection or abuse at home as a major factor in their homelessness, with an overwhelming majority of housing providers failing to recognise the unique and specific needs of this marginalised community for housing support. Specific figures for trans people alone in the UK are difficult to find, however in Canada, a culturally similar developed nation, the research and community organisation Trans Pulse carried out a study of health outcomes in 123 trans people aged 16-24 [4], with a view to measuring the effect of parental support. All respondents reporting "strongly supportive" parents reported being adequately housed, however, almost half of the two thirds of respondents who did not have strongly supportive parents were "inadequately housed" (homeless or in a precarious housing situation), around one third of the total sample.

As well as the economic effects of transphobia itself, we can also consider the intersections of transphobia and class, i.e. the ways in which class and transphobia interact and magnify each others' effects; the greater financial resilience of the middle and boss classes, the ability of wealthier trans people to buy their way out of some forms of transphobia, the classed nature of the bureaucracies that trans people are often forced to navigate and the elevation of privileged voices within the broader trans community as the authentic voices of all trans people.

A core component of transphobia at present is medical gatekeeping, the process by which trans people are forced to jump through semi-arbitrary hoops in order to access certain kinds of trans specific healthcare. In Sex Educations: Gendering and Regendering Women [5] Lisa Milbank discusses real life experience (RLE), a period of time in which trans people are expected to present "full time" as their gender in order to access certain kinds of healthcare, as a form of socially enforced "breaking" in which trans women are subjected to "an experience of public freakhood, composed of constant stares, transphobic harassment and potentially violence, without access to much of the (intensely double-edged) training given to cissexual women on how to survive this", while Milbank focuses on the experience of transsexual women in particular, this also applies to some extent to the experience of other trans people. One's ability to pass as cis (to be read by most people as a cis person of one's appropriate gender) will heavily influence the extent to which RLE is a dangerous and potentially traumatic experience. Since passing as cis takes the form, in part, of being able to perform conventional cis norms, which are themselves heavily classed (and racialised), a trans person's ability to do so will be mediated by their class status. I.e. the wealthier a person is, the more likely they are to be able to afford to take additional, elective steps (extensive hair removal, specialised clothing to hide or accentuate particular gendered body traits, etc.) to increase their chance of passing as cis. In this way, middle class and boss class trans people are more easily able to navigate gatekeeping in order to access healthcare and sidestep the harmful effects of RLE in a transphobic society. Similarly, since transphobia often takes the form of institutional and economic discrimination and/or family and community rejection, an individual trans person's financial

security becomes their ability to cope with isolation financially and to remove themselves from harmful situations (e.g. a neighbourhood in which they are frequently harassed or a family home in which they are rejected or abused) is key to their ability to survive and thrive in a transphobic society. While all trans people experience and are harmed by transphobia, the extent of that harm will inevitably be strongly classed.

To live as a trans person in today's society is to frequently find ourselves bumping against the various bureaucracies that serve as its basis, from things as theoretically simple as changing one's legal name to navigating the complaints procedures of government departments or companies in order to secure some kind of accountability for another instance of transphobia. While this is, in theory, something anybody can learn to do, these bureaucratic institutions are complex and exclusionary by design and often function to favour middle class people. In this way, yet again working class trans people suffer an additional burden from transphobia.

So given that trans people are disproportionately more likely to live in poverty and transphobia's worst effects are experienced most by working class people, why is this not a part of the media discourse on trans people? Why are some of the most prominent media trans voices wealthy, right wing figures like Caitlyn Jenner? Part of this is precisely because transphobia is strongly classed; as discussed above the wealthiest people will find it easiest to "pass" and meet the standards of conformity to cis-heteronormative standards expected of professional voices in the media. Equally it is the case that middle class and rich trans people are simply more likely to have the necessary connections to be a major media presence. Where it includes trans voices at all, mainstream discourse on trans issues is dominated by an unrepresentative minority of wealthy, white, middle class, trans women. It would be remiss of me not to note an obvious irony here since, while I am far from wealthy and never have been, as a white postgrad student I am myself far from representative of the majority of trans people and, in my defence, I do not claim to be.

A common means of dismissing trans people's attempts to raise issues that affect us or criticise institutions or public figures that have harmed us as a group is to dismiss us as privileged. Trans people are a bunch of middle class kids or a load of wealthy university students who are just looking for something to complain about. For example, after the well-established journalist Suzanne Moore went on a bizarre, transphobic tirade on Twitter [6] in response to criticism over the wording in one of her articles, fellow career journalist Julie Burchill wrote a piece, initially published in the Observer but eventually withdrawn and then republished by Spiked [7], which while largely consisting of a series of transphobic slurs also perfectly illustrated this ideological tendency. After claiming that she and other transphobic journalists are "part of the tiny minority of women of working-class origin to make it in what used to be called Fleet Street", Burchill goes on to depict trans people as academics with "big swinging PhDs", attempting to silence working class cis women by arguing about "semantics" (the semantics in this case being Moore's use of "Brazilian transsexuals", a group plagued by particularly high levels of poverty and violence [8], as a throwaway pejorative). While trans academics certainly exist, we are far from the majority of trans people or even trans activists, nor are we necessarily as highly privileged as Burchill would like to suggest. By engaging in this erasure of working class trans people, transphobes are able to both trivialise the serious, material effects of transphobia as discussed above and rhetorically exclude trans people from the working class.

In her excellent 2008 essay 'Liberal Multiculturalism is the Hegemony – Its an Empirical Fact' – A response to Slavoj Žižek [9], Sara Ahmed points out that racism is often projected onto the white working class, with liberal prohibitions on overt bigotry serving merely as a means to locate bigotry in some marginalised other. We see a similar process with transphobia, bigotry against trans people is positioned as definitively working class, and thus the existence of working class trans people can be ignored as impossible by definition. A well paid Observer journalist can mock trans people en masse as middle class kids, obsessed with identity politics, because everybody knows that real working class people are white, cishet and hostile to anybody who is not white or cishet. The reality, of course, is that this image of an "ordinary" working class as the default is a fantasy, the working class is a weird, wonderful and diverse class and only a politics that recognises the many and varied ways in which we experience exploitation and oppression can allow us to build a movement to end oppression, end exploitation and ultimately abolish class itself.

CITATIONS

1   European Union Agency For Fundamental Rights. *Being Trans in the European Union: Comparative analysis of EU LGBT survey data* (2014).

2   Rundall, E. C. (2010). *Transsexual' people in UK workplaces: An analysis of transsexual men s and transsexual women s experiences.* PhD Thesis. Oxford Brookes University.

3   The Albert Kennedy Trust. *LGBT youth homelessness: A UK national scoping of cause, prevalence, response, and outcome.* (2015).

4   Trans Pulse.. *Impacts of Strong Parental Support for Trans Youth* (2012).

5   Milbank, L. www.radtransfem.wordpress.com. *Sex Educations: Gendering and Regendering Women* (2012) - Retrieved March 2018.

6   Archive.today. *Suzanne Moore: timeline of trans-misogynistic twitter rant.* Available at *www.archive.is/cZGpC* - Retrieved March 2018.

7   Burchill, J. *Hey Trannies cut it out* (2013). SPIKED. Available at www.archive.is/XVrUP – Retrieved March 2018.

8   Beresford, Meka. *One LGBT person is killed every 25 hours in Brazil* (2017). PINK NEWS.
        Available at *https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2017/01/28/one-lgbt-person-is-killed-every-25-hours-in-brazil/* - Retrieved March 2018.

9   Ahmed, S. *'Liberal Multiculturalism is the Hegemony – Its an Empirical Fact' – A response to Slavoj Žižek* (2008) Dark Matter.
        Available at *http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2008/02/19/%E2%80%98liberal-multiculturalism-is-the-hegemony-%E2%80%93-its-an-empirical-fact%E2%80%99-a-response-to-slavoj-zizek/* - Retrieved March 2018.

STATEMENT FOLLOWING LONDON ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR OF OCTOBER 2017

The following statement was originally posted on the Anarchist Federation Facebook page on 20/11/2017 (Transgender Day of Rememberance). A earlier statement was posted on www.afed.org.uk on 30/10/2017 immediately following the transphobic leafleting at the London Anarchist Bookfair of 28th October 2017 and is available below [1]

Other statements include one by Edinburgh AF which was on their noflag hosted site edinburghanarchists.noflag.org.uk and can be found on ainfos via the link below [2], also published immediately after the bookfair.

Statement from members of the Anarchist Federation

The basic human dignity of being able to choose or express who we are should not be an issue within the anarchist movement. Transgender/non-binary people should never be subjected to abuse or mischaracterisation in anarchist spaces/events by TERFs (Trans-Exclusionary Radical Feminists) or anyone else – anarchists do not tolerate bigotry in the guise of free-speech. It is very rarely that anarchists attempt to shut down debate or resort of physical or verbal violence to do so. If trans activists feel they have little choice but to resort to this in an anarchist space/event, that is a crisis for our movement.

The AF regrets that the opportunity has probably been lost to transform the London Anarchist Bookfair – which in recent years has developed into one of the most important and representative anarchist events globally – into an environment where this situation cannot not reoccur. Whilst the right of people to choose their gender identity is not up for debate, discussion about the relationship between different oppressions and their relationship to the wider class struggle are nonetheless important.

The class struggle and the struggles of specifically oppressed groups under capitalism do not run parallel with each other, but overlap. Our movement can only benefit from education and engagement with the issues effecting trans-people in the context of where the overlap happens, just as it must improve and advance its theory and action in relationship to all oppressions.

Where legal reforms will improve the material situation of trans-people under capitalism, workers with gender privilege must support them as part of the wider social and economic struggle. But this can only take place meaningfully in an environment which automatically defends the starting point that we are who we say we are, and where the imbalance of power which we bring into the movement from wider society is acknowledged and undermined as far as possible.

(Since initially sharing this statement the LABC has unfortunatly confirmed that they will not be organising a bookfair in London for 2018. their statement can be found at www. anarchistbookfair.org.uk)

1.http://afed.org.uk/afed-trans-action-faction-statement-in-response-to-events-at-london-anarchist-bookfair-2017/

2. http://www.ainfos.ca/en/ainfos35997.html

I'M NOT EVEN GOING TO TRY TO PASS

I walked into the activist meeting feeling good. I had on my short shorts over tights and my makeup was good. I took my seat next to a stranger, a transwoman.

"Are you in transition?" she asked me. Like, within thirty seconds. I genuinely think this was the first thing she said to me after maybe telling me her name.

"Well, I, uh…" I stammered.

"Have you started hormones yet?"

I stammered some more.

I get it. She was new to the group and excited to see another transfeminine face in the crowd. But goddam is that some personal shit to ask a girl within a minute of meeting her.

I didn't really answer her in the moment, but let me answer her first question more concretely now: I am "in transition" in the same way that I used to be a baby and one day I'll be dead.

> I am "in transition" in the same way that I used to be a baby and one day I'll be dead.

Until I got asked questions that assumed I'm not yet where I ought to be, I'd been feeling good about how I looked as I was, right then. I didn't need to look more like a ciswoman. Who cares about a little bit of beard shadow? Until I save up what I need to get it lasered off, it helps define my jawline and compliments dark makeup well.

Maybe one day I'll "pass" as a ciswoman. I doubt it. That can't be my goal. That goal would destroy me.

Society doesn't care if I pass, I don't think. What they care about is that I look like I'm trying. Which leaves me two options: pass or fail.

I don't want to play that game at all.

* * *

An acquaintance of mine, who was loved dearly by people I love, was a transwoman named Feral Pines. She died in the Ghost Ship fire in Oakland last December. She died doing something I also do: playing electronic music in a weirdo DIY

venue. Sometimes, when people you know die, you selfishly think about your own mortality.

A few evenings later, the night before my 34th birthday, I was thinking about Feral's death and life. It was the last night of my early thirties. I'm getting older. All I could think was: "Oh god, I don't want to die a boy."

I came out to friends and family the next day.

* * *

A pretty common conversation I've had over the years, as I've publicly mused about transitioning (there's that word again; I guess I use it myself), goes like this:

"Margaret, you shouldn't transition, because you're a handsome man but you'd make a kind of ugly woman, no offense."

Sometimes I have that same conversation with myself.

Sometimes I have it with myself daily for months and I stress eat and mope and think unpleasant thoughts. Then I remember that I am what I am and dammit isn't the point of punk to not give a fuck about what society expects me to look like, to act like, to consider beautiful?

To quote the CrimethInc poster, "Beauty must be defined as what we are, or else the concept itself is our enemy."

* * *

It was easy to come out to my friends. I can filter my friends by their reactions. Anyone who has trouble with me as a transwoman isn't my friend. It's that simple.

Around my friends, in both anarchist and science fiction spaces, being a non-passing trans person scarcely even marks me as different. I might be the only one at any given party — though I doubt it — and I'm sure it colors people's reactions to me to some degree, but overall it's a non-issue. I'm fairly certain I'm known more as Margaret-who-writes-sci-fi or Margaret-who-almost-never-comes-to-meetings-and-when-she-does-she's-sort-of-grumpy and not as Margaret-the-trans-girl-who-doesn't-pass-for-shit.

It was harder to come out to my family.

I want to be clear: while it's not the easiest thing they've ever dealt with, my family has been supportive.

But it's with them that I feel the most pressure to look like I'm trying to pass. This pressure is almost entirely in my own head; my family doesn't ask me when I'm going to start hormones or anything like that. But there's really only one trans narrative that has broken into mainstream understanding — that of the person trapped in the wrong body, who needs to physically transition — and I find myself wanting to be legible to the people that I love. I want to be dealing with something that they can understand. I want them to be able to talk to their friends and have their friends get it.

That probably won't happen.

* * *

For the first several months after I came out, I was a wreck. My self-esteem was through the floor. As soon as I judged myself by feminine beauty standards, everything went to shit.

Cisfeminine people deal with this too, of course. I find myself thinking "my shoulders are too broad" or "my waist is too square with my hips" or "my stomach isn't flat" and those thoughts — or comparable ones — have run through the mind of every woman I know. Feminine beauty standards are absurd. It's just that I'm newer to dealing with them.

There's a specific kind of monstrosity that is the transwoman, though. A passing transwoman is a monster because she's a deceiver. A non-passing transwoman is a monster because she is a pitiful, shameful being, a lost soul forever trapped in body limbo.

Without even realizing it, I fell into believing that about myself.

I snapped out of it, eventually. I don't want to look like I'm trying and failing to be something I'm not. I just want to look like myself, whatever "myself" is at any given time.

There are probably steps I'm going to take to feminize my body, but all my money is going straight into my teeth these days, so it's hard for me to even consider anything that requires financial investment. I think about feminization the same way that I think about future tattoos. I'm not not-myself because I don't yet have the city of Hronople tattooed on my left thigh. I'm not not-myself because I still grow thick black hair on that same thigh.

* * *

There's no reason for me to believe that my experience is typical of, or generalizable to, transwomen as a whole. I would never tell you that all transwomen can or should share this attitude about transition. The trans narrative that has broken into the mainstream did so by hard work and spilled blood, and it's only holding on by the same. I am in complete solidarity with my trans sisters who choose to go whatever route.

* * *

There's something dangerous but also entertaining about standing in front of a urinal in the men's room while wearing fishnets and a miniskirt. For the time being, that's what I'll be doing, because people don't tend to read me as trans.

When my friends or family "she" me in front of strangers, it's going to continue to cause confusion because I don't often wear the opaque foundation it would take to both hide my beard shadow and tell the world that I am jumping through the proper hoops to be accepted.

Many people are just going to outright not believe or understand me when I refer to myself as a woman. That's fine. I'm probably not going to bother trying to convince society at large who I am. It's too much work and it's too self-destructive. I didn't live this long iconoclastically to waste my time with shit like that now. My friends know me as "she," my family knows me as "she." I get to write my own bios in my books, so I'll continue to publish as "she." People will either accept it or they won't.

Margaret Killjoy is a transfeminine author and editor currently based in the Appalachian mountains. Her most recent book is an anarchist demon hunters novella called The Lamb Will Slaughter the Lion, published by Tor.com. She spends her time crafting and complaining about authoritarian power structures and she blogs at birdsbeforethestorm.net.

> "What is an **anarchist?** One who, choosing, accepts the responsibility of choice."

Ursula K. Le Guin
(October 21, 1929 – January 22, 2018)

Rest in Power, Ursula
by Emma Pooka

"What is an anarchist? One who, choosing, accepts the responsibility of choice."
Laia Odo, *The Day Before the Revolution* by Ursula Le Guin

In the days following the announcement of Ursula Le Guin's death, my social media feeds were full of articles, posts and tweets calling her various versions of "the mother of literary Science Fiction", praising her for "transcending genre" and implying that she single-handedly remoulded Sci-Fi from a swamp of Boys' Own space adventures into the diverse and politically complex exploration of human society and its potential that causes so much anguish to Alt-Right whiners today. It's a nice sentiment, but I don't think she would have agreed.

While her anthropological, roots-up world-building certainly helped to broaden the scope of SF (and the demographics of its protagonists), Le Guin would have had no truck with that false dichotomy of the serious, socially conscious New Wave vs. pulpy Space Opera. Her stories have their roots in both. She cut her teeth on the pulp magazines and never dodged the SF label, even when it was a dire insult. While Margaret Atwood, for many years, was cagey about being called either a feminist or a Science Fiction writer, Le Guin always wore both those badges with pride and defended them to all comers (ultimately talking Atwood around to at least one of them). She didn't turn Science Fiction into serious social commentary; her extraordinarily detailed worlds and breath-taking prose just underlined that it always had been. Which is a much greater and more ambitious achievement – not

saying "Look at me, creating a new way of doing things" but "Look at yourself and the familiar things you think you know, and see them in a new way."

That's the message I take away from her work, the fiction and essays and the writing workshops I've used so often - alone or with students - and learned so much from, again and again. That's the anarchism I take away from *The Dispossessed* and *The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas* and *Unlocking the Air* and *Solitude* and *Four Ways to Forgiveness* and *Always Coming Home* - so many ways to revolution, but it always starts with seeing the world as it is and then imagining it can be different. That's what the best SF always does, and that's what Le Guin did so incredibly well.
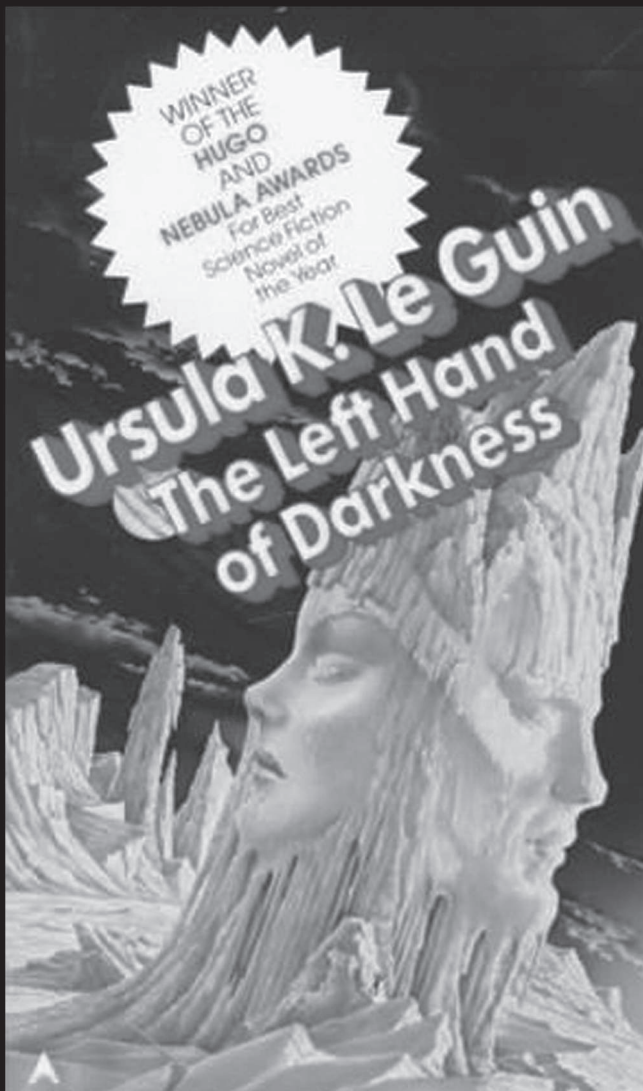
It might not be exactly true to say that Ursula Le Guin made me an anarchist, but she certainly made me the anarchist that I am. Sure, I read Bakunin and Kropotkin and Goldman and Parsons. I read about the Haymarket Martyrs and the Kronstadt Rebellion. I read William Morris' *News from Nowhere* and George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*. But *The Dispossessed* was the first thing that made me really believe in an anarchist society – not just political "I agree with this!" belief, but visceral "If I squint, I can see it, I can see how it would work!" belief, that sense that another world really is possible: not an idealist vision of a perfect world with no failings, but an all-round vision of a robust, human society that can absorb a little failure and survive it and grow and keep on developing. I will always be grateful for that vision.

Rest in Power, Ursula. May you be reborn on Anarres.

Gendered Language in

in

Ursula Le Guin's Gethen Stories

Science Fiction is at its best when it explores everyday human problems and prejudices through their extrapolation into extreme scenarios; disasters show the best and worst sides of humanity, while dystopias explore the full implications of the political and social impulses that govern us. More unusual, subtler and equally effective, is SF that explores aspects of humanity through their absence. While utopias eradicate society's problems and dystopias exaggerate them, Le Guin creates, from scratch, ambiguous societies of human aliens who have never experienced problems central to our particular brand of humanity, extrapolates a culture, history and mythology from the inherent differences in socialisation, and goes on to explore the problems that they do have.

With Gethen, Le Guin challenges our world's social construction of gender and explores its fundamental influence on our notions of identity by creating a world of human hermaphrodites. Unlike us (but in common with most other mammals) they have an oestrus cycle, so that they are only sexually active for a few days each month (known as "kemmer"). A Gethenian may enter this state as male or female, depending on many factors beyond their control, including the state of those kemmering close to them at the time. If a Gethenian conceives, "she" remains female throughout pregnancy and lactation, then returns to a state of "somer"

and could be male next kemmer. In somer, Gethenians are without sexual drive and physically androgynous.

This biological and sociological re-imagining of sex brings with it the problem of writing a genderless society in a language that is not equipped to describe genderlessness, for an audience barely equipped to imagine it. The linguistic problem exacerbates the perceptual one, and Le Guin has dealt with this in various ways, with varying degrees of success. Initially, she uses masculine pronouns as neutral – or, at least, views Gethen through a human male character who does so, in the novel The Left Hand of Darkness (1969). Shortly before this she had published a short story set on Gethen, but had not been aware at the time of the Gethenians' unusual physiology. She re-wrote this story, Winter's King, for a 1975 collection, this time using feminine pronouns for all characters while keeping the masculine titles of "King" and "Lord" to retain ambiguity. Eventually, with such deft linguistic gymnastics that the casual reader barely notices, she wrote a Gethen story eschewing the use of gendered pronouns altogether, Coming of Age in Karhide (1995).

I'll talk first about The Left Hand of Darkness, since this is the first Gethen story that Le Guin wrote with the deliberate intention of making Gethen a world of androgynes. It is not, primarily, a story about gender. It is a story about the politics of small nations, in which a naive envoy from the Ekumen (a sort of research collective of inhabited worlds) is manipulated by factions from rival countries. It is also a story about survival in harsh conditions, and the relationships formed under those conditions. Suspicion and trust, exposure and shelter, solitude and companionship are woven in with themes of duality and oneness, reflected in the envoy Genly Ai's (and the reader's) perception of gender as binary, and its contrast in Gethenian sexuality and psychology.

Genly Ai, a Terran and a man, finds it difficult to treat Gethenians as genderless. Early on, he says: "I was still far from being able to see the people of the planet through their own eyes. I tried to, but my efforts took the form of self consciously seeing a Gethenian first as a man, then as a woman, forcing him into those categories so irrelevant to his nature and so essential to my own."

His difficulty reflects the reader's, which is made all the more problematic by Le Guin's (or Ai's) use of those masculine pronouns. Le Guin has spoken of regretting this decision, and in her introduction to the re-working of Winter's King she says:"In the third person singular, the English generic pronoun is the same as the masculine pronoun. A fact worth reflecting upon. And it's a trap, with no way out, because the exclusion of the feminine (she) and the neuter (it) from the generic/masculine (he) makes the use of either of them more specific, more unjust, as it were, than the use of "he". And I find made-up pronouns, "te" and "heshe" and so on, dreary and annoying."

While the decision to use masculine pronouns in LHoD is a submission to that trap, forcing the reader to perceive Gethen as a planet without women, it has another, stranger effect: it makes us actively fight that perception, to try to see the neutral as feminine as well as masculine. It also allows us to feel lulled into a sense of understanding the genderlessness on our own terms, before shocking us with startling incongruities such as: "The King was pregnant" (p. 73).

Like Ai, we force ourselves to view each character, by turns, as both male and female. Often, of course, the language (and our own cultural identification) forces us to view important and recurring characters as male, and this prejudice is used narratively – Ai's mistrust of Estraven, his major ally in Karhide, springs from his inability to read "him", to work out his motives and goals, and he especially hates the characteristics he perceives as feminine, dismissing subtle warnings and cautions as "effeminate deviousness" (p.17).

Ai's unconscious, internalised gender prejudices are dangerously irrelevant on Gethen, and only when Estraven kemmers as female does he realise how great his mistake was. He has been judging Estraven according to his expectations of male behaviours, misreading a protective and loyal ally as a manipulative politician, with a mistrust coming partly from Estraven's aloofness and stringent observation of shifgrether (a system of status and etiquette that equates openly offering advice with dire insult), but mainly from Ai's inability to see him as both a man and a woman and neither.

This cultural confusion extends to Ai's and previous Ekumen investigators' view of Gethenian culture and history. We are told that there has never been a full-blown war on Gethen, yet the feuding nations that we see – a paranoid monarchy with a mad king, and an authoritarian communist state with forced labour camps – are far from utopian. The nation of Karhide is described early on as "not a nation but a family squabble" (p.12). Ai speculates that Gethenians, while capable of the same aggression and cruelty as other humans, lack the capacity to mobilise. He says, with characteristic simplicity: "They behaved like animals in that respect; or like women. They did not behave like men, or ants." (p.39) An account from an earlier Ekumen investigator theorises that the Ancient Hainish (who seeded all human-inhabited worlds) created Gethenians as a genetic experiment with the deliberate aim of eliminating war: "Did the Ancient Hainish postulate that continuous sexual capacity and organized social aggression, neither of which are attributes of any mammal but man, are cause and effect? Or [...] did they consider war to be a purely masculine displacement-activity, a vast Rape, and therefore in their experiment eliminate the masculinity that rapes and the femininity that is raped?"

This hypothesis does not go unchallenged, though. In the grip of a long ice age, Gethen is known to the rest of the Ekumen worlds as "Winter"; cold and starvation have had as much influence on the moulding of Gethenian society as has genderlessness, and which of these forces are responsible for Gethen's unique characteristics, we are left to guess.

The same researcher speculates that the lack of sexual frustration or competition (since all are released from other duties for kemmer, and nobody is barred from the kemmerhouse) dulls ambition and slows technological progress, but again this is left open to the possibility that survival of the intense cold is a factor.

Technological progress happens slowly and steadily on Gethen. Large communal buildings stand for thousands of years, being repaired rather than demolished and replaced. Their greatest technological marvel is a highly efficient camping stove that can heat a tent for months on a single fuelling, but they have very few powered vehicles and no flight (with no flying animals to inspire

it). Resources are not wasted on anything but food and warmth. Travel is undertaken on foot, or by catching a supply vehicle headed in the same direction. Gethenians don't rush to reach any destination, physical or technological – they get where they're going without hurrying. Even the perilous journey across the ice that constitutes the second half of the story, compelled as it is by the need to arrive before supplies run out, is slow-paced and careful, with more development of character and setting than action or plot. Despite the lack of pace, the novel makes gripping reading. Each new discovery about the nature of Gethenian physiology and society, each shift of perception in the complex relationship between friends and aliens, every unexpected word and phrase connects theme to plot to character, and these quiet, thoughtful interactions are more riveting than any hectic chase over thin ice.

The revised Winter's King demonstrates the reasons why Le Guin chose not to use feminine pronouns as neutral in The Left Hand of Darkness. Not only is the feminine more specific, but instead of giving the impression of a planet without men (as the opposite tactic implied the absence of women) it seems to suggest only that the characters important enough to have their movements described – the King, the palace officials and politicians – are female, while those mentioned too briefly for a pronoun to be necessary (staff and subjects) remain male by default. Because the use of the feminine rather than the masculine is being reconsidered, the neutral escapes consideration altogether. As in LHoD, the reader struggles against these perceptions, as King Argaven struggles against the mindforming aimed at manipulating her rule, but it is a harder struggle to see she as neutral than he, and the overall effect is not of androgynes but of a world ruled by women using masculine titles. It is a good antidote to the use of male as neutral, a challenge to the reader's perceptions and the writer's skill at manipulating them, but since thealiens' sexual difference to Gethenians isn't made explicit until two thirds of the way through the story, there is no real sense of androgyny in the characters. That said, the failure at androgyny leads, at least, to seeing more women than men, which is unusual enough to be worth the experiment.

The story, remaining relatively unchanged from its original version, has echoes of Semley's Necklace in its concern with the incongruities of time and long distance space travel, but is most interesting for what it tells us about the Gethenian techniques of brainwashing – which they call "mindforming" and the Hainish "mindscience". This is a huge contrast from the Foretelling of the Handdara, the more spiritually-inclined (yet still scientifically founded) psychic ability glimpsed in the other Gethen stories, and may go some way towards explaining why so many of the kings of Karhide are completely insane.

In contrast to both previous stories, Coming of Age in Karhide has no kings or politicians and is set amongst working people in an ordinary Hearth (a communal dwelling of around 200 people). This is a return to Gethen after around 25 years, for both for the writer and the planet. Le Guin chooses a completely different voice for this story: an open and intelligent Gethenian narrator looking back, with honesty and humour, on the experiences of adolescence. Since the narrator is using personal experience, and speaking in the first person, there is little need for gendered pronouns, and where other characters are spoken of they are either mentioned by name or cunningly pluralised to evade gendered pronouns, save for explicit uses to describe kemmering status. This careful consideration of language provides a very different viewpoint to previous Gethen stories, but nevertheless the characters emerge from the page gendered, perhaps more readily so as the reader has no consciously inappropriate gendered pronouns to challenge. The narrator, Sov, by intimately describing of the aches, pains, clumsiness and shame of puberty, including the first experience of menstruation, cannot help but come over as female, especially since we are left to hear all the anxieties regarding uncontrollable urges and awkward erections from Sov's taller, moodier friend Sether. Their conversation, though they are comparing and confirming symptoms that they are both experiencing, reads like a girl and a boy talking, her with shyness and gentle reassurance, him with angry, humiliated outbursts at the unfairness and inhumanity of it all.

The whispered fears of the two adolescents include losing control in kemmer and committing rape, putting in doubt the Ekumen investigator's assertion that rape is a physical impossibility for Gethenians – never that convincing, since we know from LHoD that drugs exist to stimulate or suppress kemmer, and are used by government agents in Orgoreyn to seduce spies and pacify prisoners. Sether relates a friend-of-a-friend story about a rape that took place when two truck drivers were cut off by snow and one kemmered as male. Sov is shocked, never having heard such things were possible. The story might be an exaggeration, as adolescent rumours about sex so often are, but it seems more likely that such incidents are taboo and that an alien researcher would have had difficulty uncovering them.

This fear of being made inhuman by kemmer may be due, in part, to the characters' awareness of aliens and of their own uniqueness amongst other human races; they are afraid of the animalistic qualities of the kemmer cycle, that it will be like going into heat or rut, while also ashamed that, in kemmer, they become more like the grotesque aliens, who they equate with a hormonal imbalance towards male or female that causes some Gethenians to remain in a permanent state of kemmer. These people are stigmatised as "perverts" and, more tellingly, "half-deads" (indicating, perhaps, that the stigma is not in the permanence of their sexual state but in

their lifelong limitation to only one physical sex). We hear of their existence in LHoD, as Genly Ai is often mistaken for one, but hear more in this story of the fear and fascination they evoke in other Gethenians. They are variously mistrusted and pitied, but not excluded from kemmerhouses – in fact, they often live in and run them, this being one of the few roles Gethenian society deems acceptable for those whose identity and sexuality are so conflated.

These various viewpoints, with their linguistic limitations, may not quite allow us to see genderlessness as the Gethenians do, but they do allow for some striking observations that can shock us out of assumptions we didn't realise we were making. One of the best is this advice from an early Ekumen investigator on Gethen:"The First Mobile, if one is sent, must be warned that unless he is very self-assured, or senile, his pride will suffer. A man wants his virility regarded, a woman wants her femininity appreciated, however indirect and subtle the indications of regard and appreciation. On Winter they will not exist. One is respected and judged only as a human being. It is an appalling experience."

It is both amusing and uncomfortable to be reminded how much we have invested in gender identity, and how manipulatively seductive those heteronormative and patriarchal behaviours can be, even to those directly harmed by them. While it is tempting for any anarchist, feminist or LGBT activist to see a world lacking gender divisions as a form of utopia, Le Guin's transitions to alternative societies are never that simple – there are no utopias, and the removal of one fundamental source of privilege on our world provides no easy answer to all the rest. The binary division of society into male and female is not replaced by another single, overwhelming binary, but by a multitude of smaller systems of status and hierarchy shifgrethor being the most visible of these, stigmatisation of a sexual minority the most familiar. Le Guin uses Gethen not to answer the problem of gender but to provoke further questions on the nature of identity and prejudice. When Ai asks Estraven if Gethenians are as obsessed with wholeness as Terrans with duality, he replies: "We are dualists too. Duality is an essential, isn't it? So long as there is myself and the other." (p.159)

Perhaps we will remain unable to truly deconstruct gender until we can deconstruct the language that we use to reinforce it every day. Dreary and annoying as those replacement pronouns may be, perhaps a story using the Gethenian pronouns (whose existence is implied in LHoD) to describe those in somer, those in kemmer as female, those in kemmer as male, female animals, male animals and (prusumably) inanimate objects would better portray the people of Gethen, and I would love to see Le Guin take up that experiment. Which pronouns would better portray the Terrans remains an experiment for us all.

Editions used:

Le Guin, Ursula, The Left Hand of Darkness, 1973 (Panther, Herts.)

Le Guin, Ursula, 'Winter's King', in The Wind's Twelve Quarters, 2000 (Gollancz, London)

Le Guin, Ursula, 'Coming of Age in Karhide', in The Birthday of the World and Other Stories, 2003 (Gollancz, London)

Assigned Male Comics

Written and Illustrated by Sophie La Belle

Sophie is a Canadian author, cartoonist, and public speaker. She is active in the transgender rights movement and speaks on the subjects of trans history and transfeminism. Assigned Male is her long running comic detailing her experiences. It features the character of 12-year-old Stephie, a trans girl discovering and embracing her gender. While working with transgender children, she "noticed how negative everything we tell them about their own body is, so I wanted to create a character that 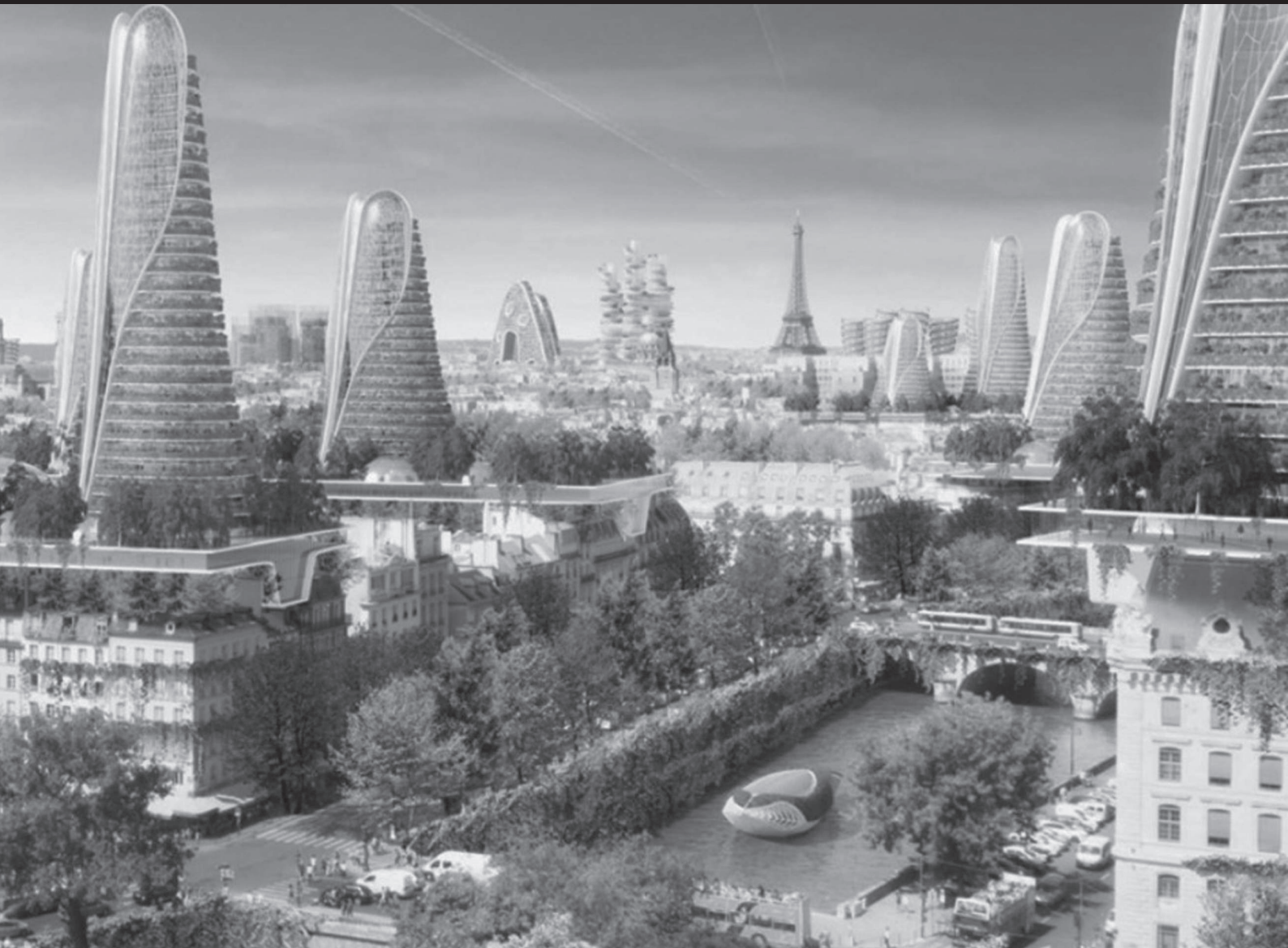could respond to all those horrible things trans kids hear all the time." She has made educational guides to go with the comics, to promote safer spaces for trans youth.

With several hundred comics under her belt Assigned Male is sure to keep you busy for a good while!

Old Site www.assignedmale.tumblr.com
New Site www.assignedmale.com

SOCIAL ANARCHIST FUTURES

After the recent death of beloved anarchist science-fiction author Ursula K. Le Guin, a lot of opinion pieces appeared throughout the anarcho web assessing her legacy, with special focus given to her most overtly anarchist work: The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia. The novel explores, through the eyes of its scientist protagonist Shevek, the ins and outs of a fictional anarchist communist society on a desert moon; organised through free federations of cooperative syndicates, without markets or money of any kind, and with a general anti-authoritarian culture.

As the book's subtitle indicates, it's a piece of utopian speculation on what a better society could look like, albeit one – again, as the subtitle indicates – tinged with ambiguity, and unafraid to point out some of the hurdles faced when trying to create a world without hierarchy, such as the potential for creeping cultural conformism and bureaucratisation.

What's surprising about most of these aforementioned opinion pieces is so few of them seem to bring up the long legacy of utopianism (in the positive sense of the word) that's core to the social anarchist tradition itself.

After all, at the heart of the desire for social anarchy is an impulse towards a truly radical kind of social betterment. Social anarchy, a society without rulership, is not only an image of a world freer than any other, but one which exercises constant vigilance against any potential attempts to make it less free via the emergence of new forms of archic power.

It's even more surprising given that we now live in a time rich with possibilities for realising the very kinds of utopias anarchists tried to dream up – in the sense of eutopia (good place), rather than outopia (no place); with the former referring to visions which guide social progress and the latter referring to abstract dreams which thrive on their own impossibility of being realised. Yes, there are also more dangers and obstacles than over before, but for some reason we can't seem to stop focusing on everything setting us back to the extent that we most often fail to examine new openings for transforming the political, economic, ideological, and cultural spheres along libertarian lines.

Through a combination of social-political and technological factors, the people of the planet are more interconnected than ever before. With this interconnectedness providing a potential basis for a new global universalism; "a world in which many worlds fit" to borrow an aphorism from the Zapatistas, in which unity is rooted in a desire for complementary diversity rather than a desire for sameness and the exclusion of otherness. In technology, we now have a greater capacity than ever before to eliminate human and animal toil through automation, to eliminate the use of fossil fuels in favour of ecological and decentralism sources of energy, and to make the control and development of new technologies cooperative and participatory, benefitting the populace rather than the elite.

So why is the possibility of utopia being ignored by anarchists at best and dismissed as delusional at worst? At least part of the reason may lie in a general feeling of hopelessness

anarchists get upon being faced with what seem like insurmountable problems: an ever-expanding capitalist state system, a frying planet, and now a widespread turn towards cultural reaction in much of the global north and south.

However, other political traditions seem to have wasted no time coming up with their own trajectories towards a better future, despite grappling with the same obstacles. Marketarians (the ones who call themselves "libertarian" but aren't) devote a great deal of effort to proselytising their vision of a fully-privatised world run by tech billionaires. Liberals and neoliberals like Steven Pinker expound a vision called "ecomodernism" which combines green capitalism with a love for technocratic centralism which puts the professional classes in charge. More decentralism-oriented progressives like Jeremy Rifkin a "collaborative commons" based on a coming "internet of things" which will eventually reduce scarcity to the point of near-nonexistence. Even a handful of Marxists have jumped on, with "ecosocialism" and "fully-automated luxury communism" being Marxian reinventions of the very things social anarchists like Peter Kropotkin and Murray Bookchin once advocated.

There's no shortage of futurisms floating around the political imaginary. And while enthusiastic proponents of futurist utopianism from an anarchist perspective do exist, they are small in number and confined to a smattering of blogs, Facebook groups, and subreddits. A few proponents of Bookchin's post-scarcity anarchism here, a handful of anarcho-transhumanists there, but little in the way of overarching vision to tie them together and draw more people in.

The majority of anarchists can't seem to stop devolving into mere resistance to the existing systems of domination, holding on to the dream of a world without states, capitalists, or hierarchy as little more than a spectral "happy place" to retreat to when the realities of oppression, exploitation, war, and ecocide become too much to bare. While social anarchist thought was once overflowing with inspiring and inspired images of the future, both in its classical and new left periods, it seems to lack most of that inspiration today.

Most of the major social anarchist organisations and commentary outlets today tend to be focused on either struggles to defend the social programs established in the post-war era, pursue most of the same cultural changes to expand the autonomy of the underprivileged sought by liberals, or muse about the achievements of anarchists and other libertarians of the past. It's rare to even see anarchist speculations on new ways we could organise a libertarian socialist world; for example incorporating new ideas from frontier disciples like cybernetics, robotics, bio-engineering, or ecological science, just as Kropotkin and Bookchin incorporated the latest scientific and technological ideas into their analyses and

We need to reinvigorate that thought, injecting a fresh dose of techno-ecological utopianism into it. We need to feel less afraid to make ridiculous claims of how awesome and fantastical we want the rest of the 21st century and beyond

to be. We need to take seriously a certain oft-repeated meme from the French general strike and student uprising in 1968: "Be Realistic, Demand the Impossible!"

That's why I'd like to sketch out the fundamentals for something I find to be fatally lacking within contemporary social anarchism: a hopeful, reinvigorating, inspiring, and realistic future-vision; imbuing anarchists and other libertarians with both a trajectory of where we ought to be going, and a renewed drive for getting there.

ANARCHISM AND FUTURISMS

To clarify things a little, let me define what I mean by futurism. I use it here to refer to a special kind of vision of the future, which is more detailed and normative than a mere notion of how things could turn out beyond the present, but less mapped-out than a blueprint (such as the late Jacque Fresco's Venus Project). In other words, a general template of the future based on a certain set of values and features.

In this sense, almost all of classical anarchism had its own unique futurism, guided, as it was, by a desire for a new order in which the state gave way to free confederations of autonomous communes, productive resources were placed in the hands of all and managed by those who worked them, technology was repurposed to increase well-being and reduce toil rather than increase profits and reduce the power of labour, and a culture of gods and masters gave way to a culture of free individuals and mutual cooperation. With regard to the (now) more defining feature of futurisms – technology – as early as 1880, in his essay Communism and

Anarchy, Carlo Cafiero speculated that as technics advanced to the point where production began to outstrip consumption and toil was eliminated through labour-automation, the old commons maxim "from each according to their ability, to each according to their need" would evolve towards a new maxim of abundance: "from each, and to each, according to their will".

Social anarchist futurism could be said to be characterised by a desire to expand the scope of will relative to the scope of toil. But this was not rooted in the kind of naive technological determinism so common in Marxism, in which technological advancement is always necessarily progressive. The social anarchist assessment of technics (techniques and technologies) was one of continual critique, emphasising the need for technologies which made labour pleasurable rather than rote, and designed so as to maximise local self-sufficiency, direct participatory control of the productive process, and decentralist organisation.

Anarchists welcomed new technologies when they enhanced self-determination – with Kropotkin being enthusiastic about the invention of greenhouses and washing machines – but attacked the brutal and centralist systems of mass production beloved by both market capitalists and state socialists. Lewis Mumford, taking many cues from Kropotkin, later developed an analysis of technical development as libertarian as any devised by a self-defined anarchist, stressing the need for "democratic technics" relative to the "authoritarian technics" lauded by both western industrialists and soviet bureaucrats. Murray Bookchin in turn followed both Kropotkin and Mumford in his theories of liberatory technology, adding an ecological dimension to anarchist futurism. Bookchin not only called for

a technics of human-scale, direct participation, decentralism, and local self-sufficiency, but an ecological technics which generated energy from renewable restricted and mended the rift between humanity and nonhuman nature.

While Bookchin and others in his Institute for Social Ecology experimented with new forms of eco-technics from an anarchist perspective in the mid-to-late 20th century, and produced scholarly critiques of more centralist future-visions, such as those of Buckminster Fuller, the initial optimism of the 1960s and 70s gradually faded into a more pessimistic view of the future as the century drew towards a close. With the triumphalism of neoliberal capitalism taking over the social imaginary from the 90s onwards, there seemed to be fewer and fewer anarchists interested in new technology and using it to build a brighter future, save for a few important exceptions in those who became early adopters of the internet and free software as an important tool for decentralist organising and establishing global connectedness. But even this seems to have declined as of late.

In the meantime, a handful of radical leftists have stepped in to recreate what Bookchin and others called post-scarcity anarchism, but (sadly) without the anarchism.

Marxists such as Nick Srnicek and Alex Williams have offered some compelling suggestions in their book Inventing the Future, calling for such things as full-automation of all toilsome labour and the common ownership of the means of production. Though their vision is too mired in too much of the same old statism and centralism which has always plagued Marxism as a tradition. The same goes for the "fully-automated luxury communism" memed by Aaron Bastani and his friends at Novara Media.

Full automation and common ownership of technologies won't be that liberating if control over those technologies remains in the hands of the state, most likely a new state-form directed neither by capitalists nor traditional bureaucrats, but a new "techno-bureaucracy" composed of technicians, engineers, scientists, and other monopolisers of skills, knowledge, and techniques. The "savants" Mikhail Bakunin warned of in God and the State.

This is why it's vital to restate and reestablish a specifically social anarchist futurism, to steer not only all futurisms, but the radical wing of futurism away from centralism and hierarchy, underpinning its aims with an ethos of anti-authoritarianism, decentralisation, and individual autonomy.

TECHNOLOGY

If the long-term goal of social anarchism is freedom and well-being for all, then what technologies should anarchists seek to develop and adopt?

They would, ideally, be technologies which were ecologically sound – using solar, wind, wave, and geothermal energy rather than oil or gas to generate electricity – human-scale and build for local production rather than mass production, capable of ensuring a large degree of self-sufficiency in consumables at the local level, and designed so as to bring about the maximum degree of direct control by users and horizontal cooperation in the process of production. In other words, they should be consistent with the aims of Peter Kropotkin's hypothesised science of meeting human needs, social physiology: meeting the maximum amount of needs, in the shortest time, using the minimum possible amount of energy (including human labour).

None of these things are fantastical dream inventions which exist only in science-fantasy. All of these things exist right now. At the time of writing, they remain in the hands of a few nerds and specialists. But imagine if they were not only proliferated, but their use organised via social-libertarian methods. That is, through community-stewardship, cooperative enterprises, and horizontal participatory control by free producers.

Kevin Carson does a wonderful job of documenting their existence and potential uses by anarchists in his exhaustive studies The Homebrew Industrial Revolution and The Desktop Regulatory State. They include free and open-source software, open-source hardware, small-scale fabrication laboratories, micro-manufacturing, 3D-printing, and countless examples of commons-based peer-production online.

Most of these liberatory technologies already have an innate tendency towards decentralist and participatory usage, given their human-scale, relative simplicity, and operations which don't require a strict division of labour between specialist technicians and workers carrying out rote instructions; as well as eliminating labour where possible.

Imagine, for example, getting up in the morning and being able to walk into a fully-automated supermarket, with a robotised vertical farm overhead where all the food is grown, and being able to take any goods you like without any money being exchanged, while computers keep track of demand and supply levels so as to figure out what to grow and how much of it to stock. Then you could walk down to your neighbourhood centre, located where the gaudy shopping mall used to be, filled with creative teams of local specialists in fabrication and repair, using decentralist technics to make everything from computers to home appliances to works of art; their work and tools longer hindered by the artificial scarcity of intellectual property laws and distributed on the commons principles of "to each according to need", or at most trading favours.

This is a brief glimpse of what a libertarian technics could look like in a future economy of the commons, though it's one we'll likely never see if the route of technical change isn't directed away from the statist and capitalist imperatives towards centralised control and mass production; useful for making weapons and surveillance, but not so useful for meeting human and ecological needs.

What social anarchists need to do in response to this changing technological milieu get serious about the course of technological development, actively push it in the direction of ecological design, decentralism, smaller scaling, and participatory control. We can't just take over the ecocidal,

centralised, and bureaucratic infrastructure of the capitalist state system and expect to make it run according to worker self-management. Authoritarian technics can't be made to run according to libertarian logics.

CULTURE

New worlds have to exist in the social imaginary before they exist in recognised reality.

Before a thing can be actualised through a society's "megapolitics" (governance and jurisprudence) it must gain credence through the society's "infrapolitics" (culture and ideology). Infrapolitics – infra- coming from the Greek "under" – refers to forms of social action which are not usually counted as political, but have political resonance through their effects and affects on people's thoughts and behaviours. Infrapolitical struggle refers to the ethical, aesthetic, spiritual, and intellectual fights to alter the mental and behavioural composition of a culture; which in turn has a long-term effect on the composition of the political and economic system.

Looking back at the classical anarchist and libertarian socialist literature of Peter Kropotkin, Élisée Reclus, Emma Goldman, William Morris, Oscar Wilde, and others, it was brimming with flowery expositions of culture would be invigorated by a libertarian social order; with the arts ceasing to be the preserve of an intellectual elite and instead became suffused into the lives of the common people. The drab and brutal architecture which coated working-class life would give way to beautiful and ornate streets, mixing the ecological with the technological, and the ancient with the modern. The best of painting would no longer be confined to professional galleries, but adorn public areas. Every individual would become, in a sense, an artist; a sculptor of their life in communion with others.

As Herbert Read put it a few decades later, we can assess the artistic worth of a society by the aesthetic richness of its most functional objects: pots and pans. The good Society of the future would be one in which culture – in the "high art" sense of the word – ceased to be a distinct domain of life and became an integrated feature of everyday reality.

This is the kind of cultural transformation we should seek to bring about, one in which the functional and ornamental principles are fused, where the line between economical and aesthetic choices becomes blurred, as the orientation of both is geared towards continually increasing the bio-psycho-social well-being of people and planet.

While social anarchists have always had a presence in arts and culture – from early modernism, to experimental theatre, to hippiedom, to punk, to alternative comics, to science-fiction literature – this has, for the most part, been in the form of individual anarchists using art to explore alternative states of being on a personal level, rather than growing a mass cultural presence across media and (artistic) mediums, with the aim of transmitting specifically anarchistic values and images of what things ought to be like. That's what we need to do in order to gain the high ground in the infrapolitical arena.

One of the most promising developments in this regard has been the birth of solarpunk subculture in the early-to-mid 2010s. Solarpunk, with its name being a cute spin on both cyberpunk and steampunk – evoking solar power and thus ecological consciousness – is an aesthetic and cultural scene which responds to the social and technological questions posed at the start of the 21st century in much the same way steampunk responds to the social and technological questions posed at the end of the 19th century; with both asking "what

if society and technology took a different route?"

Steampunk rejects the actual future that happened in favour of a fantastical future filled with democratised technologies and anti-authoritarian sky-pirates fighting the forces of empire. Solarpunk, in turn, rejects the hypothetical "cyberpunk" future in which states and corporations rule an even more dispossessed populace in an ecologically devastated landscape. Instead, it imagines the future we might have if we took the very "alternative route" which now lies before us: replacing states and corporations which free federations of communities and cooperatives, using decentralist and ecological technologies to create a world beyond economic scarcity and social hierarchy, defined by autonomy, mutual aid, diversity, and inclusiveness.

At present, solarpunk is quite small, with only a few short story collections and a moderate online presence of artists and hobbyists. But it's potential as soil for growing a larger libertarian counter-culture – whose general orientation is ecofuturist – more than makes it a worthwhile avenue for anarchist focus.

With the imaginary universes underpinned by our increasing reliance on the internet becoming a bigger and more important aspect of ours lives – in particular among the younger generations – anarchists need to pay more attention to the infrapolitical aspects of social struggle, rather than dismiss them (as so many do) as mere window dressing relative to "real" practice.

ACTION

It can't be emphasised enough that social anarchists placing a renewed emphasis on cultural transformation should not be taken as a call to place less emphasis on economic or political transformation. If anything, a richer vision of the future should reenergise anarchists and libertarians organising in workplaces, communities, and civil struggles.

Let's divide social anarchist practice into two rough families of approaches: combat anarchism and venture anarchism. Combat anarchism refers to acts of insurrection and struggle, typically mass insurrection and class struggle. Venture anarchism refers to acts of exodus and creation, typically exodus from the dominant system by way of living off-grid or adopting an anti-systemic lifestyle, and creation in the form of building non-hierarchical settlements or enterprises, or artistic and technological creations.

Both are necessary. But successful action means knowing how much of one or the other to employ in a given situation. In the last few decades, anarchists have perhaps placed too much focus on what's wrong we the current world we're fighting against (for understandable reasons), and not enough on the kind of world we'd like to replace it with. In other words, we've had too much combat anarchism and not enough venture anarchism. We need to appeal to people with discourse and optics which stress the positive features of the alternatives we want to build, emphasising the values of caring, vitality, cooperation, and creativity, and tone down (without dispensing with) the discourse and optics of revolt, struggle, attack, and negation. To repeat, we need both, but as of now, we need to alter the balance to favour the politics of creation.

And in practice, a renewed politics of creation means putting greater energy into building alternative associations to those of the state and capital, then linking those associations together – a feat which is made easier than ever given the instant and costless communication between nodes of a free federation made possible by the internet.

Most people can't, as of present circumstances, picture a far-off future beyond scarcity and hierarchy. What they can picture is an immediate future which contains more of the kinds of things they can see for themselves in the everyday operations of anarchistic associations which help them in their daily lives, such as participatory budgeting programs, popular assemblies in neighbourhoods, worker cooperatives, free and open-source software/hardware, online groups of peer-producers, and horizontal networks of cooperation between all of the above. And all of the above is what we need to get working on, in addition to existing labour and territorial work in workplaces and communities, and issue-based activism on all other fronts.

Thus far I've avoided giving specific recommendations, due to the need for individual anarchists to tailor a general vision to their particular circumstances, but I believe the following projects deserve to be highlighted:

- Infuse workers' struggles with an analysis of the most sensitive pressure points to attack in the emerging platform capitalism, and develop new and effective methods of worker organisation for fighting the so-called "gig economy" of precarious employment.

- Establish a strong social anarchist foothold in the platform cooperativsm, free and open-source, peer-to-peer (P2P), anti-copyright, transition towns, and commons movements worldwide.

- Tie community movements together through social media, using communication technologies like video chats to coordinate between different sites of participatory decision-making – such as popular assemblies – linked together into free federations of communities.

- Demand municipalisation of resources (especially energy utilities and land) as an alternative to both nationalisation and privatisation, making ownership both communal and local, then demand the enterprises making use of these resources are cooperatised, being restructured to operate through worker self-management.

- Demand the devolution of local government powers to open and participatory assemblies in neighbourhoods, giving them control over the allocation of public investments in infrastructure, housing, healthcare, entertainment, and everything else.

- Use new media like web videos, blogs, free ebooks, and podcasts to create easy access-points for newcomers learning about social anarchism, as well as cultivating (online and in formal academia) an anarchistic "counter-intelligentsia" to serve as thought-leaders and as intermediaries with the public.

- Get active making and promoting social-anarchistic and eco-futuristic works of art, entertainment, and culture; sowing the seeds of a new kind of society in the minds of people through fiction and recreation, while also growing a vibrant anti-authoritarian counter-culture.

TRANSFORMATION

Revolutionary movements which trace their lineage back to the 1800s tend to have a view of social transformation as an apocalyptic rupture, a violent and sudden cataclysm which tears a society away from everything which came before and puts something radically new in its place. A view no doubt conditioned by the so-called "bourgeois revolutions" of the 1700s, in particular the American and French examples.

With numerous attempts to enact this model in the twentieth century, the results have been a mixture of state socialism and postcolonial capitalism. In all cases, swapping one set of rulers for another. Only one, the Spanish Revolution of 1936, got its society anywhere closer to social anarchy.

Élisée Reclus was correct in seeing evolution and revolution as two parts of the same process of transformation, the former being the slow and gradual build-up of small changes, the latter being the rapid and radical shift from one set of conditions to another. Both matter. And transformative social movements have erred when and where they've seen change as a choice between the two, rather than the most apt selection of how both evolution and revolution should be pursued.

It's no longer sensible to believe, as past generations of anarchists did, that social anarchy will come into being after a single definite event in the form of a popular uprising, even in a single location. There's no doubt they'll be moments of sudden rupture with what came before, and most of these will involve popular uprisings of some kind. But there won't be an identifiable "before" and "after" in which we can call what came before as archistic and what came after as anarchistic.

Nor will those movements (plural) which push us in the direction of social anarchy call themselves anarchist, at least not as their primary name. As of right now, they call themselves anti-authoritarians, municipalists, syndicalists, peer-producers, democratic confederalists, Earth defenders, and movements for the commons. Anarchists must be a part of them, helping to push them in a more consciously libertarian direction from within.

What drives both those movements and the anarchists within them must not only be their immediate and short-term goals, but an animating vision of an ecological, decentralist, libertarian, egalitarian, and cooperative future. Not as some prefect and pristine image which can never be replicated in practice, but as an ideal which we continually strive to approximate. A practical futurism.

CONCLUSION

As of 2018, we face some dire circumstances: ecological degradation at the hands of the capitalist state system's unquenchable thirst for growth, the continuing centralisation of wealth in the hands of an ever-smaller number of dominant owners, and cultural reaction at the moves of marginalised groups for greater freedom and inclusion.

Despair may be an understandable reaction in the face of such an all-consuming set of problems, but it's not only counterproductive, but mistaken. It's mistaken because when you look at all the possibilities, there's just as much rational justification for hopefulness.

Given the cacophony of competing futurisms – many authoritarian, some libertarian, most somewhere in-between – social anarchists need to steer the futurist conversation in a more libertarian and egalitarian direction, calling for the fruits of technological enrichment are both shared by all, and directed by all from the bottom up.

We need to suffuse the social imaginary with a future-vision rooted in the ideal of the commons (decentralised cooperation) and in libertarian management of those commons. At the same time, we need to put that vision into practice through continued combat against the forces and relations of rule, as well as new ventures to creatively generate and sustain alternatives to them. Sometimes this will involve working specifically as anarchists among other anarchists, guided by a general agreement on ideas and tactics. Other times it will mean working within broader popular movements and projects among non-anarchists, trying to steer them in a more anarchistic direction: away from centralism and towards free cooperation.

It'll be hard-going, and most of us probably won't see a fully-realised anarchist world within our lifetimes, but if we keep that vision of a world beyond domination in our minds, every step we take towards that ideal will at least be a step in the right direction, making our universe a little bit freer and a little bit more caring in every moment.

An expanded and referenced version of this essay is available at Solarpunk Anarchist .com

APOLOGIA FOR KILLMONGER

The purpose of this text is to analyse the political subtexts contained within the film Black Panther. Its genesis was in the course of a debate held between the author and two friends originally from Zimbabwe who held a different perspective on the merits of Killmonger. The author wishes to posthumously exonerate Killmonger, one of the most sympathetic villains seen on screen (possibly exceeded by the "carpetbaggers" depicted in "Gone With the Wind" or "Birth of a Nation"). In the context of Marvel films, the Vulture as rendered by Michael Keaton in Spiderman: Homecoming is resoundingly trounced as a memorable foil to the protagonist. The Vulture varies between lackadaisical and conniving, conforming to the strictures of what Hollywood anticipates a unionised worker to be. This reading of the character of Killmonger is taken solely from the films, Killmonger as depicted in comics appears to have had a quite distinct origin story and motivation.

It will be beneficial to delineate some characters discussed within. The eponymous character, "Black Panther", or "T'Challa" was portrayed by Chadwick Boseman. The character was first introduced in the Marvel cinematic universe in "Captain America: Civil War". Boseman's love interest "Nakia" was played by Lupita Nyong'o, the chief of his personal security (the "Dora Milaje"), "Okoye" is played by Danai Gurira, the chief of the Border Tribe, "W'Kabi", was played by Daniel Kaluuya, "M'Baku" (in the comics, "Man-Ape", helpfully excised as a title), Black Panther's initial rival for rulership of Wakanda, is played by Winston Duke, his initial target for reprisal for the killing of the former ruler of Wakanda, "W'Kabi", "Ulysses Klaue" was played by Andy Serkis, a CIA agent interloper, "Everett K. Ross", was played by Martin Freeman, Letitia Wright played the Black Panther's sister, "Shuri" and Michael B. Jordan portrayed the Black Panther's eventual antagonist, "Erik Stevens" (Killmonger). Nabiyah Be also had brief, though captivating, appearances as Erik's partner in crime.

Before launching into the political reading of the film, a few acknowledgements can be made. The film veers clear of being propaganda for the prevailing order. It is an entrancing tale, carefully woven, incorporating idyllic pastoral scenes along with technological colossi in a panorama encapsulating the pinnacle of African society. The spectacle is beautiful and appealing to a global audience. However, even in the most innocuous scenes, ideology creeps in at the periphery. Early in the film, in a discussion with Nakia, T'Challa stops outside of a city market – we've established that what's described as the most advanced civilisation on the planet relies internally on trade. The economy of Wakanda appears to be based on a combination of agricultural cultivation, artisinal handicraft and technology which would appear to be the fruition of an accelerationist's fantasy. The necessity of exploitation seems to be elided with the plot device of "vibranium", which powers and enables the automation of the complex emergent society (without eliminating the presence of a "merchant" tribe, unfortunately). A market unaccompanied by shanties and unharangued by state forces seems to approximate a synopsis for the society. Internal dissent seems limited to the Jabari, the mountain tribe led by M'Baku. The Jabari

can be interpreted as the "anti-civilisational" dissident faction who disapprove of the current technological direction of the leadership.

Gender is handled carefully within the film. There are impressive components, with the Dora Milaje, modelled in part on the Amazons of Dahomey (described by Walter Rodney in "The Underdevelopment of Africa" and elsewhere), being remarkably competent fighters. Nakia is portrayed as being a potential combatant in the trial by combat to determine the ruler of Wakanda and a stalwart figure throughout. Shuri is depicted as being instrumental in the development of several technical elements of contemporary society, including their transport system – in contemporary society black individuals are among the most under-represented in fields such as engineering and computer science (and Letitia accomplishes this with levity, flourishing a gesture befitting Proverbs 6:13). However, there are unexamined aspects of Wakandan society which are fairly repressive – tribal succession replicates hereditary monarchy based on male primogeniture, with precedence given to an adult male heir rather than to a surviving wife (most likely due to the tradition of trial by combat). In the opening narrative, such a tradition appears to receive its sanction from an ancient God – *a deo Rex, a Rege lex.* The Jabari tribe is portrayed as predominantly patriarchal. Most tribes have active participation from women, but the Jabari emerge as a solidly masculine bloc to challenge T'Challa for succession to the throne. Winston Duke does provide a masterful performance as M'Baku for the brief screen time he's allotted, transforming from languor to ferocity with alarming alacrity and providing the audience's biggest laugh during a bathetic moment involving T'Challa's family imploring M'Baku's aid.

Part of the strength of the film is how it provides a chimaerical version of a culture melding many different African predecessors, particularly evident in the luxurious tableaux of costumes on display. Inspirations range from the lip plugs of the Mursi people of Ethiopia (neatly transposed against a suit) to apparel which could have been derived from the complex masquerades of Nigeria and Sierra Leone or traditional kente cloth. Perhaps one of the detractions of the film is that the disparate tribes are given scant attention, plenaries are dominated by the decisions of T'Challa and later Killmonger – their contribution to Wakandan society appears to be primarily aesthetic rather than material.

One of the most striking visual elements of the film is during the dream sequences where T'Challa and then Killmonger are transported into an afterworld to confront their ancestors. The sky in both instances takes on an ethereal and suitably regal purple tinge as the dreamer becomes appropriately illuminated. Another motif which worked well was the recurring use of drums in the film's soundtrack, reminiscent of the use of bamboo flute throughout Kurosawa's oeuvre. It was, however, disappointing not to encounter Run the Jewels after they were tantalisingly featured in the trailer for the film.

The gist of the argument must be prefaced once more: Killmonger is a blemished character, to put it mildly. Jordan inhabits the role with suavity and panache, with a suffusion of menace when required. Several of the actions he takes are unconscionable and would necessitate resistance if encountered in reality. With that said, Killmonger could be described as a better ruler than T'Challa and perhaps more in accordance with the platform of the Black Panther Party.

The Black Panther Party had its genesis at approximately the same time as the comic character, leading to the Black Panther briefly being reintroduced as "the Black Leopard" in 1971 with explicit reference to avoiding confusion with the political group. The Black Panther Party's expanded a point in their ten in their ten point program regarding police brutality and murder (unfortunately still searingly relevant), clarifying that they believe all black people should arm themselves for self-defence. Killmonger merely transcends such a notion by organising a secret society to instantiate an armed insurrection (in a slightly more authoritarian model than Bakunin's invisible dictatorship). Killmonger elaborates that the insurrection will involve the killing of the children of the leaders of extant states, a position which is fairly indefensible – though Trump promulgated the notion, stating in 2015 that family members of "terrorists" should be killed. Such an approach was a facet of revolutions like the Soviet, as happened with the Romanovs – it was also narrowly avoided in the Peasant's Revolt of 1381, where Henry the 4th was spared.

Killmonger chooses to assert his dominance once inaugurated as ruler by threatening the cultivator of the grove and bestower of his ceremonial necklace, choking her by the throat. Another way in which Killmonger is demarcated as odious is in his despatching of his working class partner, Linda – after she took part in his Bonnotist escapades with aplomb – merely to more swiftly eliminate Klaue. Klaue in turn is presented staidly, with the writers conjuring a relict of a former colonial administrator without the overtness of Ellis from Burmese Days. There's a certain subtlety to the intimation that he's the same "speed" as Ross (it's caught on the edge of a remark). Few tears were shed when he met his violent end, enabling Killmonger's accession to the sanctum of Wakanda. One jarring omission on behalf of the writers is the treatment of Killmonger's past as a participant (in the Joint Special Operations Command) in the Iraqi and Afghani war. Each of these terrains was assuredly as integral to the US imperial project as any CIA objective and combat is still being prosecuted in both countries in order to discipline recalcitrant parties. Yet this revelation is presented as part of the fabric which qualifies him to be a worthy ruler.

Still, despite the apparent flaws, the actor Chadwick Boseman claims he identifies more with Killmonger. The two leaders of Wakandan society enact similar compromises. Neither hesitates to kill nor maim where necessary to accomplish their aims. T'Challa does not fundamentally alter Wakandan traditional practice, whereas Killmonger institutes reforms which would eliminate combative ritual and also make the society more internationalist. T'Challa is willing to collaborate with the CIA, whereas Killmonger would prefer to execute malefactors. The distinction Boseman admires about Killmonger is that he experienced what life would be like for an actual black person in the US living in Oakland, rather than someone living in a life of isolated privilege like T'Challa. Killmonger's story arc is fanciful, but disbelief can be suspended. As mentioned above, black individuals are presently under-represented in fields such as engineering and furthermore, MIT has a lower black student body rate than US society generally and black graduation rates are lower than other demographics (being raised with one parent dead would put Killmonger at a further disadvantage). With that said, education and lifespan outcomes are amongst the best for black US veterans than for almost any other profession. Black male lifespan in the US in general, despite

being substantially lower than that of white males, would still starkly contrast with that of Chad or the Central African Republic which is about 20 years lower – these countries may be prospective neighbours of Wakanda, which cements concerns discussed below.

The central political allegory in the film is a dispute between a form of largely illusory "splendid isolationism" (which perhaps saw some fruition in the administration of Grover Cleveland) and neo-conservative interventionism. These are the two acceptable positions in US discourse, while Nakia's liberal orientation and Killmonger's revolutionary authoritarian approach to egalitarianism represent positions which may be comprehended and ultimately discarded. Ta-Nehesi Coates - firmly operating within the framework issued above - wrote two instalments of the Black Panther series, though neither arc appears to be adapted for this film. One exchange in the film contains a microcosm of the entire debate. In a discussion regarding the role of Wakanda, W'Kabi is urging T'Challa to expand to "assist" the populations bordering them, with an implication that Wakanda would be heavily involved in determining their fate – part of an extension of a doctrine which appeared in its most recent guise as "compassionate conservatism", but could be divined in Hamilton's assertion that "vacant Western territory" is "common Property of the union" in an essay concerning dissension between states, a claim which could only be countenanced given an earlier campaign of extirpation of the native population by the original occupying force in the region. T'Challa implores W'Kabi to focus instead on the border, arguing that Wakanda would be unable to function with a sudden influx of outsiders, which would leave Wakanda vulnerable to destabilisation – this statement could have earned plaudits from groups as ideologically diverse as the National Policy Institute or the Molinari Institute. "Refugees bring their problems with them" can also only be interpreted as an overt nod to Trump's nationalistic campaign. With that said, it's clearly part of the ineluctable logic of nationalism, where individuals are granted rights as a citizen of a particular country in an attempt

to preserve conditions prevailing in a particular region. The ordering of the affairs of a particular group of people manifests in present society in the state, formerly such affairs could be managed at the level of the city or commune.

Nations are omnipresent in present society, with rates of exploitation varying from region to region as capital strains to normalise those relationships. Yet, such a trend merely represents one possible method of ordering human affairs. An alteration in the mode of production whereby all are invited to determine the goods produced and their allocation could render the paradigm obsolete, as conditions would be similar globally – all would be involved in the production process as their capacity allowed and distribution would be primarily aimed at need. Quite apart from the fact that depicting a socialist utopia could perhaps be contrary to the interests of the producers of the film (after all, they are investing their capital in an attempt to make a profit), this may violate one of the precepts of orthodox Marxism, that socialism is not possible in one country. Voluntary interactions between groups not basing themselves on the principle of need must then take the form of equivalent exchange, which is mediated by currency and alienation can insinuate itself (in apparently voluntary relationships of exploitation of those without capital by those with it). With that said, the necessity of global revolution was based on the interdependence of the national economies following rapid liberalisation and industrialisation. Different economic forms coexisted with the rise of liberal capitalism, including feudalism (with slavery persisting in several countries, including India, Pakistan and Uzbekistan) and in some cases what Engels termed "primitive communism". Wakanda appears to be self-sufficient. Tristan da Cunha formed a society without any formal rulers for a prolonged period of time – so a model for a Wakanda without rent seeking and without preserving the notion of "comparative advantage" already exists.

An addendum to the above is whether Nakia's "*noblesse oblige*" represents a break from the poles of neo-conservatism or isolationism. The domestic practice of liberalism is often obfuscation – in the terms of Adam Smith, the government is to set no restrictions on popular entertainments, as a distracted populace is a content one. As phrased by Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a population where individuals are working is one where people will not participate in terrorism (and their horizon beyond work should be constrained to consumption). In practice, "liberal" intervention as experienced by those liberated is often experienced as indistinguishable of that from "conservative" intervention. From Operation Polar Bear to Operation Infinite Reach or from Operation Gothic Serpent to Operation Noble Anvil (supported by Bernie Sanders and resulting in the deaths of hundreds of civilians), it would not be likely for someone subject to such a campaign to scrutinise the motivator for the campaign. However, as portrayed, Nakia does diverge quite markedly from current imperial powers and their allies such as the US or the UK in her refusal to engage with child soldiers. The UK apparently deployed 22 soldiers under the age of 18 to Iraq and Afghanistan between 2003 and 2010, refusing to endorse the Optional Protocol on the Rights of Children in Armed Conflict. The US likewise appears to have little compunction with child casualties, with Nawar al-Awlaki being one recent example in a litany of other children experiencing "manifest destiny" (her brother, Abdulrahman, was killed at age 16 in an attack ordered by the previous administration). It may be worth querying whether legitimate disinterested intervention into the affairs of other countries can

occur – there are a few recent precedents, none of which are incontestable. One civic example would be the TAZARA (or *Uhuru*) railway running from Tanzania to Zambia and funded by a grant from China. China was, of course, wishing to extend its influence in the region and desirous of other examples of successful examples of resistance to colonialism, but without a financial quid pro quo. China under Xi Jinping is more pragmatic, proferring a $4b loan to fund a Kenyan railway. A potential military example would be Vietnamese involvement in Cambodia after Democratic Kampuchea descended into depravity, though this would be accompanied by their own concerns for stability. Pitcairn Island exemplified a case of intervention with no discernible cupidity motivating it, as the UK government ended the sovereignty of the inhabitants after discovering systemic child sexual abuse occurring there.

What of the central tenet of Killmonger's program – namely, the arming of oppressed groups throughout the world? One initial objection a Zimbabwean friend brought up is that it proposed an unnecessary racial demarcation which didn't take into account class position – there are plenty of black people integrated into the bourgeoisie in societies which otherwise thrive on white supremacy. Killmonger at one point refers to "two billion people who look like us", but elsewhere notesthe origin of human life in Africa ("aren't all people our people?"), claiming their program would encompass all oppressed people. While there do appear to be internal contradictions, the wider aspect is reinforced by the fact that one of the destinations for the weapons caches was Hong Kong, which has a notably low proportion of black inhabitants (<%1) in comparison to the US (>%10). This was likely a reference to Dr. Strange's portals of world influence, but it does undermine the notion of a limited scope of potential for Killmonger's quest. The more perverse trope is the echo of his father's claim, after an apt comment about the black population being over-incarcerated that they need to be "ruled the right way", with Killmonger stating that the "sun will never set on the Wakandan Empire". This seems to belie the way in which territory is acquired by existing empires. While there is some component of embedded units and complicit natives, it is very rare to successfully instantiate an insurrection while preserving loyalty. It may be a tactic employed by irredentists with contiguous borders for the territory they seek to obtain, or even in the case of Texas, by intentional demographic shifts. Much more common is the practice of overwhelming military devastation using foreign troops and the establishment of colonies, which did not appear to be a facet of Killmonger's strategy.

Castigating Killmonger for arming the oppressed on the part of the US would be rank hypocrisy. The United States was a country founded on a revolution (arguably sparked by colonial authorities' extrajudicial killing of Crispus Attucks), with a Bill of Rights enshrining the right to bear arms and a declaration of independence proclaiming that a people may abolish a government destructive of the rights of said people. Slaves in Haiti under the generalship of Toussaint Louveture extended the scope of revolutionary possibility to a far greater extent, overthrowing their former colonial masters and inspiring similar transformations throughout South America. Such an action inspired trepidation in the formerly quiescent United States, with Jefferson instantiating an end to the supply of arms to Haiti and subsequent administrations initiating an embargo against the country, in order to stave off the threat of a similar occurrence in United States. This ought to be viewed as a manifestation of white supremacism, as the federalist

papers record principled non-intervention in a Netherlands convulsed by its own internal discord (though this may have also been influenced by more practical obstacles), a meta-awareness that Republics practising commerce may go to war with one another and a knowledge that provisions for standing armies provoke neighbours to inaugurate the same. These would all be sufficient grounding to convince the US to "tend to its own garden" rather than aggressively pursue expansion, yet this was not to transpire. Attempts to stave off slave rebellions were mostly successful, as the slave-holders rebellion did not occur until over half a century later. The cause of abolition was hastened by actions like those taken by John Brown and its eventual formal success was only guaranteed by formidable military action.

The US, apart from its own history of successful revolution, also actively supplies arms, materiel and training to groups it considers worthy. This, perhaps, also forms the biggest detraction of any attempt to merely arm the populace without also instantiating a program (or the "spiritual revolution" Gerald Cohen discussed). In many cases, the groups the US arms can only be considered "oppressed" in the most tenuous of senses. For instance, the *Fuerza Democrática Nicaragüense* of the *Contrarrevolución* was formed of business elites and guards of the former dictator of Nicaragua and were held to be worthy of $19m in US military aid. Various mujahideen groups received several hundred million dollars of support from the US in an attempt to depose the Soviet friendly Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The US supported UNITA in Angola, a formerly Maoist oriented force. The US has also provided material support to Kurdish groups operating in Syria, including the YPG. This presents somewhat of a conundrum to someone committed to establishing a global egalitarian society. While US intervention for the most part appears to have been primarily only to the advantage of a section of the bourgeoisie in the US and their clients in subject countries, similarly oppressed groups could instigate and carry out programs completely orthogonal to the establishment of a desirable society. Many conflicts can be traced back to colonial administration and the granting of privileges to client groups – directly in the case of the Dutch priyayi in Indonesia or even more drastically with Tutsis in Rwanda. Others may have been exacerbated by colonialism, but it's difficult to negotiate a settlement which would reconcile the competing desires present in Balochistani, Bangladeshi, Biafran, Khalistani and Tamil independence movements for example. This would also refute a hypothesis sketched by George Jackson in his notes from Soledad – that the European is by nature inherently aggressive and seeking to dominate others (a position shared by Thorstein Veblen). While much of European culture is martial and reverence for the troops is amplified to a great degree in the United States, such a view is incompatible with history and with a material analysis of the world. Assuming all people to have similar capacities which respond differently in different circumstances, it is clear that certain positions in society reward aggression and subjugation to a greater degree. The US is essentially required by reason of its great wealth to marshal the rest of the world and segregate its citizenry from all others. The present states were formed as a result of imperial expansion – one of the most pre-eminent rulers in the world in terms of base acquisition was Musa I, who presided over the Malian Empire. The Han Chinese empire formed independently of colonial aggression from Europeans. Cetshwayo, the leader of the Zulu resisting British aggression, killed five of his brothers in internecine warfare, followed by his mother and subsequently

killed followers showing insufficient grief at her funeral. Suleiman Zobeir, rebelling against the colonial government of Britain in Sudan, was inspired to battle by the suppression of slave trading in the region. One way Killmonger may have resolved these contradictions would be to make reference to exploitation rather than oppression – waged employment, renting and domestic duties are far more universal in their scope and much clearer delineations. Heuristics would still need to be used, as the exploited can behave oppressively – in spheres related to privileges they hold, in isolated interpersonal relationships and in contemporary society, by acceding to the ranks of the bourgeoisie (or being lackeys for them, like Human Resources members and bailiffs). Bakunin held the lumpenproletariat, who may not necessarily be exploited, to be the most revolutionary force.

Another stickling point in the prospects for global revolution is the instance of Algeria as documented by Franz Fanon in "A Dying Colonialism". Algeria accomplished "self-determination" of sorts by throwing off its colonial masters, without resolving internal contradictions. These finally manifested in a military coup following the election of an Islamic party and a civil war claiming the lives of tens of thousands of people. Incidentally, one of the prime exponents of the torture of native Algerians, Paul Aussaresses, would later instruct students in the School of the Americas on interrogation and torture, tactics later implemented in the CIA Phoenix Program against the Vietnamese. The CIA would also allocate $100k for the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, but were ultimately beaten to it by Belgian operatives. The profound turpitude of the CIA's involvement in regime change in former colonies juxtaposed against the scene of Ross shooting down a weapons cache aimed at liberation of the oppressed did induce a sense of grim revulsion. Ross being lauded while Killmonger perishes is an allegory for centuries of defeats and recuperations in egalitarian movements. Killmonger's departure does give the opportunity for Marvel to introduce and fully flesh out other villains from the mythos such as Madam Slay and her assistant Mute, which could be phenomenal if handled well.

FALC

On Punching Left

This piece is intended as a rather tepid defence of "fully automated luxury communism" as a concept. The "brand" of luxury communism is invariably associated with Aaron Bastani, though the author of this piece has no truck with him as an individual. Rather, there's a germ incorporated within the notion which is worth defending. It is likewise situating the trend against competitors.

According to the Guardian piece on luxury communism, the position was inaugurated in the early 00's in Germany, being adopted in the UK some time later. The stance can be counterpoised against two competing egalitarian trends: that of "disaster communism" and "anti-civilisational" or "anarcho-primitavist" communism in various guises. Disaster communism is in fact theoretically compatible with luxury communism, though it does represent a distinct focus. Disaster communism came to the fore as a model for describing human behaviour in dire circumstances. The study of disaster communism has a long antecedent, Thomas Spence drew attention to the more benevolent impulses of people under duress and Kropotkin likewise noted that the motive for helping anonymous strangers is prevalent in human societies which haven't developed codes against such behaviour. The search for a "human nature" or as Marx termed it "species character" has long been a point of contention. Hobbes found it in subjugation to an individual will, the brute fact of exploitation poses a challenge for a materialist – given the possibility that human societies can be predicated on dominance and subservience, what means are required to prevent a reversion to such a mode? Anarcho-primitivists and their predecessors (notably, William Morris, as determined by views expounded in "News from Nowhere") claim that the entire edifice of industrialisation is destructive of the bonds of solidarity which would otherwise manifest themselves. Yet, such a perspective is a departure from the bulk of broadly egalitarian thought throughout the 19th and 20th centuries – Marx, Proudhon, Bakunin, de Cleyre, Goldman, Berkman and others held that the salvation of society would be in harnessing the power of industrial production, ultimately for the benefit of all rather than a small section of capitalists.

What of the component "luxury for all"? It provides a pleasant contrast to the bulk of communist propaganda, which focuses on satisfying basic needs and our social obligations. To some extent though, it is an infeasible demand. Two components indicate this. One valid and necessary objection is that our present rate of consumption is unsustainable for continued human existence on the planet. Humans are consuming resources and producing externalities such as climate change which could have an irrevocable effect on having a tolerable life. As always, those with the least command of resources are frequently devastated, while those with the greatest power have little impetus to alter this pattern. This is far from an insuperable problem for the egalitarian – if outcomes are particularly bleak, serried misery is not superior to general misery. Addressing the consequences of a combination of the upheavals caused by climate change and demographic shifts towards an ageing population will require systemic social change, some proportion of which will be technical

and aided by automation. The other aspect of the demand is the essential facet of luxury itself. The appeal of luxury is not innate – our concept of happiness tends to be circumscribed within the bounds of satiety (in terms of food, drink, sex and sleep) and the absence of any noxious elements. Many cultural endeavours outside of these – and a large portion of those within them – are competitive and fundamentally hierarchical. Chess provides a limpid example of this – it's a historic pastime still enjoyed at present involving binary opposition and often resulting in an outright victory for one of the participants. There are two approaches to competition in leisure which typically manifest: one is that events without a clear victor tend to lose their appeal, the other is that competition between vastly outmatched opponents tends to be equally unappealing. While this may appear somewhat distinct from the central point of contention, the unifying theme is that luxury has connotations of exclusivity. Even apparently intellectual exploits bear this hallmark. Shelley pondered how many provincial Newtons and Homers were bereft of the dehiscence they'd other experience if nurtured in another environment. Trotsky echoed the sentiment, but Nozick had a brutal rejoinder: we are capable of doing remarkable things which our predecessors and other species on the planet were not, but this does not give us satisfaction. If everyone had the perspicacity of Newton, this would not be a notable trait. Likewise, Howard Zinn records when asked whether their culture had poetry, an indigenous tribe responded that all its members spoke in poetry. The same can be applied for facets of our life which formerly felt like luxuries, such as a stable internet connection, which are now taken as given in industrial societies. The issue is only soluble given the possibility of mutually agreed specialisation, where each focusses on their own field, with germination and rapprochement derived from the free association of equals. Differences, even based on degrees of aptitude at a given task, would not have as significant a consequence on one's life as in a society based on a combination of competition and collusion between systems of power. There are other salient factors in this dimension where enjoyment can be derived conjointly without establishing relationships of domination. The spectrum of activities would include aesthetic experiences such as viewing fireworks or light shows, the companionship of non-human animals and the use of narcotics (though the last of these occupies a unique position, in that many people adopt narcotics as a way of self-medication to relieve the anomie instilled by an inegalitarian society). This is perhaps one reason why Ehrenreich focuses on "joy" rather than happiness as a measure of the beneficence of a particular society.

What of the factors nominally ancillary to the productive process which currently influence how society is striated? One prominent concern is the approach to care work, particularly relevant given the likely necessary shift to palliative care for elderly people as intensive agriculture, health and safety legislation, restrictions on the working week, improvements in transportation and so forth have all increased the longevity of the average person in industrial societies. At present, care work is skewed according to gender, with there being

approximately 4:1 ratio of female to male care workers and average pay being around £7.76 an hour according to a 2017 report by skills for care, based on the National Minimum Data Set for Social Care. In comparison, the Higher Education Statistics Agency reported that there is a 1:4 ratio of female to male computer science students, with an average salary of £44k a year. Similar statistics apply for engineering and formal sciences. So it would be reasonable to suspect that in a patriarchal society, trends towards automation would reflect the needs and preferences of males before those of females (any other genders are not likely to benefit to any degree). Women are also doing more household tasks than men in the UK according to the Office of National Statistics. With that said, we should bear in mind two maxims which I feel are relevant. The first is from Engels in the "Anti-Duhring", where he anticipates a "mode of distribution which allows *all* members of society to develop, maintain and exercise their capacities with maximum universality" - chastising Duhring for believing that professions such as architect and porter would persist in an egalitarian society, rather than that people would perform the task of assisting to design buildings and helping to transfer luggage as their knowledge and inclination permitted (and presumably, there would be no barriers to entry for those wishing to develop the skills to assist in the design of buildings). The second is from Chomsky in a discussion series in Mokmakt. He approximately said "there are some jobs nobody wants to do and everyone has a responsibility to do them". With these two factors in mind, it is possible to consider the trend of automating the distasteful, repetitive and mucky work as beneficial, since it relieves the total amount of those tasks anyone has to do, while seeing it as complementary to the struggle to establish conditions of practical parity in terms of domestic responsibilities and the burden of emotional labour. The means to do so are somewhat tricky though: for individuals socialised into empathising with those in distress, abandoning their caring responsibilities as a form of social strike and expecting those with little to no experience of assistance to pick it up may be an onerous consideration.

Part of the way in which care can be restructured is by drastically deviating from the current approach to having biological parents raise children, which often falls to mothers as the consequences of defecting from caring responsibilities are less significant for fathers at present. Mothers in turn may pass on caring responsibilities to grandparents, which will become less feasible as retirement ages are raised. Mothers occasionally take shifts around their childcare responsibilities, doing night shifts in care or factories followed by taking their children to school and a few hours of sleep before picking them up again. Establishing a social responsibility for ensuring children's needs are met will greatly ease the devastating position these women are being put into.

What of intellectual labour? Once the principle of remuneration is eliminated, this will no longer be a burden and the role of academic will be eliminated. People will be able to follow their interests as their inclinations guide them. This totally coheres with Thompson's account of emergent workers' societies in the late 18th and early 19th century, where there were amateur groups dedicated to philology, mathematics, performing arts and so forth – people evince natural curiosity and endeavour to expand their knowledge on topics. Various barriers to entry prevent them from developing in these respects, not least the need to subsist. Experiments have demonstrated the existence of an "over justification effect", whereby in certain conditions the motivation to perform a task actually declines when one is offered money for it. In anecdotal form, I found it very enjoyable to use MATLAB during a very brief tutorial on its function without the chance of being paid, nor with any direct competition. In another case, I was flyposting posters giving advice on how to resist immigration raids and legal rights in different languages with a friend. At some point I realised that I was remarkably happy, despite the temperature being around 0 and my nose running. If I had been obliged to do this in order to pay rent, I would have been miserable in the same circumstances. Similarly, I'm quite happy in my current job that we're expected to mop the office and take the bins out during an evening shift – it's not a particularly enthralling task, but if someone has to do it, it may as well be us.

I could immediately see how tasks at a former job where I mostly either packed groceries or stacked shelves could be automated or vastly assisted programmatically. However, under capitalism, this would not dramatically reduce the bulk of work given to me – at work if there were ever a quiet moment, a manager would assign another task to me. The other unintended consequence of automation under capitalism is the inefficiency with which workers transfer from roles which have become automated – Hazlitt claims that after a brief period of training, a worker will quickly be integrated into a new task (the possibility of lowering the total amount of work conducted by all is not countenanced). This did not manifest for the weavers replaced by power looms in England, where many became utterly destitute.

What of the problem of nationalism? Trends in automation will merely accompany and potentially exacerbate existing trends of unequal distribution of capital and rates of exploitation throughout the world, as workers in areas with fewer resources will need to work longer hours to produce products desired in countries which would have them in abundance.

The next obstacle would be that of extraction *in toto* as a means of fuelling increasingly automated industry. The immediate example which occurs is that of the Dakota Access Pipeline (or Keystone XL), which carries fraught connotations and must be treated with nuance. One important acknowledgement is that indigenous communities who were displaced and almost extirpated by a white supremacist project are amongst the fore at the protests against the expansion of the oil pipeline. Another, as mentioned above, is that the present rate of consumption of fossil fuels will have a debilitating impact on the planet. One accompaniment which would soothe some of this difficulty would be the adoption of less harmful energy resources, such as solar and wind. Another complement
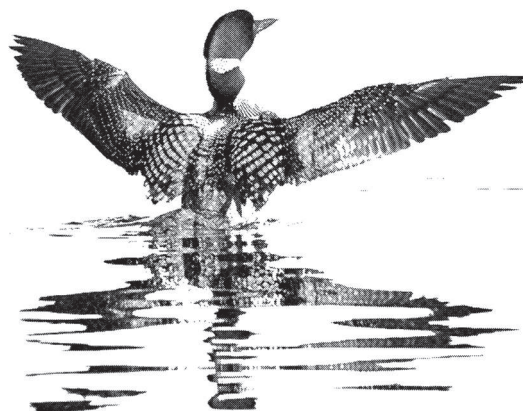
would be that a shift away from the capitalist model of competition would be remarkably efficient in many respects: several roles would become defunct or much less crucial and we could also adopt practices recommended by Kropotkin such as using communal kitchens. There are components to industrial production which are unassailable to sustain the current population. Without intensive agriculture, petroleum for asphalt concrete to make roads allowing for high speed travel and so forth, there would be a huge decline in population and quality of life for the remaining people. This poses a conundrum for an individual anticipating an egalitarian society, one raised before (in "In Defence of Industrial Anarchism"). While we can imagine eliminating most violence and coercion, when confronted with the possibility of mass extinction, it is conceivable that extraction could take place against the will of the surrounding locals.

As for the possibility of artificial intelligence being exploited, it may be necessary to refer to Chapter 7 of capital, which distinguished spiders, bees and humans – namely, that human endeavour has the criteria of imagination influencing its fabrications. Perhaps at some point it will be impossible to distinguish the base states and inputs which culminate in decisions by neural networks and human ingenuity, at which point we can accede to being neo-feudal Matrix batteries. At least we could engineer out the experience of being exploited.

To some extent, this all contravenes one of the proscriptions of Marx, who held that those sketching a diagram of a socialist society were trading in "future music" and that it was more worthwhile to ground oneself in contemporary trends. To some extent, this is fair. It's clear to me at least that allowing workers to contribute to the administration of the industries they are engaged in would fundamentally change everything about the way society is structured, almost certainly for the better, but in a way not entirely possible to predict. However, if we're to prefigure such a society we ought to form some concepts about how it would be administered, allowing us to determine if we are any nearer to approaching it. Claims that some desired outcome are possible is enough to persuade someone to take part in an attempt to accomplish it.

There are residual problems persisting in a society without currency which has made some inroads to abandoning patriarchal structures. For example, pregnancy will be an impediment to performing some tasks – will those who are pregnant receive some form of compensation in turn? What of those tasked to look after children with hydroencaphaly? I believe it may be necessary to set up a scale of utility to determine where resources are most needed, without the concomitant requirement for this to be mediated with currency or payment for labouring. If we resume the convention of exemption from unpleasant tasks based on expertise in another field, there is a substantial risk of the reintroduction of alienation.

JUNE 11ᵀᴴ

International Day of Solidarity with Marius Mason & All Long-Term Anarchist Prisoners

JUNE11.ORG

Hello friend!

It's 2018 and everyone knows the world is shit. There are some of us that have lost freedom trying to fight for a world worth living in. It's for those comrades locked up that we are reaching out to you today.

As you may know, each year June 11th serves as a day for us to remember our longest imprisoned anarchist comrades through words, actions and ongoing material support. In years past it has been a day of celebrating our friends by having fund-raising parties, prisoner letter writing nights, and various actions around the world. Since its inception, June 11th has been a day in which our friends have kept a lifeline to the struggles that they were a part of before the state stole them from us. For many it has been the main source of funds that keep them in contact with family and friends on the outside.

It would mean the world to us to help make this a day to help those on the outside join in struggle with those on the inside.

In Solidarity,
The June11th Crew

www.june11.org
june11th@riseup.net

ANARCHIST INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH THE MAPUCHE RESISTANCE: MARICHIWEU!

The Anarchist Federation's sister organisation in Argentina, the Federación Libertária Argentina (FLA-IFA) had called for protests against the Argentinian government and the international clothing company Benetton. This call was made in response to state repression and killings related to seizures of land of the Mapuche indigenous people, including young anarchists and activists Santiago Maldonado and Rafael Nahuel. In the begging of February, a week of action was organised across the member federations of IFA, the International of Anarchist Federations of which AF is a member. Actions took place in Germany (FdA), Greece (APO) and Italy (FAI), as well as in Argentina (FLA). In the UK, AF members in South Wales, Bristol, and Manchester held demonstrations.

The indigenous Mapuche communities – in Chile and Argentina – are struggling to defend their territory from the plundering and destruction brought upon them by the large multinational corporations which are granted with these lands by the state. These are the same territories that the state had seized from the indigenous people through a series of wars and genocides since the time of the "conquest" of the American continent. In their struggle, they have faced the persecutions, the imprisonments and the violence of both the repression mechanisms and the parastatal gangs which operate on behalf of the bosses on both sides of the Andes. In Chubut, a large part of the Mapuche communities claim their territories, now owned by Benetton, which is only 1/3 of the total 900,000 hectares they have bought throughout the country. Ironically, the slogan 'United Colours of Benetton' portrays the company as ethnically diverse and anti-racist in its core statement of values. Mapuche activists and others

taking a stand against this have been designated 'terrorists' by the state in an attempt to undermine support for them and justify further repression.

On 1st August 2017, in the province of Chubut in the Argentinian Patagonia, a community of the Mapuche indigenous people, together with people in solidarity with them, blocked a street in the area near Benetton's headquarters, in protest against the acquisition of the Mapuche territory by the company, and demanding the liberation of Longo Facundes Jones Huala*, a Mapuche spiritual leader, who has been illegally incarcerated by the alliance between the Chilean and the Argentinian States. Police forces attacked the demonstration with gunshots while the protesters were trying to defend themselves. During the police operation, the anarchist activist Santiago Maldonado was arrested, forced violently into a white van – witnessed by many people – and abducted, since from that point on he went missing. For several months, people reclaimed his appearance, and thousands went on to the streets, demanding a response from the government. Santiago's corpse was found on October 17th, several metres upstream from where he was last seen alive – a brutal reminder of the 30,000 people who were "disappeared" during the dictatorship period, an enduring mark in Argentinian history preserved in collective memory in a way similar to nazi crimes. After his family recognised the body, 55 experts carried out the autopsy which took over a month. It was confirmed he drowned to death, and they say he had no wounds. The result brings about many questions which remained unanswered: how did Santiago drown on a part of the river where he could stand? Why did someone answer his mobile phone hours after the alleged time of death? Why did it take so long to find his body?

Clearly this case, is far away from being solved, and the culprits from being punished. In fact, the only gendarme who was accused for Santiago's death has recently been promoted by the Ministry of Security. Thousands went on to the streets to reclaim justice, and hundreds gathered at the morgue. On the day his burial, a violent eviction again targeting the Mapuche community of Bariloche resulted in the execution of Rafael Nahuel. The government came out to defend the forces of security, stating they were not going to doubt the police's word. Finally, even though the investigation throws out that Rafael Nahuel was unarmed and shot by the back, no one from the Government has declared anything else on the subject.

While the State accompanies and sponsors the usurpation of lands by foreign companies, such as Benetton, it persecutes and criminalises the Mapuche people. The media contribute by installing the idea that the Mapuche are "terrorists" and "violent". On the other hand, it pushes forward a neoliberal agenda, with an ever growing number of dismissals, increases on the price of basic services, inflation and are pushing forward two reforms, up to now, one of the retirement pensions and one of labour reform. The first one affects the retired people and women who receive a subsidy for the children they have, which was approved in spite of the massive and feisty demonstrations held by a people willing to defend their most vulnerable sectors. The criminalisation of the protests has been growing alongside the severity of the measures taken. In each of the marches against the reforms there have been about sixty people arrested. Their method is well known: they hunt down anyone and then invent an accusation. The persecution is clear, some prisoners have had their houses searched, looking for political propaganda, specially of anarchist nature, while judges vow to apply harder laws against protestors.

The most evident measure has been the launching of the RAM report, which was elaborated by the ministry of security and the provincial governments of Neuquén and Rio Negro. In its 180 pages they mention, mixing everything up with no other criteria than that of criminalising organisations and linking them to a supposed internal enemy which would be the RAM group (Ancestral Mapuche Resistance) which would have very convenient contacts with sectors within anarchism, the left, groups in solidarity with the Kurdish people, the FARC and trade unions. We understand hard times of persecution and criminalisation are coming. The Argentinian government have purchased 15 million rubber bullets. During the last demo, four people lost an eye because of them. We call for our comrades all over the world to help us spread the word on what is going on and show solidarity with those of us who are struggling against this genocidal State.

ARRIBA LXS QUE LUCHAN! MARICHIWEU!

* Longo Facundo Jones Huala was extradited to Chile in March. In Chile, Jones Huala is wanted on a number of charges. If found guilty, he could spend up to 10 years in jail.

CAMPAIGN TO PROTECT PONT VALLEY

Local residents have been fighting planning applications for an open cast in this site for several decades and now, Banks Group have taken over approved planning permission from U.K. Coal (who went bust) and have until the 3rd June to start soil stripping or face loosing planning permission.

With legal avenues exhausted, local residents and climate activist have come to together to take direct action by starting the **Pont Valley Protection Camp**. The camp defences are currently blocking the point at which we think Banks Group intend to build an access road. If we can keep the diggers out until 3rd June, Banks Group will have to reapply for planning permission. Considering that the UK government have committed to a coal phase out by 2025 since this planning permission was approved and UK demand for coal has collapsed, it's unlikely that planning permission would be granted again. This is the 11th hour to save the Pont Valley.

Trees have already been felled to make way for the access road and we expect work to be begun imminently, so this is the 11th to stop the open cast and direct action is a necessity. The camp is being supported by activists from the Hambacher forest in Germany who have been fighting the largest open cast mine in Europe for well over a decade.

Why are we camping? Banks Group plan to imminently exploit 500,000 tonnes of coal from the Pont Valley, near Dipton, County Durham via an open cast pit which threatens to damage the health of local residents, destroy the beautiful landscape, endanger rare species and habitats and contribute to catastrophic climate change. The project will only create 30 jobs, most of which will go to current Banks Group employees from outside the area, so let's stop it now and preserve the environment and not let it be sacrificed for the greed of capitalists.

COAL IS OUR HERITAGE, NOT OUR FUTURE.

Please visit us, join us and support the camp in any way you can. Donations of building materials, tools, vegan food, cooking equipment, furniture, wood, camping gear and people power are much appreciated and always welcome.

If you have any questions, just ask. Thank you!

Where is the camp? Just off the A692 between Dipton and Leadgate, opposite Lady and Saint Joseph Church (Leadgate, County Durham, DH8 6RS)

www.facebook.com/protectpontvalley

(Ed. At time of going to press (21st April) The camp has suffered a forceful eviction attempt which has seen several arrests, Banks seem to have secured the site and the campaign will continue on)

CRIBS

and Solidarity for Refugee Families

CRIBS – Care for Refugee Interim Baby Shelters – is an organisation that provides indoor accommodation for refugees in Greece who are either pregnant or have a new born baby. They take on anybody who is in the final trimester of pregnancy, or at any stage of pregnancy with additional needs, whether that's an illness like diabetes or a disabled child. The organisation was set up by a small group of volunteers who met while working at the refugee camp in Ritsona. I met with Sally, one of the founders, to tell me about the ethos of CRIBS and the work she does.

The first thing that becomes clear is the overwhelming urgency of need for these services.

"We can't advertise or we'd be inundated," Sally tells me.

Sally went to Ritsona last March, joining other anarchists who told her they were desperate for volunteers. She has ties in Greece, having lived there for a while in her twenties, and her skills and experience in teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages were sorely needed. She has spent most of her career as a teacher of asylum seeker and refugee children in Oldham, and is a strong believer in No Borders. "People should have freedom to live where they want to and where it's safe for them," she says.

She sees the work that led to establishing CRIBS as a form of direct action, as the volunteers and refugees worked together to provide resources that the state and large NGOs would not, starting by setting up a tent for use as a women's space. "When I got to the camp, there was no space for women at all, no distribution for sanitary towels, no privacy. There were a lot of men, and so the women couldn't take off hijabs and coats, as they had no casual clothes that they felt comfortable wearing in men's presence."

Sally is also trained as a breastfeeding counsellor, and saw that formula milk was being pushed heavily at the camp. "Greece as a culture is not against breast feeding as such," she tells me, "but is very pro formula. We wanted to make sure at the very least that there was somewhere to get clean bottles from, and support breastfeeding and education on breastfeeding. You could say it's an anarchist direct action against big companies like Nestlé, but really it's about women's and children's health."

The diet provided by the NGOs at the camp was woefully inadequate for those who were pregnant or breastfeeding. "It was appalling, really low calorie, unbalanced diets. Small quantities of bread and rice, very little protein, hardly any fresh fruit and veg."

The Red Cross provided some vitamins but no additional food for pregnant women. A small NGO tried to take on this task, but volunteers were inexperienced and bought cheap food – tinned tuna in brine instead of oil – which would not provide the extra calories to make the protein useful. Baby milk distribution was being managed very badly, and there were no proper breastfeeding classes.

"The Red Cross did have a midwife at one point," Sally says, "a really nice Irish lady doing some antenatal support. But their interpreter was a big clod-hopper of a guy in his mid-20s, who didn't even sit on the ground with the rest of us, but stood behind her the entire time. Women had to speak through him, and you can't expect women to be able to ask really personal questions about pregnancy and breastfeeding in that situation."

The Red Cross also generally refuse to provide contraception due to fears this will affect their support in the USA. One of the things Sally and the other volunteers did was to provide additional calories for pregnant and breastfeeding women, at a cost of around 100 euros a day. This involved surveying the camp, and led to them meeting and talking to families with babies and small children.

"I went into the tent of a young woman with four children under three years old," Sally recalls. "The baby had a chest infection – I picked him up and he rattled. There were twins who were fourteen months old and a child of two. There was a bottle she'd been using to feed the baby, who was six or seven weeks old – it was filthy. Between us we were able to get her breastfeeding which probably saved the baby's life."

This was about a week after the border with Macedonia was shut, due to the EU/Turkey deal.

"People were stuck in bloody hellholes," Sally says. The camp she was working at was a long way from public transport, with dangers such as snakes, rats and wild boar, and upwards of 40 degree temperatures inside the tents. The portaloos provided were the wrong type, culturally, and too big for many of the children, so there was excrement in the camps. Later in the year, there was an outbreak of hepatitis.

"All this was half an hour from a lovely little tourist town by the coast, where people from Athens go for weekends," Sally tells me. "Ice creams and a beach front, places selling bangles to tourists, and twenty-five minutes away were people living in a shitty camp."

Sally tells me about Rema, one of the women she and the other volunteers had been providing food for. "She had four boys, all born by caesarean section, and was expecting a fifth. She nearly died due to incompetence at the hospital, and baby Achmed was very sick."

Sally was back in the UK when Achmed was born, and having trouble readjusting after everything she'd seen. She knew she had to do something more when she heard about Rema, who was back at the camp with a caesarean section wound that was healing badly and giving her a lot of pain.

"She had no furniture, she was sleeping on a mattress on the floor, squatting to change nappies, and there were flies everywhere. And if anybody worked hard to keep their family clean, it was Rema."

Sally began raising money to put up Rema and her family in a flat in the town.

"The idea was that people could stay there for three or four weeks after having a baby, and then go back to the camp," she says. "It was a bad idea, but it was all I could think of. I wasn't thinking, psychologically, how it would be to live in the flat and then have to go back to those conditions, but at the time that was all we had money for."

A small group of volunteers set up CRIBS by themselves because of the lack of action on the part of the large NGOs. "One of the NGOs we were going to work with had a midwife," Sally tells me. "To give them credit, they were keen to work with us and provide some of the money. I went back out with 2000 Euros to pay the deposit on the flat." Sally had to carry the cash around in her bag, disguised as a bar of chocolate, for a full week while the NGO deliberated. Then she was told that, because of friction between the four or five different NGOs on site, they felt it necessary to tell the others what they were doing and "Get them on board."

"What they meant," Sally explains, "was they wouldn't do it without support of the other NGOs." Nobody was prepared to take responsibility for the project. Sally sat in a meeting with representatives from I am U, Echo 100 (a distro organisation) and the Red Cross ("inhumane and wasteful") and talked through the arrangements.

"This woman had a long list of 'what ifs'," says Sally. "'What if the baby dies in the flat? What if the flat's attacked by fascists? What if the family refuses to leave the flat? What if they trash the flat?'" The NGO rep told Sally that the families were better off at the camp. Sally couldn't believe it.

"I said, 'You're kidding, you must be joking!'" Looking around the room, she saw that all the reps were in their early twenties. "I asked how many there had had a baby, and the guy to my right said, 'Well, I'm a father.' Then, to his credit, added, 'but it's not the same.' I was so angry," Sally says. "I told them, 'I'm the only person in this room who has given birth. You have no idea what it feels like.'"

Because the NGOs couldn't universally agree to support the project, none of them would contribute resources or take on any responsibility for it. One of the NGO reps said to Sally "We work by the principle of Do No Harm."

"I came home raging," Sally says. "I looked up the Hippocratic Oath, and it turns out the phrase is: 'Do Good, and Do No Harm.' That's where we are. You have to take a punt. It was then we decided to do it ourselves. That was when it started."

It's been an eventful journey from helping one family into a flat to becoming a registered charity, keeping several flats for families to use for as long they need. Registering with the Charity Commission is a huge task, involving hours and hours of paperwork.

"We had the most ridiculous questions before they would accept our status," Sally explains. "They wanted us to send documentary evidence to explain why we're doing this work in Greece." Sally had to send articles about the refugee camps and links to the UNHCR website to prove there was a crisis requiring this service. Many groups with CRIBS' ethos decide against getting charity status due to the work and restrictions involved. So why couldn't CRIBS remain a not-for-profit organisation instead?

"It's horrendous, and very restrictive," Sally agrees, "But if we have charitable status, we can apply for gift aid, which is an extra 25% on all donations from tax payers, and without this it would be even harder to find the £2000 a month we currently need for the families."

CRIBS currently have two large donors, a co-op and a personal friend of Sally's, but most of their funding comes from small groups and individuals – some on low incomes themselves – who give a little here and there. The rest is from fundraisers and talks. Groups who have donated to CRIBS range from The Solidarity Federation (who give £38 monthly) to the Catenians (Catholic rotary).

"I've spoken to the weirdest of people!" Sally says. "But it's largely the small community groups that keep CRIBS going. We've had money from a wonderful scout group, who gave us £700. One of our families is sponsored by a cub group in greater Manchester."

Getting enough to keep CRIBS going is a constant, stressful job that keeps Sally awake at night.

"It's really hard and makes me ill, because we need to guarantee that income monthly, and we need people to commit. Then we'd know we have that money coming in. Right now, I wake at 3am knowing we only have £1700 in the bank, and the bills will be huge because of the hot weather and the air conditioning, and electricity in Greece is taxed horrendously."

One thing that's abundantly clear is how much Sally cares for these families. Throughout this interview she is taking phone calls and answering messages, solving problems and crises: she needs the number for a cash card that hasn't been credited to raise this with the provider, she lets a young man starting college know that she's found him a second hand laptop, she shows me pictures she's been sent of toddlers and babies living in CRIBS accommodation and tells me about their parents: their hopes and plans for the future, their struggles with smugglers and with PTSD, their sense of

humour, how young they are, how much it means to them to have a kitchen to cook their own food in and be able to host others for a meal. This isn't a job or a project for Sally and the other CRIBS volunteers, these are people they have come to know and care about, their friends.

"You have to take a risk on people," Sally tells me. "Some families have ripped us off, but you need to risk that to help those in need. I put myself in their position as best I can, and I say, OK, if I were here, I would lie and cheat and steal if it meant my family could get what they needed. If I needed a false passport to get out or needed to lie to get somewhere to stay for a couple of nights, by saying I'd be there for two months, I'd do it, and people do. It throws our plans out and drives me nuts, but we'd all do it if we were in that situation." This is the responsibility CRIBS has taken on, the risk that the huge NGOs with all their funding and international support weren't willing to accept. Sally is inundated with requests and referrals.

"We don't have anything to do with the NGOs now at all. Referrals come from independent volunteers who know about us. It's been slow and has taken time. We work with an Organisation called Art without Borders, and the person who runs that is one of our people on the ground. We also work with Tent to Home, a similar organisation to CRIBS, and give each other referrals depending on who has capacity. We have a strong social media presence and people self-refer through that. In a way it's unjust because if you're able to read English and have internet access you can self-refer, but if we advertised more widely we couldn't cope with demand."

CRIBS also work with other small charities and non-profits in the area.

"We work with AMURTEL – a wonderful Buddhist organisation providing post- and ante-natal care in Athens. We refer women there for help. Hope Café ask us for advice on breastfeeding or we refer to them for extra nappies. It's give and take. Sometimes it works really well, sometimes people get rubbed up the wrong way because it's hot and they're knackered, but that's the way it works, and generally speaking it does work."

Sally would be reluctant to have anything to do with the big NGOs again.

"I don't trust them," she says, "and so much of the Red Cross money goes either into their account or is wasted on admin. I can't say for sure about smaller NGOs, but I imagine some of it certainly has to go on admin. All of our money goes to paying the rent and bills and food stipends. We'll know soon if we can get some funding from a trust for admin costs, because I'm personally about £4500 out of pocket. That is an issue – we had somebody approach us wanting to volunteer and wanting us to fund them, and we couldn't. They said 'That's a class issue, because I can't afford to fund myself.' And it is, but we can't afford to fund them either."

By default, CRIBS still have to work with the International Rescue Commission and UNHCR, who provide cash cards to some of their families. They also refer to organisations like Praxis – a Greek government organisation providing accommodation and social work support – and in some extreme situations to the Greek NSPCC.

"I'm alright about that when they actually provide a service,"

Sally says, "but it can be tricky, because you have to be fairly firm when dealing with them and play the bullshit game."

Asked about the major issues CRIBS is facing at the moment, Sally says:

"My big issues are money, and then it's money, and after that it's money. The biggest thing is getting a regular income, or groups committing to sponsor a family for a certain amount a month. Big enough groups can do it. Monthly donations make life a lot easier. If you have a group of 30 people and they all give £5 a month you can do it. Most people wouldn't notice that amount."

Although CRIBS is now a charity and cannot work in an explicitly anti-state framework, Sally still considers what she does a form of direct action.

"You might not be out in the street demonstrating, but your action is making sure somebody extremely vulnerable who has mental health problems and small children, and is going to have a baby, has got a guaranteed roof over their heads. It means they have a kitchen to make their own food, which is really psychologically important. It means you can make culturally appropriate food for your family and have your friends round, so you can maintain a support network. It's a big deal.

"If we can't do that for people, we're not anarchists," she says. "We're being mealy-mouthed about it."

CRIBS also need volunteers for admin work, and groups to host fundraisers of all kinds.

"It's a small group who do most of the work, and we could really do with reliable skilled volunteers to help manage the books, the gift aid, the online presence, help with making films and recruit donors to support particular families. If we all look at our friends and comrades we can do this. Put together a group of 15 people to each donate £5 a month. We need people to have our backs."

Sally can provide fundraising materials, and a speaker if it's not too far to travel. She's spoken at Ceilidhs, quiz nights, board games evenings and cake and jewellery sales, to name a few.

"They are fun!" she says. "It's good craic having a solidarity event."

One thing CRIBS does not need is donations of old baby clothes and toys.

"No more baby things!" Sally stresses. "Give them to somebody local. We need money. You can't pay bills and buy food with baby things."

The best way to donate to CRIBS is via their Paypal account (info@cribsinternational.org) or a direct bank transfer to CRIBS International, Sort code 30-90-91, Account number 67078668.

If you are moved to donate, do it before you turn the page or click away. It's very easy to forget. If you can volunteer your time or want to organise a fundraiser, contact info@ cribsinternational.org.

Education by Stealth!

A review of The Red Virgin and the Vision of Utopia
by Mary M. Talbot and Brian Talbot

Since Mary and Brian Talbot's *Dotter of her Father's Eyes* won the Costa biography award in 2012, graphic novels have earned a new level of respect in the literary circles of Bloomsbury. This has led to an explosion in the number of graphic novels being produced and increased interest from major publishers who are able to finance the cripplingly expensive costs of printing full colour books with high production values. Interestingly, many of the new generation of graphic novelists are taking a strongly political standpoint. The biographical work of the Talbots, alongside reportage from the likes of Joe Sacco, has reached a broad audience and used the medium to generate empathy in the reader through the intertwined use of narrative and images; something impossible in more traditional forms of literature.

The Red Virgin focusses on the life of Louise Michel, anarchist and veteran of the Paris commune of 1871, combining the story of the commune with Louise's deportation to New Caledonia in the aftermath, and her subsequent return to France. Through the life of Louise we are introduced to a tumultuous time in France's history: the massacres that followed the commune, uprisings in the colonies and finally the triumphalism of the restored social order in the 1889 World's Fair and the opening of the Eiffel Tower. Throughout, Louise's passion and genuine solidarity is evident, particularly in her siding with the rebelling native peoples of New Caledonia against the French colonialists, of which she was an unwilling member. We also see her as a dreamer, fascinated by utopian fiction and the possibilities of what science and new inventions could offer her downtrodden companions in the future.

In this partnership Mary Talbot is responsible for the storyline whilst Brian provides the artwork. The illustrations are a joy to behold as sombre black and white scenes are punctuated by the red of the communards' flags. Any question that graphic novels lack the detail of a more traditional biography is answered through the use of annotations which provide historical detail and hint at the meticulous research required to produce the book. Many of the depicted scenes are from first-hand accounts of Louise's contemporaries and provide a scrupulous level of historical accuracy and much fodder for those interested in further reading on Louise and the commune. Hopefully the book will go some way to spreading Louise's story outside her native France where she is more widely known.

We discussed the book with author Mary Talbot. Mary's career includes academic work in the field of language and gender as well as more recent collaborations with her partner, the graphic novelist Brian Talbot. We began by simply asking her, why Louise Michel?

'When I completed work on Sally Heathcote Suffragette (a graphic novel about the women's suffrage movement), I was looking for other inspiring historical figures as potential subject matter. Bryan had been sent a proof copy of Alex Butterworth's book on the nineteenth-century anarchist movement (The World that Never Was). That's what triggered my interest in Louise Michel specifically. We'd also recently seen a photographic exhibition in Paris about the siege and commune, which fascinated me, prompting an urge to find out more about that period of European history.'

Q. What led you to focus on an individual within a struggle rather than, say, a graphic history of the commune? This seems to be a theme throughout your work.

'With my graphic novel writing I want to reach as wide an audience as possible, with the hope of introducing people to subject matter that might otherwise be seen as inaccessible, boring or whatever. For a compelling story you have to have characters that the readers care about, in believable situations. You need to immerse readers in the characters' experiences. Hence the focus on individuals, and on strong story lines. The medium is excellent for getting across complex material in an engaging and accessible way. It's also great for communicating ideas along with an emotional punch. I use a lot of endnotes to fill in any gaps, as necessary – that's the academic in me, I guess.

Political activism, radicalisation, direct action – these are themes in the last two books that are highly relevant for us today. But *Red Virgin* and *Sally Heathcote Suffragette* are also just stories about fantastic heroic women – women and girls today need figures like them to look up to, to inspire them. *Red Virgin* is a biography of Louise. Beyond that, it celebrates the utopian urge in nineteenth-century literature and politics and the origins of science fiction.'

Q. Do you see your graphic novels as a way of reaching a larger audience for your academic work, or are they more of a standalone project?

'Over the years my teaching and academic writing have focused, broadly speaking, on language, gender and power, particularly in relation to media and consumer culture. When I started writing for graphic novels I saw it as a continuation of that, but in a new medium for a broader audience. I called it education by stealth! My interests have drifted since, but the interest in gender politics is certainly still there.'
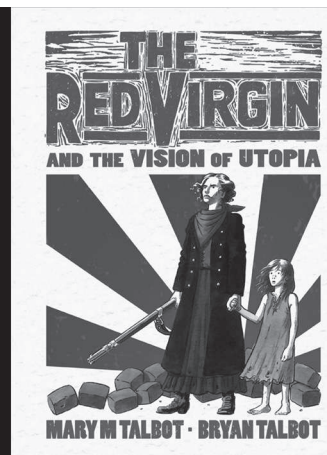
Q. *Dotter* was the first graphic novel to win a Costa (or any mainstream literary award). Why do you think the medium is becoming more highly regarded by the literary establishment and do you think the political content of your books has helped or hindered this?

'Yes, *Dotter* is the only British graphic novel to ever win a literary award and I'm still amazed it happened. There's a huge range of quality stuff around now, in fact it's impossible to keep up with. The medium has bourgeoned and matured in the past decade or so – politics, biography, whimsy, you name it. I suppose that's why it's beginning to be taken seriously in academic and (some) literary circles.'

Q. Your next project focusses on environmental issues. It can be incredibly difficult to communicate scientific information; how have you approached such a complex issue in this format?

'I've made it human-sized, so to speak. The story deals with environmental issues through the lives of its characters. It follows the everyday experiences of ordinary people, while engaging with pollution, climate change, moorland mismanagement and the disruption, misery and loss that they bring. As I said earlier, the medium is good for presenting complex ideas accessibly and engagingly.'

The *Red Virgin and the Vision of Utopia* is published by Jonathan Cape. More information about Mary Talbot's work can be found at www.mary-talbot.co.uk. We reproduce here a scene from *The Red Virgin* depicting the storming of Paris by the French army at the end of the commune with permission from the author.

Subversive Cuisine

The Subversive Cuisine Manifest was released on January of 2016 by the libertarian collective "Rivoltiamo La Terra". Simple general directions, of wide consensus, to define a cuisine that it is at the same time ecological, ethical, social and definitely anarchist. Here is an interview with Francesco Scatigno, author of the manifest.

How did Subversive Cuisine started?

The Subversive Cuisine was created as an answer to the demand for coherence between what is said and what is done. I believe it happens to all of us, to be in a social centre or in a collective, and to consume food made by corporations. By this, I want to say that the autonomy isn't a formula exclusive the public political places. It is and must be an economic practice that serves as an example to those who go to social centres. Also, this practice shouldn't be exclusive to social centres, it needs to be taken to the private lives, to the domestic environment, and to the houses.

How to do Subversive Cuisine?

To do subversive cuisine means to buy from small producers, from small farms and cooperatives, it means to make less use of supermarkets and, if you aren't vegetarian or vegan, to reduce the consume of products derivative from animals and to get it from small farms and holdings, so as to protect the environment.

But some places don't have peasants movements…

It isn't always easy. For example, in the Apenino's village, far away from the big markets of Rome, Bologna and Florence, there are regional movements called "Genuino Clandestino". Wherever there is some farmer who works ethically and doesn't exploit other workers, not using herbicides and chemical products, there will be all the ingredients for Subversive Cuisine. Moreover, there is a recently organised a network called "Fuorimercato" that wants to do the logistics for the distribution of all these products which are outside from the big chains and supermarkets, and which follow the libertarian principles of no exploitation, mutual support and cooperation. People who don't have that kind of producer nearby can make use of the "Fueramercato".

How to practice the Subversive Cuisine?

It isn't hard to start doing Subversive Cuisine. All it takes is to start to purchase from local small markets of the regional producers networks, start to get to know local producers who works well, who don't exploit the work of other people. To know the producers means to talk to them, to visit their farms, to understand the systems and techniques they apply. To know the producers means to be aware of giving support to a model of production that, if it was done in large scale, it would solve most of the social and economic problems of our planet.

Why is it important to do Subversive Cuisine?

The Subversive Cuisine is an invitation to create communities based on the food and the production of it, based on sharing knowledges and flavours. One of the goals of this project is to experiment and spread the vegetable fermentation technique, a technique on which big corporations are investing a lot of money so that to obtain the patents to the commercialisation of vegan and vegetarian products to consumers who have no scruple when buying other than the concern about it merely being vegan or not.

Subversive Cuisine means necessarily veganism and anti-speciesism?

Subversive Cuisine is a practice accessible to everyone, including the omnivorous. If you're using products from ethical producers, then you're doing Subversive Cuisine. Certainly, to the anti-speciesist, there is no such thing as an ethical producing of animals. Our effort is to make people buy more things from local producers and not from the big chains, so as to generate a change in the economic and social relations, and overcome hierarchy and exploitation. Therefore, as long as there is someone eating meat, it's important that the person stops to support the big chains. Some of us are vegans, other are vegetarians, but that doesn't matter: everyone can be subversive in the kitchen. Another thing is the high consumption of animal derivative products. If the small ethical producers aren't capable to attend to that demand, then it's necessary to reduce its consumption.

This change might leads to veganism? Could we imagine such a drastic change?

Vegan cuisine isn't boring. It's important to experiment. Our principles make us reject the vegan products of big corporations, which are now becoming cheap. We reject them because they reproduce the same exploitation of labour. This is true also for the cheap vegan products, which are labelled as "cruelty free". Free of animal cruelty, ok. But what about the workers exploitation? What is labour exploitation if not cruelty? Animal liberation and worker emancipation must go hand in hand, there can't be one without the other. This isn't liberation,it's business as usual. A vegan person who doesn't make these questions and doesn't try to solve these contradictions doesn't have ethical principles. What moves her is a partial sensitivity or maybe she is just following the trend.

What do you mean by experimentation?

By using special preparation techniques, we can get products similar to the commercial ones, using vegetables and non-refined flour. We don't need the usual gluten flour and amides. We can prepare these products at home, getting the ingredients from where the farmer is.

The vegetable fermentation is a transformation process of the vegetables so as to make it more nutritious, and to change its flavour and its consistency, in such a way that we can get a final product similar to sausages, canned food, etc. We can make flavoured and nutritious dishes, which are complicated only in the appearance.

What characterises the autonomy of those who self identify with such living style?

The vegetables fermentation, the producing of non-refined flours are an alternative to the industrial products. This technique relies only on simple ingredients, which are easily found on farms. That is the opposite of the commercial ones, which use refined and industrial products!

How can we support a technique and prevent it to be used by the companies?

We've been thinking about this since the beginning and we've been reflecting on the utilisation of industrial ingredients in the kitchen, trying to get rid of them them little by little. We're developing a project to share these knowledges and prevent them to become a source for business. The idea is, much the opposite, to create a fomentation fund to cooperative projects without bosses.

How will the project work?

At the moment, we're in the phase of analysis, assessing how to proceed. We're discussing the idea of creating an association to register the brand. We're studying the possibility of collectively registering brands that identify with these kind of products, so as to prevent some company producing and selling them in the big chains. We'd do something completely different from what the traditional business do. By making use of a tool that we anarchists don't like, that is, the registering of a brand, we want to prevent the greedy people that make business based in these knowledges, and to disseminate these knowledges into the domestic kitchens, the small pubs, the social centres. The same way some people produce bread at home, we would like people to produce these other kinds of food at home.

How do you intend to share your knowledge?

We want to share this knowledge by giving classes taught by comrades who will be payed to do so.

Is there some viable commercial strategy?

We could permit small restaurants owners who are at least minimally ethical, and by joining them we could support projects of cooperatives, which face economical problems. Making a project that generates profit to who works on it during the whole year. One example is the Sfrittazero, which hardly sustain themselves based on fund raising and other mutualist production systems. If they had a more stable financial situation, they could start a transformation laboratory that would be active for the whole year, and they could transform not only tomato sauce, but also other foods, so as to work during all the seasons of the year.

In which aspects is Subversive Cuisine properly "anarchist"?

We like the idea of an integral revolution, without compromises, which is built day by day following two paths: one individual, which corresponds to the individual choices, and one collective, which corresponds to the collective efforts we do to free ourselves from the oppressions of the capital and the State. The alimentation and consuming are fundamental aspects of the revolution, because a relevant part of the capitalism is based on food production with the complicity of the institutions. We have to build autonomous structures that help us to overcome both capitalism and the State. Based on the vegetable fermentation and other themes of the Subversive Cuisine, we want to create a community capable of establishing horizontal relations of exchange and mutual support. The Subversive Cuisine will foster real relations, organising events related to the food culture, exchanging knowledges, and culinary concourses to promote autonomy and alternative markets.

We invite all those who nurture these desires and curiosity for these knowledges to visit the website *cucinasovversiva.it,* interacting in the forum and taking part in the projects!

Monica Jornet

Groups Errico Malatesta – FAI – Napoli, and Gaston Couté – Fédération Anarchiste

(Article translated into English from a Portuguese translation of the original Italian) Source: www.umanitanova. org/2017/12/03/cucina-anarchica-una-rivoluzione-in-atto

Listen Gamer!

by Reddebrek

Comments about a minor controversy other Karl Marx in a video game.

In 2015 the company Ubisoft released another game in its Assassin's Creed franchise called Syndicate. The game was set in London in 1868 and some of its decisions caused a bit of a stir on social media and in the comments sections of video game websites. There were several different but often tangentially related controversies, but I'm only focussing on one, the inclusion of the minor character Karl Marx.

If your not familiar with the game series, don't worry the games themselves didn't have anything to do with this particular argument, all you need to keep in mind is that the game takes place in London 1868 and it has Karl Marx in it.

Right wing types were very angry about his inclusion, but that's to be expected and I'm not going to waste anyone's time on that one. Instead I'm focussing on another counter backlash from gamers whom either identify as Marxists or at least identify as pro Karl Marx in some sense. If you take a look at the above image you'll see the core of the disagreement. On the left is a representation of Karl Marx from the game, his character model and a quotation from one of his lines of dialogue, juxtaposed with a quotation on the right hand side. Essentially some Marxist gamers were accusing the company of a deliberate distortion of the man.

And having played the game and read some of Marx's work, I have to disagree. Some background info, the quotation on the left "killing people and destroying property solves nothing. Democracy is the only way to Socialism". Is said by Marx when he wants the player character (PC) to stop an anarchist friend of his from taking stolen explosives and trying to blow up parliament. As far as I'm aware Karl Marx never said that statement in those exact words, but I've not read everything he ever wrote so I'm not going to rule it out entirely. However when the statement is broken down into its two parts

- Karl Marx disapproves of terrorism
- Karl Marx thinks democracy is a necessary condition to move onto socialism

Then yes it is very representative of the historical Karl Marx. Karl Marx and Engels were quite open about being resistant to terrorism carried out by individuals or small groups. To pick one example in 1867 just one year before the games setting there was bomb attack by Fenians in Clerkenwell, this is Karl Marx responding to it in Ireland and the Irish question:

> *"The last exploit of the Fenians in Clerkenwell was a very stupid thing. The London masses, who have shown great sympathy for Ireland, will be made wild by it and be driven into the arms of the of the government party. One cannot expect the London proletarians to allow themselves to be blown up in honour of the Fenian emissaries. There is always a kind of fatality about such a secret, melodramatic sort of conspiracy."* [1]

I'm honestly a little surprised that so many declared Marxists take issue with this part of the phrase since anecdotally speaking their views on these tactics were quite well known and many other well known Marxists developed it further. Trotsky for example wrote several pamphlets outlining what he called a Marxist case against terrorism. [2]

Onto point two, again its not hard to find both Marx and Engels talking about how necessary democracy is for the revolution. In principles of Communism written by Engels in 1847 an entire section is dedicated to this. Section 18 **What Will the Course of this Revolution be?:**

> *"**Above all, it will establish a democratic constitution, and through this, the direct or indirect dominance of the proletariat.** Direct in England, where the proletarians are already a majority of the people. Indirect in France and Germany, where the*

majority of the people consists not only of proletarians, but also of small peasants and petty bourgeois who are in the process of falling into the proletariat, who are more and more dependent in all their political interests on the proletariat, and who must, therefore, soon adapt to the demands of the proletariat. Perhaps this will cost a second struggle, but the outcome can only be the victory of the proletariat.

> *Democracy would be wholly valueless to the proletariat **if it were not immediately used as a means for putting through measures directed against private property and ensuring the livelihood of the proletariat.** The main measures, emerging as the necessary result of existing relations, are the following:"* [3]

The above is the opening remarks, the bolding is my own.

Now that's Engels, personally I'm not a fan of treating the two as conjoined, so what did Marx say? Well in 1848 in the Manifesto of the Communist league he had this to say:

> *"We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible."* [4]

Democracy is key to the Proletariat becoming a ruling class, and only through becoming a ruling class can the proletariat begin attacking bourgeois property relations.

Also in 1848 Marx gave a short speech commemorating the second anniversary of the Krakow insurrection. The speech was later called **Communism, Revolution and a Free Poland**. In the speech he rubbishes the claims of hostile European governments that the revolt was a communist one, i.e. an attack on property, but he does champion its democratic aims and at the conclusion notes positively that the rising has left a big influence on the Democrats of Europe and has sparked similar movements elsewhere:

> *"The Krakow revolution has set all of Europe a glorious example, because it identified the question of nationalism with democracy and with the liberation of the oppressed class.*

> *Even though this revolution has been strangled with the bloody hands of paid murderers, it now nevertheless rises gloriously and triumphantly in Switzerland and in Italy. It finds its principles confirmed in Ireland, where O'Connell's party [the Irish Confederation, founded January 1847] with its narrowly restricted nationalistic aims has sunk into the grave, and the new national party is pledged above all to reform and democracy.*

Again it is Poland that has seized the initiative, and no longer a feudal Poland but a democratic Poland; and from this point on its liberation has become a matter of honor for all the democrats of Europe." [5]

So its not entirely unreasonable that 1868 Karl Marx would say something like this, especially as an alternative to individual acts of terrorism.

Now there's also an interesting bit of context missing from the "real" Karl Marx on the right. The passage "We have no compassion and we ask no compassion from you. When our turn comes, we shall not make excuses for the terror. " comes from an 1849 edition of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. Specifically the last issue of that paper because the Rhinish government had just ordered it closed and given the editor Marx, 24 hours to voluntarily leave the Rhineland or they would forcibly expel him. So understandably he was very angry, but more importantly is that he isn't talking about the final stages of the revolution. On the contrary the "we" and its "terror" is democratic social republicanism. He's attacking the noble class that ruled the German states, and he's threatening them with the spectre of a victorious republic.

Quote:

And at that time we were speaking with the judiciary. We summed up the old year, 1848, in the following words (cf. the issue of December 31, 1848):

"The history of the Prussian middle class, and that of the German middle class in general between March and December shows that a purely middle-class revolution and the establishment of bourgeois rule in the form of a constitutional monarchy is impossible in Germany, and that the only alternatives are either a feudal absolutist counter-revolution or a social republican revolution."

Did we therefore have to advance our social republican tendency only in the "last pieces" of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung? Did you not read our articles about the June revolution, and was not the essence of the June revolution the essence of our paper?

Why then your hypocritical phrases, your attempt to find an impossible pretext?

We have no compassion and we ask no compassion from you. When our turn comes, we shall not make excuses for the terror. But the royal terrorists, the terrorists by the grace of God and the law, are in practice brutal, disdainful, and mean, in theory cowardly, secretive, and deceitful, and in both respects disreputable. [6]

So in a sense the "real" Karl Marx is supporting the views of the "fake" Ubisoft Karl Marx, just in more explicit language.

Conclusion –
Why on earth does this matter?

Well I'm not going to pretend this is an earth shattering opinion or an event that everyone must take a stand on. I'm only talking about this now because its been popping back up again. I just thought it was worth pointing out that we have a backlash against a depiction of Karl Marx for being phoney, and in process discovered that quite a few self declared Marxists aren't very familiar with the man or his ideas.

I'd just like to finish up here with my own comments on Karl Marx in Syndicate.

A quick summary,
- Karl Marx in the game wants the PC's help to protect him while he organises an underground meeting to discuss Trade Unions.
- Karl Marx wants the PC to talk his friend the Anarchist called Morris out of what he thinks is a counter-productive action.
- Karl Marx wants the PC to collect information on a factory about the working conditions and its accident rate to support his political work.
- Karl Marx wants the PC to be security at an open air meeting with London dock workers so he can talk about exploitation.
- Karl Marx also remarks that he's had to suffer police surveillance and harassment for most of his time as an activist.
- Karl Marx is really wants to build what he calls the Workers Party

Its not perfect, reuses the reform word a bit too much for my liking, but considering he's a character in a video game that caters to a large mainstream audience and not made by overt Marxists, and is not trying to be a complete accurate record of historical events, its pretty good. Especially when you factor in that for many this will be the first time they've encounter Karl Marx directly. It probably goes a bit too far in presenting him as a do gooder, but Marx in the popular consciousness is still heavily associated with state terror and mass murder, thanks to the legacy of several regimes. So maybe pushing him in this direction is actually a good thing.

I don't know, here's a video that has all of his cutscenes; feel free to judge his depiction on your own. - https://youtu.be/RdRZhXDtmuw - It cuts out the speech he gives, but sadly the only videos I can find that keep that in have the player talking over it.

(Originally posted on Libcom.org Feb 2 2018 [https://libcom.org/blog/listen-gamers-02022018])

1. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/subject/ireland/index.htm
2. http://isj.org.uk/marxism-and-terrorism/
3. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/11/prin-com.htm
4. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf
5. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/02/22a.htm
6. https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1849/05/19c.htm

MOSCOW DEATH BRIGADE

BOLTCUTTER

A Review of Moscow Death Brigade's Latest Album "BoltCutter"

"Papers, please! They get you on your knees
Straight face, race to the death, Deaf to your pleas
Who's the real illegal people, who's the real disease?
We're all immigrants, We're all refugees"
-Papers, Please! (MDB 2015)

I'm not going to make any attempt at any journalistic neutrality, my heads bobbing along with a "this is sick face" as I hear those words once again thumping out of my speakers for the 200th and I'm loving it. I haven't rinsed a band like this since I was a teenage Greebo back in 2000 and someone passed me One Minute Silence's *"Buy Now... Saved Later"* . MDB immediately jumped right up on my playlist and the more I heard, the more they had me. Their 2014 album "Hood's Up" packed furiously intense metal with anti-oppression hip-hop and pretty much became my go to "gearing up" music ahead of an action or a good skate. Least to say "Circle Pit Hip Hop" as they style themselves became my new favourite genre and I was left champing at the bit for more. The fantastic mix of rap and metal with punk overtones made the album stand out from the crowd with the passionately delivered lyrics which celebrate direct and radical action against oppression sealed the deal.

I read in an Interview with MDB that they don't consider themselves a political band at all "*our message is purely social. We stand strongly against any kinds of discrimination, violence and war, but we don't consider it a political stance – it's a basic human position."* It's an attitude that comes out in the music, there aren't any overt calls towards any political ideology which is pretty rare from a band playing squats, raves and Antifa gigs to be sure! Instead their vocals strip away the sectarian patter and focous on the core issues that unite us in the struggle against oppression and celebrating women's rights, animal protectors and those who take on fascists. This isn't music to compliment your echo chamber at home. MDB want to get bodies out on the streets, this is music for action.

The most notable change up for "*Boltcutter*" is the techno beats that give the rhythm to most of the tracks. It creates a driving pace to the entire album that keeps it gunning at full blast for the near forty minute play time. I was expecting more of the same and what we got was a new sound, it's fresh and vibrant, very much it's own beast. The aggressive pacing of the music and vocals are the perfect compliment to the lyrics which are universally about peace, unity and fucking over the fash. Each track brings a slew of finely crafted arguments for a better world set to a backdrop that'll get you stomping.

What you get with this album a raw, powerful music that'll light up mosh pits and will get your head out there on the streets. MDB's music is ammunition against fascists and the state, against misogyny and the industrial slaughter of war. If you rank Atari Teenage Riot, Hollywood Undead or Public Enemy these guys will fit right in. I can't recommend "*Boltcutter*" enough to folk who like super charged hip hop laced with an anti-oppression message... Circle Pit Hip Hop is probably your next favourite genre.

Tracklist:
Renegade Stomp
What We Do
Anne Frank Army Pt. II
Boltcutter
All for One
Straight Outta Moscow Part II
Collateral Murder
Brother & Sisterhood (Remix)
Rude Girl Warrior
Crocodile Style

Bonus Tracks:
One for the Ski Mask
Papers, Please!

MDB are currently touring their way across Europe. If you're in the UK, you can catch MDB play at 0161 Festival in June and Boomtown in August. You can also buy "*Boltcutter*" on Vinyl or CD at www.Fireandflames.com or download digitally on itunes.

THE **SUPER HAPPY ANARCHO FUN PAGES!**

Now WITH SPACE ALIENS

#1 FALL '04

FEATURING:
- A CRITIQUE OF FREE TRADE
- THINLY VEILED THREATS ON THE PRESIDENT'S LIFE
- A GUY NAMED CARL
- ~~BOMBS~~
- A RAY GUN

FREE

One beautiful day, a CEO was sitting in a park pondering how to best exploit nature for profit...

actually, I'm standing.

tree →

When suddenly...

Egads! a spaceship!

Hello, foreigner. I'm an alien. You have no reason to trust me. I want you to give me all of Earth's trees so we can have wood paneling in our fleet of spaceships.

Now why would I do that?

I will give you pieces of paper that you can trade for goods & services that support our economy, not yours.

Okay. But what about the people I can't buy off? like hippies & anarchists and other crazy people who would rather have nature than money?

Use the money I give you later to pay me for this raygun that I'll give you now.

Wow! a raygun!

I have a raygun!

I wonder who I can exploit today...

You there in that house! I own that house, so I'll let you live in it if you pay me rent.

My family has lived here for generations.

Yes, but I bought this land yesterday.

You see, I need this land to cut down the forests so space-aliens can have wood paneling for their spaceships.

You're insane. Go away.

I have a raygun.

I'll have your rent on the first.

Well, my income was dependant on the forest and now I can't afford food, let alone this house.

Hard-on

On his way to his hummer-limo...

I have a raygun, so I'm invincible.

"Support trickle-down economics, give me some change."

Oh-ho-ho. That's very clever. Here's a bright new penny. Maybe I'll hire you to cut down all the trees so space-aliens can have wood paneling.

Oh, hell no..

POW

Wow, a raygun!

I have a raygun!

ashes

I wonder where the CEO of Walmart lives.

48

Anna Campbell - RIP

It's with heavy hearts, full of sadness, love, and rage, that we say goodbye to Anna Campbell, known in Rojava as Helîn Qerecox. She was killed in a missile strike by the Turkish state, after joining in the defence of Afrin with the Kurdish Women's Protection Units (YPJ).

Anna was a proudly queer feminist anarchist, committed to every aspect of revolutionary struggle. She supported prisoners and fought against the prison industrial complex as a core member of the Empty Cages collective and as part of Bristol Anarchist Black Cross, Community Action on Prison Expansion, Smash IPP and the IWW Incarcerated Workers Organising Committee. She fought fascism both ideologically and physically, undeterred by arrest or by injury. She fought for animal liberation, and would regularly go out to save wildlife with the hunt saboteurs. She organised books in Hydra, planned events, fixed bikes, combatted the arms trade, took part in environmental activism, helped defeat the mountain of admin work that any revolution produces, worked at Kino (a cafe cooperative), lent her voice to videos, and did countless other things to help fight oppression in all its forms.

More than just a list of accomplishments and campaign involvements, however, we'll remember what she brought to the movements and communities she was a part of. Proof that you could take struggle completely seriously, be reliable, be committed, and yet at the same time be joyous, fun, and uplifting. That you could be intelligent, insightful, and well read, without ever being condescending. That you could take part in an almost unbelievably large amount of revolutionary work, yet never make anyone feel lesser for what they could or couldn't do. That putting people down is never an option when you are able to welcome them in instead.

Anna was deeply inspired by the social revolution in Rojava, the steps being taken there to dismantle patriarchy and bring about a new world in the shadow of oppression. It would come as no surprise to anyone that knew her that she would risk her life to defend Rojava and the friends and comrades she met there. In fact, she gave her commanders an ultimatum: 'Either I will go home and abandon the life as a revolutionary or you send me to Afrin. But I would never leave the revolution, so I will go to Afrin'. No force on Earth could've stopped her, and no force will stop her fight from living on in the people she inspired and the actions we'll continue to carry out.

We'll leave the last words to her, rest in Power Anna.

"Our search for what could be possible means accepting a rich heritage. The women of the Paris Commune of 1871, and the worker's militias of the Hamburg Uprising of 1923 - that's us. The comrades of the October Revolution and the Spanish Civil War - that's us. The workers on strike in India and the guerrilla in the mountains of Kurdistan - that's us. We are the anarchists of Greece, we are squatters, we are the witches and the rebellious farmers of the early modern period. We, who are working here in Rojava as internationalists, are part of the world wide fight of the oppressed against the reign of state, capital, and patriarchy."

Her sister has started a memorial crowdfund. The money raised will go to supporting the victims of the Turkish invasion in Northern Syria. Please share the page and if you are able to donate please do.

www.justgiving.com/crowdfunding/annacampbell

AF PUBLICATIONS

OUT NOW

BASIC BAKUNIN
"We are convinced that freedom without Socialism is privilege and injustice, and that Socialism without freedom is slavery and brutality." This pamphlet will examine the anarchist ideas of Mikhail Bakunin. These ideas were a huge influence upon the 19th century socialist movement. We hope that it will become apparent that Bakunin has a lot to offer us today, that his ideas make up a coherent and well-argued body of thought, and show that there is good reason for him to be described as the grandfather of modern anarchism.
A5 - £2 (+p&p)

REVOLUTIONARY WOMEN
The compatibility of anarchism and women's liberation is clear: opposition to all hierarchy is a requirement of any movement demanding emancipation and equality. Despite this, everywhere that women joined the early anarchist movement they were forced to fight against the prejudices of their male comrades. Not only did they fight, they prevailed, becoming the spearhead of many revolutionary situations. This pamphlet provides a biographical account of some lesser-known revolutionary women of the past.
A5 - £2 (+p&p)

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO ANARCHIST COMMUNISM
The Anarchist Federation is an organisation of revolutionary class struggle anarchists. We aim for the abolition of all hierarchy, and work for the creation of a world-wide classless society: anarchist communism. This abridged version of our key pamphlet sets out to introduce what all this means and how we think we can do it.
A6 - Free / Donation (+p&p)
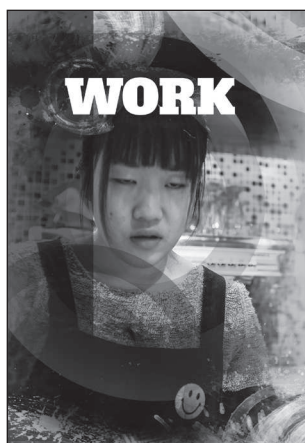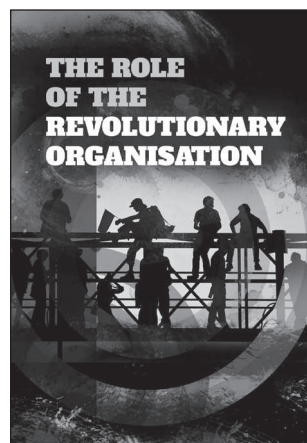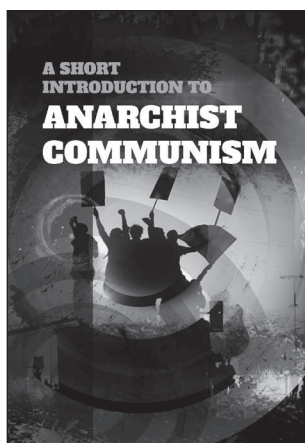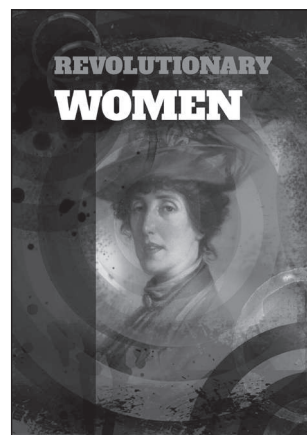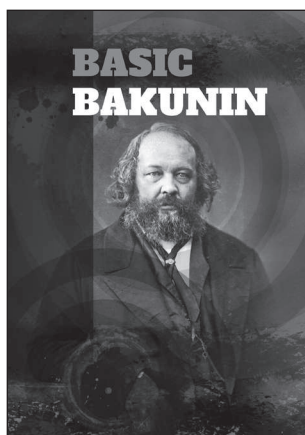
THE ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION
We in the Anarchist Federation seek the abolition of capitalism and state in favour of bringing about a society based on the guiding principle 'From each according to their ability, to each according to their need.' This is anarchist communism. In order to achieve this we need a revolutionary organisation to undertake a certain role as part of the working class. This pamphlet will explain why.
A6 - £1 (+p&p)

WORK
We live in a society where the activities we engage in for most of our life are not based on being useful to society or fulfilling to ourselves, but are based upon getting money to have our needs met. Our work is the driving force behind capitalism. The activities we're required to perform are either detrimental to society or have their full worth undermined by the drive for profits. This pamphlet will explain why we must abolish work.
A6 - £1 (+p&p)

Out of print pamphlets available to download on afed.org.uk.

Resistance to Nazism

Introduction to Anarchist Communism

Against Nationalism

We also publish **Resistance**, our agitational news sheet. It can be viewed on our website or you can order individual copies or bundles for distribution from publications@afed.org.uk.

Anarchist Federation pamphlets and other publications available from:

WEB
https://afed.org.uk/publications/
aflondon@riseup.net

please contact us for p+p costs

POST
AF c/o
Freedom Bookshop,
84b Whitechapel High St.
London E1 7QX

All publications can also be purchased from AFed stalls / events as well as direct from Active Distribution and AK Press & Distribution.

THE AIMS & PRINCIPLES
of the ANARCHIST FEDERATION

1   The Anarchist Federation is an organisation of revolutionary class struggle anarchists. We aim for the abolition of all hierarchy, and work for the creation of a world-wide classless society: anarchist communism.

2   Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the working class by the ruling class. But inequality and exploitation are also expressed in terms of race, gender, sexuality, health, ability and age, and in these ways one section of the working class oppresses another. This divides us, causing a lack of class unity in struggle that benefits the ruling class. Oppressed groups are strengthened by autonomous action which challenges social and economic power relationships. To achieve our goal we must relinquish power over each other on a personal as well as a political level.

3   We believe that fighting systems of oppression that divide the working class, such as racism and sexism, is essential to class struggle. Anarchist communism cannot be achieved while these inequalities still exist. In order to be effective in our various struggles against oppression, both within society and within the working class, we at times need to organise independently as people who are oppressed according to gender, sexuality, ethnicity or ability. We do this as working class people, as cross-class movements hide real class differences and achieve little for us. Full emancipation cannot be achieved without the abolition of capitalism.

4   We are opposed to the ideology of national liberation movements which claims that there is some common interest between native bosses and the working class in face of foreign domination. We do support working class struggles against racism, genocide, ethnocide and political and economic colonialism. We oppose the creation of any new ruling class. We reject all forms of nationalism, as this only serves to redefine divisions in the international working class. The working class has no country and national boundaries must be eliminated. We seek to build an anarchist international to work with other libertarian revolutionaries throughout the world.

5   As well as exploiting and oppressing the majority of people, Capitalism threatens the world through war and the destruction of the environment.

6   It is not possible to abolish Capitalism without a revolution, which will arise out of class conflict. The ruling class must be completely overthrown to achieve anarchist communism. Because the ruling class will not relinquish power without their use of armed force, this revolution will be a time of violence as well as liberation.

7   Unions by their very nature cannot become vehicles for the revolutionary transformation of society. They have to be accepted by capitalism in order to function and so cannot play a part in its overthrow. Trades unions divide the working class (between employed and unemployed, trade and craft, skilled and unskilled, etc). Even syndicalist unions are constrained by the fundamental nature of unionism. The union has to be able to control its membership in order to make deals with management. Their aim, through negotiation, is to achieve a fairer form of exploitation of the workforce. The interests of leaders and representatives will always be different from ours. The boss class is our enemy, and while we must fight for better conditions from it, we have to realise that reforms we may achieve today may be taken away tomorrow. Our ultimate aim must be the complete abolition of wage slavery. Working within the unions can never achieve this. However, we do not argue for people to leave unions until they are made irrelevant by the revolutionary event. The union is a common point of departure for many workers. Rank and file initiatives may strengthen us in the battle for anarchist communism. What's important is that we organise ourselves collectively, arguing for workers to control struggles themselves.

8   Genuine liberation can only come about through the revolutionary self activity of the working class on a mass scale. An anarchist communist society means not only co-operation between equals, but active involvement in the shaping and creating of that society during and after the revolution. In times of upheaval and struggle, people will need to create their own revolutionary organisations controlled by everyone in them. These autonomous organisations will be outside the control of political parties, and within them we will learn many important lessons of self-activity.

9   As anarchists we organise in all areas of life to try to advance the revolutionary process. We believe a strong anarchist organisation is necessary to help us to this end. Unlike other so-called socialists or communists we do not want power or control for our organisation. We recognise that the revolution can only be carried out directly by the working class. However, the revolution must be preceded by organisations able to convince people of the anarchist communist alternative and method. We participate in struggle as anarchist communists, and organise on a federative basis. We reject sectarianism and work for a united revolutionary anarchist movement.

10   We have a materialist analysis of capitalist society. The working class can only change society through our own efforts. We reject arguments for either a unity between classes or for liberation that is based upon religious or spiritual beliefs or a supernatural or divine force. We work towards a world where religion holds no attraction.