

# ORGANISE! 92

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# WRITE LETTERS TO PRISONERS BREAK THE ISOLATION



Nowadays we can see how state is trying to get people follow the social norms. If it doesn't work, those people are punished and sent to prison, where they might stay for a long time. It is really hard to fight with isolation people are facing inside.

**One of the ways to fight it is creativity. The one who can dream is still free.**

We wanna reach people in prison and break the isolation by means of writing letter to the prisoners. So get your pen and piece of paper and start writing about everything that comes to your mind, just to give a prisoner a possibility to live outside the prison for the length of your letter. Show that there are still nice people in this world who are full of solidarity.

**Break the routine, break the loneliness, write letters!**

<https://abcdd.org/en/letter-writing/>

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.

We publish twice a 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 and play host to any article that furthers the objectives of anarchist communism. If you'd like to write something for us, 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.

Articles can be submitted directly to us at:  
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Fuck Boris.

I write this brief editorial (for the third time) ten minutes after that homophobic prick Phillip Lee crossed the floor and the Tories lost their majority. You can see when Bojo's heart breaks.

It's all very dramatic.

That's exactly what Brexit is mind, a cheap soap opera to keep us distracted as they tear the UK apart and sell it off for scrap. It's not just the Tories either. We have dozens of Labour party protests taking place all over the shop to resist the prorogation of parliament. They're marching about placards which read "Defend Parliament" as the talking heads denouncing the move as undemocratic and sinister. Not a one of them mentioning that In 1948, the Labour Party prorogued parliament in order to silence opposition to their plans. Hypocrites.

We need to believe in ourselves and look to our own power. Tear down all these damn Union Jacks and European flags and hoist up the Red and Black in their stead. We must reject all forms of patriotic fervor, whether it's for the UK or EU. It only serves to maintain divisions in the international working class and that will not do. We must share our solidarity globally and strengthen our networks and support each others actions.

In this edition of Organise! we look into the struggles of our compatriots the world over. We are have an article from the Japanese Anti Fascist network C.R.A.C. as well as pieces on the stateless Bidoons of Kuwait and the struggle against colonialism in West Papua. We also take a looking at the relationship between the social media platforms used by transphobes and the far right, have an interview with one of Earth strike UK's organisers, and ofcourse our usual batch of news, reviews, theory and opinion.

At 68 pages it's a more compact punch than the last edition (postage fees... ouch) but we hope you enjoy the continued development!

**Editor - Organise!**

P.S. Apologies for all the typs.



Returning to our cover for this issue is the fantastic artwork of **REMEMBER '68 : DESIGN FOR REVOLUTION**. A powerful piece of art which we feel captures the our feeling on the whole Brexit mess. Neither leave nor remain but to the revolution now!

You can check out their work at [remember68dfr.wordpress.com](http://remember68dfr.wordpress.com)



# GLOBAL CLIMATE STRIKE

sept 20-27 2019



@toosphxy @justseeds

# ANARCHIST FEDERATION BACK EARTH STRIKE

*(This statement was released on the 3rd of September)*

**On the 20th** of September, around the world, hundreds of organisations are coming together under the banner of Earth Strike to hold a general strike for the climate.

As part of our general activity, some AF members have been involved with Earth Strike UK, either autonomously or via the Green Anti-Capitalist Front/GAF (Wales), and implicit support has been given from the AF during various actions. Now, as agreed by our Federal Delegates Meeting on the 17th of August, the Anarchist Federation endorses and puts our full organisational support behind Earth Strike.

We have agreed that where we have local organisations they will support Earth Strike directly, attend the general strike and share the AF's solidarity with an active presence. Our members in unions and other organisational fronts will propose backing it to those groups, and those in areas without either a regional of the AF or any other organisation, are considering starting a GAF group, with one of the aims being to build for local actions on the 20th (and indeed beyond).

## **The international demands of the Earth Strike are simple:**

- An immediate start on global co-operation to reverse the damage done to the Earth's climate, through unambiguous and binding agreements, by both world leaders and corporate entities, following IPCC projections of halving carbon net emissions by 2030 and zero net emissions by 2050.
- International, unambiguous and binding commitments to halt the destruction of rainforests and other wildlife habitats.
- International, unambiguous and binding agreements designed to hold corporations accountable for the greenhouse gases they produce.

We believe the broad support given to Earth Strike by more mainstream organisations, such as TUC unions, will give more confidence to radical elements within them to organise on a local level. For all of us it gives us a clear aim to work towards, helping to build working class solidarity in workplaces and our communities, and strengthening cooperation amongst activists & organisers.

Earth Strike also makes explicit the links between working class and environmental struggles, at a time when many would prefer we leave the planet in the hands of upper class business leaders and toothless middle class NGOs. We must instead use every opportunity to expand the capacity of the working class and together fight for our planet, and kill capitalism before it kills us all.

We hope you will join us. However, do not wait for us, use your union or local activist group to announce participation in your area. Make it happen.

Anyone can start an Earth Strike collective and take action, whether small or large. The power to stand up for the planet is yours. For more information on how to organise your workplace and community on the 20th, contact ourselves, your local GAF group or Earth Strike UK.

September 20th: General Strike for Climate.

ALL OUT – United behind the science!

**Anarchist Federation ■**



Sab is the organiser for Earth Strike UK in the South West. He's an active and well known voice in Bristol's Anarchist and Environmental movements and kindly gave up his time to meet us down the pub for a chat about about Earth strike and the climate Strike.

### **Could you start by giving us an introduction to Earth Strike?**

So, Earth Strike is a grass roots organisation, that is creating a worker led movement to tackle climate change. We believe that the most effective way of doing that is to organise both in unions and in autonomous groups, and build towards a global general strike to shut down capitalism. Thus removing peoples participation in the system that is fundamentally the cause of ecological crisis.

### **Why should people get involved?**

I actually really like this question. I've come up with a way of putting it. I think anyone, no matter what their background, whether they are a workplace activists or enviromental activist or totally new to organising, should take a moment to ask themselves three questions.

Firstly, do you think we're in an ecological crisis? It doesn't take very long if you look around to realise we are. Our air is polluted, it's estimated air pollution kills 300 people a year just in Bristol. The Amazon is on fire, Siberia is on fire.

Yeah a heck of a lot of shit is on fire. A worrying amount of shit is on fire. Species are going extinct at a rate not seen since the last mass extinction, sea levels are rising. Even the United Nations is freaking out a bit at this point. The science around it has been clear for a long time now. So I think most people would say yes to this, if not well, they need to take a long hard look around them. The second question that people should ask themselves, is, if we are in an ecological emergency, do you think the current capitalist industrial system is going to voluntarilly change itself enough to prevent this? I don't think you have to look at the world around you for long to realise no. Those that run this system can spend

plenty of time talking about the issues, but even after declaring a climate emergency we've seen a continuation of business as usual, with highly impactful industries continuing to damage the environment. The governments and coporations have taken next to no action, and given us no indication that this will change. The whole capitalist system is based on endless growth, and this is with the level of sustainability we need.

### **So you don't have any faith in the likes of the UN climate change conferences, and other international political efforts?**

We had the Paris agreement, which, fell really far short of what needed to be done, and we couldn't even hold countries to account for that. Now we're seeing figures like Trump and Bolsonaro come to power, who are making things even worse for the planet. They didn't come out of some vacuum, they aren't some anomoly, they came out of the current political system. This is how it responds to crisis, protecting the needs of the ruling elite, protecting the needs of capitalism. We've got to understand if we want a different future, one that doesn't involve environmental destruction and millions of deaths as a result, we need something more. That leads us on to the third and final question. If we are in an ecological emergency, and if the current system isn't going to change itself voluntarily, what the fuck are we going to do about it?

### **What the fuck ARE we going to do about it?**

Well, that is where Earth Strike comes in. At the moment, all of us, everyone, we're contirbuting to a system that is inherintly suicidal. We are working towards the destruction of our own planet. The thing we have to do, if we are to have any chance of changing this, is to organise the working class to take part in mass industrial action.

### **Do you think it's possible, if a global general strike is achieved, to force capitalism to be ecological sustainable?**

Hah, that is kind of a trick question. We're not really trying to force capitalism to change, we're not interested in just lobbying MPs to



make reforms. We are saying we can no longer participate in this system, full stop. We are building a new system outside of the existing structures. We have to build, what autonomous thinkers like Antonio Negri call a counter empire. We don't want to take over the existing structures, we're not seizing control of the system, we're saying it has failed. We want to end the current system of techno-industrial capitalism. To build up alternative systems, inspired by the likes of the Zapatistas in Chiapas, the revolution in Rojava, by social ecology, by movements rooted in mutual aid and direct democracy. As the Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World - IWW) say, we need to build a new world in the shell of the old. So when the old system collapses, we have the foundations ready, systems of direct democracy, mutual aid and solidarity.

**That's the why folks should get involved, now how do they get involved?**

Get in touch! The easiest way is probably our website, but there are also numerous local and national pages on social media you can reach out to. We'll be able to get you in touch with existing groups near you, or help advise you on setting one up.

There's not really a huge amount of requirements. We're not a membership organisation, so there is no formal joining process or payment of dues. If you agree with Earth Strike and believe to the basic principles of a worker led, horizontal, response to environmental crisis, you can organise in your own space. Our groups are fairly autonomous, and we trust people to find the tactics which will work best depending on who is involved and the environment in which they are operating. They can cover a local area, a specific workplace or school, or even be formed from an existing group, like a trade union branch or activist group. Whilst we are international, we want as much planning and organising as possible to happen at a local level.

### **How do the mostly autonomous Earth Strike groups organise with each other?**

Most of our organising is done online, through platforms like discord and lumio, which has presented a number of challenges, especially when trying to work on a large scale. To help with this we have a co-ordinator for a region, that is responsible for ensuring the various groups within it are communicating and coordinating. This co-ordinator also acts as a delegate bringing input from the region to other regions from around a country. This input is how we develop specific demands within each country, we also do that at a local level. For example, in Bristol we're demanding there is no airport expansion. On an international level we organise similarly, with delegates from each country feeding in.

### **How are these coordinators chosen?**

By local groups, where they exist already! The coordinators are always accountable to the local groups, if at any point a group thinks they are acting in a way they disagree with they can call for an election of a new coordinator(s). »

## **In what ways do you feel XR failed to be intersectional or a movement that involved the working class?**

So, with respecting the St Paul Principles, I don't want to be too open in discussing my criticisms of other movements, who I feel are doing good things or have members who are taking actions I support. However I did feel that quite a lot was being asked of individual members, things like getting arrested, giving up all their time, this felt like it was coming from a very privileged place where these things were easier and had less risk attached. I'd been active up to that point, but I had felt that a lot of the potential for the movement to really address working class concerns had been lost. Stuff like reskilling workers, and calling for a "Just Transition". The chance for it to highlight the gendered issues of climate change and the racial issues of climate had been stifled, quite actively stifled. So that left me dissatisfied with things.

## **What is a "Just Transition"?**

It's a way of moving to a sustainable society whilst still protecting workers rights, and ensuring the continued well being of communities. A way of ensuring hardships don't just fall on those at the bottom of society. Kind of the opposite of things like Marcon's attempt to impose a fuel tax that would hit France's poorest hardest, and of schemes that see waste 'recycled' from wealthy countries only to be dumped in poorer ones.

## **In what ways do you feel it is important that ecological campaigns recognise these intersecting oppressions and struggles?**

Firstly I think it's important to point out that the people on the front lines of climate crisis are almost entirely people in already precarious situations, or with the least rights in society. So indigenous peoples threatened by fascists like Bolsonaro, people forced to become refugees who are drowning in the mediteranian and being put in concentration camps by Trump. Really any strategy to counter climate change has to genuinely engage with people on the sharp end of things. To put forward their concerns more than, say, those of a middle class white

activist. I was really impressed that Earth Strike was a movement that seems to be doing this. For example one of the first things earth strike did as a movement, was to hold demos all over the world in response to a call for solidarity from the Unist'ot'en. At the time the Canadian government was trying to clear the way for a pipeline to be built across Unist'ot'en land. The government had sent in police to violently evict the Unist'ot'en and clear their barricades. These pipelines are ofcourse damaging to the whole of the world, but on the ground it was the Unist'ot'en who were suffering the most as a result of it. Other actions have included Earth Strike groups in the US joining coalitions to shut down ICE concentration camps. It's also important to recognise the impact of the arms trade and of the huge amount of resources burned to maintain vast standing armies. We can't seperate out these overlapping struggles militarism, imperialism and climate change.

## **How long had Earth Strike been around at that point?**

Not long, it started towards the end of 2018. It had actually started on the r/chomsky forum on reddit. I can't remember the user name, but someone put a message up saying they were feeling a real sense of grief about the climate crisis, and they wanted to do something about it. They said that what we really needed was the whole Earth to go on strike. A lot of people agreed, and decided to form an organisation. Being an online space from the start there were people from all over the world, who could start talking with others in their communités and build outwards from there. Initially infact some of those involved were calling for the strike day to be in January,

## **As if organising a general strike wasn't ambitious enough!**

I know, but quite quickly those of us with experience in workplace organising, said we can't have that kind of call out. It takes time to build up a base of support.

## **So that brings us to the days of strike action, I understand its Friday 20th of September in**

## **the UK and the 27th in most other places?**

Yes, the 20th in the UK, the 27th in the US. In the UK we thought we'd have the most impact striking together on the 20th. Some of our European groups are organising for both!

## **What is it you are hoping to achieve on those days?**

There's multiple layers to that question. Obviously on the days themselves what we want to achieve is a mass turn out of working class people, all withdrawing their labour. Ofcourse a strike isn't a goal, it's an action towards an end. The goal is to avoid the dystopia we're heading towards if we don't derail the current course of history. I guess that is quite a vague far off thing.

## **A bit! What is inbetween calling this action and saving the world?**

The purpose of that day specifically, the day of our call for the first UK general strike since 1926, is to really raise working class consciousness, especially in relation to environmental issues. We want to say that, if we want our whole society to be sustainable, we're going to have to start exerting our power. One day of strike actions won't change the world, but it is the start of showing the sort of tactics that will in the long wrong. Hopefully new people will see the strikes and be inspired by them. From there we need to build on what we have so far, we need to escalate, more strikes, longer time periods. We need to connect up the various people in struggle, connect up workplaces and working class communities. We need to start doing, well, it's back to the Wobbly thing of building the new world in the shell of the old. What if we withdrew our labour from the capitalist system, but continued to occupy our workplaces. How could we use them to sustainably build things we really need.

How do we go about distributing these things? This is going to be a long process. It's not just going to be one day and then done. This is just the first stage in building the kind of militancy and the kind of organisation we will need to push for a real future.

## **What is your response to criticism that gets leveled at Earth Strike, and also previous calls for general strike actions, such as those came from Occupy, on May Day, on the day of Trumps Inauguration, and for a women's strike on international women's day? Namely that they don't come out of unions or of organised workplaces so can never lead to meaningful strike action?**

First off, a lot of people shit on the women's strike, and wrongly so. Reproductive labour, which was one of it's focuses, is incredibly important, and more strikes and more union activists should realise the place it has to play. It's an important part of Earth Strike as well. »

I also think a lot of the people leveling these criticisms at us, haven't actually looked at the organising that is happening within Earth Strike. We're some force external to working class organising. There are plenty of workers, in workplaces, really leading the call for more action. Just recently we've had the Harland and Wolff workers in occupation demanding a switch in production to renewable energy, and we've been in contact with them via the IWW. That is the sort of thing we want to promote, this kind of 'Lucas Plan' style of changing workplaces. Earth Strike isn't divorced from the workers movement, it's come from people inside the workers movement. Workers organisations are realising they have to act on climate issues. These are things that do, or will, directly effect their members, both at work and in the community. Earth Strike members haven't just been organising online, we've been pushing for actions in our workplaces and our unions. We've grown as part of the workers movement.

## **What is your relation to these workplace organisations, both the radical syndicalist ones, and the more mainstream unions?**

The IWW were one of the first groups to take an active role in earth strike, especially in the UK. Like the IWW, we believe we must abolish the wage system and live in harmony with the planet. Earth Strike sits at the intersection of »

ecological struggle and class struggle, and we want to spread the idea of environmental unionism. We've been working with and within the syndicalist unions to educate people about striking in general. Some of the syndicalist groups are organising via strike notices, where workers sign up and agree to strike if a certain percentage of the workers also agree. Whilst this doesn't have a legal protection, if solidarity is maintained it is as much protection as is possible outside of the legal protections offered.

This is one of the differences with the mainstream unions. Those unions, even when they endorsed Earth Strike in principle, haven't been as forthcoming for calling for actual strike action. These established organisations don't want to break the law of course, but, under existing UK law, it is impossible to call for a strike ballot on broad issues like climate change without breaking the law. We have had statements of support from PCS, BFAWU, UCU, and a number of local branches. There have been calls from within UCU for all TUC unions to endorse Earth Strike and to back a 30minute action on the day. If the TUC do endorse this on Sept 8th it'd be the most radical thing they've done in a long time. Despite that, we are going to need more, we're going to have to rely on wildcat action. That is why having one unified day is important, it means that people aren't just acting as one work place, they are part of something bigger, and there is more and power and more security in that.

We need to be far more disruptive than the constraints of legally protected trade union action. It's one of the reasons that having a group like Earth Strike is important is that we can call for things that the Trade Unions can't.

### **If the TUC unions are so constrained, what is the point in reaching out to them?**

Well, we're based in the workers movement, and we have to start from where we are. We're pushing the unions to do as much as they can. We recognise that we'll have to move beyond the restrictions of union bureaucracy as well. It's also a practical thing, it is where we can find other workers who are organising around these issues.

### **A while back you mentioned a 'Just Transition', and you've also mentioned the Lucas Plan, do these things tie in with what people have been calling the 'Green New Deal' ? Do you see Earth Strike as linked to these calls that tend to come from within political parties, such as Labour(UK) and the Democrats(US) ?**

Similar to the IWW we don't form any alliances with political parties. We believe that labour organising has to come directly from workers, not from politicians. Things like the Green New Deal, and I don't want to be too critical of it, seem to be a way of making concessions within the capitalist system. So they'll push green industries, but still within a system that requires perpetual growth, rather than the degrowth of harmful industries that is necessary to both mitigate climate change and stop the continued exploitation of the resources and people of the global south (who are the ones facing the worst of ecological disasters already). They'll fund more green jobs, but we'll still have the inequality that is such a major driver of ecological damage. We won't be tackling the root causes of things like the exploitation of the global south for profit. So, the Green New Deal is a good starting point to talk about but it falls short as an end goal, it is too focused on sustaining capitalism for as long as possible.

### **Thanks for taking the time to speak with us, any final thoughts?**

Just that we've got a limited time to do a lot of shit.

So don't wait around, get involved! ■

*earth-strike.com/en/uk/  
unistoten.camp*

**Organise! would also like to thank the JustSeeds cooperative who kindly allowed us to use the artwork of it's members. In order of use that would be Roger Peet, Josh Macphee and Jesse Purcell. You can find the entire set on their website; [justseeds.org](http://justseeds.org)**



**GLOBAL  
CLIMATE  
STRIKE**

**SEPT 20-27 2019**

# PRODUCTIVITY IS NOT YOUR FRIEND

by Pavlo Shopin

On social media, I have recently come across an 'anti-capitalist love note', reassuring its readers that they are much more than their productivity. This criticism of economic output as a measure of human worth will strike a chord with many people. Material production influences the kind of person you are, but it does not justify or invalidate your existence. No capitalist accounting can do justice to being human. You need no reason or apology for living life in freedom, and productivity is not your friend.

The cult of productivity has led to extensive damage and misery, as those who enthusiastically embrace wrong ends – placing profits before people – wreak havoc upon the world, and subject fellow humans to oppression and abuse. Their hard work brings bitter fruit.

In his essay 'Productivity is dangerous', Vincent Bevins suggests that the obsession with productivity contributed to Germany's imperial aggression and state violence in the 20th century. In his lecture 'Judenplatz 1010', Timothy Snyder reminds us that the concept of productivity was used by the Nazis to dehumanise Jews who 'were sent from the Warsaw Ghetto to be murdered when it was judged that the calories they consumed were worth more than the work

they produced'. Productivity is wielded as a bludgeon against humanity: 'This is an artefact of the industrial world: humans who are denied humanity are judged as objects who carry out physical work.'

Under capitalism, most of us are not our productivity because it is appropriated by the capitalist class. Our actions, which are human at heart, serve the capitalist purpose of fuelling economic growth that perpetuates subjugation and precipitates ecological ruin.

Productivity is hypocritically worshipped and weaponised by the rich because they reap the benefits of mass exploitation. In this unfair and unsustainable system, people are alienated from the results of their labour, and their own worth is lost in the process.

Productivity is monetised and domesticated in the capitalist economy. Creative endeavours are harnessed by capitalism and serve its nefarious goals when the worker plays by its rules, which promote fierce competition and protect those in power – the rich subjugate and discipline the poor. Authoritarianism and other social distortions lead to a warped view of humanity with regard to its productive potential and actual output.

Equating productivity with humanity and self-worth is a kind of vulgar behaviourism that benefits the privileged. Actions do shape human nature, and behaviourism is not evil or misguided per se. The problem arises when we define people only through those aspects of their life that can be quantified and integrated into a broken economic mechanism that is destroying not only the environment, but also social relationships.

Human behaviour that does not bring profit loses recognition and visibility, whereas toxic productivity comes to the fore. According to behaviourists, humanity predominantly depends on what people do or do not do. In this view, productivity defines humanity. While it does matter what people do, it should not detract from or augment their humanity. Behaviour might be what makes us human in some complex and



multifaceted sense, but it is crucial to acknowledge humanity without relying only on productivity. Humanity should be an all-encompassing option that includes all humans in a society.

All living beings have meaning and significance that cannot be reduced to their service to economy. Once humans overcome this exploitative vision of society and environment, being human will cease to be an exclusive privilege. People need to learn how to live in harmony with each other and nature. Human rights should not entail the devastation of life on Earth to indulge the superiority fantasies of the few affluent individuals who reserve justice and freedom for themselves.

Planting trees and cutting them down can both be seen as productivity. The modern economy introduces a perverse asymmetry to this equation as deforestation is deemed much more profitable than reforestation. There is a way to judge the consequences of productivity as positive in one value system (profit), and negative in another (the environment).

When it comes to the environmental crisis, both conservation and innovation require a different kind of productivity. Growing forests and building green power plants are not neutral options. In the current model, they are not valued for their environmental impact.

A proper judgement should be made of those who extract and burn fossil fuels, and run the economy based on unsustainable growth. Economic productivity measures not only affluence, but also responsibility for the extent of global destruction, from carbon footprint to nuclear waste.

Productivity can be the reverse side of consumption. Being productive could foster consumption. Some business models rely on generating demand for their products. Whether production and consumption are enriching or destructive activities depends on the relationship between human beings and the environment. In an exploitative and extractive economy, productivity and consumption mean both exploitation of other humans and the decimation

of nature.

What is rewarded is not always what benefits us and the environment the most. From cultural heritage to investment bankers, our culture and economy erase humanity and nature in favour of wealth and tyranny.

In his book *Bullshit Jobs* (2018), David Graeber argues there are many jobs that make no sense. Instead of decrying their existence, we could question the economic system that created them by demonstrating that it disrupts the natural relationship between humanity and productivity. If people notice the profound gulf between human and economic worth, they will see that every job is bullshit.

The relentless focus on productivity inevitably motivates the wrong kind of action. When people are free to do what they please, they will not inflict self-defeating damage. Forced to produce the right amount of stuff in an exploitative economy, many people actively undermine the good work of others because of their ineptitude or perverse motivation. If everyone is compelled to work regardless of their preferences, those who want to do something else or wish to sit idly by might cause chaos and devastation. Their forced contribution will not only cancel out the efforts of others, but far exceed them since disruption can be easier to achieve than constructive change. This involuntary destruction is not an aberration, but the very essence of capitalist production.

The understanding that human worth does not equal productivity and that the latter can have catastrophic ramifications should not lead us to believe that we are always better off doing nothing. On the contrary, these insights should motivate people to organise in order to topple the current system of ruthless exploitation and to establish a more harmonious relationship among human beings, and between humanity and the environment.

***Pavlo Shopin** is a research fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in the English Department at the University of Freiburg. He comes from Luhansk, Ukraine. ■*

# FASHY SOCIAL MEDIA SITE NOW COMES IN PINK

*New developments in online platforms and misinformation*

On August 12th, a new social media platform Spinster, targeted at creating a safe space for transphobic speech was launched promoting itself as "Free Speech for Feminists". It immediately came under questions from trans advocates and anti fascists for its connections to Alt-Right social media networks. Within a week it had onboarded over 4500 users, the vast majority of them drawn from the "Gender Critical" movement, and instances had been seen of users dehumanising and promoting the murder of trans people.

## A bit of background on alternative social media

The first alarms were raised pre-launch over the developers unusual choice to base their platform on the source code for Gab. Gab was founded originally as a safe space for far right internet personalities and activists ejected from major social media platforms in the wake of protests that tech companies had been too soft on fascist content, making Gab a sort of neo nazi replacement for Twitter and Facebook. While this created a temporary clubhouse for extreme right wing content dominated by open celebrations of lynching, genocide, holocaust denial and more, Gab has since been trying to find ways to re-connect its userbase with the more mainstream social media by converting the site to link into the open source Mastodon, an decentralised social media platform where different instances are able to regulate themselves as part of a wider federated network. Gab presents itself as simply being a "Free Speech" fundamentalist network, but its origins, far right userbase, and history of connections with neo-nazi mass killers have meant that much of the rest of the "Fediverse" (*the federation of other autonomous servers which make up the Mastodon network*) have blocked Gab aligned servers.

## So where do feminists come into this

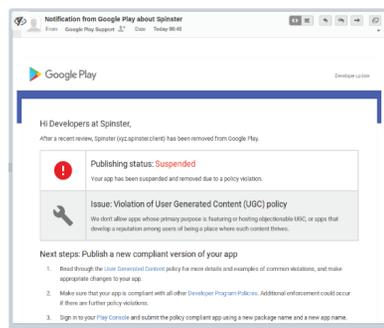
After the digital blockade against gab, it's founder Andrew Torba called out for supporters to set up a range of instances which would federate with



Alex Gleason

@alex@spinster.xyz

Google Play suspended our app from the Play Store @developers



Aug 23, 2019, 16:08 · Web · 69 · 63



Gab in order to ensure there was a viable social media ecosystem. Gab is perfectly functional as it's own unit, open to registration by anyone on the internet, but it's founder and backers have chosen to present the choice of fascism intolerant instances to defederate as being "against free speech".

One of those individuals to answer the call was Alex Gleason (screenshot of him saying immediately "I'm planning to set up an instance).

A few days later, his girlfriend Mary Kate Fain lost her job at a software cooperative in response to her publication of transphobic blog posts, and the pair of them launched Spinster for testing. The couple are well known for their work in the animal liberation circuit. Fain is now the CEO of Spinster and Alex appears to be handling day to day technical maintenance.

When questioned about why the developers chose to adapt their code from Gab instead of the mainstream mastodon codebase, Spinster tried to explain it away as simply a preference for Gab's user interface. After the first week, when Spinster's app (a clone of the already banned app Gab) was removed from the Google Play Store for openly refusing to curb hate speech in user generated content, Spinster immediately reached

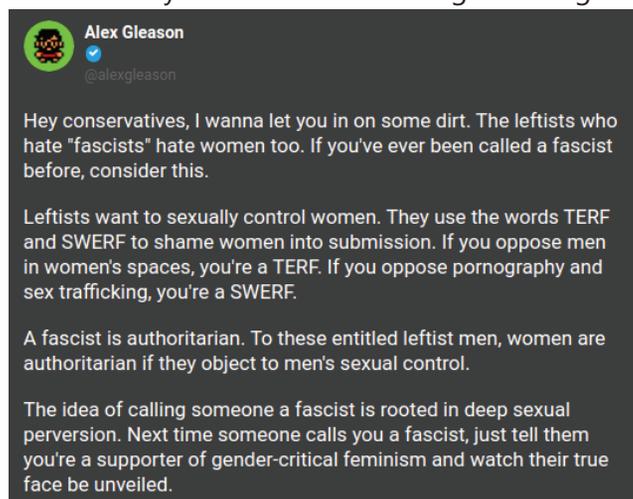
out to the Gab development account precipitating offers of help and suggestions to integrate more closely with Gab's app infrastructure.

This demonstrates one of the big concerns with Spinster: that by choosing to open a platform deliberately linked with an alt right platform, their fate, with their codebase and need to maintain daily operations is tied up with Gab's.

### But there's more to it than that

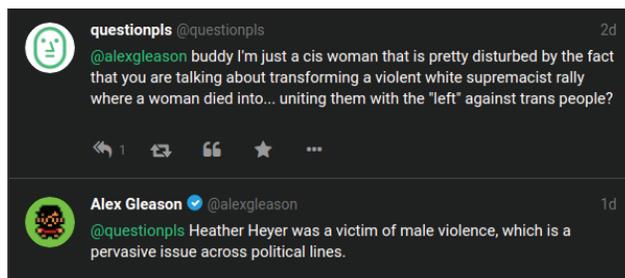
It's clear from Gleason's posts (and patreon) that he presents himself as a left-anarchist and sees this whole project as part of creating some libertarian free speech autonomous zone, but he also repeatedly devolves into Red-Brown daydreaming, minimised the killing of Heather Heyer as merely an incident of "Male Violence" and has suggested that resisting fascism is a form of sexual perversion.

From the way he addresses his far right colleagues



on Gab it is clear he sees them as allies to his work and is trying to overthrow the injustices created by "leftists" and "SJWs" by allying himself with them. Somehow trans people's existence, claims to space in our communities and safety from violence have become emblematic of all of the issues he has with the left.

From a bigger picture point of view this amounts to an enormous pull of feminists ranging from those who are merely skeptical of trans activism to those who are outright hostile to it being pulled into a space adjacent to and endorsed by



the far right. Due to the decision to fork (*adapt*) Gab's code, much of the app infrastructure and the Mastodon network itself has already cut spinster off in anticipation that this is simply an offshoot of a far right project that needs to be isolated - meaning that the women drawn to this platform are likely to be targeted by even more concentrated efforts to recruit them to the right wing.

This is following a well tried and tested pattern of publicity where Gleason presents the likely future cutting off of Spinster (as a Gab satellite) as a form of misogyny - specifically silencing women's voices. Like with Gab this claim falls hollow - the women using Spinster are as able to speak their minds as freely as they like (so long as they follow the Spinster moderation policy - racism, sexism, ableism, even animal cruelty are banned, everything is covered in their policy other than transphobia!) whether other servers in the Mastodon network choose to federate with them or not. But this narrative nevertheless serves to help create an atmosphere of shared victimhood with all those silenced fascists on Gab all the same. »

### How has it panned out

It's early days still but we've already seen incidents of the fascist attitudes amongst users. In one instance, noted TERF Posie Parker described trans women as insects crawling around on flypaper. In another, a still taken from film of a trans woman's murder was celebrated as righteous justice using a fictional narrative about her having entered a women's toilet, and this false narrative was used to promote more widespread transphobic action (screenshots available). It is yet to be seen how relations will develop between users on Spinster and users on Gab. ■

# A BRIEF HISTORY OF VIOLENCE (Extract)

by Peter Ó Máille

**If someone punches** you, you punch them back.  
If someone ever tries to kill you, you try to  
kill'em right back.

If someone tries to ethnically cleanse your entire  
community and install an authoritarian order  
based on white supremacy and chauvinism...  
Well you sure don't provide a platform and sit  
meekly holding on to virtue as they use your  
kindness to advocate the murder of you and  
everyone you know.

You stand up, fight back.

You should resist them with every ounce of your  
being and to the maximum of your capacity using  
every weapon available in the proverbial tool box.

This is why I've always had a problem with a  
particular breed of organiser. The ones so  
wrapped up in their own sense of nobility or  
drowning in parliamentary politics that they  
demand passivity. The pious who consistently  
denounce the militants as hooligans and negate  
the actions of the most vulnerable as "feral" and  
"childish". They sit on self assured platforms  
of pseudo-spiritual assurance that violence in  
all it's forms is wrong and that peace and love  
will see through in the end (somehow). They  
occupy lofty positions of relative security and  
make protest a game. These same comrades hide  
behind the protective violence of the police, are  
the first to say "without the police, what would  
stop someone from committing murder?" while  
praising government initiatives to expand the  
might of "the thin blue line".

Have you ever read "The Masque of Anarchy" the  
poem Percy Shelley wrote about the massacre at  
Peterloo in 1819? It's adored by Corbyn and the  
like. There is a bit they tend to miss out, it reads:

"And if then the tyrants dare,  
Let them ride among you there;  
Slash, and stab, and maim and hew;  
What they like, that let them do.

With folded arms and steady eyes,  
And little fear, and less surprise,  
Look upon them as they slay,  
Till their rage has died away."

## Look at that.

Ye may be many and they may be few, but if  
you plan is to stand there full of nobility as the  
horses ride you down and the bastards attack  
your friends with sabres, you are fighting for your  
freedom wrong. Some 15 people died and over  
500 were injured. They are constantly celebrated  
and brought up as advocacy of non-violent  
resistance and truly I've never got the joke.

## Nobility is useless to the dead.

The reality is, the people of Manchester (*I'm proud  
to say*) didn't actually take it with the nobility  
Shelley portrayed in his second hand account.  
They threw a riot and tore the city up. They fought  
back against the state that would so cravenly ride  
down the people who had peacefully assembled.

Back in 1819 the government responded with  
a broad cracked down on political agitation  
and charged reporters with sedition. It declared  
support for the actions taken by the magistrates  
and the army with Lord Sidmouth, the Home  
Secretary at the time, passing on the thanks of the  
Prince Regent to the magistrates for "preservation  
of the public peace".

The response from the non-violent  
parliamentarians and reformists was a petition.

## A petition ffs.

In the following months what eventually stirred  
the government into action was three uprisings  
in the works and a bomb plot to blow up cabinet.  
The action they took was to bring in the "Six Acts"  
and suppress the working class, arresting near  
every organiser and holding the us by the throat  
for a dozen years before reforms came in.

The state does not care one damn bit about the people and it's dogs in the police force, *even the nice ones*, serve their masters with all passion of the most fervent zealot. Make no mistake, Peterloo was just one moment in a long and brutal history at the hands of the state, from Tony pandy to Orgreave, from the murders of Blair Peach and Ian Tomlinson we would learn time and time again that the police are not there to protect us. Their franchise on violence can and will be used against us in a moment.

The organised working classes have always had a vital need to defend ourselves with physical force from the police and from the reactionaries who've sought to silence us with the use of violence. Whether it's paid strikebreakers and mercenaries sent by the bosses, patriotic bootlickers suckling on the teat of the state or the pseudo intellectual white supremacists who've bought into the mythology that they are powerful and deserve the world. The right wing has always reached for violence at the first chance they get regardless of whether that's at the street or on a podium.. Violence is their occupation. Then we have Fascism. A political ideology at the extreme of the right wing which quick became a fetish for the most violent. Street thugs free of the restraints the public office and all to often supported by the police flogck towards it, frothing at the mouth with their jackboots and seig heils.

It cannot be conquered with the use of kindly words, passivity and polite requests to stop the murder. In the UK, generations of perpetually beaten workers have slowly exchanged political sedation for a gentler whip. Once strong unions sit idle and bloated while your friendly local Gestapo are cheered on as they wave from the Pride float after a long weekend of beating up young black men.

Revolution and liberty for the working class are near forgotten, a flickering flame on a lonely candle in the night. A handful of faithful watching the struggles of the comrades globally.

They'll find no help standing up the Fascists from the police nor the liberals more concerned with selling papers and chasing votes to be of use

to anyone. So I completely understand when working class comrades turn militant Anti-Fascism and pro-actively respond to the imminent threat facing us all.

## A LITTLE HISTORICAL INTERLUDE

From the foundation of British Fascisti and it's overt "anti-communism" in May 1923, to the frothing islamaphobes of the EDL in 2009, Violence has been fundamental to their cause. Sure it has waxed and waned as they've tried their hand at playing parliament but that facade never lasts. Assault on the working class in services of the bosses has always been a reality for workings standing up from themselves but after the birth of Third International in 1919 and the subsequent reactionary rise of Fascism we began to see organised violence on an unprecedented scale. From political and physical attacking on workers during The Great Strike of 1926 to Mosley's abortive attempts to march on Cable Street in 1936 it was clear that the only way to respond to the growing threat was with swift and decisive action. Something thousands did when they fought alongside comrades in Catalonia.

(Side note, during this time the British Fascist (as they were soon known) would seek election gains on various platforms to return power to the old elite such as lowering income tax so the rich could employ more servants and thus end unemployment. No seriously... now that's bootlicker!)

For a time after the Second World War, the black stain of Fascism was silent but as the workers once again began organising to stand up to the bosses. The seed of hatred, white supremacy and Nationalism remained and Fascists were once again organised by their masters, albeit now with diminished numbers. Instead of trying to attack striking workers or accost union organisers on the streets they tried a return to older tactics such as running for elections and counter protesting to actions of the unions such as during the BMC strike in 1956 where they pulled up and attempted to hold a rally. This did not go well for them. This was repeated time and time again, each time they would attempt a public assembly »

they would face vast crowds of Antifa who would chuck rocks and rotten eggs over their police escorts. ¡No Pasarán!, no quarter nor platform for debate was given.

Unfortunately between the years of the National Front forming in 1967 and The BNP falling flat on it's face in the 2010 elections, the majority of people would forget the imminent threat these bigots present. They would become normalised and debates on the TV became standard. Behind those camera friendly grins tho, it was a different story. Since the 80's they had openly turned to street violence with roving gangs of boneheads attacking anyone they felt like, Sikhs, Blacks, Gays and Commies. The estates of Britian were a dangerous place to be if you didn't meet their idea of the decent Aryan specimen. Anti-Fascists responded in kind, they worked together and gave birth to the Anti Nazi League and it's successors Red Action and Anti-Fascist Action - who would come to repopularise the term Antifa, itself coined in 1930's Germany. Direct confrontation with street thugs became a fundamental part of Anti Fascism oncemore.

Tho the ANL would eventually expel affinity groups for being violent and "squadist" and the first iteration of AFA would threat over when violence was acceptable the reality was "Bashing the Fash" worked. Even as the BNP rose to a fair degree of power through the later 90's and early 00's their capacity to organise on the streets and hold protests was extremely limited by the presence of pro-active Anti-Fascists who would confront them at each and every turn.

These years of violence built a core strategy of using violence in a few different forms. The primary method was defensive in nature. Antifa would routinely patrol demonstrations and stand as a defensive barrier for moderate comrades. The second was defined by "No Pasarán". Tactical opposition to remove any and all platforms, blocking off marches and using every method to limit the voice of Nazis and illustrate their vile bigotry to the world. The third and most contentious method was to take the fight to them, not just during demonstrations but from every sphere they tried to infect, this meant

kicking them out of the punk scene, unions and community groups and doxxing notable Fascists to their neighbours and work colleagues. It also saw Anti-Fascist squads taking up the regular habit of patrolling and watching out for their Nazi trash.

## **GAMERGATE HAPPENED AND THINGS CHANGED**

In short a mild controversy in the world of gaming back in 2014 became a flash point for mostly apolitical young men, it was a nasty affair which was overwhelmingly condemned by politicians and activists alike, heck, even most of the right wing dismissed it as the whining of geeks and nerds, almost all.

The National Policy Institute, the seemingly reasonable facade for Richard Spencer's "Alternative Right" directly and with full intent embraced the movement. Message boards went from nihilistic misogyny and politically stagnant trolls chasing "lulz" to organised and coherent political recruitment. The already gross hostility towards women from various groups of "Incels" and "MRAs" became propoganda for Fascists and the Libertarian Right of America. Young conservatist white men were now under siege from "cultural Marxists" and were told that they must unite for free speech, for "Western Values" and fight against the "libtards" and "snowflakes" of the sinister left. These dienfranchised young men, isolated and alone ate that trash up. They found brotherhood and community in opposing the "Fascist left" and bit by bit the normalisation of Fascism creeped in as they are indocrinated into an ever deeping pool of victimhood and prejudice.

Although scoffed at by the Antifa and Fascists alike this movement would soon come to take a vital roll in American and British politics. In 2016, Gavin McInnes, fresh from making a killing off Vice Media created the Proud Boys and suddenly the Alt-Right had a vanguard. This mixed perfectly with Ezra Levant and Brian Lilley's new endeavour "The Rebel Media" and with Steve Bannon's declaration that Breitbart was "The platform for the alt-right" this new movement

was consolidated and strong. It was patriotic, militant, protective of male identity and "western values". All welcome provided you hated the communists and wanted to defend "free speech".

To top this off, they now had a President popularising their particular brand of right wing nonsense. Trump started out as a joke, laughed at by the establishment and left alone, a pathetic mockery of the modern political system. He recruited the movement's top figures and built a massive online campaign that tapped into rural America and the Alternative Right alike (possibly with the aid of Russian troll farms). He took office in January 2017 and the racist violence exploded across the United States.

Instead of confronting supremacists waving Swastikas, champing at the bit to get pissed and have a fight, Antifa were now faced by boys next door waving the Stars and Stripes and demanding a debate, albeit a disingenuous one full of "sealioning" and "Gish gallop". Direct confrontation would still have its place of course; a persistent and militant opposition to Richard Spencer's tour saw it cut short and their attempts to gather at Charlottesville and elsewhere were met with a wave of militant Anti Fascism. Still, despite the obvious bigotry on show, the right began to win the culture war. They reframed themselves as the victims so effectively that Fascism was next to normalised over night. They developed their image and began describing themselves as "activists", "truth seekers" and a particular favourite "journalist". The primary battle ground for the "Alt Right" wasn't the streets, it was online. When they did assemble in public they would profess to being peaceful, hide behind patriotic slogans the obfuscated the sinister reality. Fascists once more felt empowered and casual violence at the hands of bigots would see a sharp rise, both in the USA and the UK. In front of the cameras though, they would plead innocence and express how appalled they were at the violence these "left wing Fascists" brought to the table to oppose them.

### **Step in Andy Ngo.**

Now he knows about the magical shield that is being a journalist and how vital it is to control the narrative.

Hardly anyone had heard his name before he was "the journalist attacked by Antifa Fascists" and now he's rocking a couple hundred thousand follows on Twitter and regular spots on TV. To the casual observer he's a journalist and you can't touch him, heck he's Vietnamese and gay... who attacks a gay Vietnamese journalist while dressed in black? Clearly they must be the real Fascists, Terrorists even! Why won't Trump outlaw them in the name of Free Speech!!!

Andy's only article of prominence before this was titled "A visit to Islamic England" in which he talked about "Muslim controlled zones" such as Whitechapel in London. The article was utterly shredded by actual Londoners. He was a nobody on the edge of the far right, hungry to consolidate his *Idée fixe* that Antifa are terrorists opposed to freedom. What's a sensationalist bullshit artist to do?

Andy turned to a very old strategy. Make yourself a victim.

He walked into the heated Anti-Fascist crowd and wait to be confronted by the Antifa who would recognise him. He stood meekly as they covered him with milkshake and silly string and inevitably took a few smacks. Bosh! He has his clip to prove that the people in black are the bad guys. They are violent ones, the terrorists, the Fascists.

The centerists and apathetic at home watching a short clip on Facebook had no context, they don't know or care that before this Andy was part of a pack of armed right wing thugs (including convicted child rapist Matthew Demetrius "Deme" Cooper and Neo-Nazis Ian Kramer and Eric Oelkers) that traveled to a Portland bar to attack people. During the ensuing melee, Kramer smashed a woman in the head with a metal baton, knocking her unconscious and shattering her vertebrae. After the attack, Andy doxxed the victim on Twitter.

(Infact film would later be released of him planning the attack and laughing about it, something which saw him lose his position with Quillette as they erased everything he had contributed) »

Those who accosted him knew who he was and what he represented so they reacted and attacked. The problem is, they were set up, the dogmatic response "Bash the Fash" all too predictable. Ngo's intent was even recognised by moderate comrades such as Charlotte Clymer, a press secretary of the Human Rights Campaign who tweeted:

"Violence is completely wrong, and I find it sad and weak to allow a snivelling weasel like Andy Ngo to get under one's skin like this. But I'm also not going to pretend that this wasn't Ngo's goal from the start"

### **So here is where I get called a liberal wanker.**

I'll cry no tears over a Fascist taking a few smacks, unlike Charlotte there, I am no liberal and I'm perfectly comfortable with a community responding to the political agitation for a white ethnostate with physical force. Saying this, I don't think we shouldn't always be so keen to "Bash the Fash". I think we have to be aware of the context, read the situation and respond with the most fitting tactic. When you are in the main body of a protest which is being heavily filmed this isn't smacking an unarmed Fascist play-acting as a respectable journalist. It's 2019, not 1919. You are being filmed and you are in a culture war and Andy Ngo was never going to be de-platformed by smacking him up. It is what he wanted to happen.

He would go on to toss in a fictional brain injury caused by the disappearing concrete milkshakes and have a great news cycle. His popularity soared and he would quickly become a main influencer of hub of activity on Social Media. In the mind of his base everyone left Trump is an Anti-Fascist and if you can demonstrate violence in the hands of the most radical sections you can undermine anyone who doesn't support Trump and right wing America. Antifa became "the paramilitary wing of the Democrats" in the minds eye of the average Republican and here is the evidence... just don't watch any of the videos of white supremacists attacking people during the same damn events, that wouldn't be right.

Look, Antifa don't kill people, it's not a rule or anything, it's just the nature of protective violence. Anti Fascists are there because they are compassionate individuals and they feel the need to stand against the tide of reckless hate and bigotry. It's not about cheap thrills and having a fight. So when Andy walks into the firing line with the intent of becoming a victim of the "terrorists", he knew that he was relatively safe. He knew how it would look and the support that would be gained for his benefactors and, almost certainly, his wallet.

The best thing that then happened was the milkshaking and silly string. It made a mockery of the nasty fuck and fitted right in with the current trend of milkshaking Fascists. If it ended there it would have been a win. Instead it was an own goal. I'm not trying to chastise comrades here, I just think Antifa need to be smarter than that, recognise bait and respond in the situationally appropriate fashion.

Ask what's the most direct way to protect the community and remove the Fascist's platform. To my mind this looks more like the recent response to a bus load of white supremacists from the American Guard pulling up near a counter demonstration in Portland. Antifa formed a barrier and when the doors open and a Fascist tried to attack the nearest person with a hammer, they responded with protective violence, took the hammer away from the guy quite literally trying to kill someone and chucked it back at him, doing him a mischief. When Andy Ngo and others shared "Antifa attack school bus with hammer" the truth was instantly presented, the lies made clear and Ngo's respectability as a "journalist" took a dive.

What is doesn't look like is at the same protest, Anti-Fascist chasing a character who goes by the name "Based Spartan" and his daughter down the road and up a by-pass despite him presenting zero threat to the crowd. It was very clearly a manufactured situation and folk bit it hard. It played into his masturbatory fantasies of being the lone warrior against the communist hoards, let alone his political motive of showing Anti-Fascists as a baying mob hell-bent on stripping

away his freedoms as an 'Murican. We need to be smarter than this comrades, especially at major protests with a plethora of cameras watching every move.

### **SO WHAT'S THE BIG FINALE HERE?**

We all need to accept that violence is a vital component of Anti-Fascism, it always has been. However out on the streets right now, at major protests like these, the use of physical force needs to be limited to protective and defensive measures, it's that simple. Even if they try to spin it, the truth will be on your side. Further to that, remaining disciplined and organised means you are doing a better job at protecting other Anti-Fascists and illustrating the reality of Nazi aggression to the wider audience on the other end of the cameras. This is why one of the primary reasons so few people are trying to undermine the Hong Kong protestors even tho they are clearly quite comfortable with the use of violence to defend themselves. They protect and defend. Legit.

The Alternative right are media savvy and very capable of building online propaganda. Anti-Fascists cannot afford to become complacent with this or predictable in how they respond. The Fascists aren't dicking about and they aren't the oafish rabble they once were. Remember as well, that there is an army of internet trolls on their side churning out false narratives before you're even back at the pub celebrating. These Alt-Right denizens of the web would also love nothing more than to doxx you and ruin your day so get into security culture and protect yourself. Whether or not you are inclined or capable of defending yourself, you need to stay safe and secure. This means masking the fuck up and use the buddy system amongst other things. This shouldn't need repeating but seems that the harsh lessons of the past are being forgotten. So for those willing to step up and be the proverbial "thin black line" against the tide of bigotry here are some final thoughts for those who would use violence to protect us all and "Bash the Fash".

**Learn to fight and be willing to defend yourself.**

Fascists are doing something all the time that most Anarchists aren't. Fighting. Whether it's the odd footie brawl, having the regular Friday night fight or spending hours training down the gym, most Fascists are pretty used to fighting. It's their world and they live for it. If you want to present any kind of obstacle for them and you aren't relying on sheer numbers, then you've got to learn to fight. Pick up a defensive combat sport like Wing Chun or Krav Maga. Do some cardio, lift weights and learn to take a punch down your local Antifa boxing club. You are going to need these skills to defend your community and protect yourself from Fascists and Police alike.

If you can't defend yourself, don't put yourself in a situation where you might have too. Certainly not with small numbers. Discretion is the better part of valour and there are more tools in the box than having a pointless scrap with some gammon.

### **Get organised.**

Don't leave learning how to handle protests and riots until your boots are on the ground. Organise within an affinity group and spend time practising some basic drills and "what ifs". If you want to present real resistance to the forces of the state or Nationalists you have to put aside egotism and build networks. Watch videos from Europe and practice Black Bloc strategies with your comrades. You'll notice in Europe there is a tendency, especially in Germany, for building strong organised front lines, particularly on marches. They are successful at taking and holding space because they work together as a unit. Revolutionary discipline, practised communications, and co-ordination is what's needed to pull this off. Mind you, there are other schools of thought. The Greeks keep the cops and Nationalists at bay by having a will and capacity to use violence. Mr. Ngo would never have tried his little stunt in Greece as they would have messed him up good and proper. I think Greek Anarchists hold a special place in the hearts of comrades worldwide and tho their furious manner may not be for you, there is much we can learn from watching how they organise. What will play for you and yours is highly dependant on your context, your politics and your will to defend yourself. »

Do not slip into the hair shirt of rejecting organisation in favour of Anarchistic individualism. Build up networks of trust, communication and co-operation between different crews and utilise it. You do not want to be working of the logistics on the day of the protest. Learn to communicate intent quickly and precisely without having to stand around for ten minutes. This means working on rapid consensus making mechanics as a core element of organising. There are loads of videos, pamphlets and books out there to teach these methods. Utilise them.

### **Learn to read the situation.**

Knowing when to back down and knowing when to stand your ground is essential. This is especially important with the police and with third parties like security guards and the like. Sometimes going in heavy is the best way, such as when de-arresting or rescuing someone. Your aim there is to intimidate with a show of force and cause a moment of withdrawal you can use to get someone out of harms way. There are however times it's better to calm situations down, using body language and pacification techniques. Militants on the street need to be thinking not just of themselves but their buddy, their squad, and the wider aspect to their actions during protests.

The best way of learning this here in the UK, if you don't live on the estate or you don't fancy working as a bouncer for a year is to go out sabbing. Hunt Sabs are out there once maybe

twice a week for months on end taking on an overtly hostile opposition with a goal greater than "have a fight". Sabs who have been out for a season or two generally have spot on situational awareness which If you aren't used to this kind of tension it's vital experience. It's about becoming bomb proof and keeping your calm. You'll get into high pressure situations, see them go right and yeah, see them go wrong. It's easily the best arena to learn skills which are vital whether you are dealing with the cops, hunt scum or Fascists.

Talk to them, offer an extra body in the wagon and go out.

They especially need bodies towards the end of the hunting season from the end of January onwards. Skill up and save foxes from pissed up toffs, can't say fairer than that. The lessons you'll learn running around the Peak District will become very useful out on the streets and and I promise you this, you'll get that cardio I mentioned. ■

Here are three vital bits of reading from people much smarter than me.

You'll find them all on [theanarchistlibrary.org](http://theanarchistlibrary.org).

**Malatesta** - "Anarchy and Violence"

**Bowser** - "Elements of Resistance"

**Gelderloos** - "How Non-Violence protects the



## INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN

### *A brief run down of revolutionary protest, resistance and rebellion around*

In **Brazil** there has been a radical escalation in deliberate burnings and logging. Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon since July, is 278% greater than during the same period of 2018. Between August 15 and August 20 of this year, 131 Indigenous lands have burned in Brazil. These numbers keep increasing. When São Paulo the urban communities were stirred into action and thousands of protestors took to action across the country. Meanwhile Representatives of 14 indigenous groups and four riverside reserves through the Xingu Basin met in the Kubenkokre village last week. They are seeking to put behind them the ethnic conflicts of the past and unite against the fascist state burning their land.



*"Today we have only one enemy, which is the Brazilian government, the president of Brazil, and the invasions of non-indigenous people,"*  
- Mudjire Kayapó of the The Kayapós People.

In **Ecuador** the Kichwa people win a major court victory to protect the Piutua River from a planned damming. This came about two days after the judge was arrested for taking a \$40k bribe. They join the Waorani and Kofan peoples in legal victory against industrial capitalists. In the wake of these Indigenous communities held a two-day conference in the capital Quito to develop stronger ties and united resistance against the industrialists who would tear down the trees of the forests and poison the rivers in the name of a quick buck and an increase in their stock price.

The start of September saw confrontations in **Chile** outside the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Santiago. The protests demand justice for José Huenante, a 16-year-old Mapuche, who 'disappeared' while being held in police custody in Puerto Montt some 14 years ago. The Mapuche have been fighting for their liberty since the Occupation of Araucanía

In **Sudan** after mass uprising saw dictator Omar al-Bashir ousted there was a four-month long struggle against the Junta which replaced him. Despite four months of violence from the military they have agreed to allow a civilian government which took office on the 1st of September and sit for three years ahead of elections. However the Military remains without oversight and holds veto over decisions. Still an uneasy calm has been brought about by the concession as protest leaders continue to fight for civilian rule.

In **Palestine** two children were shot and killed by Israeli forces during protests along the Gaza border. Ali al-Ashqar, 17, was shot in the neck along the border fence east of Jabalia in northern Gaza and Khaled al-Rabaaee, 14 was shot in the stomach east of Gaza City. These murders occurred during widespread protests calling for Israel to end its crippling siege on the coastal enclave as well as demanding the right to return to lands their families were forced to leave by colonial forces. Since the weekly protests began in March 2018 at least 308 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli forces in Gaza, the majority of these during the demonstrations. ■



# AFTER A PERIOD OF DORMANCY, JAPAN IS NOW AWAKE

*by Noma Yasumichi (C.R.A.C.)*

**Japan's significant anti-fascist / anti-racist movement** came along very late. It started just six years ago, when far-right Abe government came back to power.

In autumn this year, it is said that the Abe government will mark the longest period of ruling since the Meiji Revolution. It is also the most fascist and racist government since the Second World War. Japan now looks as if it's the Third Reich in the early 30s, full of hatred spreading towards ethnic minorities like such as the Koreans and Chinese living here.

## **THE EMBRYO OF THE MODERN JAPANESE FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENT**

Japan's modern far-right movement has reared up in late 90's. First it began as a protest to revise the history textbooks for high schools for the purpose of denying Japan's war-time crimes such as the Nanjing Massacre and war-time sex slaves (comfort women). After more than two decades, the revisionism achieved a successful outcome and Japan's war-time history is now completely revised. It was first spread through manga, then internet BBS (Bulletin Board Systems) and movie broadcasting services. Revisionism and racism in Japan has been a part of subculture and covered society from bottom up.

Unlike the UK and other European countries, Japan's far-right was not particularly active on the streets. They didn't march or protest in cities before mid 00's, but in the late 00's the situation changed. They began to do demonstrations in city centres naming themselves "Conservatives in Action". It was the beginning of Japan's current hate speech problem.

They frequently marched raising many Rising Sun flags just like National Front marching through London in the 70's. Japan's far-right now caught up with the world's far-right after forty years and at the same moment Japan's Antifa movement started.

Racist groups like Zaitokukai (now turned Japan

First Party) soon became violent. They targeted ethnic minorities, mainly Koreans, sometimes Chinese and others. The name of the group means Association of Citizens against the Special Privileges of the Zainichi Koreans. This name claimed that Korean permanent residents » (similar to UK Asians & Caribbeans from former colonies) had special privileges and Japanese people had been under 'reverse discrimination' for a long time. It was very similar the White Pride movement often seen in UK, Europe and America.

Zaitokukai attacked the Korean Junior High School in Kyoto in the end of 2009, when the first Anti-Racist movement had rose up in Kyoto to organize counter-demonstration waving No Pasaran flags. In the same year, Japan experienced a rare regime change to the Democratic Party government which was relatively more liberal than LDP (but still conservative with the same neo-liberalist policies as LDP had). So right wingers and conservatives became much more active to defeat the DP government and far-right Zaitokukai turned more hostile and violent to try and overwhelm the counter-demonstrators.

In 2011, a huge earthquake hit Northeast Japan and it lead to the Fukushima nuclear disaster. That ruined the stability of DP government and soon LDP took over the regime with PM Abe by the end of 2012. It was a backlash government from the beginning.

Zaitokukai and other ultraright groups were still strong on the street after the Abe government had come to power. In early 2013, they marched through Korean communities in Tokyo and Osaka every week shouting threats to Koreans that were so painful to hear and attacked Korean shops. Counter-Racist Action Collective was founded to physically stop this vandalism.

## **COUNTER-ACTIVITIES AGAINST FAR-RIGHT BURST OUT**

Until 2012, counter-protesters were very few in number compared to ultra-right hate mongers. »

There were only several antifascists confronting hundreds of bigots acting up, so sometimes counter-protesters were injured by their violence. It was mainly because leftist protesters were often intellectuals and too moderate to fight them back. Yes, they were good people but truly vulnerable.

But in 2013, things drastically changed. The emerging antifascist protesters were dressed in hoodies and stood up against the far-right marching in the streets. They verbally attacked bigots with F-words and sometimes got involved in fights with them. This was the beginning of the Battle of Shin-Okubo which lasted for half a year in Tokyo's largest Korean enclave.

Opposition rapidly increased in number by the summer. In June 2013, about 2000 people confronted the hate march on the main street of Shin-Okubo, which regularly mobilized 300 - 400 right wingers. It was exactly like the early NF march surrounded by antifascists in Lewisham, and at that very moment Japanese people visibly showed an anti-racist attitude for the first time in their history.

Those people who took part in counter-protests were not mobilized by any existing leftist organizations or unions but were individuals who got together through social networks, mainly Twitter. Among them were large amounts of musicians, DJs, ravers, rappers, punks, K-pop lovers, artists. For example, You can find DJ Shufflemaster yelling at a fascist march passing by, or ENDON members got upset with hate speech echoing around.

It was the first experience for bigots as well. Modern Japanese hate groups like Zaitokukai also consisted of individual light-minded activists who got involved in hate speech activities through the internet. They were called Netouyo or Netto-Uyoku, which means Online Right Winger. As you see American Alt-Right activists dressed in odd costumes holding video cameras tightly to record something, it's been exactly the same in Japan since mid 00s. They felt almighty with their videos spreading through the internet, so they got a shock and looked clearly embarrassed when confronted with a bunch of 'real' enemies standing just in front of them.

From spring to summer 2013, a variety of anti-racist groups and individuals emerged through the Battle of Shin-Okubo. There were several anarchists or black bloc like people among them, but most of participants were not far-left or anti-capitalist. In fact, Japan's existing far-left sectors totally ignored this movement. Instead, there were even people calling themselves 'right-wingers', who were from skinhead subcultures which had been popular in Japan for more than three decades. It was very similar to SHARP (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice) which rose up in 80s Europe.

The Battle of Shin-Okubo suddenly ended in September, when a huge sit-in protest happened in the centre of Tokyo. Since then there have been no hate-speech marches in the Shin-Okubo community, but thanks to the fascist Abe government, things got worse all around Japan. Now Japanese TVs included news programs repeatedly fomenting hatred against Koreans every day and night. You can find every kind of 'hate' books and magazines in book stores all through the country, which show unlimited hostility toward Koreans and Chinese. Japan now is xenophobic and totally sick in a literal sense.

### **JAPAN NEEDS TO REVISE IT'S CULTURE, NOT IT'S HISTORY**

Counter-Racist Action Collective (C.R.A.C.) is an organization dedicated to protesting against every kind of bigoted activity. It's also a platform for anti-fascist artists, photographers, musicians, DJs, authors, researchers or anyone. That is, we are not merely a civil group that organize political protests but a collective that resist racism and fascism on a culture basis. Thus we have organized music events called CLUB CRAC or art exhibitions at various times, and sold antifascist merchandises, for example t-shirts, caps, CDs and vinyls at our CRACSTORE.com. C.R.A.C. is based in Tokyo but there are local ones in each district of Japan such as C.R.A.C. North in the Hokkaido region, C.R.A.C. West covers Osaka and Kyoto and so on. Each C.R.A.C. is not a branch but independent and autonomous.

We have learned a lot from past anti-racist action through various subcultures from the UK and the

U.S.A. Talking about myself as a former music journalist, I knew about National Front from 70s punk music, I knew about Brixton and Notting Hill from UK reggae music, I knew about Bristol things from 90s club cultures, and I knew also about the South Bronx, East L.A. and Detroit scenes. It was, however a all theory because throughout the post-war period, I'd never seen such racial conflicts here in Japan as reported through the music I listened to. Now huge amount of racial bigotry and apparent hate speech have prevailed all over Japan, I just had no choice but to fight them back after I settled into middle age.

In Japan art and culture are very weak in their general resistance towards fascism, ditto with "Cool Japan" things. It's popular culture is somewhat detached from ongoing social movements like anti-racism, anti-fascism, anti-sexism etc. Japanese culture and subculture are both so greedy for power and have apparent tendency to hate movements of resistance. The Japanese government have promoted the "Cool Japan" strategy for the last decade, which was named after Tony Blair's "Cool Britannia" slogan, however it is far more authoritarian and government-led than the British precedent. People here so often say "Don't bring politics

into culture", that means "Do not talk about your problems while I'm enjoying music or anime or anything!". This is the ordinary Japanese sentiment but it doesn't mean it's really non-political. It's quite political in another sense, that is, it's just a refusal to any kind of objection that disturbs their peace of mind. So Japanese artists and celebs seldom reveal their own political opinions if it's against governmental policies.

Contrastingly, people seem to easily accept current LDP government ideology based on nationalism, economic liberalism, racism and historical negativism. It's all the same for artists, celebs, newspapers and TVs, so Japan now looks like it's dominated with a something like 'Spontaneous Totalitarianism' in which people obey the government not in a forced way but on a voluntary basis. I think it's the largest illness that our country suffers right now but it's one of the aspects of our nature that has been cultivated throughout the long history of our country.

After six years of struggle, the number of people opposing hate and racism has pretty much increased and there are far more citizen groups seeing successes than before. Now every far right activity in Tokyo is met with counter-protests of some kind. Also, we now have an anti hate speech law for the first time in our history which passed through congress in 2016. However, we are still a minority here compared to any of the western countries. I think it's because we've been in a long long period of dormancy, where we closed our eyes to ignore problems lying down in front of us. With poverty, discrimination, xenophobia and all kinds of social injustice blowing out at once everywhere in the country, we were too weak to cope with them. All I can say now is that at least we are awake unlike before, watch carefully what is happening as Japan awakes. ■



**Noma Yasumichi** is a former music journalist. He founded C.R.A.C. in 2013 and dedicates his time to opposing hate and racism in Japan.

Photos taken by **Mishima Takayuki** RIP.  
A great part of Japan's antifa culture.

## FEMINISTS RISE UP IN MEXICO

*Tired of the violence and abuse, sisters are taking to the streets.*

**The raping of** two girls one 17, the other 16 by the police in Azcapotzalco, Mexico has led to widespread protests which kicked off early August demanding widespread reforms both in the legal structure but also culture of this most deeply conservative nation.

The horrific violation of these girls has become a catalyst for a widespread militant feminist movement against the machismo of Mexican society. The "revolución diamantina" or glitter revolution - *a named earned after the head of police was covered in pink glitter* - is demanding a change.

A change to the horrific realities for the women of a Mexico where 10 women are murdered per day and where the security forces use rape as a method of Interrogation and torture. They are demanding a change to the culture which makes this shit happen and so they take to the streets. The reporting on these marches in the Mexican press has been near universally hostile and misogynistic which has prompted the following statement to be issued on the 18th Aug by **Mujeres+Mujeres**.

*We share it here with love and solidarity.  
Till all women are free of such violence!*

### **OUR PROTEST IS NOT VIOLENCE; WE DEMAND MEDIA WITH A GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN MEXICO**

**Mujeres+Mujeres**  
(Women + Women)

To the society in general:

On August 16, feminists across the country demonstrate against the sexual violence that women suffer, often by the authorities responsible for safeguarding citizenship as the recent case of rape against a minor in the Azcapotzalco City Hall.

Gender violence has become a national crisis. Data from the National Citizen Observatory of Femicide (2019) estimate that 56% of the Mexican territory has a gender alert and, according to UN Women (2018), at least 9 women are murdered daily; To make matters worse, approximately 70% of women in Mexico have suffered some type of sexual assault (ENDIREH, 2016).



In spite of the above, in the coverage of the protest, most of the national media decided to prioritize material damage, as well as the aggression of one man to another man, completely omitting the cause that caused this wave of indignation.

Specifically, the coverage of these media had the following characteristics:

- They omitted the purpose of the march by focusing both its headlines and the content of the notes on acts of vandalism, minimizing the context of the protest and the protesters' requests.

- They hold women responsible for all physical attacks against journalists, giving more relevance to this fact than to systematic violence against women in the country.

- They promote the idea that women's anger is irrational and misplaced, when all the evidence points to gender-based violence as a systematic phenomenon, with historical roots and with everyday events that reproduce it. To consider that material damages are greater than human and social damages, is also a form of violence.

- They reproduced violence in discourse by delegitimizing feminist causes through the valorization of forms of protest.

According to the Resource Kit for Ethical Journalism with Gender, "reporting and covering cases of gender-based violence entails additional responsibility. Anything other than breaking the silence that often surrounds the criminal acts of rape, aggression and femicide supports the status quo that minimizes and excuses the impact of violence and endangers women everywhere "(WACC / IFJ, 2012).

To solve this crisis of violence, it is imperative that the media recognize the critical role they play in ending gender violence, for which the signatories here urge you to commit to:

1. Investigate and cover the problem of sexist violence against women in a deep and constant way.
2. Create protocols for reporting with a gender perspective, which includes training reporters and editors in this area.
3. Give voice to women who live and protest against violence, without blaming or questioning the performance or the truthfulness of their testimonies.
4. Report all types of violence that women experience, in addition to physical and sexual violence.
5. Do not rely solely on the information provided by police sources or authorities. Question the authorities about their actions to reduce the incidence and give justice to those who have been subjected to violence.
6. Not to reveal the personal data and visual identity of women who have suffered violence, unless they clearly authorize it.
7. Provide information to women on where to seek help.

The protests seek to recover the ultimate meaning of public institutions: impart justice. The media have a clear responsibility in helping to break the normalization and silence surrounding the conditions of violence that women live in our country.

Sincerely,  
Mujeres+Mujeres (*Women + Women*),  
organizations and autonomous women  
signatories. ■  
Media contact:  
mediasvsviolencia@gmail.com

***The original version and list of signatories  
can be found here:-  
medium.com/@mediossviolencia***

# STATELESS AND OPPRESSED

## *The Story of Kuwait's Bidoon population*

On the 7th of July a young man called Ayed Hamad Moudath took his own life after the government of Kuwait denied him civil documentation, which is needed to access public services, as well as to study and work. They did so because he is Bidoon, a social class of Kuwait and the other five states that form The Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) area, defined by their status as "stateless".

The word "Bidoon" itself means "without" in Arabic, (taken from *bidoon jinsiya* "without nationality") and they form a social class that is now defined as "illegal residents" and are



subsequently *personae non gratae*. This means Bidoons are refused access to work, education, healthcare and all the benefits afforded to their rest of people of Kuwait. The estimates for the number of Bidoon in Kuwait vary from 85,000 to some 300,000 with sources finding more solid numbers around 150,000. The wild swing in figures is due to the lack of information collected and their position at "stateless".

Six days later, to mourn his passing and to call on the government to recognise the equal rights of Bidoons, the community organised a peaceful sit in at al-Hurriya Square in al- Jahra, just outside Kuwait City. The police rolled in heavy and arrested 15 activists, their names added to the list of those arrested the day before in raids on the homes of organisers of previous sit ins and human rights activists. These were subsequently followed by yet more arrests the day after, and one particular arrest, of a stateless Bidoon activist named Mohammed Khudair, reportedly led to him being buried up to his head in the sand and tortured.

The charges against the activists included spreading fake news, harming allied countries, joining a group that calls for the destruction of the country's basic systems, calling for attacking national interests, calling for public gatherings, participating in public gatherings, and use of cellphones for abusive purposes. This attitude towards civil demonstration in the relatively liberal country is enshrined in the legal framework of Kuwait as Article 12 of the 1979 Public Gatherings Law which bars non-Kuwaitis from participating in public gatherings. Kuwait's brutal response to protests has even lead to the Human Rights Committee of the UN to note that "... it remains concerned at reports that the State party unduly restricts freedom of peaceful assembly and that security forces have dispersed peaceful demonstrations with excessive and disproportionate uses of force."

The Bidoons have been trapped in near sixty years of administrative ethnic cleansing as the world, as

it so often does, remains quiet. An inconvenient reality from one of the UK's main trade partners with some £3.5 billion in mutual trade in 2018 alone. This includes the shipments of Arms with Kuwait being one of the "priority markets" for the UK's Department for International Trade's Defence & Security Organisation (DSO) and being a repeat attendee of the marketplace for death that is London's Defence & Security Equipment International Expo.

So how did we get here?

Heck, you won't need two guesses.

This horrendous state of affairs is the residue of colonialism and empire building.

The history of the Arabian peninsula is as horrific at Europe from conflict between warring empires, nations and tribes and come the turn of the last century the principle tussle was between the British and Ottoman Empires. The fine details could fill tomes but In a short run down of the colonial barbarity...

Kuwait City had been a protectorate of the British since 1899, a move to deter Ottoman invasion, giving Britain exclusive access and trade with Kuwait, and excluded Iraq to the north from a port on the Persian Gulf. The Ottomans controlling what would later become the State of Iraq, were now effectively land locked in the region.

In 1913 the Ottomans and British got together to discuss the future of Kuwait. Lines were drawn on the map. They ruled that Shaikh Mubarak had independent authority over an area extending out to a radius of 80 km from the capital, a red circle was drawn. He would also be able to claim taxes from the native tribes people who lived within a further addition of 100km in radius, indicated with a green circle. This belligerent act of empire was ignorant of the Bedouins nomadic nature, their sovereignty and liberty. It ignored the geography and anthropology. No, the lines had been drawn, what were these heathen tribes to their greater wisdom? Thus it was so.

At the same time to the South West, Ibn Saud

was building a kingdom through the military might of the Wahabbi clerics of The Ikhwan, a fundamentalist force mostly comprised of nomad tribes people from the interior Najd region. Tensions were at their peak with border raids commonplace as Saudia Arabia began to form.

During this time The Great War with it's wholesale murder would see the fall of the Ottoman empire leaving a power vacuum in the region which would lead to the Kuwait-Najd war (1919-1920) and the installation of Faisal I as king of Iraq on the advice of T.E. Lawrence (of Arabia) as a puppet of the British.

The hinterland between these three Empires was blurry and ill defined. That simply would not do. The border of Ibn Saud's domain and Kuwait were established by the Uqair Protocol of 1922. Kuwait was given no say in matters. The British and Al Saud decided modern-day Kuwait's borders. A year later on 1 April 1923, Shaikh Ahmad al-Sabah of Kuwait wrote the British Political Agent in Kuwait, Major John More, "I still do not know what the border between Iraq and Kuwait is, I shall be glad if you will kindly give me this information." and thus the arbitrary lines on the map were formalised and the border of Kuwait were finalised.

Iraq became independent in 1931 and when in 1938 oil was discovered in Kuwait it placed a claim to the region. When in 1961 Kuwait gained independence from the British, Iraq mobilised it's forces, declared war and invaded just six days later.

They were rebuffed, first by British forces and then by The Arab League and in 1963 Iraq recognised Kuwait and thus began twenty years of booming economic and consolidation of the borders. These borders split apart lands which had been wandered by bedouin tribes and communities which had lived and worked the land since day dot. Shortly after, in 1965 Kuwait held a registration/census for citizenship for this now secure and independent nation. Those who did not register were designated as Bidoon. Overwhelmingly these communities had very little notion of "nation" or "citizenship" »

coming from an entirely different world and these concepts being quite different to their tribal and nomadic heritage. There was also widespread illiteracy which combined with a complex change in the laws and little support or provision made to ease this transition for the tribal communities meant that hundreds of thousands simply did not register into the now sovereign nation.

At the same time Kuwait began populating its military and police forces (as well as its oil fields) with workers from elsewhere in the peninsula as there was little uptake from Kuwaiti nationals for these roles. To provide a smoke screen for their dubious recruitment policies these workers were also designated as Bidoon forming a second, smaller category.

The stateless workforce of expendables for a time benefited from the booming economy and were instrumental in building Kuwait into a strong economic power, despite the lack of citizenship Bidoons were afforded relative equality for a time. Later the Kuwait government would deliberately obfuscate the situation of the Bidoon and "they are foreign nationals" would be something projected on the entire Bidoon community.

Following the Iranian Revolution in 1979, social divides and sectarian conflicts began to present themselves, these became more prominent during the Iraq-Iran war the following year when refugees and Iraqis fleeing conscription would join the Bidoon communities. The policies started to change towards the oppressive and as the economy began to downturn Bidoons were declared "illegal residents" in 1986. So began mass deportations, overt oppression at the hands of the Kuwaiti government and policies that amount to administrative ethnic cleansing and institutional racism.

Bidoons, whether those who descended from unregistered tribes people, migrants or even those who as were born to Kuwaiti mothers and Bidoon fathers (Kuwait's nationality laws mean citizenship is passed through patrilineal lines) were now surplus to requirements and faced a horrific hostile environment at every level.

This systematic prejudice was only to snowball

after the Persian Gulf War which started in August 1990 and ended the following February. At the start of the conflict Bidoons made up the majority of the army and were an easy scapegoat after the military capitulated to the occupying forces, on top of this some Bidoons fought alongside the Iraqi forces (It's claimed many were in fact forced to fight) and this was all the excuse they needed to begin a purge. The government dismissed Bidoons from the military en masse, refugees were prevented from returning and yet more were held in detention centres. The official population of Bidoons in Kuwait went from some 250,000 to 100,000 overnight, this is before counting up the many who are excluded from such figures.

The fight for equality and recognition has been ongoing since. A law in 2000 permitted the naturalization provided they could show that they were registered in the 1965 census. However, it has been reported that only a small number of Bidoon have been able to acquire nationality through this process, and these were predominately those with wealth or connections. The yearly quota of 2,000 naturalizations, as stipulated by the law, was never met. Since 2011, the Central System for the Remedy of Situations of Illegal Residents, the administrative body in charge of Bidoon affairs, has started issuing temporary ID cards. Some have been able to obtain green ID cards or 'reference' cards (bitaaqat muraja'a). Others, whom the government considers to have foreign origins or similar issues, have received yellow or red cards. These cards can be used for limited purposes, such as registering for private schools or health insurance. They are not, however, comparable to the civil ID cards issued to Kuwaiti citizens and legal residents, and some Bidoon feel that the colour coding system is stigmatizing.

For many gaining these cards, and thus access to basic services, means renouncing their claim to Kuwaiti citizenship by confirming a foreign nationality and accept a permanent limitation on their rights. Of the current Bidoons in Kuwait (In excess of a hundred thousand easily), Around 40,000 of these have civil documentation with the rest existing in a bureaucratic limbo. Do you give up your rights of equality in your community by petitioning for a document that would allow you

to work and survive capitalism or do you exist in the hinterland of legality using a fake passport to get employment hoping that the government continue to turn a blind eye to them and that you don't get deported in the next wave of expulsion of "illegal aliens". All this creates a vast underclass that is socially, culturally and politically oppressed. As is often the case in marginalized communities, Bidoon girls and women have been particularly vulnerable to discrimination and abuse. They have faced sexual harassment from government officials while applying for documentation. At the same time, the government has failed to protect Bidoon women, whose marriages are often unregistered, from obtaining their legal rights upon divorce.

In February 2011 some 1000 Bidoon took to the streets to call for their right to be citizens in the first major protest for recognition. They were met with tear gas, water cannons and smoke bombs. Some 50 were arrested and 30 were injured. Some of those detained were tortured and sexually abused and this pattern of brutality from the Kuwait state has been repeated time and time again which brings us to the present situation.

Most Bidoon in Kuwait still lack legal residence permits and the access to employment, education, healthcare and other rights that should be the basic minimal for all people. This is a position kept in place by the Kuwaiti governments refusal to acknowledge that the vast majority of Bidoon have always lived in Kuwait, they would rather obfuscate the issue by forcing people to take on foreign national status which allows them to undermine the rights of their citizens. Their plight is something that has been felt by people the world over who have been seen as other, stateless and surplus. From the the struggles of black people in the US, the administrative disregard of the Ainu in Japan to the millennia of oppression felt by the Irish.

Don't worry tho, The Kuwait government in it's infinite wisdom has now allowed the descendants of the former Bidoon soldiers to join the army. This solitary offer of stable income proved popular... given that for many the option is service or poverty it's to be expected. The state calling in it's

surplus humanity to do their bidding for scraps to eat. Pitting the oppressed against each other perpetually and undermining the communities ability to survive in it's own right. Populating the security forces with members of your most vulnerable or "promblematic" communities is a tool used by governments world wide to control the the people, sadly it is very successful as it sows seeds of doubt (re how to deal with collaborators?) in the minds of people fighting for their existence while allowing them to show how gracious they are to offer such work.

These are all reminders that while nation states exist, no one is free.

Whether trapped within their myriad systems held in place by capitalism and social authourity or exluded, cut out and refused even the most basic positive aspect our shared world, these instititons are a cancer on all people and they, along with their imaginary lines with which they have brought such destruction need tearing down.

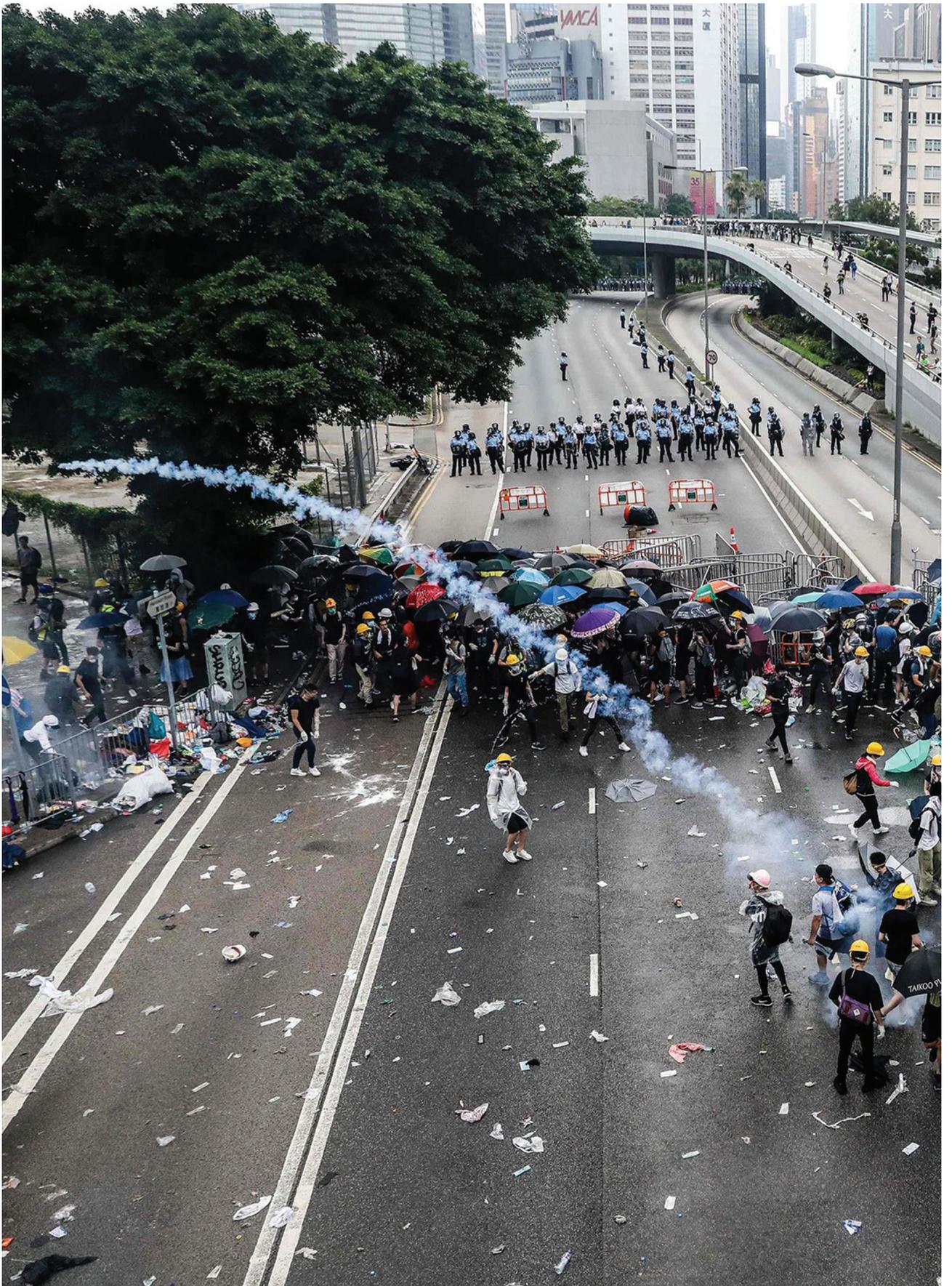
We cannot be stateless while the state still holds the cards. The parasites will always try to persecute the vulnerable. While some Bidoon fight for recognition and equality, others fight to build up their communities, there are whispers of Anarchist networks building both in Kuwait, across the Middle East and in the diaspora worldwide, looking to a better future free from the heel of an uncaring state government. Such a movement requires solidarity from across the working class, Bidoons and citizens both, standing together against the enemy, working together towards liberty and a Kuwait where no one has to fight for the right to exist.■

1-Abdullhakim Al-Fadhli	
2-Yousef Al-bashig	
3-Yousef Al-Osmi	
4-Abdullah Al-Fadhli	
5-Mohammed Al-Enzi	
6-Nawaf Al-Bader	
7-Hamed Jamil	
8-Ahmad Al-Enzi	
9-Ahmad Al-Onan	
10-Metee'ab Al-Onan	
11-Awad Al-Onan	
12-Khalifa Al-Enzi	
13-Homoud Al-Rabah	
14-Reada Al-Fadhli	
15-Jar-Allah Al-Fadhli	

1-عبدالحكم الفضلي  
 2-عواد العوان  
 3-أحمد العوان  
 4-عبدالله الفضلي  
 5-مصعب العوان  
 6-محمد العزي  
 7-يوسف العصي  
 8-زواف البدر  
 9-حامد جميل  
 10-جارالله الفضلي  
 11-يوسف الباشق  
 12-أحمد العزي  
 13-حمود الرباح  
 14-عليه العزي  
 15-رضا الفضلي  
 ؟...

من التالي  
 who is next

**#Save\_stateless\_in\_Kuwait**



# Hongkongers AIN'T NOTHING TO FUCK WITH

*Five demands not one less.*

In 2018 a man from Hong Kong murdered his girlfriend while on vacation in Taiwan. The horrible crime would soon become the spark of resistance in Hong Kong to the authority of the Chinese Mainland in protests that would confuse comrades the world over.

Let's make the situation clearer.

**Hong Kong is not a democracy.  
It has no free elections.**

While "democracy" here in the UK maybe nothing more than a shallow mockery of the concept, now more than ever, in Hong Kong it is seen as the last line of defence from an ever encroaching empire. The Chinese Communist Party has no use for any system which would threaten its grasp, it is moving in to deliver the killing blow to freedom in Hong Kong which aims to bring into the fold. Hongkongers are being passed from one empire to another and the world shrugs its shoulders. China is an economic power house, pissing them off would be bad for business.

When we talk about Hong Kong fighting for "democracy" we cannot frame it in our own context. It is a colony population fighting for the rights to self determination and autonomy. For older generations this means appealing to the former colonial masters for help, for the younger it means revolutionary action. In 2012 the political drive for democracy dried up and ground to a halt, It seemed that Pre-Screening of electoral candidates by Beijing would increase. Resistance to this grew into the *Occupy Central with Love and Peace* camps and associated *Umbrella Movement* which saw tens of thousands holding protests and living in camps on main intersections for months in a campaign to bring about universal suffrage. During the attempts to clear out protestors the police would use tear gas and when local television broadcasted a young man named Ken Tsang being assaulted by police there was an massive escalation. Ken was carried off with his hands tied behind his back; then, while one officer kept watch,

a group of about six officers punched, kicked and stamped on him for about four minutes.

The Chief Executive CY Leung would go on to defend Beijing's screening policy as open elections would force Hong Kong into actually caring for its citizens and providing social welfare, he argued that "If it's entirely a numbers game, then obviously you'd be talking to half the people in Hong Kong earning less than US\$1,800 a month (the median wage). You would end up with that kind of politics and policies."

**The world gave Hong Kong silence.  
Standing against China is bad for business.**

It was indeed bad for business under the British who occasionally flirted with the idea during their tenure of control over Hong Kong as China has always sought to "preserve the colonial status of Hong Kong" even threatening to "liberate" the region in 1960 if democratic elections and thus self governance ever granted. Tho some there were some small developments in the 80's and 90's, the Hongkongers remain citizens trapped in a system they had very little voice in. The chief executive who would govern Hong Kong after the hand over was elected by a 400 member selection committee. China began its programme of colonisation.

**Let us speak clearly here,  
China is not a communist country.**

It is a brutal state authority where economic disparity is celebrated and used to throttle its working class into obedience. Since Deng Xiaopeng took over in 1978 the CCP as all but abandoned its aspirations of becoming a Marxist-Leninist workers state. In 2000 this would become policy as Jiang Zemin brought in the "Three Represents" and took the nation in pursuit of a 'socialist market economy' with Chinese characteristics.". Now China has 476 of the world billionaires while the average monthly salary of the worker is around £780 a month. The means of production are in the hands of »

private corporations and spills out everywhere. Education and Healthcare are privileges of the elite. China #1 is the goal and the workers best be willing to suffer for it or be considered enemies of the all powerful state.

Under Xi Jinping this has meant a radical growth in Nationalism under the guise of a "cultural revival", a broad sweeping facial recognition and a monitoring network » that makes 1984's Ingsoc look like rank amateurs and has seen overt and hostile moves to consolidate China and to bring about "Complete National Reunification ", something it was made clear he approaches with teeth bared in his statements to Taiwan in January this year; "We make no promise to renounce the use of force and reserve the option of taking all necessary means".

Like all nation states, the authority demand obedience and domination. This is something they maintain in Hong Kong through the Electoral Affairs Commission which pre-screens candidates for the Legislative Council for their political beliefs and by ensure that the The Chief Executive is selected by small body of (now) 1200

people.

This Chinese sock puppet government upon seeing the situation with the murder in Taiwan and under the guise of stopping Hong Kong from becoming a safe haven from criminals moved to install The Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill 2019. This bill would allow China to extradite certain criminals and run them through the radically different legal system in the mainland. One which is controlled by the CCP. This doesn't come without precedent mind. In March 2017 the Chinese state kidnapped pro-democracy activist Lee Ming-Che saying he was under investigation on "suspicion of harming national security.". He later plead guilty to "subverting state power" which it's believed he was forced into.

So they begin to forward a bill many fear will be used to allow China to drag them away in the night. Resistance started on the 31st of March when the Civil Human Rights Front, an organisation composed of some 50 pro-democracy groups, launched it's first protest against The Fugitive



Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill 2019. It was a civil march through the city of 12,000 people. The following March on the 28th saw 500,000.

These were acts of civil disobedience but the tension was building and Ahead of the second reading of the bill organisers called for a return to demonstration on the 9th June.

Four hours after the march began, people were still leaving the start point at Victoria Park. Well over a million marched and a great many of them did not return home. Autonomists, students and pro-independence campaigners began to camp out in front of the Government headquarters. This was the moment where things changed, around midnight, the police forces Special Tactical Squad (STS) moved in and clashes broke out and mass protests took place through the night.

Come the 12th and the second reading, everyone was out. From the unions and opposition groups, to student networks and Anarchist affinity groups. The variety of political positions was vast but they came unified in opposition the the Bill and the Chinese state undermining their political agency. By 4pm the police had began using pepper spray and attacking people, and shooting tear gas on them. The Hong Kong protests as we see them on the news had begun.

Over the next three weeks there would be numerous protests from strikes, sit in and even the odd siege of police stations. The lawyers held a silent march, the legislature was raided, there was a laser festival and the airport was sat in. Whether peaceful or militant it was quite clear there was a strong sense of political unity, which over time would develop into tactical unity. The protests were organised organically, without leadership and without any singular faction taking control somewhat confusing the world media. Around the world it seems people were confused, were they pro-capitalists? Nationalist? Unions? Or even Anarchists?... The answer is yes.

Beyond all the "riot porn" and unexpected but enjoyable guides to "protesting like Hongkongers" movements such as this are

diverse. It doesn't matter if some groups waves the Stars and stripes and the sinophobic right wing of America loose their shit or if the budget is there for full page ads in newspapers around the world. The movement is diverse and at it's core working class and grass roots.

This is the nature of a popular rebellion and like the *Mouvement des gilets jaunes*, they have endeavoured to maintain this and keep it grass roots. There has been two forms of protests; first there is the the civil marches full of the usual flags, placards, banners and liberal calls for democracy, they do well bringing in thousands and keeping an approachable voices to the movement. Secondly there is the direct protest actions such as holding of barricades, blocking roads and it has seen the development of new a hit and run methodology, a tactic commonly referred to as "be water".

It's worth noting as well that as a general rule of thumb during the more radical protests, it has become the standard practice to take down any flags and hand them back to their owner and disapprove of having their movement represented with either flags of foreign powers or local organisations. The exception to this seems to be the Black Bauhinia flag, which has come to symbolise the protests.

Along the way five demands began to present themselves.

**Complete withdrawal of the extradition bill from the legislative process**

**Retraction of the "riot" characterisation**

**Release and exoneration of arrested protesters**

**Establishment of an independent commission of inquiry into police conduct and use of force during the protests**

**Dissolve the Legislative Council and begin the implementation of universal suffrage »**

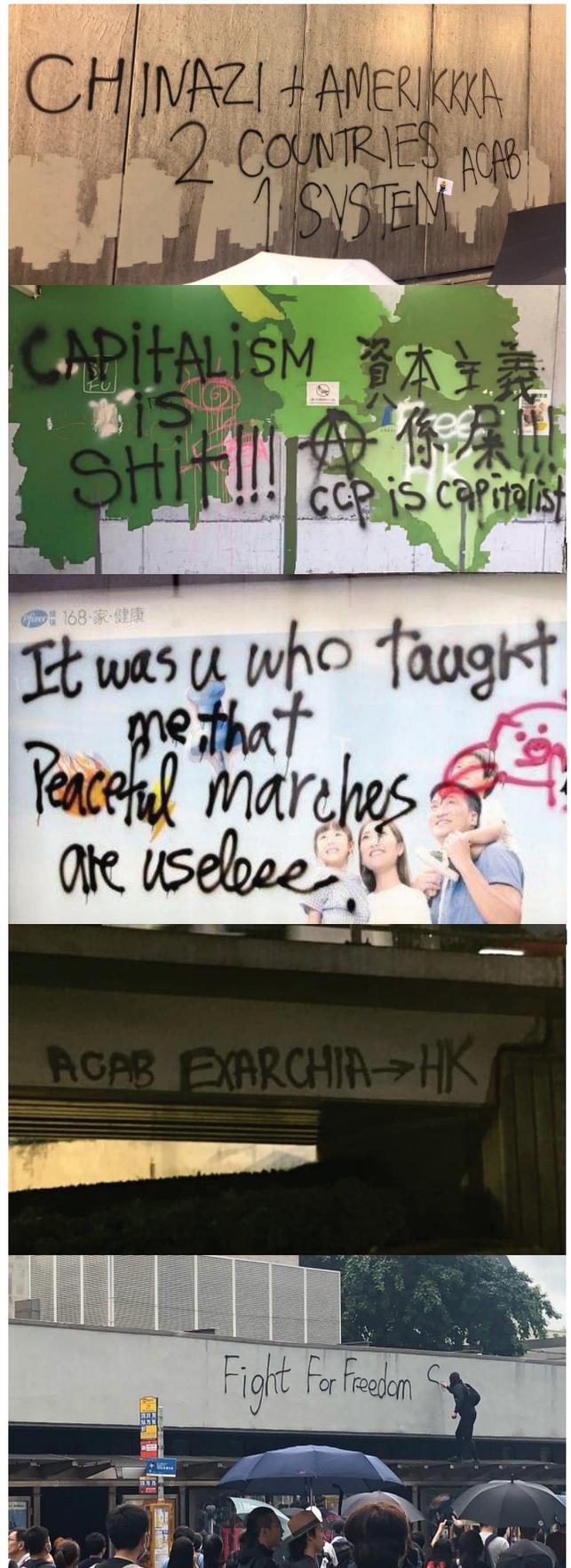
It is on these these demands that they have come to organise and identity their collective action. It's on these demands they are beginning to see a response as Carrie Lam moved to withdraw the bill on the 4th of September. She also requested that protestors end their demonstrations and enter into dialogue with the government. This is code for "please allow us time to re-group, hunt down leaders and remove your revolutionary agency".

### The protestors would have none of it.

At the Citizens Press Conference the next night, the young protestors and armed with helmets and masked up gave their reply in three languages. The spoke with passion and dedication to their cause and made their position on Lam's offer of a truce clear.

*"If Carrie Lam had withdrawn the bill two months ago, that may have been a quick fix, but applying a band-aid months later on to rotting flesh will simply not cut it ... Liberate Hong Kong, The revolution of our times, five demands not one less. Fight on and take care fellow Hongkongers"*

We cannot afford to be trapped in our anarchistic dogma as working class comrades around the world suffer brutality at the hands of the state or as they are forced to live in unjust societies with neither voice nor liberty. We must be overt and vocal in our solidarity and where capable take action in support of their cause. Not as allies but as accomplices and together we fight back against all the evil empires and hopefully sharing our notions of Anarchism as we go providing a better option for this world we are building. Heck, even if you are fundamentally hostile to the liberal protest for democracy, know that our Anarchist comrades are out there on the streets, defending their comrades regardless, defending their communities from the police and the government. Give them your love and solidarity until they win this struggle.



## FASCIST FOOT IN THE DOOR OF SQUATS

*by an AF member who spends much of their time in Greece supporting*

**At 5am Monday** morning (26th August), four squats in Exarchia, Athens were stormed by police wearing riot gear. Exarchia is a small area in central Athens which has been home to squats as well as a well known Anarchist community.

143 people, mainly women with children, were taken to police stations in buses and held there. After 6 hours they were given 500mls of water and a small bowl of pasta. The last time a squat was evicted like this, a woman miscarried her baby as a direct result of the stress. Up until now we haven't heard of any issues like this but the stress on top of existing PTSD is horrendous.

Many of the migrants evicted have now been taken to closed camps. Not only have they had their freedom and safety taken away, but they weren't given the time to collect even basic possessions. Children's toys, essential items like baby formulae and medication have been left behind. The closed camps offer no guarantee there will even be places to sterilise bottles. Illness has spread quickly in many of the Greek refugee camps due to cramped and unsanitary conditions, these are a potentially dangerous environment for babies, young children, and vulnerable adults.

This assault by the police is the action of the recently elected New Democracy government, while its

leader Mitsotakis is at G8 summit. The Stelios Petas, government spokesman referred to the operation as a vacuuming of the dust of the area.

This reference to human beings, fleeing from Syria, Afghanistan and the like, as less than human is the typical fascist use of dehumanising language. Golden Dawn in uniform! After the evictions were over, the police stood around, chatting and drinking coffee. When you take a person and train them in this way, they lose any connection to the things they do. People's only belongings are on the streets. Mattresses and bedding, soft toys and books. All the stuff of life that homeless people manage to gather to create some way of living has been trashed.

The timing of this assault and eviction comes before the universities return and while most people leave Athens due to the heat. It isn't surprising at all. The ND government, in the run up to the elections, promised closed camps for refugees. Independent organisations are poised, waiting for families to be released. This may not happen.

They may end up in concentration camps, miles from anywhere, left to rot. ■



## SPIROU TRIKOUPI

### Update about our current situation:

- Some of us we remain in Schisto camp, still without a place to stay. We were moved here and they tried to make us go to a camp near Thessaloniki, that we refused. For 6 days we are sleeping outside, demanding for a place in Athens to stay since all our life is here for 2 years, our kids are attending school here and some of us are working here. Now they have told us we don't have a place anymore in the camp in Thessaloniki, but anyway they want us out and they have threatened us that if we don't move from here they will call the police to make us leave by force one more time. We are sick and tired from the situation, but we are still resisting.

- In Eleonas camp we are not much better. We have been given half a container for 8 people, where we are piled up like animals in a farm. In addition, some of us have a fragile health condition which requires continuous medical attention, and that is not happening since they moved us here.

- The ones in Skaramagas camp we have a place but we have lost our freedom to move. In first place they didn't let us out and after they have let us go just for while, under time restrictions. We feel like being trapped and imprisoned.



in a camp in the North, we are still waiting for it in a hostel in Thessaloniki. We are isolated and far away from everyone that we know, and to make it worse they have informed us that our cases will remain in Athens and from now on we will have to move there for every interview and legal procedure by our own means and expenses.

- The rest of us, that we have chosen to leave the camps to return back in our neighborhood, we have found place in other squats and self organised places, that they have shown us their active solidarity. However after what happened one week ago we are fearing that we are going to be evicted once again. We are scared about our lives and our freedom and some of us have chosen to stay on the streets to avoid being chased and arrested for one more time.

They have tried to divide us, but we continue to struggle together, by staying under constant communication. They destroyed our home, but the family that we have created in Trikoupi's community remains united.

Against their repression, solidarity is our weapon and our answer! ■

### Spirou Trikoupi

(2nd Sept)

[facebook.com/spiroutrikoupi17](https://www.facebook.com/spiroutrikoupi17)



Glue to the back of a cereal box and use a scapel to cut it out



Spray from 30cm in a smooth motion starting before the stencil

If you have news to share let us know and we'll put it up on the webspace and where appropriate here in print.

**contact :- [organise@afed.org.uk](mailto:organise@afed.org.uk)**



# Bookfair 2020

**We're excited to** announce that an Anarchist bookfair will be returning to London in October 2020.

This event is being organised by a new collective of individuals from across London and the UK.

The composition of the organising collectives behind the various Anarchist bookfairs in London has changed many times over the years and we are proud to take on the task of bringing a prominent bastion of Anarchist and radical thinking back to the city. The regular "London Anarchist Bookfair" has been a vital component of the Anarchist community since it's inception in 1981 and we intend for the 38th such event carry on in this fine tradition.

Bookfair 2020 will be a diverse event with a organisational focus on our internationalism and our Anarchist heritage here in the UK. We are hoping that our international comrades will join us on the day, as many did in previous years and we intend to play host to workshops and displays that illustrate our shared Anarchist tradition and remember our fallen comrades, in whose name we

continue the fight against oppression.

More than just a simple marketplace, bookfairs are cornerstones of Anarchism, linchpins of a diverse and sprawling revolutionary movement. They are where we come together to share our ideas, debate our positions and develop our theory and praxis. They help us to believe in better worlds and start to lay the foundations of world free of oppression, corporatism and the brutal authority of the state. They give faith to the long in the tooth and inspire young minds — they must be defended and maintained at all costs and utilised by and for the working class for genuine results.

We have reached out to the prior collective behind London Anarchist Bookfair 2017, who previously stated that they were disinclined to carry on organising further events. We hope they welcome a new collective taking on the role, we have been in contact with them regarding passing forward the London Anarchist Bookfair's resources; social media accounts, equipment, finances and the like which have been built up through previous events and for their collective general endorsement of Bookfair 2020 so we can

hit the ground running and maintain lineage. We hope that those inclined will continue with their good work with the Bookfair 2020 collective!

In respect to the events in 2017 where transphobic material was shared in the women's bathrooms and the main hall, we wish to state that Bookfair 2020 will follow our comrades from Bristol, Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh and elsewhere in providing a space diverse in character and secure from xenophobia and bigotry in any vein.

Our solidarity is overt and complete.

Any politic which would seek to oppress, undermine or remove the rights and liberties of others is anathematic to Anarchism and will find no welcome nor tolerance at the bookfair itself or any associated event or space. To compliment our Safer Space Policy, a statement of solidarity, inclusivity and proactive community defence will be written and upheld during the event with stall holders and attendees encouraged to take ownership of our shared space and protect it from such reckless hate.

We do this to be clear that no aspect of oppression will be allowed within our revolutionary spaces.

Solidarity and unity being key principles to Anarchism, we would like Bookfair 2020 to act as a focus point for re-building cohesion in our community, fostering new networks and developing stronger ties and understanding between us. Sharing knowledge and supporting each others' personal and political development in good faith is the call of the day. We shall ensure an array of workshops to cater for this and we shall host speakers on a variety of topics from gender to ecology, refugee support to homeless solidarity and beyond.

Further to this we aim to make a dynamic

and welcoming space which is accessible to all. We will be providing crèche and youth space alongside provisions for those we hearing difficulties, sensory issues and social difficulties. There will also be vegan food and drink available.

If anyone wishes to get involved, we welcome volunteers from all backgrounds and abilities. Whether you are able/inclined to plan the logistics, help fundraise, promote the event or help us run everything on the day, please get in touch. We will shortly begin a series of regular meetings, many of which will be open to attendees and spend the next year working towards a grand event. If you have ideas for talks, workshops, discussions or stalls or simply wish to book a space, please do not hesitate to get in contact.

We hope you will join us on and together we can build a stronger more resilient community and forge a better future, one free of shackles of capitalism and the tyranny of the state and strengthen our bonds of international and intersectional solidarity, mutual aid and unity.

We will be holding a meeting on the 10th of August in London, if you would like to attend please contact us for the specifics.

Love and Rage ■

~ **The Bookfair2020 Crew**

Email:- [bookfair2020@protonmail.com](mailto:bookfair2020@protonmail.com)

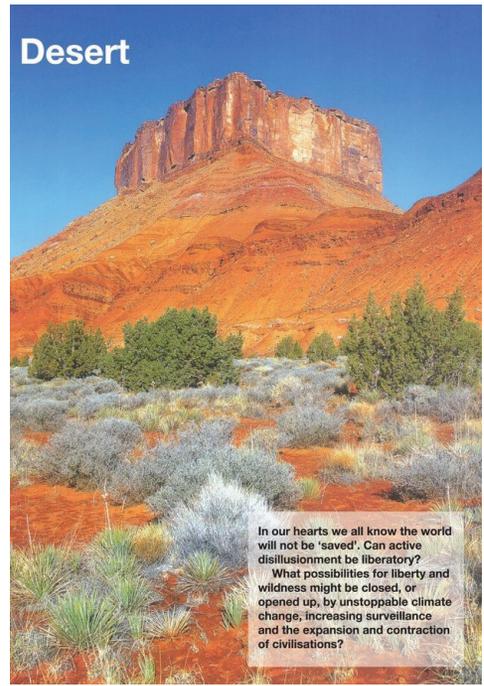
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***The next meeting of the Bookfair 2020 collective will be on October 12th. If you would like to get involved and help organise the event, get in contact with them. You can also email/ dm if you or your group want to book a stall, talk or workshop.***



# BURN AFTER READING

REVIEWING THE BOOKS AND TUNES THEY WOULD RATHER YOU FORGOT ABOUT



## Desert

In our hearts we all know the world will not be 'saved'. Can active disillusionment be liberatory? What possibilities for liberty and wildness might be closed, or opened up, by unstoppable climate change, increasing surveillance and the expansion and contraction of civilisations?

### Desert, a warning

*Anonymous author (2011)*

*In the summer drought of 2018, rivers across Europe hit record low levels, revealing 'hunger stones', warnings from past generations that if the water level gets this low, pain is coming. One stone in the River Elbe read 'Wenn du mich siehst, dann wein' translating to 'If you see me, weep'.*

*As I write this, large areas of the arctic are on fire. In Siberia, a new trade is booming in selling the bones of woolly mammoths as they are being revealed by the thawing permafrost.*

*Within this context, Desert, now republished by Active Distribution, is looking worryingly prophetic.*

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**Desert has become** something of an online sensation since publication by an anonymous author in 2011. It starts from the quite plausible premise that we will not be able to limit climate change in any meaningful sense; that runaway heating is inevitable, that large sections of the globe will become uninhabitable. As this happens, human populations will shrink rapidly due to wars, malnutrition and the vulnerability to disease that these bring. It is not an optimistic view of the future. Humanity will not be able

to pull itself together to do anything about it. Unsurprisingly, it has developed a cult following amongst Nihilists and anarcho-individualists.

As well as some worrying predictions about the future of the climate, Desert also has some home-truths for the anarchist movement, our capacity and what we can hope to achieve. In this it calls out the Anarchist Federation, and other groups, for proposing that an anarchist revolution will be complete and worldwide; suggesting this is unrealistic and that ultimately, we're selling a fantasy not unlike the priests and politicians.

There are some valuable points to consider, and certainly there is some truth in this, however I feel this is a slight misreading of our message.

We do not believe there will be an 'anarchist revolution', we believe revolutions are spontaneous events and that ultimately all we can do is try to push them in a more libertarian and communist direction. We must try to build new structures which are effective against the inevitable counter revolution and which mitigates against the prospect of a single group seizing power again over the working class. What (I think) we meant, was not that we would ever have enough anarchists to take over the whole world at once, but that we will never be able to co-exist peacefully with capitalism. Ultimately, if capitalism still exists anywhere in the world it will always try to expand and regain control of our lives. Whether we will be successful in eradicating it remains to be seen.

The author also tries to put to bed the misconception that there will be a 'singular anarchist future', however this is not an assumption I was labouring under. In revolutionary Spain, a small part of a relatively small country, there was not one system of doing things. Some villages banned money, some kept it, whereas some issued work tokens. We have never claimed to have the perfect system; there is no set programme; there is no end goal. The beauty of anarchism is that it is constantly evolving, that it adapts to new localities and conditions.

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While I feel these points need clarification,

ultimately the message of Desert is one that needs to be heard. There is a naivety amongst the anarchist movement that if we can come up with the perfect organisational structures or blue-print for the future, the working class will arise. The fact is that we are at a low ebb and unfortunately the climate isn't going to wait until we regain our strength. We must accept that the revolution is unlikely to come about from positive action on our own part, from some glorious moment, more likely it will be due to the collapse of states as they are no longer able to provide for their citizens. We need to accept this, and we need to start planning for it.

That's not to say that imagining futures together is not valuable. Understanding together what a utopia might look like can help us to get there. These ideas can break the spell of capitalist realism and help people begin to think of new relations between each other and new relations to the rest of nature. This is where Desert brings an important message. Whilst talking of these utopias we must also be realistic about we can achieve in the here and now. We must not preach these utopias as if they are just around the corner or they will be easy to achieve. Anarchist ways of organising have a lot to offer but we as a movement are a long way from being able to build alternative power structures, from being able to provide for communities. This is where our true weaknesses lie: we are not the CNT in 1930s Spain. We do have the structures in place to be able to take over or defend our gains if a revolution happened tomorrow.

Somewhere along the line this sense of realism has been lost amid hopeful speeches aiming to inspire people to anarchist ways of thinking. In early 20th century Italy, Malatesta discussed with other anarchists how they would provide for the people after an uprising in the city- 'We'll feed ourselves from the warehouses' was the reply. But how much food was actually in the warehouses? Malatesta checked and was surprised to find barely any. He realised the city could not survive without help from food brought in by railroad, the same railroad which would also bring reinforcements for the army if it was kept open. He surmised: 'we must face the cannons if we »

want the corn'. This is a useful story of realism meeting revolutionary exuberance. It will not be easy and Desert acknowledges that. We can achieve a lot, just look at anarchist disaster relief efforts across the globe, but we should also be aware we may not be the only force trying to consolidate ourselves as the capitalist order collapses.

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Desert paints a future in which capitalist civilisation crumbles as it becomes unable to provide for its citizens in any meaningful way. »

Many will die in the global south (the author seems slightly blasé about this fact) but humans will expand north into the previously uninhabited zones. What will remain are pockets of societies, some more anarchist than others and some more successful than others. However, this is not the only way a society ravaged by global heating could evolve. Let me discuss two other possible dystopias.

First, as global warming accelerates the state realises the threat this presents and that it must step in to manage the crisis. The industrialised countries in the temperate north close their borders to keep out climate refugees and foster an increasing nationalism, an us vs them narrative over access to resources. The land purchased by US and European corporations in Africa is used to maintain our standard of living. How many disruptions to supply will the US tolerate before it sends in its army to subdue the locals and manage food production? In this dystopia, society continues in the temperate zones, albeit under strong state control and rationing of resources. Those outside these zones become client states, forced into production to service Europe and the US with food. In reality, this is simply an acceleration of the current dynamic between the industrialised nations and their former colonies.

Second, as climate breakdown becomes increasingly obvious with drought and famine in the less temperate zones, the potential rewards for technologies like direct air capture of CO2 become huge. States are deeply indebted trying to manage extreme weather events and the upgrading of infrastructure, meaning

the development of these technologies is in corporate hands. Will Elon Musk and Jeff Bezos be kind to us when they have the power to save humanity, or will they extract as much as possible for their empires? Already they have international operations which flaunt local laws and are developing their own currencies to do this further. In this future the corporations are the ones who build alternative power structures outside the state. For those who can afford it, or who can sell their skills, the climate crisis will be managed. For everyone else, the future is less rosy.

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In planning theory, when dealing with uncertain futures, one approach is to map out the possible scenarios and try to pick a strategy which works with each one. This is often termed 'no regrets' decision making. While the solution might not be optimal in any given scenario, it will allow you to survive whichever possible future turns out to be true. Essentially, you're not putting all your eggs in one basket.

Desert has offered one possible scenario and I have given a further two here. What strategies can we develop which benefit us no matter which turns out to be true? I would like to suggest as a start that in each of these scenarios, being able to provide for ourselves would be incredibly beneficial. The less dependence we have on the state or corporations, the less likely they are to be able to enslave us further.

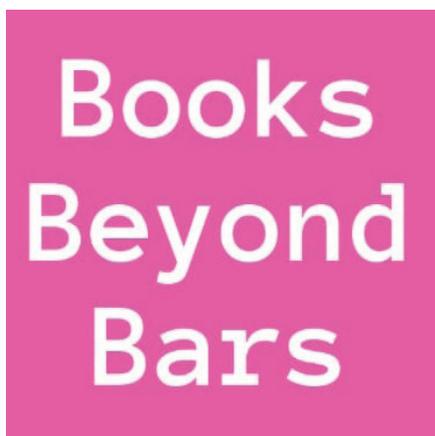
Unfortunately, taking back the land has proved somewhat tricky despite our best efforts, but perhaps this isn't the only way we can view this problem. Providing for ourselves could mean engaging with the local council to build community-scale solar schemes. When the time comes we disconnect from the grid and have an energy system which we can manage ourselves. Community growing projects increase knowledge of farming practices, build community networks and show mutual aid in action. Group therapy sessions build our capacity for self-care and international networks grow our knowledge of how other communities have faced similar problems and won. Our unions offer an alternative

structure which connects knowledge in different industries with regional-scale understanding of production and distribution systems.

Each of these projects would improve our chances if any of the possible future scenarios of state collapse, state domination or corporatism came true. These, and probably many more, are the 'no regrets decisions' we can be making to increase our chance of surviving and thriving in the future. Perhaps Desert's greatest strength is making us realise the urgency of taking these steps and being realistic about where the movement is today.

Desert is a welcome addition to anarchist ideas about what the future may hold for us. There has been a debate in the climate movement for years about the best way to frame the problem to increase awareness and action. Do we give messages of hope about what the future could hold if we act now or visions of doom if we get it wrong? Ultimately I think both are necessary, people need to be aware of the risks if we don't get this right and Desert injects a healthy dose of doom into the debate. Just don't lose hope, another future is possible. ■

**John Warwick**



**Books Beyond Bars** UK is an abolitionist organisation which sends books, zines, and other resources to LGBTQAI+ people who are incarcerated in the UK. Our other activities include running letter writing sessions, advocating with and for our friends inside, as well as occasionally running campaigns. We established properly in March this year, and have over 100 people we write and send

books to on the inside at the moment. eOur most recent campaign calls is about HIV and safer sex behind bars, you can get involved at: <https://beyond-bars.org/sexual-health/>. We are also actively involved in struggles against prison expansion, including the establishment of "secure schools". We recommend anyone interested in getting involved in this work to contact Community Action on Prison Expansion <https://cape-campaign.org>

Individuals and organisations can help by:

- Donating money to cover postage costs and other expenses: <http://paypal.me/booksbeyondbarsuk>
- Donating second hand books in good condition. We particularly need books with the following themes: LGBT+, mindfulness etc., language learning, dictionaries, popular science.
- Donating new books via our amazon wishlist, to meet the needs of people with specific requests or whose prison requires books to come via amazon.  
(URL available via Twitter.
- Volunteering with us if you are based in or near Manchester – this will mainly involve organising stock and packing books and can be done regularly or on a one-off basis.

If you know any LGBT+ folk inside, put them in touch with us. Get in touch via: Email: [booksbeyondbarsuk@gmail.com](mailto:booksbeyondbarsuk@gmail.com) Twitter and Instagram: @beyondbarsuk

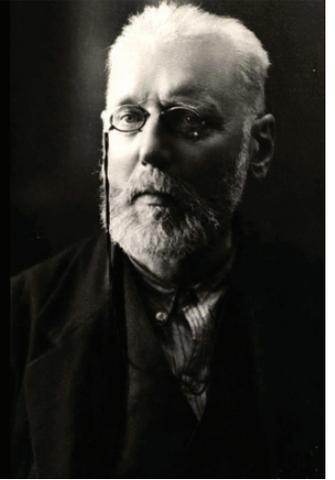
Post (for book donations and letters): Books Beyond Bars UK, PO Box 5554, Manchester, M61 0SQ ■

## **BOOKS BEYOND BARS**

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[facebook.com/booksbeyondbarsuk](https://facebook.com/booksbeyondbarsuk)*

# MAX NETTLAU

## AN ANARCHIST MANIFESTO



*First published: SABOTAGE press,  
Chicago (1920?)*

### 1.

ANARCHISM - a life of freedom and creative independence for humanity.

Anarchism does not depend on theory or programs, which try to grasp man's life in its entirety. It is a teaching, which is based on real life, which outgrows all artificial limitations, which cannot be constricted by any system.

Anarchism's outward form is a free, non-governed society, which offers freedom, equality and solidarity for its members. Its foundations are to be found in man's sense of mutual responsibility, which has remained unchanged in all places and times. This sense of responsibility is capable of securing freedom and social justice for all men by its own unaided efforts. It is also the foundation of true communism.

Anarchism therefore is a part of human nature, communism its logical extension.

This led to the necessity of formulating anarchism's basic theories by the use of factual material and by systematized analysis. Some people (enemies of freedom, enemies of solidarity) were to try and conceal anarchism's truths or to slander its ideals; others (fighters for man's right to lead a proper life) were to develop and clarify this ideal. I think that Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Most, Kropotkin, Malatesta, S. Faure, and others never believed, that they could harness anarchism, a framework of immutable scientific dogma, by

their theories. Instead, the teachings of anarchism represent a concerted effort to show its roots in human nature, and to prove that man's creative achievements never deviate from it; anarchism's fundamental trait, the negation of all bondage and servitude, is likewise to be found in human nature.

Anarchism means freedom; socialism cannot destroy chains or bondage.

I am an anarchist and a revolutionary myself, and I took part in the activities of the revolutionary peoples of the Ukraine. The Ukrainians are a people who grasp instinctively the meaning of the anarchist ideas and who act them out. They suffered incredible hardship, but have never ceased to talk of their freedom and freedom in their form of life. I often made tactical errors on this difficult path, as I was often weak and unable to make judgements. But because I correctly understood the goal towards which I and my brothers were working and I was able to observe the effect of living anarchism during the struggle for freedom and independence. I remain convinced on the grounds of my practical fighting experience that anarchism is as revolutionary, as diverse, and as sublime in every facet as is human life itself. Even if I only felt the remotest glimmer of sympathy for anarcho-revolutionary activity I would still call on you, reader and brother, to take up the struggle for the ideal anarchism, for only if you fight for this ideal and uphold it will you understand it properly. Anarchism is revolutionary in this and many other aspects. The more awake a man is, the deeper his thoughts

about his situation are. He will recognize his state of slavery and the anarchistic and revolutionary spirit within him will wake and show itself in his thoughts and actions. It is the same for every man and woman, even if they could never have heard of it.

Anarchism plays a considerable role in the enrichment of human life, a fact recognized by the oppressors as well as by the oppressed. The oppressors do their best to distort the ideal of anarchism; the others do their best to carry it further. Modern civilization has succeeded in making anarchism ever more prominent for both masters and slaves, but has never been able to lull or extinguish this fundamental protest of human nature, for it has been unable to stamp out the independent intellects who have proven that God does not exist. Once this has been proven it was easy to draw back the veil which hides the artificiality of the priesthood and the hierarchies which it supports.

But various other ideas have been propounded alongside anarchism: "liberalism", socialism and bolshevik communism. These doctrines, despite their large influence on modern society, despite their triumph over both reaction and freedom, are on shaky ground because of their artificiality, their disavowal of organic development and their tendency towards paralysis.

The free man, on the other hand, has thrown away the trammels of the past together with its lies and brutality. He has buried the rotten corpse of slavery and the notion that the past is better. Man has already partially liberated himself from the fog of lies and brutality, which enslaved him from the day of his birth, from the worship of the bayonet, money, legality, and hypocritical science.

While man frees himself from this insult he understands himself better, and once he has understood himself, the book of his life is opened to him. In it he immediately sees that his former life was nothing but loathsome slavery and that this framework of slavery has conspired to stifle all his innate good qualities. He sees that this life has turned him into a beast of burden, a

slave for some or a master over others, or into a fool who tears down and tramples on all that is noble in man when ordered to do so. But when freedom awakes in man, it treads all artificialities into the dust and all that stands in the way of independent creativity. This is how man moves in his process of development. In former times he moved in spans of a generation or so, but now the process is moving year by year; man does not wish to be an academic mouthpiece of the rule over others or to tolerate the rule of others over himself. Once man is free from earthly and "heavenly" gods, free from "good manners" and from his morality, which depends on these Gods, he lifts up his voice and struggles against the enslavement of mankind and the distortion of his nature.

The man of protest, who has fully grasped his identity and who now sees with his eyes fully open, who now thirsts for freedom and totality, now creates groups of free men welded together by the ideal and by the action. Whoever comes into contact with these groups will cast off his status of lackey and will free himself from the idiot domination of others over him. Any ordinary man who comes from the plough, the factory, the bench of the university or from the bench of the academic will recognize the degradation of slavery. As man uncovers his true personality, he will throw away all artificial ideas, which go against the rights of his personality, the Master/Slave relationship of modern society. As soon as man brings to the fore the pure elements in his personality through which a new, free human community is born, he will become an anarchist and revolutionary. This is how the ideal of anarchism is assimilated and disseminated by men; the free man recognizes its deep truth, its clarity, and its purity, its message of freedom and creativity.

The idea of anarchism, the teaching of a renewed life for man as an individual and as a social being, is therefore bound up with man's self-awareness and his awareness of the suppurating sore of injustice in modern society. Anarchism exists therefore only illegally or semi-legally, never in total legality. »

In the modern world, society does not live for itself but for the preservation of the Master/Slave relationship, the State. One could go further and say that society has completely de-personalized itself. In human terms, it does not exist at all. It is widely believed however that the State is Society. But is "Society" a group of men who live it up while sitting on the shoulders of all humanity? Why is man as an individual or as a mass numbering hundreds of millions nothing in comparison with this slothful group of "political leaders"? These hyenas, rulers both of right and left wing, are rightly upset with the idea of anarchism. The bourgeois at least are frank about this. But state-socialists of all denominations, including Bolsheviks, are busy swapping the names of bourgeois rule with those of their own invention, while leaving its structure essentially unchanged. They are therefore trying to salvage the Master/Slave relationship with all its contradictions. And although they are aware that these contradictions are totally irreconcilable with their professional ideas, they nevertheless uphold them in order to forestall the putting into practice of Anarchist Communism. In their programs, the state-socialists said that man must be allowed to free himself "socially". But of man's spiritual freedom, of his human freedom, no word was spoken. Instead, they are now making sure that such a liberation of man outside their tutelage cannot be carried through. "Liberation" under the management of any government or political set-up - what's that got to do with freedom? The bourgeois, who never applies himself to the task of making anything beautiful or useful, says to the worker: "Once a slave, always a slave. We cannot reform social life because we have got too much capital in industry and in agriculture. Besides, modern life is pleasant for us; all the kings, presidents, and their governments cater for our wishes and bow before us. The slaves are their responsibility." Or he says: "The life of our modern society is full of great promises!"

"No, no!" screams the bourgeois socialists and communists. "We disagree!" Then they rush to the workers, marshal them into parties, and call on them to rebel as follows: "Drive out the bourgeois from their positions and hand their power over to us. We will work for you. We will liberate you." So the workers, whose hatred of government is

even greater than their hatred of parasites, rise up in revolution to destroy the machinery of power and its representatives. But either because of clumsiness or naivete, they allow socialism to come to power. This is how the communists got into power in Russia. These communists are real dregs of mankind. They tear down and shoot innocent people and hang liberty; they shoot men exactly as the bourgeois did. They shoot men who think differently to them in order to subjugate all to their power, in order to enslave him to the throne of government they have just taken over. They hire guards for themselves and killers for dealing with free men. Under the weight of the chains made by the new "Workers' Republic" in Russia, man groans and sighs as he did under bourgeois rule. Elsewhere, man is groaning under the yoke of the bourgeoisie or under that of the bourgeois socialist. The hangmen, both old and new, are strong. They have mastered the art of tactical suppression of opposition, and man only flares up briefly to contest his rights before sinking down again under the burden of authority and despair. He drops his hands as the noose is thrown around his neck again, shutting his eyes like a slave before the gleeful hangman.

From these unfolding vistas of human misery and from personal misery, man must forge convictions, call other men his brothers, and fight for freedom. Man is only free if he is prepared to kill every hangman and every power magnate if they do not wish to stop their shameful tasks. He is only free if he does not put a prime on changing his government and is not led astray by the "Workers' Republic" of the Bolsheviks. He must vouch for the establishment of a truly free society based on personal responsibility, the only really free society. His pronouncement on the State must be one of total destruction: "No. This must not be. To rebellion! Rise up, brothers, against all government, destroy the power of the bourgeoisie and do not allow the socialists and bolshevik government to come to life! Destroy all authority and drive out its representatives!"

There are even moments when the authority of the socialists and communists is worse than the bourgeois, for they tear down their own ideas and trample on them. After fumbling about in

secret for the keys to bourgeois government, the communists became guilty and furtive; they do not want the masses to see what they are doing, so they lie and cheat and deceive. If the masses notice this, they seethe with indignation. So the government falls upon them in an orgy of irresponsibility and butchers them in the name of "socialism" and "communism". The government has of course long since thrown these ideas into the dustbin. At such moments the rule of the socialists and Bolsheviks is more degraded than that of the bourgeoisie for it is even unoriginal in its recourse to the mechanics of bourgeois oppression. While a bourgeois government strings a revolutionary up on the gallows, socialist or bolshevik-communist governments will creep up and strangle him in his sleep or kill him by trickery. Both acts are depraved. But the socialists are more depraved because of their methods.

Any political revolution in which the bourgeoisie, the socialists and state-communists struggle with each other over political ascendancy while dragging in the masses will show the traits outlined above, the most obvious example being the Russian Revolutions of February and October 1917. When the working masses that made up Tsarist Russia felt themselves partially freed from reaction, they began to work towards total freedom. They expressed this wish by expropriating landlords and monasteries and by handing over their lands to the people who wished to cultivate it with hired labor. Sometimes factories, works, presses, and other businesses were taken over by those who worked in them. Attempts were made to create liaisons between towns and villages. And while they were engaged in this activity the people were of course unaware that there were governments sitting about in Kiev, Kharkov, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere. The people were in fact laying the foundations for a new, free society that would throw out all parasites and governments and the idiocy of power. This healthy activity was especially noticeable in the Ural, in Siberia, and in the Ukraine. It was remarked upon by the old as well as the new regimes in Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, and Tiflis. But the socialists as well as the Bolsheviks had (and still have) a widely dispersed party membership and a well-distributed network of professional killers. It must be added that, besides these professional killers, they also hired people from our own ranks. With the help of these

people they managed to nip the people's freedom in the bud. And they did a good job. The Spanish Inquisition would have been green with envy.

We now know the real truths behind government. To the Bolsheviks and socialists we say: "Shame! Dishonor! You talked such a lot about the terror of the bourgeoisie and you took the side of revolution with great zeal. But now that you are in power you show yourself the same old fools, the same lackeys of the bourgeoisie, and slaves of their methods. You have turned yourselves into bourgeois." Looking at the experiences of bolshevik communism during recent years, the bourgeois know perfectly well that this particular brand of socialism can never manage without using their methods or without hiring them in person. It knows that the exploitation and suppression of the working majority is inherent in this system, that the vicious life of sloth is not cast aside in socialism, but that it merely masquerades under another name before spreading and taking root again.

This is the Truth! You've only got to look at the bolshevik vandals and their monopoly over the people's revolutionary conquests! Look at their spies, their police, their laws, prisons, jailers, and their armies of bailiffs. The "Red" Army is only the old army under a new name. Liberalism, socialism, Bolshevism; they are three brothers who go their different ways to grab power over man. This power is used to block man's advance towards self-realization and independence. »



## To Rebellion!

This is the cry of the anarchist revolutionary to the exploited. Rebel, destroy all government and see that it never takes root again. Power is used by those who have never really lived by the work of their hands. Government power will never let workers tread the road to freedom; it is the instrument of the lazy who want to dominate others, and it does not matter if the power is in the hand of the bourgeois, the socialists or the Bolsheviks, it is degrading. There is no government without teeth, teeth to tear any man who longs for a free and just life.

Brother; drive out power in yourself. Never let it fascinate you or your brothers. A true collective life is not built with programs or with governments but with the freedom of mankind, with its creativity and its independence.

The freedom of any individual carries within it the seed of a free and complete community without government, a free society that lives in organic and decentralized totality, united in its pursuit of the great human goal: Anarchist Communism!

## 2.

Anarchistic Communism is a great community in total harmony. It is formed voluntarily by free individuals who form associations and federations according to their needs. Anarchist Communism fights to secure man's freedom and his right to boundless development; it fights against all the evils and injustices that are inherent in governments.

The free, non-governed society aims to embellish life with its intellectual and manual work. It will have as its resources all that nature gave man as well as nature's own inexhaustible riches; it makes man drunk with the beauty of the earth and exhilarated by his own, self-made freedom. Anarchist Communism will let man develop his creative independence in all directions; its adherents will be free and happy with life, guided by brotherly work and reciprocity. They will need no prisons, hangmen, spies, or agents, which are products of the bourgeoisie and socialists, for they will have no need of the idiot robber and murderer that is the State. Prepare yourselves, brother, to create this society! Prepare organizations and ideas! Remember that your organizations must

be safe from attack. The enemy of your freedom is the state personified in five figures:

- The property owner
- The lover of war
- The judge
- The priest
- Academics who distort the truth about man

These last make up "historical laws" and "judiciary norms", and scribble slickly in order to get money; they are busy all the time trying to prove the rightfulness of the first four's claims to power that degrades human life.

The enemy is strong. For millennia he has spent his time accumulating experience in robbery, violence, expropriation, and murder. He underwent an inner crisis and is now busy changing his outward aspect, but he is only doing this because his life has been threatened with the new, emerging knowledge. This new knowledge is waking man from his long sleep, freeing him from prejudices implanted by the five, giving him a weapon to fight for his true society. This change in the outer appearance of our enemy can be seen in reformism. It was evolved to combat the revolution in which he took part. In the Russian Revolution, the five seemed to have vanished off the face of the earth. .. but this was only appearance. In reality our enemy changed his features momentarily and is now calling up new recruits to fight against us. Bolshevik communism is especially revealing in this matter; but it will be a long time before this doctrine will forget man's struggle for true freedom.

The only reliable method for waging a successful struggle against enslavement is social revolution that engages the masses in a continual struggle (evolution). When it first erupts, social revolution is elemental. It flattens the path for its own organizations while smashing any dam that is artificially set against it. These dams in fact only increase its power. Anarchist revolutionaries are already working for this, and any man who is aware of the burden of slavery on himself has a duty to aid the anarchist; at the same time every man should feel responsible to the whole of mankind when he struggles against the five

of the State. Every man should also remember that the social revolution will require appropriate methods of realization; that is especially true of the anarchist who is scouting ahead along the road of freedom. During the destructive phase of the revolution, while slavery is being abolished and freedom beginning to spread in an elemental outburst, organization and steadfast methods are essential to secure the gains. In this phase the revolution needs you most urgently. The Russian Revolution, in which anarchists played a considerable role (which they could not carry through because action was denied them), brought home to us the truth that the masses who have torn themselves loose from their chains had no desire to put on others of a different make. In their revolutionary momentum, they sought immediately for free associations that would only aid their efforts to build up a new community but which would defend them against the enemy. If we look at this process closely, we come to the conclusion that the best method to create new collective freedom is the "Free Soviet". Proceeding from this conviction, the anarchist revolutionary will call the enslaved to struggle for these free associations. He will believe that social revolution will thus create freedom while smashing slavery altogether. This belief must be cherished and defended. The only people who can possibly provide the defense for this belief are the masses themselves who have made the revolution and who equate their lives with their principles. While the human masses create the revolution they instinctively cast about for free associations and rely on their inherent anarchism; they will uphold above all the Free Soviet. As the masses make a revolution they are bound to come upon this themselves and the anarchist must help them formulate this principle.

Economic problems in the free society will be resolved by the producer-consumer co-operatives in which the Free Soviets will act as co-ordinators and clarifiers. The nature of the Free Soviet during the social revolution must be to consolidate the masses' position by urging them to take their rightful inheritance (land, factories, works, mineral and coal mines, shipping, forestry, etc.) into their own hands. While groups according to interest or inclination are formed, the masses will build up

an entire social fabric, freely and independently. The struggle along this road will demand great sacrifice, for it will be the final effort of nearly free man. In this struggle there will be no hesitation, no sentimentality. Life or Death! - This question will stand before every man who considers his rights and those of humanity to be a better life. As the healthy instincts of man will have preponderance, he will embark upon this road to life as victor and creator.

Organize yourselves, brothers, call every man to your ranks. Call him from the factory, from the school; call the students and the learned. It may be that nine out of ten academics will not come to you, or it may happen that they will come in order to deceive you if they are servants of the State's five. But the tenth man will come. He will be your friend and will help you overcome the deceit of the others. Organize yourselves; call every man to your ranks; call on all the governors to stop their stupidity and the brutalizing of human life. If they do not desist, disarm the police, the army and other organizations of the five's defense. Burn their laws and destroy their prisons, kill the hangmen, the bane of mankind. Smash authority! Call to your ranks the press-ganged army; there are many killers in the army who are against you and who are bribed to kill you. But there are friends for you even in the army. They will confound the mobs of murderers and will hurry to your side.

After we have collected ourselves into a great, universal family, brothers, we will go further in the fight against darkness. On to the universal human ideal! We will live as brothers, enslaving no one. The brute force of the enemy will be answered with the force by our revolutionary army. If our enemies do not agree with our ideal, we reply by building our new life based on individual responsibility. Only hardened criminals who belong to the five will not wish to tread the road to a new life with fruitful activity. They will try to fight us in order to regain their power. They must die.

Long live the ideal of universal human harmony, and man's fight towards it!

Long live the ideal of anarchist society! ■

# PUTTING THE BACK INTO ADMIN

**Here in the** Anarchist Federation we sometimes joke that the revolution is 60% admin. Although some of the most beautiful examples of resistance have occurred ad-hoc and "of the moment", you can be sure that for almost every on-going campaign, network and social movement there is a wave of meetings and bureaucracy that can be extremely daunting! Whether it's the Paris Commune or The Free Territory there was no doubt, someone sat up all hours, drinking way too much wine, trying to compile the minutes from the last assembly.

Some of our members have put together three short lessons to help survive the burdens and duties of democratic and accountable organising! These are "living" guides which means you can expect them to grow and develop. If you'd like to contribute feel free to shoot your thoughts over to us at [organise@afed.org.uk](mailto:organise@afed.org.uk) and we'll pass them on.

## HOW TO HOLD A MEETING

Having meetings is important, unlike what some people think actions don't "just happen". They need a lot of organising. Meetings provide a way for us to do this as well as give us space for discussion. They're also a great chance to see other people and to feel part of a wider network. Meeting face to face also avoids a lot of conflicts that happen over electronic communication as people can see others' reactions more clearly and can respond instantly. There are lots of things to consider when setting up a meeting such as the time and place, who can make it? who does it

exclude? Who will facilitate? etc.

### Setting up the meeting

So your going to hold a meeting, great! You'll want to work out where the meeting will be held and book it. Some things to consider here is who can make it? Do you want to include as many people as possible, or specifically those most able to follow through on certain action points? Think about who you are excluding from the meeting by having it in a particular time and place, are those people from a more marginalised group?

A good way of working out what these requirements are is by having a poll or sending a text out to see what people would like to do. Ideally choose someone to co-ordinate this and be the main point of contact. The easiest thing to do is make sure that the next date is set at the end of the previous meeting. Lots of groups meet at the same time and place on a regular schedule, making sure people have it in their diary.

Make sure the space is accessible. This can mean a lot of things, so it's good to ask people what issues they may face. If most of you have kids it maybe good to have it at each others houses, rotating who does child care. If you live far away from each other somewhere central with good public transport is important. Somewhere free or cheap is important, not just for booking but also the cost of their food and drinks. It may also be important for your group to make sure there is wheelchair access or somewhere not serving alcohol is important.

Finally, does the meeting need a lot of privacy? Somewhere quiet? Many a meeting has been spoiled by trying to hold it in a noisy cafe or pub.

### Structure: some things to consider

Before the meeting an agenda should be set up; this is a list of things the meeting wants to talk about. The Agenda could be made by an email sent out or just a piece of paper passed around that people can add to. It can include reports back from people with different roles, report backs from other meetings and events. The agenda should include a section for "matters arising"; these are the action points from the last meeting, chasing people to make sure that they happen. It should also include things you want to talk about during the meeting and upcoming events.

At the start of a meeting, particularly if there is a lot of people who don't know each other present then a go round of names and pronouns (he/she/they etc.) and any other thing that maybe relevant is pretty common. Some groups may do a member welfare round to see how everyone is doing and if the group can help with anything and also to announce their level of capacity for taking on new things. A facilitator and a minute taker should be appointed before the meeting starts, it is good to share these duties rather than them always landing on the same person's shoulders.

Sometimes it is useful to set allotted time slots to each point to be discussed and a meeting end time. If the meeting is going to be long you may want to include breaks and food. Try to keep on topic and leave drinking alcohol till after the meeting!

## HOW TO FACILITATE

The idea of facilitation is to ensure that no one controls the meeting and to ensure that everyone gets to share their thoughts and ideas. It is also the facilitator's job to ensure that the meeting keeps to the time scheduled for it and does not run off topic. They need to help pin point proposals and make sure there are people to carry them out.

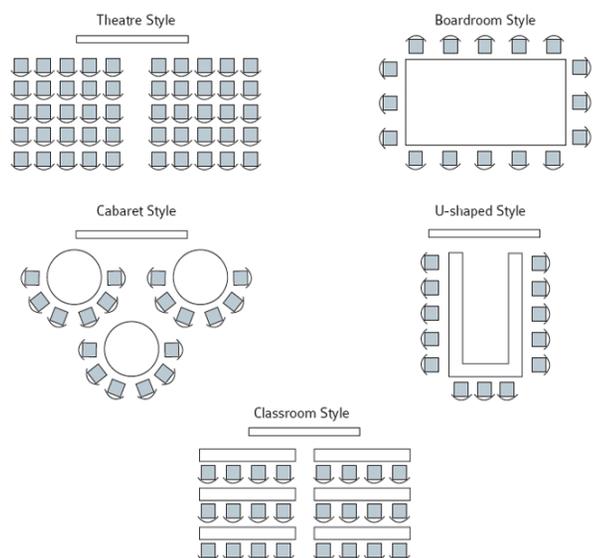
### Taking stack

This just means taking note of who is next in order to speak, creating a "stack" of those who want to chip in. Make it clear at the start of the meeting that people must put their hands up so that you know they want to talk. If a lot of people want to speak then it is useful to write it down on a piece of paper and cross them out after they have spoken. If someone hasn't spoken yet, then their name goes to the top of the list. Remember to add yourself onto the list and not be left out. If people jump the stack you may want to cut them off and remind them to wait their turn.

Sometimes people have a direct answer to something that someone has asked, they may ask the facilitator, or put both hands up to show that they have a response. In big meetings it can be useful to split the role between two people, so that one person takes stack and another does the rest of the facilitation. If you notice some people haven't spoken yet then you can jump the queue and ask if anyone who hasn't spoken yet would like to speak.

### Keeping Time and on Topic

Quite often people like to go off topic or like to talk about something in depth, or repeat what others may already have said. To make sure not too much of this happens, as a facilitator, »



Think about what layout would work best

you can jump the stack order and remind people to stay on topic, what that topic is and how much time you have left.

If people seem interested in another topic which has come up you can suggest scheduling it for another time in the meeting or another day. It is ok for discussion to go off topic a bit as it brings new ideas and makes it feel more relaxed, this enables less confident people to talk too!» It can be useful for the facilitator to set a time allowance at the start of the topic and ask someone to introduce it.

A lot of the time this time keeping is quite ad-hoc and "loose" this is OK but try not to stray too much least you end up talking about one thing for the entire meeting. Don't be afraid to be a bit mercenary and keep things moving!

### Proposals and action points

The facilitator can also help to find things within the conversation that can turn talk into actions. this could be anything from someone looking something up, organising an event, contacting someone or a group, arranging travel etc. The facilitator can ask the group if someone is willing

to take on the idea as an action point or to produce a proposal. This can help make sure that something actually happens. If no one is able to do it then it could be noted as an idea to come back to at a later time.

### Don't Panic

Facilitating a group can seem quite scary, but don't worry. If you're new to it then let people know and they can help you and be supportive. If you don't want to facilitate anymore during a meeting then let people know and someone else can take over. It is important to keep up facilitating meetings in order to let new people and for those who are less likely to be heard have a space to speak, so don't give up on it! Also worth remembering that as facilitator, you aren't in charge of the meeting and it is everyone's responsibility to make sure the meeting runs smoothly. Share the load!

### HOW TO TAKE MINUTES

Taking minutes in meetings is important. It archives what was discussed and allows others who couldn't attend to know what was happening.



It is there to help people remember what they were action pointed to do, and can help people be able to construct arguments outside of the meeting from what was discussed during it. The main things that need to be written down are the key discussion points, action points and who was there. When you take minutes it can mean that it is easier for you to be left out of conversation as your busy writing down what everyone else has to say. Try to let the facilitator know when you want to speak, It can also be difficult to keep up with the conversation, so feel free to tell everyone to stop for a bit until you are ready so that you can catch up.

### Action points

These are what someone has said they would take on. This can be contacting someone, organising an event, writing a proposal etc. It is important that Action Points are clear in the minutes and who has said they would do them. Some useful ways of doing this are writing them on a separate line by themselves, writing *AP* next to them with the person's name, and writing them in bold. Some people put them at the end of the minutes so that people can skip to the end to find what they said they would do.

It's good practice for people who have been Action Pointed to do something write it down themselves as they are more likely to remember it and it's a good precaution in case it gets left out on the minutes by accident.

### Discussion points

To get the basic points of what people say can be difficult. People like to ramble, especially as they try to formulate what they are saying. Different minute takers go about capturing the main points of a discussion in different ways. You may want to write down everything that was said during a meeting and then edit it later, or wait until someone finishes talking and write the main bits down. These are often written up as bullet points or short paragraphs. If you do not understand what someone said you can ask them to repeat their main points, feel free to speak out of turn for this! People may also ask the minute taker to write down a point that they want added and to repeat something from earlier.

### Post Script

It is the minute takers responsibility to get the minutes out as quickly as possible. The group should arrange before the end of the meeting how the notes should be sent out, e.g. they could be put up on a forum or sent by email. Make sure that everyone will have access to the minutes. It is important to make the minutes not too long and try to keep them nice and clear, otherwise people won't read them.

It can be better to write minutes onto a laptop or computer as it is easier to edit. Some people write minutes directly into an email or onto the forum so they can send to minutes out at the end of the meeting. It can also be good to write the minutes onto an editable document such as *Etherpad* so that others can add in bits that were left out. If you are worried about taking minutes it can be easier to write down everything then ask someone else to help you to edit, this way you can learn what is important and what is not.

If the meeting has sensitive material then maybe leave out the names, sometimes leaving a initial or similar. Given the fact that we live in the age of government tracking via facial recognition and far right doxxing we highly recommend that if you share documents publicly then you remove everyones name and if you share a photo remove the faces! Yes, even if your group is a nice and friendly one, security culture is a vital aspect to organising in a manner which is safe for everyone.

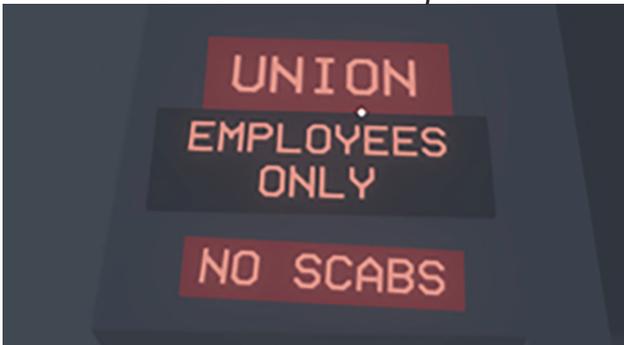
Finally, have fun and brew up some trouble! ■





## RED AND BLACK GAMING

*Tabletop and video gaming for Anarchists*



### **A Bewitching Revolution**

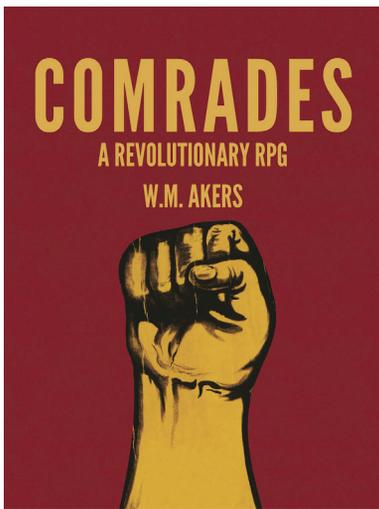
*Colestias (2019 - In Dev)*

**The world opens** up before me a small functional apartment in a grey city, open sky above me shows flying cars darting round a bleak cityscape. The apartment is illuminated by a few dashes of colour in the form of incense sticks with drifty smoke rising up, flowers dotted about, a square wheeled bicycle in the corner and the eyes of a black moggy, who as I try giving it a pet tells me *"If socialism does not stand unflinchingly for the exploited and oppressed masses of all lands, then it stands for none and it's claim is a false pretence"*... ok then kitty! . I venture out into the streets and a moment later a owl gives a hoot hoot and tells me *"The police are afoot! But where are they going we've no way of knowing"*... a moment later two black clad fash come storming along trying to bash the innocent. Not to worry, I'm a witch with a quick burst of magic I've turned them into neon pink pigs who run off... Welcome to A Bewitching Revolution, a short FPS adventure

about a communist witch who uses their power to ferment revolution.

This indie gem by indie game developer Colestia is available on Steam as a free to play game and Colestia's own site as a pay as you feel download. You might recall Colestia from the micro puzzle Post/Capitalism which did the rounds a spell back, their modus operandi is simple... to create atmospheric games laden with seditious propaganda, educational resources and gentle nudges for people to go out and make a better world. A Bewitching Revolution does this like Marmite, you will love it or hate it. The politics are right up front, the game oozes revolution and dissent. If you like that kind of thing you're going to have a great time, if you don't then, well buddy, you're on the wrong website. The setting manages to be both Kafkaesque and Whimsical at the same time. My head canon immediately placed me as a young Granny Weatherwax transported through time and genre to Ridley Scott's L.A. circa. Blade Runner. I don't know if that was intentional but it certainly felt fitting as I explored this dark, decaying city and went about injecting it with a magic and life.

The game itself is a short narrative set in a pseudo open world capsule of an Orwellian nightmare. You travel around planting seeds of change (both figuratively and literally) using Tarot as a medium to share revolutionary propaganda helping to



## COMRADES

W.M.AKers (2019 - In Dev)

The revolution is at hand and it's time to join the party! For the lack of a revolution outside your window, Comrades brings one to your table. Make no mistake though, this isn't just any old tale of revolution, the concepts and philosophies of our movements are woven into the game's very structure. It is based on the *Apocalypse World* engine but steps out from its shadow in its relationships between those sat at the table.

The GM is no arbitrary master here, in Comrades she has a symbiotic relationship with the players. The players are encouraged to build up the story and develop the narratives and the GM populates the world, gives it shape and tells its stories. It's a collaborative account that starts from the first session where rather than being told the setting and story by the GM, she is encouraged to ask questions of the players, find out whether they would like a realistic struggle or a wild tale of adventure of heroism. Would they like to fight on the battle lines or slowly work to undermine a monarchy? Though Comrades comes with ready-made fictional settings of Kresht you are encouraged to take the game and make it your own. Perhaps you want to take your dreary town and declare it a Free Territory or lead a workers revolt at the Tannhäuser Gate, the game has you covered and it's very malleable.

A session of Comrades is a conversation that flows between various "scenes" which they must confront and with them the world builds. The beauty of Comrades is that the game places a special focus on narrative building, instead of casting powers and announcing moves the players are encouraged to tell the tale and spin the yarn. *The GM is turned shows the consequences of the comrades actions; Blow up a bridge in one session and the citizens maybe starving in the next, by the time of the fourth sessions there maybe a plague or open revolt depending on the style of story you've been developing together.*

So instead of stepping into the same old Tavern looking murder a barman and nick the loot, why not unionise the goblins and stir the elves into arms against the bastard king? ■

crack squats, unionise the workforce and destroy advertising before taking on and defeating the state. The music is a single track by NY Vice called "Smooth Steering" that is very

AESTHETIC and reminiscent of Stranger Things with its mysterious and ethereal vibe. The soundtrack is in fact very complimentary to the graphics which are smooth muted tones of grey and brutalist design, which adds to the oppressive environment and made all the more interesting subsequently by being highlighted by flashes of neon colour wherever the people have risen up.

The game works very well as a pocket of Communist propaganda in itself however I truly hope Colestia takes it further and adds more environments for us to explore and rabble rouse in. Perhaps playing focus to different aspects of the struggle as we go on and exploring different branches of Communism, Socialism and Anarchism, entire sections given aware to woodland occupations and the such? Eitherway it's five star, well worth an hour of your time, it could do with a save function and Y Inversion (please) sure, but as it stands you have a lush game that'll get your wanting to cook up some revolutionary action in your cauldron and maybe bring some of that energy into the real world. Great little game to sharing with gamer comrades who are starting to learn more of the theory and the hopeful message will be a hit with any radical. so get downloading and have fun taking back the city! ■

Check out Colestias games at [Colestia.itch.io](https://colestia.itch.io)

# THE BOARD GAME IS POLITICAL

by Anteo (*No Board Games Collective*)

**The debate on** the political nature of content in board games is one which has come to the forefront due the increase in gaming in general. Among the main titles on which it debated there is *The Landlord's Game* of 1903, the original title of *Monopoly*. *Monopoly* was born as political criticism and intends to address an important issue: that of the monopolisation of the landowning market.

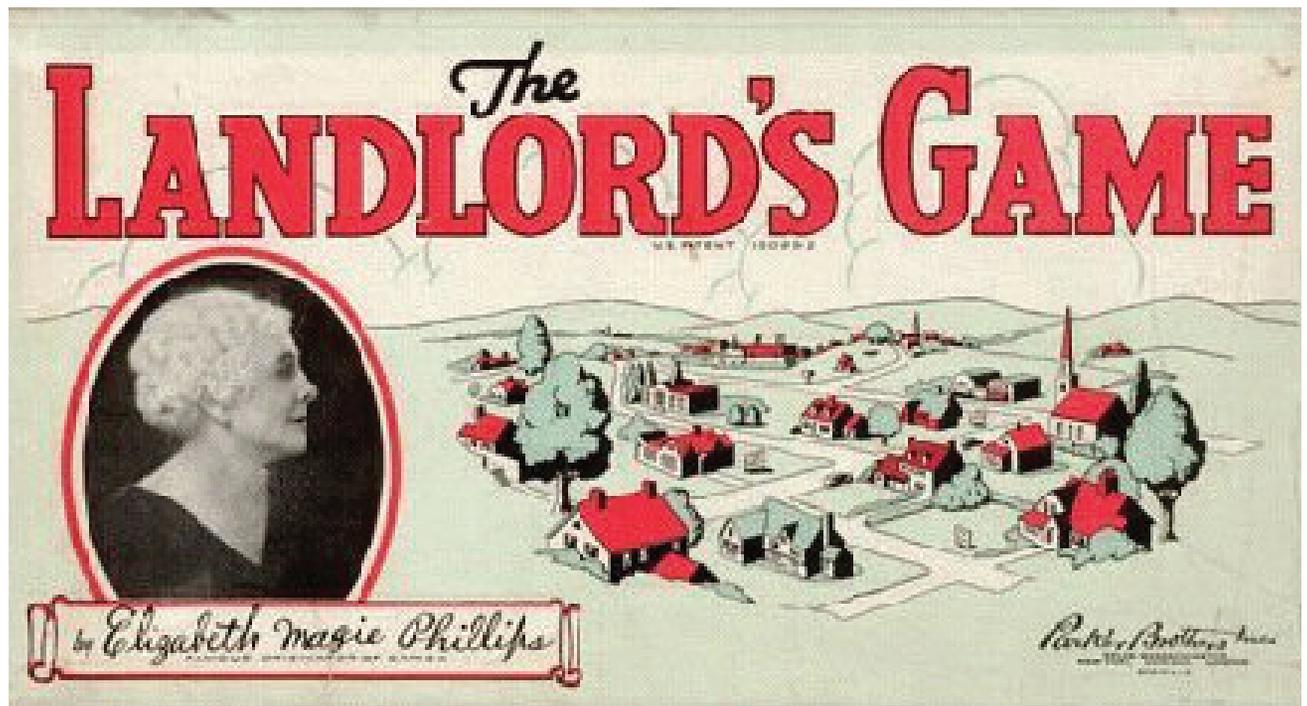
However, in *Monopoly* landlord accumulation is not accompanied by texts, mechanics or critical images. Nothing is aimed at an organic critique of the accumulation and the identification of the player is not supported by emotions against the game or the role that it plays within it, rather against the other players. In *Monopoly* there's a critical intent towards market monopolization but it is too softened by mechanics to succeed and certainly cannot be considered a radical leftist critique to the society of that time.

With the arrival of Professor Bertell Ollman things change. In 1978 *Class Struggle* was born "To prepare for life in capitalist America". It's "an educational game for kids from 8 to 80" and with it opened the way for serious game philosophy

towards a radical leftist social critique in the world of board games.

It was not a matter of taking a politically active topic too far. In *Class Struggle* the critique of some aspects of social and political life during the cold war years are evident, transparent and even full of propagandistic intentions (such as the card "If it is the opium of older workers, than opium (pot) is the religion of the younger set"). The content isn't sweetened to increase the mass appeal of the game, it just goes to the point: avoid the nuclear catastrophe fuelled by the capitalists and to steer the workers towards the construction of committees, unions and parties for the creation of a socialist society in the USA.

The board games up to this point had emancipated themselves only from ancient religious function to arrive at an alleged neutrality of their own content, all in favour of the mechanics: strategy, mechanics for entertainment, challenge, gambling, bluff, frustration and observation, and attention skills. Actually the themes aren't neutral, they are often full of sacred, militarist, bourgeois contents etc. and at best they try to show sincere criticism through fantastic metaphors.



Only one year after the creation of Class Struggle, in 1980, in Italy the C.UnS.A. – Collettivo un Sacco Alternativo – carries on Ollman's experiment with the publication of *Corteo ('Demonstration')*: A simulation of street clashes in Italy, between the police and various movements of the '77 such as Autonomia Operaia, Marxist-Leninists, Lotta Continua, Democrazia Proletaria, Anarchists, Feminists, radicals etc.

The rules book is descriptive, it maintains the textual prolixity typical of those years and describes ironically the performance of critical operations. This begins in the manual, when for example it describes how;

*"The reactionary right has organized a rally in a town square to demand the anti-strike law, the deportation of gays, the closure of the underground press and the death penalty. Authoritative members of the Government and the Dominant Party send certificates of understanding and solidarity."*

(Storia di un CORTEO, scenario antifascista, Mondadori, 1980, p. 27)

The game mechanics are quite exciting, and they complete the alternative theme well: you can play like a human tide (*the Demonstration*) that although slow and divided into many ideological currents, when compacted, is invincible (*the union is strength!*); on the other hand it can be fast but fragile if scattered in small groups. Even the representation of opponents is interesting. The fascists, for example, just get hit, a sign of the times in which social movements shined. In fact there is no Fascist player, the Fascist pawns are directly controlled by the police player as points to be taken away from the opponent.

**Riot – Cast The First Stone** (*made by No Board Games*) can be considered a tribute to both games even if the mechanics are certainly different (it is in fact a strategic one with the addition of card driven mechanics and area control). However, the setting is undoubtedly different. In Riot we certify the dark times we live, it is linked to the reality that surrounds us and not a simple historical reconstruction, the game itself can be an element

of education in the here and now.

For example, the question that has prompted the insertion of Nationalists within Riot is the demand for the development of an Anti-Fascist culture accessible to those who are not reached by essays, flyers and revolutionary media but are more reachable through use of pop culture, gaming and nerd culture. For those who have tried Class Struggle, they will have had a smattering of Marxist culture and will know well what values to attribute to "Capitalists" and "Workers", the merits of the 'chance cards' and the highly captioned board. For those who have played the game *Corteo*, they will know well which neighbourhoods the activists come from and how the police protect the various Fascist rallies. At the same time Riot, in giving control of the Fascists to a player, shows how the political affinity of the Nationalists lies with power and not with the other demonstrators and how their action must be, in terms of game mechanics, rather slimy.

It is also important to remember that at the gaming table one socialises: that is, one can understand more about their peers, learn to be together, orient oneself within a theme with mechanics designed to educate as well as let us learn a new vocabulary. The words we choose to describe the theme, the game mechanics and the names of the components create a text practised and discussed continuously. The game is shared par excellence: it is not a book, a video game, it is not an island. You can learn, you can debate.

Engaging with new forms of media is essential for political organising, we cannot exclude any form of communication and we should seek to understand how today, unlike yesterday, there are more effective and often unexpected means to reach a wider audience than a magazine, a flyer, a song or a book.

Finally we consider the tinkering and hacking methods of gamers is certainly a positive. We want to develop this kind of community, one which goes from modification of cultural objects to self-production and DIY games creating more independent and radical production. ■

# THE SUPER HAPPY ANARCHO FUN PAGES!

## THE HISTORY OF PATRIARCHY!

Once, a long time ago, in a past that I'm making up, men & women, boys & girls weren't judged by what happened where their legs met... we're stick people anyway.



For a brief period of time, people experimented with a hierarchy based on what happened where their arm & torso met... behold the power of my hairy armpits!



but patriarchy never really caught on.

but one day some guy named Pat had the not-so-bright idea of a hierarchy based on what was between people's legs.

this is dumb.



I rule.



he called it patriarchy.

hey Pat, you just named this after yourself, didn't you?

Umm... no?



at first, patriarchy seemed just as dumb as patriarchy, but then half the people realized they could be better than the other half.

I have a penis.



and soon patriarchy ravaged the countryside... ah! run! it's the forces of domination culture!



Since only men got to write books and teach higher education, people thought it was a good thing. Feelings make me weak. I'm too ruled by emotion to understand complex thought.



fortunately, a group of women realized that, contrary to popular vernacular, they didn't need any balls to be brave, and started a movement called feminism.

Almost 200 years have passed, and although much good has been done, patriarchy remains.

gives us liberty or we'll give you death, jerk-o's.

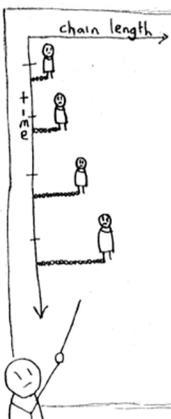


unfortunately, most men didn't want to give any power back to women.

I'm not a doormat. feminazi.

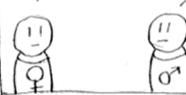


chain length →



Some women wanted radical change. They wanted equality.

still not a doormat... feminazi.



So the mass media spun "equality" to mean "anti-man" and these women are going to leave their husbands and become lesbians and practice witchcraft. Well, they finally got something right.



When in fact, most radical feminists don't hate men... they just hate almost everything men do.

You act like your opinion is more valid than mine. Also, you keep alternating between referring to me as a child and as a sexual object. Maybe you should seek counseling.



It's also about spray paint.



around the same time period, another movement was evolving. Anarchism, which claimed to be against all hierarchy.

but in this movement, patriarchy was still present.

Actually, I got rid of my patriarchy. My views on Emma Goldman are more evolved than yours, and I can talk about them louder. also, I have a patch about equality.



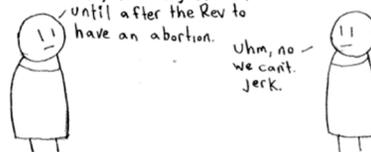
So the anarchist movement is full of hypocrisy, and not just that good crimethink "doing the best we can" kind.

I thought that dishes just washed themselves.



activists often think of women's rights issues as purely reformist...

look, we can just wait until after the Rev to have an abortion. Uhm, no we can't, jerk.



and then wonder why a lot of women burn out after being treated like crap by anarchist men.

I would feel a lot better about myself if there were more women (or people of color) at this meeting.



So anyway, think about these things.

Jerk.



The End

# REMINDERS FOR TRANS PEOPLE WHO ARE JUST FIGURING OUT THEIR TRANSNESS



**Bogswallop** designs shirts, draw comics and animate cartoons sometimes! Check him out on twitter @**Bogswallop** and on [facebook.com/bogswallop](https://www.facebook.com/bogswallop)

**Assigned Male Comics** by Sophie Labelle with colours by Marie-Ortie. Sophie has been drawing since 2014 and is also the author of several children's books and novels. Check out [serioustransvibes.com](http://serioustransvibes.com) for more!



RNB 2019  
9MMBALLPOINT

"One for the Western so-called socialists who keep defending China's Authoritarianism"  
Find more from **Red and Black Salamander** on twitter @**9mmballpoint** or [9mmballpoint.blogspot.com](http://9mmballpoint.blogspot.com)

# MEMORIA

## TEKOŞER PILING / LORENZO ORSETTI

**It is our** sad duty to report that on the 18th of March, Italian comrade Tekoşer Piling / Lorenzo Orsetti, lost his life in combat with ISIS in Baghouz after a year and half of fighting fascism in Rojava as a member of Tekoşîna Anarşîst (Anarchist Struggle).

He did not travel to Syria for conflict and war, but to build an anarchist world, where the state, capitalism, and domination are abolished. He was an much loved member of the Tekosina Anarşîst revolutionary armed autonomous formation in Rojava, and was instrumental in charting an anarchist, anti-state position within the struggle.



Tekoşîna Anarşîst reported; *"Today our comrade Heval Tekoşer Piling fell şehid in battle in Baghouz. He was a great friend to all of us and an incredibly brave soldier. Many of us had the pleasure of fighting by his side. From Afrin to Deir Ezzor, he was always the last to leave. Şehid namirin!"*

There are no more fitting words that those he chose to leave

*"Ciao,*

*If you read this message, it is a sign that I am not in this world anymore. Bah, don't be so sad, I'm doing well; I have no regrets, I died doing what I thought was the right thing, defending the weak, and being loyal to my ideals of justice, equality, and freedom. So, in spite of my premature departure, my life has been a success, and I am almost sure that I went with a smile on my lips. I could not have asked for better. I wish you the very best, and I hope that you too one day (if you have not already done so) decide to give your life for others. Because it is only like this that the world can be changed. Only by overcoming the individualism and selfishness in each one of us, can the difference be made.*

*These are difficult times, I know, but don't fall into resignation, don't abandon hope; never! Not for one moment.*

*Even if everything seems lost, and the bad things that afflict humans and the earth seem unbearable, keep on finding strength and inspire it in your comrades. It is exactly in those darkest moments that your light helps.*

*And always remember: 'Every thunderstorm begins with a single drop'. Try to be this drop.*

*I love you all, and I hope that you treasure these words. Serkeftin!*

*Orso, Tekoşer, Lorenzo."*

**Rest in Power Tekoşer, Lorenzo**

**You are immortal■**

## Ewan Brown

**Rest In Power** Ewan Brown, who went missing on early this year on April 30th and started our Mayday was sad news. A popular face up in the North East and Newcastle, Ewan was well known for being an lovely guy full of creative spark and a passion for making the world a better place.

From Active Disto;

*"Ewan Brown, a wonderfully enthusiastic and caring person has died. He helped out on Active stalls, at the northern warehouse, designed posters and stickers, and always bubbled with ideas.*

*He made the world a better place, not only by caring, but my making it beautiful. His artwork can be seen on a number of walls around Newcastle – and through them, and the memories we have of him, his spirit lives on."*

His auntie Carol said of him;

*"Ewan was always trying to put the world to rights and fix our broken society in his utterly unique and innocent way and I thought he'd always be there putting himself in harms way to makes things better – because ofcourse 'right' and 'fair' often are at odds with norms and rules.*

*"I just can't believe we all couldn't by pure force of will make this a happy ending.*

*Be kinder and speak out for the underdogs .. be more Ewan x"*

Next time you're in Freedom check out his Kropotkin poster and keep his name alive.

On the 9th of May 2020, the inaugural **Newcastle Ewan Brown Anarchist Bookfair** which is being held in his remembrance will be held at the Star & Shadow Cinema. It is being organised alongside others by the **North East Anarchist Group** who will be showing his films and his artwork during the bookfair. They ask that If you share word about the event make sure to tag it with the hashtag **#BeMoreEwan** ■



# WHO ARE THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION?

We're class struggle Anarchists.

We fight with revolutionary theory and praxis for a world without leaders, where power is shared equally amongst all and people are free to reach their full potential within a classless society. We do not seek power or control for our organisation but to work as part of a united international revolutionary movement which is diverse in character and founded in the principles of mutual aid, compassion and solidarity.

Capitalism and the state are systems of oppression that exploit the working class and destroy the environment for the benefit of the ruling class. The dynamic between master and worker, the oppressor and oppressed, infects every aspect of our society. Genuine liberation will not come with a process of concessions or reforms it will come with the complete dissolution of the master, and the complete the building of a fair and just society for the working class.

We fight systems of oppression that divide the working class and feel that this is essential to class struggle. The revolutionary call has no place for bigotry of any form and solidarity needs to be complete and overt, not granted on it's convenience. Where the working class oppresses each other the ruling class benefit as they do from cross-class movements which appeal to factors of our identity to obfuscate real class differences and achieve little results for the downtrodden.

It is not possible to abolish Capitalism without first building a culture of resistance. An self empowered working class will achieve this better world through political unity and the development of a wide network of autonomous organisations working together in a federative manner, freely associating as individuals unified by our collective aims and principles.

We forward this social revolution as an organisation and as individuals, in the workplace, on the street, in the home and on-line through the creation of media, the organisation of

book fairs, facilitating the creation of autonomous collectives as equals and providing vital resources, skill sets and support to an array of groups and individuals both domestically and world-wide as part of the International Federation of Anarchists.

AFed has a number of vital roles to perform in order to reach these goals:

- Support resistance against capitalism, state, and other oppression where it exists, and attempt to spark it where it does not.
- Produce information and analysis against capitalist society and argue the case for anarchist communism.
- Be the memory of the working class by making the lessons of past gains and defeats widely known.
- Be a forum for debate and discussion between all elements of the revolutionary working class.
- Work to understand the developments in our society and deliver a coherent communist response to them.
- Seek to win the leadership of ideas within the working class.
- Intervene and co-ordinate our actions in the workplace and the community.
- Work to build a global anarchist movement as part of the International of Anarchist Federations.

We do not shirk the responsibilities of building a better world, we endeavour to take on the difficult conversations that face us and develop our ideas alongside the rich and diverse community of activists, organisers and revolutionaries always learning from the struggles of others to build together and ignite the flames of change.

**JOIN THE REVOLUTION  
ANARCHIST FEDERATION  
AFED.ORG.UK**

## AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

- 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 over 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.



The International of Anarchist Federations (IAF or IFA) was founded during an international anarchist conference in Carrara in 1968 by the three existing european federations of France, Italy and Spain as well as the Bulgarian federation in french exile. To counter the internationalisation of state and capitalist powers that are developing their influences ever rapidly on a global scale, the IFA has since aimed to build and improve strong and active international anarchist structures.

The federations associated with IFA believe that such an organisation is necessary to co-ordinate their international work and efficiently co-operate towards their mutual aims.

To further improve the quality of exchange and co-operation, IFA also keeps close contact with other anarchist organisations, such as the IWA.

The principles of work within IFA are that of federalism, free arrangement and mutual aid. To improve co-ordination and communication within IFA, as well as to provide an open contact address for the public and other anarchist groups and organisations, an International Secretariat was set up. The Secretariat irregularly rotates among the IFA federations. Most of the federations produce regular publications.

For further information contact us:-

Website - [i-f-a.org](http://i-f-a.org)

Twitter - [IntFedAnarchist](https://twitter.com/IntFedAnarchist)

FB - [InternationalOfAnarchistFederations](https://www.facebook.com/InternationalOfAnarchistFederations)

- Federación Libertaria Argentina (FLA)  
[federacionlibertaria.org](http://federacionlibertaria.org)

- Iniciativa Federalista Anarquista (IFABrasil)  
[anarkio.net](http://anarkio.net)

- Anarchist Federation (AF)  
[afed.org.uk](http://afed.org.uk)

- Федерация на анархистите в България (ФАБ)  
[anarchy.bg](http://anarchy.bg)

- Anarchistická federace (AF)  
[afed.cz](http://afed.cz)

- Fédération Anarchiste (FA)  
[federation-anarchiste.org](http://federation-anarchiste.org)

- Föderation deutschsprachiger Anarchist\*innen (FdA)  
[fda-ifa.org](http://fda-ifa.org)

- Federazione Anarchica Italiana (FAI)  
[federazioneanarchica.org](http://federazioneanarchica.org)

- Federación Anarquista de México (FAM)  
[federacionanarquistademexico.org](http://federacionanarquistademexico.org)

- Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI)  
[federacionanarquistaiberica.wordpress.com](http://federacionanarquistaiberica.wordpress.com)

- Federacija za anarhistično organiziranje (FAO)  
[a-federacija.org](http://a-federacija.org)



# CONTENTS

## **CONTENTS**

- 1 - Anarchist Black Cross
- 4 - Anarchist Federation Backs Earth Strike
- 6 - Interview with an Earth Strike organiser
- 12 - Productivity Is Not Your Friend – Pavlo Shopin
- 14 - Fashy Social Media Site Now Comes In Pink
- 16 - A Brief History Of Violence – Peter Ó Máille

## **INTERNATIONAL**

- 23 - International Bulletin
- 24 - After A Period Of Dormancy, Japan Is Now Awake  
– Noma Yasumichi (C.R.A.C.)
- 28 - Feminists Rise Up In Mexico
- 29 - Stateless And Oppressed
- 34 - Hongkongers Ain't Nothing To Fuck With
- 39 - Fascist Foot In The Door Of Squats
- 40 - Update About Our Current Situation – Spirou Trikoupi
- 41 - Refugees Welcome Stencil
- 42 - Bookfair 2020

## **BURN AFTER READING**

- 44 - Review: Desert, A Warning - John Warwick
- 47 - Books Beyond Bars
- 48 - An Anarchist Manifesto – Max Nettleau
- 54 - Putting The A Back Into Admin

## **RED AND BLACK GAMING**

- 58 - Review: A Bewitching Revolution
- 59 - Review: Comrades
- 60 - The Board Game Is Political – Anteo  
+ Print and Play Version of RIOT: Caste The First Stone

## **COMICS**

- 62 - The Super Happy Anarcho Fun Pages – Margaret Killjoy
- 63 - Assigned Male Comics – Sophie Labelle
- 64 - Bogswallop
- 65 - Red And Black Salamander

## **MEMORIA**

- 64 - Rest In Power Tekoşer Piling / Lorenzo Orsetti
- 65 - Rest In Power Ewan Brown

## **ANARCHIST FEDERATION**

- 66 - Mission Statement
- 67 - Aims And Principles
- 68 - IAF/IFA