



**ALREADY
AGAINST**

**➤ THE NEXT ◀
WAR**



DOPE Magazine is published in solidarity
until everyone has a home and nobody lives in a cage.
dogsection.org/dopeinfo

East London Burning, Heatwave July 2022

Let this radicalise you rather than lead you to despair.

-Mariame Kaba

First published in London 2022 by Dog Section Press
Registered Workers' Cooperative No. 12472460
Printed by Sharman & Company
ISSN 2515-9011

Published under Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial
4.0 International Public Licence

“Intellectual property is a legally fabricated monopoly, confining culture and science, and violently depriving the poorest and most marginalised from access to critical resources. The fictions of copyright and patent are despotic attempts to monopolise the mind; outrageous constraints on intelligence and creativity; and a destructive protectionist scheme for the profit of power.”



Photography
P6 – Dog Section Press
P9 – MV Louise Michel
P14 – Tom Medwell
P22&23 – Special Patrol Group

Artwork
Covers & Centre – La Linterna x Dog Section Press
P4&5 – DoubleWhy, EMVarian,
N.O. Bonzo, Nick Jones, Sabo Cats
P11 – Hogre
P16&17 – Seize the Mean
P19 – Illustrre Feccia
P22&23 – Autonomous Design Group

CONTENTS

4	Try Anarchism for Life Cindy Barukh Milstein
6	The Deception of Non-Violence Mohamed Abdou
8	MV Louise Michel Louise Michel Crew
10	Heatwave Peter Gelderloos
12 13	Always Antifascist La Linterna
Liberation	14 The Bar Is in Hell Emil Lombardo
Work	16 The Conquest of Bread Catherine Vulliamy
Prison	18 White Torture Hypocritically Correct
20	Classifieds
22 23	Arm the Homeless Autonomous Design Group & Special Patrol Group

Try Anarchism for Life

By **Cindy Barukh Milstein**

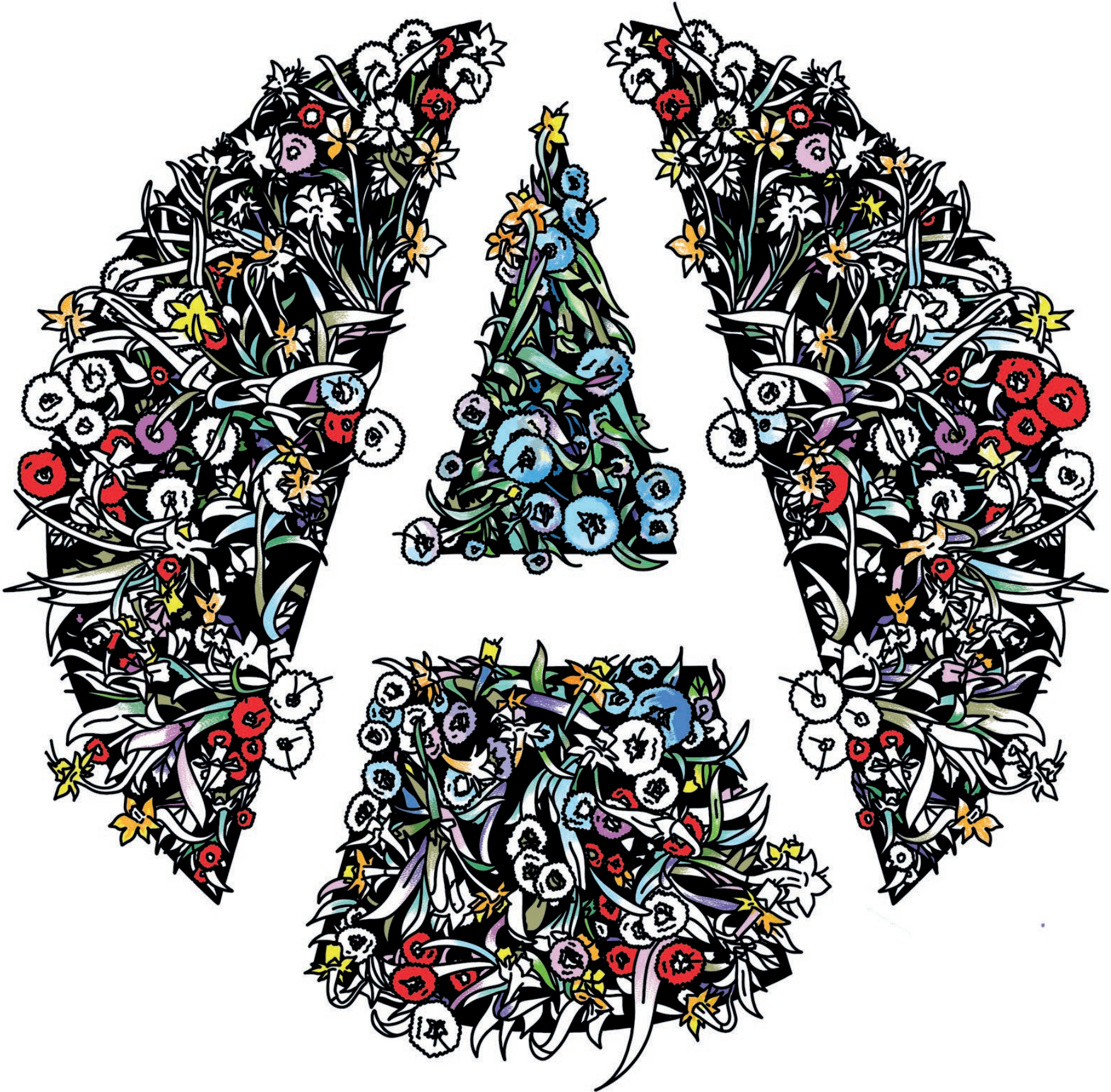
One fine day, on one fine aimless walk, I saw my umpteenth circled-A spray painted across a wall. Like pretty much all the others, it looked hastily done, with little eye for aesthetics. I snapped a photo, because no matter how scrappily scrawled, seeing a circled-A feels like running into an old friend.

Yet, for some reason, this time it got me thinking about why I'd rarely, if ever, seen a beautiful circled-A tagged illicitly across the stolen landscape. Or, for that matter, why I'd rarely seen any street art that portrays the kinds of beautiful social relations and social organisation anarchism conceives of and/or already models. "All cops are bastards" – yes, but what tangibly makes for "autonomous communities are beautiful"? Why is it so difficult for anarchists to depict what we are for, what we desire, and in ways that resonate, visually and verbally, with people who see a circled-A sticker on a lamp post or stencil on a sidewalk, and either have no idea what it means or only pejorative caricatures in their head?

Anarchism, of course, has as many poetic definitions as there are anarchists, which in itself gets at some of its expansive description. For anarchism's fundamental antagonism to all forms of power-over (even the power over circumscribing the term) and exuberant openness to self-determination mean that the word must stay dynamic, able to flexibly embrace all sorts of liberatory ethics and practices. It can no more be contained than can all the innumerable ways that humans and the nonhuman world engage routinely in forms of mutual aid to not only survive but also thrive. Anarchism is a persistent yearning for and rebellious unfolding toward forms of freedom, which will always be (you guessed it) a journey.



Text and drawings are taken from *Try Anarchism for Life* (Strangers in a Tangled Wilderness, 2022).



Milstein has birthed many a book, such as the edited anthologies *Rebellious Mourning*, *Deciding for Ourselves: The Promise of Direct Democracy*, and *There Is Nothing So Whole as a Broken Heart: Mending the World as Jewish Anarchists* (all on AK Press). They're also passionate about organising do-it-ourselves spaces, such as the recent Montreal Anarchist Bookfair and the Institute for Advanced Troublemaking's Anarchist Summer School.

@cindymilstein.

The Deception of Non-Violence

By **Mohamed Abdou**



Radical scholars and activists have long argued that violence is not a monolithic category but possesses distinct forms (symbolic, systemic, objective, subjective, revolutionary, violence that conserves laws, violence that founds laws). Indeed, revolutionary violence must be a component of a grander biodiverse strategy of resistance that recognises how nonviolence aids and abets the modern state. Naive calls for non-violent resistance tend to ignore what Slavoj Žižek refers to as daily violent traumas relating to two fundamental forms of violence, *Subjective* and *Objective*.

Subjective violence is overt and perturbs the normal functioning of the peaceful state; it is a form of “violence perpetrated by an agent to whom the act can be rendered accountable.” In contrast, *objective violence* is invisible and is essential to the natural functioning of a peaceful state; it maintains the normalised apathetic and desensitised status quo. Indeed, Giorgio Agamben distinguishes between “violence that conserves law” (equivalent to the state’s monopoly over legitimate violence) and “violence that founds the law” (the “original” violence necessary to create the state).

...

We ought to reserve the right to self-defence within ethical-political parameters. As Malcolm X said, “it’s a crime for anyone being brutalised to continue to accept that brutality without doing something to defend himself.” As a tactic, violence cannot be romanticised. It is necessary to consider what constitutes “victory” and determine exactly what values and communities one is defending, as well as questions relating to the cost of violence on one’s soul, and the individual and collective responsibility for those engaging in militancy. Victory in militant battle has little to do with the number of peoples with arms, but rather the ability to predict what tactics within a broader strategy of resistance are necessary in a given situation. If taken to an extreme, violence can only result in failure and transform us, in light of our never-abating micro-fascisms, into the same oppressors and colonisers we seek to dethrone. Certainly, the more masses that are out in the streets, the less likely that there will be blood shed during direct violent confrontations with obedient state-police and armed forces. Despite the growing militarisation of police forces and their military-grade body armour, drones, automatic rifles, tanks, planes and helicopters, it is less likely that a uniformed police or military officer will automatically fire when they see their sister, grandmother, daughter, aunt, brother, uncle, son, at the front lines, or simply enroute to a grocery store, a clinic, or a hospital. Such a sight might even perhaps awaken a poor disillusioned police and military officer’s staunchly authoritarian consciousness, particularly if their subjectivity is that of a minority, as in being a person of colour, queer, and/or woman – but that is never a guarantee.

The liberal understandings of nonviolence ignore the manner in which it serves to aid, abet, and protect the nation-state, as demonstrated by the fact that the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and Pentagon-funded organisations now contort and manipulate these ideals, promoting non-violent training to effectively mediate and manage resistance with the explicit goal of quashing and taming rebellion. Undoubtedly, it is these methods and attitudes, propagated by both whites and non-whites alike, that delimit the effectiveness of our strategic and tactical responses to colonialism/imperialism and capitalist-states. We underestimate the dominant order and the forces we confront when “nowadays the way that States rule is by accepting the inevitability of conflict and resistance and trying to manage it permanently.” As Peter Gelderloos notes:

The State and the media train, especially more professionally minded activists within the resistance, to enforce this code of nonviolence so that they never incur that loss of popularity, or that bad press, and this creates a self-policing function, and people who are the sort of politicians of the movement are more susceptible to it because they’re thinking often in terms of their own careers.

...

Somehow defending yourself against police violence or destroying commodities or taking over property, fighting to free prisoners, indigenous people fighting to take over stolen land, things of this nature, somehow has any similarities with governments carpet bombing villages or using landmines or police torturing people or putting someone in prison, that just because by some linguistic coincidence these different things can be described as violence, that somehow there’s not only similarities between them but that they’re the same thing and that one is going to reproduce the other when in fact by fighting back people actually raise the stakes of repression and oppression for the State and actually make real short term differences and have a greater potentiality in ultimately destroying the state and capitalism and helping us create those worlds that we want.

It is for these reasons that I emphasise Anarcha-Islām’s stance regarding the right to self-defence, while maintaining, as highlighted numerous times, that great care ought to be taken to not reduce a strategy to a tactic, such that violence becomes the sole path and agenda.

To claim a purist nonviolent position is to be jaded by delusional fantasies of a post-racial America’s psychosis regarding its weekly recurring horrors and the emotional roil of endemic oppression in travesties of mass shootings, whether in public cinemas, theatres, shopping malls or even schools. It is to be blind to the broader discussions between gun-violence and cisheteropatriarchy, white supremacy, a conjured War on Terror, sexism, toxic masculinity, imperialism/colonialism, and mental health, given the annual hundreds upon hundreds of homicides of prevalently Black and Latinx youth in cities such as Chicago, Illinois, as a consequence of gentrification and poverty-stricken gang-related violence in a fiercely hyper-masculine society that thrives on transnational military escapades and simulated violence in video games.

Nonviolence white-washes police brutality, built on the legacy of slave-catchers, and erases the endless series of murders whether in cases such as Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Florida, or Oscar Grant’s brutal assault in Oakland, California. Indeed, insisting on non-violent stances erases and does injustice to the names and narrative of Sean Bell, John Crawford, Amadou Diallo, Tamir Rice, Eric Garner, Jonathan Ferrell, Kimani Gray, Kendrec McDade, Michael Brown in Ferguson, St. Louis, and Tarika Wilsons’ in Lima, Ohio, as well as countless others who even in death are subjugated to attacks defaming their character in an effort to delegitimise the realities of what their martyrdom stand for.

Here, the message is always clear: think twice before wearing a hoodie. Pull up your trousers. Do not aimlessly commute accompanied by more than two to three consorts. Swallow your pride and shut up when racially profiled and frisked by authorities because they are out there to keep you safe. Maintain and keep your unclutched hands where they can be visibly seen at all times. Do not disturb a non-existent peace, because no agitation and *anarchy* are permitted here! Moreover, if you happen to be a journalist reporting on these “random” incidents, leave your recording equipment behind, but be prepared for enforced emergency curfews and stay tuned to the announcement of your friendly local neighbourhood no-fly zones. Finally, please be okay with the fact that unarmed crowds can be fired upon, by friendly neighbourhood law enforcers and military personnel who signed up to holster their armed weapons. As Greg Howard writes in “America Is Not for Black People”:

If officers are soldiers, it follows that the neighbourhoods they patrol are battlefields. And if they’re working battlefields, it follows that the population is the enemy. And because of correlations rooted in historical injustice, between crime and income, the enemy population will consist largely of people of colour, and especially of black men. Throughout the country, police officers are capturing, imprisoning, and killing black males at a ridiculous clip, waging a very literal war.

Mohamed Abdou is the author of *Islam and Anarchism: Relationships and Resonances* (Pluto, 2022)



ISLAM AND ANARCHISM

Relationships and Resonances

Mohamed Abdou

MV Louise Michel

By Louise Michel Crew

Why is a former navy ship, spray-painted by a British street artist, patrolling the Central Mediterranean with the name of a French feminist and anarchist written on the bow?

Since at least 2015, the Mediterranean became one of the main migration routes towards Europe. With a disturbing increase of people losing their lives during their attempt to cross the sea, actors from civil society decided to no longer accept the unwillingness of European states to rescue people on the move.

Just before, the European Union refused to take part in the funding of the Italian Search and Rescue Operation Mare Nostrum. In just one year, the state-initiated rescue operation was able to save around 150,000 people from unseaworthy boats between Italy and North Africa. Nevertheless, without support from the other European member states, Italy decided to cancel their mission, which immediately led to a massive increase of deaths in the following months.

Within just a few years, several private rescue ships made their way to Europe's southern border. Crewed by activists and seafarers and funded by private donations only, a small fleet of private ships tried to fill in the gap that European authorities had left. Soon, the part civil sea rescue ships took in the rescue of people on the move increased so much that they became a major target of right-wing propaganda and anti-migration conservatives. Matteo Salvini, former Italian Minister of Interior and poster boy of the far right, was one of the most famous faces during these days, spitting out racist propaganda on a daily basis and ranting about sea rescue activists. In the search for any possible connection between sea rescuers and smugglers, he even sent undercover investigators to look for illegal activities – without any success, of course. What followed was just an insane public discreditation and fake news campaign against basically everyone who stood in solidarity with people on the move.

All private rescue ships had to deal with month-long blockages and absurd deficiencies 'found' by authorities during port controls, such as too many life vests and too many rescued people on board. During that time, when the private ship IUVENTA was seized and Sea-Watch 3 was blocked in port as well, one of the captains of the ships got a message. It was from the British street artist Banksy.

The internationally famous artist told her he'd made some money with artworks about migration and wanted to do something to help with the proceeds. So why not buy a ship to support people on the move? A few months later, a small group of activists and sea rescuers started transforming the former French customs vessel Suroît into a fast rescue ship. Spray painted in bright pink (with a fire extinguisher), decorated with Banksy artwork on the bow, the MV Louise Michel set sail towards the central Mediterranean in August 2020.

First Missions

Without any media attention the crew of the Louise Michel set sail in August 2020 towards the central Med for the first time; to avoid any political blockage of the ship the crew kept the story a secret until they reached the search and rescue area. In several operations, the crew of the Louise Michel took part in the rescue of 289 people. Together with the help of our friends from the Sea-Watch 4, over 350 people were able to step foot on dry land in Sicily by the end of August.

After over one year of bureaucratic struggle to get the ship a registration that would allow us to go back at sea, the Louise Michel finally set sail for the second time in December 2021. And, again, we were able to rescue 94 people in two rescue operations and bring them to Lampedusa.

Besides all the people that we were able to rescue from completely unseaworthy boats, it became clear once again that Europe's efforts in the central Med are completely focussed on its disgusting war against migration. Up to 80 people that had been jumping on an oil rig with the Louise Michel in sight were afterwards illegally pushed back by Tunisian warships. And just about a week later the Louise Michel crew witnessed another boat full of people being violently forced back to Libya by an armed vessel that even fired shots during that operation. The EU is funding and training armed groups in Libya to do the dirty work of violence, torture, and murder of people on the move. Instead of supporting the work of private organisations who are standing in solidarity with everyone on the move, the EU is constantly ramping up its racist narrative against non-white people.

Louise Michel

Louise Michel, a French anarchist and feminist was an active part of the resistance of the Paris commune. We named the ship after her because we wanted it to be more than a rescue ship. We wanted it to be a statement. A statement of solidarity and a statement of resistance. A statement against fascism, capitalism and patriarchy. We wanted it to be a symbol, because we deeply believe that the fight around and against Europe's borders is not just a humanitarian but an antifascist one. Fighting against the structures that produce border violence and reproduce racism is the core intention of our work. As Louise Michel herself said:

“Something besides charity is needed in order to provide bread for everyone.”

The fight for equal rights and a good life for everyone must necessarily include the fight against patriarchy. Abuse of power and repression never walk alone and always go hand in hand with other forms of oppression. To work against these toxic power structures, we have to attack the basis of what our society is built on; we have to build the society that we want to live in newly from scratch. We have to fight against all forms of oppression not only on the outside but also within ourselves. We simply must accept that we, as individuals born and raised in a racist and sexist society, need to reflect on our own position within that system.

This is why we try to work with as little hierarchy as possible and why we want to empower LGBTQI people into positions that are normally highly overrepresented by men. We want Louise Michel to be a place where people reflect on their positions and question their part in the system. We want to be a project that is never fixed in its structure but open to self-reflection and change.

If we want to change the world, we must start with ourselves. To quote once again our namesake:

“Do we know that what seems Utopia today might not be reality in the next epoch, or the one after?”

mvlouisemichel.org
[@mvlouisemichel](#) & [@louisemichelcrew](#)



Heatwave

By **Peter Gelderloos**

After weeks of scorching temperatures, the powder keg finally found its spark. One afternoon in July, the blue skies filled with billowing black smoke and swirling ash as a massive wildfire touched off just a short hike from where I live. Within two days, two thousand hectares and close to a hundred homes were burnt, and it was just one of several major fires raging through Spain and Portugal at the same time. Soon, the heat wave would wreak the same kind of destruction in northern Europe and the fires would come to the UK.

Next summer will probably be even worse.

We live amidst an intensifying series of droughts, heat waves, forest fires, floods, food shortages, and other ecological disasters. An important question arises: how do we respond?

Those in power aren't going to save us. They're the ones responsible for the problem, and they're only interested in increasing their power and profits. So, what do we do when there are no real solutions on the horizon and the situation becomes increasingly desperate?

The first, healthiest, most necessary response in the face of desperation and powerlessness is rage. Rage breaks our paralysis and makes us look for answers. Why is the world on fire? The one where I live was probably started by uninsulated power lines. The spark could turn into a fire because of the record-breaking heatwave and the drought that has been going on since last year. Both are features of the ecological crisis, a climate that is heating up because of the fossil fuels and habitat destruction that all economic activity in this society feeds into.

The fire could be so catastrophic because all those burning trees weren't actually part of a forest. In fact, there is very little actual forest in Europe. What we have in abundance are tree plantations. Over here it's white pine, just thirty to fifty years old, growing densely together and with plenty of undergrowth. It might as well be stacks of leaky gas cans.

So economic interests cut the real forests down and replaced them with plantations, and we're forced to live in a society that is dependent on fossil fuels and extractivism (treating forests like timber plantations, treating mountains like mines, treating waterways like sewage systems). Next,

our rage moves us to ask who is responsible for this? The causes would suggest that it's the institutions – corporate, governmental, non-profit, and academic – responsible for fossil fuels, for mining, logging, and large-scale pollution, for destructive infrastructure like those uninsulated power lines. And, by extension, it's the people with decision-making power in those institutions, and those who champion the lifestyles that serve as an alibi for those institutions – namely, rich people.

Those are the people our rage insists need to feel the consequences when our skies fill up with smoke. Sadly, the leaders of banks, governments, and energy companies rarely feel any consequences at all. But incidentally, in the fire near my house, some rich people did.

Since rich people feel like the world belongs to them, they often build their houses in inappropriate places, believing that they are above consequences. In fact, there was an entire subdivision of wealthy people's houses, mostly weekend homes, that were built in the midst of this not-forest that went up in smoke.

Though the houses themselves, built in such an inappropriate place, constituted a fire hazard, their loss does not quite constitute justice: a great deal more forest and farmland was burnt than weekend homes; far more resources went to protecting posh houses than to anything else; those houses were insured so their owners will just buy more unconscionable real estate somewhere else; and the owners, while far wealthier than you or I, are not that far up the capitalist ladder. They're not the people we'd really like to see burnt.

But the very fact that while everyone was grieving the fire and all the devastation caused, a growing chorus of voices celebrated the burning of rich people's houses. We mourn the loss of the forests, the farmland, the animals, the houses – oh, but not that wealthy subdivision.

Far from being petty, this expression of rage is actually a revolutionary shift. For generations, we have been taught to celebrate and emulate rich people, the people most responsible for our suffering and the suffering of the planet. It hasn't even been a question of forgiving

them, because all of their abuses have instantaneously been swept under their lion-skin rug, the one they brought back from safari, and all of society have been employed as their maids, doing the sweeping for them.

Now, as the disaster that has been going on for hundreds of years becomes increasingly impossible to hide, more and more of us are saying: we want them burned out. Rich people are not a part of the human community. They and the society they represent are finished.

So, we can see how important rage is for getting off the couch, and also for impelling a revolutionary change in values across society. But rage itself is not enough. Revenge alone cannot build a new society. It can open the door to healing, but it will not heal us.

Likewise, healthy forests will not spring back into being all on their own, the earth will not feed us in abundance as industrial agriculture is locked into diminishing returns on every continent, and cities will not become places designed for life, rather than for real estate speculation. Not unless we do something about it.

A real forest is a self-sustaining ecosystem, and almost anywhere you go on a planet, humans are historically a part of the ecosystem, which means for the ecosystem to be healthy, we need to be fulfilling our role within it. We could perhaps define capitalism as the socioeconomic system that most stridently prevents us from acting as a healthy part of our ecosystems.

There are no short cuts to this work. In fact, at least one of the forest fires in Spain was caused by a company that markets itself as eco-friendly, “restoring” forests using heavy machinery. Addressing these interconnected problems requires us to change our relationship to our survival on a society-wide level. The economy can no longer hold our survival hostage, forcing us to work in order to buy back a little of what we produce.

When we realise that our survival is dependent both on destroying capitalism and restoring our ecosystem, new possibilities appear. Where I live, there are no end of initiatives to restore the forest, though the most transformative ones don't get any attention. These include planting native species of trees like the



holly oak, which also happen to be more fire resistant and provide abundant food sources to other animals; recovering small- and medium-sized olive and almond orchards that have been abandoned as capitalist production is only able to make use of harvests on a massive scale; and rescuing traditional pastoralism from the horrors of industrial meat production, bringing back the free herds of sheep and goat that have kept the forests here healthy for thousands of years.

These different initiatives bring us into conflict with the industrial agriculture, land privatisation, and capitalist megaprojects that are destroying the planet. They reduce catastrophic forest fires and restore real forests, encouraging the rebound of an important ecosystem that provides habitat to other species and that can draw large amounts of carbon out of the atmosphere. And they increase our direct access to food, independent of the vagaries of a “free market” that always punishes poor people – food that is produced in a way that helps our ecosystem heal rather than producing more pollution and suffering.

These initiatives don't work with the flick of a button or some new technology. In fact, they will require a huge amount of effort and participation to make a difference on a planetary scale. But that is a drawback that is in fact an advantage. All of us are going to have to worry about our survival in the coming years, if we aren't already. We might as well do it in a liberatory way.

The need to realise that we are a part of our ecosystems can also help us break the urban/rural divide that has been an important organising tool of capitalism. Without cars, cities can become healthy habitats where a significant amount of food is grown. People everywhere are sowing the revolutionary idea that cities belong to those who live in them by fighting against evictions, preparing the ground for rent strikes, and turning rooftops and vacant lots into gardens.

Here in Spain, many rural projects cultivate relationships with groups in the city, so a few times a year, for harvests and other labour-intensive moments, dozens of friends and volunteers can come out to help, breaking the isolation characteristic of rural areas, the alienation of urban areas, and providing an important exchange that brings us all closer to food autonomy.

The world is burning, and it's going to get worse. It may or may not get better, that's up to us. Feeling the rage that we should feel in the face of what's going on can remind us that we're still alive, for now. It can remind us that there are people and institutions responsible for what's going on. And it can remind us that we could live in a completely different way. Everything we need for our survival and happiness is all around us. The secret is to begin.

Peter Gelderloos is the author of numerous books, including *How Non-Violence Protects the State* (South End Press, 2007), *Anarchy Works* (Ardent Press, 2010), and *The Solutions are Already Here* (Pluto, 2022).



ALWAYS

AWAIT

FASCIST

161



The Bar Is in Hell

By Emil Lombardo



Do you remember your childhood role models? When was the first time you saw someone like you on a magazine or the television? I was born in 1981, in Argentina, to a low-income family and grew up in the suburbs of Buenos Aires. When I was young, the television, with its four national channels, was our only window to the world.

Television in Argentina during the 80s/90s was the most sexist, homophobic, and racist. The standard afternoon gossip TV programme was hosted by a sexist cishet dude surrounded by almost naked women that he would objectify during the show. The LGBT representation in the media I had growing up was awful. It was something that no one wanted to talk about, there were a few gay and lesbian personalities in Argentina, but the omerta around their private life was so strong it was asphyxiating. Occasionally, a video clip of the band Queen would play on the TV, and my dad would say "ese es maricon," referring to Freddie Mercury.

Sometimes they would bring a trans woman onto the show; she would be mocked and asked intrusive questions, and the ratings would spike. One day, when I was 15, I saw a trans man on a TV programme. I still remember his face, clear eyes and beautiful beard, but above all, I remember the intrusive questions about his genitals and sex life. His otherness was the only thing the TV presenters wanted to know about him. As you might expect, that representation didn't help me. I grew up thinking exactly what the media wanted me to think about trans people: that we are mentally ill and freaks and don't exist.

It wasn't until my late 20s that I started deconstructing all those beliefs, and I could come out very slowly and live my authentic self. When I was asked to write this article about trans liberation, I hesitated, because, as a photographer, I'm better at saying things with images. But I accepted because I remembered this trans man I saw on television when I was 15. Maybe writing this article could act as reparation to my younger self.

When thinking about trans liberation, the first things that come to my mind are visibility and representation. What we don't show and talk about doesn't exist, and what doesn't exist is marginalised. But is all representation beneficial?

The 2020 Netflix documentary Disclosure, produced by Laverne Cox, traces the history of trans representation in Hollywood. From Hitchcock's obsession with serial killer men who dress like women to childhood movies like Ace Ventura, which ends with an extended scene of Jim Carrey vomiting after kissing a trans woman, to the countless TV shows where trans women are only hired to play sex worker roles, and of course, LGBT shows like The L Word with the problematic character of Max, who is a sweet tomboy lesbian who becomes a violent and confused

trans man after starting to take testosterone. This eye-opening documentary shows the terrible effects of trans representation in the media and how this shaped the stereotypes and transphobia most people have today.

Luckily, progress has been made, and today we have better representation and visibility in our community; however, as much as we can celebrate stars like Elliot Page on the cover of major magazines and TV shows like Pose, the truth is that our presence in the media remains just a political debate.

As Shon Faye writes in her book The Transgender Issue, whenever the media talks about trans people, it is always about the issues that cis people have with us. It is always about how our lives bother cis people. The media only care about whether we have the right to use public toilets or belong in sports competitions. Still, they never talk about the fact that trans women's life expectancy is 35 years old because transphobic murders disproportionately target them. The newspapers never mention that trans people have a higher rate of suicide within the LGBTQ+ community because of the transphobia in our society. While the media debate our existence, trans youth are taking their own life because they believe living as a trans person in this world is not worth living.

Politics for the oppressor is always a subject of debate, but for the oppressed it is a life-or-death issue.

In recent years, we are seeing progress in trans rights, especially since The World Health Organisation removed "gender identity disorder" from its global manual of diagnoses in 2019. Many countries passed bills protecting trans people (including Argentina, which now has one of the most progressive trans legislations in the world). But even if some laws have changed in our favour, the mentalities of cis people don't follow the same path.

There is still an outrageous amount of trans hate in our society, including within the LGBTQ+ community (in particular, the LGB part of the community) and other oppressed minorities like women and people of colour. The main reason for this disproportional hate toward trans people is that the more progressive an idea is, the more resistance it will face. We encounter so much resistance because we propose a form of freedom that is frightening for the system.

Historically, sexuality and gender were used to control people, from the control over reproductive bodies to the imposition of heteronormativity to standardise the nuclear family and the oppression of dissident identities. Trans liberation dismantles the binary

system, which will lead to the end of the patriarchy and, by the same token, the end of capitalism.

Because gender is about power – who has the power and who hasn't – patriarchy invested much time and money to create a system that only benefits men. This is what TERFs fail to understand: trans liberation means freedom for everyone, including cis women.

If we want mentalities to change, we need more representation, but we need the right kind. Nowadays, we see more trans people in magazines, TV shows and movies; however, almost all these stories are created by cis people. As much as I celebrate Elliot Page being on the cover of Time Magazine or Emma Corrin being the first non-binary person on the cover of Vogue, I want to know why the photographers who took those pictures aren't trans. Why don't those magazines hire trans and non-binary make-up artists, stylists, and photographers to shoot a cover featuring a trans person? And why is it again a cis man telling trans stories? Until we see trans people involved in the creative process and being the ones telling their stories, these mainstream media stories will remain just another Pride marketing campaign.

A better representation should show the magnificent spectrum of our identities and should move away from the cis gaze, which often only highlights our differences. We need more TV shows like Pose or Veneno, which did the work of including trans people in all stages of the creative process. We need trans people in charge of telling their stories.

Until we have achieved that, we are just celebrating the bare minimum as if it was an unprecedented achievement. That is not liberation; that is setting the bar low. If we celebrate that we have some rights – that we are not killed and that some of us appear in magazines – it means the bar is in hell.

Emil Lombardo is an Argentinian photographer working between London, Buenos Aires and Paris.

elombardo.co.uk

The Conquest of Bread

By Catherine Vulliamy

“Bread, it is bread that the Revolution needs!”

I was still a teenager – some 30 years ago – when I first read Kropotkin. As a teenager in a northern city in Thatcher’s Britain, I was excited and inspired by Kropotkin’s call for the right to well-being for all and his description of mutual aid. At once practical and utopian, the demand for well-being for everyone felt like a clarion call while the dole queues grew and the working class of my generation watched their hopes of a ‘better life’ crumble to dust amid job losses, the decline of manufacturing and decimation of communities, the cult of individualism and a growing gulf between those who had and those who didn’t.

My first experience of paid work (if £17.50 a week can really be called paid work!) was on a Youth Training Scheme placement with a tiny worker’s cooperative theatre in education project. There, to my surprise as a 16 year old trainee, I was welcomed as an equal, and my ideas and contributions to the collective work were valued and respected just as much as any other member of the collective. I loved working there, despite the pittance of a training allowance, and threw myself into work with genuine pleasure. That first experience of work gave me a model of cooperation, non-hierarchical organisation, mutuality and respect that I never really experienced again in a workplace. Between that placement, and my reading and re-reading Kropotkin, I found a space of small hope in what could feel an increasingly bleak world; a model of a different kind of world that was only waiting for us to fully imagine and create it.

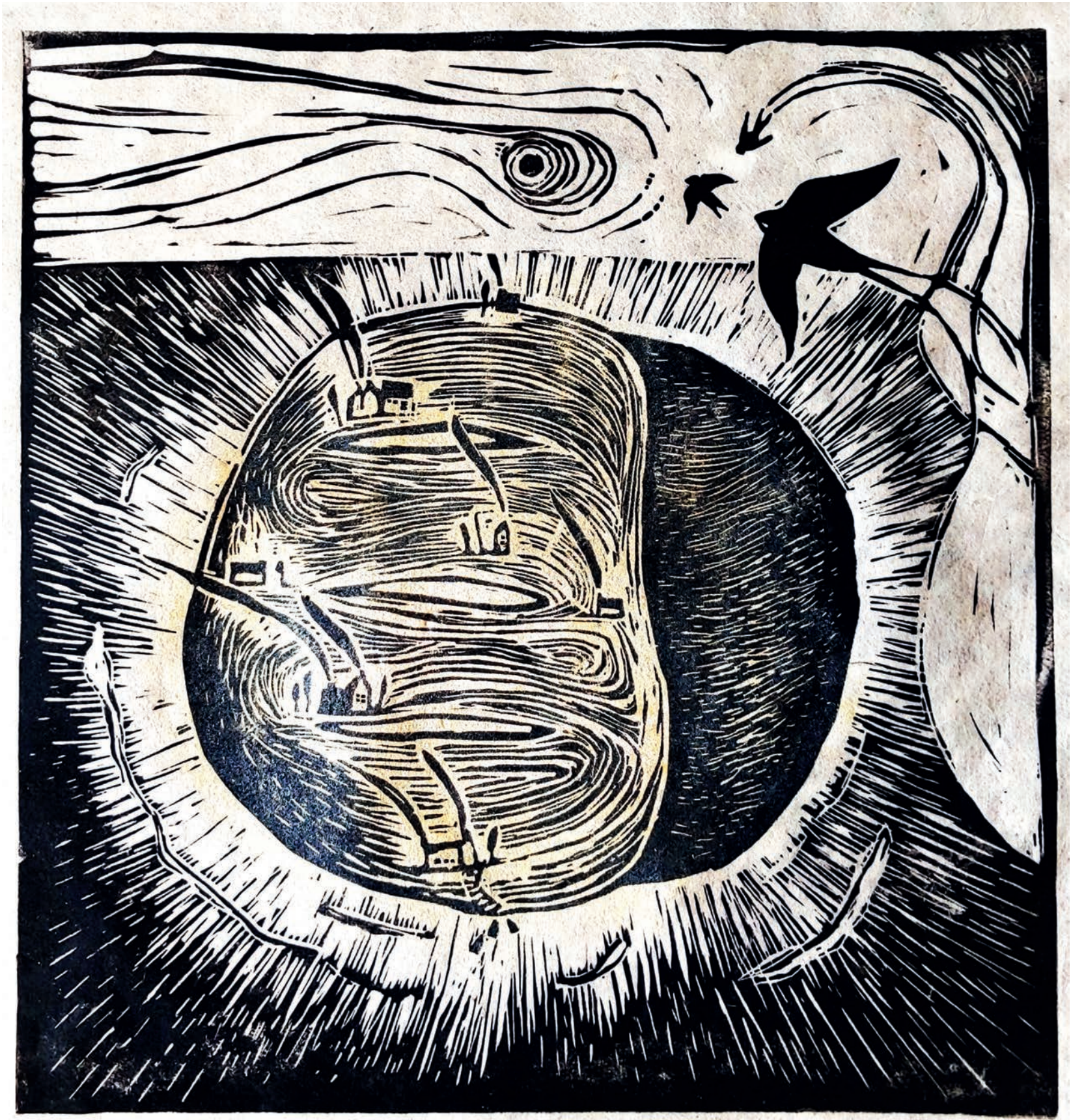
Skippping ahead to my mid-forties, I found myself newly redundant with a fairly paltry 3-week salary pay-off as a single parent of two boys and no idea what to do with myself to keep us all afloat. I knew that I wasn’t very good at being employed, and that I had retained a whole heap of antagonistic feelings against ‘The System,’ along with the accompanying difficulties in conforming to its expectations. Having also recognised the ways in which I had been driven half-mad by stress and anxiety in my newly departed job, I was at a bit of a loss about what to do, though I knew in a slightly desperate kind of way that I needed to find some new way to make work work for me. It was coming up to Christmas 2019, I was

tired, worried and feeling defeated. In an attempt to get out of my head and into my body a bit, I’d been baking sourdough bread for my family, and enjoying it, and after some encouragement from friends, decided slightly impulsively to start a home-based micro-bakery. Calling it The Conquest of Bread seemed only logical.

From the very beginning, solidarity and mutual aid were built-in and central to what I’m trying to do with the bakery. I don’t see any point in running a bakery if I don’t share what I make, following Kropotkin’s insistence that “there is bread enough for all.” So those who can, pay extra to donate ‘Solidarity Bread’ and, whether it’s paid for or not, I give bread to anyone who wants it, either directly or via a weekly donation of bread, buns, focaccia or anything else I’ve been making to my local trades council run Unity Shop – a solidarity food project sharing food and solidarity (and a strong anti-fascist message) with anyone who needs it. The language of solidarity and mutual aid is really important to me – part of why it was easy to partner with Hull Unity Shop, who are also really purposefully steering away from the language of charity, recognising the ways that such language can serve to shame and alienate the very people it hopes to build connections with.

Sometimes people prefer to offer a swap rather than accept a free loaf – I’ve swapped bread for allotment produce, home-made foraged syrups, out of date flour, herbs, flowers, a child’s drawing. Sometimes people will buy half a loaf or pay whatever they can afford. The point is that there is enough to share when we are all committed to sharing. And that the bread I make is good quality, nutritious food and is way more sustaining for hungry bellies than supermarket fluff.

I remain a low earner, but I get by and get a lot of genuine pleasure from what I do, and most importantly for me, I am not selling my soul – or my well-being – to a boss. I have recently moved the bakery out of my home and into a small unit managed by a local community regeneration organisation, Giroscope, with whom I share a lot of values. They have also been able to offer me a lot of support, encouragement and mentorship that really understands and supports my values and approach – which feels like a huge bonus in a world



that seems obsessed with growth and profits for their own sake. There is no disconnect between who I am and how I work, and I’m in the privileged position to be able to place my values and politics front and centre in what I do and how I do it.

It’s by no means perfect, and of course there are still all kinds of ways in which I remain tied to the twin cults of capitalism and work. I go back time and again to Kropotkin and other anarchist thinkers, looking for ways to refine what I do, and how I do it, in ways that might generate more of the kind of world I want to inhabit: more solidarity; more mutual aid; more cooperation; more well-being. I am in a position now where I can find a co-worker and, clearly, I have no interest in being anybody’s boss, so the next step will be to look at reconstituting the Conquest of Bread as a workers’ cooperative.

I haven’t changed the world in any of the ways my youthful self might have hoped or imagined, but I have come to realise that Utopia is not a destination, but a journey or process that is constantly evolving; as José Esteban Muñoz wrote, Utopia is always the horizon, the not-yet-here (and no less tantalising or meaningful for that). I am always touched and excited by the ways that people around me have found inspiration in my approach, even across significant political and social differences. People’s recognition of the value of cooperation and sharing keeps me hoping with the kind of fierceness that I think keeps hope a living, practical, driving force rather than a toothless, cruel optimism.

So now, nearly three years after my redundancy and impulsive establishment of the bakery, there is a small but growing community around me who are working together trying to remake our little corner of the world into a place where there is a bit more well-being for all of us through making a right to bread. I don’t suppose I’ve ever worked harder than I do now, but not since that Youth Training Scheme placement have I felt I was working in a way that could actually mean something, and be a pleasure.

Catherine Vulliamy is a baker and founder of Conquest of Bread, a Hull micro-bakery producing small batches of handmade, slow-fermented sourdough bread.

@CHullbakery

White Torture

By Hypocritically Correct

In Italy, as in all states, there is a system of deprivation of liberty designed to punish those who commit crimes according to bourgeois morals and norms. Although the Constitution of the Republic states that the deprivation of liberty should aim at the re-education and re-integration of the prisoner, in Italy the prison system actually administers forms of torture. A so-called ‘white’ form of torture – a psychological technique based on sensory deprivation and isolation – aimed at crushing the resistance of those who, even behind bars, show that they do not want to stop fighting.

This is manifest in various ways: overcrowding of prisons; the condition of the cells, particularly those of less than 3m²; the presence of toilets in the cells; the lack of air conditioning in the rooms. Hot water is not even available. A real hell, with a very high suicide rate. It is around 10.6 suicides per ten thousand inhabitants, compared to a suicide rate in the free world of 0.67 cases per ten thousand people. Mothers with children born during incarceration are often kept inside the prison so as not to "interrupt the relationship between mother and child." In the case of transgender inmates, no accommodations are made at all.

Within the framework of a real hell, created and managed for punitive purposes or to alienate – hide from bourgeois society the last, the sinners, the mentally ill – there are then specificities that are exclusively Italian. Pre-trial detention pending trial. A person accused of some crime may be deprived of freedom, because the prosecutor fears that he may repeat the crimes or escape. There are cases of people imprisoned before process for two or three years – by way of compensation, if convicted, those years are deducted from the sentence.

The never-ending sentence: life imprisonment with no possibility of getting out of one’s circle of hell. In Italy referred to as ‘ergastolo ostativo’. Condemnation reserved for mafiosi, for "terrorism" and for murder, to those who do not show signs of repentance during the trial, or do not denounce their accomplices. In short, state blackmailing – in a gangster style – toward those who do not recognise its legitimacy. Logic on which many of the rules present in prison hell are based.

The last Italian anomalous element is the so-called 41 bis. It originated in Italy as the state’s vindictive and cruel response to the assassination attempts on Falcone and Borsellino in 1992. It was initially a provisional measure, reconfirmed in 2001, and since 2009 fully integrated into the Italian punitive system. The 41 bis is in simple terms the prison within the prison. The purpose of this prison system is the severing of all ties with the outside world of the prisoner, particularly with mafia, "subversive," and terrorist organisations. As an example, the prisoner has only one interview per month, videotaped and listened to in a separate room with his visitors; two hours maximum for air, every four days, in groups of 4 people; no possibility of sending or receiving mail, books and magazines; and exclusion from any activity within the prison. The prisoner must reflect for four years, if he is lucky, on the causes that led him to such a condition and repent, naming names. There are now several cases of individuals who have died in their cells literally insane, without care. Such as the recent case of a young Camorrist who died, according to the media, of Inedia – the belief that one can survive without food or water – in his cell.

What has been written so far serves to briefly describe to the reader the horrible conditions in prisons and the barbaric Italian laws that, very recently, have struck down for the first time a fellow anarchist. A member of the Informal Anarchist Federation Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, who is guilty of wanting to communicate with outside organisations. This is Alfredo Cospito, accused and convicted of “gambizzare” (shooting in the leg or kneecapping) against an Ansaldo (an Italian electricity company) executive. In 2012, he was arrested and convicted indefinitely in the trial called Scripta Manent. Other comrades and companions suffered very heavy sentences because it was considered an act of terrorism and attempted murder to have set fires at a Carabinieri barracks in the province of Cuneo.

It is disconcerting how in Italy so many struggles, against capital and the state, are punished harshly. Like the very recent case of Juan Sorroch. On July 9th of this year, the Treviso court found Juan

responsible for an explosive attack on the Lega Nord headquarters in August 2018, sentencing him in the first instance to 28 years in prison. Twenty-eight years! Juan is already serving a four-year sentence in prison for the Magdalena riots (2011) in the Susa Valley.

What is striking is the desire to punish, block and silence a comrade who in various forms during these years of imprisonment has shown a determination to want to communicate with outside reality. The state wants to attribute to him the responsibility for organisation, consider him the head of a political movement they define "terrorist"; in doing so they demonstrate total ignorance of non-hierarchical anarchist practices.

But above all, it is striking how for the umpteenth time the extreme violence of prison is used as a tool to bend the will of those who do not accept the conditions imposed by a criminal society; for the umpteenth time it is shown how the instrument of such violence is the Public Prosecutor’s Office, which sees as the main enemy to be put down anarchist comrades and companions and which does not skimp on instruments of torture such as 41 bis to achieve its goals.

To this end, it is important to find every way and practice to remind the state of its daily failure to wall up these comrades and all the prisoners it holds. It is necessary to remember that state imprisonment must be torn down, erased from human history and forgotten in the darkness of historical memory, along with this bourgeois society, which uses it as a tool to erase and hide those who rebel against it.

Against 41-bis!

Fire to the jails!

Destroy the cages!

For the total liberation of the existing!

For Anarchy!



If you want to write to the prisoners, you can do so at the following addresses:

Anna Beniamino
C.C. di Roma Rebibbia femminile
via Bartolo Longo 92
00156
Roma
Italy

Alfredo Cospito
C.C. di Sassari i “Giovanni Bacchiddu”
strada provinciale 56 n. 4
Località Bancali
07100
Sassari
Italy

Juan Antonio Sorroche Fernand
C.C. di Terni
Strada delle Campore 32
05100
Terni
Italy

BOOKFAIRS

Bradford Anarchist Bookfair
1in12.com

Bristol Radical History Festival
brh.org.uk

Cardiff Anarchist Bookfair
southwalesanarchists.wordpress.com

Derry Radical Bookfair
derryradicalbookfair.wordpress.com/

Dorset Radical Bookfair
dorsetbookfair.wordpress.com

Edinburgh Anarchist Feminist Bookfair
edinburghafb.bigcartel.com

Liverpool Anarchist Bookfair
liverpoolanarchistbookfair.org.uk

London Anarchist Bookfair
anarchistbookfair.london

London Radical Bookfair
londonradicalbookfair.wordpress.com

Manchester Anarchist Bookfair
bookfair.org.uk

Newcastle Ewan Brown Anarchist Bookfair
newcastlebookfair.org.uk

Nottingham Radical Bookfair
goo.gl/TYDqGu

Peterborough Radical Bookfair
rb.gy/elik3q

Red and Black Clydeside Bookfair
redandblackclydeside.wordpress.com

INTERNATIONAL BOOKFAIRS

Amsterdam Anarchist Bookfair
agamsterdam.org

Balkan Anarchist Bookfair
bask2018.noblogs.org

Bern Anarchist Bookfair
buechermesse.ch

Dublin Anarchist Bookfair
wsm.ie/bookfair

Los Angeles Anarchist Bookfair
anarchistbookfair.com

Malmö Anarchist Bookfair
anarchistbookfairmalmo.se

Manheim Anarchist Bookfair
buchmessemannheim.blogspot.eu

Melbourne Anarchist Bookfair
amelbournebookfair.org

Montreal Anarchist Bookfair
anarchistbookfair.ca

Milan Anarchist Bookfair
federazione-anarchica-milanese-fai.noblogs.org

New York Anarchist Bookfair
anarchistbookfair.net

Prague Anarchist Bookfair
anarchistbookfair.cz

Sao Paulo Anarchist Bookfair
feiranarquistasp.wordpress.com

Stockholm Anarchist Bookfair
anarchistbookfair.se

Warsaw Independent Bookfair
warsawbookfair.esy.es

Zagreb Anarchist Bookfair
ask-zagreb.org/engleski.htm

BOOKSHOPS

Five Leaves Bookshop, London, NG1 2DH,
fiveleavesbookshop.co.uk

Freedom, London, E17QX
freedompress.org.uk

Housmans Bookshop, London, N1 9DX,
housmans.com

Lighthouse Books, Edinburgh, EH8 9DB,
lighthousebookshop.com

News From Nowhere, Liverpool, L1 4HY,
newsfromnowhere.org.uk

October Books, 189 Portwood Rd, Southampton,
SO17 2NF octoberbooks.org

People's Republic of Stokes Croft, Bristol, BS2 8JT,
prsc.org.uk

INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHOPS

Distribuidora Rojinegro, Bogota, Colombia
Carrera 19 #43-25 Teusaquillo
distribuidorarojinegro.blogspot.com.co

Ernst Kirchweiger Haus,
Wielandgasse 2-4, A-1100 ,Wien,Vienna,
ekhaus@med-user.net

Hausmania,
Hausmann BA, Hausmannsgt. 34, 0182, Oslo,
hausmania.org

Het Fort van Sjakoo Bookstore,
Jodenbreestraat 24 1011 NK, Amsterdam,
sjakoo.nl

Kafé 44, Tjarnhovsgatan 46, Stockholm 11628,
kafe44.org

Klinika Squat Centre, Prague,
en.squat.net

Leoncavallo, Via Watteau 7, 20125, Milano,
leoncavallo.org

Majkällaren, Spånehusvägen 62A, Malmö, Sweden.

Red Emma's, 800 St. Paul St., Baltimore, MD 21202,
redemmas.org

La Rosa De Foc, Calle de Joaquín Costa, 34, 08001,
Barcelona, Cataluña
facebook.com/libreriarosadefoc

Sale Infoshop, Orebítská 14, Prague 3-Žižkov,13000,
sale.451.cz

Schwarze Risse in Kreuzberg Gneisenaustr.,
2a 10961 Berlin,
schwarzerisse.de

Sto Citas, Radical Bookshop, Gundulićeva 11,
Zagreb,Croatia,
stocitas.org

PUBLISHERS/DISTROS

Active Distro
activedistribution.org

AK Press USA & UK
akpress.org / akuk.com

Crimethinc
crimethinc.com

Detritus
detritusbooks.com

Dog Section Press
dogsection.org

Freedom Press
freedompress.org.uk

Pluto Press
plutobooks.com

PM Press USA & UK
pmpress.org / pmpress.org.uk

Stinney Distro
stinneydistro.wordpress.com

SOCIAL CENTRES /RESOURCES

1 in 12 Club, BD1 2LY, West Yorkshire
1in12.com

56A Infoshop, SE17 3AE, London,
56a.org.uk

Ace, Edinburgh EH7 5HA , Scotland
autonomous.org.uk

BASE, Bristol, BS5 6JY
network23.org/kebele2/

Black Cat Cafe, Hackney, London, E5 8HB,
blackcatcafe.co.uk

Blackcurrent Centre Northampton, NN1 4JQ,
blackcurrentcentre.org.uk

Cowley Club, Brighton, BN1 4JA, cowleyclub.org.uk

Decentre, Freedom Building, London, E17QX,

Glasgow Autonomous Space, Glasgow, G5 8JD,
glasgowautonomous.weebly.com

Mayday Rooms, London, EC4Y 1DH,
maydayrooms.org

Liverpool Social Centre , Liverpool, L1 4HY
liverpoolsocialcentre.org/

London Action Resource Centre, London, E11ES,
londonarc.org

Star and Shadow Cinema, Newcastle upon Tyne
NE2 1BB

The Field, New Cross,London, SE14 5HD

SUMAC Centre, Nottingham, NG76HX,
veggies.org.uk

Oxford Action Resource Centre Oxford, OX4 1DD
theoarc.org.uk/

Partisan, Manchester, M4 4FY,
partisancollective.net

Wharf Chambers, Leeds, LS2 7EQ,
wharfchambers.org

Warzone, County Antrim, BT2 7JHN, Ireland.
warzonecollective.com

INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL CENTRES

Mustan Kanin Kolo, Helsinki, Finland,
mustankaninkolo.info

FESTIVALS

Crack Festival
crack.forteprenestino.net

Green Gathering
greengathering.org.uk

Tolpuddle Martyrs Festival
tolpuddlemartyrs.org.uk

Earth First
earthfirst.uk

▲ FOR CL ASSIFIEDS: Add/Update your link
dogsection.org/contact



Join the Left Book Club

The best radical books

Beautiful unique editions

Affordable subscriptions
from just £5.99/month

Great discounts on a
massive range of books

Fabulous author events
free to all members

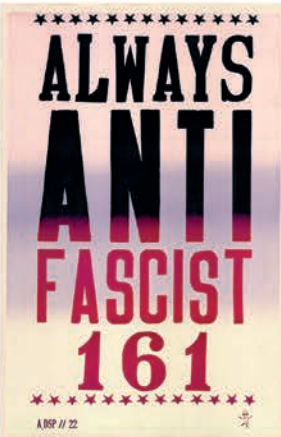
Free UK postage

We are the only
not-for-profit
subscription book club.
Join us and help
support political
education.

Subscribe or give a gift:
www.leftbookclub.com



La Linterna x Dog Section Press



@lalinternacali
lalinternacali.com

La Linterna (The Lantern) is a letterpress printing workshop based in Cali, Colombia, which was established in 1934.

It is dedicated to artisan printing of posters using linoleum engraving and the use of movable types. Each poster is an authentic work of art that represents the craft of printing and handcrafter engraving.

Their workshop in the San Antonio neighbourhood of Cali, Colombia is home to several classic printing machines, including the Heidelberg typographical printing press (Germany, manufactured between 1923 and 1985), Marinoni typographical press (Paris, 1870), Babcock Letterpress (New York, 1890) and the AB Dick Printer (US, Manufactured between 1960-1986).

In 2016, the workshop was facing financial crisis. When the bosses at La Linterna stopped paying their employees, the workers occupied. Ultimately, they got rid of their bosses altogether, and now run the presses themselves.

La Linterna printed this poster range in collaboration with Dog Section Press. They are produced in the tradition of radical street propaganda, to be displayed in public spaces; their messages are as important today as ever.



AVAILABLE
LIMITED EDITION 2022 dogsection.bigcartel.com

HELP US TO PRINT MORE

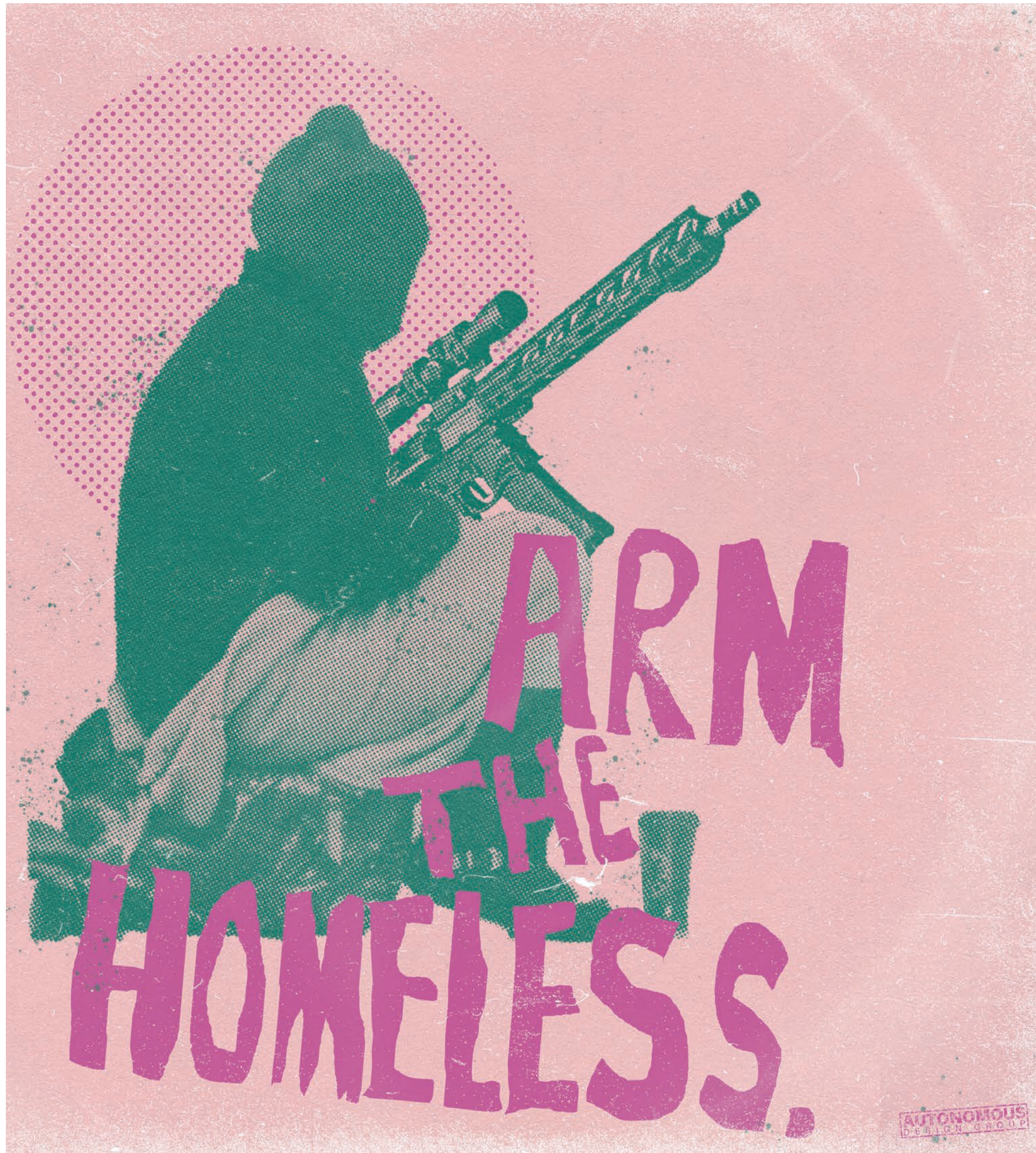
DOPE MAGAZINE

SOLIDARITY NOT CHARITY

WE PRINT
35,000 COPIES
WORTH OVER **£100,000** PER ISSUE
TO OUR VENDORS



BECOME A PATREON
BUY A SUBSCRIPTION
OR SUPPORT A VENDOR





SOLIDARITY NOT CHARITY



UNTIL ALL HAVE
— HOMES —
AND NONE LIVE IN
— CAGES —

