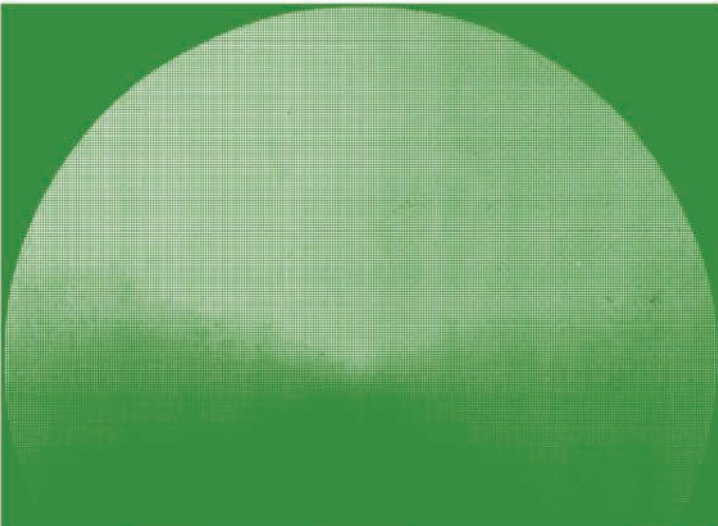


WE ARE AN



IMAGE



FROM THE



FUTURE!



CAPITALISM

8 men own the same wealth as the poorest half of humanity (3.5 billion people).

Meanwhile, 735 million people are in a state of chronic hunger, and 2.4 billion face moderate to severe food insecurity, lacking access to adequate nourishment- though sufficient food is currently produced to feed 150% of the world's population.

Millions die each year due to lack of clean water, hunger and curable diseases. This is not even counting the billions of people whose lives are cut short by the effects of living a stressful existence as they scramble to survive.

WORK TIME

100 years ago, most jobs were necessary to meet people's needs. But now, this is not the case. The COVID-19 pandemic indicates the amount of required labour- just 33% of the total workforce in the UK were considered 'key workers.' In their overview of the UK, Angry Workers estimates that 20% of the adult population in the UK works in socially useful jobs, with the other 80% working in unproductive "bullshit" jobs.

However, unemployment should not be a problem. Let's imagine we had an economy where we de-commodified the necessities of life: housing, food, clothing, education, healthcare, and transport could all be made free at the point of use (an irreducible minimum). We could share this labour and drastically reduce the workweek for everyone to around 15 hours per week.

ECOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES

The capitalist economy must grow by around 3% a year. Otherwise, there is an economic crisis. This means we must all be working at maximum capacity, even if that work shouldn't be happening. At this growth rate, economic activity doubles in size approximately every 23 years, resulting in a 20-fold increase over 101 years. But we cannot have infinite growth on a finite planet- we are driving our species to extinction by undermining the ecological support systems for organised human life, all for an economic system that only benefits the super-rich.

But whilst the next decades will be defined by ever-increasing crisis, and it seems impossible to imagine or even contemplate how things could be different ("it's easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism"), multiple

practices and examples throughout history show that it is possible to radically transform our economic system. Capitalism is not inevitable; rather, through the construction of popular power, we can build a world based on radical reductions in working hours, ecological stewardship, and decision-making through neighbourhood assemblies and workers' councils.

PARIS COMMUNE 1871

Workers and ordinary citizens of Paris seized control of their city, running it democratically and striving for a society based on equality without capitalist exploitation, landlords, or the old state apparatus.

SPANISH REVOLUTION 1936-1937

Where millions of workers and peasants took control of their workplaces and neighbourhoods and ran society democratically without bosses or the state

THE ZAPATISTAS 1994-PRESENT

Indigenous communities in Chiapas, Mexico, rose up, took control of their lands, and built autonomous regions governed by collective decision-making and a commitment to social justice, rejecting neoliberalism and state control.

THE AUTONOMOUS ADMINISTRATION OF NORTH AND EAST SYRIA 2012-PRESENT

Where people have established a revolutionary experiment in radical democracy, emphasising gender equality, communal ownership, and local autonomy.

LANDLESS WORKERS' MOVEMENT 1984-PRESENT

Landless peasants in Brazil occupy vast estates of unused land, forming collective farms and self-governed communities. They demand land reform and seek a society without exploitation by landlords or corporations.

ABAHLELI BASEM JONDOLO 2005-PRESENT

Dwellers in slums in South Africa organised and fought for dignity, housing rights, and direct democracy in their communities, resisting evictions and advocating for a world without economic and political oppression.



THE ULTIMATE,
HIDDEN TRUTH OF THE
WORLD IS THAT IT
IS SOMETHING THAT
WE MAKE, AND COULD
JUST AS EASILY MAKE
DIFFERENTLY

**DOPE Magazine is published in solidarity
until everyone has a home and nobody lives in a cage.**

dopemag.org

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Your £3 a month becomes £90 per issue for our vendors selling it on the street.

Homelessness is a political choice. We have the resources to take care of everyone in our society. Everything for everyone.



SOLIDARITY ECONOMY
ASSOCIATION

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You are giving away posters as part of this exhibition, making your art accessible to a broader audience. Can you help me understand this mass dissemination approach instead of just having your stuff in galleries?

I've always believed in galleries. It's one of the only places where people can spend time; it's quiet, and people can actually study stuff. But also, right from the start, I wanted to get work out onto the street in different ways and make it accessible. The first thing I did was in 1970, when four students at Kent State University in Ohio, USA, were shot dead by the National Guard, demonstrating against the Vietnam War. And I did an image about that, then went out with fellow students and fly-posted it. It was a Dyeline print- a red print, and in the rain, it bleeds, and in the end, was blank, so it had a sort of process. So, getting the work out there, for me, is as important as doing the work in as many ways as possible: badges, t-shirts, posters. I mean doing the newspaper for this exhibition, it was terrific to get some funding for that because it means that people can get for free ten full-sized prints basically. So, I put an edition of 15,000 on top of it because you usually have an edition of 30, you know. So, I wanted to make it clear that this was a mass edition, and people could take it away.

How do you see yourself relating to the wider art world? Your work is very critical, so how do you prevent yourself from being swallowed by the machine it's critiquing?

The machine it's critiquing doesn't really want political work, or at least hasn't in the past, in the sense of commercial work. Not much of my stuff sells. I've just retired, but I was teaching for about 40 years, and that's how I supported doing the work I do. It gave me the freedom to make noncommercial work because people don't want that sort of heavy imagery on their walls, let alone the message it's giving about war. There are many art worlds. The ones we hear about all the time are the blue-chip galleries, which have about 100 artists whose work goes to auction and makes millions, and people think that's the art world. But that's not the art world; that's one art world that gets all the publicity because it's about profit, and our society is based on endless fucking profit. I mean, I consider DOPE Magazine an artwork myself; it's free for people. Especially now, given it's so difficult for young artists, there are a lot more people working in groups, working communally, sharing spaces, and sharing their work. So, theirs a multiplicity of means. I've been doing this work for 50 years, and it's been on the edges of things, but the reason now it's showing at Whitechapel is because of the world we're living in. And people actually do want to see work that is about all the horrors that are going on, about the financial world, being anti-nuclear weapons, and all these things. People actually do want to see these things in galleries. In a sense, it was almost banned



before, but now it's coming through.

So it was a conscious choice to do teaching and then the art on the side so you didn't have to compromise?

Yeah. But I do believe in teaching, I see it as a part of my art practice as well. It's also obviously given me a living being a part-time teacher but working with students is a really important part of what one can do. Especially in certain articles which do tend to individualise people, there is still the idea that you sit in a room and get divine inspiration, and it's not really about the world. I've always considered my work to be about what's going on in the world, so I liked showing that way of working to students. I don't push it, it depends on what they want to do, but I do think teaching is important.

Do you feel positive about the future?

Well, I think the future doesn't look that bright at the moment, but I think students are seeing through all the lies of capital and imperialism. I think the demonstrations and tented cities in front of universities for Palestine have been amazing in this country and in the States. It's been smashed up physically in the States and smashed up here in different ways, but you know, I think Palestine is a game changer. That's a horrible word,



obviously, because it's not a game, but you see what I mean. No one's ever seen anything so horrific daily on their Twitter, hundreds of children, thousands buried under rubble. And then this country and America just goes on sending weapons every fortnight. So, I think that has got through to the younger generation now, that the belief systems- "democracy" and "land of the free" in America, are crap, that there's something much worse going on now.

Have you ever faced significant backlash or controversy from some of your artwork?

I mean, I've had work banned. I was doing work for an initiative that Bob Geldof set up called Brightening Up London, where you have projections on public buildings at Christmas time. I did one of the Virgin Mary from the national gallery, and I turned the halo into a CND peace symbol and then had the image of the earth instead of her face; it was a collaborative work with Cat Phillipps, and we did it, and we didn't hear anything. So, I contacted Sir Bob, and he said I had to talk to Orange, the sponsor. They made this amazing statement, saying we can't use it because it would offend young children and grandmothers. But this was a time when grandmothers were going in little boats and smashing up submarines in Scotland against Trident; this was what grandmothers were actually doing. So, in the end, they just projected Nigella's mince pies on a building.

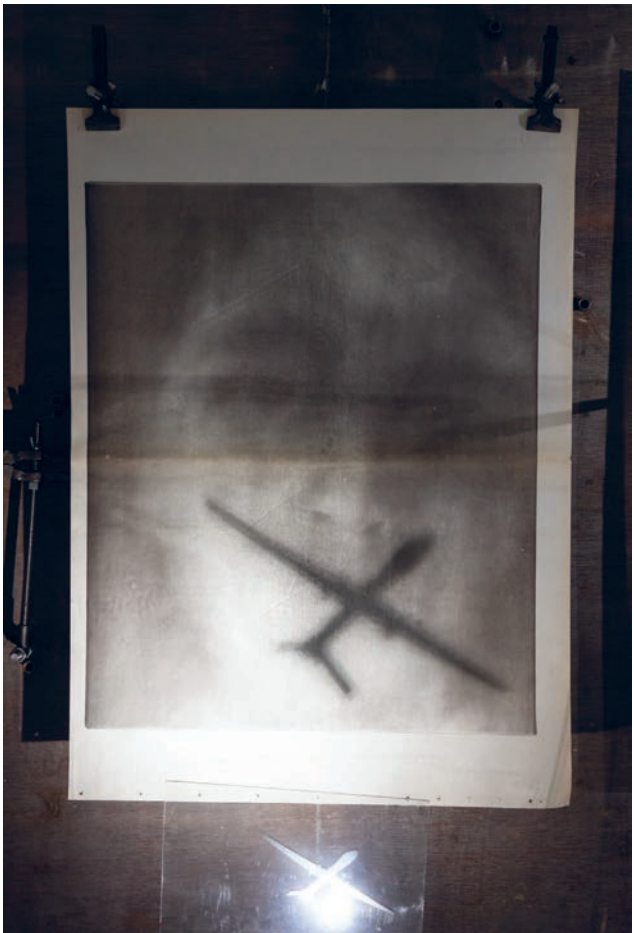
And that sort of thing happens in our culture. I've had stuff banned from the Barbican when the Chilean finance minister was coming to talk to bankers. They demanded my work was taken down, which we wouldn't do, so they covered it with a blanket. This was while Pinochet was murdering thousands. So, there's always that conflict. Theirs also censorship by omission, which is the other thing you get, where they just don't take on these things- this is what's happening now with Palestine in the art galleries. It's very difficult to get anything about Palestine up; the censorship is full on.

Have there been any other times when you have come face to face with those you have critiqued in your artwork?

No, but I hear about what they think about it, but I haven't actually personally come against them. I don't move in those circles, haha!

I guess hearing that they are critical of it is quite good praise!

It can be the opposite. I met a very high-up Conservative politician at the opening of the cartoon museum- he told me my piece of Thatcher as Queen Victoria was up in the toilet in 10 Downing Street. Apparently, she loved it! I don't know if it's true, but if that's true, it's a complete fucking failure that one! Aha!



You were Photoshop before Photoshop was a technology; how do you feel about digital technology now, especially with things like AI.

I don't have any disagreements with it; I just can't deal with it myself because I'm used to all the physical material around me, which is why I put my desk in the Whitechapel exhibition, with all the different stuff. I like the physicality of stuff. I still believe that groups should actually print things. When theirs a demonstration not just put it out on Twitter because that goes to a bubble, whereas if you have something in the street people come up against it. Then they see something that isn't selling crap but is actually talking about something alive. So, I think it's really important that that media goes in the street. And obviously, AI, all the things I've seen are sort of fantasy, I don't know if someone has tried to program one to be radical, but I don't believe it's possible myself, aha!

You critique power in your work, but what would your utopian society look like?

I mean, utopian society, sitting here, you could go down Brick Lane; that's quite a utopian society, I think! A mixture of people from all nationalities together. But the one thing I don't do is make images about utopia because I think that's imposing something; I've worked with some groups who say why don't you do rainbows and show us everything? But I don't think that's what radicalises people to go out on the street and demonstrate- I think you've got to show something quite tough. A utopian vision would be a sort of socialist world, but we're a way away from that...

What would you say to your younger self just starting out?

I teach art and photography students. Although it's a bit of a cliché, it's always finding what you believe in passionately and go with it. Don't think about the market; it doesn't work if you think about that, and you won't be doing it when you're ancient like I am. It's finding a subject or way of working, whether it's abstract painting or whatever; I don't want to impose things on people, it's finding something you have to do in some way and then go on doing it. Obviously, I come from a very privileged background; I had a grant, fees were paid, I was in an art school for 6 years, and I could squat. Now it's so difficult for kids. I don't criticise them now if they get a job doing something with Nike or whatever. Because something I would never have done is work with a corporation, but in fact, sometimes they have to do it just to survive.

Yeah, it's so interesting, isn't it? Until the early 2000s, the basis of the left was squatting and the dole to a certain extent because you were able to reproduce yourself outside of a job. This was also the basis of lots of famous bands....

Yeah, all went to art school yeah. Well, of course, now art school is going back to the idea that it should just be for middle-class people that can afford it, which is terrible because they say all the radical culture, so much of it has come from art schools, music, theatre, everything. I think that's so vital. Of course, what's happened now is there is hardly any state funding; the Tories hate the art schools because they see them as a den of radicalism, so the art schools had all their public funding almost taken away, and universities, I mean, we know what's going on. So, it is really difficult, which is why I think a lot of young people know are working collectively as a survival thing. It's great they are doing that, but it is incredibly difficult compared with... well, you know my generation fucked everything up for your generation, aha!

Can you tell me a bit more about where the exhibition is?

The east end and the Whitechapel area obviously have a great history of radicalism and anti-fascist activity; Cable Street and being a multi-racial community. The rooms I am showing were the local library, initially used by the Jewish community, Jewish writers and artists, and then the Bangladeshi community. They all came together there; it was a great place for people to come together to stay warm; many were very poverty-stricken, so they could spend the day there; it would be warm, and they could read the newspapers. It was known as the People University of the East End. So, I wanted to reflect that in my exhibitions; I suppose this is why it's very newspaper-based and use the imagery of the library as it was. The pieces with Shell and BP and all that were very much about deconstructing montage, and showing something very basic, like a punch look to it, but also to show the strength of

newspapers because we spend all our life in front of screens and theirs a different feel to it with a newspaper, it's a more public thing, you know people are looking at it together.

Going beyond just the echo chamber?

Yeah. I think that going beyond the bubble is what's so great about DOPE. It's also very visually based, which I think is very important. One of the things about doing political visuals is that everyone can see it quickly. People are not going to sit down and read Chomsky, but they can see an image and put a seed of something in their heads about what's going on.

Peter Kennard: Archive of Dissent is on at the Whitechapel Gallery, London till the 19 Jan 2025. Admission is free.



Ostrom's 8 Rules of the Commons for Anarchists

The commons are resources self-managed by communities who need and use them. Commons are managed through dialogue, deliberation, and collective decision-making, as well as through mutual aid to meet needs. Commons are neither state property nor capitalist property. Commons can include land, waterways, fields, factories, workshops, instruments/tools, dwellings, recreational facilities, general infrastructure, miscellaneous infrastructure, fruits of re/production, mixes of the above, and beyond. Flourishing commons provide communities and participants with shared means of existence and production as well as access to the fruits thereof in ways that meet the needs of all.

The commons have been under attack by the last several thousand years of class society and the last several hundred years of capitalism. Capitalism developed through multiple means, including continuous privatisation of the commons, enforced through state violence. Despite such systemic violence, pockets of the commons continue to exist through people developing both new and enduring commons as well as through people resisting domination and exploitation. The commons are not only under attack by multiple entangled forms of hierarchy (institutionalised domination) but also under ideological attack through widespread propaganda and belief systems that deem various hierarchies beneficial or inevitable.



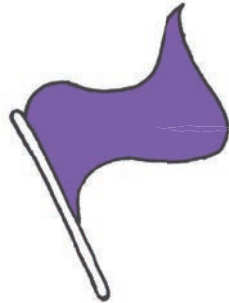
Arguments claiming that commons inevitably lead to tragedies of overuse and collective ruin deny the actual history of the commons. Functional commons and related self-managed institutions have existed within many lifeways, including foraging societies, agricultural societies, villages, towns, blocks, neighbourhoods, cities, and mixed-method non-state societies. Such a rich history demonstrates that well-managed commons predictably contribute to well-being and ecological sustainability. Responding to sweeping critiques of the commons, Elinor Ostrom empirically and theoretically demonstrated that participants can well-manage commons when they utilise several good-enough rules and practices.

Many communities and persons have, in their own ways and words, developed rules for managing the commons.

While there are plenty of examples Ostrom looks at that are in harmony with her eight rules for managing the commons as well as a non-hierarchical approach to social organisation, other instances of the commons she looks at are less emancipatory. As Silvia Federici wisely points out, truly emancipatory commons are distinct from quasi-commons that produce commodities and/or are gated against commoners having mutual access. Given the goals of the self-management of each and all, mutual non-domination, well-being for all, and ecological flourishing, Ostrom's core design principles can become more coherent through being remixed with insights from anarchism.

The following adaptation of Ostrom's rules for managing the commons is informed by anarchism as well as an expanded history of the commons within multiple lifeways:

1. Participants know they are part of a group and what the group is about.
2. Agreements for sharing and, at times, rotating labour/work and implementation of decisions, as well as for sharing the fruits thereof. People can co-create abundance where there is more than enough for all or otherwise agree to specific ways of distributing less abundant fruits of re/production according to needs.
3. Direct collective decision-making by participants through deliberation. For self-management of all, there must also be mutual non-domination. By extension, community assemblies related to the commons should utilise direct, participatory, and non-hierarchical forms of democracy.
4. Organisational transparency that allows participants to mutually monitor the commons. This can happen through the process of co-managing and interacting with the commons, collective action, relevant accounting/calculation as needed, and the availability of relevant information to participants.
5. Graduated defence against domination and exploitation such as informal social disapproval, self-defence and defence of others as needed, and recourse to expelling someone from a particular collective (through deliberation, assembly, and due process) in response to the most extreme violations of the commons and freedoms of persons.
6. Good-enough conflict resolution such as people talking directly to each other, mediation to find out how to move forward, dispute resolution to resolve disputes, restorative justice and transformative justice processes for people to repair harm and transform causes thereof, and organisation-wide assembly when the conflict is in regards to organisational form and content.



7. Communities and participants need sufficient autonomy to organise.
8. Community assemblies can co-manage the commons together, with policy-making power held by assemblies and participants directly. This enables self-management and mutual aid within and between communities, as well as inter-communal management of the commons. Community assemblies can utilise mandated and recallable councils and rotating delegates to implement decisions within the bounds of policies made by community assemblies.

The above should be wisely adapted to communities and participants' conditions, needs, and desires. When there are good enough institutions and agreements for collective action, individuals benefit through the flourishing of the commons and mutually contributing to the commons-- blending self-interest with collective interest. Although specifically related to common economics, Ostrom's core design principles and coherent adaptations thereof can be used to reflect upon and develop various kinds of self-managed collectives that have shared practices and goals.

The self-management of each and all on every scale requires the flourishing of the commons and related general assemblies. Developing the commons in the context of a hierarchical society requires both the reconstruction of the commons as well as opposition to domination and exploitation. Such functions can be done through self-managed community assemblies utilising mutual aid and direct action to meet needs and solve social problems. That kind of community organising can happen as a crucial part of a broader social movement ecosystem that includes workplace organising, student organising, and beyond. On the path to a world where the commons flourish, developing the commons can meet the needs of social movement organisations, participants thereof, and the non-ruling class while building the new world in the shell of the old.

Usufruct Collective is a libertarian communist writing collective focused on what a good society consists of and how to get there.

usufructcollective.wordpress.com/blog



Denied entry: constructing Europe's border regime

Movement requires permission. Although we all exist within a global border system, our ability to move within it is determined by what nationality is deemed to be permissible to transgress through borders and which is not. For some, moving freely and travelling widely happens easily; a simple look at a Western passport allows for entry without question or regulation (especially for white-passing citizens). While for others, borders are the sites of rejection and exclusion. Unmet asylum claims, tedious visa bureaucracy, and unfulfilled refugee status are only some examples of governmental exclusion. These processes force an unwelcoming environment for those who dare transgress borders.

Borders are arbitrary creations—lines on a map that demarcate the governance of one state to the next. These lines, usually drawn across geographical landscapes, become powerful distinguishers that determine who belongs where, the rights they receive, and the privileges they are granted or denied.

Since October 2023, I have worked with a political collective called No Name Kitchen. They work along the EU borders, supporting those in transit trying to move through borders within irregular crossing routes. Their work revolves around direct aid, but also direct action to monitor the spaces of border violence against people in movement. Alongside this work, No Name Kitchen collects evidence and testimonies of pushbacks, creating an archival database of border violence.

The term "pushback" describes the illegal process by which European Union border police illegally detain and return people across the border without any legal due process. We do not use the politicised term "migrants" to describe the people we are working with; everyone has a different story of how they found themselves in the precarious position of trying to reach Europe; thus, we use "people on the move."

My research and activism with No Name Kitchen occurred in a Bosnian town called Bihac, which borders the European Union's Croatian Border. This region is the last frontier of the Balkan Route, a migration route people travel through to enter the EU. It spans from Turkey, across the Balkans, until finally crossing Croatia; these journeys can span months, even years. People who are moving through these borders come from countries like Algeria, Morocco, Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Palestine, Sierra Leone, Congo, Sudan, and many other countries whose conditions have become so uninhabitable that people are forced to search for something else. They all have their own reasons for coming and arriving at this last

crossing towards the EU; some are escaping poverty and dictatorship, while others war and genocide, but they all arrive at this point in Bihac, Bosnia. They arrive trying to break from the generations of inequality brought to them by Western imperialism, military interventions, and exploitation of industries and resources that have left many of their homelands broken. To go to the EU is to break from this legacy. Even after crossing thousands of miles to arrive at Bihac, they are faced with yet another reality of violence.

Within these regions, No Name Kitchen has recorded the violence that is inflicted on people on the move. The perpetrators are the Croatian border police and FRONTEX (European Border and Coast Guard Agency). Rarely in their official uniforms, they wear black unmarked uniforms and black balaclavas. What they do is outside the law of EU/Croatia but simultaneously funded by these governments to maintain a closed border.

The violence they commit includes forcing people into the river for extended periods of time, stripping people of their clothes and belongings, theft of money, beating, kicking, and biting by police dogs. The extent of Croatian state police violence has no bounds and no limitations. We have also recorded the incredibly heinous act of police burnings. No Name Kitchen has collected testimonies of people whose items, clothing, legal documents, passports, shoes, and phones have all been removed from them by police once they have been caught in Croatia. In the forest bordering Croatia/Bosnia, the police remove personal belongings to burn before pushing people violently back into Bosnia.

In a testimony collected from Bihac, Northwest Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tarrek was apprehended along with 20 others by border police in an unmarked van and wearing unmarked black uniforms and balaclavas. No one was given access to food, water, or bathroom use for the 10-12 hours they spent in the van. They were taken to a secluded forest along the border, where the police forced the group to kneel on the ground with their heads down. At this point, the police officers removed some of the men's clothes, shoes, and other personal items. Any person who disobeyed orders was hit with batons. The police collected their items, which included clothes, phones, backpacks, and even the Quran and set them aflame. After this, the police pointed their guns towards the group, forcing them to cross back to Bosnia through the river.

There is a reason most of these violent acts are committed by official officers, yet out of official uniforms. The EU attempts to hide its hypocrisy. It tries to cover up evidence. Europe wants us to believe that

there is nothing to see. This is just one of many testimonies we have collected in the field. These stories are not anomalies; they are the product of Europe's systematic violence directed at people on the move. Hassan, a Turkish man in his 60s trying to reach Germany, perfectly contextualised the political situation he found himself and others in:

"Europe must stop being closed and allow the people of all countries it has impoverished to seek hope, and it is the duty to investigate all the illegalities committed here. Otherwise, all these discourses will remain an indicator of Europe's hypocrisy and will not eliminate the fascist character of the crimes. If Europe wants to be civilised, it must first condemn these crimes. This unnecessary pressure being put on refugees must be removed."

The people on the move are not victims of their circumstances; instead, they are people who have an immense capacity to persevere in a world system that is unjust and violent towards them. In the face of injustice and precarity, they remain steadfast in their optimism and hope for a better future. They still believe there is more to life than the immediate violent reality of being on the move and more to life than the situation and place they were born in. This radical hope should inspire all of us. To believe that we can and deserve more than the condition in which we were born is not only beautiful but revolutionary.

Masa Nazzal is a researcher, artist, and activist based in London whose work is based around border violence along the EU's Balkan borders against people in transit.



Berry Robertson Shaw



What Do Chinese workers think about the Communist Party?

When talking with people unfamiliar with China, they often ask questions like, “If you’re a communist and you’re Chinese, why aren’t you a member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)? Do most Chinese workers or regular people really support the CCP? Do they think they live in a socialist society?” Since this first set of questions specifically addresses the experiences of PRC citizens, we compiled answers from our Chinese members and other friends from mainland China. Random pseudonyms have been assigned to protect the respondents.

Do most Chinese workers or regular people really support the Communist party?

Ruirui: In general, workers are oppressed, so their feelings toward the CCP are not positive, or more precisely, they dislike “bureaucrats” or anyone in a position of power. Although many state officials are party members, it is their social position rather than their party affiliation that directly affects workers’ interests. As far as workers are concerned, it is “the government” rather than the CCP that they experience as a concrete entity. Of course, everyone knows that the government is led by the party, so to support the government is to support the CCP and vice versa. As far as I have seen, workers have not seriously considered whether to “support” or “oppose” the CCP or the government. On the one hand, the ability to achieve continued improvement of their material lives after working hard has translated into little motivation for considering things on a political level. On the other, the objective condition of complete powerlessness means that when their interests are hurt, the government is the place where they seek out justice in an attempt to solve their problems. When the government then represses them, some workers give up, while others turn to alternative means in pursuit of justice. By contrast, shimin (urban intermediate strata) and intellectuals have a slightly higher social status, and in recent years more and more of these people have “had their chives cut” (their savings swallowed up by the state or private monopolies through financial or legal means), so more of them oppose CCP rule, calling for freedom of speech, human rights, Western-style democracy, etc.

Do they think they live in a socialist society?

For workers without much schooling, this society is everywhere “the bosses’ society.” The question of whether it is socialist doesn’t mean anything. As for the idea of “public property”, due to many years of state propaganda, many people believe that the past system of public property was bad because “everyone eating from one big pot” fostered laziness and a few individuals would use their power for private advantage, etc. By contrast, the current system of private property may ironically seem more “fair,” since I can get paid for my labor and thereby improve my life. If the boss doesn’t pay, or pays too little, then the fault is attributed to the boss rather than to the system. Due to official propaganda, some people do think



that China’s current system is “socialist,” but in this sense they simply equate socialism with authoritarianism.

If you're a communist and you're Chinese, why aren't you a member of the CCP?

How is this different from asking American or Japanese communists why they aren't members of the CPUSA or the JCP? Communist Parties are not the same thing as communists in any country.

When I was a child, books and television would describe how, in the past, people's lives had improved under the leadership of the CCP, and only those individuals with the greatest spirit of sacrifice could join the party, so "joining the party" seemed like a sacred thing. But I grew up after the Reform and Opening, when various phenomena in society and my family's contradictory attitude toward the CCP filled me with doubts about this society, which was officially termed "the initial stage of socialism." In college I applied to join the party, but I noticed that our Party Branch Secretary was the most distasteful person in our

school, and the "perks" of membership such as precedence in getting a job as a civil servant held no attraction for me, so the whole idea of joining became distasteful. Later I came to realise that the CCP truly had nothing to do with communism, so my interest in it completely disappeared.

Kaixuan: I resisted joining the Communist Youth League in high school when practically only three out of forty students were not members, and would not have ever wanted to join the CCP. It was clear to me then that joining was either ritualistic (in school) or necessary or even required (in some leadership positions). There is nothing socialist or communist, or even mildly progressive about the CCP. It is a harder question to ask if regular people and workers in China support the CCP. I think people support – or at least do not consider overturning – the rule of CCP to the extent that, despite commonplace grievances about its corruption and authoritarianism, it has proved to be a resilient and capable ruling party, and there is no alternative party or system in insight. Views on whether people live in a socialist society will depend on if they see CCP as embodying socialism. More than

a minority will likely say yes, but they will be hard pressed to explain why China is socialist beyond the fact that a rhetorically socialist political party is in power.

Cheng Yang: I didn't join CCP because we have conflicting principles. In earlier days when I was a liberal, I detested what the CCP did in June 1989, feeling that this party had betrayed its own people. Now that I've turned to communist ideas, I feel even more incompatible with this party than before, since I don't feel it is going to accomplish the revolution it had originally proclaimed as its goal.

Specifically, the party nowadays claims to be an agent of the people, while in fact it has become an organisation placing its own will above that of society. This is exactly the necessary if not sufficient condition for capitalism.

Xiao Hui: I don't want to align myself with any political party. As for most Chinese workers, I'm not sure, but even people who do join the CCP usually do so for pragmatic reasons such as career advancement, so simply joining it doesn't mean that they support its policies. As for whether they believe China is socialist, people have a variety of ideas about what they would mean, but most don't really care....

If you're a communist and you're Chinese, why aren't you a member of the CCP?

Qianxun: Joining the CCP is no longer related to one's political orientation at all. It's usually just a path for one's own career development and the sense of stability provided by membership within the establishment. When I was in school, those people around me who joined the party all did so out of opportunism. None of them shared any left-wing values, and people with the ability to think independently were rarely interested in hanging out with them. After Xi came to power, there was a re-politicisation where the party apparatus again became a force for controlling society. Many employers became unwilling to hire anyone who wasn't a party member. Now they have quotas, for example at least sixty percent of employees have to be members. In the past only state-owned enterprises had such quotas, but now even foreign enterprise have to do this too. This means that party membership has become even more instrumentalist (something that you just do for a job).

Do most Chinese workers or regular people really support the CCP?

This question is hard to answer—it has to be situated within different generations and regions. In recent years the CCP has done well in its ideological work, winning over much of the younger generation, with the Great Firewall playing a major role as well. People usually don't distinguish between the party, the state and the government, and nationalism has been continually whipped up against foreign powers. My overall impression is that the party's base of support is now larger than it was ten years ago. For example, ten years ago if you took a taxi in Beijing, every driver had something bad to say about the party. At the same time, the category of "workers" is too fragmented nowadays, so it's hard to generalise. The laid-off state-owned enterprise workers I met in the Northeast a few years ago harbored intense resentment against the CCP, saying that it had betrayed the working class. Young workers in the manufacturing and service sectors are trapped in exploitative jobs and leisure

consumption such as livestreaming and [taking out] loans [from shady platforms like Ant Financial for consumption and risky investments like gambling] they're deeply in debt, and they're generally turned off by politics, having nowhere to direct their anger. Over the past few years, the CCP's propaganda apparatus has firmly taken root within all kinds of entertainment platforms, and on social media it has become common for ordinary lower-middle class people to add an image of the national flag to their profile pictures. During the evictions of "low-end population" [migrant residents in Beijing in the winter of 2017-2018], the workers and participants in the informal economy that I met in Beijing's urban villages expressed intense anger and cursed the CCP, but after those events had passed, that sort of collective political mood dispersed as well. The relatively organised workers I've met who were plugged into community work and NGO networks generally had a more sober understanding of the party.

Do they think they live in a socialist society?

I think the official concept of “socialism with Chinese characteristics” has already penetrated deep into people's minds. Most ordinary people care less about ideological questions of whether China is socialist or capitalist, and more about “self-confidence in the path” [a slogan of Xi Jinping Thought]. By contrast, many older workers in industrial cities describe the current regime as defined by the “restoration” of capitalism, in a strongly negative sense.

If you're a communist and you're Chinese, why aren't you a member of the CCP?

Lao Niu: Nowadays the political goals of the CCP have nothing to do with communism. This is obvious. Its goals are like that of a ship in the ocean, just to maintain the status quo: to maintain the interests of the ruling class.

Do most Chinese workers or regular people really support the CCP?

This is a question that could only be properly answered after conducting an objective survey, but such a survey would be impossible, so as communists we have to just assess the situation ourselves. Currently there is not much class consciousness, people are content if they can just live out their days on their own, so the question whether to support the CCP is not at the forefront of people's minds. A lot of people might say that they support the party, especially over the past few years as Xi Jinping has pushed so much party-state propaganda, including the call to “remember our original intentions”, and the efforts to rebuild the party's historical image—a lot of people probably buy into that. Much of this is done through new social media and video platforms. Some liberals and academic Marxists think these platforms are good, that they could even become a new battleground for resistance, but actually the state is using these platforms to promote so-called “Xi Jinping Thought,” the will of the state.

Do they think they live in a socialist society?

This is even harder to answer, for one because we need to clarify who the “regular people” are, but what we can be sure of is that nowadays most people no longer use the categories of “capitalism” and “socialism” to distinguish their political

positions. Now even Xi Jinping has transformed “socialism with Chinese characteristics” from a political goal into a way of life—including with regard women's rights, identification with the goal of everyone being “modestly well-off” or achieving “the good life” along the lines of people like Jack Ma. It's disconnected from politics. This isn't a problem with the people, but a result of the state's efforts to depoliticise the distinction between socialism and capitalism. So most people no longer care about this distinction. But what cannot be denied is that capitalism has its own crises, this is an immutable law, so there will continue to be social contradictions.

Xianyu: This question can be answered on several levels. First, there are many different types of communist theory, each with their own concepts of “the party.” There's no inherent connection between communism and political parties. Imagine asking anarcho-communists to join a party—isn't that ridiculous? Second, the relationship between communism and the Chinese Communist Party could be likened to that between socialism and the National Socialist German Workers Party: their names are completely disconnected from their content. Third, it's not like you can just join the CCP if you want to. A common person like me, who does not contribute at all to state-building or economic development, cannot even touch the door of the CCP. Most importantly, the state just published a circular requiring party members to have three children, saying it's their socialist duty to help offset the demographic crisis. Someone like me, doomed to remain single, cannot shoulder the burden of the party's great responsibilities—forget about it.

From our childhood onwards, there's a great deal of continuity between the role played by the Young Pioneers and the Communist Youth League in schools and that played by the CCP in society as a whole. The Pioneers and the League divide students into ranks with the good students in the front and the bad ones in the back. Those the teachers dislike are never qualified to join the League. Their only function is to cultivate a hierarchical worldview through the differentiation of students into strata, so that we understand that people are not all equal. Members of the Pioneers and the League are qualified to run for positions as “cadres” at the school, are given priority in the granting of awards, and are allowed to wear the League's shiny badges and neckerchiefs dyed red with the blood of martyrs. In middle school, when we were told to write letters applying for League membership, I had not yet arrived at a sociological understanding of the organisation, but my rebellious spirit and disdain for fake shit kept me from joining. Ultimately that didn't affect me much, except to decrease the number of awards I received. I imagine the CCP is similar.

Chuang publishes a journal and blog analyzing the ongoing development of capitalism in China and the revolts of those crushed beneath it. This article was originally published on Chuang's blog.

www.chuangen.org

Resistance, Resilience and Regrowth: The Story of A Commune in the North

In the former coal-mining town of Bentley just north of Doncaster, South Yorkshire, a small but expanding group of pioneers are busy turning an ambitious dream into reality. A Commune in the North (ACitN – pronounced "a kitten") aims to be an egalitarian, ecological, income/wealth-sharing, anti-oppressive, self-sustaining, revolutionary anarchist commune for 150 to 200 people.

From the outset, ACitN intended to work within an existing working-class community in the north of England to create a more resilient socioeconomic network and avoid the risk of becoming an escapist utopia hidden away in the countryside. ACitN seeks to create a series of interdependent co-operative businesses that not only meet the commune's needs but also build resilience for the wider community wherever it makes its home. Bentley was chosen as a starting point because a couple of ACitN's initial members had helped to found and maintain the award-winning, anarchist-led community growing project, Bentley Urban Farm (BUF), an 'upcycled market garden' which was created to help people in food poverty to become more independent.

ACitN was founded by Cath, a long-term ecological activist who, in 2017, travelled across Europe and sailed to America to visit a range of existing communes. In Virginia, she came across Twin Oaks, a community of over a hundred people, which convinced her that bigger is better when it comes to communes and helped shape her vision.

"I want to create a place where people give according to their ability and receive according to their need; where sharing lives creates surplus time for caring, playing, creating and engaging in the wider world; where different generations live together, learn from each other and look after each other; where most needs for food, shelter and fuel can be met from the surrounding area...."

Here's my dream: not to have to worry about money, to be surrounded by friends, to get cooked for every day, to do a mixture of physical and mental work, outdoors and indoors, to create a resilient and ecological local economy, to be part of a strong community that can pull together in times of crisis and to live in beauty and honesty."

When more ACitN members moved to Bentley at the end of 2022, they were almost immediately able to help save a local community asset. Some of the core volunteers at Bentley Urban Farm were also

keen skateboarders. Twisted, a large indoor skatepark in the shadow of HMP Doncaster (known locally as 'Doncatraz' because it is built on a floating island on a marsh), was in danger of being sold off to people who were not passionate about skateboarding. ACitN provided the skills and the capital to help turn Twisted into Doncaster Skate Co-operative, a worker's co-op owned and run by skaters who were already an integral part of Doncaster's skate community. This has seen the park transform into a vibrant cultural hub with a skate shop and vegan cafe, now a venue for live music, poetry slams and arts events.

The commune also became more deeply involved with BUF, stewarding and catering for the farm's regular Mother Fhungus Festival and using BUF's Commensality Kitchen to prepare regular healthy meals, which are freely shared with anyone who comes to the farm. We all have to eat, so we simply make extra for anyone who wants/needs a good meal. The process also allows us to talk about ACitN with people not previously interested in communes or co-operatives. This has led to further local outreach opportunities, such as running stalls at community events and cooking a Harvest Festival dinner for the local church. Working with ACitN has also led to BUF hosting more nationally and internationally focused events for groups like the Kurdistan Solidarity Network (KSN).

What we are doing in Bentley is partly an attempt to show that another world is possible. Not a world thousands of miles away, but an ordinary world in an everyday community, amongst people with diverse opinions and worldviews. We don't want to preach to people or convert them to our cause; we simply live our convictions in order to show that there is a better, brighter, braver, happier and healthier way to live. Using the adage 'if you can see it, you can be it', we're building a visible and accessible solidarity economy that we hope will provide for the needs of individuals, the commune and the wider community. One which lessens our impact on the planet, mends and builds broken relationships, and proves the power we each hold in our own hands.

ACitN will continue to support and nurture environmentally, socially, and economically positive initiatives in the region as long as Bentley remains its home. Eventually, the commune hopes to find a site with enough land to grow food and to build a network of homes for commune members, but they always want to be in or near an existing working-class community. The current strategy is to build up to a critical mass of around thirty people so that they have the financial power to look for a more permanent home when the

opportunity arises — it is worth pointing out that you don't have to be rich or even have any money at all, to join A Commune in the North. In addition to income and wealth sharing, the ACitN also shares debt and takes measures to ensure that the project is as egalitarian in terms of economic class as it is regarding equality of voice.

Indeed, the commune is open to anyone who shares its principles of ecological living, fairness, openness, solidarity, resistance and justice (the principles are listed in full on the ACitN website) and who are passionate about making positive change, a belief in the possibility of change is perhaps the most crucial attribute we are looking for in potential members. This is, at heart, a revolutionary project which seeks to change the world one commune at a time. If you are serious about being an anti-capitalist, then the work at hand is to at least try to build a future free from the grasp of capitalism. This can only be done collectively, and communes are the key!

There are opportunities to get involved, even if you're not yet ready to take the plunge. We have quarterly Gatherings for the 'commune curious', where people from around the country stay over in Bentley to get a deeper understanding of what we do. Sign up for updates via our website for details about the next event. We currently live in a 300-year-old farmhouse, so between the house and the farm, we have plenty of space for visitors.

You don't have to wait for a Gathering to visit; each Tuesday at 6 pm, we have dinner at the skatepark, followed by an open learning session at 7 pm (which can be attended in person or online). We then have a commune workday at BUF every Wednesday from 10 am with a shared lunch at 1 pm. Making Tuesday/ Wednesday the perfect time for visitors, but we're happy to welcome you any time.

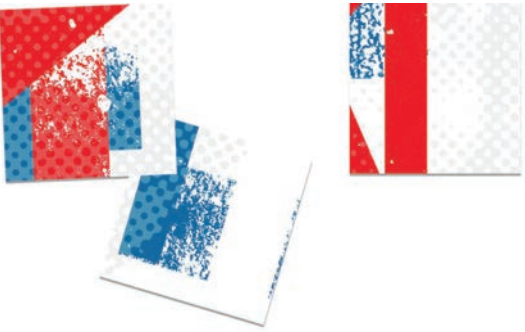
Warren Draper is a working class artist, designer, writer and urban farmer from Doncaster, South Yorkshire. To help build the commune, fill in the form on the home page: acommuneinthenorth.org.uk



How do corporations get away with murder – in West Papua and beyond?

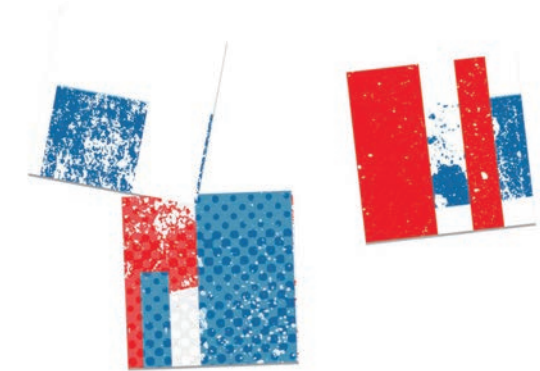
"West Papua is suffering a silent and slow-motion genocide," Raki Ap told a three-day tribunal on state and environmental violence in West Papua, held in London from 27-29 June. Ap is an international spokesperson for the Free West Papua Campaign. An estimated half a million indigenous people have been killed or disappeared since Indonesia forcibly annexed West Papua in 1963. It is the western part of the island of New Guinea, sitting below the equator, north of Australia, with the third largest rainforest in the world.

Ap's family fled their homeland after his father's politically motivated assassination when he was a child. He testified at the tribunal along with other exiles, as well as 17 survivors from secret and secure locations in West Papua over video calls. They gave first-hand accounts of state violence, massacres, human rights violations and violent land grabbing against West Papuans. Attending the tribunal and hearing their stories, I wondered: Where is the outrage as the death toll silently rises? Permanent People's Tribunals are set up like an



international court. Legal experts judge the cases. This one had testimonies from eyewitnesses and researchers, including West Papuans and other human rights NGOs, such as Amnesty International. The judgments of these tribunals are not legally binding. Instead, they are about bringing these crimes to a broader consciousness.

The tribunal comprehensively outlined how the Indonesian government – with the full support of international corporations, the US, the UK and other allies – is destroying the lives and lands of West Papuans. Corporations are violently extracting resources, including oil, metals and palm oil. In their preliminary judgement, the panel of judges declared that "the deforestation and extraction in West Papua



is itself racism. It is itself, despite the assertions of the Indonesian state, the very apotheosis of a colonial project that has been hundreds of years in the making." The judge's full ruling will be published in September.

The tribunal made clear how the Indonesian state uses institutional racism to dehumanise the indigenous population. They are denied social or political rights or status. Social discrimination and apartheid methods are used to drive them off their land and violently suppress them – often fatally. They are attacked, especially if they protest or stand in the way of what Indonesia defines as "development". Moreover, the tribunal analysed how it is a racist project to take and destroy the land and the rich ecosystems with which West Papuans' lives are intertwined.

This story is repeated to indigenous peoples worldwide, as it has for centuries. Racism explains why people in the Global North are not outraged when people are killed and driven from their homelands. Since Europeans invaded the Americas – starting with Spain in 1492 – structural racist narratives have pushed the idea that indigenous peoples "benefitted" from having their land stolen. They argued that when these non-Christians came into contact with Christian missionaries, they were "civilised." Indonesia uses the updated version of this heinous script, with the idea that the people who lose their land are "developed" and saved from "poverty".

Indonesia goes to great lengths to silence West Papuans, which means that many people do not know of these crimes. However, many of those enjoying the products of globalised capitalism will have at least heard about the human rights violations associated with the production of palm oil or minerals.

Perhaps we need to look deeper within ourselves—specifically, the "we" here refers to white Europeans—to consider how we relate to what is happening. I believe there is room for more solidarity and more outrage.

In general, white Western Europeans often do not understand how our ancestors were connected to the land. The exception is the elites who own large tracts of it. When I look at the English half of my

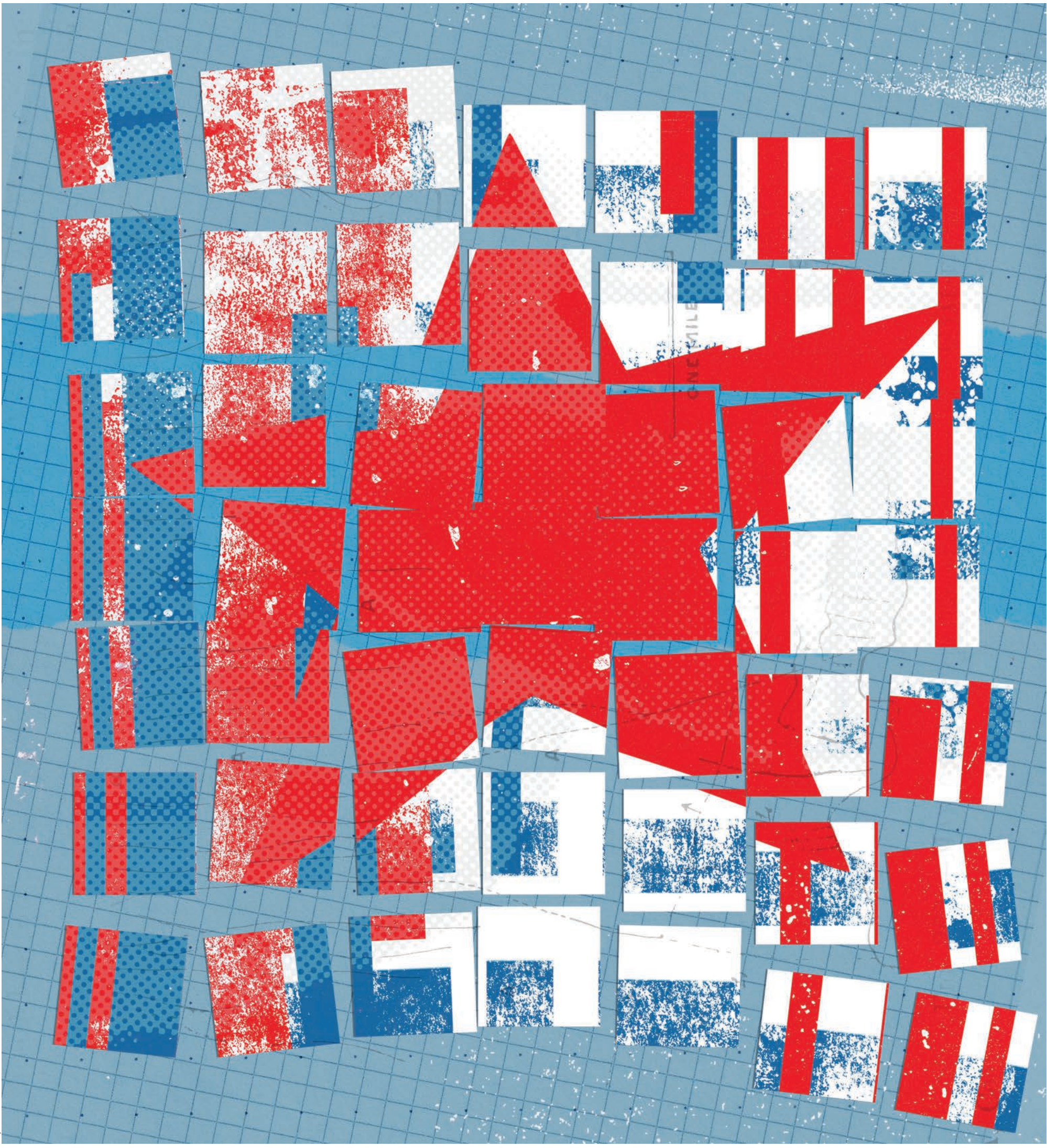
family, I have no idea when or where they were displaced from what land. Knowing my working-class background, I am sure it happened. But like many – white Europeans – I am not sure how. We have no direct link to the land nor understanding of the trauma of displacement. Perhaps for some, it lies dormant in the subconscious – where it can be turned into nostalgia for dangerous right-wing populism. For others, it is simply trapped deep inside; we are largely disconnected.

I think the consequence of this is that many people sympathise with people who are torn from their land. They do not empathise. That is problematic. Sympathy evokes pity and charity alongside compassion. Charity and sympathy play into the long-standing racist narrative in which we view people as "other". We need to get over our collective amnesia to alter this situation. We must discover what happened in the past to better relate to the present. Empathy is powerful. Through it, we can see that their struggle is tied to our past when we see that what is happening to the West Papuans is part of a process that also affected our kin. Then, they the West Papuans are part of us: we them.

Based on research done by my uncle, I discovered how the Scottish half of my heritage was tied to the land: my three-times great-grandparents were driven from the far north of Scotland in the Highland Clearances 1750- 1850. Yet, it is rare to have this connection. My roots come from people who lived on the periphery of Europe. Here, you can still go back in time to find ancestors who were cleared from the land.

I am not trying to draw a direct comparison between the crimes that took place long ago and today. Instead, I want to show that what happened before is the context for what continues to occur. If we open ourselves up to the distant and secret past, where our ancestors were cleared off the land, this gives more space for mutual rage. By reconnecting with our own past, we will be in a better position to hear and care about the crimes that are happening in West Papua. We can stop these injustices from being deliberately silenced and largely ignored.

Steve Rushton is an activist and writer, especially interested in movements building ground-up power and intersectional justice.



Rory Robertson, Shiva

TRADE UNIONS

Independent Workers Union of Great Britain
iwgb.org.uk

Cleaners and Allied Independent Workers Union
caiwi.org.uk

United Voices of the World
www.uvwunion.org.uk

Industrial Workers of the World
iww.org.uk

Landworkers' Alliance
landworkersalliance.org.uk

Solidarity Federation
solfed.org.uk

The Trades Union Congress
tuc.org.uk/joinunion

StrikeMap
strikemap.org

RENTERS AND COMMUNITY UNIONS

Living Rent Scotland
livingrent.org

London Renters Union London
londonrentersunion.org

ACORN
acorntheunion.org.uk

BOOKSHOPS

Calton Books, Glasgow
calton-books.co.uk

Five Leaves Bookshop, London
fiveleavesbookshop.co.uk

Freedom, London
freedompress.org.uk

Housmans Bookshop, London
housmans.com

Lighthouse Books, Edinburgh
lighthousebookshop.com

News From Nowhere, Liverpool
newsfromnowhere.org.uk

October Books, Southampton
octoberbooks.org

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

Caracol Books, Norwich
caracolbooks.co.uk

SOCIAL CENTRES AND ARCHIVES

1 in 12 Club, West Yorkshire
1in12.com

56A Infoshop, London
56a.org.uk

The Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh, Edinburgh
autonomous.org.uk

BASE, Bristol
basebristol.org

Blackcurrent Centre, Northampton
blackcurrentcentre.org.uk

Decentre: Freedom Building, London

Glasgow Autonomous Space, Glasgow
glasgowautonomous.weebly.com

Mayday Rooms, London
maydayrooms.org

Liverpool Social Centre, Liverpool
liverpoolsocialcentre.org

London Action Resource Centre, London

Star and Shadow Cinema, Newcastle

The Field, London,

SUMAC Centre, Nottingham,
veggies.org.uk

Oxford Action Resource Centre, Oxford
theoarc.org.uk

Partisan, Manchester
partisancollective.net

Wharf Chambers, Leeds
wharfchambers.org

Working Class Movement Library, Salford
wcml.org.uk

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES

Zabalaza Books
Red and Black Notes
AnarchyinAction.org
Libcom.org
Mutualaid.coop
Angry Workers
Notes From Below
The Anarchist FAQ
Anarchist Library

PUBLISHERS & DISTROS

Active Distro
activedistribution.org

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

Dog Section Press
dogsection.org

Freedom Press
freedompress.org.uk

Pluto Press
plutobooks.com

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

Stir to Action
stirtoaction.com

Autonomous Design Group
weareadg.org

Agit Press
agitpress.net

Lumpen: A Journal of Poor and Working Class Writers
theclassworkproject.com

Left Cultures
leftcultures.com

Novara Media
novaramedia.com

BOOKS & ARTICLES

They can all be found for free online, mostly on the anarchist library or LibCom.

People's Assembly's Overview: The Jackson People's Assembly Model.
Kali Akuno.

Social Anarchism and Organisation. *Federação Anarquista do Rio de Janeiro.*

The Dispossessed. *Ursula K. Le Guin.*

The Tyranny of Structurelessness.
Jo Freeman.

Crisis and Mobilisation in the UK.
I. Kosigan on medium.

Wither the State. *Mason Herson-Hord.*

The solidarity economy: a visual guide. *Solidarity Economy Association.*

Anarchism, Power and Government, in FREE CITIES: Communalism and the Left.
Murray Bookchin (edited by Eirik Eiglad).

Means and Ends: The Revolutionary Practice of Anarchism in Europe and the United States. *Zoe Baker.*

Anarchism and the Black Revolution. *Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin.*

Neither Vertical nor Horizontal: A Theory of Political Organization.
Rodrigo Nunes.

The Next Revolution: Popular Assemblies and the Promise of Direct Democracy. *Murray Bookchin.*

Jackson Rising Redux: Lessons on Building the Future in the Present. *Kali Akuno & Matt Meyer (editors).*

Communalism as Alternative.
Erik Eiglad.

Revolution and the State: Anarchism in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939. *Danny Evans.*

Maoism and the Chinese Revolution: A Critical Introduction. *Elliott Liu.*

Wobblies and Zapatistas: Conversations on Anarchism, Marxism, and Radical History. *Staughton Lynd & Andrej Grubacic.*

Community, Democracy, and Mutual Aid: Toward Dual Power and Beyond.

Ours to Master and to Own: Worker's Control from the Commune to the Present.
Immanuel Ness & Dario Azzellini (editors).

Towards a Libertarian Communism: A Conceptual History of the Intersections Between Anarchisms and Marxisms. *Saku Pinta.*

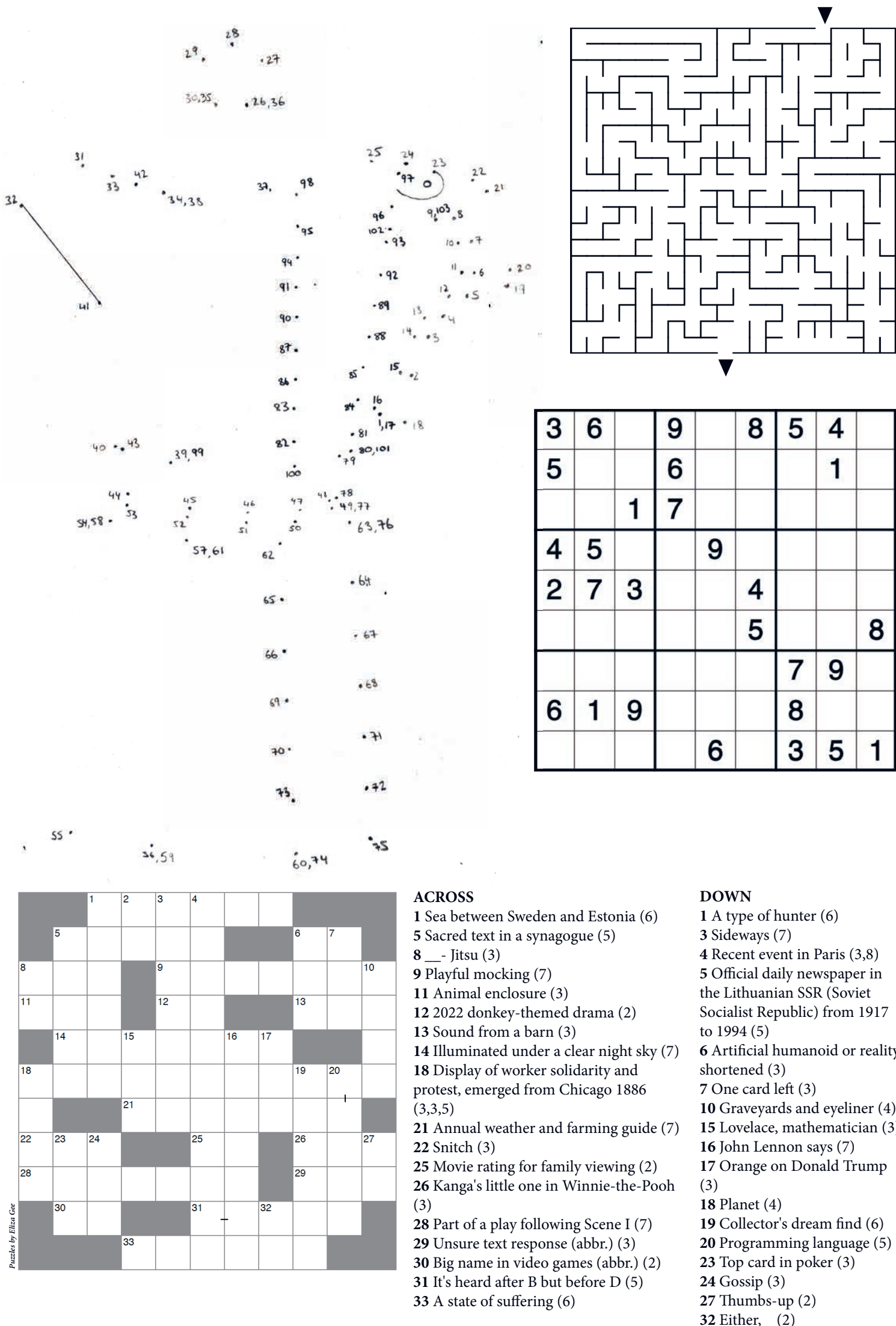
Beyond the Frontlines: The Building of the Democratic System in North and East Syria. *Rojava Information Centre.*

With The Peasants of Aragon: Libertarian Communism in the Liberated Areas. *Augustin Souchy.*

Have we missed something?

To add something or update your entry email:

dopemagazine@solidarityeconomy.coop



ACROSS

- Sea between Sweden and Estonia (6)
- Sacred text in a synagogue (5)
- Jitsu (3)
- Playful mocking (7)
- Animal enclosure (3)
- 2022 donkey-themed drama (2)
- Sound from a barn (3)
- Illuminated under a clear night sky (7)
- Display of worker solidarity and protest, emerged from Chicago 1886 (3,3,5)
- Annual weather and farming guide (7)
- Snitch (3)
- Movie rating for family viewing (2)
- Kanga's little one in Winnie-the-Pooh (3)
- Part of a play following Scene I (7)
- Unsure text response (abbr.) (3)
- Big name in video games (abbr.) (2)
- It's heard after B but before D (5)
- A state of suffering (6)

DOWN

- A type of hunter (6)
- Sideways (7)
- Recent event in Paris (3,8)
- Official daily newspaper in the Lithuanian SSR (Soviet Socialist Republic) from 1917 to 1994 (5)
- Artificial humanoid or reality, shortened (3)
- One card left (3)
- Graveyards and eyeliner (4)
- Lovelace, mathematician (3)
- John Lennon says (7)
- Orange on Donald Trump (3)
- Planet (4)
- Collector's dream find (6)
- Programming language (5)
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- Gossip (3)
- Thumbs-up (2)
- Either, _ (2)



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VENDORS

Name: Shariff
Location: London

How did you get involved in selling DOPE Magazine?

I got involved pretty much in the early stage, when it was the second edition. I was one of the first ones to promote DOPE Magazine. From me only doing it, now everyone's doing it. I mean it done me wonders. What it did for me was, I was in a situation where I had no status. It was either that or crime. So I chose this – I might be getting humiliated all the time, a thousand 'no's – it wasn't easy, but it really helped me in a massive way.

So you find it useful?

I find it very useful. It's educational.

Where do you sell?

I sell it everywhere. I sell it in Liverpool Street, that's where I started. Now every Tom, Dick and Harry's doing it there. It's like a glitch to the system in people going to jail. You know, it helped so many people, opened so many eyes. Do you know like, that's what this country does, misleads people. The biggest beggars are the charities, not us.

What do you do when you're not selling DOPE?

Pretty much nothing, just do my thing.

What kind of things are you interested in?

I like to pray and that. Play a little bit of basketball and stuff. I go and start preaching religion. That's what I do. That's my kind of thing. Convert people.

DOPE helped me a lot man. If I had any money in my will, it would all go to DOPE, seriously. It helps people. You're a non-profit organisation, which is music to my ears. For me, if I ever had millions it'd go to DOPE.

For me, if I ever had millions it'd go to DOPE.

Emil Lombardo

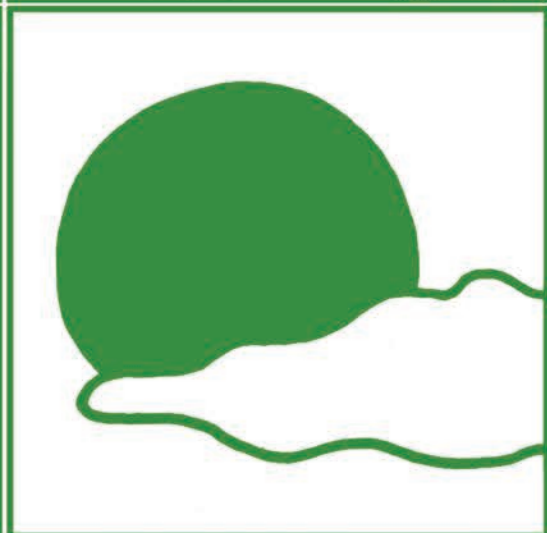
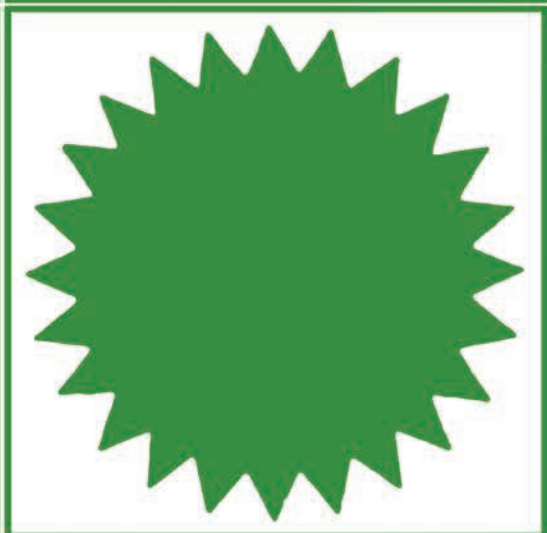
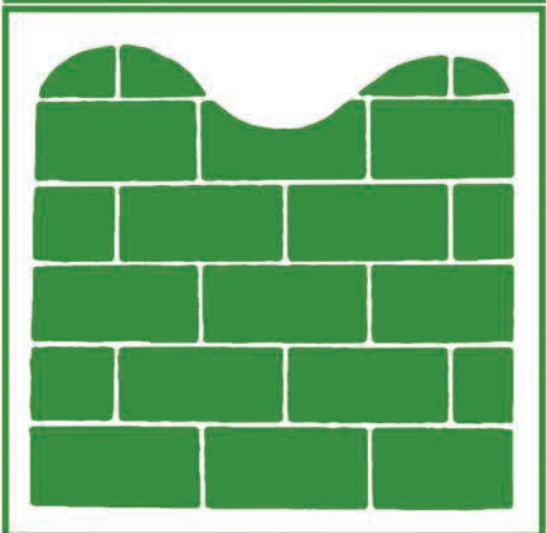
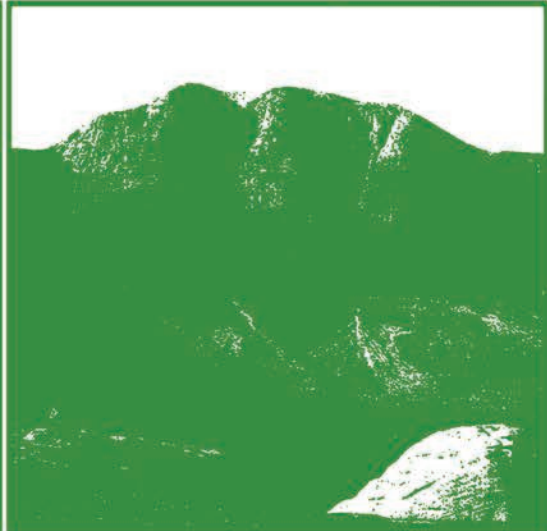
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**IF NOT NOW
WHEN?**



**IF NOT US
WHO?**

