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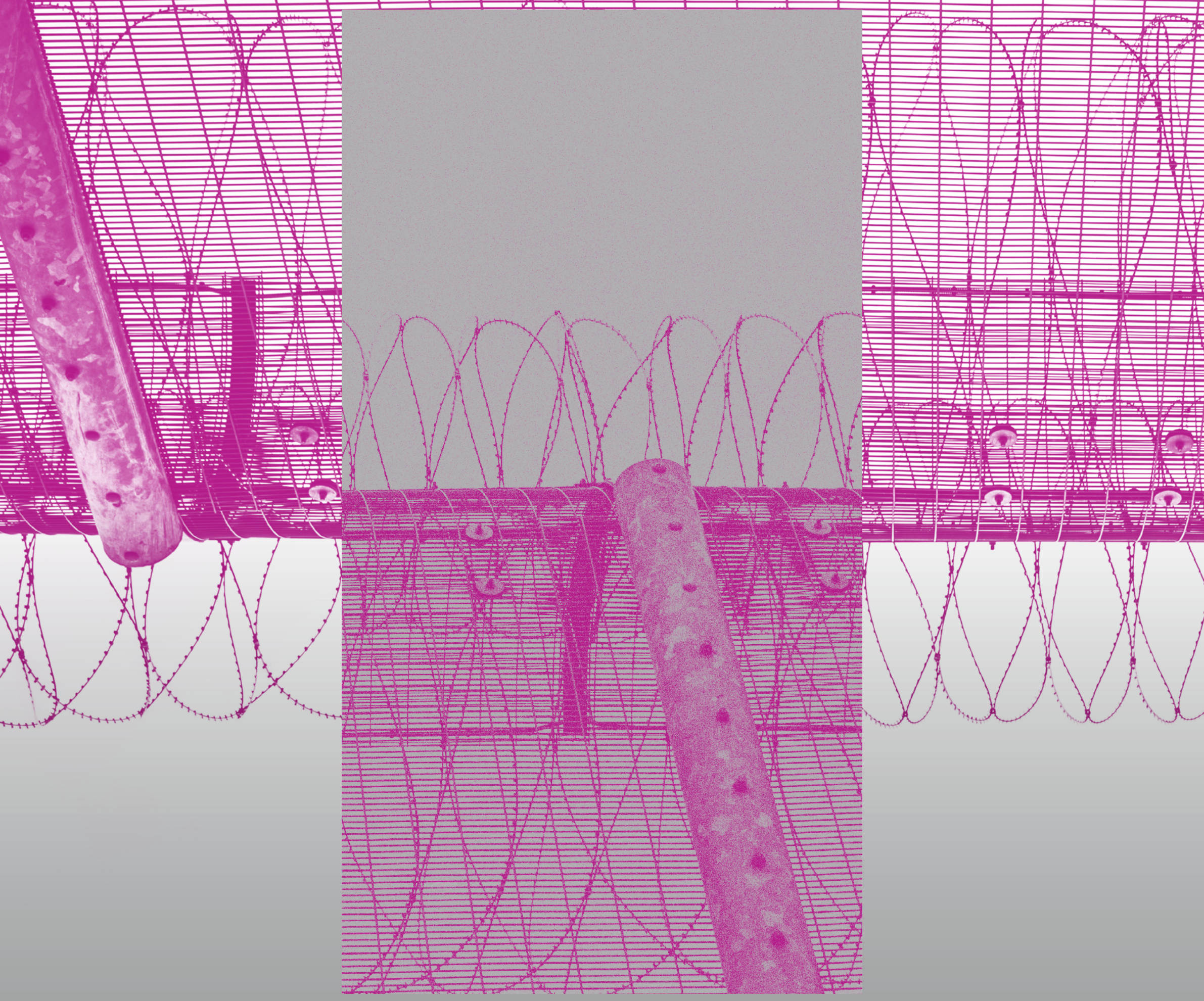


Editorial

The 2015 general election, and electoral politics further afield, have dominated much of the last few months. As various political parties clamour for our attention, hoping we might grant "permission" to lay hands on the mechanisms of governance, it can be difficult at times to get below this surface noise and enquire with greater clarity into the broader reality of the contemporary state. What holds such a configuration in place? And how can we define and scrutinise its composition; its logic, manifestations, institutions and boundaries?

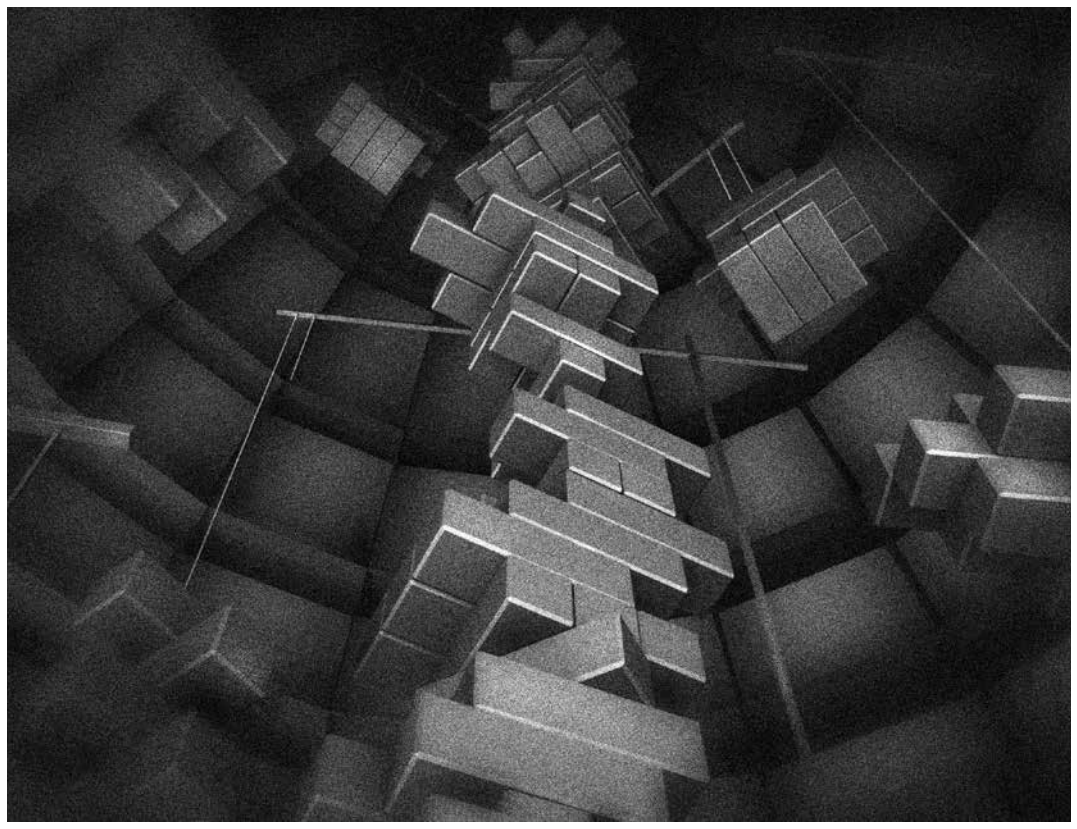
Disciplinary mechanisms bombard us from all sides, forming borders across territories, bodies and forms of life, wherein a cruel game of accusatory agency is staged, plays out, unfolds: the cult of work, enforced by ritual humiliation at the jobcentre; the housing crisis, micromanaged by local councils whose housing offices place unlawful barriers between people and their homes; the National Health Service, which moulds and punishes psyches deemed unproductive and/or subversive; the Border Agency regime that brutalises migrants who have often simply followed the trail of inherited dispossession back to the colonial heartland - many subjected to indefinite detention and deportation without access to care and support; and the police, always on hand to ensure total violent compliance to prevent a "Breach of the Peace".

Beyond the immediate encounter with the nation-state, we can broaden the sense of our subjectification under the influence of numerous discursive or institutional tendencies and structures, themselves often emergent via social and cultural reproduction. Oppression has a way of finding roots in many structures and (sub)cultures, even those formed in opposition - and we include here organisations and movements that seek to define themselves as progressive or alternative. Consideration must be given to the distinct formations of differential modes of thought and being, as the concerns with statehood and subjectification are equally apparent across often smaller or more nuanced 'proto-states' of differing scales and magnitude; wherein oppression takes on different qualities and appearances; the party form, patriarchy, misogyny - how often we see these qualities emerge beneath the banners of the alternative.

Not only are we confronted with boundless configurations, we also face the similarly abundant conceptions of establishment, especially with forces such as the UK state: long, bloody histories of conquest, colonialism and oppression - and all the guises these have worn. If we wish to articulate our opposition to the everyday imposition of state oppression, we may be in a stronger position in considering its composition not as edifice, but rather as a logic.

The contemporary UK state provides effective management on behalf of capital, instituting strict frameworks of private property - not to mention the reproduction of racism, misogyny, heteronormativity and other violences - and implementing heavy discipline upon its subjects, including in areas of colonial rule. As capital attempts to navigate new horizons beyond the limits it encounters in its endless quest for accumulation, so the state's logic and representation must adapt to serve and survive beneath this force: after another boom-bust cycle almost seven years ago, "austerity" was the lie given to the process of devaluing the UK working class to poverty wages and, through the coalition government's Big Society ideals, the state has been willing to outsource some of its less desirable affordances onto already struggling community enterprises, justifying this with the language of responsibility, civil society and efficiency.

The solutions are apparent, and as many state provisions attached to notions of welfare - itself a vestige from the previous limits of capitalism - evaporate, people are coming together to attempt to reimagine production beyond, or beneath, the state. We can see examples scattered across the globe, from the health services provided by volunteers in Greece during the imposition of their harshest cuts, to the collective organising in response to Hurricane Sandy. Closer to home, a growing number of groups and individuals are working together to provide a more fervent culture of care across London. The desire to counter the logic of the big states - capital's states; nation states - was perhaps best articulated by Aut Omnia, a member of the Out of the Woods collective at a public discussion earlier this year who, paraphrasing Frantz Fanon's work on colonialism, suggested: "We shouldn't be interested in ending the state, but rather the end of the world in which the state makes sense."



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FAST-TRACK FACTORY

by Leah Cowan

Harmondsworth Immigration Removal Centre (IRC) has been described as the Guantanamo Bay of the British Isles. The parallels are irrefutable: a high-security prison where people are detained without trial or 'usual' judicial processes, numerous reports of abuses perpetrated by custody officers, and the routine deprivation of human rights are rife in both prisons.

One in five asylum seekers at Harmondsworth are held under Detained Fast-Track processes (DFT). These processes bestow the Home Office with powers to rush through decisions about asylum seekers' rights to remain in the UK, resulting in a rash flipping of coins on human lives for the sake of 'administrative' convenience. Under DFT, the delicate assessment and analysis of an asylum seeker's claim is sped through in 14 days. Claimants from a politically crafted 'white list' of countries, including Iran, Afghanistan and Uganda, are automatically processed through DFT, with a nuance that claims from white list countries are "more likely to be false." The number of cases processed under DFT has doubled in the last 12 months – now totalling 400 out of a total of 615 people detained at Harmondsworth at any one time.

> Reports conducted in 2011 and 2013 by Detention Action describe how DFT satisfies political agendas by operating to the maximum disadvantage of asylum seekers at every stage. The process is currently "preventing [asylum seekers] from accessing the advice and evidence needed to properly present their case." In reality, the conditions and timescales of DFT processes make it impossible for many asylum seekers to understand or be able to actively engage with the determination process.

Detention Action, represented by the Migrant's Law Project, have been challenging the legality of DFT since 2013 and, to date, the High Court has ruled two elements of the process (the scant provision of legal aid and the detention of people not at risk of absconding) to be entirely unlawful. Despite this, DFT continues to operate, and arbitrary targets are blindly pursued at the cost of individual human lives.

> The 99% refusal rate for asylum claims dealt with through this process is jubilantly brandished by politicians as evidence that they are making inroads into their intended depreciation of 'net migration'. The reality is that despite the coalition government's supposedly 'deterrent' immigration detention system, it has failed to cap net migration. In fact, EU migration has continued to increase, whilst immigration from outside the EU is now down to its lowest level for many years, and yet the populations within immigration detention and on DFT are disproportionately composed of non-EU nationals. When the reality of immigration detention falls so far from its stated aims, pertinent questions about who stands to benefit need to be asked in order to begin untangling the real intended and designated purpose of detention. One possible answer lies in the fact that immigration detention sits at the cutting edge of profit-making privatisation. The Home Office outsources the running of centres and deportations to multi-national companies and global corporations, among them Serco, Tascor, GEO, Mitie, and the notorious G4S.

On DFT, asylum seekers are hurried through a system which does not prioritise their safety, despite having fled unthinkable traumas, and travelled across land and sea in horrific conditions. Rule 35 of the 2001 Detention Centre Rules, which is supposed to protect asylum seekers who have been tortured or trafficked from detention and further trauma by exempting them from the deportation conveyor-belt of DFT, is routinely breached. A 2011 report conducted by Chief Inspector of Borders and Immigration John Vine, slammed Harmondsworth for providing "insufficient safeguards to prevent people being incorrectly allocated to [DFT]."

The abuses of the UK's immigration process do not end with DFT. Harmondsworth has been repeatedly criticised for its poor healthcare provision, and reports of mental health issues, heart complaints and soaring high blood-pressure being treated with paracetamol are common. In 2012 Muhammad Shukat died shortly after being moved from Harmondsworth, and an inquest jury decided that neglect had contributed to his death. Staff at the healthcare unit had failed to obtain his medical records,

> which could have provided "significant information that could have assisted healthcare staff... on the morning he died." Independent reports conducted in the following year also unequivocally state that health service staff are not trained in torture recognition. These conditions make the centre absolutely ill-equipped to identify those who should be protected under Rule 35.

A Ugandan LGBTI asylum seeker deported in April 2014 revealed that detainees in UK detention centres are treated as if they have committed an "abominable crime." Detainees have limited access to emails or the internet, and camera-phones are confiscated and replaced with basic handsets with poor sound quality, making conversations with lawyers and other support networks very difficult.

> Procedure at Harmondsworth follows that of a high-security (Category B) prison, despite the European Court of Human Rights ruling that detention would only be acceptable for around seven days, in low security settings. Detainees are subject to reprisals such as 'the block' (solitary confinement) – a punishment described as being "used excessively" in the 2013 HMP inspector report. The same report reveals the majority of detainees to have stated that the food at Harmondsworth is of a poor standard and that some are not even provided with full bedding.

In addition, Harmondsworth boasts the highest rate of deaths across all IRCs on the UK detention estate. In February 2014, 84-year old Alzheimer's patient Alois Dvorzac died in handcuffs at Harmondsworth, despite medical notes declaring him unfit for detention or deportation. The HMP inspector's report in 2013 confirmed that in a majority of cases at Harmondsworth, "insufficient weight was given to doctors' opinions as to fitness for detention."

> Some UK campaign groups have called for a time limit to immigration detention. Whilst the sentiment behind this campaign broadly seeks to support those detained, it also fails to acknowledge that immigration detention is in itself racist, classist, and a political profit-making strategy, and should consequently be abolished completely. Any attempts to reform or improve immigration detention will absolutely aid the continuation of the violence it enforces on those detained.

In spite of the oppressive structures which seek to silence and mute the voices of people in immigration detention, there is a continuing surge of collective resistance both inside and outside of centres, in reaction to abuses in immigration detention. On Friday 2nd May 2014, over 150 detainees went on hunger strike and staged a sit-down protest in the exercise yard of Harmondsworth. Their demands were straightforward: access to legal aid, better medical care, and an end to DFT.

On Monday 5th May 2014, supporters rallied outside the centre, conducting a noise demonstration in solidarity with the strikers. By Wednesday 7th May, dozens of detainees who had protested were issued with deportation orders. On the same day, unrest spread to Colnbrook IRC, Campsfield House, and Brook House. Protesters were placed in solitary confinement, or removed to other centres and consequently lost contact with supporters.

Independent film company 'Standoff Films' continues to uncover the 'unsettling realities' experienced by people who 'speak out' in immigration detention, for example, the situation which emerged from Campsfield House, in which a detainee was physically beaten by riot squads for speaking to journalists after a fire at the centre spread. It was discovered that outsourcing firm Mitie had failed to install sprinklers.

Every month since the May 2014 protests, ex-detainees and supporters organised by grassroots solidarity group Movement for Justice have returned to Harmondsworth to amplify the demands of the protesters. The demonstrations call for an end to fast-track deportation procedures and immigration detention.

Of course, the situation of UK immigration detention does not sit within a vacuum. Whilst the UK is the only country in Europe which practices the indefinite immigration detention of individuals, in February 2014, the Legal Council of the Greek State proposed a new 'indefinite detention before repatriation' policy, which is still awaiting a response from Greek authorities. This worrying slide towards stricter controls is in line with the European Commissions' 'Return Fund' (RF) arrangement. RF finances most European immigration control projects, including 'Assisted Voluntary Return' programmes in the UK. Amygdaleza, a detention centre near Athens which holds over double the amount of people held at Harmondsworth (and double its own capacity), has long been criticised for its harsh conditions and low asylum application approval rates. In 2013, detainees protested against the extension of their detention terms, resulting in the arrest of more than 50 migrants in the centre. In the wake of the suicide of a detainee in Amygdaleza on 13th February 2015, at the time of going to press, Greek Minister Yiannis Panoussis from the country's new governing party Syriza has pledged to shut down its immigration detention centres. During a visit to the centre, Panoussis stated "I came here to express my embarrassment. We are done with the centres of detention".

> In January 2015 an immigration detention centre on Manus Island, Australia, hit the news when 900 detainees went on hunger strike - with some swallowing razor blades and others sewing their lips together. Earlier this year, protesters interrupted the men's final at tennis' Australian Open with a banner proclaiming "Australia Open For Refugees", and a week later passengers on a Qantas flight refused to put on seat belts after learning that a Tamil deportee onboard was being removed against his will to Sri Lanka.

The reality of immigration detention as a profit-making factory lining the pockets of companies such as G4S and Serco does make it an formidable beast to lock horns with. As Sharif, an ex-detainee who was initially put on DFT, says: "It does not surprise me that the Home Office have got away with it". Despite, and perhaps because of this, for as long as detention centres remain, the movement of resistance against these centres will continue to expand and demonstrate solidarity with all migrants who are detained, deported, and pushed through the 'Fast-Track' factory.

Voices from Amygdaleza

by roz karta

[Editor's Update - at time of publication] :

Following the recent elections, the new Syriza government declared that it would close Greece's immigration detention centres. They have released some immigrants - mainly elderly detainees, minors, some of of those with health problems, and refugees who were illegally detained for over 18 months. But the new government has not provided those released with housing or documentation, instead most have been left to fend for themselves in the homeless shelters and soup kitchens of Athens. Meanwhile, immigration and deportation centres remain open and deaths have continued to happen inside them: 23-year-old Afghan Sayed Mehdi Ahbari on February 10 due to lack of medical treatment, 28-year-old Pakistani Mohammed Nadim hanged himself in his cell, where he had been incarcerated for 25 months, 21-year-old Mohamed Camara from Guinea died on February 20 because he wasn't treated for diabetes.

Over 8,000 migrants and refugees are currently detained in concentration camps throughout Greece. Among them are minors, families and those with significant health problems. Six people have died in these camps because they had no access to medication and recently two people committed suicide once they were informed that they would be held in detention for over 18 months. Legislation introduced by the previous Greek government makes it legal for people to be detained indefinitely in deplorable sanitary conditions without access to lawyers, the asylum system or doctors - all backed with European Union financing. These camps are not only in Greece. All around Europe there is this investment in racism, in the marginalisation and criminalisation of migrants and refugees. The newly elected Greek government very recently pledged to shut all migrant detention centres. As of the time of publication, it is unclear how or when the centres will be closed down, or what will be introduced to replace them.

These testimonies are just a fraction of the voices of people who are illegally detained in Amygdaleza concentration camp in Athens. People are punished because they tried to escape from war and to live with dignity. The message behind the policies of the European Union is clear: If you do not die in Europe's seas, you can die in its concentration camps.

"Please, help us. I don't think that detention solves any problem. How would you feel if you were in my place? What would you do if we were to swap places?"

Boy, 16. Detained for the last six months.

"There was another one here who had been held for twelve months. The day he was to be released he was told that the law had now changed and he would be held for a further six months; he went insane. He stopped eating and he stitched his mouth shut. The policemen paid no attention to him for 2 to 3 days. When he passed out, they dragged him out handcuffed, and haphazardly 'unstitched' his mouth by force with a knife".

Boy, 16. Detained for the last nine months.

"The police advised that whoever applied for asylum would have to remain in detention for eighteen months, whereas those who do not would be released much earlier; this is why I decided not to seek asylum".

Afghan boy, 16. Detained for the last nine months.

"Several months ago, I had asked to be released due to the fact that I was underage. Many people older than me have already been released. I requested this repeatedly but they kept turning down my request. I was extremely upset and was thinking about my family a lot of whom I have no news. As they would not set me free, I thought I had better jump off the roof than stay here. I broke both my legs. I was transferred to the hospital and then back to the Komotini detention centre. I was bedridden and in pain for the next two months. My legs keep hurting, and so do my teeth when I eat as I slammed my face against a wall when I jumped".

Boy, 16. Detained for the last six months.

"When the police arrested me, I told them that I am only 16, that I am underage, and that I feel afraid and very sad. It has been nine months that I have been in detention. Since I arrived in Greece I have had to witness and undergo inconceivable things. I cannot believe that I have actually been through these things. I try to push away those nasty images and thoughts, and this makes me feel unwell. I have nightmares most nights. I would very much like you to read my story and think why is it that a child of my age, without having committed some sin or crime must be detained for such a long time? I don't know what or whom to blame. Fate? My homeland? The police? I just hope that nobody has to go through this. Please, spare a thought for us..."

Boy, 16. Detained for the last nine months.

"I have been detained for over nine months. It has been more than eight months since I last managed to contact my family back home. I don't have money to buy a call card. I asked two people who left from the detention centre to call my family and let them know I am ok, but I don't know if they ever managed to find them."

Man, 20. Detained for the last nine months at the Komotini detention centre where detainees are not allowed mobile phones, and the where the payphone cost is prohibitive for many detainees.

"Even prison is better that here. You have come in and you have seen it for yourselves. You are witnesses. If there is any justice, somebody should defend our rights".

Man, 34. Detained for the last seventeen months.

"Because I have been detained for so long, I feel that my brain no longer works properly".

Man, 22. Detained for the last five months.

"The Komotini detention centre is not even suitable for animals. It is very dirty. The toilets don't function. The sewage system is broken. Human waste drop from the first floor drains of to the ground floor. We are locked inside almost all day. They allow us outside in the courtyard for just one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon. Not daily. Komotini is not a detention centre; it is a stable for animals."

Man, 28. Detained for the last seven months.

"I have not seen the Sun for three months at this police station".

Man, 28. Detained for the last nine months.

"From the 24 hours of the day, they only let us out for one. I wish they let us stay for a little longer in the courtyard so that we could have the chance to exhaust and distract ourselves".

Man, 23. Detained for the last five months.

"Before the arrival of Doctors Without Borders, there were no medics. The policemen mistreated anyone that asked for one. They could not care less even when things became serious. Often I was in need of a medic but there was no response."

Man, 21. Detained for the last eleven months.

"...To be honest with you, they treat us very harshly. I had severe toothache and I had been asking for a doctor for several weeks. Eventually, they ended up transferring me to the hospital because of the heavy bleeding after I had removed my tooth myself."

Man, 34. Detained for the last seventeen months.

"My mental health is now suffering. After such a long time in detention, we are beginning to break. We are desparate. I cannot sleep. My weight dropped from 72 to 64 kg. I cannot express the situation we are in."

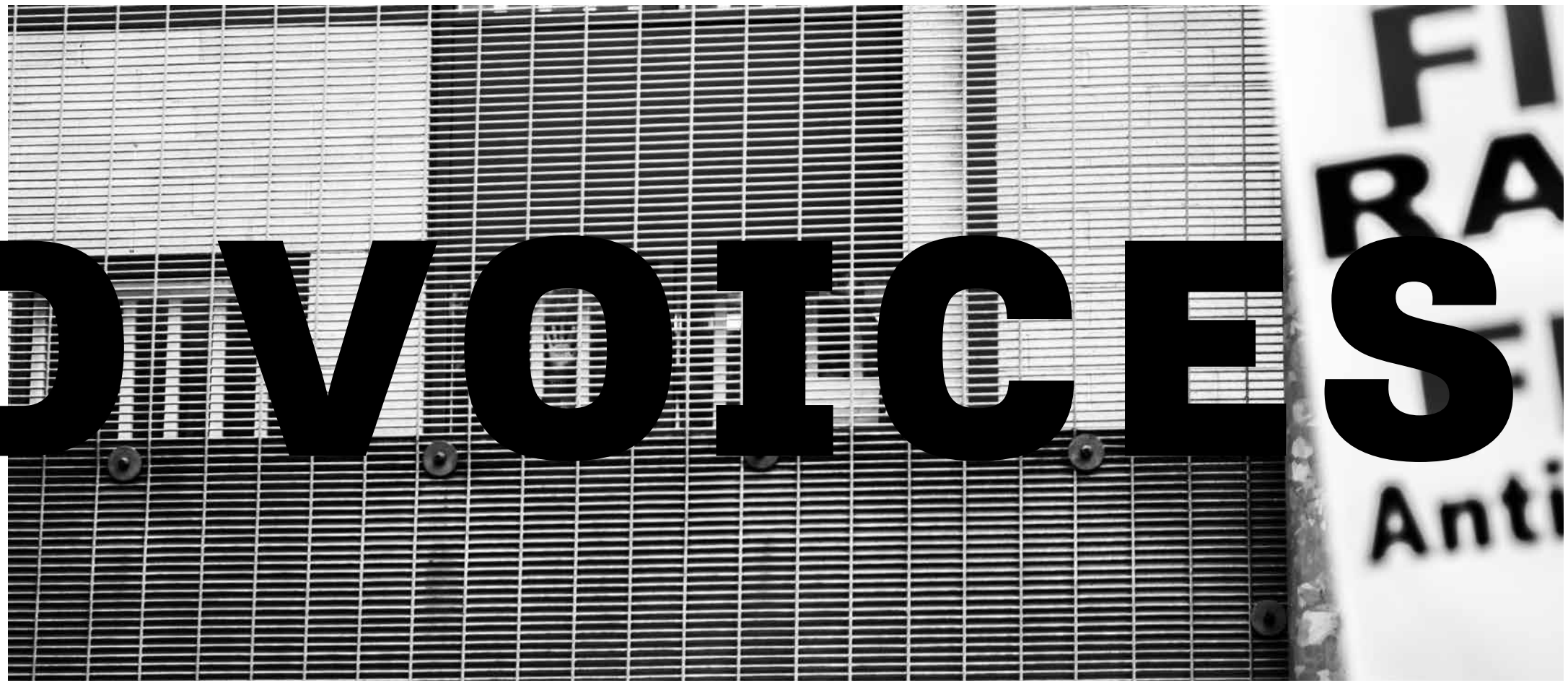
Man, 34. Detained for the last seventeen months.

"The police do not respect anyone. You cannot speak to them. When we ask them about something, they yell at us and swear at us. Sometimes they hit us."

Man, 20. Detained for at least the last five months.

"In Greece, people have no idea about what is happening in Somalia. The tribe I belong to has been 'bleeding' for the last twenty years."

Somali man, 20.



Voices from UK Detention

by Detained Voices

In recent weeks the mainstream media spotlight has shone on the conditions faced by the hundreds of people in the UK who are imprisoned in immigration detention centres. A large number of detainees reacted to reports by staging protests (certainly not for the first time) from within detention, with many of these protests taking the form of hunger strikes. A new social media presence - Detained Voices - emerged and began to broadcast the experiences of migrant detainees taking part in these protests. Below is a selection of quotes from the Detained Voices blog. At the time of writing, protests continue across the majority of UK-based detention centres.

9 MARCH 2015

"I've been in here with no windows for years. It's not fair. It takes ages to see doctor and dentist. People are cutting themselves. Detained 14 months. Been in the UK for 9 years."

"One guy tried to do suicide for three times once he jumped down from first floor but he saved then again he tried to cut himself but saved last time he drink soap but saved and now he is saying he will hang himself till death but officers and health care don't care about any of us."

"Things are not right in here. We decided to start the hunger strike from today, others have started yesterday. I think it's over 100 people. We are not happy with the way things are being done."

"I've been on medication for depression since before I was detained. And they are refusing to give it to me so they can say I'm fit to be detained. It's not right. It's been 6 months now."

"We the detainees at Harmondsworth immigration centre are demanding that:

- All the detainees on fast track process are removed from fast track.
- The facilities are outdated and deteriorated.
- The health care are poor and detainees can't see a doctor even in emergency.
- Detainees are detained unlawfully in the detention centres as if they are criminals.
- Detainees are given poor food.
- Physical and mental health of detainees are worst than they were before they came into detention.
- Detainees are treated as animals by the Home Office.
- Due to the vulnerability of many detainees in the centre, some of them cannot afford to hire lawyers and barrister to defend them, the only option they have is to use legal aid appointed by the home office to act on their behalf. Those people from legal aid are working hand in hand with the home office.
- There is high rate of human trafficking around the centre. The more a detainee is moved from one centre to another the more money the security company get."

"I'm here for for 5 months. I was told 28 [days] while they decide but I'm here for 5 months. It's not only about me – there are lot of people who have been here 1 year, 2 year. This is a prison, we are not criminals – some people have children and wives outside. Everybody has a different story but we all want freedom."

"Because of our hunger-strike immigration turn off the water line. Now in G wings, there is no water to drink, shower or in the toilet"

"My wife is outside, she tried to commit suicide last week. It is a very, very upsetting situation. No one is helping me, I have no money for a solicitor, nothing. Because I am in detention I am not with my wife, and I don't want to leave her. I don't want to see her troubled. That's why I'm on hunger strike."

10 MARCH 2015

"We need all the media, the newspaper, the courts, everyone outside. Do something for us. We are trying our best. We need your help."

"I am in detention and I am a mental health patient and they arrested me and put me here. I've been asking for treatment. I'm not eating for 7 days because I want to [go to] a mental health treatment. I tried to commit suicide the day before yesterday. They put me in the cell. I have been tortured in the past. At night they came and spoke to me and put me in an observation room – locked room, light on and can't sleep. I started hitting my head against the door and it was so powerful. Nothing happened after, they refuse any medical treatment and put me in the cell. I remember them verbally abusing me. I don't remember why I was beating my head but if you put me in this situation I will start to beat my head."

11 MARCH 2015

"I just wanted to say that I am here since late 2014 and I have a father in this country and he is British, I wanted to be with him, he want me to be with him as well and I am just 18 years old thats it."

"Still around 30 people are on hunger strike at Tinsley House for the third day. It's quite a small centre. Officer are coming into our room and saying why are you on strike, it's not going to work. They laugh saying it's not going to work – the Home Office don't care about it."

"After I left my house…you know some people in Pakistan are trying to find me. They want to kill me. They know what time the charter is coming back…they will wait and find me. This is very big trouble for me. My weight was 90 kg, now I weigh 65 kg- they have this on record. I was very very depressed. I'm slowly slowly dying here. It is better to not go back to my country. It is better to die here. I can't sleep more than one hour, two hours. I don't wanna go back."

12 MARCH 2015

"In 2012 I go to claim asylum in Sweden.In Sweden, they release me on the second day. They don't want me in this prison. And anywhere; in Germany I have relatives in Germany and everywhere- they don't put them in this prison."

"If this place was in another country all you would see is BBC and every media…but because it's a place in the UK they defend…so when I say to the Home Office "This place is prison", they say to me "No- is not prison"."

"You can hear people protesting that they are treating us like animals. People have mental health-depression. They are not getting medication or good food. The food they give us- even animals would not like it. People have not been eating- they are on hunger strike. There has been a lot of racism inside."

13 MARCH 2015

"I have a gay partner so I have a serious threat in Pakistan. I have serious threats against me. I have police reports against me. I have the phone records of someone threatening me on the phone. I have emails of people threatening me, saying they will kill me. Immigration just say you are lying."

"We are dying. Because of protest yesterday, one of my mate went to hospital because of that, because he got ill. He started vomiting because he was not eating. He was on hunger strike, he got ill, and started vomiting, and now we don't know where he is."

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by Empty Cages Collective

PRISON-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

Right now over 90,000 people across the UK are locked inside cages that are socially and intellectually justified, rationalised - even celebrated - as fundamental to the smooth running of a liberal democracy. Many more people are in detention centres, young offenders institutions and psychiatric units. It's called the prison system. Its role and reach has moved far beyond a simple statist disciplinary framework to one that is emphatically embracing the ethos of neoliberal policy in the pursuit of profitable revenue streams. This interlocking and reciprocal relationship between the state and private industry under capitalist relations now makes up what is known as the prison-industrial complex (PIC).

Surveillance, policing and imprisonment are sold as solutions to economic, social and political problems caused by capitalism and repressive social structures such as the state and patriarchy. It is not just the grey walls and fences of prisons; it is the courts, the police, probation services, and the companies profiting from transporting, warehousing and exploiting human beings. Increasingly and intentionally, the criminalisation of communities boosts capital accumulation in an age of austerity. This is no accident.

The UK opened the first privately-operated prison in Europe, welcoming with open arms correctional corporations, including G4S, itself historically birthed from the Wackenhunt Corrections Corporation, once the second largest for-profit prison operator in the United States. Under the government's private finance initiative, 14 private prisons have been opened in the UK since 1992. Private companies have been cashing in on incarcerated workers: powerless, non-unionised and desperate for wages for phone credit and tobacco and an alternative to the system's modus operandi of 22-hour bang-up.

Something changes when a human being is placed in a cage. One of the most brutal forms of dehumanisation, it doesn't matter if they "have a Playstation" or opportunities for education, or any other myths perpetuated in the press about pampered prisoners. Prisons harm us. They harm the people inside - many of whom resort to drugs, fighting, self-harm and suicide. They harm the families, partners and loved ones of those incarcerated. They harm our communities as they steal energy, creativity and contribution. Houses, jobs, relationships are lost. Prisons disappear people. They try to disappear social problems but instead they multiply them.

The PIC is rationalised and normalised as the way to keep society's law-abiding majority safe. We are told that safety of all kinds can be guaranteed by watching, controlling and caging groups of people. Who these groups are is not incidental. Working class people, people of colour, queer communities, individuals experiencing mental health struggles, political organisers - all are targeted by the state. Prisons serve several functions in deterring resistance, maintaining class hierarchies and perpetuating poverty. Rooted in the values of the 18th and 19th centuries, prisons emerged ideologically from the values of the church and capitalism - an individualist logic that confinement, solitude and punishment can lead to individual development and moral improvement: putting the penitence into penitentiary! Such moral justifications for the existence of prisons may be gradually disappearing from mainstream discourse, as is most rhetoric of "rehabilitation", but this is not to deny the role prisons continue to play in the formation and disciplining of subjectivities (both inside and outside the penitentiary) and gender roles - prisons have become the ultimate patriarchal punishment from the paternalistic state.

Like all capitalist industries, the prison-industrial complex needs its 'raw materials' to not only sustain profits, but increase them. This cannot be left to chance. The private prison industry, international building firms and security specialists all finance intensive lobbying efforts to keep the prison population growing. Under the Labour government alone, more than 3,600 new criminal offences were created - meaning that people who would previously have not been criminalised are now swept into the criminal justice net. Specific changes to post-industrial economies and societies in the last forty years has also seen a huge growth in the number of women being incarcerated as the logic of the prison-industrial complex sought more bodies to extract value from. Abolitionist Angela Davis has shown that by 2010 in the US there were more women in prison than there were prisoners of both sexes in 1970. Did women suddenly become exponentially more criminal?

The prison population has doubled not because rates of violent or imprisonable crimes have gone up (they haven't) but through changes to sentencing laws and the introduction of repressive sentences such as IPPs (Imprisonment for Public Protection), whereby you have a minimum tariff and then can't get parole until you prove you are 'safe' - so people are serving 4 years for burglary and doing several years more than their original sentences. Davis argues that "punishment has to be conceptually severed from its seemingly indissoluble link with crime". This is the pernicious logic undergirding the prison-industrial complex, one which must be destroyed in order to defeat it. Rising prison populations do not correlate with rising crime. The only thing rising is the policing, surveillance and criminalisation of certain sections of the population, which feed the conveyor belt of a highly profitable industry.

The growth in the prison population is not just a result of national policy. Julia Sudbury writes of how the growth in the prison-industrial complex links to patterns of control internationally. She draws attention to the fundamental shift in the role of the state that has occurred as a result of neoliberal globalisation, as organisations such as the International Monetary Fund pressure governments to "reform" their welfare systems. Combined with the emergence of the US-led "War on Drugs", increasing numbers of women of colour have been violently integrated into this booming growth industry.

The phenomenal development of mass incarceration in the United States correlates most singularly to the abolition of slavery and the criminalisation of people of colour as a contemporary tool for racist repression. Similarly in the UK in 2011, over 25% of the prison population was from a 'black and minority ethnic' background despite that categorisation representing only around 12% of the overall population. Across Europe (and the world), undocumented migrants now also face prison cells (rebranded as 'detention centres'). Multitudes of commodified bodies fuel capitalist growth while the ideological view that says prisons are natural, normal and necessary remains almost entirely unchallenged. To fight for prison abolition is not just practically organising to stop prison expansion, it means challenging, on a daily basis, the very premise that the caging of human beings has a place in the world we want to create. Our solidarity must be centred on those behind bars, those experiencing harm (state and interpersonal) and those who don't want to spend another day in a prison visitors' waiting room.

The PIC has seen little resistance in the UK. Groups organising have lacked popular support. It is clear that the time for reforms has past. Now is the time to fight with all we have. Our bodies are not for sale, our lives are not for stealing.

Until every cell and cage is empty.

By an ex-prisoner and member Empty Cages Collective, who is one of thousands harmed by the PIC.

Resisting Expansion in the UK

The United Kingdom is facing an unprecedented expansion of the prison system, justified by appeals to 'public safety' and the supposed economic benefits for 'local communities'. In response, a new campaign network has been launched called Community Action on Prison Expansion (CAPE). CAPE aims to counter expansion plans and stem the growth of the prison-industrial complex.

In the UK, several expansion initiatives are being implemented, often with little national press attention nor indeed much push-back from social movements. In Wrexham, North Wales, on one of Europe's largest industrial estates, the continent's second biggest prison is set to be built, with the stated aim of warehousing more than 2,100 prisoners.

In Oxfordshire, there are plans to expand Campsfield Immigration Detention Centre. In Leicestershire, the government is set to build its first 'Secure College', a rebranded prison that will lock up 320 children aged between twelve and seventeen. Successful lobbying has halted plans to build a large women's prison in Scotland but the overall picture points to plans for more decentralised state 'solutions' across the country.

The infamous Feltham Young Offenders Institute in west London is to be torn down which, for many, will be a source of celebration. It is to be replaced, however, with the capital's first 'mega prison'. Meanwhile, other prisons sitting on prime land with rising property values will be sold to the highest bidder. The government have already undertaken feasibility studies and commissioned an architect to design a prison that would hold more than 2,000 people.

Right wing think tanks have been lobbying hard for "prison reform". Policy Exchange produced a report called 'Future Prisons', which outlines a national plan for closing down and selling off several older, state-run prisons, in favour of creating new "mega prisons" across the country. In partnership with international construction firm, Carillion, Policy Exchange's proposals would see ten 'hub' prisons (with 2,500-3,000 people in each) replace 30 aging institutions, installing the latest in biometric security systems and surveillance technologies. So far, David Cameron seems to be following their recommendations, with the prison in Wrexham being the government's pilot initiative.

The move toward "Titan" prisons in the UK was first put forward by the Labour government in 2008 with Justice Minister Jack Straw and Prime Minister Gordon Brown intending to push ahead with the construction of three new prisons, each holding 2,500 prisoners.

The plans met with great opposition, even from that government's Chief Inspector of Prisons, Anne Owers. In April 2009, Jack Straw conceded defeat and abandoned the plans with Tory MP (and the coalition's Attorney General until last year) Dominic Grieve asking, 'has he run out of money or has he run out of spin?'. At the time Cameron was also critical of Titan prisons, stating how on previous visits to prisons of this type he was 'profoundly depressed by [their] size and impersonality'. Yet now they are very much back on the agenda with planning permission being granted in January 2014 for the Category C adult male prison in North Wales.

In February 2015, the Prisons Minister announced that the Wrexham prison will be operated by Her Majesty's Prison Service. The prison, it is claimed, will generate £23 million per year in local economic benefits. This initiative has found enthusiastic support from local press and academics, who hope the super prison can offset the hundreds of jobs lost as a result of closures in manufacturing. These new prison enterprises are being strategically proposed in areas where there is little organised resistance and acute economic deprivation, a pattern that follows the US model.

In California, for example, a state where industrialised agriculture has decimated rural communities, prisons are being sold as bywords for economic development. The emergence of the 'prison town' is a product of whole areas in America now meeting their economic needs through investment in incarceration. This model is now being adapted for the UK - the 'economic benefits' of incarceration was a celebrated feature of the "Investing in Britain's Future" manifesto of the Coalition government.

CAPE reject both moral and economic arguments for incarceration. The expansion of the prison-industrial complex has been shown by Angela Davis and others to be both a locus of private enrichment and a strategy of state control - not a strategy for public safety. This double movement demands suitable forms of resistance. We cannot simply rely on local actors lobbying the council with petitions. Resistance to prison expansion will go hand in hand with social movements that are prepared to confront capital and the state.

When the Empty Cages Collective facilitates workshops on prison abolition we ask participants to share their first cultural memory of prison. Was it the TV show '*Porridge*'? Or when Dumbo the Elephant's mum is locked up? Together we explore how normalised prisons are and how, as abolitionist Angela Davis describes, "prison is considered an inevitable and permanent feature of our social lives." We look at the way in which, from the youngest age, we're taught that prisons are where the 'bad people' go, who would harm us should they escape. And at how we're socialised to see prison as an inevitable part of working class life, where everyone will do some 'bird', where it's almost a rite of passage.

Reactions to the idea of prison abolition are generally that it's impractical, an unreachable utopia or that prisons are necessary because, well, "what would you do with all the dangerous people?" Prison abolition is often considered a pipe dream - even while other revolutionary or otherwise utopian ideals may be considered possible or achievable. For abolitionists on the other hand, it's seen as a progressive frame for organising for social change, as much as a long term goal in and of itself.

Having spent enough years inside between us, members of the Empty Cages Collective have observed prison reform campaigns consisting of the same articles in prison newspapers, the same inspection reports, the same calls for 'change', for decades. The abolitionist stance, on the other hand, offers a clear position that can be summed up quite simply: prisons are inherently violent and oppressive institutions and they cannot be reformed.

If prisoners organise themselves and issue demands, such as the end of solitary confinement, we will of course support them. We cannot, however, call for reforms or work in a way that justifies, rationalises or normalises the existence of prisons. We cannot organise around reforms that extend the life of the prison-industrial complex. Two hundred years ago prison reformers lobbied to end capital punishment, to separate women from men prisoners and for prisoners to be given purposeful work. We now have a profitable industry warehousing long-term prisoners, we have women as the fastest growing prison population worldwide and have companies profiting from prison labour as 'out of cell activity'.

Nobody knows the exact profit made by private companies using incarcerated workers. A report by Corporate Watch researching labour in UK detention centres, showed that the firms Serco, G4S, Mitie and GEO saved more than £2.8million from the exploitation of detained immigrants. A popular call from reformers to de-privatise the prison system, however, is unlikely to affect the prison-industrial complex's potential for accumulation because profit-making services and products are so embedded in the public sector.

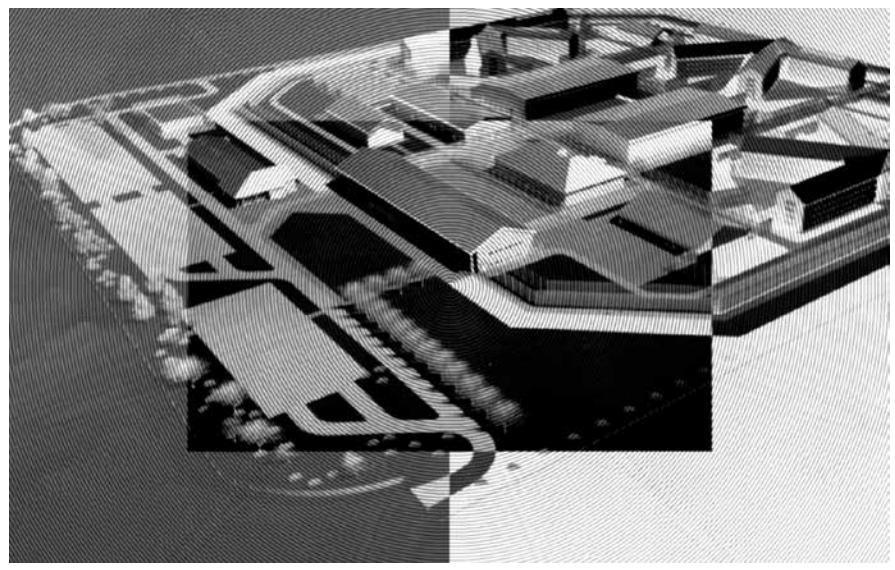
Of course, the changes in the prison system we see now aren't solely the unintended consequences of reformists. There's a complex historical pattern of capitalist growth and state innovations in social control. History does show, however, that allowing prisons to be normalised over time, accepting that cosmetic changes can be made and that the underlying notion of imprisonment is sound, has been a disaster. All of this positioning has enabled the accelerated growth of the prison system.

Abolitionists may fight for some 'non-reformist re-forms' (ie changes that do immediately improve some prison conditions) but we can never back down from our guiding premise that prisons are harmful, violent and oppressive, do not keep communities safe and cannot be allowed to continue to exist.

As a collective we are not blind to the fact that acts committed by many people who end up in prison can and do harm other people. We would never downplay the trauma of being raped, the feeling of violation when robbed or the life-long memory of assault. The fact remains, though, that it's often the same communities being criminalised that are most likely to experience these forms of harm. Prison offers no solution to violence or damage and is in fact only part of perpetuating more of the same.

We fight for abolition, some of us as survivors of abuse, because the state cannot meet our needs for safety. Interacting with the police and courts is well recognised to be disempowering and ineffective at meeting survivors' needs because the law doesn't place the survivor or victim at the centre of the process but rather seeks punishment for or restitution from the perpetrator on behalf of the state. Our power to articulate our needs and determine our own lives is taken away from us.

Furthermore we know focus on interpersonal harm isn't enough, it creates an incomplete picture. To imprison individuals while creating and perpetuating conditions of poverty and war (such as is the uniquely privileged hypocrisy of the state) is a kind of madness. We see that these two aspects – interpersonal harm and state harm - are interlinked. We don't believe, nor is there evidence, that policing and imprisonment reduces harm. Caging people does not solve the social crises in our societies of racism, sexism, drug abuse, violence, or psycho-emotional struggles.



ZERO TO ABOLITION

As abolitionists we are committed to organising and working towards safe and healthy communities that can genuinely reduce harm. It is in this way that organising for abolition is a creative act. It is the unstoppable desire for self-determination, social justice and ecological living. It is the work that is already taking place in struggles for housing, access to food and land, in collective childcare projects and radical education networks. It is also the inspiring work that's going on to find better ways of responding to acts of harm when they do arise.

Anarchists, radicals and rebels of many types continue to struggle to prevent and/or respond to harm within our communities where instances of interpersonal violence such as partner abuse and rape are, unfortunately, still common. We're not living in a vacuum, unaffected by patriarchy and other patterns of domination. The US-based group, Incite!, for example, is a network of feminists of colour working to end violence against women, gender non-conforming and trans people of colour. In March 2015 they organised a conference called 'Beyond the State: Inciting Transformative Possibilities'. The conference highlighted emerging strategies and new frameworks focused on ending violence without having to rely on policing, mass incarceration, restrictive legislation, and other systems of violence and control. And many other groups are also beginning to envision what new models for negotiating harm could look like.

One such framework is known as Transformative Justice (TJ). In the new publication, 'What about the Rapists? Anarchist Approaches to Crime and Justice', the authors aim to summarise this grassroots, dialogue-based model that has its origins in indigenous practices, mediation work, and Restorative Justice (RJ), which it closely resembles:

"Like RJ, it strongly opposes punitive responses to crime, places the parties in conflict at the centre of the process, and is (in theory at least), voluntary. Like RJ, it facilitates understanding between individuals, and allows them to agree steps to 'repair' the harm caused. However, TJ advocates have rightly accused RJ of being co-opted by the state, which undermines its potential to challenge structural inequalities. For instance, in the case of domestic violence, RJ at best 'restores' both parties to the unequal positions they held before the abuse took place."

Paying attention to and reconfiguring power inequalities, placing survivors at the centre, creating opportunities for dialogue with a focus on accountability and support for all, is about the desire not to restore, but deeply transform. Transform everyone involved in beautiful, powerful and challenging ways.

Clearly there's no one-size-fits-all solution. There never can be. The criminal 'justice' system fails because it dehumanises and is just an extension of a damaging social context. Abolition is about learning what it means to be human, creating the space for communities to recover their humanity, and determine their own systems for navigating power, living in more life-affirming ways and keeping each other safe and cared for.

Together we can consign the absurdity of the prison-industrial complex to the history books. No longer will caging human beings be held up as a solution to the complex challenges we face. Instead, a multitude of approaches and a diversity of tactics and actions will lead us to more social cohesion, mutual aid and respect. But that kind of change involves reinventing our lives, not reforming the current paradigms. Without an abolitionist framework our dreams will remain behind lock and key. **prisonabolition.org**

THE US: NOT A COLONIAL POWER?

In a 2009 interview with Al Arabiya Television in Dubai, soon after his first inauguration, President Barack Obama affirmed that the US government could be an honest broker in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, saying: "We sometimes make mistakes. We have not been perfect. But if you look at the track record, as you say, America was not born as a colonial power."

One has to query the president: How did the United States begin with thirteen small colonies/states hugging the Atlantic seaboard and end up in the mid-twentieth century with fifty states over much of North America, and a number of island colonies in the Pacific and the Caribbean? Apparently, it was Manifest Destiny at work.

According to the centuries-old Doctrine of Discovery, European nations acquired title to the lands they "discovered," and Indigenous inhabitants lost their natural right to that land after Europeans had arrived and claimed it. Under this legal cover for theft, European wars of conquest, domination, and in some cases - such as the United States - settler-colonial states, devastated Indigenous nations and communities, ripping their territories away from them and transforming the land into private property, real estate. Most of the land appropriated by the United States ended up in the hands of land speculators and agribusiness operators, many of which, up to the mid-nineteenth century, were plantations worked by another form of private property, enslaved Africans. Arcane as it may seem, the Doctrine of Discovery remains the basis for US laws still in effect that control Indigenous peoples' lives and destinies, even their histories by distorting them.

From the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, most of the non-European world was colonised under the Doctrine of Discovery, one of the first principles of international law. Christian European monarchies promulgated it to legitimise investigating, mapping, and claiming lands belonging to peoples outside Europe. It originated in a papal bull issued in 1455 that permitted the Portuguese monarchy to seize West Africa. Following Columbus's infamous exploratory voyage in 1492, sponsored by the King and Queen of the infant Spanish state, another papal bull extended similar permission to Spain. Disputes between the Portuguese and Spanish monarchies led to the papal-initiated Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which, besides dividing the globe equally between the two Iberian empires, clarified that only non-Christian lands fell under the Doctrine of Discovery.

This doctrine, on which all European states and the United States relied, thus originated with the arbitrary and unilateral establishment of the Iberian monarchies' exclusive rights under Christian canon law to colonise foreign peoples, and this right was later seized by other European monarchical colonising projects. The French Republic used this legalistic instrument for its nineteenth and twentieth century settler-colonialist projects, as did the newly independent United States when it continued the colonisation of North America begun by the British.

In 1792, not long after the US founding, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson claimed that the Doctrine of Discovery developed by European states was international law applicable to the new US government as well. In 1823 the US Supreme Court issued its decision in Johnson v. McIntosh. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice John Marshall held that the Doctrine of Discovery had been an established principle of European law and of English law in effect in Britain's North American colonies and was also the law of the United States. The Court defined the exclusive property rights that a European country acquired by dint of discovery: "Discovery gave title to the government, by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession." Therefore, European and Euro-American "discoverers" had gained real-property rights in the lands of Indigenous peoples by merely planting a flag. Indigenous rights were, in the Court's words, "in no instance, entirely disregarded; but were necessarily, to a considerable extent, impaired." The Court further held that Indigenous "rights to complete sovereignty, as independent nations, were necessarily diminished." Indigenous people could continue to live on the land, but title resided with the discovering power, the United States. The decision concluded that Native nations were "domestic, dependent nations."

In fact, Indigenous peoples were not allowed to continue living on their land under Andrew Jackson's presidency; with the Indian Removal Act that he pushed through Congress, all the Indigenous nations east of the Mississippi were dissolved and their citizens were forcibly relocated to "Indian Territory," which itself was later dissolved to become a part of the state of Oklahoma.

The Doctrine of Discovery is so taken for granted that it is rarely mentioned in historical or legal texts published in the United States.

In the era of global decolonisation of the second half of the 20th century, Native American nations remained colonised. Native American nations and communities are involved in decolonisation projects, including the development of international human rights law to gain their right to self-determination as Indigenous Peoples, having gained the United Nations' 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This was a project initiated by the Indigenous militants who occupied Wounded Knee in 1973, demanding self-determination. Indigenous North American resistance to colonialism has never stopped since the first British settler-colonies were established.

It's time for US American social justice movements to educate themselves about the colonial past (and present) of the United States and to make a commitment to work in solidarity with Native American decolonisation efforts. How can the United States be decolonised? How can US society come to terms with its past? How can it acknowledge responsibility? The late Native historian Jack Forbes always stressed that while living persons are not responsible for what their ancestors did, they are responsible for the society they live in, which is a product of that past. Assuming this responsibility provides a means of survival and liberation. Everyone and everything in the world is affected, for the most part negatively, by US dominance and intervention, often violently through direct military means or through proxies. It is an urgent concern.

Indigenous peoples offer possibilities for life after empire, possibilities that neither erase the crimes of colonialism nor require the disappearance of the original peoples colonised under the guise of including them as individuals (assimilation). That process rightfully starts by honoring the treaties the United States made with Indigenous nations, by restoring all sacred sites, starting with the Black Hills and including most federally held parks and land, and all stolen sacred items and body parts, and by payment of sufficient reparations for the reconstruction and expansion of Native nations. These are the demands of Native resistance movements, and they must be the demands of all US social movements. In the process, not only consciousness, but the continent itself will be radically reconfigured, physically and psychologically. For the future to be realised, it will require extensive educational programmes and the full support and active participation of the descendants of settlers, enslaved Africans, and colonised Mexicans, as well as immigrant populations.

The affirmation of democracy requires the denial of colonialism, but denying it does not make it go away. Only decolonisation of the United States can do that. **Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz is the author of *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the Unites States*.**

by Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz

CRITICAL CARTOGRAPHY

by Rhiannon Firth

Most of us use maps on a day-to-day basis as practical tools to help us find our way around. Not too long ago we would have used Ordinance Survey maps, or pocket-sized city maps. Increasingly people are drawn to using Google Maps on smartphones. We rarely reflect on the ways in which our use of these maps might actually structure our experience of the world and our relations within it, limiting our imagination and possibilities for activity.

A critical cartography is the idea that maps – like other texts such as the written word, images or film - are not (and cannot be) value-free or neutral. Maps reflect and perpetuate relations of power, more often than not in the interests of dominant groups.

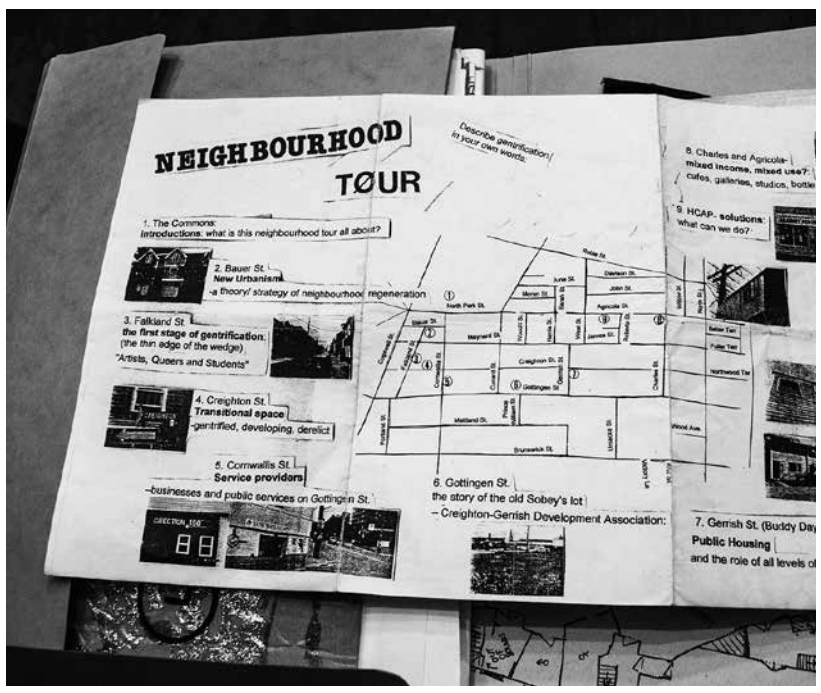
It is fairly easy to think of some ways in which maps embody power relations. One need not dig too deep within the history of mapping to see that they are intricately tied up in the history of nineteenth century colonialism and imperialism. Cartographers drew – and continue to draw - boundaries that separate people and resources. As another example, it is a fairly well-known fact that the commonly used Mercator projection of the globe is an inaccurate representation, because when cartographers 'flatten out' the spherical earth, they need to make certain choices: Size, shape and distances cannot all be maintained in the process. In the Mercator projection, the global North is vastly expanded at the expense of the South and Europe is placed squarely in the centre. As a further example, we may find it relatively easier – using an Ordinance Survey or Google Maps – to find a recently built supermarket than a longstanding squat, autonomous space, social centre or other radical space, or perhaps the site of the Battle of Hastings rather than the site of a historical radical struggle or riot. This does not just have practical implications for finding a space. Maps structure and limit our knowledge of the landscape, affecting our perception of what is important, the relative sizes and relationships between objects and spaces and where it is possible or safe to travel.

Critical Cartography is therefore, in the first instance, interested with theoretical critique of the social relevance, politics and ethics of mapping. The assumption that this is even a possibility – that maps are not simply neutral tools but rather strategic weapons that express power – leads to a second, practical, aspect of critical cartography. Groups and individuals at a grassroots level can also use mapping for a variety of purposes. Maps can be used to make counter-claims, to express competing interests, to make visible otherwise marginal experiences and hidden histories, to make practical plans for social change or to imagine utopian worlds.

It is important to note that maps are expressions not only of power, but of desire. Maps themselves can be objects of desire – some people enjoy looking at maps, or collecting historical ones. Maps also project our desires onto the landscape, they can map our hopes for the future, what we desire to see and that which we wish to ignore or hide. The process of mapping can also bring new ways of being and relating into the world, for example, we might experiment with new ways of organising and making decisions, such as non-hierarchy and consensus.

Academic literature tends to be fairly light on sketching alternative practices. There is a relatively large literature about 'counter-mapping', a practice which involves organisations such as NGOs and charities enabling indigenous communities to chart their territory in order to make land claims or protect resources from the encroachments of capital. These practices are undoubtedly progressive, but they have also been subject to criticism. They can involve representing communities' sometimes multiple and conflicting desires as a single representation, ignoring power differentials and exclusions within communities. This can be a necessary strategic act when attempting to make rights or resource claims to hierarchical entities such as states or trade organisations, yet can also help to perpetuate and legitimise such structures.

This is not to say that alternative mapping practices do not have a place in anarchist and non-hierarchical movements and studies. Social movements already use cartographies as ways of producing and communicating knowledge, yet these have rarely been studied in academic work. Examples of groups using counter-cartography include Bureau D'Etudes (http://bureaudetudes.org/) who produce huge geopolitical maps with massive amounts of information, highlighting for example links between corporations, financial institutions and arms trade companies, on a global scale. Other examples include the 56a infoshop in London, which hosted a 'festival of mapping' in 2005 (http://www.56a.org.uk/mapfesttext.html). The infoshop still has a huge archive of radical maps which can be visited by members of the public (I would highly recommend it!) and members of the infoshop still host radical mapping workshops and activities throughout London, the UK and worldwide.



Why is mapping a useful process for radical activists? Critical cartography can be a process of knowledge production and transformation. It is not just the 'final product' maps that are important; the process itself can involve learning together and producing new knowledge by bringing together multiple perspectives, by connecting different personal maps, or by creating collective maps through rotation, negotiation or consensus. Collaborative map-making can be a way to democratise knowledge-production. Mapping can also emphasise relations to institutions, landscapes, wildlife and environments, leading people to reconceive their relation to invisible structures or the natural world. More fundamentally it involves a reconfiguration of relations to space, dis-alienating one's relationship to space through the application of imagination.

My own approach to mapping workshops has tended to resonate with the old Free Party slogan: "bring what you expect to find." I've facilitated several mapping workshops with groups such as the academics at the Anarchist Studies Association annual conference, activists at the Occupy encampment in Nottingham Market Square, an Autonomous feminist group in Nottingham, participants in a week-long 'Free Skool' at the 195 Mare Street squatted social centre in Hackney. Rather than positioning myself as an expert, I try to draw out and critically examine people's existing knowledges and relationships to maps and mapping. Usually my approach is informal: I begin by getting people to think critically about mapping and alternative possibilities for mapping, using some of the ideas and examples listed above. I then try to facilitate the group in thinking through what kind of maps would be useful for their particular groups, and how they think it would be best to go about the process of mapping. I try to problematise some common dynamics that emerge – for example that people often veer towards wishing to map individually, yet one would hope that in a radical movement there would be some merit to mapping collectively.

Participants also often tend to parody traditional 'street map' styles and conventions, so it is sometimes worth thinking through the ways in which other environmental features which are often missed off conventional maps might be shown, or thinking about mapping non-visible aspects of the environment such as relationships, emotions or pollutants. It is also worth noting that maps need not be drawn on paper, nor need they be two-dimensional. Indigenous practices show possibilities for mapping such as textile pattern weaving, orally narrated storytelling and mythological maps, or maps that communicate using notches in sticks. The existence of multimodal and braille maps for blind people also point to some of the exclusionary aspects of visual mapping and possible alternatives.

The possibilities for mapping and map-making are as multiple as the people who choose to make maps. I have included below a brief list of questions that might function as a useful starting point for anyone interested in some map-making:

THE PROCESS

- Who will be mapping, why and for what purpose?
- Does the group have common interests, values or desires?
- Is there a pre-decided theme, or will it be worked out as part of the process?
- Who and what will be invited and included, or perhaps implicitly excluded, and on what grounds?
- Is the space physically accessible to everyone who might attend, and can childcare be included if necessary?
- Are there any formal or informal hierarchies in the space, and how might these be addressed?
- Does the process itself produce any emotions or affects? Is it psychologically transformative?
- Who is the intended audience of the map?

THE MAP

- What will be mapped and why is this important?
- What materials or technology will be used?
- What will be made visible, or hidden, and why?
- What will be drawn, in what style, what colours?
- Are there any practical considerations for the map's intended use; e.g. should it be waterproof or capable of duplication?

THE LIFE OF THE MAP

- How will the map continue its life outside this space?
- How might the map function as a tool? Does it have any practical use?
- Who will be able to access, or might be excluded from using it, and how will it be used?
- What kind of knowledge is produced?
- Might the map trigger other cycles of learning/critique/mapping elsewhere?
- What are the political/ethical/social implications of these decisions?
- What changes or desires might the map bring into the world?

Urban Struggle

LONDON 2011-2015

Sweets Way

4

20

11

7

18

HMP

Hollo

6

HMP
Wormwood
Scrubs

15

Eric Garner Die-In

An

HMP
Wandsworth

HMP
Brixto

N

1km
1mi

theoccupiedtimes.org
discover more
download the map
bit.ly/OTMap

- Private Ownership
- Private and Social Rent
- Housing Estates Regenerations
- 2011 Uprising - Flashpoints
- Prisons
- Police Stations
- Resistance Occupations
- Social Centres
- Mass Arrests
- Active Groups

14
16
3
Leyton Protection camp
2
5
HMP
Pentonville
8
10
Carpenter's - Focus E15
12
Critical Mass
17
LARC
Freedom Offices
TH286 - Antifa
HMP
Belmarsh
56A Infoshop
Aylesbury Estate
9
13
1
Loughborough Park
19

HOUSING / WELFARE ACTION

1 Housing Action Southwark and Lambeth
2 Welfare Action Hackney
3 Haringey Housing Action Group (HHAG)
4 Haringey Solidarity Group
5 Hackney Housing Group
6 Kilburn Unemployed Workers Group
7 Islington Poverty Action Group
8 Focus E15
9 South London Renters
10 Digs
11 Our West Hendon

POLICE / STATE VIOLENCE

12 Newham Monitoring Project
13 LCAPSV
14 UFFC
15 The Monitoring Group [Southall]
16 Tottenham Rights (Monitoring Group Project)
17 Anti-Raids Network
18 Brent Anti-Racism

ANTIFA

19 South London Anti-Fascists
20 North London Anti-Fascists

by Sophie Lewis

How Will Surrogates Struggle?

The following story is a mix of fact and fiction. Outside Mumbai, a worker in a surrogacy home was refused permission to travel back to her village to visit a dying relative. The gestational surrogate, like all the others in her dormitory, was growing a fetus whose genetic design and implantation via IVF-ET (*in vitro fertilisation* followed by *embryo transfer*) had been curated at significant cost by private clinicians on commission for 'intending parents' from Europe. The pregnancy was nearing its third trimester, and the manager of the dorm denied her leave, invoking the contract she had signed prior to beginning hormonal treatment. It was a standard Indian surrogacy contract which she had not been able to understand at the time, not least because it was written mostly in English, with no explanation for phrases like "transvaginal ultrasound" or "caesarean section if requested", and of which, moreover, she had not been given a copy to keep (Sharmila Rudrappa attests that throughout her extensive ethnographic research on surrogacy labour she has not encountered a single worker who could show her their contract.) The woman urgently wanted to visit her family but, unlike her friends and former colleagues in the garment factories, she could hardly bargain with her boss by going on strike. Or could she? According to the team that toured the documentary *Made in India*, when she "threatened to 'drop' the baby. *They finally let her leave for a few weeks.*" Since then, more surrogates have begun to follow suit...

This rare documented moment of victorious surrogate power captures a particularly visceral example of the moral blackmail to which all care workers are beholden under capitalism—nurses, midwives, nannies, etc. While striking nurses, as we know, face imputations of personal responsibility for risk and harm caused to patients during the shift, surrogates have no shift (rather, a nine-month, 24/7 piecework commission) and can only halt their productivity by declining to continue giving life to the fetus. Downing tools, when your job is entirely within the limits of your own body, means killing a part of your own body—the baby. More specifically, when your job is the blended affective and biological-corporeal capacity, both vital and partly unconscious, to make another viable human *who will be the child of other people far away*, the stakes of any anti-work refusal are immediately almost unthinkably high.

> The popular idea of the unruly surrogate, who departs from the prescribed track and either makes off with or destroys the living property of her clients, is a callous, necro-political figure. "I gave *Baby M* life, I can take her life away!" was the threat levelled down the phone, chilling the commissioning father's blood, in the 1980s TV docu-drama, "Baby M", about Western culture's first truly (in)famous surrogate. And, judging from the Q&As on reproductive tourism websites today, the industry is seriously jumpy about this almost entirely anomalous figure. In the wake of the ubiquitously cited Baby M melodrama, commissioning parents frequently inquire after the immobility and hygiene of 'their' pregnancy: how can they be sure that a surrogate will not run off? And, this primary fear assuaged, can they get a guarantee that she will not do manual labour, incur injury, have sex, smoke, or abuse drugs?

A customer's overriding concern is that the surrogate will ultimately relinquish the child. Do they have laws *over there* that force her to do so? Indeed, an economic geography of commercial surrogacy shows that 'they' do. The BRIC-dominated purveyors of private Assisted Reproductive Technology (A.R.T.) are usually keen to stress the primacy of tech and lab expertise in the process, over the individual "carrier's" flesh. Agencies often characterise surrogate women as grateful "Third World" charity cases (the fee you pay for this "gift of life" will change *her* life!), while medical experts become centred as the real team leaders, delivering Your Baby. The term A.R.T. in itself pretends that overcoming Your Infertility is achieved by 'technology' alone.

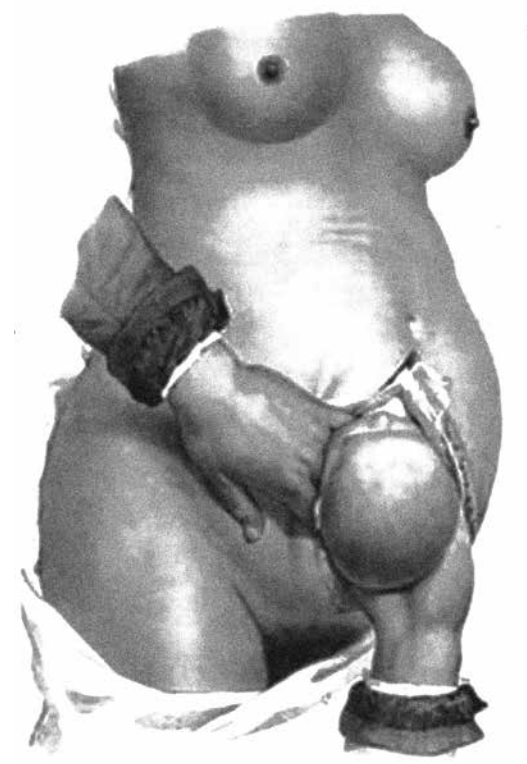
> Star clinic director Dr. Nayna Patel epitomises broader biomedical business attitudes when she says in the 2012 HBO documentary, *Google Baby*: "All my surrogates are very humble, simple, nice females... very dedicated ... very religious". Patel, of the Akanksha Clinic, who has appeared on everything from Oprah to BBC's HARDtalk, clearly sees no contradiction in touting overwhelmingly) debt-stricken proletarians from Gujarat to an international audience in this way and asserting that "there's nothing wrong with empowering women."

Or perhaps she understands full well the contradiction at the heart of Western capitalist figurations of the Global South, which seek to embrace and heal poverty while simultaneously keeping the poor exactly as they are (and *where* they are, to boot). Her message to buyers is that they can rely on the productivity and quiescence of surplus populations at capitalism's periphery, who are well ordered by today's new international division of labour. Don't worry, she tells us; the women I enlist to carry your child are reliable, they are disciplined by poverty and by an ingrained local patriarchal culture that you, as a Westerner, can barely imagine. At the same time, naturally, they dream of an end to their poverty (though not, apparently, of an end to their placidity and productivity). So why not make poverty history today, and get a genetic child of your very own into the bargain?

> Which is not to say that concern isn't warranted. Caesarean sections - for the purpose of timing the delivery efficiently and, arguably, for reasons of symbolic control - are the industry norm for surrogacies. Caesarean sections pose enormous health risks for women whose access to healthcare reverts, postpartum, to a very low level. In the opening of *Google Baby*, a camera crew documents a woman crying, following the removal of a white baby from her abdomen and its immediate dispatch out, to "the mother." Colostrum (first milk) typically won't pass between surrogate and newborn.

The choreographies of assisted reproduction are nerve-jangling, even for a remote onlooker who may be relatively uninvested in the symbolic force of the baby's face. Unsurprisingly, then, many nation-states ban surrogacy entirely. UK law exclusively bans its non-altruistic forms. Estimated hundreds of DNA-tested and legitimated British babies do however come 'home' over the border having been gestated in brown wombs, never to be registered as the 'techno-natural' anomalies they are. Certainly, surrogacy is still a minority issue (albeit a sensational story about babies of which tabloids will never tire), but its exact prevalence is undocumented and the sector, with its thousands of gestational labourers, is slated to massively grow. The Indian market alone is estimated to be worth over $2bn. The question, perhaps, is not so much 'should this happen?' as 'what is happening—and how can it be politicised?'

If babies were universally thought of as everybody's responsibility, 'belonging' to nobody, one could wager that surrogacy would make no sense and could generate no profits. Surrogacy, as it stands today, constitutes 'wages for pregnancy' - the *professionalisation* of pregnancy. Surrogates mostly do little other than gestate: boredom is part of the job. Otherwise, regardless of the aura of hi-tech weirdness that surrounds it, its outcomes are indistinguishable from the gestations that most people perform for free. By itself, it has neither a straightforwardly progressive nor a straightforwardly regressive effect on the near-universal norm of Western bourgeois familism. By catering to couples and individuals of all sorts, it enables queer parenting configurations, especially if combined with somatic cell nuclear transfer, whereby multiple (perhaps poly) parents can be genetically inscribed in an embryo. Yet by making an essentially proprietary attitude towards children more visible, and seeking to naturalise (via markets) the ruling class's right to have reproductive assistance, it enshrines eugenic fissures in the world. Surrogate workers are well placed to spearhead a movement that asks: how do we want to reproduce ourselves (and the world)? Why shouldn't all pregnancies be directly paid for? How should the configuration of families be decided?



Despite its unsettling challenge to heteronormative familism, surrogacy is almost never framed in terms of wider reproductive justice, or as a prompt to rethink common, even communist, ways of making and relating to children. Legalistic and lobbyist calls for progressive regulation of surrogacy are legion (especially in Australia, India and Western Europe) but always, unsurprisingly, retain a private and proprietary concept of the family. As 'equal marriage' rights become entrenched through surrogacy, recent conservative protests in France have also demanded that it, specifically, be outlawed. Meanwhile, the U.S. pro-life right-wing is cautiously in favour of reproductive technology's pro-natalist function and eugenic potential. Military wives with Tricare health insurance have made a name for themselves as 'the most wanted surrogates in the world'. American surrogates generally, in states where surrogacy is legal (attracting fees of up to $100,000), retain a high degree of personal autonomy: they tend to command the nature of communication with the future family, determine degree of medicalisation of their pregnancy, manage their own fee transactions, and frequently hand-pick parents from applicant pools via support forums like SurroMomsOnline.

By contrast, in the Ukraine, Russia, Mexico, Guatemala, Thailand, China and India, surrogates belong, economically, to 'surplus' populations similar to those harvested for kidney "donations". This intimate frontier of "clinical labour" is a major innovation, Catherine Waldby and Melinda Cooper have shown, of neoliberal economics. As such, the affluent and the destitute of the world, alike, can become entrepreneurs (or 'repropreneurs') of their own anatomies. The majority, however, are those without the luxury

of 'choice'. They are those who suffer the opportunism of the wealthy, facing their own corporeal enrollment under conditions of anonymity, surveillance, partial deception, lack of control over their biology, and for pay they discover is unacceptable (if calculated per hour across the whole nine months it is invariably less than $1). Cases of commissioning fathers banking on multiple surrogates at once and dropping those who failed to conceive twins, without payment, while putting pressure on them to abort, are not unheard of. The case of Baby Gammy, who has Down's Syndrome and was abandoned by Australian commissioning parents in 2014, prompted Thailand to ban commercial surrogacy altogether last year.

The stark and ugly two-tier geography of surrogacy—boutique and mass, transparent and opaque, North and South, voluntaristic and desperate—can be mystified through the telling of new age spiritual stories, and the blogging of miracles, that pretend there is no difference. Infertility having become subject to wholesale pathologisation, a surrogate's final pay-day (parturition) inevitably becomes the happiest day of a long-thwarted would-be procreator's life. Women helping women: it's beautiful - that's the way the optimistic contingent of the pro-natalist liberal-feminist establishment would like to frame it. Curiously, there are few voices to be found from the garment factory slums of, for example, Bangalore - where surrogates are recruited - that chime with the breathless descriptions of unforgettable journeys, bonds, unlikely comings-together, and incredible reciprocal transformations, which the industry (and Oprah) likes to platform. As is doubtless palpable to those workers, in many ways the outsourcing of gestation is typical of post-Fordist labour trends. A growing suite of reproductive and intimate domestic 'goods' now enter the international market in services, marked by precarisation and casualisation and characterised notably by a rearrangement of risk (typical surrogacy contracts read like litanies of risk disclaimers). Indeed, to zoom in on this small subsection of twenty-first century work is not to argue that it is qualitatively unique.

Rather, the challenge for surrogates, the value of whose labour is literally embedded in their bodies as living things, is to generalise their struggle. The experience of bodily unity with a child destined for an 'other' family seems like a very good place from which to instigate a politics of reproductive freedom. It springs from the same subversive mediational subject-position occupied throughout history by wet nurses, governesses, ayahs, sex-workers and nannies. Surrogate struggle by no means demands a technophobic attitude *against* assisted reproductive technologies, which should surely rather be reimagined - made to realise collective needs and desires. Actually, those who work as surrogates *are* the technology profitably controlled by others; they embody not only the form-giving fire but the partially conscious primary components. And the woman who stood up to her boss, with whom this article began, points the way to a revolution that begins simply with naming the labour of surrogacy as labour; naming the not-fully-conscious, not-fully-human, body, in which the commissioned baby resides, as synonymous with the labourer herself. We might imagine this struggle as one aiming to overthrow all conditions of life that stratify and impede the flourishing and re-growing of already-existing humans. Starting, certainly, with global markets in reproductive tourism as they currently exist, intensifying patterns of neocolonial inequality. But doubtless also including the nuclear family, based, as it is, on genetic heredity, inheritance, and oppressive divisions of work that prop up the tangled relations of nation, gender and race. Surrogacy, in short, has the potential to make palpable to us how co-produced, worldly and interdependent our bodies are. In the years to come, a form of radical cyborg militancy is to be expected in the gestational workplaces of the world.

ALGORITHMIC FORCE + FASCISM

by Dan McQuillan

A new apparatus of governance is assembling around big data and its algorithmic processing. The data produced through our daily encounters and interactions is becoming the focus for new ways to develop policy and enforce behaviour change. The raw material for these aspirations is the 'volume, velocity and variety' of big data, the granular stream of data points generated by everyday activities and accumulated by technology corporations. In the past, this data has been processed for purely commercial ends, from the early use of data mining to find correlations in supermarket purchases to Facebook's exploitation of the social graph for marketing analytics. Today, advocates are promoting the same methods as the way to get traction on tricky social issues, an approach sometimes known as algorithmic regulation. If massive data processing can create effective online services and eliminate bugs, why not apply these methods to government; after all, the numbers 'speak for themselves' and there's a ready-made policy approach that uses behavioural insights to modify government's interactions based on metrics. To understand the deeper dangers behind this risk-reduction philosophy means digging a bit deeper into the way data is processed to produce correlations and predictions.

Big data is strictly big by virtue of being too big for the machines; at least, too big for single computers or servers to process. The corollary in human terms is that it's also too big to get your head around; there is no way to interpret it directly. The primary methods of sensemaking with big data are data mining and machine learning; data mining looks for patterns in the data, such as associations between variables and clusters, while machine learning enables computers to get better at recognising these patterns in future data. Hence, big data can be processed to produce predictions, whether they are related to car insurance and the likelihood of certain drivers to have a crash, or the susceptibility of certain individuals to be the source of a terrorist attack. The practice of algorithmic preemption is becoming visible in policing. In Chicago, an algorithmic analysis predicted a heat list of 420 individuals likely to be involved in a shooting, using risk factors like previous arrests, drug offences, known associates and their arrest records. They received personal warning visits from a police commander. The key shift here is from causation to correlation: from evidence of a crime to a probability based on the matching of data variables. This, I believe, will lead to the production of spaces of enforcement outside the law, or what are known as 'states of exception'.

States of exception are states of affairs where law, rights and political meaning to life are suspended. The term was developed by Giorgio Agamben to question the legal basis of events such as a declaration of martial law or the introduction of emergency powers, or the creation of spaces like Guantanamo Bay. His analysis starts from the emergency measures of the First World War, reaching an apotheosis in the Third Reich. On the latter, he highlights that Nazi Germany was never a dictatorship; the constitution continued, but the Nazis implemented their programme through increasing the scope of states of exception outside of the law. How is this related to big data and algorithms? One signature of a state of exception is that it acts with 'force-of': it has the force of the law even when not of the law. Scaling back, let us consider how our daily lives are becoming modulated by algorithmic processing. It turns out that your chances of getting a payday loan from Wonga are already determined (invisibly, rapidly) by analysis of varied data, including social media. In Massachusetts, you may find that your driver's license has been revoked because a facial recognition algorithm has falsely matched you with another driver. The multiplication of machinic decisions based on opaque assumptions is worrying enough, and I have examined elsewhere the emergence of algorithmic states of exception along with some general suggestions about resistance. Here I want to raise the alarm specifically about the overlap of algorithmic force and the politics of the far right.

We can observe that, in many parts of Europe at least, the far right is on the rise both on the streets and in terms of political representation. What if we are creating a new apparatus of governance that is particularly suitable for the implementation of these agendas? One beachhead could be housing policy; with UKIP, for example, linking housing rights to the residency of grandparents. Concerns have already been expressed in the USA that big data processing will lead to the return of "redlining", the racial segregation of housing outlawed by the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Now everything from Facebook friendships to Foursquare check-ins could be mobilised to infer ethnic origin, but not in a way that is easy to point a finger at. Big data algorithms cannot deconstruct their own reasoning into human terms but simply produce correlations. Moreover, the underlying data structures are themselves slippery; as more adept database technologies, such as NoSQL, replace hierarchically structured databases it becomes easier to reinterpret data that was collected for a completely different purpose. Today your listening preferences are processed in 'the cloud' to suggest what else you might like; tomorrow they become part of a distant reading of your ethnicity or politics. Implementing policies through algorithmic states of exception blindsides structural oversight and possibly even popular opposition. But the resonance of the new apparatuses with the right wing is more than bad luck, for at least two reasons: the centrality of big business, and the affinity of ideology to governance based on correlations.

The historical connection of fascism to big business is a well-researched phenomenon, starting with Daniel Guerin's book in 1936. Who amongst us would truly trust Google or Facebook to firewall regressive uses of their data if government made it part of an accommodation, and do we need to read all the NSA and GCHQ slides leaked by Edward Snowden to know the answer? But deeper than that, I suggest, is the potential affinity of mechanisms based on correlations and a far right ideology. As the historian Roger Griffin has observed, a common core to all forms of fascism is a rebirth of the nation from its present decadence, and a mobilisation to deal with those elements of culture and population that are the sources of the contamination. A programme for the automated elimination of undesirability is exactly the pattern offered by algorithmic regulation. The danger in this case, the situation of far right governance, is not only the usual tendency of big data and algorithmic processing to produce false positives with real world impacts through processes that lack accountability. It is also that the fluidity of the vision that can be read into the correlations is a welcome mat for a politics that has already read the world through paranoid correlations, has already judged the categories that should be blamed, and is ready to implement that through the levers at hand. The prospect is a pinball machine of social policy with the algorithmic and progressive excision of citizenship. These ghosts are already among us, in the form of asylum seekers regarded as having 'no recourse to public funds'. If we are to anticipate this, we should be asking ourselves before it's too late; how do we develop an anti-fascist approach to algorithms?

THE THIN BLUE LINE IS A BURNING FUSE

WHY EVERY STRUGGLE IS NOW A STRUGGLE AGAINST THE POLICE

by CrimethInc Collective

It should have come as no surprise when the grand jury in St. Louis refused to indict Darren Wilson, the police officer who murdered Michael Brown last August in Ferguson, Missouri. Various politicians and media outlets had laboured to prepare the public for this for months in advance. They knew what earnest liberals and community leaders have yet to acknowledge: that it is only possible to preserve the prevailing social order by giving police officers carte blanche to kill black people at will. Otherwise, it would be impossible to maintain the racial and economic inequalities that are fundamental to this society. In defiance of widespread outrage, even at the cost of looting and arson, the legal system will always protect officers from the consequences of their actions—for without them, it could not exist.

The verdict of the grand jury is not a failure of the justice system, but a lesson in what it is there to do in the first place. Likewise, the unrest radiating from Ferguson is not a tragic failure to channel protest into productive venues, but an indication of the form all future social movements will have to take to stand any chance of addressing the problems that give rise to them.

A profit-driven economy creates ever-widening gulfs between the rich and the poor. Ever since slavery, this situation has been stabilised by the invention of white privilege—a bribe to discourage poor white people from establishing common interests with poor people of colour. But the more imbalances there are in a society—racial, economic, and otherwise—the more force it takes to impose them.

This explains the militarisation of the police. It's not just a way to sustain the profitability of the military-industrial complex beyond the end of the Cold War. Just as it has been necessary to deploy troops around the world to secure the raw materials that keep the economy afloat, it is becoming necessary to deploy troops in the US to preserve the unequal distribution of resources at home. Just as the austerity measures pioneered by the IMF in Africa, Asia, and South America are appearing in the wealthiest nations of the "First World", the techniques of threat management and counter-insurgency that were debuted against Palestinians, Afghanis, and Iraqis are now being turned against the populations of the countries that invaded them. Private military contractors who operated in Peshawar are now working in Ferguson, alongside tanks that rolled through Baghdad. For the time being, this is limited to the poorest, blackest neighbourhoods; but what seems exceptional in Ferguson today will be commonplace around the country tomorrow.

This also explains why struggles against the police have taken centre stage in the popular imagination over the past decade. The police are the front line of capitalism and racism in every fight. You might never see the CEO who profits from fracking your water supply, but you'll see the police who break up your protest against him. You might not meet the bank director or landlord who forces you out, but you will see the sheriff who comes to repossess your home or evict you. As a black person, you might never enter the gated communities of the ones who benefit most from white privilege, but you will encounter the overtly racist officers who profile, bully, and arrest you.

The civil rights struggles of two generations ago have become struggles against the police: today, a black man can become president, but he's exponentially more likely to be murdered by an officer of the law. The workers' struggles of a generation ago have become struggles against the police: in place of steady employment, a population rendered expendable by globalisation and automation can only be integrated into the functioning of the economy at gunpoint. What bosses once were to workers, police are to the precarious and unemployed.

In view of all this, it is not surprising that police violence has been the catalyst for most of the major movements, uprisings, and revolutions of the past several years:

- The riots that shook Greece in December 2008, ushering in an era of world-wide anti-austerity resistance, were sparked by the police murder of 15-year-old Alexandros Grigoropoulos.
- In Oakland, the riots in response to the police murder of Oscar Grant at the opening of 2009 set the stage for the Bay Area to host the high-water mark of Occupy and several other movements.
- The day of protest that sparked the Egyptian revolution of 2011 was scheduled for National Police Day, January 25, by the Facebook page We Are All Khaled Said, which memorialised another young man killed by police.
- Occupy Wall Street didn't gain traction until footage of police attacks circulated in late September 2011.
- The police eviction of Occupy Oakland, in which officers fractured the skull of Iraq War veteran Scott Olsen, brought the Occupy movement to its peak, provoking the blockade of the Port of Oakland.
- In 2013, the fare hike protests in Brazil and the Gezi Resistance in Turkey both metastasised from small single-issue protests to massive uprisings as a result of clumsy police repression.
- The same thing happened in Eastern Europe, setting off the Ukrainian revolution at the end of 2013 and sparking the Bosnian uprising of February 2014.
- Other cities around the US have witnessed a series of intensifying rebellions against police murders, peaking with the revolt in Ferguson following the murder of Michael Brown.

It isn't just that the police are called in to repress every movement as soon as it poses any threat to the prevailing distribution of power (although that remains as true as ever). Rather, *repression itself* has been producing the flashpoints of revolt.

The police cannot rule by brute force alone. They can't be everywhere at once—and they are drawn from the same social body they repress, so their conflicts with that body cannot be concluded by purely military means. Even more than force, they need public legitimacy and the appearance of invincibility. Wherever it's hard for them to count on one of these, they're careful to exaggerate the other. When they lose both, as they have in all of the previously described movements, a window of possibility opens—a Tahrir or Taksim Square, an Occupy encampment or building occupation, the occupied

QuikTrip (a convenience store chain) in Ferguson last August—in which it becomes possible to imagine a world without the boundaries and power imbalances they enforce. This window remains open until the police are able to reestablish their facade of invulnerability and either delegitimise the kind of force it takes to confront them, as Chris Hedges did during Occupy Wall Street, or else re-legitimise policing itself.

Such re-legitimisation can take many forms. In Occupy, it took the form of rhetoric about the police being part of the 99% (which could just as easily have been said of the Ku Klux Klan). In Egypt, people overthrew several governments in a row only to see the police and military resume the same function again and again, each time re-legitimised by the regime change; it turned out the problem was the infrastructure of policing itself, not a particular administration. In the Ukrainian revolution, when the police were successfully defeated, the same self-defence forces that had just routed them took over their role, performing it identically. Calls for "community self-policing" may sound innocuous, but we should recall the white vigilante groups that roamed New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. Policing, in practically every form we can imagine it, is bound to perpetuate racism and inequality. It would be better to talk about how to do away with the factors that give rise to our supposed need for it in the first place.

In protests against the killing of Michael Brown, re-legitimising the police has taken the form of demands for police accountability, for citizens' review boards, for police to wear cameras—as if more surveillance could possibly be a good thing for those too poor to survive within the law in the first place. It is naïve to present demands to authorities that regard the police as essential and see us as expendable. This can only reinforce their legitimacy and our passivity, fostering a class of go-betweens who build up personal power in return for defusing opposition. We should be grateful to the demonstrators in Ferguson who have refused to be passive, rejecting representation and false dialogue at great personal risk, refusing to water down their rage.

For the only possible way out of this mess is to develop the ability to wield power on our own terms, horizontally and autonomously, stripping the police of legitimacy and shattering the illusion that they are invincible. This has been the common thread between practically all the significant movements of the past several years. If we learn how to do this, we can set our own agenda, discouraging the authorities from taking the lives of young people like Michael Brown and opening up a space in which they cannot enforce the structural inequalities of a racist society. Until we do, we can be sure that the police will go on killing, and no prosecutor or grand jury will stop them.

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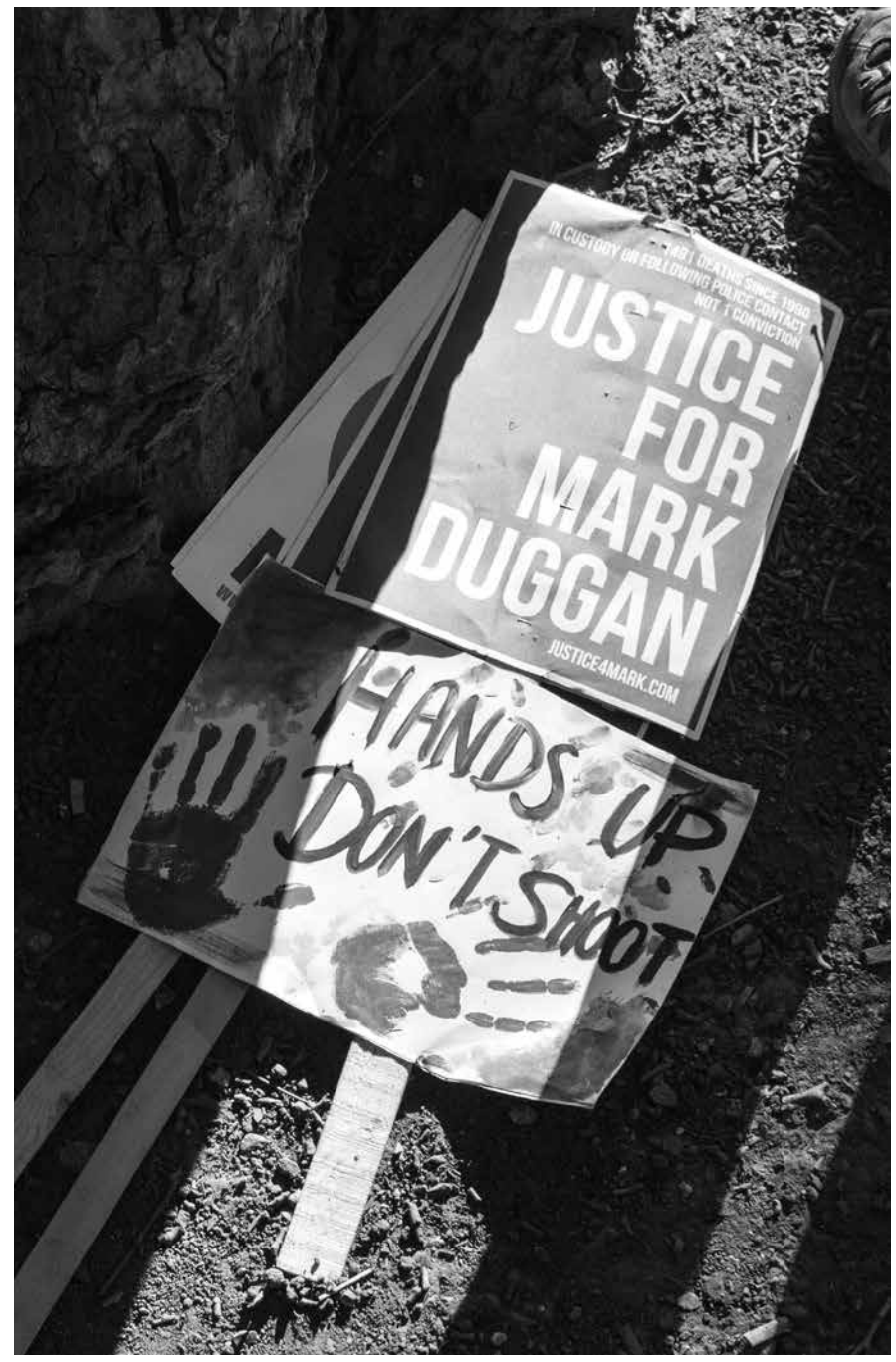
Putting Feet On the Ground

by Kojo



I was heartened by the United Families and Friends Campaign against deaths in custody (UFFC) annual march in October 2014, even though it was still small. In 2013, around 100 people marched on Whitehall, whilst one year later there was a much improved number of around 300. The 300 came together in a year which should be remembered for when the state flagrantly attempted to silence the bereaved and abused. 2014 was the year in which a jury deemed Mark Duggan's killing to be "lawful" and the appeal against that perverse verdict was upheld. We learned that the police officers who have undoubtedly lied about Sean Rigg's death would not face prosecution. It was a year which revealed the contempt that the Metropolitan Police had and still has for campaigning families like those of Stephen Lawrence and Ricky Reel, spending more resources spying on them than investigating the murders of their loved ones. Last year, in spite of the incredible efforts of eight women, the CPS refused to prosecute police officers who, using the stolen identities of dead children, formed intimate relationships with them, some of whom went on to father their children.

Encouragingly there have also been some cracks in the shield of state impunity: 2014 saw Anthony Long, the Met Police firearms officer who shot and killed Azelle Rodney, charged with Rodney's murder. The CPS announced that they will be prosecuting Greater Manchester Police Chief Constable Peter Fahy over the death of Anthony Grainger. Metropolitan Police Commissioner Bernard Hogan-Howe was made to apologise regarding the death of Cherry Groce and the Metropolitan Police paid out over £400,000 to a woman who had a child with one of its active undercover officers.

In light of the British state's continued violation of the bodies, rights and memories of the abused, the 300 who gathered in defiance is minimal. Yet I remain hopeful because I sensed the mood of rehearsed defeat give way to an atmosphere of restored determination and passion. Though I have felt this before - 2012's march also left me with a sense of hope that was not fulfilled. 2014 could well be a repeat of that. Some have admirably vowed on social media to honour Ajibola Lewis' call to dramatically increase our number, I want to reflect on how this could be achieved.

Perhaps we should reflect on why these demonstrations are small in comparison to TUC or climate marches. UFFC efforts are of a fundamentally different nature. They cannot spin their experience of physical and social death into a positive slogan like "Britain needs a payrise". The state is not being lobbied as the provider and guarantor of a better future. This procession is about the indictment of state power. These families gather to air the government's dirty laundry, to expose its collective failure, murder, collusion and cover-up. Attendance will not grow by asking people to attend a demonstration of grief and suffering, to stand in the chilly October air to listen to tear-filled tales of death and despair. There must be hope for something more.

The following is obvious but it needs stating: a political march is a symbolic demonstration of an interest group's collective strength. So, bluntly, 300 people demonstrates a severe lack of strength. This was UFFC's 16th annual march, I am reliably told in years past, 300 would be viewed as disappointing rather than encouraging. Couple this with the solemn fact that each year new families join the assembly of the grieving. In this context the marches, on average, have stagnated rather than grown. UFFC as an organisation may have some internal reasons for this but the blame cannot simply lie with them. These families each have been robbed of a life, then robbed once more by being denied any semblance of justice. Mothers, sisters, and other loved ones should not be expected to describe their loss and trauma perpetrated by the state, year after year after year. Yet some do, without fail. Their efforts need to be upheld by those of us who identify with them. I can only see a greater march being sustained by the development of a real social movement against police violence.

Focusing on the demonstration itself (though necessary) is not sufficient. The more of us engaged with considerable commitment will indicate an increase of those who will turn up for an annual event. A social movement based on greater numbers would be established. This must be developed through much more than stating a collective will. Tangible efforts must go beyond speaking with our friends and associates. Our ambitions must be tempered with patience, as though our sincerity to make each demo bigger than before is without doubt, it can be no more passionate, nor keener than the bereaved families who have waded through many bitter rivers to attend and build these demonstrations.

I have little faith that this social movement will be achieved through the wonders of social media. The struggle against deaths in custody is laden with too much sorrow to be summed up in 140 characters. The families who form its core are overburdened with grief and tragedy, sharing a hashtag or a gripping image could not do justice to laying the path ahead. I fear that relying primarily on the easy, loose connectivity that is constructed on social media reduces rather than underlines the emotional power which is the basis of this currently fledgling movement. Communication and retweets alone do not alter power structures.

Mental abstraction in this instance is our enemy. The thousands who died, to misquote Stalin, are merely a statistic, an inconvenient detail listed in a few articles dotted across the mainstream media. What has become abstract and dead, must become concrete and alive once more. There is no real achievement in asking people to attend a march, to experience a communion of anger and frustration which has no end in sight. These families demand more, those in the grave deserve more. What has been hoped for must be made flesh, what was loose must become more tightly bound together, what was vague must give way to precision. A social movement with a concrete goal, with answers to the questions that plagues all of us. How do we end their violence?

I have previously written that the struggle against police violence is closely connected to the heart of all struggles against the state, whether it is the fight for housing, to preserve livelihoods or ending violence against women. The next UFFC march will be bigger if these connections are realised. This means talking to those we usually wouldn't, informing the uninformed, and persuading those who have given up. The work to be done isn't mystical: finding meeting rooms to organise actions, cobbling together leaflets to distribute on stalls, holding conversations on high streets and council estates. It is taking the time to support people like Jimmy Mubenga's family at court.

This social movement is not limited to those who have died, though they remain foundational. Justice for them, should be the prerequisite to and the minimum of our goals rather than its full extent. UFFC, 4Ward Ever, London Campaign Against Police and State Violence, Movement for Justice, Newham Monitoring Project, Northern Police Monitoring Group and countless other campaigns are modest attempts in that direction. These small efforts and much more hold a promise that goes beyond halting state sponsored deaths towards a society that rejects the paternalistic "protection" of the state, and replaces it with their own self-managed collective defence. The Maroons of the Caribbean and the Americas, the pre-welfare state trade unions, the Black Panthers, the Zapatistas, Abahlali baseMjondolo and British striking mining communities had to provide what the state could not. It is on their foundations that our social movement is built.

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by Jason W. Moore

ENDLESS ACCUMULATION, ENDLESS (UNPAID) *WORK?*

Every civilisation must decide what is, and what is not, valuable. Marxists occasionally speak of a "law of value." It is not a concept easily translated into everyday politics, or into our histories of capitalism. It sounds quaint, curiously out of step with our times. And yet the essential insight of the Marxist argument on value remains extraordinarily relevant: to how we connect capitalism's manifold crises, and to how we respond to them.

Let us consider three radical critiques, their assertions of value, and their diagnoses of the present global conjuncture. For the Marxist, value is socially necessary labour-time: abstract social labour. We might think of abstract labour as the average labour-time embedded in the average commodity for the system as a whole. For the feminist, value is produced through the relations of social reproduction every bit as much as the relations of commodity production; neoliberal globalisation cannot, for instance, be understood solely through the "global factory", it must also be understood through the "global household". Thirdly, for the environmentalist, Nature is intrinsically valuable, and capitalism destroys it.

These are, of course, stylised. Each tradition, practically and theoretically, has been pursuing synthesis. Each borrows extensively across critiques: eco-feminism, feminist political economy, eco-Marxism, and so forth. But a synthesis of capital, power, and nature in modernity's relations of production and reproduction has been elusive. My intention is to point towards one possible synthesis. This understands capitalism as a *world-ecology*, joining the re/production of everyday life and the re/production of capital in dialectical unity.

Laws of value – understood as large-scale and long-run patterns that govern the life of a civilisation (e.g. Song China, feudal Europe, capitalism) – lead a double life. One operates in a domain that is usually called "economic," but is in fact much more expansive. This is the domain of surplus production and distribution: who gets what and how do they get it? It's not really *economic* for two good reasons. First, the question of surplus always implies power; and second, the production of surplus always pivots on the reproduction of life, from one day, and from one generation, to the next.

Every "mode of production" is at the same time a "mode of reproduction."

Every "mode of production" is at the same time a "mode of reproduction." But there's another, equally significant, dimension of value. This is value as ethico-political norm. What do we *value*? A wetland or an industrial park? "Men's work" or "women's work"? In this second domain, the feminist and Green critique – not the Marxist – has led the view. But the differences have been viewed in terms that are much too fixed. The distinction between the first and second "life" of capitalism's value system has often been confused. Each tradition's angle of vision has identified – and announced – distinctive weaves of value as systemic logic and ethico-political alternative.

And yet, I think we have reached a conjuncture when clarity – at least *greater* clarity – is possible. The tremors of systemic crisis – financial, climate, food, employment – are translating into a *new ontological politics* that challenge capitalism at its very core: its law of value. Today's movements for climate justice, food sovereignty, de-growth, the right to the city – and much beyond – underscore a new set of challenges: to capitalism's value system, understood simultaneously in its ethico-political and political-economic dimensions. This new ontological politics has long been implicit in radical politics. But it seems to have reached a new stage today. Entwining distributional demands – the right to food, housing, a safe environment – with calls for fundamental democratisation, justice, gender equity, and sustainable environment-making, these movements have brought capitalism's "law of value" into question as never before.

How to bring clarity to this exciting – and complex – reality? Our first act of rethinking must be ontological. We must rethink the essence of modernity's most sacred divide, Humanity/Nature. Civilisations had long distinguished between humans and the rest of nature. But during the rise of capitalism, something peculiar occurred. Humans were no longer "distinct"; they became, in modernity's new cosmology, wholly separate. And so did Nature, now with a capital 'N'. Nature became an object. The point was not only to interpret the world but to control it.

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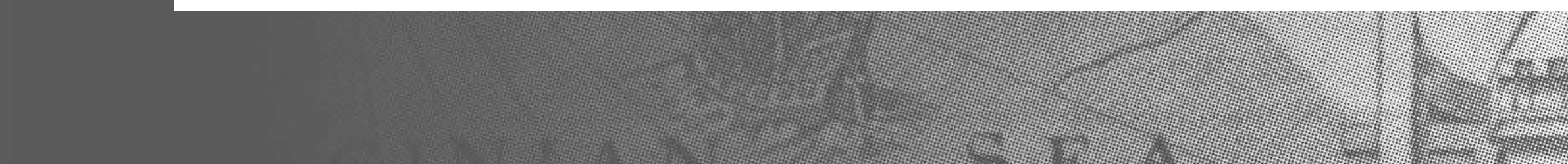
This had a decided advantage: Nature-as-object could be made cheap. And this Cheap Nature became the foundation for a new law of value. The unpaid work of natures became the pedestal of a new civilisational strategy: appropriate the whole of nature as a way to advance labour productivity within the commodity system. The result was an unprecedented revolution in human-initiated environmental change, as landscapes from Southeast Asia to the Baltic to Brazil were radically transformed, their peoples uprooted and dispossessed in the service of the endless accumulation of capital.

In practice, both Humanity and Nature were fluid categories, and enabled fluid strategies of accumulation. Humanity did not, in the first instance, include all humans. The rise of early modern materialism – the "scientific revolution" and all that – redefined some humans, *most* humans, as less-than-human. Women especially. The dualism of Humanity/Nature was the creation not of science alone, but of science, capital, and empire - entwined movements in a *world-ecological* system. When the Spaniards conquered Peru – a vast zone much larger than the country today – their name for indigenous peoples was *naturales*. The debate over indigenous slavery in the early 16th century – personified by the Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas – turned on the meaning of "natural slaves." From the very beginning, capitalism's crucial point of fracture was not Humanity/Nature but between two zones with fluid boundaries: the zone of exploitation in commodity production, and the zone of appropriation, comprising the unpaid work of Maria Mies' "women, nature, and colonies".

My use of *appropriation* therefore differs from Marx, for whom appropriation was synonymous with the exploitation of wage-labour. Accumulation by appropriation names those extra-economic processes that identify, secure, and channel unpaid work outside the commodity system into the circuit of capital. Scientific, cartographic, and botanical revolutions, broadly conceived, are good examples. During the rise of capitalism, for example, a new way of seeing – and imagining – the world took shape. The world could be comprehended from *outside* rather than from within. It was of course a partial perspective, treating the specifically capitalist ordering of the world as "natural".

It was also a violent perspective. States and empires could now reckon vast expanses of world-nature, like the Americas, as spaces of unpaid work/energy detached from local conditions. The furious pace of mapmaking and surveying in early capitalism sustained the furious pace of property-making in its broadest sense: drawing lines around particular spaces so as to create general markets in land. The extension of bourgeois property relations in northwestern Europe and the mapping of the Americas are much more intimately linked than often supposed. Both marked the rise of *world-praxis* in which nature is external, time linear, and space flat. This world-praxis was about far more than reshaping landscapes; it was about reorganising human (and other animal) populations in service to endless accumulation. Sheep "ate men" in New Spain (Mexico) no less than in England. Andean peasants were dispossessed and reorganised in this era just as they were in England. On both sides of the Atlantic, these transformations – enabling rapid bursts of accumulation by appropriation – were enabled by new ways of mapping space and nature.

In the centuries that followed, this praxis was amplified and reinvented. The British and American empires consolidated world power, in part, by mapping and reworking world-natures. The 19th century's Kew Gardens and the postwar era's International



Agricultural Research Centres loom large in this history. Since the 1970s, the surveying of world-nature has reached new heights, as genomic mapping and the geospatial sciences (GIS, remote sensing, etc.) seek to reduce "the *Earth*," as Timothy Luke writes, "to little more than a vast standing reserve, serving as a ready resource supply centre and/or accessible waste reception site."

The Earth? Yes, but also the unpaid work of human natures. For in capitalism, the crucial divide is between paid and unpaid work – not human and extra-human nature. Managing this divide is amongst capital's fundamental tasks. Why? Because rising labour productivity depends on a *disproportionately greater* increase in the appropriation of unpaid work/energy. The great energy revolutions – coal, then oil – offer ample testimony to this fact: spectacular advances in labour productivity have depended upon even more spectacular appropriations of cheap energy. But this disproportionality is not all about energy in the usual sense. It also encompasses the long history of dispossession. Industrial revolutions have always depended upon the appropriation of *accumulated* unpaid work in the form of labour migration: productive adults raised to maturity in peasant societies relatively independent of the law of value – and therefore "cheap" for capital. The appropriation of accumulated unpaid work in human form is surely one of capitalism's greatest achievements.

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What are the implications of this line of thought, one that takes the law of value as a co-production of humans bundled with the rest of nature?

An approach to value that joins the appropriation of Cheap Natures and the exploitation of commodified labour-power allows us to unravel some of the mysteries of capitalism's dynamism. While Marxist ecology tends to ignore value, it does so by hiding from view Marx's formulation that use- and exchange-value represent "*on the surface*" the "internal opposition of use-value and value." Marx's discussion in these opening pages of *Capital* are pitched at so high a level of abstraction that I think the implications of this "internal opposition" have been insufficiently grasped. These implications are explosive. For to say that value and use-value are *internally related* is to say that the value relation encompasses the relation value/use-value in a way that extends well beyond the immediate process of production. Here is a connection that allows us to join definite "modes of production" and definite "modes of life" in concrete historical unities.

This means that capitalism can be comprehended through the shifting configuration of the exploitation of labour-power and the appropriation of Cheap Natures. This is a dialectic of paid and unpaid work that demands a disproportionate expansion of the latter (appropriation) in relation to the former (exploitation). This reality is suggested – even if its implications for accumulation are only partially grasped – by those widely-cited estimates on the contribution of unpaid work performed by humans and the rest of nature ("ecosystem services"). The quantitative reckonings for unpaid human work – overwhelmingly delivered by women – vary between 70 and 80 percent of world GDP; for "ecosystem services," between 70 and 250 percent of GDP. The relations between these two moments are rarely grasped; their role in long waves of accumulation rarely discussed. The condition that some work is valued is that most work is not.

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Not-valued forms of work *are* outside the value-form (the commodity) – they do not directly produce value (*contra* Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James). And yet – and it is a very big *and yet* – value as abstract labour cannot be produced except through unpaid work. This means that the value *form* and the value *relation* are not coincident. The value relation cuts across the paid/unpaid work divide such that generalised commodification is sustained through a *double revolution*: of the forces of production and the relations of reproduction. This double revolution is of course cyclically punctuated; its condition is the availability of a sufficiently large mass of uncommodified nature. Thus the ongoing appropriation of the planet's last few frontiers – of unpaid human work, as in the highly gendered dispossessions across the Global South, and of unpaid extra-human work, as with world energy, both since the 1970s – signals a sea change in capitalism's crisis-fixing strategies.

In these double (but not dual) revolutions, the historical condition for socially necessary labour-time is socially necessary unpaid work. De-valued work becomes what Marx calls an "immanent…antithesis" within the generalisation of commodity production and exchange. The globalisation of commodity relations into new frontiers "works" for capital accumulation by opening new spaces of unpaid work/energy: new opportunities for cheap labour-power, food, energy, and raw materials. Frontiers are not merely empty spaces, but actively produced by capitalists and empires in successive eras: they are necessary because without new frontiers of Cheap Nature, the costs of production rise, and the rate of accumulation falls. Capitalism's long-run global expansion has been necessary because it has – until today – succeeded in getting human and extra-human natures to work for free, or as close to free as possible. Modernity's commodity frontiers have been epoch-making because they extended the zone of appropriation *faster* than the zone of commodification. This was the crucial dialectic that Marx put his finger on in addressing the contradictions of the working day: the tendency towards "industrial pathology" could be counteracted by incorporating "physically uncorrupted" human natures into the world proletariat. In sum, not only does capitalism *have* frontiers; it *is* a frontier civilisation.

It will consequently not suffice to identify the influence of abstract social labour as an "economic" phenomenon. This remains pivotal. But we can go further. Abstract social labour, in this reading, is the *economic expression* of the law of value, which is unworkable without strategies of appropriating Cheap Nature. To be clear, it is *capital* – not I – who reduces human unpaid work, especially in social reproduction, to the status of "nature." The appropriation of Cheap Nature must outpace – if capitalism is to avoid crisis – the accumulation of capital. Absent a relatively greater appropriation of unpaid work, accumulated capital rapidly becomes *overaccumulated capital*. Hence, in the present conjuncture, the struggle to (re)valorise – or alter-valorise – care work and other forms of social reproduction directly squeeze the accumulation of capital. They are implicitly – potentially – revolutionary.

Why the centrality of unpaid work? Because, in short, the creation of socially necessary labour-time is constituted through a shifting balance of human and extra-human work that is unpaid; *the co-production of nature*, in other words, is constitutive of socially necessary labour-time. Socially necessary labour-time forms and re-forms in and through the web of life. Capitalism's landscape transformations, in their epoch-making totality, would have been unthinkable without new ways of mapping space, controlling time, and cataloguing external nature – and they are inexplicable solely in terms of world-market or class-structural change. The law of value, far from reducible to abstract social labour, finds its necessary conditions of self-expansion through the creation and subsequent appropriation of cheap human and extra-human natures. If capital is to forestall the rising costs of production, these movements of appropriation must be secured through extra-economic procedures and processes.

By this I mean something more than the recurrent waves of primitive accumulation that we have come to accept as a cyclical phenomenon of capitalism. These also remain pivotal. But between our now cherished dialectic of "expanded reproduction" and "accumulation by dispossession" are those knowledges and associated practices committed to the mapping, quantifying, and rationalising of human and extra-human natures in service to capital accumulation. The term I have nominated for these practices is abstract social nature.

Thus the trinity: abstract social labour, abstract social nature, primitive accumulation. This is the relational core of capitalist world-praxis. And the work of this unholy trinity? Produce Cheap Natures. Extend the zone of appropriation. In sum, to deliver labour, food, energy, and raw materials – the Four Cheaps – faster than accumulating the mass of surplus capital derived from the exploitation of labour-power. Why? Because the rate of exploitation of labour-power (within the commodity system) tends to exhaust the life-making capacities that enter into the immediate production of value. Capital is indifferent to the Cartesian divide. As Marx writes: "Capital asks no questions about the length of life of labour-power. What interests it is purely and simply the maximum of labour-power that can be set in motion in a working day. It attains this objective by shortening the life of labour-power, *in the same way* as a greedy farmer snatches more produce from the soil by robbing it of its fertility." (my emphasis added)

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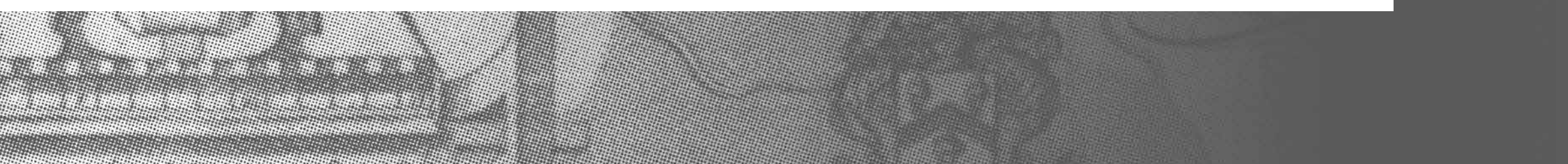
We can now connect the dots. Value relations incorporate a double movement to exploitation and appropriation. Within the commodity system, the exploitation of labour-power reigns supreme. But this supremacy is only possible, given its tendency toward self-exhaustion, to the degree that the appropriation of unpaid work counteracts this tendency. It has been a difficult process to discern because value *relations* are more expansive than the immediate production of the value-*form* (the commodity). The generalisation of commodity production has historically proceeded through an expansionary web of value relations whose scope and scale is necessarily much broader than the immediate process of production. The problem of capitalist development is one of the uneven globalisation of wage-work *dialectically joined to* what Philip McMichael referred to as the "generalisation of its conditions of reproduction". The difficulty in pursuing such an analysis has been rooted in the dualisms immanent to modern thought. To rethink capitalism – as a world-ecology of capital and nature, power and re/production – is to transcend the man/woman, nature/society boundaries upon which the whole edifice of modernist thought depends. For not only do we need to unify the distinct yet mutually formative dialectics of human work under capitalism through the nexus of paid/unpaid work – "productive" and "reproductive" work. We also need to recognise that the dynamism of capitalism has owed everything to appropriating and co-producing ever more creative configurations of human and extra-human work across the *longue durée*. *www.jasonwmoore.com*



by Black Sea Rebellion / Karadeniz Isyandadır

THE STRUGGLE OF FATSA

In every struggle today, across the world, "climate change", "global disaster", "ecological devastation" and "the right to the city" are phrases held in common by those who resist. Meanwhile, private property, profit maximisation and the mantra of economic growth, "progress" and prosperity continue to be promoted by a system and its advocates at the expense of all of our rights - above all, our right to exist and live with dignity. The transformation of lands by and for capital within rural areas is not as visible as in the city, since rural areas haven't seen the extreme urban enclosure of streets and public space. The rapacious need for raw materials and to widen markets, in the city or in the countryside, locally and globally, demonstrates a crucial imperative to build resistance on a foundation of mutual support that crosses borders.

One of the biggest moves that neoliberalism has made for development and growth is the commodification of nature through processes of "accumulation by dispossession". Labelled as "developing", states like Turkey, single-minded in their pursuit of expansion and economic growth, exemplify more than anywhere the massive scale of neoliberal destruction and plunder. These attacks threaten all of nature and all living beings, and by extension they also threaten the destruction of cultures and languages, since the introduction of labour exploitation to new territories and populations forces large-scale migration from the countryside to the cities. Investments in industrialisation, much of it directly linked to the energy market, are increasing rapidly. Meanwhile, local economies, traditional farming, subsistence production and reproduction, nature itself, are being destroyed, as are the social relations and cultures produced by this way of life.

In Turkey, the late 1990s and 2000s signalled the new era of accelerating neoliberal development and the accompanying discourse of "progress" and "modernisation". With this discourse, new laws and "reforms" were introduced regarding the commercialisation of water, both underground and overground sources. Simultaneously, processes of dispossession by the state have begun, especially for major energy projects. This includes mega projects like hydroelectric, fossil fuel and nuclear power plants, as well as dams, mining facilities, quarries, the reformation of fisheries through industrialisation and the enclosure of rural and mountain lands. From the perspective of capital, the most vital markets (especially when considering the scale of profits to be made) are energy projects and the commodification of water.

And so, with state backing, international capital (along with its local partners) rapidly forced through these projects, often unlawfullly, across Turkey - particularly in the Black Sea Region. The only "responsibility" for these transnational companies is to introduce civil society initiatives (termed "social responsibility projects") in order to whitewash their destructive practices. Laws and legal procedures change overnight to remove any barriers that capital faces, meanwhile local people are completely excluded from the process. But the people, those who have been dispossessed of their land, water and other sources of nature, are protecting their way of life by resisting these attacks.

Thousands of hydroelectric power plants (the numbers are constantly changing), hundreds of thermal power plants and mining projects, two nuclear power plants (one to be built on the Mediterranean Coast, the other on the shores of the Black Sea) continue to spring up. The government justifies these projects by pointing to the need for, and the shortage of, energy, while responding to the protests of the people with clichéd offerings of "clean energy" and "eco-friendly green projects". International agreements and investments are proving that these projects have nothing to do with the shortage of energy as legal professionals, agricultural institutions, scientists and activists are constantly publishing reports disproving government claims. One publication has mapped the eco-resistances all over Turkey, giving a sense of how widespread the struggle is.

These projects are taking place on prime agricultural land, in settlements that have their own local economies (hazelnuts, tea production, beekeeping, freshwater fisheries, etc.), and in certain locations which include archaeologically protected sites containing some of the richest fauna and biodiversity in the entire region. Some of these projects, especially thermal power plants, are being built in close proximity to water sources and sea shores because of their immense capacity; huge volumes of water are needed to cool power generation equipment, threatening aquatic ecosystems by polluting sea water and destroying spawning grounds. Because of this, fishing workers and local cooperatives are playing a leading role in both the legal and practical struggle against these projects.

On the one hand, the resistance is mounting a legal struggle. On the other hand, it has also given rise to practical organising on the ground. Alongside regular marches and demos, project sites have been occupied with tents in order to block the path of construction vehicles and examination crews. These forms of resistance are being met with increasingly extreme violence by police and jandarma (Turkish military police) each and every day. It is almost impossible to attract local and national media coverage of this state repression, since the "free press" are oppressed and the rest belong to individuals or institutions that work with or belong to the government.

People engaged in environmentalist struggle in the countryside are facing a grave situation: one of their fundamental civil rights, the "right to protest", is being taken away from them by systematic state terror and the brutality of law enforcement. In 2011, a retired teacher, Metin Lokumcu, had a heart attack triggered by police tear gas and died at a demo in Hopa, Artvin. 17 year old Leyla was put on trial simply because she attended a protest against the construction of a hydroelectric power plant in Erzurum, Tortum. Hasan from Gerze, Sinop, has faced a 6 month prison penalty and in Loç Valley, Kastamonu, 117 people are standing trial for similar reasons. If we intersect this struggle with the urban movements in Turkey, we see that during the occupation of Gezi Parkı and the protests that followed it, seven people were killed, and thousands were injured, attacked, taken into custody, arrested and faced court.

One ongoing struggle encapsulates much of what is happening in Turkey today: the Struggle of Fatsa. Over four months ago locals in the Black Sea coastal town of Fatsa began protesting against a mining project in the region by putting up resistance tents. Within a short space of time their fight became stronger thanks to the solidarity of other local struggles. Two years ago, a gold mine project had been started by a British company, "Stratex International PLC", along with its local partner "Bahar Madencilik". Local resistance became particularly strong when it became clear that prospecting at the site would be carried out using cyanide. These two associated companies began a project upon a 920m^2 area, which included some of the privately registered land of the villagers, stating that their only intention was "tree trimming and field surveys". Sadly, only after hundreds of trees were cut down did it become clear that the locals were misled and the project had other purposes.

The area also contains important archeological sites, including rock graves from the Byzantine period, which led to the region being classified as a "first degree archeological protection area". Surveys and research that have been carried out by lawyers and engineers have shown that the regional and ecological effects that the project will have were not calculated correctly. It would be impossible to maintain the hazelnut agriculture (which is the fundamental source of income for people in the region) after the use of cyanide – already the locals are complaining about the decrease of the harvests due to the amount of dust created by digging work. Halil Bicil, one of the villagers, states: "When it doesn't rain, the dust is unbearable. Normally we produce around 300-400 kilograms of chestnut honey in a year. Nowadays, it dropped almost to 60 kilograms. All the bees fled the region because of the dust that the machines and explosions created."

Streams and waterbeds of freshwater sources around the mining field have been changed in order to be used for the project. Domestic water for the locals had to be carried out to their homes with tankers last summer. Ismet Atar, one of the locals, says that his farm was destroyed and turned into a road for the heavy machinery, all without his approval. The movement of the large construction vehicles around the houses of the villagers are damaging their homes and making the land beneath them slip. The region already bears the risks of landslides and erosion but the biggest danger remains the cyanide; if cyanide finds its way into the underground water supply, it can be carried out to different regions and destroy several ecosystems.

Within a few months of their resistance, locals of Fatsa have seen unlawful prosecutions and been met with violence by the state over and over again. Ismet Atar, who was one of the first villagers to erect a resistance tent, aims his words directly at the companies: "You have finished my home, my hazelnuts; nobody can do so much ill. The director of the mine says you can't do anything even with the help of the courts. I say why are you messing with my land? The state's officer puts a gun to my head. I trust no one but my fellow villagers; we will win if we join together." In January, villagers organised a march upon the mining field; they reached the field by overcoming the barricades of the jandarma – resisting heavy blows from police batons. Meanwhile, their fellow citizens who live in Istanbul and activists who support their stand are backing their struggle by organising solidarity nights for court expenses, issuing press statements and selling the symbolic "cyanide-free hazelnut" from Fatsa.

Capital acts globally, transcending national borders, and likewise Fatsa's local resistance is in dire need of global solidarity; it calls for struggle in common with others. We will raise our voice against the ecological destruction that is ongoing in Fatsa by trying to weave solidarity networks - not only in Turkey, but all around the globe. We reach out to our friends and family, activists and anti-capitalists, to heed our call for international solidarity with Fatsa! We call on you to support the local resistance of Fatsa from your local communities in order to expose the destruction being wrought by Stratex; to make people realise the truth behind this discourse of development and "progress", and to struggle for our lives.

We are no different from you. The earth we live in is the same, the system that we fight against is the same.

This is just the beginning!

by Mark Kauri & Jack Dean

DELIBERATE TATE

"THIS PIECE IS NO CRITICISM OF ANYONE INVOLVED - RATHER AN ATTEMPT TO INSPIRE SOME THOUGHT ON THE CHALLENGES THAT CONFRONT US IF WE ARE REALLY SERIOUS IN OUR INTENTION"

— GIVE UP ACTIVISM, DO OR DIE #9, 2001 —

Museums and galleries weren't always the grand institutions we experience today. Formerly private collections, visible only to the ruling classes, were projected into the lower echelons of society in grand acts of philanthropy. Establishments like the British Museum and the National Gallery opened their doors to all amidst the formation of a 'united' kingdom across the British Isles. Over time, these secular cathedrals to enlightenment values and British imperialism would come to attract millions of visitors, becoming synonymous with the London experience.

Recent additions to the fold include the Tate Modern, a rehousing on the South Bank in one of London's Victorian era industrial projects that now sits alongside the British Museum, St Paul's Cathedral and other destinations on the London tourist trail. The gallery today attracts the largest footfall of arts spectators globally with collections that seek to encompass the twentieth century art world and its contemporary spillover. The Tate Modern and other such edifices - the Bilbao Guggenheim or the Brooklyn Children's Museum, for instance - also find themselves not merely presenting culture, but producing it as well. Many of these institutions have been instrumental in the gentrification of the postcodes in which they reside, raising property prices and providing the lightning rods through which social cleansing flows.

Recent years have seen the emergence of activist groups including *Liberate Tate* and the *Art Not Oil Coalition* acting with the stated intention to challenge and provoke decisions by the governing bodies of arts institutions to bring an end to oil sponsorship. Through several spectacular interventions and stunts, these groups transmit their conviction that funding from the likes of BP should have no place within arts or cultural institutions. Actions range from the impressive mass manoeuvring of one section of a wind turbine to the performative 'exorcism' of BP by the animated Reverend Billy Talen of New York's *"Stop Shopping Choir"*. In supporting statements by *Liberate Tate*, artists are invited to join in and act to "liberate Tate" or "free art from oil." A group of similar configuration, *BP or not BP*, performs similar spectacular performances within the British Museum, which also benefits from oil sponsorship, proclaiming "BP may need the arts, but the arts do not need BP."

Let's back up and take a moment to reconsider these invitations to action and the analysis that appears to inform their configuration. At their core can be found the subject of the cultural institution treated as a *contemporary* purveyor of injustice, at once exonerated and divorced from the realities of historical violence and imperialism that form the basis of its existence. Take the British Museum: one of history's largest repositories of colonial plunder is absolved of these descriptive primers by the plain white rooms that house its collection and an accompanying popular narrative that would see the institution described as a #1 "fix of culture" by the likes of Time Out magazine. Within the museum, however, objects such as the Rosetta Stone or the Elgin Marbles remain the subjects of postcolonial control despite decades of calls for repatriation. Together with the spin placed upon centuries of violent plunder - redefined as "high-profile acquisitions" in the museum's literature - the real creativity at play appears to be the construction of a narrative that would treat the institution as fallen angel. This sleight of hand in both focus and associated sociality undermines the realities of accumulated dispossession and the very *making of* the popular facade of the institution. With attention turned solely towards the contemporary injustices of the institution, such as oil sponsorship, the accompanying narrative forms a lens of obfuscation against a critical perspective, while further cultural distortion also serves to obfuscate the feedback loop that runs from state institution to participant-spectator, and to the very labour force that would feed the existence and perpetuation of the institution itself (what appears, we suggest, more hungry daemon than fallen angel).

As we attempt to focus on the violent past and its perpetuation in the present institution, it would seem fanciful to suggest a process of cleansing could be achieved by the mere removal of 21st Century oil sponsorship. The activism at play in the cultural institution appears to present a microcosm of the broader whole of the environmental movement and its problematic history - oft-ignored calls from front lines of resistance against the extractive industry. We need only glance at the contested terrain of the Alberta Tar Sands in Canada, challenged by First Nation protection camps, to see an example of the relationship between colonisation and extraction. The realities of contemporary struggle and the instrumentalisation of postcolonial institutions in the extension of oppression into the present day suggest we cannot separate the politics of climate change from the history of colonialism, and that decolonisation must form the kernel of any legitimate confrontation with oppression in a context of changing climates. If the goal is to create the kind of museum that we can experience in common, and one which absolves attendees of complicity with the violence therein, shouldn't such a campaign instead seek the closure of the institution, its collections returned to the places from which they were stolen, and reparations made to cultures damaged by their artefacts' removal?

Beyond the museum - the art gallery. Supporting statements by *Liberate Tate* call for the removal of oil sponsorship to "free" art from oil, suggesting that beneath the muddy relationships with big business sits a more ideal cultural institution awaiting its opportunity to rise again. This perspective contains a conception of the arts institution as democratic, responsive and accountable; a *workable* component of a participatory society or liberal democracy. That *Liberate Tate* demand the oil men pack their bags, however, begs the question: what conditions would have to be met to be regarded as an acceptable trustee? It is this fallacy of potential accountability and participation, combined with the intimation of a just flow of capital, that obscures the position institutions like Tate occupy in dominant cultural production and pushes the aforementioned feedback loop between production and labour force beyond the gaze of scrutiny.

To gain access into to the after dark champagne receptions and clubhouse shindigs held within the gallery walls, let alone adorn them with your work, implies societal privilege, class and accompanying degrees of social mobility - the barrier of tolerance for alternative intervention or creative expression is remarkably low [*sidenote: you will not find radical or dissenting literature stocked by Tate as the gallery is not willing to host "political" expression*]. To be displayed at the Tate is to be deemed as reproducing to an adequate degree the cultural and aesthetic values tolerated by the state, or for one's work to have been recuperated. This dual logic of complicit production and recuperation not only underscores the power inherent in the art institution, it is telling of the broader conditions of class division and labour force that enable its perpetuation. This much is revealed by the actions and aesthetic practices undertaken by *Liberate Tate* in the drive to free art from oil: performances that *opt in* and confine themselves to the institutional framework of the gallery, legitimising its existence and the implicit relation with associated labour - rather than breaking out of the gallery and rupturing class confinement. Paradoxically, these acts become a strangely impassioned defence of the institution and serve to further enable and perpetuate the class division underpinning the creative industry.

This isn't to deny the possibility of a genuine critique of the institution from within; Hans Hacke was one of the first generation of institutional critique artists. In a piece titled *"hapolsky et al. Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, A Real Time Social System, as of May 1, 1971"* Hacke attempted to document, and display in real time, the real estate portfolio of a New York slumlord in the Guggenheim Museum, making visible relations between the slumlord and museum trustees. Naturally, the invitation to show the work was rescinded. Compared to the performed outrage in the various galleries and museums across London, here is a critique considered threatening enough that its presence in the space simply couldn't be tolerated. What made this piece more dangerous than the *arts activism* we critique here is that the relationship between art and dispossession were more critically situated; the capital-labour relation is immanent, proximate and timely.

Activity that takes place within the scope of one's own encounter with injustice is laudable, but activity that fails to articulate and address the conditions that give rise to these injustices becomes instead a driving force behind a narrative of oppression. It is often said of art that its practice seeks to "make visible", and yet in the quest to *liberate* Tate the desire appears to be much the opposite: to instead sweep the visibility of injustice from the sector of one's labour yet say nothing of this industrial relation. Perhaps contrary to liberating Tate, the very visibility of oil money in these institutions presents an alternative affordance in that it may allow us a shared perspective from which to deliberate, explore and articulate a broader schema of industry and social relations - global extraction, violence, colonialism, class division, cultural industries - and to enable a dialogue that might hope to maintain a sense of the underlying injustice. The development of a less privileged programme around this material contention, grounded in an analysis which looks to the broader position in our history that these contested spaces have inhabited, is essential. It may be that we find nothing worth saving.

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