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Crisis Mirror is a grassroots group based in Copenhagen, Denmark, made up of an international and diverse set of people united by a shared commitment to radical social change through political organising. Crisis Mirror centers voluntary participation and collaboration, political discussion and debate, horizontal organising, and community building as key organising principles. Founded in 2011, Crisis Mirror has been active on a national and international scale, mobilizing people towards anticapitalist, antipatriarchal, antiracist, and decolonial movements through demonstrations, actions, and cultural exchange events.

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December 2024

Dear Comrade,

The title of the current issue of our magazine might have brought back to your mind the concept of “normality” that saturated the mainstream discourse during and directly after the covid-19 pandemic. While the pandemic might seem light years away from the present the “return to normality” that was then a wish, a promise, a hope—repeated almost like a mantra of western positivism—has been fully implemented: we are immersed in the new normal.

If you were around Copenhagen back in Crisis Mirror’s early days in 2012, the title of this issue might have also reminded you of the Danske Bank rebranding-campaign, which in the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis celebrated the “new normal” by plastering their “Welcome to the new normal” ads all around the city. It seems that in these late-capitalist times “normality” is redefined time and again to adjust to financial crises, health crises, war and climate catastrophes.

In this issue of the magazine we want to reflect on the current state of normality by rejecting the notion that such a concept holds any significance. How many “new normals” can we have before we trash this empty concept for what is it? Simply, a never-ending rebranding of our continuously precarious lives?

The return to Normality—that we were all craving for at the toughest points of the covid-19 pandemic—is the red thread that runs through these pages, transforming their apparent inconsistencies into conjunctions. We explore different aspects of this so-called Normality, and find ourselves reluctant to accept it. We allow our touch to run through its various folds and seams and then choose to pull on any loose threads until the neatly woven cloth unravels. The bundle of skein now resting on our hands is the abnormal normalities of our capitalist system: xenophobia, repression, surveillance, state of emergency.

The pages you hold in your hands are the result of collaborative work and deal with some of the ugliest aspects of normality, of those realities we are forced to accept in the name of the current new normal, such as

constant surveillance, the imprisonment of migrants, the commercialization of our cities, the rise of conspiracy-thinking, the social control applied in the name of emergency, the live-streamed genocide in Gaza and the rise of excess mortality. We also have included our translation of an interview with political philosopher Christian Laval, originally published by our comrades of Kaboom magazine in 2021, in which he also addresses these concepts.

These topics have always been part of our lives but were pushed into the forefront of our collective Imaginary during the years of the pandemic. We foster no illusions that our insights are novel in any way, but at the same time we refuse to abandon political philosophy to the hands of the few, to the realm of the “expert”, to the “enlighten vanguard”.

We would like this issue of our magazine to be a snapshot of the current “normality” that can unmask what’s hidden behind grandiose political messaging and marketing campaigns: We didn’t want their normality in 2012, nor in 2022, and whenever it is you might find yourself browsing these pages: we still don’t want it now.

In solidarity,

Crisis Mirror

NEOLIBERALISM AS A STRATEGY FOR THE VIOLENT TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOCIETIES

Interview with Christian Laval.

The following interview first appeared in the 8th issue
of the political & philosophical magazine Kaboom (kaboomzine.gr).

The translation from Greek to English was made by Crisis Mirror.



Kaboom:

Let us begin by focusing on the core of the problem that motivated us to invite you in this discussion. For quite some time now, as a journal, we have been following your arguments with regards to the neoliberal dynamics and we tend to agree with pivotal points of your analysis, such as that neoliberalism is not only a force that deregulates the economy and destroys our lives; it also entails a broader rationale of how to organize a society, to constitute the subjects and their relationships, a *fait social total* in the framework of which concepts and practices like the intensification of desire and enjoyment, the expression of positive and joyful slogans, the constant invocation of creativity and “self-improvement”, play a key role. All the above strike us as truly crucial and, in a sense, “sincere” from the perspective of the current status quo: we do not consider them as mere eyewash or simply an “ideology” which occults the essence of things, but as actual ingredients of the neoliberal world.

At the same time however, various trends of the recent years, which were accelerated or reinforced by the pandemic crisis, render the reflection on violence and repression relevant again. So how is the type of positivity particular to neoliberalism being interlaced with the violence and repression that is being exerted by almost ideotypical neoliberal leaders such as Emmanuel Macron in France and Kyriakos Mitsotakis in Greece? Some possible answers to this kind of questions claim, for instance, that positivity itself involves violence due to its oppressive aspects, that it produces anxiety and excludes those subjects that do not align with the cheerful and upbeat norms of performance and enjoyment. Yet we believe that, when Macron tries to forbid the videotaping of police activities in France, or when police units that constitutively use violent practices and bullying methods are formed and reinforced in Greece, there seems to be something more and maybe slightly different occurring. In this case, we do not only face the indirect violence of exclusion

and anxiety, but also the intensification of repression in its most physical form. What are your thoughts about this issue?

Laval:

You are absolutely right to ask these kinds of questions. We share these same questions many years now and, to answer in our own way, we just published a collective work with the characteristic title: "La choix de la guerre civile. Une autre histoire du néolibéralisme". (The choice of civil war. A different story of neoliberalism) [1].

In reality, our reflection on neoliberalism has significantly evolved under the light of the events of the past ten years. To put it briefly, in 2009, when, together with Pierre Dardot, we published "La nouvelle raison du monde" (The new logic of the world), the point was to produce a somewhat more complete and precise analysis of what we mean with the term "neoliberalism" within the radical left and alter-globalization left [2], spaces we had political ties with. In this regard, the publication of the lectures of Michel Foucault in 2004, "The birth of biopolitics" was for us a very important source of reflection. We did not want to perform an interpretation of the text, but more of an in-depth study, an extension and in some aspects a clarification of Foucault's analyses, while at the same time feeling free of any obligation of being devoted to him. Outside of the historical developments, we wished to articulate more clearly the issue of the "governance of individuals" in con-

nection with the global politics and the transformations of State structures. We were still influenced by the intense conflicts in France regarding the European constitutional treaty, that lead to the prevalence of the "No" vote in the 2005 referendum [3]. The idea was to focus on the particularity of the European neoliberalism, which, to a great extent, derived from the German *ordo-liberalism*. Furthermore, following a very common line in France, in the book we insist specifically on the strictly neoliberal subjectivisation processes, which attracted numerous positive comments from psychoanalysts, psychiatrists and psychologists.

The violence, both diffused and generalized as we approached it then, was linked to the competition and the submission of workers and, eventually, of all individuals to the evaluation techniques. We did not want to limit ourselves to the critique of the "society of control" and of the generalized surveillance, but to challenge the problem of governance of individuals manifesting through the competition of economies, countries, social protection systems, judicial systems, etc. This is what made us agree with the very accurate diagnosis of Wendy Brown about a gradual de-democratisation of old liberal democracies.

Some years later, returning to our analyses in "Ce cauchemar qui n'en finit pas" (Never-ending nightmare) we systematized this angle of our critique insisting to the systemic dimension of neoliberalism, which could not

1. See Christian Laval, Haud Guéguen, Pierre Dardot, Pierre Sauvêtre, *La choix de la guerre civile. Une autre histoire du néolibéralisme*, Monreal: Lux, 2021.

2. "La gauche altermondialiste": With this term, Laval refers to movements of the left that might not totally oppose to globalization, but suggest that a different regulated organization of the world is possible.

3. A referendum that happened in France with the question being the approval or rejection of a treaty that would function as a binding European constitution. Eventually, in this referendum the "No" vote prevailed by 54.67% and thus the plans for a European constitutional treaty were abandoned.

be considered anymore a reversible political economy or even less a temporary “ideology”, but should be treated as a capitalist rationality that has already been deeply engraved in the legal frameworks, in the administrative procedures, in the economic constitutions or quasi-constitutions and that was supported by established and strongly interwoven oligarchies. The most evident proof of this was the strangulation of the Tsipras government by the Troika [4]. Violence was proven to be inherent to the “constitutional” way of supervising the governments in the European Union.

Finally, in our last work, which we define as “a different history of neoliberalism” quite different from our previous perspectives, which we do not renounce, we focus on neoliberalism’s strategic dimension, its connections with the “civil war” which can be found since its establishment. We show that, from its offset, neoliberalism is inherently authoritarian and violent, that it mobilizes or legitimizes brutal means of action against the “enemies of liberty and order” and that always chooses the “mighty state” against the people and democracy. The re-read of the Austrian,

German, French and American “founders” that we do in the book reveals a neoliberalism very different from the peaceful image that certain centrists and social-democrats wanted to put forward. This “other history” allows us to better understand the repressive logic of the Macron or Mitsotakis governments when they come against social or political resistances. Neoliberalism is above all, a strategy for the violent transformation of the societies, which aims to subdue every single of their elements to capitalist rationality.

Kaboom:

Could we address this issue also on a different level, taking into consideration the international scene? Every person aware of the international updates probably understands that the ascent of authoritarian leaders like Trump, Bolsonaro or Orbán (of course with all their important differences) seems to conform to the neoliberalization of our societies. In the book “Never Ending Nightmare”, written together with Pierre Dardot, you also refer to neoliberalism as a force that has a destructive effect on demonstrations and on democracy. To thematize this issue, is it pre-

4. Crisis Mirror comment: Here, Laval makes refers to the 2015 events in the politicoeconomical scene of Greece, the negotiations of the Syriza government with the “troika” (European Commission, IMF, European Central Bank), the referendum, the capital controls and all other implications.



ferable to insist on the heterogeneity of the various components that make up our reality, our world, (which, per Weber, “is not a clearly written book”) or to attempt to internally correlate the tendencies of authoritarianism and neoliberalization? Moreover, if one focuses on the level of the citizens, we often realize that subjects who support liberal ideas and embrace the positive political project of neoliberalism, seem at the same time to ask for or at least tolerate the intensifying repression in our societies, even though these two political dynamics seem to be opposite *prima facie*. How could we explain that? Is it something unprecedented, or could we attempt to contextualize it? And last but not least, what are we to think of the ways in which the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic and its management will affect these relations between “positivity” and “repression”?

Laval:

Trump, Bolsonaro or Orban, to which we could also add many more names such as Salvini and Le Pen, incorporate a complex political form which hybridizes an assimilated neoliberalism and a hysteric defence of the national framework, the traditional values, the national, racial or religious community, all those in the name of the interests of the “small”, the “poor”, the marginalized people. This is a very smart way to channel, express and at the same time turn the anger of large fractions of the population against the “enemies of the people”, in which we find randomly scattered foreigners, intellectuals, the left and the urban minorities [5]. In our book we remind that this hybridization between

neoliberalism and traditionalism, is not entirely new. What is new is this neoliberal nationalism observed in small nations such as Poland or Hungary. Until now, neoliberalism was connected to the defense of the West the aggressive promotion of the “western civilization” and the only truly legitimized nationalism between neoliberals was that of the USA, to the extent that it was related to the imperialist westernization. So, to answer to your question, we should not be so much surprised by this hybridization I talk about and the endogenous character of the repressive violence. Right in the core of the neoliberal strategy lies the idea that the “free market” belongs to the western tradition and that it is a value that should be protected and eternally renewed. This idea is the heart of the Mont-Pèlerin Society’s doctrine, this hard core of neoliberal intellect, which is evident both in Hayek as well as in the ordoliberal Röpke. As such, we have a truly neoliberal conservatism, which does not try to stop the capitalist progress of the society and the economy in order to preserve by any means possible the past, on the contrary, it accelerates this progress exactly because the free market is part of the western tradition, it is its most precious characteristic.

With regards to the contradiction between the defense of liberties from one side and the support of repressive politics from the other side, allow me to start by doubting the solidity of the “liberal” convictions of the various dominant oligarchies. The guide for their actions is of course not the protection of the “sacred” liberties and the “inviolable” human rights but their interest for power and riches.

5. The exact word that Laval uses in the original French text is “les urbaines” which, if directly translated, means the city dwellers. The term however is frequently used to determine members of ethnic or religious minorities who live in the city’s degraded neighborhoods, in the “ghettos”.

The true liberal tradition has now found refuge in the left and actually has crossed the line towards the radical critique of the modes of alienation and control of the population. The liberal reasoning of the right that has existed in some countries has now fallen apart. On the contrary, it is true that the most modern parts of capitalism and high technology accept with a rather favorable way the evolutions of ethics, some feminist demands, the overall inclusion of genders, sexual orientations and ethnicities. The neoliberal strategy which aims at the most complete society of the market is thus divided in a more reactionary version, impregnated with religiousness and xenophobia and a more "open" version at least when it comes to ethics and culture. The result, as we observe it in the USA or France, is that the biggest portion of the political space is occupied by the two facets of neoliberals. The left of Sanders or Mélenchon is not able to "break the barrier" so long as the popular outrage feeds the nationalist, identitarian, aggressive neoliberalism. As for the portion of the people who support the most repressive forms of neoliberalism, as I also mentioned above, they find in nationalism and racism a kind of collective identity and imaginary security which does not produce "class consciousness" any more. The populist style of some leaders has also the advantage of mobilizing the most intense, and in some cases, the most hateful passions, which gives them nowadays a very threatening electoral power.

The management of the pandemic and the reactions which it sparked are very interesting politically, as they reveal ruptures or contradictions in the ruling apparatus. On one side, the governments fall under the temptation of strengthening their control of

the whole society using the most repressive means' on the other side, the most demagogic leaders, such as Trump or Bolsonaro, underestimate the gravity of the pandemic and denounce or underrate the most health sanitary measures for combating it, opposing "individual liberties" to medical responses. Facing these contradictions of those in power, what we must examine is the inability to have a truly progressive response that can be based on social solidarity. It is concerning that within certain parts of the left in France, and I am not aware if this happens elsewhere, we have forgotten that the principle of social solidarity was at the very foundation of the collective and individual freedom.

Kaboom:

We would now like to consider the impact of technological means on the issue that we are discussing. On the one hand, incarnated in the (materiality of) contemporary technological means we can find traces of the values of the neoliberal society; on the other hand, technology always possesses its own dynamic, which is neither completely autonomous or independent from social action nor totally controlled by the subjects who create and use it. We think that this dynamic should be taken into consideration. For example, numerous applications and platforms that are crucial for the establishing of the neoliberal vision - performing functions such as the all-pervasive rating with "likes", stars and quantitative indicators, the commodification of realms of life that were previously inaccessible to the logic of economy, the understanding of the self qua human capital etc. - contribute at the same time to the accumulation of massive amounts of data, which indeed concern every aspect of life. And we believe that it should be clear

by now that this enormous accumulation of data leads (not necessarily but easily) to a condition of potential surveillance (at least quantitative and statistical at the beginning) of every human activity, every little action, interaction, walkabout. That is, we observe again the linkage of the can-do-it-attitude and the coolness that accompanies these platforms with a new, digital version of the old panopticon. The most unsettling element in this situation is that while people seem to be convinced that this is something simultaneously appalling and inevitable, they keep participating very energetically in these operations. What can we think about the interweaving of these factors, and of the high degree of social acceptance enjoyed by technological mediation? And what is the impact, on all this, of the phenomenal concentration of power that the big tech companies have managed to attain in such a short timespan?

Laval:

There is no doubt that every technology, no matter how material it might be, it is a technology of power, to the extent that, as it is established within the society, it entails certain power relations: engineers, doctors, computer scientists, professors, journalists, police officers or military personnel, are the practitioners of these technological powers that have a certain impact on parts of the population that they must “manage” or “govern”. Yes, you are definitely right to think that the means of surveillance have never been so effective. Bentham’s dream of the Panopticon has finally found its technological means. But if we were to stay on this grim assessment it would mean that we forget what I call “war of the uses”. This war is without a doubt uneven. It is true that the technical characteristi-

cs influence the possibilities of use. But the uses can also have their own influence to the technologies. The platforms, the “social networks”, the databases, certainly shape the behaviors and the subjectivities in a very concerning manner, but there’s also popular uses of these technologies that may after all be proven equally disturbing when they are serving racism or fascism.

I do not at all agree with the line of thought of Hardt and Negri, which we have criticized together with Piere Dardot in our book “Sauver Marx?” (Should we save Marx?). I do not at all believe that the new technologies today are establishing the communism of affects and thoughts. This is an illusion as disarming as it is to say that we already live under a total domination, like the hyper-pessimist theoreticians of the Frankfurt School said. In other words, we need to see the fields that these new technologies open as fields of struggle, war of the subjectivities and the uses in which the exploitation of data, the more or less subtle domination over the behaviors, the narcissism of selfies, the pornography addiction, the police surveillance etc. also meet the ways around property, the tricks against censorship, the collective mobilizations, the gatherings, the cooperative work, the connection and internationalization of struggles, the promotion of the points where the different forms of struggle cross etc. We should not forget that the power of the State and the capitalist domination always work in a very vertical, non-transparent and heavily segmented way. The leaders’ fear of social networks is real, their will to censor and control them is also a reality. The Chinese communist dictators, the Putin regime, tomorrow the Taliban and many other rulers are naturally afraid of the freedom of circula-



tion of ideas and images. Oppression needs silence and darkness.

That said, one of the largest flaws of the “progressive” side, with regards to technologies, is it’s failure to create massive cooperative platforms outside the capitalist logic, according to which they are funded through advertisements, thus forwarding the marketization. There are some exceptions of such world-wide commons, but these are very rare. The greatest success is Wikipedia but we see that its limitation is in its way of funding. Only a small number of users supports it financially with voluntary aid. The funding of the information and knowledge commons outside of the market is a central question in the war of uses of the technologies.

Kaboom:

During this interview, we discussed about the issues of violence and repression in their various forms. Believing, like you, that it is significant to try to imagine a different society, we would like to focus on the problem of violence and compulsion, as this could occur in the

context of a different type of social institution, which would be closer to our own values and desires. In the recent and admirable book that you co-wrote with Pierre Dardot about the Common and the revolution in the 21st century[6], you carry out a very interesting endeavor, one that is very often absent in radical thought: you examine in a thorough way the institution of justice and law and its transformations. You claim convincingly that the Common should also be enacted as a legal principle, that we must juxtapose the current law with the law of the Common, embracing the principle of the non-appropriable. However, we would like to highlight the following issue: one of the most essential features of legal rule is exactly that it necessarily involves compulsion; the threat that, if needed, it will be imposed forcefully. In other words, a rule, in order to be a legal rule and not just an exhortation or recommendation, must be enforceable and potentially able to be imposed. We would really like to hear your thoughts about the issues this situation brings forward, to the extent that these are involved with the topics of violence and oppression.

6. Pierre Dardot, Christian Laval, “Common, on revolutions on the 21st century.” 2019, Bloomsbury

Laval:

In our book "Common", we wanted to renew the approach of radical democracy by setting a simple principle, of course abstract in its general definition, but that we subsequently analyze further into more concrete sectors, activities and modes of existence. We claim that there is no real democracy without a principle of obligation, which is supplementary to and simultaneously inverse to principle of participation. We define the principle of the Common as a principle of co-obligation and co-participation. This means that every participation in a collective action, even more in the social life in general, entails a participation in the deliberation and decision-making. But this participation of every-one and all of us together implies that what has been collectively decided is binding, having of course the right to back out or disobey if what has been decided is going against a fundamental human right. In this case, the heritage of the political and ethical liberalism remains valuable. In this context, we are not at all libertarians, as we do not place the individual

liberty over the social responsibility. To be precise, we assume, and this is our optimistic side, that the deliberation and the collective decision will be based on moral determinants which will be derived from the same social life, particularly on the altruistic sentiment, the fundamental human tendency for solidarity, the respect for dignity and the sense of justice. In that sense, we are very close to a certain anarchist philosophy, such as the one developed by Kropotkin, which assumes that in the life of the human species, mutual aid and solidarity are anthropological realities, that appear, at least as a seed, in all societies, and which can find their more concrete political form. But, again, we are totally against the libertarian idea of an Individual which will never need to endure even the slightest limitation. It is the same idea, common in a particular part of the far right and some marginal parts of the far left, which fueled the anti-vaccine demonstrations in France last summer.

More generally, it is also certain that justice has been continuously devaluated by the



radical left after '68 as it has been identified with the bourgeois State, the police and judicial repression and with the "class justice". The old denouncing of the "formal justice" of the bourgeois class is still present as kind of a background music for the militant word. We propose a vastly different approach, more "positive" if you prefer, which involves the invention and development of a justice of uses or a justice of the commons against the double monopoly of the private and public justice. This means that, in order to expand the sphere of commons already now, before the general revolution of the society, it is important to protect and establish a certain legal arsenal, which opposes the logic of private property, as well as the logic of State monopoly of legal production. Here our great source of inspiration was mainly Proudhon, even though we have objections in many of his views. Proudhon understood that the law and other institutional phenomena were not necessarily State praxis, that a law of the dominated and institutions of the dominated, could be created and developed in an autonomous fashion and have the force of an alternative and emancipatory obligation. This is the meaning he gave, for example, to mutualism and collectivism.

Kaboom:

An examination of the big picture with wide strokes like these may sometimes result in disappointment. We understand that it is always a little odd or unfitting to ask for tangible directions and guidelines after a rather theoretical discussion, but also have in mind that you do not hesitate to articulate specific practical suggestions about the theoretical political issues you are dealing with, as you do for instance in the last chapter of the

abovementioned essay about the Common. The notorious question of "what to do?" is something that occurs all the time in the context of a political journal; as it should. Thus, we would like to ask what you think could be the possibilities of resistance, but also of political creation against this complex of positivity and repression that we referred to in this interview. Going beyond that complex, which could be the elements of a heterogenous reality that can assist us on imagining the possibilities of a different life? And what is there to be said regarding the limits imposed on our political imagination by the large macro-movements we touched upon during this interview?

Laval:

We now know what we should no longer do, for example create the frontline revolutionary party which will take the power and transform the society from the top and the center. But the problem remains intact: What is to be done?

One of the conditions for the effectiveness of the struggle is their transversality and intersectionality. What Chile, one of the most advanced countries on the anti-neoliberal fight, shows nowadays is the importance of transversal links and of revolutionary connections between different types of struggles. What is remarkable in the Chilean history is the concentration of struggles over the past one or two decades and their cumulative impact on the popular subjectivities; university and highschool student struggles since at least 2006, feminist struggles, indigenous struggles, ecological struggles, workers struggles. What is also remarkable in these struggles is that, although being autonomous, they have managed to connect with each other, to create links, create a "common". They specifically

avoided the isolation and the focus on the “identity” by making the particularities of each separate struggle acquire a substantial and universal signification. It has been practically demonstrated in Chile that these struggles do not oppose each other, do not neutralize each other and can concentrate on a point of adversity while remaining specific. And this point of adversity that concentrates the struggles is precisely neoliberalism as it is concentrated in the institutions, and as it is put in writing in the Pinochet constitution of Chile. In order to have such a large-scale movement of the society against neoliberalism, the transversalization of the struggles must happen. This means that each struggle should internalize the logic of the other struggles. This is the case for example, when feminism becomes an active dimension of the struggle of workers, the struggles of students or the struggles of the indigenous and vice-versa. This is when all struggles practice a kind of general reciprocity, a mutual integration of their perspectives without really abandoning their specificity. For this transversalization of struggles to work there must be a point of unity above all, which Castoriadis called an “imaginary signification” which is common for all the movements. This signification is the equality of all with the greatest freedom possible. The new left that is to be born, will have to set itself the task to articulate all these struggles, whether economic or cultural, around a general demand for equality, which means that all equalities have the same value, all equalities are equal. The struggle against neoliberalism assumes

the development of instituting practices, to a local, communal, social, cultural, productive or educational level. Whether they take the form of a democratic communalism, of a fight for the democratization of public services or of development of the commons, in the fields of natural resources or social solidarity, the important thing is to link these instituting practices, this creation of commons, to mass political movements. In the events of the years 2010-2015, we saw these articulations taking place in the so called “movements of the squares” in a global scale. A problem which was never resolved is to maintain democratic forms on the long term, outside the phases of intense mobilization.

But neoliberalism is also a global system of domination driven by globally connected and organized oligarchies, even in the absence of a fully integrated command center. Fighting neoliberalism presupposes new forms of internationalism, or better, a new form of cosmopolitics.

We need to reject the worn-out political models. We do not want the vertical orientation of the global party, that the Bolsheviks had imagined, nor the horizontality of the alter-globalization and of the global social fora [7]. The fora had their function but it has become clear that we need to continue to something new. To a great extent they have exhausted their historical function, which was to bring together local/national movements and heterogeneous struggles. The great challenge today is to invent, against the vertical orientation of the Party and beyond the horizontality of the movements, the “diagonal” of the an-

7. The “World social forum” is a yearly, international summit between movements and organizations from the society where citizens exchange ideas, political strategies, social, economic and political propositions and projects which aims towards the interconnection and communication of local social and political movements that oppose to neoliberalism in a global level

ti-neoliberal powers. With the term “diagonal” I mean simultaneously the transversalization of struggles, as I defined it previously, and their internationalization. The internationalization, in other words the universal diagonalization, of struggles, has already started, even if at an embryonic state, in the fields of ecology, feminism, rural syndicalism, the struggles of the indigenous people, etc.

This new international left which needs to be born must set common goals for the entire humanity: for example, to be very concrete, the struggle for the lift of the vaccine patents, the struggle against the capitalist environmental and climate destruction, the struggle against the excessive mining and the privatization of the earth, the struggle against the globalized financial system, the struggle against patriarchy as a global domination system. There is no shortage of reasons to fight. What remains is that we create and multiply the channels through which the “diagonal” of struggles can develop. The exchange of ideas can be helpful, as can be the information regarding initiatives and experiments and the spread of analyses and notions across the different countries and continents.

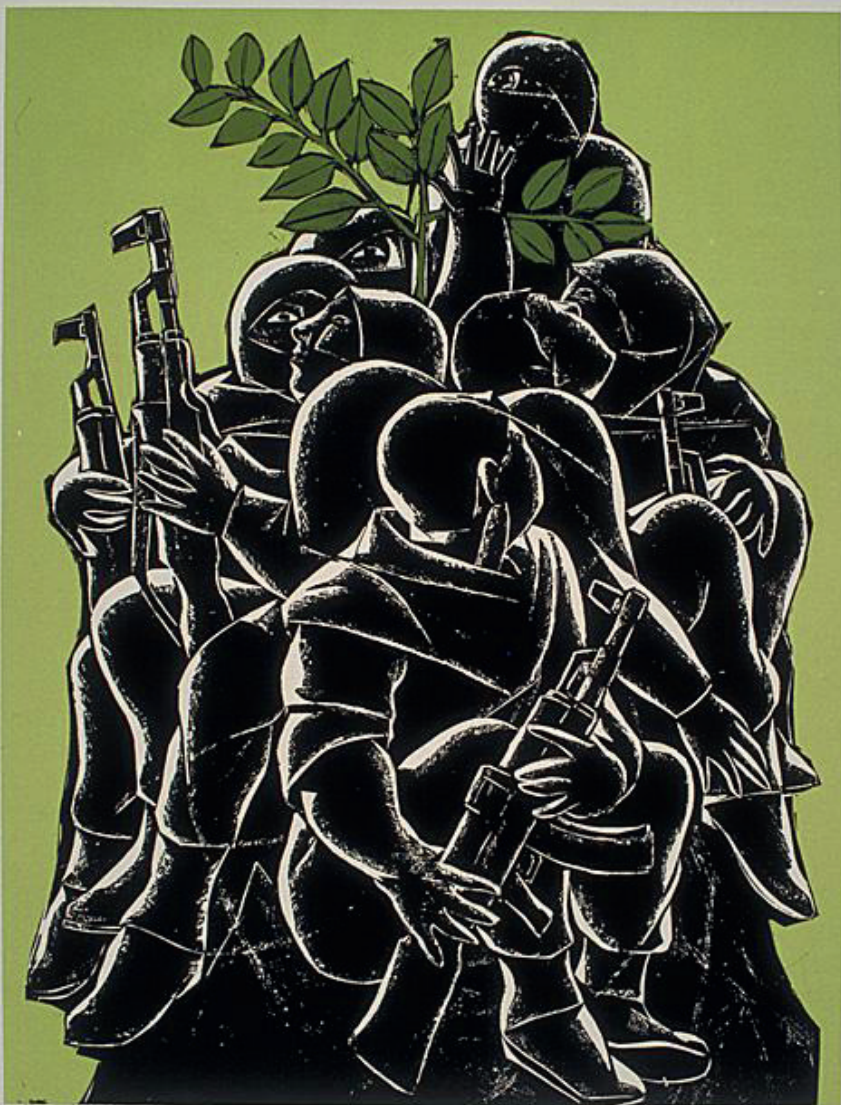
For Palestine

Western colonialism was, is, and will be a core enforcer of these so-called 'normalities,' embedding xenophobia, repression, and surveillance deeply within systems of domination. Nowhere is this legacy more visible than in the ongoing colonization and systematic genocide in Palestine, where the tools of oppression are wielded with devastating impact, reinforcing the brutal continuity of colonial violence under the guise of security and control. By the time that the current issue is finalized, a year has passed since the catastrophic intensification of the Palestinian genocide by the Israeli apartheid.

As part of the dynamics of genocide, the educational, intellectual, artistic and cultural production of a people are attacked and dismantled, in what is often termed 'scholasticide'. In the last year Israel has bombed all of Gaza's 12 universities, as well as hundreds of schools and cultural heritage sites, including libraries, archives and museums. This is not a new development but part of the continuum of the last 76 years, where Israel has targeted Palestinian knowledge systems and cultural heritage. Sharing and preserving the Palestinian intellectual, cultural and artistic production must be understood then as an inherent part of the resistance against colonial violence.

In this magazine issue the poems of Tawfiq Zayya (1929-1994), Mahmoud Darwish (1941-2008), Samih Al Qasim (1939-2014), Refaat Al-Areer (1979-2023), Fadwa Tuqan (1917-2003) and Ghassan Zaqtan (1954-), can be read.





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THE REVOLUTION

مُنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية

P.L.O

The work of Frantz Fanon, Aime Cesaire, Edward Said and other anticolonial scholars, deconstructing the systemic physical and psychological violence of colonization, has resurfaced after the escalation of Israel's attacks on Palestine.

Their work depicts the way colonialism dehumanizes the colonized and maintains control through oppression. And how the colonized, in response, must use violence as means of reversing the dynamics of subjugation to reclaim their humanity. Violence is, thus, an inherent and necessary part of the decolonization process. It is as brutal as it is essential for the colonized to regain dignity, dismantle colonialism and liberate themselves. As Franz Fanon said: "Colonialism is not a thinking machine, nor a body endowed with reasoning faculties. It is violence in its natural state, and it will only yield when confronted with greater violence".

Below is a piece from a play by Aime Cesaire



And the dogs weren't silent

by Aime Cesaire

THE REBEL:

(harshly): My name - an offense; my Christian name - humiliation;
my status - a rebel; my age - the stone age.

THE MOTHER:

My race - the human race. My religion - brotherhood.

THE REBEL:

My race: that of the fallen.

My religion... but it's not you that will show it to mewith your disarmament...

'tis I myself, with my rebellion and my poor fists clenched and my wooly head... (Very calm) I remember one November day; it was hardly six months ago... The master came into the cabin in a cloud of smoke like an April moon. He was flexing his short muscular arms - he was a very good master - and he was rubbing his little dimpled face with his fat fingers. His blue eyes were smiling and he couldn't get the honeyed words out of his mouth quick enough. 'The kid will be a decent fellow' he said looking at me, and he said other pleasant things too, the master - that you had to start very early, that twenty years was not too much to make a good Christian and a good slave, a steady, devoted boy, a good commander's chain-gang captain, sharp-eyed and strong-armed. And all that man saw of my son's cradle was that it was the cradle of a chain-gang captain.

We crept in, knife in hand ...

THE MOTHER:

Alas, you'll die for it.



THE REBEL:

Killed ...

I killed him with my own hands ...

Yes, 'twas a fruitful death, a copious death ...

It was night. We crept among the sugar canes.

The knives sang to the stars, but we did not heed the stars.

The sugar canes scarred our faces with streams of green blades.

THE MOTHER:

And I had dreamed of a son to close his mother's eyes.

THE REBEL:

But I chose to open my son's eyes upon another sun.

THE MOTHER:

O my son, son of evil and unlucky death -

THE REBEL:

Mother of living and splendid death,

THE MOTHER:

Because he has hated too much,

THE REBEL:

Because he has too much loved.

THE MOTHER:

Spare me, I am choking in your bonds. I bleed from your wounds.



THE REBEL:

And the world does not spare me... There is not anywhere in the world a poor creature who's been lynched or tortured in whom I am not murdered and humiliated ...

THE MOTHER:

God of Heaven, deliver him!

THE REBEL:

My heart, thou wilt not deliver me from all that I remember ...
It was an evening in November... And suddenly shouts lit up the silence;
We had attacked, we the slaves; we, the dung underfoot, we the animals
with patient hooves.

We were running like madmen; shots rang out...

We were striking. Blood and sweat cooled and refreshed us.

We were striking where the shouts came from, and the shouts became more strident and a great clamor rose from the east: it was the outhouses burning and the flames flickered sweetly on our cheeks.

Then was the assault made on the master's house. They were firing from the windows.

We broke in the doors.

The master's room was wide open. The master's room was brilliantly lit,
and the master was there, very calm ...

and our people stopped dead... it was the master ... I went in. 'It's you,'
he said, very calm.

It was I, even I, and I told him so, the good slave, the faithful slave, the slave of slaves, and suddenly his eyes were like two cock-roaches, frightened in the rainy season... I struck, and the blood spurted; that is the only baptism that I remember today.



OUTSIDE THREAT



While most of us suffered during the lockdown—seeing our social circle diminish to nothingness, suffocating in the mundane routine of an asocial life—there are others enduring this impossibility of life year after year. While most of us did not see our loved ones for months, there are others who have no land to call home. While we were social distancing in the comfort of our warm, tech-equipped apartments, there were others spending their winter nights stranded ashore. This has always been the dual reality of our times.

This passage is by no means aspiring to document a lengthy catalog of human rights violations. Rather, it is attempting to use certain aspects of the inhumane Danish/EU immigrant policy, both before, during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, in order to illuminate the underlying ideological processes at play, which are often biding in plain sight.

The material reality

In recent years, we have witnessed a policy shift within the gulfs of the EU, according to which refugees are being perceived more and more as a threat to both the state apparatus but also to a large part of the society. As a result, the EU has been spending rigorously, fortifying its outer borders, turning itself into a fortress. Oftentimes, this fortification materializes on the EU-level, while others on the country level. Overall, it can be divided into four main categories:

1. Intensifying border control: for example by building a fence at the Greek-Turkish border at Evros, or by having FRONTEX conduct illegal pushbacks of refugee boats on a regular basis around Greek islands [1], [2].
2. Penalizing forms of solidarity: in the case of Italy refugee-rescuers are charged with complicity in people-smuggling, and NGO rescue boats bringing migrants to the country without permission face fines of up to €50,000.
3. Prosecuting asylum-seekers for their (alleged) involvement in human smuggling during their own migration journey: among others, charges can include forming a criminal organization, causing shipwreck and migrant smuggling, and are oftentimes translated into exhausting punishments, even life imprisonment. Indicative again are the examples of Italy and Greece, where refugees have been charged with up to 150 years imprisonment. At least 1,300 boat drivers (often migrant-drivers) have been arrested between 2015 and 2018 [3].
4. Outsourcing the handling of refugees to either Turkey or African countries: the EU-Turkey deal has been in effect since 2016, and it has provided Turkey with at least €6 billion, as well as the right for visa-free travel to Europe for all Turkish nationals, in exchange for stopping people

1. The reader is referred to “The Aegean Boat Report” (<https://aegeanboatreport.com/>), and the “Bellingcat” (<https://www.bellingcat.com>) for a more thorough and in depth investigation of illegal push-backs.

2. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2022/apr/28/revealed-eu-border-agency-involved-in-hundreds-of-refugee-pushbacks>

3. http://www.antoniocasella.eu/nume/Patan%E8_scafisti_14may2020.pdf

from traveling irregularly from Turkey to Greek islands. With regards to African countries, the Danish government has recently reached an agreement with the government of Rwanda to send any “spontaneous asylum seekers” (regardless of country of origin) who arrive in Denmark to Rwanda “for consideration of the asylum applications and protection, and the option of settling in Rwanda”. In 2022, Boris Johnson and Rishi Sunak announced a similar agreement with Rwanda. Along the same lines, the Italian State has been providing financial and technical support to Libyan authorities since 2017 for detaining migrants trying to reach Europe, or if necessary, intercepting the boats they attempt to escape with.

Even for the lucky few who manage to survive the hardships of the journey and reach the “Promised Land” [4], the adversities persist. As soon as they enter the EU, they are stripped of their basic human rights and are piled up in concentration camps. This is not only happening in faraway lands on the outskirts of the EU (like Lesbos island, Greece), but also here in Denmark. In January 2016, the Danish government mandated all refugees to be stripped of their valuables and belongings. In 2020—with a global pandemic in full outbreak—not much changed. Refugees of Ellebæk camp repeatedly complained about the food quality, the lack of COVID-19 precau-



tions and testing, basic standards of hygiene not being fulfilled and social distancing not being a possibility. Despite the European Torture Committee criticizing the inhuman conditions of concentration camps in Denmark, no action was taken from the State to improve the situation. This can only lead to one logical conclusion: there is a conscious and deliberate effort from the authorities to break the will of these people, to force them to give up on their pursue of a better

4. UNHCR RBE Monthly Update December 2020

life within Denmark, either by imposing Kafkaesque bureaucratic procedures [5], or by simply allowing COVID-19 to run rampant in asylum centers.

The ideological apparatus

“Race is a taxonomy of ascriptive difference, that is, an ideology that constructs populations as groups and sorts them into hierarchies of capacity, civic worth, and desert based on “natural” or essential characteristics attributed to them. Ideologies of ascriptive difference help to stabilize a social order by legitimizing its hierarchies of wealth, power, and privilege, including its social division of labor, as the natural order of things (...) Ascriptive ideologies are just-so stories with the potential to become self-fulfilling prophecies. They emerge from self-interested common sense as folk knowledge: they are “known” to be true unreflectively because they seem to comport with the evidence of quotidian experience. They are likely to become generally assumed as self-evident truth, and imposed as such by law and custom, when they converge with and reinforce the interests of powerful strata in the society”

Adolph Reed Jr. (Marx, Race, and Neoliberalism)

If we were to apply Adolph Reed Jr.’s ideas in the context of migration, we would then realize that the views of refugees in the Western world are like stories we tell ourselves to make sense of things. Even if these stories are not true, they can become true if enough people believe in them. These beliefs are often accepted without much thought because they seem to fit everyday experience. Western governments’ interests align with these beliefs, reinforcing them through laws and customs, making them appear as the only reality fitting the “natural” order of things. That’s why the authoritarian shift within the gulfs of the EU is not only restricted to stopping immigrants from entering the Union or from being granted asylum, but also extends to the public discourse. Immigrants are repeatedly portrayed as an outside threat. In the past, they were “coming to take over our jobs”. In 2021, they are also coming after “our culture”. This demonization of immigrants can take a multitude of forms; from the greek mainstream media portraying refugees as invaders or Turkish spies [6] to the Prime Minister of Denmark—Mette Frederiksen herself—calling for “immigrant” kids in the S-train to stop making passengers feel unsafe [7]. However, it has a singular objective: to frame the “refugee crisis” not as a crisis for the people fleeing war, famine, economic or environmental collapse, but as a crisis for the receiving country. One can easily imagine why the feeling of fear is being actively perpetuated from the mainstream media and how it is being exploited by the current status quo; it serves as one of the sharpest tools of promoting capitalist interests, while distracting the masses from the real enemy—the class enemy. Thus, refugees—like a modern day palindrome—exist in a state of superimposition of two extremes; on the one hand, they are cheap labor ready to be exploited by the capitalist

5. This is also reflected in the numbers of refugee applications being accepted (2018 denmark received asylum application from 5.4 people per 10.000 inhabitants. Only 50% of them were granted protection (<https://www.unhcr.org/neu/17855-statistics-refugees-asylum-seekers-northern-europe-region.html>)).

6. <https://www.sarajevomag.net/wp/2020/03/ta-pyromachika-toy-echthroy/>

7. <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/mette-f-indvandrerdenge-ma-ikke-gore-det-utrygt-tage-s-tog>

elite to further suppress minimum wage, on the other hand (and when the needs of the market have been saturated) they serve as a surplus population, as the boogie-man against whom a national identity can be built and perpetuated. This is the cruel and deeply political condition of the modern western-world. Thus, it is important to stress that refugees are not victims of fortune and natural disasters, but they are the victims of neoliberalism, (neo)colonialism and capitalist-driven destruction of the environment, which in turn can only mean that our motives should not just be humanitarian, but anti-capitalist. And if this realization comes to us as no surprise, we stand dumbfounded in front of the staggering masses who buy into the mainstream narrative. The lack of class-consciousness leaves the subject stranded and disoriented, blinded, looking at a fragmented and absurd reality through the kaleidoscope of TINA [8].

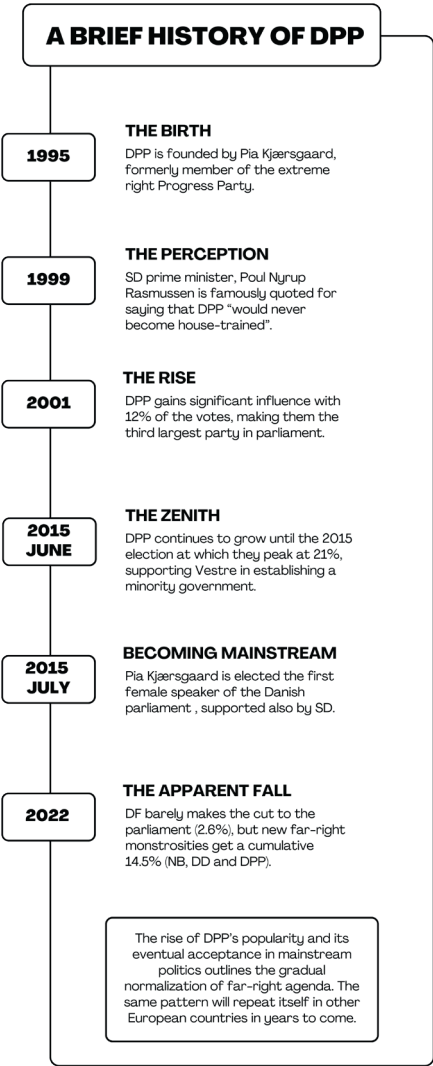
The only way for belonging? The nation.
The only way for social status? The cannibalism of the other.

Thereby, a self-feeding loop of xenophobia is born; the mainstream narrative sharpens the reactionary reflexes of the populous, while political parties seeking broader electoral acceptance shift their agenda towards more and more racist policies.

The case of Denmark

A prominent case of this self-feeding loop is the rise and “fall” of the Danish People’s Party (DPP). A populist, far-right party which—when it first emerged—was treated as an outcast, an untouchable, not to be taken seriously [9] from the rest of the political system. However, DPP kept growing in popularity until it managed to hit a staggering 21% in the 2015 election. Since then, DPP has shrunk in numbers to the point that it barely managed to secure 6 spots in the last Danish parliamentary elections of 2022. However, rejoicing for DPP’s “fall” would be premature and naive, since DPP’s spirit lives on through the anima of “centrist” parties. Parties like Social Democrats (SD) and Socialist People’s Party (SPP) have shifted their agenda to positions much closer to

8. TINA: There Is No Alternative
<http://www.crisismirror.org/library/articles/the-ethno-nationalist-backdrop-to-danish-social-welfare/>
9. Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen is famously quoted for telling the DF that “they would never become house-trained” during a parliamentary debate in 1999.



DPP's than their past leaders could have ever fathomed. As a result, two of the most xenophobic laws currently in existence within the EU were first implemented with either the direct support or even as an initiative of the so-called Danish "leftist/centrist" parties: the Ghetto law [10] and the burqa-law [11]. These laws are prime examples of how far-right policies can prevail in a society even when right-wing parties appear to be in retreat: these laws were not born out of thin air but were the culmination of a gradual push to place "Danishness" and ethno-nationalist values as the focal point of public discourse.

In that context, it comes as no surprise that the Danish state took no special precautions during the pandemic to ensure that refugees were able to socially-distance, to properly self-isolate and to be tested when needed. It comes as no surprise that these people were abandoned in concentration camps all over the country and their existence conveniently slipped into oblivion in any mainstream discussion about combating the pandemic. It comes as no surprise that studies quantify the long-term physical and mental burden of the pandemic lockdown on the population, but refugees living in a constant state of lockdown are erased from the societal memory. Even now—when all lockdown measures have been lifted and life has returned to its normal rhythm—these people are still forced to live under "quarantine" conditions.

This is the abnormal normality of seeking refuge in Denmark. This is the abnormal normality we refuse our society to return to.

Post scriptum

"The violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world, which has ceaselessly drummed the rhythm for the destruction of native social forms and broken up without reserve the systems of reference of the economy, the customs of dress and external life, that same violence will be claimed and taken over by the native at the moment when, deciding to embody history in his own person, he surges into the forbidden quarters."

Frantz Fanon

Since this text was first produced, a lot has changed; Russia has invaded Ukraine and Israel is conducting genocide in Palestine. Though the hypocrisy of the West has been decried plenty by now, we still see value in reiterating this critique here to crystallize reflections of our group during the last year.

Denmark seems to forget its colonial past when portraying the refugee crisis as an external symptom and refuses to take any accountability for the matter whatsoever. Although slave plantations in the Danish West-Indies have long ceased to exist, Denmark is still a very active player in various colonial projects. On the one hand, as a proud member of the "guardians of the Western values", aka NATO, it condemns the unjustified and deadly Russian invasion in Ukraine; on the

10. If you would be interested to become active against the Ghetto Law you can reach out to Almen Modstand, a grass-root group created by the residents themselves (almenmodstand.dk)

11. According to the "burqa-law" which came in effect in summer 2018, wearing a burqa, which covers a person's entire face, or the niqab, which only shows the eyes, in public will lead to a fine of 1,000 dkk.

other, it procures the genocide in Gaza, vigorously supporting the ongoing ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. The victims of such colonial projects cannot be others than the occupied peoples who see their land uptaken by foreign military forces, their homes burned to the ground, and the prospect of a peaceful life vanishing day by day. The massive migration flows, imposed by the forces of imperial terror, are thus the usual aspect of every colonialism story. Though, what comes thereafter, grazes the boundaries of the surreal; a systemic effort to divide immigrants into a first and a second “tier”, a technique to construct two completely absurd refugee identities which, albeit, have completely different influences on people’s lives. It is the white, Christian, Ukrainian refugee who shares the same Western liberal ideas as “us” and gets access to citizenship’s privileges, versus the brown, Muslim, Middle Eastern, potentially Islamic terrorist who threatens the homogenous, European edifice and needs to be denied access to basic human rights.

This corrupt stance towards history has its perverse “fact on the ground”: a special law (known as the “Ukrainian law” [12]) granting immediate access to housing and to the welfare system to 50,000 Ukrainian asylum seekers is adopted. Meanwhile, non-white refugees are confined indefinitely—often on criminal grounds—in remote ex-military bases and abandoned in 19th century prisons, effectively being excluded on racial and religious premises. Similarly special is the Danish policy-making as regards to COVID-19 and Ukrainian refugees; medical clinics are introduced for treating said refugees [13], in contrast to the scarce healthcare provisions allocated to the non-western refugees in the detention camps.

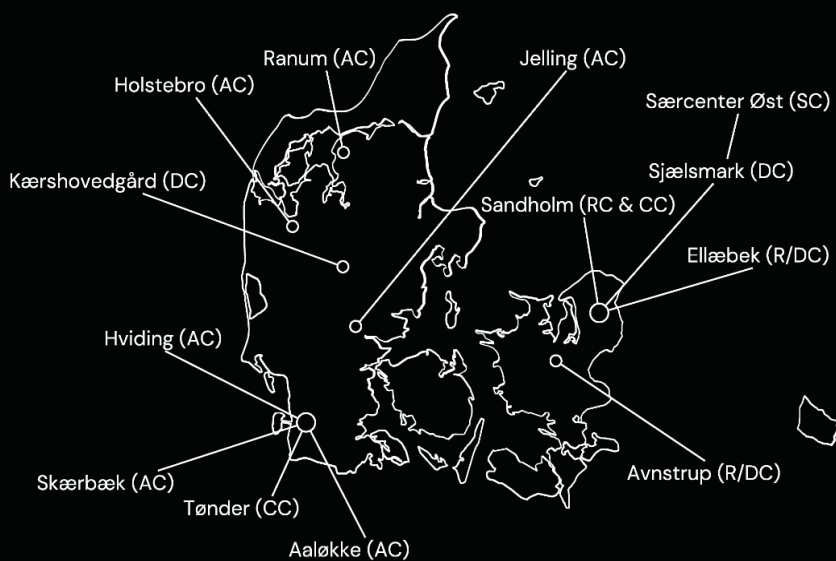
It is clear that in Denmark, the living conditions of refugees depend heavily on their country of origin, and this is a reality which we refuse to accept. No matter how passionately the EU is trying to create the perception of caring for the Ukrainian migrants, one should not be blinded by the hypocrisy of this misrepresentation of reality. In fact, at the same moment people are fleeing their homeland in search of a safe place, Denmark sends troops and F-16s to Ukraine [14], fueling a war that has already forced millions of civilians into absolute despair. On top of this, Denmark is a country that has accepted less Ukrainian refugees per capita than the majority of other EU countries. So, there is no doubt that Denmark, with its direct involvement in this imperialist clash between Russia and NATO and their colonial endeavors, is sowing the seeds of violence and repression. However, they are also the ones to eventually reap the rage of the oppressed.

We oppose these double-standard societies, and we demand equal access to housing, work and healthcare for all refugees irrespective of religion, race or ethnicity. At the same time, we should not shy away from confronting the root cause of the crisis: The Western colonial rule and its profit-first capitalist interests. Until this imperialist pandemic is ultimately smashed by our collective resistance, the only thing we should expect from the states is to selectively wipe away the guilt of the sadism they practice, the same guilt that ensures the repetitive character of their violence.

12. https://migrant-integration.ec.europa.eu/news/new-danish-law-those-fleeing-ukraine-mirrors-eu-temporary-protection-directive_en

13. <https://euromedmonitor.org/en/article/5074/Denmark%E2%80%99s-exclusive-clinics-for-Ukrainians-is-another-discriminatory-milestone>

14. <https://ukraine.um.dk/en/news/f16-fighter-jets-are-in-ukraine-now>



Ellæbek, Kærshovedgård, Sjælsmark: run
by Danish Prison and Probation Service.
Ellæbek is practically a closed prison.
Rest: run by Danish Red Cross

Accommodation Center (AC)
Children Center (CC)
Deportation Center (DC)
Reception Center (RC)
Return and Deportation Center (R/DC)
Special Center (SC)



EURO NEWS

Western World • Business as usual • Real Estate • Pushbacks

ARE YOU A NON-WESTERN IMMIGRANT COMING TO EUROPE?

Hof Deportation Detention Centre | Iğdir Removal Centre | Ingelheim Deportation Detention Centre | Istanbul (Binkılıç) Removal Centre | Istanbul (Silivri) Removal Centre | Istanbul (Tuzla) Removal Centre | Istanbul Airport Transit Zone Detention | Izmir Adnan Menderes Airport Holding Facility | Izmir Harmandalı Removal Centre | Kağıthane Police Station | Kareç Detention Centre | Kayseri Removal Centre | Kirikkale Removal Centre | Kocaeli Removal Centre | Kos Reception and Identification Centre | Malatya Removal Centre | Medininkai State Border Guard School | Mugla Removal Centre | Munich Airport Deportation Detention Facility | Munich Airport Transit Detention Centre | Pabrade Detention Centre | Pehlivan köy Removal Centre | Pendik Police Station | Pforzheim Detention Centre | Sabiha Gökçen Airport | Samos Refugee Holding Camp | Tbilisi Temporary Accommodation Centre | Trandum National Police Immigration Detention Centre | Van Removal Centre | Aabenraa Arrest Prison | Aarau District Prison | Altstätten Regional Prison | Amygdaleza Pre-Removal Retention Centre | Appenzell Innerrhoden Cantonal Police Prison | Bad Kreuzen Federal Accommodation Facility | Baku City Detention Centre for Illegal Migrants | Basel City Detention Centre | Bässlergut Prison | Bazenheid Deportation Prison | Belá-Jezová centre | Bern Regional Prison |

Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros-Barcelona | Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros-Madrid | Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros-Murcia | Adana Removal Centre | Agri Removal Centre | Ankara Esenboğa Airport Holding Facility | Ankara Removal Centre | Antalya Removal Centre | Aydın Removal Centre | Balaban Police Station | Beşiktaş Police Station | Beyoğlu Police Station | Bremen Police Custody & Deportation Centre | Büren Detention Centre | Bursa Removal Centre | Caldiran Police Station | Canakkale Ayvacık Removal Centre | Cankiri Removal Centre | Centre for Temporary Detention of Foreigners | Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros-Las Palmas de Gran Canarias | Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros-Santa Cruz de Tenerife |

**HERE ARE A
FEW HOUSING
OPTIONS
FOR YOU!**

Darmstadt-Eberstadt Detention Centre | Daugavpils Detention Centre | Dresden Deportation Detention Centre | Edirne Removal Centre | Eichstätt Deportation Detention Centre | Erding Deportation Detention Centre | Erzurum 1 Removal Centre | Erzurum 2 Removal Centre | Gaziantep Removal Centre | Glückstadt Detention Centre | Hamburg Detention Centre | Hannover-Langenhagen Detention Centre | Haraldvangen Family Detention Centre | Hatay Removal Centre | Floriania Police Headquarters |

Bordeaux Centre de Rétention Administrative | Brook House Immigration Removal Centre | Caricole Transit Centre | Center № 1 for Temporary Detention of Foreign Nationals for St. Petersburg and Leningrad | Centre de Rapatriement 127 bis | Centre fermé pour femmes de Holsbeek | Centre pour illégaux de Bruges | Centre pour Illégaux de Merksplas | Centre pour Illégaux de Vottem | Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros-Algeciras | Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros-Valencia | Ceuta Temporary Stay Centre | Champ-Dollon Prison | Chios VIAL Reception and Identification Centre | Colnbrook Immigration Removal Centre | Coquelles Centre de Rétention Administrative | Corinth Pre-Removal Detention Centre | Crêtelongue Penitentiary Facility | Delémont Prison | Drama Paranesti Pre-Removal Detention Centre | Dubrovnik Airport Transit Zone | Dungavel House Immigration Removal Centre | Düsseldorf Airport Detention Facility | Ellebaek Prison and Probation Establishment for Asylum-seekers and Others Deprived of their Liberty | Findel Detention Centre | Frambois Certified Establishment for Administrative



Detention | Frankfurt Airport Detention Facility | Fribourg Detention Facility - Central Prison Site and "Les Falaises" House | Fylakio (Orestiada) First Reception Centre | Glarus Cantonal Prison | Gmünden Prisons / Prison and Cantonal Prison | Castlereas Prison | Cloverhill Prison | Cork Prison | Dochas Centre | Galați Accommodation Centre for Asylum Seekers | Geneva Airport Transit Zone Detention Facility | Gorizia, Gradisca d'Isonzo, Centro di Identificazione ed Espulsione | Hotspot Messina, Ex Caserma Gasparro | Beblesin Police Station | Grosshof Correctional Facility | Hamburg Airport Deportation Detention Centre | Harmondsworth Immigration Removal Centre | Hatay former Special Forces Unit | Initial Reception Center - Marsa | Ježovo Detention Centre | Joutseno detention centre | La Farera Prison | Larne House Residential Short-Term Holding Facility | Le Mesnil-Amelot Centre de Rétention Administrative | Leros Reception and Identification Centre | Lesbos (Kara Tepe) Reception and Identification Centre | Lyon-Saint-Exupéry Centre de Rétention Administrative | Lyster Barracks | Manchester Airport Residential Short-Term Holding Facility | Mayotte Centre de Rétention Administrative | Melilla Temporary Stay Centre | Menoya (Menogeia) Immigration Detention Centre | Metsälä Detention Centre | Metz-Queuleu Centre de Rétention Administrative | Morton Hall Immigration Removal Centre | Postojna Centre for Foreigners | Pournara Emergency Reception Centre | Cergy Pontoise Local de Rétention Administrative | Moutier Regional Prison | Muceniaki Detention Centre | Nykøbing Falster Arrest | Olten Detention Centre | Paphos Police Station Detention Centre | Paris-Vincennes (Sites 1, 2 & 3) Centre de Rétention Administrative | Petrou Ralli Pre-Removal Detention Centre | Plaisir Centre de Rétention Administrative | Porrentruy Prison | Pyli Pre-Removal Detention Centre | Rae Detention Centre | Realta

Correctional Facility | Rotterdam Detention Centre | Rouen-Oissel Centre de Rétention Administrative | Safi Barracks | Samos Vathy Reception and Identification Centre | Saxerriet Cantonal Prison | Schiphol Detention Centre | Schiphol Aanmeldcentrum | Schwyz Cantonal Prison | Sennhof Correctional Facility | Solothurn Detention Centre | Spuz Centre for Reception of Foreigners Seeking International Protection | St Gallen Prison | Stans Remand and Criminal Prison | Thun Regional Prison | Tinsley House Immigration Removal Centre | Tovarnik Transit Detention Centre | Trilj Transit Detention Centre | Tuilière Prison | Vranidoll Detention Centre for Foreigners | Wauwilermos Correctional Facility | Widnau Prison | Xanthi Pre-Removal Detention Centre | Yar's Wood Immigration Removal Centre | Yevlakh Detention Centre for Illegal Migrants | Yumuktepe Police Station | Zagreb International Airport Transit Zone Facility | Zeist Detention Centre | Zeytun Police Station | Zug Cantonal Prison | Zurich Airport Prison | Zurich Airport Transit Zone Detention Facility | Zurich Police Prison | Hal Far Immigration Reception Centre | Arad Detention Centre | Bastia Local de Rétention Administrative | Cayenne-Rochambeau Local de Rétention Administrative | Cercottes Local de Rétention Administrative | Nanterre Local de Rétention Administrative | Poitiers Local de Rétention Administrative | Saint-Louis Local de Rétention Administrative | Bari-Palese, Area Aeroportuale, Centro di Permanenza per il Rimpatrio | Brindisi, Restinco, Centro di Permanenza per il Rimpatrio | Brnik Airport Holding Premises for Aliens | Bucharest Accommodation Centre for Asylum Seekers | C.P.R. Palazzo san Gervasio | Kena Border Crossing Point | Lampedusa (Contrada Imbriacola) Hotspot | Limerick Prison | Ljubljana Asylum Home | Ljungbyhed | Medved'ov Detention Centre | Mountjoy Prison | Otopeni Detention Centre | Pozzallo Hotspot | Rădăuți Accommodation Centre for Asylum

Seekers | Roma, Ponte Galeria, Centro di Permanenza per il Rimpatrio | Şanlıurfa Sports Hall | Sarajevo Immigration Detention Centre | Sečovce Detention Centre | Somcuta Mare Accommodation Centre for Asylum Seekers | Taranto Hotspot | The Midlands Prison | The Training Unit, Glengarriff Parade | Timişoara Accommodation Centre for Asylum Seekers | Corso Brunelleschi, Centro di Permanenza per il Rimpatrio | Trapani Pre-Removal Centre | Vilnius International Airport | Vordernberg Detention Centre | Wheatfield Prison | Choisy-le-Roi Local de Rétention Administrative | Ketrzyn Guarded Centre for Aliens | Tours Local de Rétention Administrative | "Don" Center for the Temporary Detention of Foreign Nationals.

WHAT TO EXPECT

- Torture
- Physical and mental suffering
- Separation from their families
- Limited safeguards & services
- Limited healthcare
- Communicable diseases
- Violence & other traumatic events
- Absence of the right to communication
- No access to internet

Dr Hans Henri P. Kluge, WHO Regional Director - Europe says: "Evidence suggests migrants in detention have the same or worse mental health outcomes as people living in prison."

- Mobile phones are completely banned (Italy, Netherlands)

بطاقة هوية

محمود درويش

Identity Card

By Mahmoud Darwish

سجّل
أنا عربي
ورقمُ بطاقتي خمسون ألف
وأطفالي ثمانية
وتاسعهم.. سيأتي بعدَ صيف!!
فهل تغضب؟

سجّل
أنا عربي
وأعملُ مع رفاقِ الكدحِ في محجرٍ
وأطفالي ثمانية
أسألُ لهم رغيْفَ الخبزِ
والأثوابِ والدفتَرِ
من الصخرِ
ولا أَسألُ الصّدقاتِ من بابِك
ولا أصغرُ
أمامَ بلاطِ أعتابِك
فهل تغضب؟

سجّل
أنا عربي
أنا اسمٌ بلا لقب
صبورٌ في بلادٍ كلّ ما فيها
يعيشُ بفورةٍ الغضبِ
جذوري
قَبْلَ ميلادِ الزمانِ رسَتْ
وقبْلَ تفتّحِ الحَقَبِ
وقبْلَ السَّروِ والزيتونِ
.. وقبْلَ ترعرعِ العشبِ
أبي.. من أسرةٍ المحرّاثِ
لا من سادةٍ نجبِ
وجذّي كانَ فلاحاً

Write down:

I am an Arab.

My ID card number is 50,000.

My children: eight

And the ninth is coming after the summer. Are you angry?

Write down:

I am an Arab.

I work with my toiling comrades in a quarry. My children are eight,

And out of the rocks

I draw their bread,

Clothing and writing paper.

I do not beg for charity at your door

Nor do I grovel

At your doorstep tiles.

Does that anger you?

Write down:

I am an Arab,

A name without a title,

Patient in a country where everything

Lives on flared-up anger.

My roots...

Took firm hold before the birth of time,

Before the beginning of the ages,

Before the cypress and olives,

Before the growth of pastures.

My father...of the people of the plow,

Not of noble masters.

My grandfather, a peasant



بلا حسب.. ولا نسب!
 يعلّمني شموخ الشمس قبل قراءة الكتب
 وبيتي كوخ ناطور
 من الأعواد والقصب
 فهل ترضيك منزلتي؟
 أنا اسم بلا لقب

سجل
 أنا عربي
 ولون الشعر.. فحمي
 ولون العين.. بني
 وميزاتي:
 على رأسي عقلاً فوق كوفيته
 وكفي صلبة كالصخر
 تخمش من يلامسها
 وعنواني:
 أنا من قرية عزلاء منسيّة
 شوارعها بلا أسماء
 وكل رجالها في الحقل والمحجر
 فهل تغضب؟

سجل
 أنا عربي
 سلبت كروم أجدادي
 وأرضاً كنت أفلحها
 أنا وجميع أولادي
 ولم تترك لنا.. ولكل أحفادي
 سوى هذي الصخور
 فهل ستأخذها
 حكومتكم.. كما قيلاً؟
 إذن
 سجل.. برأس الصفحة الأولى
 أنا لا أكره الناس
 ولا أسطو على أحد
 ولكني.. إذا ما جعت
 أكل لحم مغتصبي
 حذار.. حذار.. من جوعي
 ومن غضبي!!

Of no prominent lineage,
 Taught me pride of self before reading of books.
 My house is a watchman's hut
 Of sticks and reed.
 Does my status satisfy you?
 I am a name without a title

Write down:
 I am an Arab.
 Hair coal-black,
 Eyes brown,
 My distinguishing feature:
 On my head a koufiyah topped by the igal,
 And my palms, rough as stone, Scratch anyone
 who touches them. My address:
 An unarmed village—forgotten— Whose streets
 are nameless,
 And all its men are in the field and quarry. Are
 you angry?

Write down:
 I am an Arab
 Robbed of my ancestors' vineyards
 And of the land cultivated
 By me and all my children.
 Nothing is left for us and my grandchildren
 Except these rocks...
 Will your government take them too, as
 reported?
 Therefore,
 Write at the top of page one:
 I do not hate people,
 I do not assault anyone,
 But...if I get hungry,
 I eat the flesh of my usurper. Beware...beware...
 of my hunger, And of my anger.



Gentrification & Displacement

THE ROAD TO URBAN AESTHETICS IS PAVED WITH RACISM

A black and white illustration of a building with a sign. The building has a dark, textured facade with several windows. Some windows show silhouettes of people. The sign on the building is purple and reads "VI TAGER MJØLNERPARKEN TILBAGE!".

VI TAGER
MJØLNERPARKEN
TILBAGE!

The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from the question of what kind of people we want to be, what kind of social relations we seek, what relations to nature we cherish, what style of life we desire, what aesthetic values we hold. The right to the city is, therefore, far more than a right of individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more after our hearts' desires.

David Harvey

France, 1846, the capital is overcrowded, numbering over a million inhabitants. The crisis of surplus labor and surplus capital has hit Paris hard. People rise against hardship to take down the monarchy and soon the first skirmishes take place in the barricaded streets. The rebellious population takes control of the capital and King Louis Philippe is forced to resign, leading to the proclamation of the second Republic. Napoléon Bonaparte, the nephew of the infamous Napoléon, who has just returned after 12 years in London, immediately serves for a term as president of the French second Republic. He then rules as an emperor (Napoleon III) until 1870, after a successful coup d'état.

It is legitimate to ask what these historical incidents in 19th century France have to do with gentrification. But at this time Paris looks nothing like London with its big parks, gardens and modern avenues. Instead, what Paris has to showcase is a long history of revolts and barricaded streets (1789, 1830). Napoleon III – while dealing with his political survival – decides to change that and hires Georges-Eugène Haussmann, later known as “the Demolisher”, to reconfigure the urban infrastructure of the city.

Haussmann rips out the heart of Paris, knocking down 12,000 buildings. Wide, straight, massive boulevards are now crossing through the city's slums helping the army to repress the people and crush any popular uprising. Huge quantities of labor and capital are absorbed, and new financial institutions are funded to support the project. Paris is transformed into a spectacle: “the city of lights”. A city for the rich and upper middle classes, or a city-attraction where a new way of urban life facilitates great surplus capital flow, offering the blueprints for the gentrifications of the following centuries. Thus, Paris becomes one of the earliest examples of gentrification in modern history.

The line that separates

It was Henri Lefebvre who reminded us in the 1960s that the City is a collective project; a product of the creativity and the social relations of all of those who contributed and still contribute to its reality. And it is its spatial heterogeneity which, through its diverse forms and meanings, supports the enactment of democratic urban life. During the course of the last decades, there has been a massive expansion of “metropoli” with subsequent unprecedented changes in the urban morphology. This transition driven by increased industrialization is economic but also social and political, framing a specific societal Imaginary.

Modern cities have played a big role in the facilitation of capital flux. Their role is crucial for the circulation of Capital, to sustain the capitalist financial system. Renovations, expansions, demolitions, constructions. Money, money, money, money. A perpetual marking of boundaries. Lines that joggle with the demographic of the city, marking new territories of capital circulation, severely impacting its residents.

Separation. A border—physical or abstract, material or intangible—marks who is and who is not, who is welcome and who is excluded, who is permitted and who is prosecuted, who will have and who will lack. A border that, in the colonial Imaginary, separates the world of the civilized from the dark world of savages. Progress vs barbarism.

Under this Imaginary, the liberal entrepreneur will suggest ways of development through investments that will eventually transform the socially marginal and working-class areas to middle- and high-class residential areas. Growth is always portrayed as something desirable. Undisputed. It is with a benevolent and humanitarian intention that capital starts flowing into these areas. Rocket-high augmentation of property value, usage-change, displacement of residents and shut-down of local stores are shifting the historical and cultural character of the city: it is now aiming to support the trendy and luxurious consumption. It is for the neighborhood’s sake, we hear them saying. But this money flows in riding trucks and excavation machines, raising scaffolding, destroying neighborhoods. Development. Displacement. Dispossession. This is Gentrification. The main form of urban or internal colonization which leads to population migration and demographic displacement driven by racial and class criteria. An epitome of how inequality, which goes hand-in-hand with capitalist social relations, draws the lines that shape our cities.

The invention of second class citizens

“Cracks have appeared on the map of Denmark”. Former prime minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen said during his new year’s speech in 2018, while adding that the ghettos “will reach their tentacles onto the streets”.

Large parts of the Danish society have become so desensitized to xenophobic rhetoric that labeling some areas as ghettos, with all the historical weight that this word carries, does not bear a negative connotation for them. All of this, in a homogeneous society which has shown itself incapable of integrating migrants. And since integration did not work, the process of assimilation has started. Be integrated or be disintegrated.

After the publishing of the new ghetto-list on December 1, 2023, the minister of Social Affairs and Housing Pernille Rosenkrantz-Theil said:

“The agreement on parallel societies is, in my eyes, one of the most important agreements if we are to give all children the same opportunities in life, regardless of where they grow up. Overall, we have come a long way and we are still well on our way. But the fact that more residential areas have appeared on the lists this year shows that housing organizations and municipalities must now hold firm, use the tools of the legislation actively and in some places also make difficult decisions.”

One could get the impression that this statement reflects the egalitarian motives of the ministry of Social Affairs and Housing, and by extension, shows the humanitarian face of a social welfare government. But if we have learned something throughout the past years, it is that no matter how humanitarian the motives of a government on a neoliberal trajectory may appear, the impact of these “difficult decisions” will always fall on the backs of the ones they claim to safeguard.

In this democratic welfare state, the discriminatory character of gentrification acquired a legal basis in 2018 under the name “ghetto law”. The ghetto law has its basis in a set of class and racial criteria which are used to classify a neighborhood as a “ghetto” or a “hard ghetto”, terms that were replaced in 2021 by “parallel society” and “transformation area”, respectively. The criteria for this classification – blatantly classist and racist in their perception – relate to income, employment status, education level, number of criminal convictions and ethnic background.

Targeting a religious or ethnic group is not an innovation for Europeans. It is a standard practice that has been shifting forms through the years and has its roots deep inside the European-Western colonialism of the past centuries. Europe does not accomplish its “civilizing missions” only via colonialism anymore, but also through the fight against an interior enemy personified as the Muslim immigrants. Institutionalized Islamophobia serves as a key to understanding the post-fascist ideology of many EU governments today, a practice that does not aim at conquering, but rather at expelling. These Islamophobic tendencies, and the narrative of “dangerous Muslims” we have been indoctrinated with in the West, are reflected upon and materialized by the ghetto law.

The Mjølnerparken Paradigm

“Right now, Mjølnerparken is not very attractive, but when it is renovated, it will look different. It will be one of the hippest areas in Copenhagen, which will attract residents from all societal strata.”

Jan Hyttel, Organizational Chairman of Bo-Vita [1]

If Jan Hyttel were to see the Mjølnerparken neighborhood now, we are confident he would feel proud. That is, of course, if he could turn a blind eye to the torn-apart common spaces, the loss of community and the fleeting families. At least now, a part of Mjølnerparken is compelling to the hip, middle-class residents of the rest of gentrified Nørrebro and a profitable piece of real estate.

According to the list announced in December 2022, Mjølnerparken housing estate was classified as “ghetto” for the 13th consecutive year, together with 17 other estates. All low-income, heavily populated, predominantly Muslim enclaves nationwide. In particular, in 2018, around 80% of Mjølnerparken’s residents were of non-Western background, a demographic sufficient for the state to stigmatize the whole estate on racial grounds and justify the “difficult decision” of ordering its eviction. The Mjølnerparken housing project was built in the 80’s and since then has been providing access to affordable housing for many refugees, ethnic minorities and several other socially vulnerable groups. Fast forward to 2024, two of its housing blocks, home to 260 households, have been sold off to private investors (NREP), reconstructed and made ready for their ethnically-approved tenants that can afford to pay the increased rent [2].

However, Mjølnerparken and the rest of the social housing estates falling under the same legislation have been more than a simple residence. They were the home for closely bound, tight-knit communities. Communities of people who enjoy spending time together and feel the safety of knowing one another. Communities that are mutually supportive, facilitate the integration of individuals in the society and lift the burden of loneliness or social isolation. Communities with a cultural or political character that play a role in the mixed societies of today. Gentrification serves a hidden agenda of tearing those communities apart. Dissolving a neighborhood community for the sake of property commodification is a clear form of structural discrimination and social alienation. The cruel, naked truth. There is no intention to establish any

1. Bo-Vita is a state-funded real-estate company in the Danish social housing sector. Together with the Danish state, has been responsible for the eviction of numerous Mjølnerparken residents.

2. It is indicative that according to an interview of NREP’s press department in information “the rent will be around DKK 12,000 per month for newly renovated apartments of 84 square meters.” In fact the actual prices are slightly above 14,000 per month and from 2028 will be around 16,000. Compared to a rent for a comparable apartment in blocks one and four (also renovated) for DKK 7,700, this is an initial rent increase of almost 82 percent. (<https://www.information.dk/indland/2022/01/hemmelig-salgssum-stor-huslejestigning-tre-andre-ting-boer-vide-mjoelnerparken>)

form of social care nor integration [3].

Instead, it has a severe effect on people's physical and mental health, with evicted residents experiencing deteriorated physical health, isolation, lack of social interaction and absence of social networks [4].

Privatizing the Public

Approximately 20 percent of the Danish population still lives in public housing projects despite the plans of the State and real estate to demolish a large part of this housing mode. Housing and workers' movements in Denmark have historically been fighting for the right to affordable housing for decades. Through rent strikes, acts of sabotage, and blockades of construction sites, those in most need claimed their right to access the city and take part in shaping its character. Public housing associations, eviction-safeguards, and rent-regulations were some of the State's concessions to the movement, which kept on growing to the extent of building communities of tenants' democracy in the late 70's. From then on, despite the framing of public housing projects as an unnecessary financial burden for the Danish State, the truth is that many of the associations have become financially independent, sometimes even undertaking basic State responsibilities, such as building maintenance and neighborhood beautification.

The Ghetto law is another offensive against public housing. Based on the antisocial ideas of racial segregation, it cynically dictates that the share of public housing in the 'ghetto areas' must not exceed 40 percent by 2030. The remaining share will be pushed into the market for companies to profit from, while authorities will be hiding the displaced people into the abandoned suburbia of the cities.

The struggle is not over. Law-enforced gentrification practices, such as the ghetto list, are in full swing against one of our most fundamental rights, the right to safe and non-profit housing. Denmark, at least since the massive refugee influx in 2015, has been more interested in setting up detention camps rather than supporting public housing initiatives. Destroying neighborhoods rather than protecting them; talking about buildings but not humans; realizing space as a commodity to be conquered and barricaded; pushing the most vulnerable to the margins, to the multiple displacements of gentrification.

3. <https://www.information.dk/debat/2023/12/soeren-meningen-tvangsflytte-80-aarig-hjem-gode-naboer>

4. <https://www.information.dk/debat/2023/12/ghettoloven-paastaas-forbedre-integrationen-foerer-materiel-psykologisk-vold-beboere>

Ghettolist Criteria

Criterion #1 The proportion of residents between the ages of 18 and 64 who are not in work or education exceeds 40* percent (calculated as an average over the past two years).

Criterion #2 The proportion of residents between the ages of 30 and 59 who only have a primary school education exceeds 60* percent of all residents in the same age group.

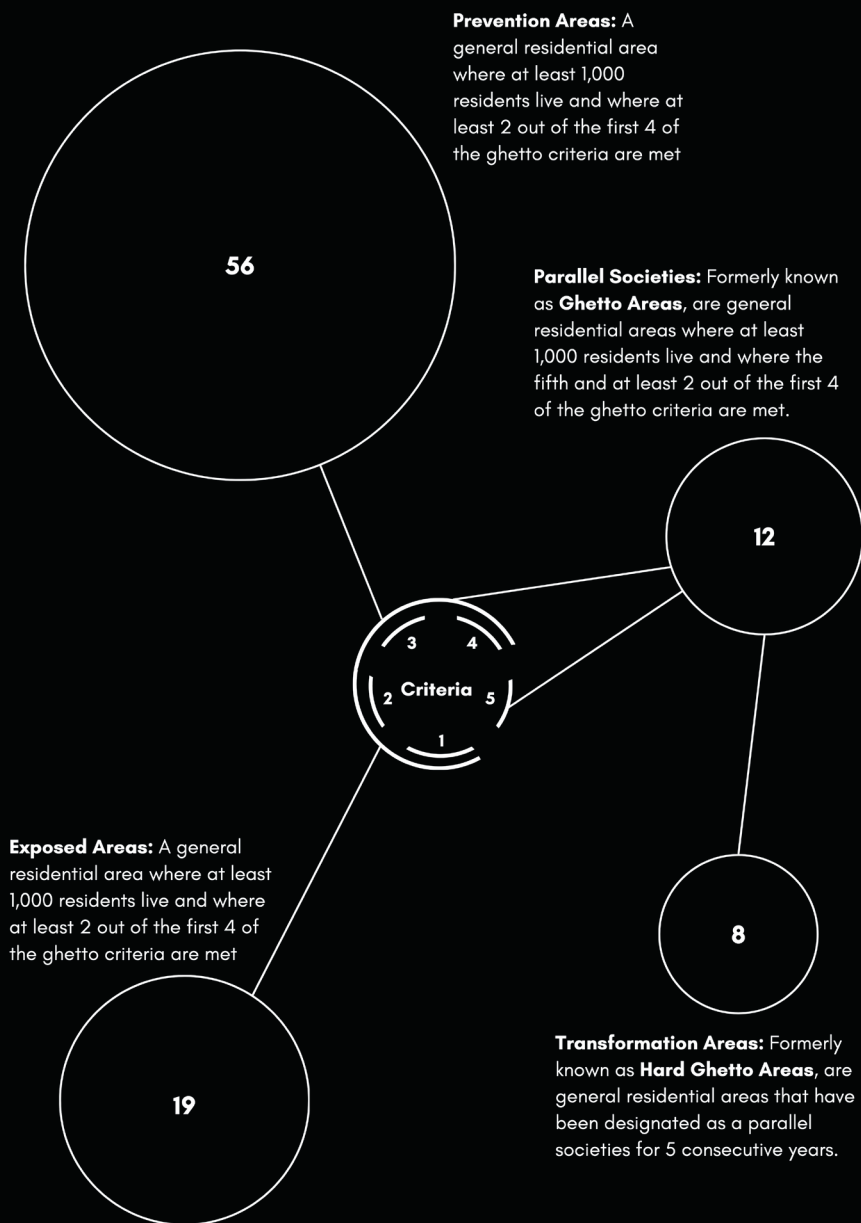
Criterion #3 The average gross income for taxable residents aged 15 to 64 (excluding education seekers) is less than 55* percent of the average gross income for the same group in the region.

Criterion #4 The proportion of residents over the age of 18 who have been convicted of a violation of the Penal Code, the Weapons Act or the Act on intoxicating substances is at least 3* times the national average (calculated as an average over the past two years).

Criterion #5 The share of immigrants and descendants from non-Western countries** exceeds 50 percent.

* For the Prevention Areas the respective numbers are 30, 60, 65 and 2.

** According to the Ministry of Housing, western countries are: EU, Andorra, Australia, Canada, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Monaco, New Zealand, Norway, San Marino, Switzerland, USA and Vatican City. Non-Western countries include all other countries.



*More areas are still affected, but not included in the Ghettoist

95 Areas included in the Ghettoist

Instead of an Epilogue

It's 1846 France, the capital is overcrowded, numbering over a million inhabitants. At this time Napoléon III has just returned after 12 years in London. He hires Georges-Eugène Haussmann, later known as "the Demolisher", to reconfigure the urban infrastructure of the city. Haussman rips out the heart of Paris, knocking down 12,000 buildings, carving wide, straight boulevards across the city's slums, helping the army crush any popular uprising.

Poet Charles Baudelaire strolls through the rapidly changing Paris of the time. As he passes outside a now-demolished poultry market, he moves inward into a daydream of allegorical memory. The image of a swan he once saw takes on the weight of myth and becomes a symbol for all who are exiled, displaced and have suffered loss.

“The Swan”

Suddenly made fruitful my teeming memory,
as I walked across the new Carrousel.
— Old Paris is no more (the form of a city
changes more quickly, alas! than the human heart);

Once a menagerie was set up there;
there, one morning, at the hour when Labor awakens,
beneath the clear, cold sky when the dismal hubbub
of street-cleaners and scavengers breaks the silence,

I saw a swan that had escaped from his cage,
that stroked the dry pavement with his webbed feet
and dragged his white plumage over the uneven ground.
Beside a dry gutter the bird opened his beak,

Restlessly bathed his wings in the dust
and cried, homesick for his fair native lake:
“Rain, when will you fall? Thunder, when will you roll?”

كل شيء يعرف أنكم ستنهضون

الكاتب: غسان زقطان

أنتم وحدكم، الآن، يقول الجدار الذي وصل في الليل
لن تُطرق أبواب بيوتكم، ولن تربت يد على أكتافكم
الطرق المؤدية إلى أحلامكم محطمة وملقاة على اليابسة
مثل جثث طويلة ملتوية

الدروب التي كنتم تعبرونها، دون رهبة، نحو إخوانكم
وجيرانكم في الفصول القاسية وحين تضيق الدنيا ويقل
المطر، أغلقت بالحجارة والعجز وسوء النية

الجسور التي كانت تلمع في ذكريات آبائكم سقطت في
الوديان التي جفت منذ زمن بعيد
لا تنتظروا أحداً من هناك.

ولكن كل شيء يعرف أنكم ستنهضون.

انتهى ذلك الزمن حين كان الغبار البعيد يعني تلويحة
من عابر أو إخوة في الطريق أو بريداً من العائلة

الغبار الذي ترونه هو حطام بيوتكم ومنازل أهلكم هناك

والدخان الذي خلف التلال ليس نار قوافل أو إشارات

Everything Knows You Will Rise

By Ghassan Zaqtan

Now you are alone
says the wall that comes at night, there will be no
knocks at the door, no pats on the shoulder,
the roads that led to your dreams lie shattered,
splayed
like corpses on the arid ground.

The paths you once crossed
without fear
to meet siblings and neighbors when seasons
were rough,
when life was hard and dry,
are clogged by stone,
unfulfillment, and dark intent.

The bridges that shined
in the memories of your fathers
fell in wadis that dried long ago. Expect no one
from there now.
But everything knows you will rise.

The time is gone
when far off dust
signaled comings and goings,
siblings on the road,
or a letter from your family.

The dust you see now
is the destruction of your houses
and the homes of your family there.



عائدين
هو حرائق حقول أعمامكم وبساتينهم التي كنتم
تتباهون بها

لا أحلام يمكن أن تنمو في الأوص التي تواصلون جمعها
ورعايتها.

ولكن كل شيء يعرف أنكم ستنهضون.

لم يعد لكم إخوة
هذه هي الصحراء الوحيدة التي حصلتم عليها
هذه هي الصحراء التي ألقيتم فيها
هذه هي الصحراء التي كانت تتغذى من صبركم وتتقدم
في صمتكم.

الجدار الذي يأتي بالماضي في كل مرة
الجدار بدل الطريق.

الجدار الذي يتدفق في الغرف ويدخل البيوت والنوافذ
وغرف النوم وهو يحمل الصيحة ويلقيها على المقاعد
والأسرة وأكفان الأولاد والبنات..
”لم يعد لكم إخوة“ ”انتم وحدكم الآن“.

ولكن كل شيء يعرف أنكم ستنهضون.

The smoke past the hill
is not caravans
or people returning,
it is the torching
of your uncles' fields
and the orchards you once exulted in.

No dreams can grow
in these vessels you gathered and kept.
But everything knows you will rise.

You have no siblings left,
only this desert you gained,
where you were thrown,
this desert fed by your endurance,
it advanced
in your silence.

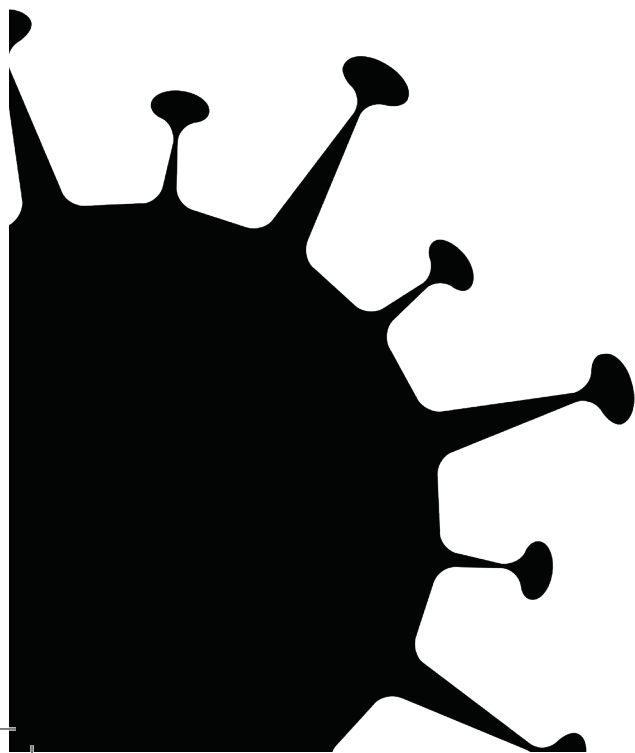
The wall each time brings the past,
the wall in place of the road.
The wall seeps through rooms and windows,
enters bedrooms bearing the scream that it
throws on the lodgings and beds, on the shrouds
of boys and girls:
'you have no siblings left'
'now you are alone.'

But everything knows you will rise.



CONSPIRACY THEORIES

The ultimate guide



Conspiracy Theories have been around for decades, but the widespread fear and confusion during the pandemic years provided the fertile soil for a new wave of Conspiracy Theories to emerge. They managed to capture the imagination of a significant chunk of the population and - in some instances - they were even successful in mobilising people who inhabit both the left- and the right-side of the political spectrum.

There are various competing theories to explain what makes Conspiracy Theories so appealing, what allows them to cling on for years and float the collective Imaginary even after they have been debunked. However, our intention here is not to explore such theories. Instead, the interested reader is referred to the exhaustive work of Karen Douglas (Professor of Social Psychology at University of Kent) [1].

Our interest here lies not on the "why" nor the "how", but on the "what now". With this question as our compass, we take a rather humorous approach to the topic. We arrange the Conspiracy Theory believers in different groups and we attempt to suggest possible ways of dealing with conspiracy-struck friends and family members.

The tone of this piece is light and comical, however we firmly believe that this is a serious topic. In the end of the day, Conspiracy Theories are substitute explanations for struggles in and around the State and capitalism. They serve as a shortcut and, rather than making qualified structural critiques, they allow for mysterious bogeymen in a desperate attempt to make sense of a rampant reality, inequality and injustice. It is in this context that we consider Conspiracy Theories direct competitors of any leftist, anti-systemic group.

A taxonomy of the Conspiracy Theorist

Though we acknowledge that many groups have overlapping characteristics and that identifying the right group is not always a straight-forward process, we still find it useful to provide the reader with this guide, in the hope that it will come in handy when attending the next family gathering or a class reunion.

1. Visit the Professor's page on UoK and click on the link "Conspiracy theory research database" to gain access to a massive excel with most recent scientific publications on the topic (<https://www.kent.ac.uk/psychology/people/221/douglas-karen>)

The Peter Pan



Areas of Expertise: Hollow Earth, Reptilian overlords, Illuminati

Assesment: Mostly benevolent

Antidote: invite them to a friendly game of D&D

Best described as a man-child, this specimen never truly out-grew their fascination with fairy tales.

Crisis Mirror 2025

✂ 3

The Sci-fi Geek/Sheldon Cooper



Areas of Expertise: Area 51, UFOs, alien abductions

Assesment: Mostly benevolent and potentially entertaining

Antidote: Tell them you also saw a UFO once, then proceed to show them blurred pictures of your favorite sex-toys

Once, as a child, he maxed out his mother credit card buying E.T. merchandise

Crisis Mirror 2025

✂ 1

The Science Denier

(not to be confused with “The Healer”)



Areas of Expertise: Flat earth, Moon landing is fake, 5G is toxic

Assesment: Don't make eye-contact or they will not stop talking for the rest of the night

Antidote: Raise one to whatever they say. Some ideas: The earth's shape is a chocolate-dipped ice-cream cone, the moon does not exist, 6G will be available as a butt suppository

They usually dozed off during physics class. A firm believer that you can Google your way to a Ph.D

Crisis Mirror 2025

✍ 5

The Healer



Areas of Expertise: Essential oils cure all illness, anti-vaccine, Covid19 is fake

Assesment: Potentially very dangerous when inhabiting social settings. Self-destructive when in isolation

Antidote: No effective antidote has been identified

Same genus as the “science denier”, though a distinct and more recent species. Recognized by its unique understanding of the human body, which is better than that of your average medical professional.

Crisis Mirror 2025

9

The Racist One



Areas of Expertise: The great replacement, Jews control the media, antifa is a terrorist organization

Assesment: the new white supremacy flavor (aka identitarian aka a fascist prick in smart casual clothes)

Antidote: A punch in the face and a kick in the groin

Pretty self explanatory

Crisis Mirror 2025

✂ 9

These antidotes -though empirically tested and guaranteed effective- can only be used as a "one-off". In other words you might come out victorious from the battle, but only against fleeting adversaries. So what happens when your conspiracy struck rival is here to stay, as for example a co-worker? Or even worse, when the rival is not truly a rival but a person close to you, as for example a friend or a parent? If you find yourself in such a situation, then we advise against using these antidotes. But fear not, our brave reader: We are here to help you navigate these treacherous paths!

The Decalogue of a Good Gladiator

- Stop calling yourself a gladiator! It's your friends and co-workers we're talking about here, what's wrong with you?
- Stay calm! You will listen to a lot of incoherent bullshit but you should not call them "stupid" or "insane".
- Foster empathy; the conspiracy theorist is usually someone who feels worried and insecure, so it's best if you engage in a non-confrontational manner.
- Acknowledge that some aspects of Conspiracy Theories have been shown to hold some water in the past.
- Acknowledge the kernels of truth in their theory; a catchy Conspiracy Theory will contain elements of truth, out of which irrational conclusions are drawn.
- Acknowledge the complexity of the issue; maybe you also did not know what to think at first. Maybe you too needed to look a bit closer before making up your mind.
- Try to understand where their beliefs stem from; you have to know the underlying causes first, before you can address them.
- Draw the line! You have come half way to meet them, and now they need to cover the remaining half. Do not get drawn into their rabbit hole.
- Provide a competing explanation; be gentle and diplomatic. Avoid hammering them with your arguments and allow space and time for them to ponder upon.
- Stay engaged. If you ostracize them now, you are pushing them even further into the sweet oblivion of Alice's Wonderland.

المستحيل

توفيق زياد

The impossible

By Tawfiq Zayyad

ان تدخلوا الفيل بثقب ابره
وان تصيدوا السمك المشوي في المجره
ان تحرثوا البحر
ان تنطقوا التماسح
اهون الف مره
من ان تميتوا باضه ادم وميض فكرة
وتحرفونا عن طريقنا الذي اخترناه
قيّد شعره

كاننا عشرون مستحيل
في اللد، والرملة، والجليل
هنا، على صدوركم باقون كالجدار
وفي حلوكم
كقطعة زجاج.. كالصبار
وفي عيونكم
زوبعة من نار.
هنا، على صدوركم باقون كالجدار
ننظف الصحون غي الحانات
وفلاً الكؤوس للسادات
ونمسح البلاط في المطابخ السوداء
حتى نسل لقمة الصغار
من بين انيابكم الزرقاء
هنا على صدوركم باقون كالجدار
نجوع،
نعري،
نتحدى
ننشد الاشعار
وفلاً الشوارع الغضاب بالمظاهرات
وفلاً السجون كبرياء

It would be a thousand times easier for you
to lead an elephant through the eye of a needle
to catch fried fish on scorched earth
to plough the seas
to make crocodiles talk
it would be a thousand times easier
than to extinguish, through persecution
a glimmering thought
of the way we have chosen

As though we were twenty impossibilities
in Al-Lid, Ar-Ramla, and Galilee
we rest on your chest like a wall
we hurt your throat
like splinters of glass, like Indian figs
and we blind your eyes
like an inferno of flames.
Here we rest on your chest like a wall.
We are washing dishes in the restaurants
and fill glasses, for the masters
we clean tiles in black kitchens
and thus we snatch the bread for the little ones
from your blue teeth accustomed to robbery
Here, on your chest we persist,
We'll stay here, a hard wall on your chest starved,
naked
defiant
chanting poems
and filling the angry streets with demonstrations
the prisons with pride
We turn our children into a generation



ونصنع الاطفال جيلا ناقما وراء جيل
كأننا عشرون مستحيل
في اللد , والرمله , والجليل
إننا هنا باقون
فلتشربوا البحر
نحرس ضل التين والزيتون
ونزرع الافكار كالخمير في العجين..

برودة الجليد في اعصابنا
وفي قلوبهم جهنم الحمرا
اذا عطشنا نعصر الصخرا
وناكل التراب اذا جعنا
ولا نرحل...
وبالدم الزكي لا نبخل
هنا:لنا ماض
وحاضر ومستقبل
كاننا عشرون مستحيل
في اللد , والرمله , والجليل
يا جذرنا الحي تشبث
واضري في القاع يا اصول.
افضل ان يراجع المضطهد الحساب
من قبل ان ينفتل الدولاب
لكل فعل رد فعل
إقرأوا ما جاء في الكتاب
كاننا عشرون مستحيل
في اللد , والرمله , والجليل

which carries on our hate, redoubling it
as though we were twenty impossibilities,
in Al-Lid, Ar-Ramla, and Galilee.
Here we shall stay
You may drink the sea
But we'll tend gladly
the olive tree's and fig tree's shade
and plant the thoughts like yeast into the dough

Coldness of ice in our nerves and glowing fire in
our hearts thus, plagued by thirst
we squeeze the rocks
and our hunger do we still
with earth
We don't give way
We are not miserly with precious blood
Here is our past
here, presence and the future
As though we were twenty impossibilities
in Al-Lid, Ar-Ramla, and Galilee
take hold! you, living roots
and deeply penetrate the ground!
For the pursuer it is worth the trouble
to take a look at the accounts made up before it
is impossible to stop the wheel
For every action, a reaction
read what the Book says
As though we were twenty impossibilities
in Al-Lid, Ar-Ramla, and Galilee





The Building circular – an iron cage, glazed – a glass lantern about the size of Ranelagh – The Prisoners in their Cells, occupying the Circumference – The Officers, the Centre. By Blinds, and other contrivances, the Inspectors concealed from the observation of the Prisoners: hence the sentiment of a sort of invisible omnipresence. – The whole circuit reviewable with little, or, if necessary, without any change of place.

Jeremy Bentham (1791). Panopticon, or The Inspection House

Jeremy Bentham traveled to Russia to visit his brother Samuel who at the time was an engineer engaged in supervising various industrial projects on behalf of Prince Potemkin. Samuel, who was managing a relatively small workforce, had set up his desk in the center of the factory from where he could observe any of the workers at any given time. This became the conceptual starting point for Bentham's Panopticon; a prison building that allowed a single guard to observe any inmate at any given time, while the inmates have no way of telling whether they are being watched. Though it is impossible for the guard to observe all prisoners simultaneously, the fact that none of them knows if they are being watched, leads to the psychological conditioning of the inmates and ultimately to self-induced rehabilitation [1].

It is 1977, nighttime, empty streets, no eyes around, a person patiently waiting in front of a red light, the only obstacle on their way home. It is absolutely safe to cross the street however they decide to wait.

Foucault in his book *Discipline and Punish* is making a point about the structures of power, where they lie in societies, and the relationship between people in power and their subjects. He goes into a historical analysis of the way criminals are punished; from an era of inflicting harm on bodies to an era of discipline and reformation of minds. To Foucault, Bentham's Panopticon prison is an allegory to society and an efficient and sophisticated way of wielding and preserving power over people because their life is one of surveillance, normalization and examination [2].

Prisoners constantly under supervision, or perhaps not, have to learn how to behave under imprisonment. They observe how their inmates move, talk, or look at the guards, getting a glimpse into the hardcoded constraints of the normalized behavior they have to perform. In the meantime, prisoners feed on whatever is given to them without questioning it, they are prevented from voicing demands or discussing their rights while the possibilities of escaping are minimized. They are in a process of internalizing the values of the axiomatic system they live in, the rules of the game they are part of. That creates a vicious circle in which institutional conformism ends up taking place in a self-regulatory manner; subjects align to the pre-assumed knowledge regarding

1. Self-rehabilitation, according to Foucault, is a product of disciplinary power and cannot be viewed as an act of free choice. The individual adapts their behavior to fit societal norms, self-surveilling and self-regulating themselves.

2. Examination, according to Foucault, is a subtle and pervasive disciplinary technique of power through which individuals are forced to conformity. The road to conformity comes through hierarchical observation in the form of constant surveillance and normalized judgment where individuals self-regulate their behavior to align with the expected social norms.

the normalized behavior they should follow, which then allows external regulatory mechanisms of power (see guards, watchtowers and cctvs) to limit their intervention as the system continually solidifies itself. Similarly, non incarcerated subjects feel intense pressure to adhere to and reproduce the invisible norm at all times, speaking and acting in a certain way. Therefore, ever-changing constraints of power are formed under the vague assumption of a behavioral pattern that satisfies the criteria set by the subject-system interplay. They are becoming both the subject that is being observed and the active participant in the system, being both the prisoner and the guard in Bentham's Panopticon.

It is now 2024, nighttime, empty streets, no eyes around, a camera facing them, a person patiently waiting in front of the red light, the only obstacle on their way home. It is absolutely safe to cross the street, however they decide to wait.

Modern means of digital surveillance are more and more widely used by governments to observe, track, and assess the movements of their citizens. Drones, CCTVs, mobile phones etc have proven to be exceptional tools for the state apparatus to 'keep an eye out' for 'unwanted' social behaviors. These tools have upgraded and extended the observational capabilities of the panopticon in the digital age. Regardless of when or how this new and massive influx of information is utilized by the State, it has become clear that the boundaries of self-rehabilitation, as a means of social control, have dramatically narrowed, tightened so that the subconscious understanding of our place in a social setting has become increasingly restrictive.

This subconscious shaping of the invisible walls enforced upon us becomes more and more intrusive in the age of information, where our digital counterparts (i.e. our existence on the internet) have become the objects at the forefront of state and corporate surveillance. On the one hand governmental entities such as the National Security Agency (NSA) in the USA, Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) in UK and the Center for Development of Telematics in India to name a few, have the ability to spy on millions of citizens' digital footprints, oftentimes by introducing device and/or software flaws [3]. On the other hand, corporations have utilized the same footprints to extract predictive metadata that creates and sculpts an individualised consumerist microcosm that aims to convert us from a user to the product itself. Here we attempt to shed light into some state surveillance practices.

Surveillance: the digital currency of state and corporate authoritarianism

There is no shortage of cases in which states have utilized predatory spyware to monitor and target their citizens. Perhaps, the most famous example is the en masse surveillance of American, Australian and British citizens by the NSA in collaboration with the GCHQ (UK) and the ASD (Australia), among others, via the PRISM program, which gained widespread traction when Snowden went public with his revelations in 2013. Millions of citizens' communications, including emails, chats, phone calls and browser histories were intercepted and collected prior to encryption. A few years later, in 2016, the hacker group, The Shadow Brokers, leaked several

3. <https://rsf.org/sites/default/files/2014-rsf-rapport-enemies-of-the-internet.pdf>

hacking tools used by the NSA that exploited vulnerabilities in widely used security software used by companies such as antivirus programs and firewall systems to hack and monitor individuals as well as corporations.

Another prominent case is the development by the Israeli [4] based cyber-arms company NSO, what privacy experts call the most advanced spyware to date, under the name Pegasus. At its worst, Pegasus can infect mobile phones of users via zero-click exploits (infection without user interaction), exploiting vulnerabilities of both iOS and Android based devices. Upon successfully infecting a device, Pegasus has access to camera, microphone, can track messages, phone calls, location as well as collect passwords, essentially transforming the phone into a 24-hour tracking device deployed at will. NSO has sold this technology to governments around the world to “help combat terror and crime”. One of the highest profile assassinations carried out with the help of Pegasus is that of Jamal Khashoggi, known critic of the United Arab Emirates’ (UAE’s) crown prince. Analysis of Jamal’s fiancée’s phone showed that it had been compromised by Pegasus. Her phone number had been among 50,000 others including journalists, politicians and human rights activists.

In 2016, the Citizen Lab, a Toronto based research group, uncovered the use of Pegasus by the UAE to spy on domestic activists. Since then, an efflux of information regarding intelligence agencies of authoritarian and “democratic” states alike spying on activists, journalists, dissidents and “enemies of the state” proved this to be common practice. Thailand, Catalonia, Jordan are some of the examples [5].

Pegasus has also been used in Mexico, the first state to become a client of the NSO, deployer of the spyware, and to this day, the most prolific user of the spyware [6]. The 2014 Iguala mass kidnapping stands amongst the most gruesome and infamous cases of the use of spyware which

4. Globally, the state of Israel is behind the development of the majority of high-end surveillance systems that are used by various governments, let alone in the occupied palestinian territories. After spending an evening browsing the internet, the amount of reports documenting the use of surveillance systems and big data apps by intelligence agencies around the globe overwhelmed us. We will at least try to name a few of the companies covering the big market need for these products. Verint (USA), NSO (Pegasus spyware and Fleming Data Analysis Tool, Israel), Intellexa alliance which includes the companies Cytrox (Predator Spyware, Israel), Nexa Technologies, Senpai (Israel), Blue Coat Systems (now part of Symantec, USA), Quadream (Israel - shut down 2023), Candiru (Candiru Cyberspionage System Infiltration tool, Israel), Circles (Cyberespionage system, Israel), Oosto (Better Tomorrow, facial recognition system, Israel), Magal security Systems (CIBMS Magal Combined Integrated Border Management Solutions, Israel), Cellebrite (UFED Universal Forensic Extraction Device, Israel), Corsight (Fortify - facial recognition technologies, Israel), Diligence International LLC (UK), Booz Allen Hamilton Holding Corporation (USA), RCS Lab (Hermit Spyware, Italy), Gamma Group (FinFisher, Germany), Federal Bureau of Investigation, FBI (Carnivore (DCS1000) and Magic Lantern, USA) among others. All of these surveillance systems are purchased and deployed by a multitude of countries around the world.

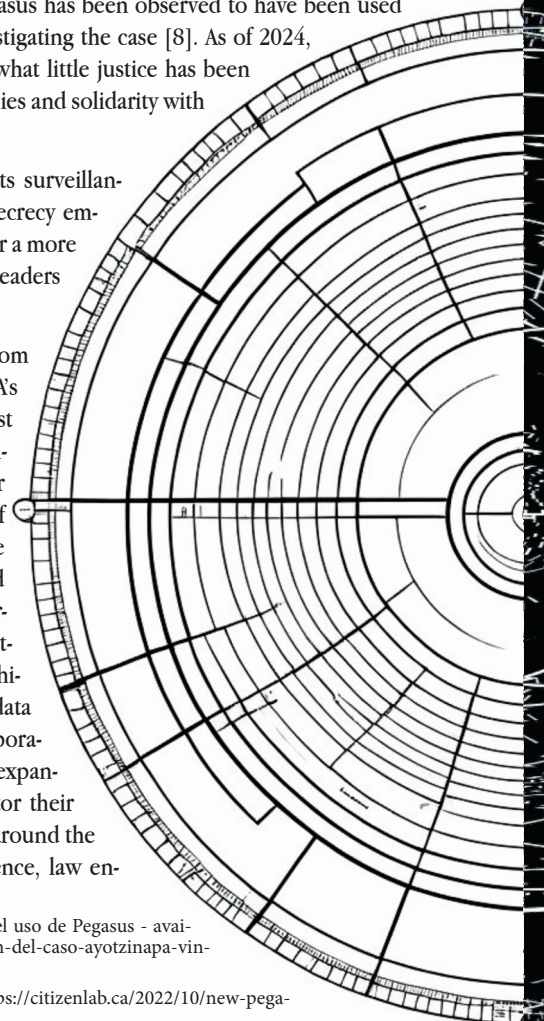
5. In Thailand, pro-democracy activists were targeted by the government of the 2014 established junta, resulting in at least 30 individuals being infected with the Pegasus spyware. Following the Catalan referendum in 2017, the Spanish National Intelligence Center (CNI) deployed Pegasus to spy on legislators, jurists, presidents, and members of civil society, making Spain the first [known] European customer of NSO. Similarly, in Jordan, Pegasus operators likely acting on behalf of the Jordanian government were found to have targeted human rights defenders and journalists.

6. How Mexico Became the Biggest User of the World’s Most Notorious Spy Tool - available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/04/18/world/americas/pegasus-spyware-mexico.html>

remains shrouded in mystery. On September 26th 2014, forty-three male students between 17 and 25 years old from the Ayotzinapa Rural Teachers' College were detained by local police and then disappeared. Investigators have said that the case shows a coordination between the police, organised crime and the military. The research shows that the Mexican army "had intercepted the communications of the relevant actors of the events even as they were happening" [7]. As the investigation and fight for justice continues, Pegasus has been observed to have been used in 2022 to spy on two human rights defenders investigating the case [8]. As of 2024, only three students' remains have been found and what little justice has been served has only come through the organizing of families and solidarity with investigators and other social groups in Mexico.

These are some of the known cases of governments surveillance using Pegasus, a likely tiny list considering the secrecy employed by NSO to protect its customers' identities. For a more comprehensive list and investigation, we encourage readers to visit the Citizen Lab case repository [9].

In 2003 in Palo Alto, California, an element from Tolkien's fantasy world came to life. Funded by CIA's venture capital arm In-Q-Tel, which was also its first customer, Palantir Technologies, functioned exclusively as an advisory partner to the US government for the first three years of its existence making up 70% of Palantir's business by 2010. The company that came of age in the deep state of the USA, is now connected to most of the country's security and intelligence services [10] and it's used by more than 70 police departments (PD) [11]. Palantir is now one of the most sophisticated companies that supply IT solutions for big-data integration and tracking to state agencies and corporations. It has evolved into a surveillance behemoth expanding the capacity of governments to covertly monitor their citizens, collaborating with numerous governments around the globe primarily in sectors such as defense, intelligence, law en-



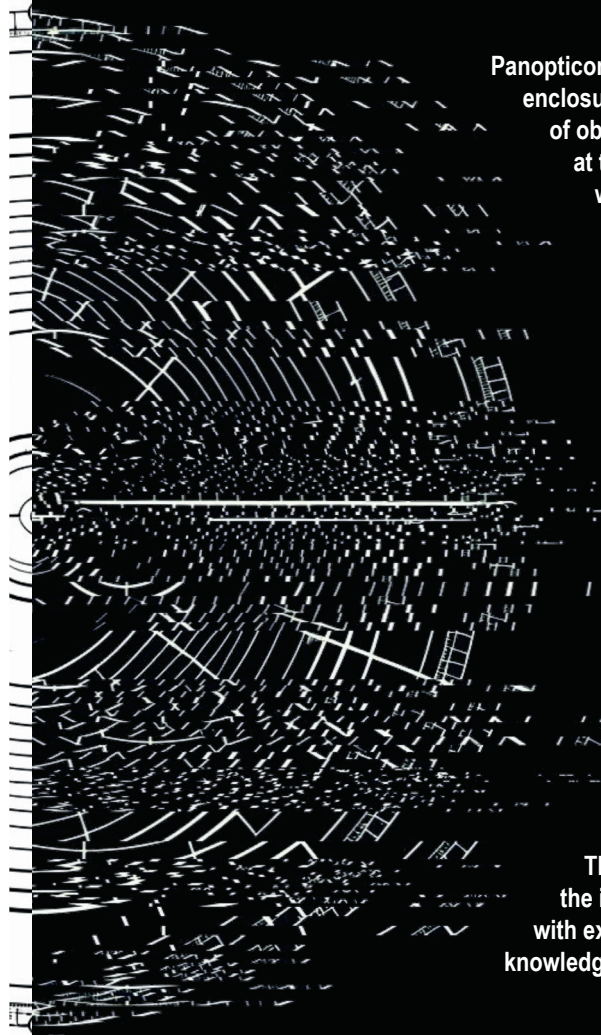
7. Comision del Caso Ayotzinapa Vincula a SEDENA con el uso de Pegasus - available at: <https://r3d.mx/2022/08/23/informe-de-la-comision-del-caso-ayotzinapa-vincula-a-sedena-con-el-uso-de-pegasus/>

8. New Pegasus Spyware Abuses Identified in Mexico: <https://citizenlab.ca/2022/10/new-pegasus-spyware-abuses-identified-in-mexico/>

9. <https://citizenlab.ca>

10. Department of Defense: U.S. Army, U.S. Special Operations Command, U.S. Air Force, U.S. Navy, Department of Homeland Security: Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Customs and Border Protection (CBP), Transportation Security Administration (TSA), Intelligence Community: Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), National Security Agency (NSA), National Geospatial- Intelligence Agency (NGA).

11. The exact number of police departments collaborating with Palantir is not publicly disclosed.



Panopticon's architectural figure is one that imposes enclosure, segmentation of space and possibility of observation at any given point. The tower at the center of the arrangement is pierced with windows that open onto the inner side of the ring. The peripheric building is divided into cells, each one of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside corresponding to the windows of the tower, the other on the outside allowing the light to cross from one end of the cell to the other. This layout resembles thus many small theaters in which each actor is alone, individualized and constantly visible. The visibility is only applied into the axial direction, with each individual being securely confined by the supervisor, while the lateral wall prevents them from communicating with their companions. Individuals then, instead of subjects in communication are converted into objects of information. This panopticon's mechanism induces to the inmate a state of consciousness filled with existential anxiety stemming from their knowledge of permanent surveillance.

forcement and public health. It is also notorious for its lack of transparency and accountability, mostly closing backroom deals and shady collaborations.

Based on a report released in 2020 from Privacy International, a UK-based non-profit NGO promoting the right to privacy, Palantir and its tools present a significant threat to people in vulnerable positions. The company is known for its collaboration with the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and with a number of Police Departments practicing what is known as predictive policing and fueling the incarceration and deportation regime. Immigrant and overpoliced marginalized communities are now experiencing unparalleled levels of surveillance, detention, and deportation. ICE is using a tool, developed by Palantir, called Integrative Case Management (ICM) to help them build profiles of migrants and their contacts based on private (ie. cellphone records) as well as public data (ie. healthcare provider information) and use these profiles to surveil, track and construct immigration cases to charge people in court and eventually deport them [12]. Moreover, the LAPD and other PDs in the USA are using what is known as models of predictive policing. In simple words these systems, provided again by Palantir, are forecasting the likelihood of an individual to commit crimes - 'chronic offender score' - based on a software that collects and merges data. This data collection ranges from crime reports, arrest reports and criminal records to license plates, social relations and social media networks. Biases built in the algorithmic systems claim impartiality but often they are a black box. Deeming predictive policing nothing more than racial profiling hidden under the cloak of the "scientific" and of the impartiality of mathematical modeling. As a result, minority neighborhoods are being over-policed, throwing more fuel to this racist feedback loop and allocating disproportionate police resources [13].

Palantir's involvement with the war industry is not a very well-kept secret either. The company has been characterized by Jacob Helberg, a national-security expert serving as an outside-policy adviser to Palantir's CEO Alex Karp, as "the AI arms dealer of the 21st century". For example, on June 3, 2022, Karp met with Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Ukraine's president, along with other officials, to plan the "defense of the West", helping it to maintain its advantage over global adversaries. These meetings set the base for creating a war lab for the warzones to come. "There are things that we can do on the battlefield that we could not do in a domestic context" Karp stated [14]. Such a "lab" can be seen in full action in the case of Gaza, where the Israel Offense Forces [15] took into use an AI-powered database called Lavender to identify targets potentially linked to Hamas. Lavender created a database of tens of thousands of individuals with characteristics of a low-ranking Hamas militant, upon which the IOF subsequently applied pre-authorised allowances for the estimated number of civilians who could be killed before a strike was

12. Indicative are the findings that the ICE has been using the data from ICM's profiles of family members claiming unaccompanied minors in order to prosecute them as smugglers. <https://theintercept.com/2019/04/29/ice-documents-prosecute-migrant-parents-smugglers/>

13. <https://www.mic.com/articles/156286/crime-prediction-tool-pred-pol-only-amplifies-racially-biased-policing-study-shows#.mEquGIQv7>

14. <https://time.com/6691662/ai-ukraine-war-palantir/>

15. Semantic shift: we chose to refer to the Israeli military as Israel Offense Forces instead of Israel Defense Forces as we strongly believe that the praxis defines the word and not the opposite.

authorized. Lavender was deployed alongside another AI-based system, called the Gospel, which recommended buildings and structures as targets rather than individuals [16]. Thus, these two softwares allowed for the outsourcing of choosing genocide-victims to a “black-box” and pushed humans in a solely administrative role.

The startling growth in the high-tech surveillance industry amidst global financial collapse and ongoing warfares, is centred on the principle of State security and the perpetual ‘war on terror’. Those deemed unruly, wayward or dangerous are tracked and targeted by sophisticated, state-funded surveillance systems, and subsequently persecuted by the state law enforcement. Private security corporations provide states with their expertise in population control to combat the permanent threat that questions their structures. Behaviors, spaces and activities in the social everyday life are then recorded, stored and scrutinized, constructing a mosaic of details that enables the most dystopian security and military dreams to materialize. People identified with databases containing their past, are surveilled through high-quality spywares by state or private actors who can then apply restrictions or exercise violence if ‘imperative security reasons’ occur. An infrastructure legitimized on the grounds of safety and security that however permeates all aspects of human life.

From traditional to modern Panopticon

So far we have enumerated technologically advanced and aggressive tools States have developed to spy on their citizens. It must already be obvious to the reader that a modern day Panopticon has materialized and its auto-regulatory[36] capabilities far surpass Bentham’s initial conception.

However, the differences between Bentham’s Panopticon and the contemporary Panopticon we live in, are not just quantitative, but more importantly qualitative. In other words, it is not just a question of “processing power”, but a complete and total re-framing of surveillance, which comes without a physical signifier but rather with the abstract knowledge by the subjects that surveillance is constantly present. A closer examination of these qualitative characteristics reveals two main differences between the “traditional” and the modern Panopticon scheme; the variable of space and the variable of visibility.

The variable of space used to play a distinctive role in every traditional disciplinary mechanism, be it a school, a prison or a “mental health” institution. In the modern day, this variable has been dismantled and has acquired a more vague form. In the past it used to symbolize the borders of confinement (e.g. a prison’s cell) and one could tell if they were under its supervision or not. Prisoners were aware of the disciplinary rules they had to follow during their incarceration,

16. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/apr/03/israel-gaza-ai-database-hamas-airstrikes>

17. We employ the term “auto-regulation” here to describe the ability of a Panopticon scheme to increase its efficiency. This is achieved by successfully managing to absorb crises and transform its weaknesses into integral prevention mechanisms, which in turn function as structural columns to its design. Crucial role in the auto-regulatory process plays the quantity of information gathered as well as the availability of means to utilize this information.

and could calibrate their behavior to avoid punishment. Nowadays, the Panopticon seems to be omnipresent, breaking through any physical barrier and seeping into every conceivable aspect of everyday life. It dominates space completely, and makes it impossible to pinpoint with accuracy the spatial boundaries wherein activity is enveloped by surveillance and where it is not. One can imagine that the prison cell no longer is, and an ankle bracelet has taken its place, allowing unrestricted accumulation of data by corporate behemoths and/or State institutions.

The second difference we identify is the dematerialization of the source of power, or what we call the variable of visibility. Together with space, visibility of power becomes yet another demanding task that the subject itself needs to undertake. The prison guard sitting in his all-seeing office is no longer the only agent of surveillance. The prison warden is no longer the only one interested in a prisoner's behavior and disobedience. Nowadays, a multitude of actors are all simultaneously attempting to extract as much information as possible (from a State's surveillance agency trying to identify "terrorist organizations" to an insurance company trying to collect data on a patient's risk factor score). The process through which this data is obtained is opaque. The end use of this data is even more so [18]. Once again, it has become impossible to pinpoint with certainty which actors have been involved in surveilling one's literal and metaphorical footprints, let alone shed light to their motives and the end-use of the extracted data.

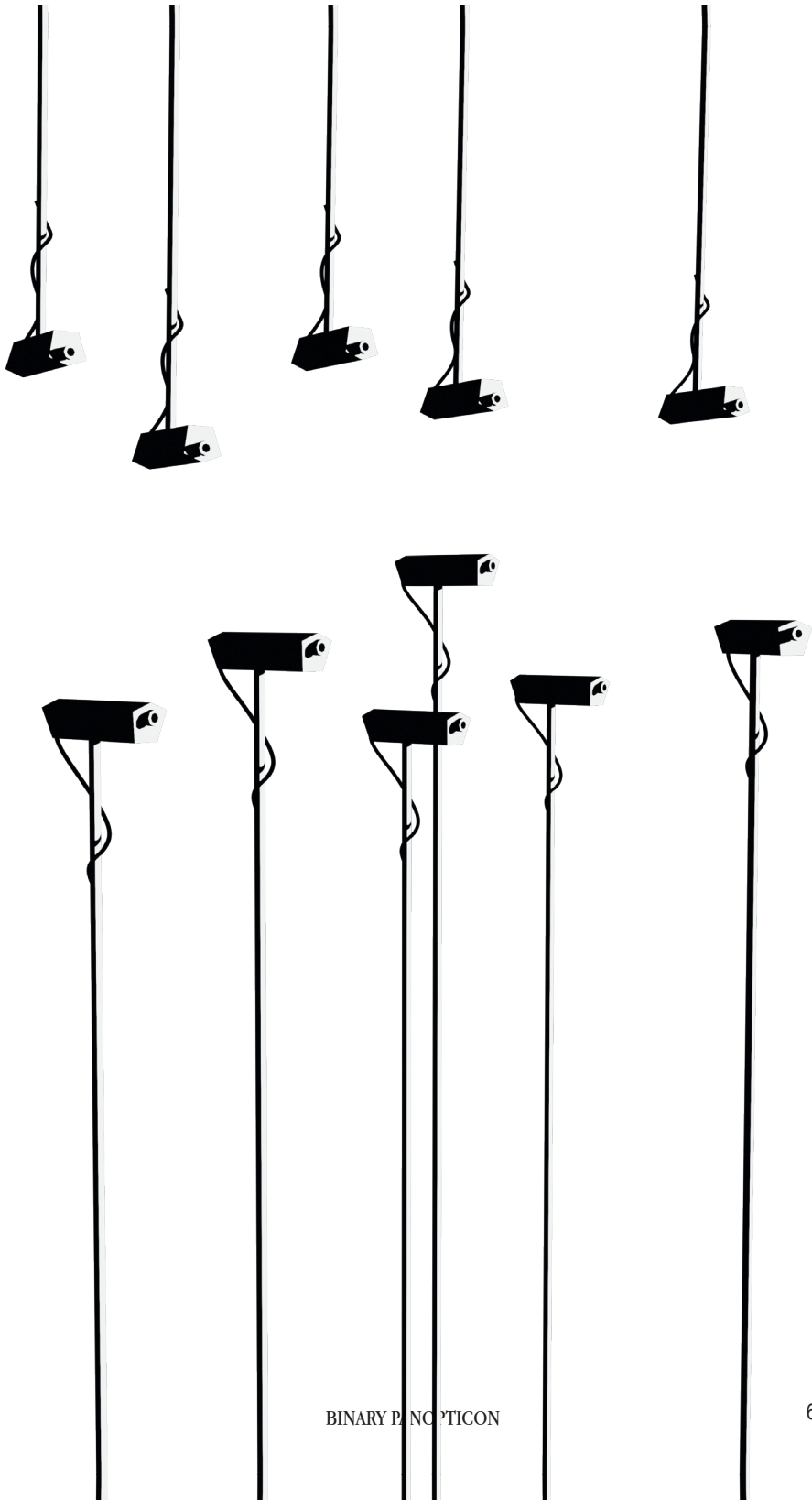
Epilogue

In today's digitized and AI-itized world, Bentham's vision has taken on new relevance, as artificial intelligence and algorithms now form a contemporary version of a Panopticon. The omnipresence of AI, machine learning, and data analytics eerily mirrors the panoptic structure, where our digital footprints are constantly monitored, analyzed, and used to influence our choices and behaviors. Surveillance has shifted from physical watchtowers and CCTVs to invisible algorithms tracking our online activities, preferences, and even emotions. Bentham's vision has manifested digitally, where we - State's new "inmates" - are constantly observed, sacrificing our privacy under the guise of State security "from an external enemy". And here we are in this modern Panopticon - our new normal of not only being monitored, but also being predicted - as algorithms shape our reality and suggestively shape our decisions.

The panopticon, both in its classic form and as a digital distributed and multilayered phenomenon, stand as symbols of power, surveillance and control. Yet, their grip is not absolute and continues to be tested and undermined. Whether it's by tunnels, self-organized telephone networks or using encrypted messaging platforms, options to resist are varied and their effectiveness has been proven. The social, cultural and physical constructs that make the panopticon a reality, can still be targeted, sabotaged and transformed.

18. It is no secret that social media like facebook and search engines like google make a profit by selling people's data indiscriminately to 3rd parties. The intentions of these 3rd parties are not known to the end users who in most cases had to sign a 10 page long "term of agreement" in order to use the most mundane function of an app.

For a list of useful guides on online privacy and security visit: <https://www.anarsec.guide/>





Don Dufford 12 years old
Pawtucket, RI
Radio Arts section: United Information P.L.O.

الوقت المرحلي ١٢ ساعة (جيد لطلاب الصفوف)
 • ليس السطح
 • قسم الفول السليبي = ٣٥% و الزيت = ٦٥% من كمية التخمير
 السليبية .

If I must die

By Refaat Al-Areer

*If I must die,
you must live
to tell my story
to sell my things
to buy a piece of cloth
and some strings,
(make it white with a long tail)
so that a child, somewhere in Gaza
while looking heaven in the eye
awaiting his dad who left in a blaze—
and bid no one farewell
not even to his flesh
not even to himself—
sees the kite, my kite you made, flying up above
and thinks for a moment an angel is there
bringing back love
If I must die
let it bring hope
let it be a tale.*





STATES OF EMERGENCY & THE REALM OF NIGHTMARES

"The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the "state of emergency" in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must arrive at a concept of history which corresponds to this"

Walter Benjamin

States of emergency have arguably set the tone of 21st century politics. During the last few years, we have witnessed a number of ephemeral emergency measures transforming into laws and we have observed a radical change of the social landscape and the architecture of life:

- The temporary "austerity measures of the "global financial crisis" of 2008 which are still in effect in numerous countries and have financially crushed the lower classes.
- The enactment of anti-immigration laws, the enormous growth of border security infrastructure and detention camps of the "refugee crisis" of 2015
- The "war on terror", initiated after 9/11, which left us with the legacy of more securitized cities, new ways of prosecuting suspects and other control mechanisms.

And lastly, the "pandemic emergency" of 2020, during which we experienced restrictions on personal movement, increased surveillance, enhanced presence of police and augmented police violence.

The common theme across all of these examples is that the implemented measures persist even after the end of the emergency, becoming part of a new normality. A normality with more cameras, more controls, more police, more prisons. Thus, "emergency" laws transform from emergent to perpetual and finally become part of the absurd normality of social life.

To understand the ways of state governance and modes of systemic oppression, we need to examine the framework of the relationship between a State and its people. In the present text we will attempt to identify the roots of peoples obedience and acceptance of a sovereign authority (the State). We will touch on the matter of the social contract and the illusion of democratic representation. Finally, we will focus on the "emergent" instances, where the contract is not honoured and the subjects are left defenceless against the appetites of the State. We choose France as an example of a western country with the richest history of "states of emergency".

A Democratic Mirage - Under the wake eye of Leviathan

Our societies are based on the existence of moral principles that have been elevated to inviolable laws, not to be disputed, which we ought to protect by any means necessary. Western bourgeois democracy essentially functions as the institutionalised counterpart of capitalist growth and production. Its foundations lay on the social Contract and it shoulders the task of creating the legal framework for the capitalist processes of production and re-reproduction to unfold. Our societal Imaginary, fully immersed in a neoliberal interpretation of the world, understands human nature as sinful, driven by passions and—if left unchecked—leaning towards chaos, crime and selfishness [1], therefore necessitating bourgeois institutions as an antidote to these self-destructive propensities.

In the course of aeons, the feudal system has been replaced by bourgeois democracy, and for a brief moment in history, the rule of parliamentarist law created optimism to some progressive minds. However, the advantages of this transition have been highly exaggerated, since they have essentially failed to address fundamental issues such as unequal wealth and power distribution, and hence lack of social justice. The only thing that has evidently changed is the legitimacy of injustice; the feudal lord has been substituted by the inherently flawed notion of socio-political representation. Once the ballot is cast, the individual reverts to an infantile condition of obedience, unable to participate in any decision-making on a macroscopic level. Therefore, what's left is the comforting illusion of democratic representation. This illusion is the chain that binds one and the whole to the rule of law and consequently to the will of the ruling few. It is what prevents one from thinking critically and acting collectively in terms of needs and desires. Bourgeois democracies around the world have produced or sustained labour exploitation, racism, poverty, injustice, colonisers and colonised populations. It is an indication, if not evidence, that this system is not there to serve the masses, but the ruling few.

Capitalizing on fears - The power of nightmares

Fear has manifested itself in western societies, which have become more and more hostile to the majority of the population: unemployment, precarious jobs, limited access to healthcare. The ruling class has manufactured the image of outlandish criminals with sadistic intentions and no respect for human life, impoverished individuals leeching off society, radicals with a lack of respect for property, alien groups that will soil western culture and democratic values, lurking in every corner. Sometimes this terror-frenzy is based on legitimate concerns, as was the case of the pandemic. Other times however, fear of an actual danger is not the crucial element. What is crucial is what this fear evolves into, what it can be transformed into, and how it can be exploi-

1. Hobbes shared this same conception (that human nature is inherently individualistic) and therefore thought it is likely that we destroy each other. In his doctrine of the foundation of the States he demonstrated the need and called for the creation of a central authority, as a counter-measure against the flawed civil society, the Leviathan. Since then, the biblical beast has followed an evolutionary path; it shifted forms, it grew. Looking more terrifying, it adapted to the culture of its subjects but never lost its authority over our lives. Leviathan represents the institutions and structures of power which -when in place- enable the human subject to leave their flawed state of nature, driven by fear of themselves and of the sovereign, and abiding to Leviathan's authority even when such a shift goes against their own interests and desires.



ted. That's what truly matters.

To cope with fear, we often take defensive actions and we alienate ourselves from “the other”, who eventually turns into a suspect figure. We choose to live behind massive walls, protected by public or private guards, constantly under the wake eye of security cameras. We transform our societies into a self-sustained panopticon. These actions are reshaping the dark premonitions of everyday life, giving true dimensions to our ruling fears. We allow, or better yet, facilitate the construction of a shell where our normality can continue uninterrupted. Life has become more sanitised, individualised, securitized and deprived of collective and personal freedoms. The robustness and durability of this construct is of paramount importance to us, but this shell that phenomenally keeps all fears away, is in reality the vessel that gives birth to these exact fears. Citizens addicted to security, yet constantly uncertain of it, choose a life of a constant emergency.

All these fears despite their intrinsic existential nature are products of a well woven narrative of the ruling class. A bankrupt political and economical elite sustain their rule by perpetuating irrational fears. In the words of Adam Curtis: “all great ideas have lost their credibility; a fear of a ghost enemy is what is left to politicians to maintain their power”. All these narratives lead to further defensive actions which add more fuel for fear to self-perpetuate. In order to feel more safe we become more and more willing to be less free.

The perpetual enemy & the everlasting war

To avoid chaos, the State is given an absolute power; the monopoly on violence. Its subjects are not allowed to revolt, because the State's sovereign power derives from the individuals' surren-

dering their own sovereignty in return for protection. But who will protect the subject from its protector? What happens when the constitution is suspended and the last barrier to totalitarian power is taken down?

There are a number of historical instances where a State has suspended articles of the constitution concerning personal liberties, by issuing a mere decree. Bypassing laws that protect fundamental liberties and creating permanent states of emergency, do not constitute a piece of a long-forgotten past, but are a pattern that keeps re-emerging time and again in bourgeois democracies, curtailing civil and political rights in its path.

The case of the French Emergency - A colonial continuum

The state of emergency in France is of colonial roots. It dates back to 1955 when the anti-colonial revolution in Algeria had to be repressed and a set of exceptional laws was enacted to legitimize what followed; curfews, closure of communal and other meeting places, random searches of houses and house arrests, a legislation not at all unfamiliar to those with a surface level understanding of contemporary french politics. The second state of emergency was declared three years later, in France this time, ironically, in fear of invasion by its own colonial army. Article 16 was introduced in the constitution, allowing the president to seize all powers at will, and from that moment on a regime of augmented presidential powers began. Since then, it has been invoked several times; in Algeria (1961), in the the parisian suburbs (2005) as a response to the country-wide riots after the death of teenagers Zyed Benna and Bouna Traore, and twice in Kanaky in light of the independence movement led by the Kanak people (1984), and again in 2024 during the massive protests [2] that followed the adoption of a bill allowing 25.000 of newly settled french people to vote in Kanaky's elections.



The most recent authoritarian shift in French politics was initiated in November 2015 with the declaration of a state of emergency from president François Hollande, following deadly attacks in Paris and Saint-Denis, which started as a temporary measure to facilitate the “war against terrorism” and lasted for approximately 2 years. This emergency state granted exceptional power to police and security services; the government had the authority to order house arrests [3], police raids and bans on public assemblies without warrants or other forms of judicial approval. Legislative, executive and judiciary powers were merged, and concentrated in the hands of the government. During these 2 years 4.469 houses were raided, leading to more than 754 house arrests, resulting in only 61 terrorism-linked judicial investigations of which, 41 for acts of apology for terrorism and 20 for criminal association in relation to terrorism. Even though most of the home raids were conducted against suspects with no ties to terrorism and despite this notable gap between police raids and judicial investigations the State managed to promote its image as an effective combatant against terrorism and a guardian of peace and safety.

A few months after the end of this emergency state, in July 2017, a bill was approved by the senate, effectively transforming the exceptional “anti-terror” measures into ordinary law. Searches are now called “home visits” and house arrests “individual measures of administrative control and surveillance” which even have their own abbreviation (MICAS). The justification for all this? “Still in a state of war”, according to Minister of the Interior Gérard Collomb, who assured the population by saying that “this must be done in a way that balances security and freedom” and that “this law will help protect French people”.

On March 23, 2020 in light of the increasing numbers of COVID-19 related cases the french government unilaterally declared a “state of sanitary emergency”. This gave exceptional powers to the Prime Minister allowing him to issue unilateral executive orders to implement the government’s policies during the pandemic. It included, the regulation and prohibition of the movement of people, the regulation and closure of meeting places, the limitation or prohibition of gatherings on the public sphere. During this period the french State promoted a number of controversial bills showing its intentions. In April 2021 the French parliament passed the “global security law” that increased police powers by broadening the powers of municipal police forces, expanding the police’s ability to use drones to monitor citizens, hardening sentences for people guilty of assaulting officers and making it illegal to publish images of police forces on duty. Within a few months the majority of the bill’s acts were deemed unconstitutional.

During this almost consecutive seven year period (2015-2022) of french emergency it would be interesting to examine if the repression, coercion and oppressive measures were applied

2. The French government responded to the Kanak movement in Kanaky with military force and excessive measures, resulting in significant casualties among the Kanak people. This included several deaths, 169 injuries, and 2,235, mainly arbitrary, arrests. Additionally, there were over 500 instances of enforced disappearance, reflecting the severe impact of the French military’s actions on the Kanak community during this period.

3. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/18/world/europe/frances-emergency-powers-spur-charges-of-overreach-from-muslims.html>

uniformly in French society. It is more than clear that they were applied in a drastically unequal manner. The degraded suburbs, “banlieues”, where former colonial subjects reside in low-income housing projects were the main target of repression. The house searches and arrests targeted, by a vast majority, muslim people, deemed as “radicals”. Thousands of Muslim-owned homes, offices, restaurants and mosques suspected of preaching hatred were raided while the government was prompting citizens to report anyone considered suspicious, inciting an already present anti-islamic sentiment [4]. During the pandemic the “Observatory of the State of Sanitary Emergency and Containment” has identified and enlisted numerous cases of State violence in the banlieues, prisons, and migrant detention centres to go with the everyday identity checks based on ethnic profiling during the lockdown by the police. Meanwhile, the white bourgeois neighbourhoods have had a completely different experience.

From the french example we can observe a well rooted colonial construction that allows the notion of emergency to settle for years and the State violence that comes with it to become normality - something unavoidable when it is the daily condition of the people subjected to it. A construction that mainly targets the lower-class french Muslim, migrant, person of colour, as potential terrorist reinforcing the already pre-existing stereotypes that nurture the fear of the outsider.

The Danish exceptionality

“With Putin’s attack on Ukraine there’s a war in Europe. The threat has come closer, to finance the increase in military spending in the coming years [...] Danes must contribute to our security” with these words the danish Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen announced the elimination of the public holiday Store Bededag, a measure intended to generate additional public funding that could, in turn, cover an increased military budget. Workers’ right to a day of rest was summarily cut, invoking a supposedly direct threat to the Danish Security. Nevermind that Europe has seen conflicts like this one before (Kosovo, Chechenia, to name some of the most recent ones). Nevermind that the goal of increasing military spending to 2% of the GDP has been required from NATO since 2014. Nevermind that the link between the addition of a working day and increased estate funds is tenuous at best.

Never mind that there hasn’t been a single day without armed conflict since 1900. The war is here, we must act.

Using war or other external threats to give a veneer of exceptionalism to measures that have become regular estate practice (such as increased militarisation, attacks to workers rights...) is not new in the Danish context either. Since 2016, during the second mandate of Venstre’s prime minister Lars Løkke, the Danish borders have been closed against the Schengen Agreement. Even though the Schengen Borders Code provides Member States with the capability of tempo-

4. On September ‘21 the french court confirmed the dissolution of an anti-discrimination group (Collective Against Islamophobia in France) that provided legal support to people facing anti-muslim discrimination and documented the impact of the counterterrorism measures on the Muslim population with the justification that it incited to discrimination, hatred, and violence.

rarely reintroducing border control, the code states that these measures “must be applied as a last resort measure, in exceptional situations”. Turns out, Danmark has been in an exceptional situation a total of 22 times in the last 8 years, with consecutive uninterrupted emergencies that have kept the borders closed since 2016. The arguments included in the applications for the introduction of border control range from covid19, to the “terrorist threat relating to the conflict between Israel and militant groups in Gaza” (government words), including perceived “risk of espionage” or “smuggling”. And what was the emergency that started it all? “Unexpected migratory flow”.

Of course.

Meanwhile the Danes oscillate between selective outrage and complete lack of awareness over the implemented measures. While there was a strong public response against the removal of the public holiday Store Bededag, it mostly centered around whether there could be other places to get funding for the military spending and not on whether or not this was a true need for the country. As for the eight years or permanent, but ever changing emergency (and how convenient that the emergencies change every six months, when a new filing with the Schengen border control is needed), very little is discussed or acknowledged. Walking the streets of Copenhagen, no one seems to be specially distressed by all these never ending exceptional circumstances and apparent threats to our security, it appears then, that we are all in on the lie.

Epilogue

We understand the need for exceptional measures in times of health (or other types) of emergencies. However, we cannot disregard the devastating effect that such policies have on marginalized populations when applied horizontally. Worldwide, any and all emergency policies are—either by design or circumstantially—exacerbating the fundamental class disparities of our capitalist societies. We cannot disregard that the application of such measures is, in many cases, disproportionate, exceptional, discriminatory and sometimes even vindictive. We cannot disregard the fact that in a large number of countries states of emergency are used as a justification for increased securitization, implementation of anti-labor laws and deprivation of social rights and self determination. We cannot ignore the fact that exceptional measures while implemented as something temporary they slyly and swiftly transform into something permanent, interweaving the fabric of a new -even more claustrophobic- normality. Only upon arriving at this conclusion does the haze of fear clear and we can finally realise the task that has been laid out for us.

"(...) Then it will become clear that the task before us is the introduction of a real state of emergency; and our position in the struggle against Fascism will thereby improve."

Walter Benjamin

A letter from a bankrupt

By Samih Al-Qasim

I may lose my daily bread, if you wish
I may hawk my clothes and bed
I may become a stone cutter, or a porter
Or a street sweeper
I may search in animal dung for food
I may collapse, naked and starved Enemy of light
I will not compromise
And to the end
I shall fight.
You may rob me of the last span of my land
You may ditch my youth in prison holes
Steal what my grandfather left me behind:
Some furniture or clothes and jars,
You may burn my poems and books
You may feed your dog on my flesh
You may impose a nightmare of your terror
On my village
Enemy of light
I shall not compromise
And to the end
I shall fight.

رہا ترفع من حولي جداراً وجداراً وجدار رہا
تصلب أيامي على رؤيا مذهله
يا عدو الشمس.. لكن.. لن أساوم
وإلى آخر نبض في عروقي.. سأقاوم يا عدو
الشمس
في الميناء زينات، وتلويح بشائر
وزغاريد، وبهجه
وهتافات، وضجه
والأنشيد الحماسية وهج في الحناجر
وعلى الأفق شرع
يتحدى الريح.. واللّجج.. ويجتاز المخاطر انھا
عودة يوليسيز من بحر الضبايع
عودة الشمس، وإنساني المهاجر
ولعينيه، وعينيه.. يميناً.. لن أساوم
وإلى آخر نبض في عروقي
سأقاوم
سأقاوم
سأقاوم

قصيدة خطاب في سوق البطالة

سميح القاسم

رہا أفقد ماشئت معاشي
رہا أعرض للبيع ثيابي وفراشي
رہا أعمل حجاراً.. وعتالاً.. وكناس شوارع رہا
أبحث، في روث المواشي، عن حبوب رہا أحمده..
عرياناً.. وجائع
يا عدو الشمس.. لكن.. لن أساوم
وإلى آخر نبض في عروقي.. سأقاوم
رہا تسلبني آخر شبر من ترابي
رہا تطعم للسجن شبابي
رہا تسطو على ميراث جدي
من أثاث.. وأوان.. وخواب
رہا تحرق أشعاري وكتبي
رہا تطعم لحمي للكلاب
رہا تبقى على قرينتنا كابوس رعب
يا عدو الشمس.. لكن.. لن أساوم
وإلى آخر نبض في عروقي.. سأقاوم
رہا تطفئ في ليلي شعله
رہا أحرم من أمني قبله
رہا يشتم شعبي وأبي، طفل، وطفله
رہا تغنم من ناطور أحلامي غفله
رہا زيف تاريخي جبان، وخرافي مؤله رہا تحرم
أطفالي يوم العيد بدلتهط
رہا تخدع أصحائي بوج مستعار

Enemy of light
The signs of joy and the tidings
Shouts of happiness and anthem
Are there at the port
And at the horizon
A sail is defying the wind and the deep sees
Overcoming all the challenges
It is the return of Ulysses
From the lost seas
It is the return of the sun
And the return of the ousted
And for their sake
I swear
I shall not compromise
And to the end
I shall fight!



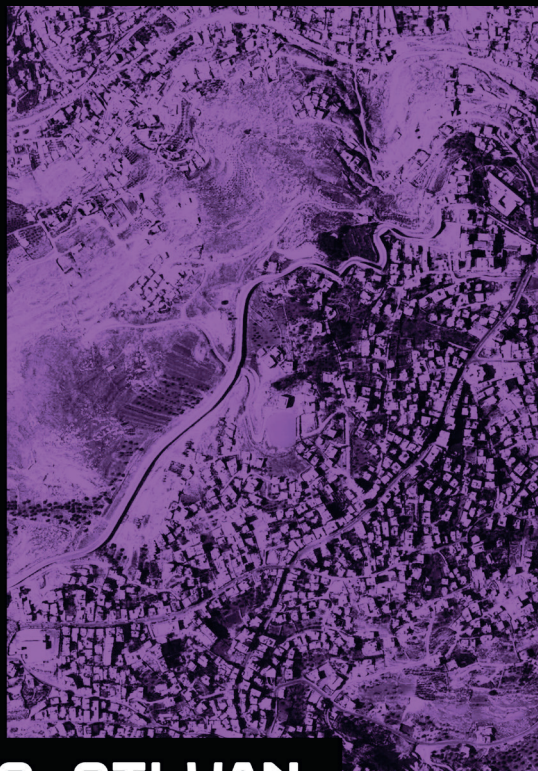
SOLIDARITY
DAY
gaza
JUNE 6

قِيَادَةُ نِسَاءٍ مُرَوِّعَاتٍ

SOUTENEZ LA LUTTE DU PEUPLE PALESTINIEN
A GAZA CONTRE L'OCCUPATION SIONISTE.

SUPPORT THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN
PEOPLE IN GAZA AGAINST ISRAELI REPRESSION.





SKETCHING SILWAN



The night time is now hanging over Silwan, sharp rays of light travel through the walls and into the streets. The loud presence of young Israeli mobs spraying 'Arabs out' on the house fronts earlier on the day, had signaled this imminent visual invasion. The roads are choked by the Israeli police on dubious security grounds, making the passage to the Old City impossible. Intense light projections of dreidels and menorahs, as part of the Jerusalem Light Festival, have rendered the Old City streets white, a sense of emptiness and alienation looms over the limestone streets. It is the Hanukkah celebration. The districts around and within the Jerusalem Wall feel strangely safe, almost petrified, crowded by local settlers and guests from abroad who seem to enjoy the occasion with religious tact. Everyone is counted and every circulation is monitored and controlled, no Palestinians are allowed to access the area enclosed by the cutting edges of the projected light. An intense beam hits one of the armored cars that block the neighborhood, it has some new splashed details of pink, possibly from the David's Star illumination.

The morning sun is now appearing in the sky, forcing projections to blur and slowly descend to extinction. Last night's curfew has just been lifted and the option of mobility is given back, temporarily at least, to the Palestinians of Silwan. A woman stands hunched waiting to cross the street, hijab draped around her head, grocery bags clutched to her hands. Just across the street, a long array of jersey-barriers cuts apart the hollow Wadi- Hilweh district where people and cars squeeze through the excavators, trucks, pavers and bulldozers that lie outside the Givati parking lot. Nearby, a sign written in Hebrew and English is cemented on the broken, narrow pavement, informing settlers and visitors that the village is undergoing infrastructure repairs, undersigned by "The City of David staff". Razing, cleansing, renaming, this is the lifeblood of Israeli statehood since 1948. In west Jerusalem, Deir Yassin became Givat Shaul Bet, Lifta became Mei Neftoach, Qalunya is now Kiryat Menachem. On the east side, Silwan is still Silwan and the thirty thousand Palestinians living here reaffirm this very fact on a daily basis, shutting down an occupation that marks them as absentees, as minor details. A few steps further south on Wadi-Hilweh street, two security guards are watchfully pacing the entrance of the City of David antiquities park. They wear bulletproof vests, guns strapped to their belts, eyes hidden behind pitch-black sunglasses, ready to defend the relics of Jewish contiguity in Jerusalem.



Pilgrims of various backgrounds are eagerly waiting in line to get a ticket for the park, although with a hint of agitation due to a handful of kids playing hunting amidst rubles in close proximity. A heavy sound blasts the crowd momentarily, forcing them to glance at the sky. Frightened eyes, lips pursed. However, the tumult quickly dies out as a cloud of dust appears from the excavation site, clearly explaining the origin of the worrying sound. At the entrance, just above the heads of the guards, a sign promises guests that "they will walk in the footsteps of the kings and prophets" which surprisingly enough seems to ignite enthusiasm and chatters among those in line. A herd of visitors is now exiting the park, probably more keen to explore the wonders of "Ancient Jerusalem", and probably more indifferent to its current state of occupation, they immediately turn towards the Temple Mount.

Reaching closer to the Old City, tourists and cars are multiplied, crawling like monstrous bugs over the cobblestoned streets. Entering from the Damascus gate, a wide marbled plaza unfolds before the tourists' faintly excited eyes, linking the Jewish Quarter to the Wailing Wall, while the massive Al-Aqsa compound sits on the right, overlooking the neighborhood of Silwan.

June 1967, the ceasefire has yet to be reached, East Jerusalem has not yet been occupied by Israel, and the Maghariba (north African) Quarter still stands in front of the Wailing Wall, residential, a shelter to thousands of Palestinians. A few days later, the 125 cramped houses of Maghariba are demolished by the IDF, the dispossessed families are forced out of the Old City, and the lucrative reconstruction of Jerusalem has officially commenced.

Now, the tourists look at the cleared plaza, the last bit to cover before reaching the wall, there is nothing else blocking their way to prayer, a moment of religious freedom. A few meters away and in the course of a night prayer, a heavily armored and gun-bearing police squad raided the Qibli prayer hall, almost a week ago. Tear gassed people covering their eyes and mouths felt the weight of the batons and the riot guns across their bodies, a sea of wounded and injured flooded the Old City. Those able to move tried to flee back to Silwan, although the severity of the assault had made the limbs heavy, barely immobile, while red drops were trailing their way, undissolved. Huge patches of darkness lay across the street and in-between broken light poles under which potholes of debris and mud over the cracked pavement glowed grimly. A brief stop by a bulldozer. All the stench and filth of the excavations had now stuck into the air causing throats to close and despite the piercing wind that merely shook the barbed wire hanging from a two-storey house balcony, creating a wailing sound that only anger could mute. A security guard was walking about the doorway of the house, a white and blue flag was waving above him mounted at a barricaded window while a surveillance tower standing next had never ceased recording. The taking over took place a few days prior, it was sudden and massive as seven houses in total changed hands overnight, they were sold to intermediaries then passed over to El'Ad, finally celebrated as if a victory on a battlefield. The next day, a large advertisement appeared on the front page of Haaretz congratulating the new tenants on their "Zionist endeavor." "The



strengthening of Jewish presence in Jerusalem is our common challenge," went the ad, continuing "with your settlement act, you make us proud". House by house, block by block, through evictions, demolition orders, legal smotherings, threats, shady purchases all orchestrated and performed by innumerable Zionist institutions, parties, funds, far-right groups, cultural centers, reducing Wadi Qadoun, Ras al-Amud, Wasat al-Balad, Kharat al-Tank, Bir Ayoub, al-Yaman, Ein al-Louzah, al-Bustan, Wadi Hilweh to lifeless biblical areas.

When the last time a demolition order appeared outside a Palestinian home in al-Bustan, the reaction of the locals was fierce. It was said that a group which looked more like a contingent, strode by the house when one of its members commanded the rest to stop with a long, formal gesture. Then, as if nobody was living inside, they scrutinized the outside pointing fingers once a while, probably scorning its bizarre appearance: very worn-out near the foundations, brand new on the upper half. "This is illegal" might have all exclaimed in the end, synchronized as a chorus. The building permit for the second floor had been regularly rejected by the Development Authority due to the house's location in a security zone or a natural zone or an archaeological zone. All the while, a family of nine was inside. The night before the planned demolition, young Palestinians merrily took to the streets sending fireworks to the few settler houses and throwing stones at the armored vehicles that had already blocked the periphery of the Palestinian home, preparing the grounds for the tomorrow's cranes and bulldozers. The tension grew fast and the first rubber-coated steel bullets pierced the neighborhood, transforming any life within fragile and momentary. The unrest was unfolding with breaks of absolute silence where only a few resilient whispers echoed in the congested air. Most of the houses were now uninhabitable as the acrid smoke of tear gas had been gradually occupying the last bits of available space.

The usually abundant litter on the streets was now being gathered and placed at the epicenter of the riots, a crossroad between the Damascus gate and a hill-settlement. The pile of garbage was set alight throwing grey clouds of smoke toward the sky, disorienting the roaring helicopter hovering above. Meanwhile, empty dumpsters were carried methodically into the fight by teenagers already shouting instructions about their next moves. It is only during these times that the remnants of settlements' construction, debris and stones and rocks scattered across the streets are of utmost value. Hundreds of them were collected and hurled against the Israeli cops in an evasive and precise choreography that left only shadows behind. The resistance against the demolition was not about to be quelled, other tactics were required. Disproportionate violence targeting anyone, anywhere, flattening the ground, attacking through the walls.

Raids had now started, windows shattered, doors forced open and swarms of cops making their way into the last and most critical frontiers of resistance, the Palestinian homes.



ON THE POLITICS OF LOSS

[This text was written by an individual member of Crisis Mirror in the period 2022-2024]

"Our grief is a starting point in the fight against fascism"

Cindy Milstein

December 7th, 1967

My great grandad dies in Moscow after 30 years in exile.

He had left Spain at the end of the Spanish Civil war, 1939, in the last boat leaving the harbor of Alicante, before Franco conquered the city, thus gaining control over the entire country and ending the war. This boat, the Stanbrook, takes him to a refugee camp in Oran, Alger, from where his contacts in the communist party manage to bring him to Russia, the country where he will live in exile until his death. He never returned to Spain again.

Somehow, this is one of the first things that I learn about my family growing up: that we come from war. That we come from exile and resistance, but also from loss and longing and that our family history can be learnt, as the palestinian author Mourid Barghouti writes, by looking at the empty chairs at the dining table.

November 9th, 1915

At the time of his execution, labor activist Joe Hill telegraphs a close friend the words "Don't waste any time mourning. Organize!"

Since then, the sentence has been used when other labor leaders have died, and occasionally, when the movement suffers a defeat. When I first hear this expression, "don't mourn, organize!", it feels appealing. Powerful and direct, like a punch in the gut. These days, it leaves a bitter taste in my mouth: are organizing and mourning incompatible?

November 11th, 2007

Carlos Palomino, sixteen years old, is stabbed to death by a neonazi soldier in the metro of Madrid while on his way to an anti racist demonstration.

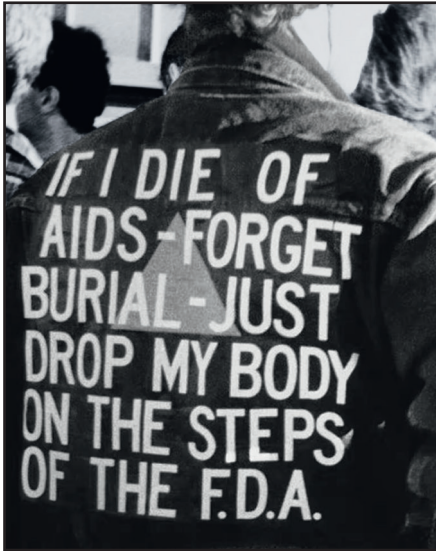
I am seventeen years old and grieve for him in the streets. I don't know him, but me and my friends are him. It feels distant and unreal, but not unexpected in the Madrid of the early 2000's, a city bursting with skinheads and violent police. My parents, scared of what's out there, ask me not to join the solidarity protests. I go anyway and I never tell anybody how scared I am, too.

June 14th, 2023

Over 500 people die in the Mediterranean while trying to reach safety in the coasts of Europe.

As a reaction, we organize a small protest to condemn the role of the EU's border policies in the death of thousands of people every year. After a particularly nasty discussion with two passers-by, who argued that people dying at sea was bad but them arriving at the coast was worse, I turn to my comrades and tell them how simplistic it feels to use the question "Do you prefer that people die?" as a political argument. After a beat of silence, my comrade looks at me and replies, "but it really is that simple, right?"

October 11th, 1992



Gay rights activists from the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) throw the cremated remains of loved ones killed by AIDS onto the White House Lawn.

The Ashes Action takes place within the frame of AIDS activism of the 80's and 90's. Queer people are reframing the epidemic as a political failure and riot and struggle for preventive measures, treatment, destigmatization and the right to offer proper burial to their friends and loved ones (at the time, most funeral homes were refusing to handle AID-related deaths). I look back at the work of my queer elders in juxtaposition to my old motto of "don't mourn, organize" and things don't seem as clear anymore.

March 28th, 2020

Chato Galante, an ex political prisoner and antifacist organizer dies from Covid-19.

In the haze of the millions of covid-19 deaths, the pain of losing Chato crosses the desensitization that the pandemic reality had created in me, putting a face and a story to the daily death toll. He was, at the time of dying, one of the leading plaintiffs in a civil case against the Franco regime and its police force, for torture and crimes against humanity. With him gone and his comrades grieving, can we continue the fight? What happens then when the bearers of our political memory are all gone?

April 20th, 2016

“La morada”, my neighborhood’s squat, is evicted illegally by the police.

I watch this space, where I held countless meetings, celebrated support parties, where my mum got her groceries and my friends tried to make Madrid a more livable city, get evicted via livestream in the early hours of the morning. Thousands of kilometers away, in a different city, in a different country, I receive message after message from friends and comrades. While I am watching the latest video of police abuse during the eviction, I feel tears fill my eyes and realize that this, too, is grieving.

June 23rd, 2020

A 28-year old black man is murdered on the island of Bornholm.

He was burned, beaten and stomped on with metal boots. The two murderers were known supporters of the far right-wing personality Rasmus Paludan, and sported swastikas tattooed in their arms. A demonstration is organized in Copenhagen in solidarity and Crisis Mirror is asked to give a speech. At our meeting, discussing the potential text, we get into a discussion on whether to use the victim’s name or not. His mother had asked to protect their identity and I find myself defending that choice against a comrade that argues that a name could help unite the movement. As the argument gets heated my comrade asks “Why are you getting so emotional about it?” I want to argue how misogynistic it is to disregard a woman’s political opinion as “emotional”, but the truth is that I am emotional, that at this instance I cannot disentangle emotion from politics, nor have I any desire to do so. “Because someone fucking died”, I reply instead.

November 6th, 2023



A month after the start of the latest escalation of the Israeli genocide of Palestine, comrades from Crisis mirror make a banner with one of the common slogans heard at demonstrations “People in Gaza have a right to live” Later, someone jokes that Crisis Mirror now sounds as radical as a UN declaration. I understand the critique, but feel that it adds to the ongoing normalization of these deaths, so much so that making a claim about their injustice and needlessness seems almost trivial and non-political. I am reminded of the words of my comrade all those months ago “but it really is that simple”, and I start to reflect on the revolutionary potential that such simplicity can achieve in times of absolute devastation.

October 29th, 2017

The day after my dad dies I send three text messages: one to my boss, one to my best friend and one to a close comrade from my neighborhood’s assembly.

I am still not sure how the word spreads but a few hours later I find myself sitting in a circle on the floor of a funeral home, surrounded by my comrades. It is almost like all those other times, where we had sat to plan actions, discuss texts or distribute work, except this time, they are trading stories while I seat there numbly. A few days later, there will be a letter in the mail with more that 15 signatures. It turns out that the latest collective text from Crisis mirror is a condolence letter. In the weeks to follow, my comrades will care for me in the same ways that we approached many of our political actions: taking shifts, making affinity groups, cooking food, strategizing. Years later, these same people will organize mutual-aid groups during the covid-19 pandemic to take care of each other and hundreds of strangers in our neighborhood: taking shifts, making affinity groups, cooking food, strategizing.

December 1st, 2022

In late 2022, when considering the idea of writing a text for the next Crisis mirror magazine and still in the aftermath of a global pandemic, I decide to write about the dialectics of life and death.

In the months (now years) that follow, I read and reread Achille Mbembe’s “Necropolitics”, Cindy Milstein’s “Rebellious Mourning”, Foucault’s lectures on biopolitics. I find and annotate scientific research linking big companies and their harmful industrial practices to excess mortality all over the world and reports on yearly work-related deaths. Did you know that in Denmark, if you live in public housing, you are 1.5 times more likely to have a heart attack and your chances of surviving such an episode are half than in other areas? Did you know that 3 million workers are estimated to die at their jobs every year around the world? How many deaths are linked to pollution and mispractice? How many to consumption of well-marketed harmful substances and foods? What about the direct link

between the weapons industry and genocide?

All these numbers, facts and theories float in my head while I try to articulate a theoretical response to the way capitalism creates and normalizes death. But in between all this reading and researching I start scribbling notes here and there about how death, grieving and loss have shaped my understanding of politics. These notes help me understand in a personal and political way that when Cindy Milstein says that “our grief is a starting point in the fight against fascism” she is calling for a radical politicization of loss. I too, want to use this grief to politicize, problematize and denormalize all deaths that are not good deaths, those that belong to the excess mortality that the climate catastrophe, the war machine and the ever-hungry capitalist wheel create. I want to build space in our movement to accompany our comrades in their mourning with care and political intentionality. I want us to make a George Floyd out of every single murdered palestinian, a Pavlos Fyssas out of every person drowned in the Mediterranean. Above all, what these memories do is make me long for a subversion of the stages of grief: denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance, yes. But then, revolution.

الى الوجه الذي ضاع في التيه

فدوى طوقان

Face Lost in the Wilderness

By Fadwa Tuqan

اه، لا تملأ بطاقتك لي
بشذى الذكرى وباقات الهوى
بين قلبي ورفاه الحب صحراء-
حبال القيطز فيها تلتوي-
تلتف من حولي أفاعي
تخنف الزهرفتح السم فيه
واللظى

لا تقل لي اذكريني
لا تقل لي
عتمت ذاكرة الحب وغامت
صور الأحلام، والحب شبح
ضائع يقصيه ليل التيه عن-
عيني وقلبي.
نحر الليل القمر
يا رفيقي نحر الليل القمر
انت لو حدثت في مرة قلبي
لم تجد فيها مقر
لسوى الوجه الذي هشمه الليل-
يغطي كل قلبي
وجهها الحلو المشوه
اه ما أغلاه حلوا ومشوه
يا عذابا يتنامى
يا جراحا تتأوه

كيف دارت هذه الدنيا بنا
كيف كنا
حبنا كان وليدا، هل نما
وسط الهول وفي قلب الخطر
وطني كانت تغطيه مياه الليل، كان
قلبه الصامت في ليل الهزيمة
ذاهلا أسيان، كان الدم في-
الجدران باقات ورود
كنت أهذي:
افتحي صدرك يا أرض الجدود
افتحي صدر الأمومه
واحضنيها فالقرايين غوالي
القرايين غوالي
كان وحش الغاب يحسو الحمر في
حان الجريمه

Do not fill postcards with memories
Between my heart
and the luxury of passion stretches a desert
where ropes of fire
blaze and smolder,
where snakes
coil and recoil,
swallowing blossoms
with poison and flame.

No! Don't ask me to remember.
Love's memory is dark,
the dream clouded;
love is a lost phantom
in a wilderness night.
Friend,
the night has slain the moon.
In the mirror of my heart
you can find no shelter,
only my country's
disfigured face,
her face,
lovely and mutilated,
her precious face ...

How did the world revolve in this way?
Our love was young.
Did it grow in this horror?
In the night of defeat,
black waters
covered my land,
blood on the walls
was the only bouquet.
I hallucinated:
"Open your breast,
open your mother's breast
for an embrace
priceless are the offerings!"



ورياح الشؤم تعوي
في الجهات الأربع
يومها كان معي
يومها ما كنت في الهول أعني
أم ترى كنت أعني أن الغدا
سوف يقصيه وأنا
بعده لن نتلاقى أبدا
ولقد نبسم أحيانا لكليما
نخدع الحزن فلا نيكى، وأهذي:
اه يا حبي الغريب
اه يا حبي لماذا
وطني أصبح بابا لسقر
ولماذا شجر التفاح صار اليوم -
زقوما، لماذا

لم يعد ضوء القمر
مستحما لبساتين الزهر
كان قومي يزرعون الأرض يحيون -
يحبون الحياة
ياكلون الخبز والزيت بحب وفرح
كانت الأثمار والأزهار في كل الفصول
تفرش الأرض بأقواس قزح
أترى ترجع تعطي من هداياها الفصول
لبلادي ولقومي
أترى ترجع تعطي
كنت أهذي، تدعوني ولكن التصاقي -
بذراعه
كان يحميني، فأرتد لأحيا
ولأقوى

.....
الأسى يهطل، ليل القدس صمت
وقتام
حظروا التجوال، لا تطرق في
قلب المدينة
غير دقائق النعال الدمويه
تحتها تنكمش القدس كعذارى سبيه
وعلى الساحة طائر
خرق السهم جبينه
وعلى الأرض دخان وحطام
.....
شرقة المبنى، وطيفان يطلان على -
ليل المدينة
كان في الركن حقيبته
وثيلب واد كارات من الأرض الحبيبه
كانت الزرقه في عينيه تمند -
بحيرات حزينه

The jungle beast was toasting in the
tavern of crime;
winds of misfortune
howled in the four corners.
He was with me that day.
I didn't realize morning
would remove him.
Our smiles cheated sorrow
as I raved:
"Beloved stranger!
Why did my country
become a gateway
to hell?
Since when are apples bitter?

When did moonlight
stop bathing orchards?
My people
used to plant fields
and love life
Joyfully
they dipped their bread in oil
Fruits and flowers
tinted the land
with magnificent hues -
will the seasons ever again
give their gifts
to my people?"

Sorrow -
Jerusalem's night is silence and smoke.
They imposed a curfew;
now nothing beats
in the heart of the City
but their bloodied heels
under which Jerusalem trembles
like a raped girl.

Two shadows from a balcony
stared down at the City's night.
In the corner
a suitcase of clothes,
souvenirs from the Holy Land -
his blue eyes
stretched like sad lakes.



والأسمى يطفح من شطانها ملحا
وماء
كانت القدس هواه، حبه الصوفي كانت
و يقينه
وأنا أهذي وأهذي:
اه يا حبي لماذا
هجر الله بلادي ولماذا
حبس النور، تخلى عن بلادي
لبحار الظلمات
وأرى العالم تنبنا خرافيا
على باب بلادي
وأنادي: يا حبيبي
من يفك اللغز من يكشف
سر الكلمات
اه: عشرون قمر
مر عشرون قمر
وحياتي تستمر
وغياياك
كحياتي يستمر
ومعي ذاكرة واحدة: وجه بلادي
وجهها الحلو يغطي كل قلبي
.....
وحياتي تستمر
وتلف الريح أيامي على الدرب العصي
مع شعبي، ذيلنا على حافات-
صخر وأشواك وصلب
وحياتي مع شعبي تستمر
و وراء النهر غابات الرماح السمر-
تهتز وتربو
وهدير العاصفه
يكشف اللغز ويعطي العالم التين-
سر الكلمات
وهيوب ودوى
يلفح السارين في الدرب العصي
والأصاحي زمر إثر زمر
في عناق واحد تهوي وموت أخوي
ويظل الليل-ماتال-يلد
أنجما تقفو خطاها في الدروب-
السود أنجم
وبلادي كوز رمان يفور الدم-
فيه ويغمغم
وحياتي تستمر
وحياتي تستمر

He loved Jerusalem.
She was his mystical lover.
On and on I ranted,

"Ah, love!
Why did God abandon
my country?
Imprisoning light, leaving us
in seas of darkness?"
The world was a mythical dragon
standing at her gate.
"Who will ever solve this mystery,
beloved,
the secret of these words?"

Now twenty moons have passed,
twenty moons,
and my life continues.
Your absence too continues.
Only one memory remaining:
The face of my stricken country
filling my heart.

And my life continues -
the wind merges me with my people
on the terrible road of rocks and thorns.
But behind the river,
dark forests of spears sway and swell;
the roaring storm
unravels mystery,
giving to dragon-silence
the power of words.
A rush and din,
flame and sparks
lighting the road -
one group after another
falls embracing, in one lofty death.
The night, no matter how long,
will continue to give birth to star after star
and my life continues,
my life continues.

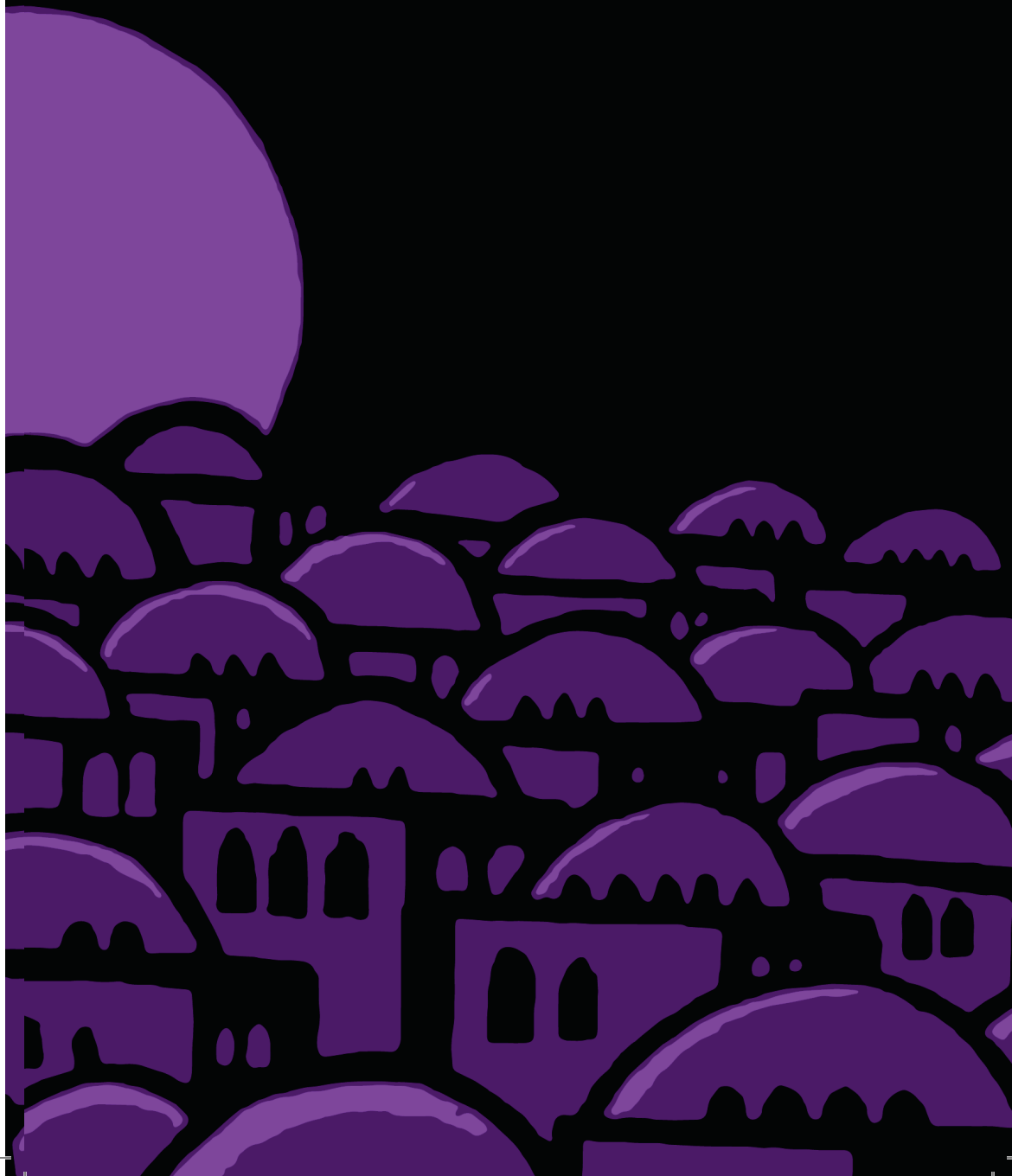




VISIT
PALESTINE

"I agree with you that adding the wall is vandalism and a rude intervention." www.foxnews.com





CREDITS TO:

The fourth issue of Crisis Mirror's magazine would not have been possible without the work of past and present members of Crisis Mirror and countless of other individual and collective contributions from the group's periphery: Fadi, who found and shared the original versions of the poems; Filip that helped with the printing of the physical magazine; Vedran that helped with illustrations; Aimilia that helped with infographics; Kaboom Magazine (kaboomzine.gr) that published the original interview with Christian Laval; Lazaara, who illustrated the Conspiracy Theory article; Tommy that contributed to the editorial and stylistic input; Heartleft Productions for supporting the printing costs; and the self-managed spaces of FolketsHus, Kapelvej 44 and Ungdomshuset where most of the contents of this magazine were written, discussed and finalized.

ARTWORKS:

Artwork Cover: Disintegration, 2014. Artwork by Natalie Cohen. Distorted by CM.

Past and present of neoliberalism - a CM collage. From left to right: Emmanuel Macron (France's President, 2017-present), Augusto Pinochet (Chile's Dictator, 1973-1990), Kyriakos Mitsotakis (Greece's PM, 2019-present), Milton Friedman (classical liberal economist, among the intellectual leaders of the Chicago school of economics), Margaret Thatcher (UK's PM, 1979-1990, also known as the "Iron Lady" or the "Witch").

Viktor Orbán (Hungary's PM, 2010-present and leader of the far right Fidesz political party) expresses his admiration to Marine Le Pen (president of the far right French National Rally group in the National Assembly) at the Warsaw Summit of the right-wing populist parties of EU.

The placard reads: "We are not terrorists. Justice and Freedom! For the Mapuche political prisoners." It is held by Mapuche people protesting an 'anti-terrorist' law passed by the Chilean government in 2013

Women in Santiago, Chile, perform 'Un Violador en tu Camino' (A Rapist in your Path), a protest song that went viral and came to be used across South America. Many wear red scarves and lipstick symbolizing the sexual nature of assaults, and are blindfolded in solidarity with people blinded by police.

Photo by Fabio Bucciarelli, 04 December, 2019.

"The Revolution". Published by P.L.O, 1967. Art by Shafik Radwan. Born in 1941 in Najd, a Palestinian village in Northern Gaza, which was destroyed in 1948 to build the town of Sderot in present-day Israel, turned to art as an escape from the surrounding devastation.

Outside Threat. Artwork by CM and Tommy.

Close the Camps. Demonstration in solidarity with the refugees and migrants that are either stranded on the borders of the European fortress or locked up in some prison/camp. Streets of Copenhagen, June 2020. Photo by CM.

"A brief history of DPP". Infographic by CM.

Map illustrating all the refugee centres in Denmark. CM, 2024.

Fictional neoliberal Newspaper, "EuroNews". CM, 2024.

"We take Mjølnerparken back". Unknown artist. Distorted by CM. Published in 2022 as part of a call to a demo by Boligaktion København (BK), against the Ghetto Law and the evictions of Mjølnerparken residents. BK is a group active in the city of Copenhagen fighting for equal access to housing irrespective of income, religion and race.

Infographic on the ghetto list and its criteria, made by CM and Aimilia.

Conspiracy Theories. Design by CM.

Illustrations of conspiracy theorist taxonomy. Made by Lazaara, and transformed into playing cards by Tommy, 2024.

"Visit Palestine", Amer Shomali, 2009. "Visit Palestine" is a satiric appropriation of the original 1936 "Visit Palestine" poster by the Israeli artist Franz Kraus in 1936. The original was published by the Zionist Tourist Development Association of Palestine to promote Jewish immigration to Palestine, presenting it as a homeland for Jews. In 1995, another Israeli artist David Tartakover reprinted the poster as a way of celebrating the optimism generated by the Oslo Peace Accords. "After the failure of the peace process it was time for a third print declaring the failure of the previous two prints". Shomali's work emphasises various aspects of Israel's Occupation such as the Separation Wall. He is currently based in Ramallah, Palestine.

Colour change by CM.

"Binary Panopticon". Design by CM. Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon's prison plan drawn by Willey Reveley in 1791.

Panopticon's blueprint generated by AI.

Same as artwork 18. Distorted by CM.

Surveillance cameras. Design by Vedran.

"Palestinian Sun" by Ilham Shahrour, a twelve-year-old student at the School of Children of Resistance in Lebanon. Published in 1980 by the Plastic Arts Section of the PLO as part of a Palestinian Exhibition in Beirut. The building where the collection of artworks had been stored, including the "Palestinian Sun", was shelled, along with the offices of the Office of Unified Information, which housed the Plastic Arts Section.

"States of Emergency". Design by CM.

Armed Cop in Champ de Mars, Paris. Photo by mainstream outlet. Distorted by CM.

Riot cops lined in front of barricaded streets in Paris.

"Steadfastness of Gaza" by Ghassan Kanafani. Published in 1970 by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Ghassan Kanafani was a Palestinian political activist, a revolutionary, an artist; who was deeply committed to the cause of Palestine. In his early literary writings Palestine was depicted as a cause in and of itself. Later on, he came to see in Palestine a total human symbol whereby his stories and novels dealt not merely with the Palestinians and their problems but also, and through the figure of the Palestinian, the human predicament of agony and deprivation. Kanafani was assassinated in Beirut on 8 July 1972. The Israeli Mossad had placed an explosive charge in his car, which killed him and his niece, Lamis, who happened to be with him. He was buried in Beirut. His memory remains vivid in the mind of all revolutionaries.

"Sketching Silwan". Design by CM. Aero-photographs - top left: The Wall between Jerusalem and the refugee camp of Shu'fat, top right: the Wall between Jerusalem and Abu Dis, bottom left: the Wall in Qalandiya between Jerusalem and Ramallah, bottom right: viaduct and tunnels of Gilo between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

"If I die of aids - forget burial - just drop my body on the steps of the F.D.A.". AIDS political activist Wojnarowicz in 1988. In his memoir, 1991, "Close to the Knives", he imagined "what it would be like if, each time a lover, friend or stranger died of this disease, their friends, lovers or neighbours would take the dead body and drive with it in a car a hundred miles an hour to Washington, D.C., and blast through the gates of the White House and come to a screeching halt before the entrance and dump their lifeless form on the front steps.". Five years later, his own ashes were scattered in front of the White House.

"Everyone in Gaza has the right to live". Banner hanging on the facade of Folkets Hus, Copenhagen. November 2023. Banner and photo by CM.

"The Palestinian revolution - January 1, 1965 - January 1, 1975" by Helmi Eltouni. Published by P.L.O in 1975. Distorted and colorized by CM.

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