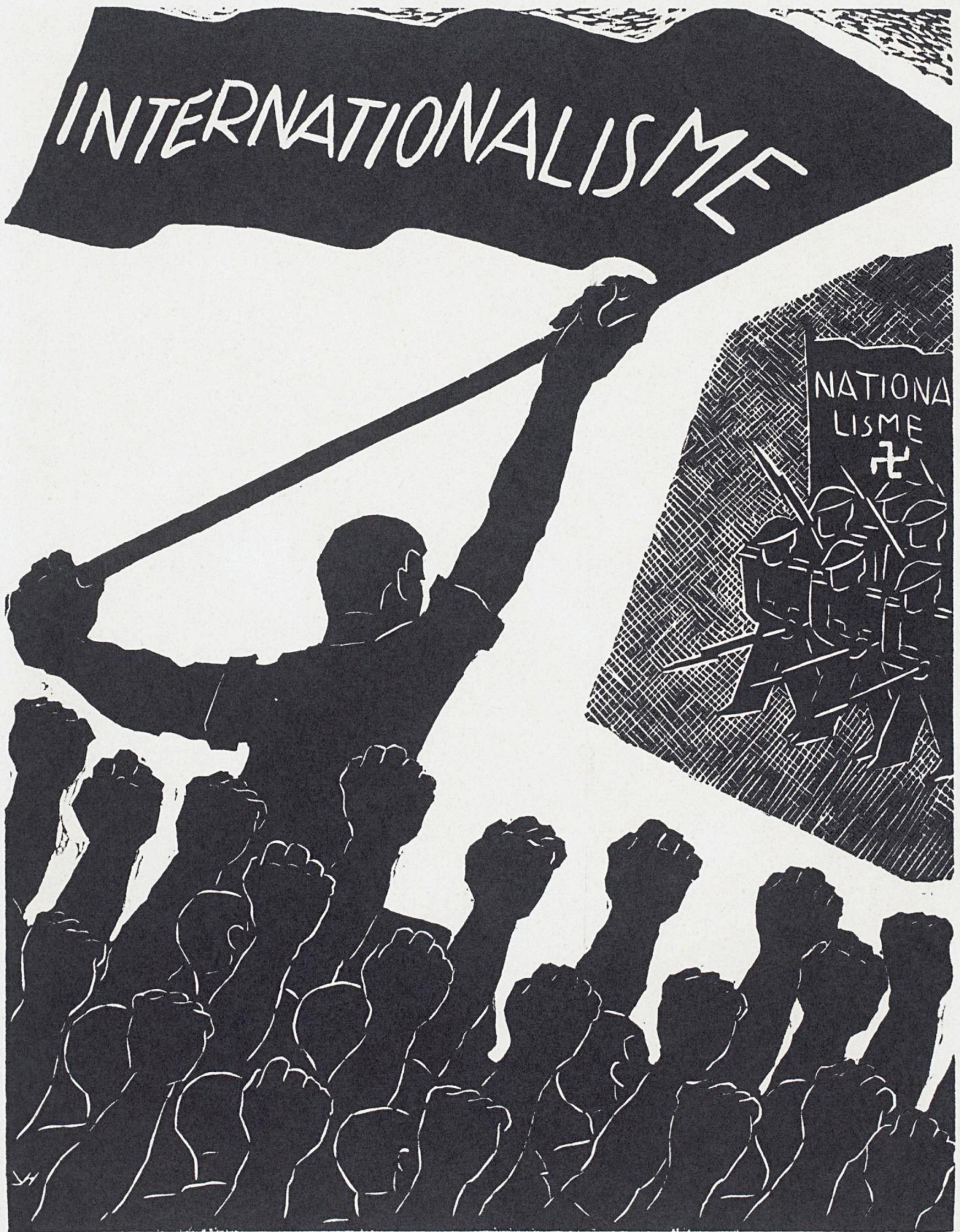




ON RACISM & NATIONALISM

REVOLUTION REVOLUTION REVOLUTION





Johan van Hell/ Collectief Roode Prenten, Amsterdam. Netherlands, 1933

EDITORIAL NOTE - ISSUE 7



Dear Readers,

In our universities, we see funds cut to sustain genocide and armaments. Military expenses rise and, as the Nato summit passed, we were again confronted with a rapidly militarising world.

Once again, in our universities, security is tightened, and checks are multiplied. This escalation finds its echo in the streets, with increasingly violent police actions and university surveillance. We see this movement as the consequence of rising practices of nationalism and racism, and their fascist and brutal entanglements, to which we dedicate this issue.

Comrades, follow us, our authors and creatives in their reflections and calls to action on racism, liberal anti-racism, nationalism, cultural hegemony, repression and house rules at the UvA, fascism and the state, and the bordering of our realities. We cannot stay silent in front of the continuous rise of the far-right in government and of its repressive regimes. Strong fascist tendencies, alongside the dehumanization of Palestinians and the criminalization of revolutionary movements, remind us of the deep imperialist and capitalist interests destroying our planet and people. Bear with us, this is not a light issue. It is thick, as we need to be, while the desire to repress our movement grows materially larger. From our side, we give our contribution by spreading class consciousness and incentivise critical thinking.

Join us, revolution is needed more than ever!



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HOUSE RULES AND UvA ACTIVISM – HOW THE ADMINISTRATION ATTACKS ITS OWN STUDENTS

BY WIKTOR MISIAK

About a year ago, I had the pleasure of writing an article for one of the first editions of this zine, relating to the subject of house rules at the University of Amsterdam. At the time, I wrote extensively about how the UvA by-laws (the set of rules an organisation uses to regulate itself) applied at the time were not only extremely prohibitive, effectively preventing students from engaging in any sort of political activity, but also highly hypocritical. This hypocrisy reflected the nature of UvA as an institution which pretends to adhere to progressive values while denying its students the exercise of their fundamental rights (under a bourgeois-democratic system).

For a bystander, it might seem that my criticisms were, for the most part, answered. The Executive Board of the UvA (CvB), a ruling body with a quasi-dictatorial level of control, acknowledged that the formulations present in those rules were far too broad, inexact and undemocratic. Furthermore, as an ostensive sign of their ability to reflect and self-criticise, they promised that the university's Central Student Council (CSR) and Works Councils would soon receive an updated version for approval, which would protect the democratic rights of the UvA community and provide a framework for the safe expression of political views and convictions. It was no accident that this change was announced around the May 2024 encampments. I have little doubt that it was supposed to seem that the CvB was eager to show themselves as a body aiming to listen to concerns raised by their community as, already by that time, the problems with house rules had been raised many times before from many different sides, including the CSR and ROSA.

Of course, all of this supposed goodwill on the side of the board is nothing more than a smoke screen to hide their real intentions, which are, for the most part, just the same as they always were – to create an illusion of positive change without actually transforming the institutional basis of the way in which the university functions. If we examine the new (draft) house rules, we can see that behind their loft proclamations of wishing to secure the diversity of perspectives at the UvA, and respecting the right to demonstrate, the actual



contents of the proposals are just as bad, if not worse, than what they aim to replace. The draft house rules explicitly ban occupations and overnight stays, a point which is likely illegal under Dutch and EU law. They also give the UvA full ability to deploy surveillance cameras and request an ID at their discretion. The vilest of the formulations included in the documents gives UvA Facility Services, the bureaucratic body responsible, the authority to order any protest to disband without any means of appealing or challenging this decision. While the UvA technically has to have a valid reason to do so, under the draft rules this could mean chants outside being heard inside tutorial rooms or lecture halls, as demonstrations are prohibited from disrupting teaching in any way.



While it might be satisfying for me to write further about how bad and likely illegal the specific points of the rules are, it is more important to contextualise them as yet another part of the CvB strategy to disrupt the activities of the UvA activist movement. The rules are merely a fig leaf that gives the CvB's actions a semblance of legal legitimacy. Instead of having to say, as was often the case in the past, that a protest is not allowed because it is not allowed, the CvB representatives can (should the house rules be approved) puff up their chests and say, "You cannot do this because it violates Article 1, Subsection 2 of the House Rules.". The proposed process also streamlines the application of sanctions against the students. In the previous system, the whole procedure was so unclear that any attempt to actually suspend or expel students would not stand up under scrutiny, potentially landing the UvA in legal troubles. What speaks further to the bad faith in which the new house rules were introduced is the CvB's response to the April 14th Maagdenhuis occupation, during which the UvA not only called the cops against the students within the building but also facilitated and defended police violence against a peaceful support demo. So much for securing the students "freedom to ask questions and engage in debate."

Still, I think it would be irresponsible for me to end on such a pessimistic note. Even if the draft house rules are in some cases worse than the previous ones, and even if the CvB is ramping up their suppression of student activism, the only reason they are doing so is because they are afraid. The UvA administration is pathologically scared of their own students, which is often the reason behind their attempts to clamp down hard on any form of defiance. As someone who had the dubious pleasure of entering the belly of the beast, being a member of the CSR, which often meets with the CvB members both formally and informally, I can tell you that the only way to achieve something at the UvA is to back it up with major and disruptive protests. All of the concessions we ever got, however small, would not have happened without the student protests. Even the fact that we were able to veto the draft house rules and force the CvB back to the negotiating table was a result of concessions given to us for ending a vote of no confidence, which would have never lasted as long as it did if not for the May 2024 protests.

THUS, I APPEAL TO ANY STUDENT OR STAFF MEMBER READING THIS: NO MATTER HOW BAD THINGS MAY SEEM TO BE, DON'T STOP YOUR ACTIVISM, DON'T STOP YOUR POLITICAL WORK, AND KEEP FIGHTING UNTIL WE WIN!



The nation, the state, and the Fascist

It should come as no surprise that fascist declaration of nationalist love is almost tautologically a lie. Fascism emerges from a capitalist class in crisis, toppling all superstructural social pillars and political institutions necessary while preserving, at all costs, the class dynamics that may have swam a little too close to the surface of popular sentiment. The coalescing around the nation state, scapegoating of ethnic, religious or otherwise minoritized groups, and repression of political and personal liberties devastate society as a whole; it is not only the explicitly targeted groups who are harmed by fascist politics. The fascist road goes to nowhere but hell, and materially speaking, is motivated not by a love for one's country, but by the faultlines in capitalism coming a little too close to splitting apart.

Individually speaking, however, this is not the thought process running through the mind of a fascist. Fascist rhetoric does not simply declare capital as king. As an (contradictory and reactionary) ideology, it paints a picture of economic, political, and cultural ills befalling a nation, usually orchestrated by some alien manipulator, and promises its adherents a return to a hypothesised past state of glory. Mix in some blood and soil - the suggested inherent relationship between an ethnicity and their "homeland" - and toss on some in-group superiority, and you have a basic working list of prominent fascist talking points.

Traditionally, this framework has served as a useful, and entirely correct, explanation of the disparity between the fascist claim of love for one's country, and its actual destructive impacts on its citizens.

Fascists do not protect their people. Workers' rights are demolished, stripping the vast majority of a domestic population of protections. Social bonds and institutions are eroded. Histories and cultures are rewritten to serve the agenda of the state. Where's the love, man?

Still, this detachment raises the question of why fascism promotes nationalist rhetoric in particular. Nationalism has also been wielded by progressive movements in struggles for national liberation. The Cuban revolution (and Castro in particular) drew on Jose Marti's nationalist writings, and anti-imperialist struggles worldwide have frequently championed nationalism to defend and inspire people against subjugation. As the justification for some of history's worst atrocities, and as fuel in the fight against Western imperialism, nationalism is a tricky impulse to pin down.

The conflict between nationalist movements is born from distinct sentiments in the concept itself. Following hundreds of years as the model of political sovereignty, the 'nation-state' is often cited as a singular notion. Yet it rests on two distinct concepts. The "state" is the centralised political entity regulating policy and people within a geographic area. The "nation", a more abstract concept, refers to a hypothesised community sharing core identity markers, such as history, culture and language. Strictly, nationalism promotes alignment between these two concepts, presupposing the nation and suggesting that it ought to govern itself. In practice, nationalist tendencies go further, promoting the interests and wellbeing of one nation over others and frequently incorporating ethnic or racial distinctions, but at its core, nationalism is the ideology of nation-state reification. Understanding this, we can begin to see where different nationalist tendencies diverge.



Materially speaking, nationalist movements are distinguished most readily by a key factor: does the promoted nation-state yet exist? Where nationalist movements struggle to create the nation-state, either in the absence of a domestic state altogether (such as in colonised territories) or against what is perceived as a puppet regime of an imperialist power (such as Vietnam's August Revolution), nationalism retains the potential for progressive change. Nationalism supportive of an existing nation-state, on the other hand, consistently descends into reactionary, exclusionary sentiment. Brexit in the UK, Meloni in Italy, Modi in India, all demonstrate the regressive nationalism that emerges when they reassert the already existing power structures of their states. This is not to suggest that all nationalism promoted under the guise of liberation is progressive (see Kumar's 2015 article *Nationalism and Revolution: Friends or Foes?* for a discussion of how the maintenance of nationalist sentiments following a successful revolution can undermine the original revolutionary intentions), but instead to suggest that an important distinction in nationalist sentiment is whether or not the promoted nation-state is one being created or one being lionised.

However, this still does not help us in distinguishing the fascist, or resolving the apparent contradiction in their thinking. For that, we must return to the origins of fascism in the decline of capitalism. Other reactionary nationalisms may arise from conflicts with other countries, imperialist ambitions, even genuine love and allegiance to the nation-state. As a result, they are still harmful, destructive and often violent, but distinguish themselves, as they do not necessitate the particular social narratives and governance that have come to define the fascist state. Fascism is particular.

As the red mist over the eyes of the wounded animal of capitalism, fascism, for all its rhetorical love for the nation, for a people, for a culture, does not care one inch about the nation it is born from. Fascism seeks power, seeks to align capital interests with the national power structures. Fascism cares about the state as a tool of capital.

Distinguishing between the nation and the state is thus essential in understanding fascism's apparent contradictions. Fascism harbours no real love for the culture it proposes to represent: genuinely traditional institutions are warped or destroyed to make way for a totalising state power, which is reimagined as representative of a nation for rhetorical purposes. The fascist may champion the "real working-class" of their country in speeches, yet incessantly privatises industry and repeals worker protections. The fascist holds foreigners, communists, and "degenerates" in equal disdain, progressively tightening the purview of what truly represents the soul of the country. The real histories, values, traditions of a nation mean nothing to the sweeping hand of fascism, which happily erases and reconstructs as it sees fit. Fascism is not merely extreme conservatism or traditionalism. To the fascist, power and capital alone are sacred.

In recent years, we have seen a discussion of new forms of fascism. These discussions have revolved around the increasingly lead role that transnational corporations are playing in the emergence of contemporary fascism. For a thorough discussion of such contemporary fascism, Bertram Gross' *Friendly Fascism* and William Robinson's *Global Capitalism and the Crisis of Humanity* both explore this topic in great deal, but in summary, but in summary, the ever-present role of private capital interests in governance is growing more prominent.



This is reflective of the growing importance of corporations in matters of geopolitics and geoeconomics, and of the simultaneous shrinking role of state apparatuses. Fascism aligns itself traditionally with the state because the state has traditionally been the centre of power and influence. Yet as the state increasingly plays second fiddle to the corporation, contemporary fascists can align themselves more and more directly with corporate interests, and fascism - or whatever we start calling this new emergence of the same sentiment - will side with the new sheriff in town. The adoration of the state is a marriage of material convenience, playing on the nationalist impulses that the nation-state structure embeds in a population from birth onwards, but only truly reverent to the power it wields. We must remain vigilant to this typical form of fascism, but as the international balance of power gives increasing weight to corporate interests, we must realise that the same impulses guiding the emergence of typical fascism will re-emerge in an increasingly direct and prominent alignment to corporate interests.

The love that the fascist espouses for the nation-state is a false one. Taking a step beyond ordinary reactionary nationalism, it, by nature of its emergence from capitalism in crisis, dispatches with any reverence for the nation in all but rhetoric, aligning with the state for reasons only of power. Do not believe a fascist who speaks of love for their people, their country, their traditions. They'll burn it all down before they see the socialists win.

Written by Will Fisher

On Liberal Anti-Racism

Written By Oskar Zach

On the 22nd of March 2025, ROSA attended the March against Racism in Amsterdam. The protest was organized by the Comité 21, which refers to the 21st of March, the International day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Every year, millions of people take to the streets to demand an end to the oppression of racialized peoples. The roots of this day can be traced back to the anticolonial struggle in South Africa, and more specifically to the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre where 69 peaceful protesters were killed, and many more injured. The Massacre took place at a demonstration against the apartheid system and racial segregation, as it was directed against laws trying to enforce a racialized passport system. Thus, the 21st of March became a day on which decolonial and anti-racist movements take to the streets to demand an end to colonialism and racial discrimination, while commemorating the martyrs of anti-colonial struggles. At the march in Amsterdam, more than 10.000 people were on the street. However, we encountered once again, how capitalism has co-opted the anti-racist struggle and blurred the inherent class element of race. It is for this reason that we see the necessity of outlining a critique of liberal anti-racism in this article. For today, we must not only ask the question of how racism serves the capitalist class, but also how the appropriation of anti-racist rhetoric does.

In previous articles, we have explained how nationalism serves and has served the ruling class as a unifying force. The pseudo-unity of proletarians and capitalists, of workers and their bosses as one nation not only hinders international solidarity but it also blurs the class contradictions within the nation and weakens the class struggle. The capitalists say: “unite as a nation not as class”. The proletarians say: “workers of the world, unite!”.



That this nationalism is still of importance is without doubt, as we see nationalist parties like the PVV rise to power, Ukrainian nationalism on the rise, and U.S. protectionism intensifying. But there is a more subversive element to the unification of a nation today. We more and more frequently see how “our ‘progressive’ values” serve as the unifying element. “We progressives” can unite with everyone supposedly fighting against racism. Neoliberalism has manufactured an ideological unity between the classes, by co-opting liberation struggles and undermining class struggle.

This pseudo-unity between capitalists and workers is, for example, propagated in corporations claiming to be anti-racist, calling upon their workers to join them at the march against racism. You and your boss go to the same demonstration, you have supposedly the same values and supposedly fight against the same thing. It is not bad bosses that want to manipulate you into this unity, they might truly believe this. Instead, it is that the interests of you and your boss are contradictory, that the way that work is organized underlies racial oppression, and that your boss has no objective interest in abolishing racism. The material contradiction is substituted by the ideological one. It is just another tool to separate the working class into progressives and backwards and to create the idea that you and your boss have more in common than you and your fellow workers. This must be exposed by materialist anti-racists.

This phenomena is of course not limited to anti-racism. In Germany, foreign minister Baerbock proclaimed the “feminist foreign policies” which in essence means imperialism under the guise of “feminism”: the justification for colonialism, war and subjugation of other states because they are not deemed “feminist”.

In the Netherlands, the term homonationalism has become prominent as the concept describing a pseudo defence of homosexuality as a national value used to justify restrictive immigration policies and imperialism. Again, we witness how “western values” are played against “non-western values” to divide the working class, weaken class struggle and propagate war.

Liberal Anti-Racism Theory:

In order to co-opt the anti-racist struggle, its theory and strategy needed to be manipulated, and countless liberal scholars have produced academic nonsense to achieve this. The teeth of the tiger needed to be blunt. Liberalism does so in two major ways. Firstly, by naturalization, erasing any form of contradiction and movement, and secondly by individualization. Naturalization has become very popular through identity politics and anti-discrimination movements as a result of neoliberal influence and the discarding of Marxism. Its assumption is that people with different identities inherently have different kinds of knowledge about politics and society, based only on their experiences. Thus, it is proposed that your identity defines what you know. Not only is this subjectifying political structures (If I feel oppressed, I am oppressed) but it is also idealist, as it assumes that something other than the material condition can create knowledge, namely your identity. We can see this understanding within the myth of reverse racism, as there is no structural underpinning to the “feeling” for which some white people claim to experience racism. On top of this, identity politics are static and naturalize identities as eternal, innate and essential. That there are vast differences in knowledge about politics and society throughout identities is no secret. Having a certain identity does not imply having a particular knowledge and it reinforces divisions between identities instead of uniting against oppression.



A person becomes first and foremost not human, but a woman, man, POC, white, queer, straight or any other identity out there. The inherent idealism of identity politics in practice turns people against each other and remains incapable of going beyond representational politics.

In reaction to this concept, intersectionality emerged, as there are different forms of oppression that can intersect. However, this concept as well can in praxis only be used to create ever smaller identities and individualizing oppression to the infinite.

Thus, it is no wonder that even the German chancellor can call for “intersectional feminist politics” as it is unable to challenge the class system. The individualization of racism, the obscuring of the historic development and changing face of racialization, the masking of the underlying class relations result in a purely symbolic anti-racist struggle. Liberal anti-racism is always just nominal, ideal: it neglects the material basis. It's the bad men, the evil whites. Real anti-racist struggle must be based in class, which includes all workers, racialized and not.

The primacy of fighting the anti-racist struggle can only then be realized. The question of how and with whom we unite must be asked. Is the fight against racism class struggle from above, or is it waged by the working class?

* The queer liberation struggle is not a “value”, it is not something you believe, it is a fight.

The Construct of Whiteness: A concept difficult to define

By Sophie El Sawi

Whiteness may seem hard to define, and this may seem unintentional. However, it is difficult to define because it is solely a political concept, rather than a material reality. Throughout history and in contemporary capitalist society, whiteness exists as a fluid construct based on power proximity, that maintains hierarchy and prevents solidarity among the oppressed. Whiteness is constructed through the imposition of untruths into the subconscious of individuals in society; this is how, as a concept, it is able to preserve hierarchical power structures and continue the cycle of oppression and domination.

What is 'whiteness'?

Whiteness is a political concept, an expression of power rather than a real, tangible thing. All whiteness is conceptualised based on proximity to power in the present moment. What supports the idea of whiteness being a construct is, for example, the fact that it expands and shrinks in its boundaries of who or which groups are considered white, depending on who is in power, and the scope of that power (having to do with its size and authority). Whiteness can only be defined by what it is not. In a white supremacist society, or in one based on such values, proximity to power and proximity to blackness become the same thing.

There are many examples to prove this point. The boundaries of whiteness expanded to include “Spaniards, Italians, French, Russians, Swedes”, and “Germans” when they had once been rejected by the likes of Benjamin Franklin and other powerful figures of the time. The boundaries then shrink with the rise of fascism and other far-right ideologies, such as in the case of the 2019 Christchurch mass shooter’s manifesto titled “The Great Replacement”, with the exclusion of Turkish people from whiteness due to being Muslim. This highlights how whiteness is related to power and domination. Consider also how Jewish people have been excluded from whiteness throughout history, meanwhile Christianity (typically framed as a *traditionally* white religion) has been positioned as the dominant religion in the Western world.

With Nazism, whiteness shrunk as well, with the new hierarchy of whiteness involving particular people (the blonde and blue-eyed Aryan race), and excluding others that we recognise as white today, such as Slavic people. All this goes to show that whiteness is indeed a constructed idea, due to its fluid nature and ability to change depending on the specific historical context.

The manufacturing of whiteness

Whiteness is constructed and materialised through imposing untruths and stereotypes into the (sub)consciousness of people, whether it be white people themselves, oppressors or oppressed groups. C.L.R. James builds on this idea throughout the text *The Black Jacobins*: “it was by sentiments such as these that they strove to justify the abominable cruelties they practised. And they took great pains that the Negro should remain the brute beast they wanted him to be¹”. Through the creation and diffusion of negative and obviously false stereotypes about black people, white slave owners and colonisers embedded a racist ideology into the societal (sub)consciousness, which they then used to justify their harrowing actions. Moreover, their use of contrived justifications, as opposed to providing a clear reasoning, reveals the true nature of whiteness as an invented concept rather than a substantive reality.

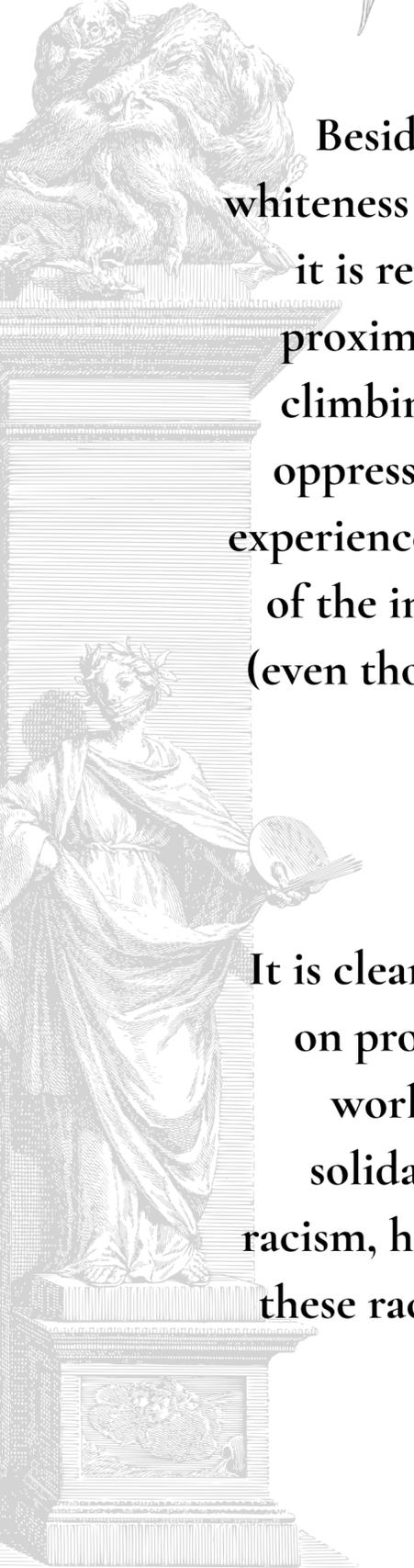
Further, C.L.R. James quotes the Governor of Martinique “the safety of the Whites demands that we keep the Negroes in the most profound ignorance. I have reached the stage of believing firmly that one must treat the Negroes as one treats beasts²”. The safety and protection of white people and whiteness and puts its responsibility into the inhumane treatment of black people. Thus, whiteness is built and constructed on its proximity to blackness and its domination over black people, and how without that domination it would fail to exist in its power – at least as we know it to be today. Even in the relationship between whiteness and blackness during the Haitian Revolution (which ran from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century) that James discusses, we can still see similarities to how these seemingly polar opposite concepts play out today, in contemporary capitalist society.

How whiteness is upheld in modern society ?

Class, as well as the intersectional forms of oppression that are tied to both race and class, is something I feel is necessary to include in this discussion. As opposed to whiteness, blackness is defined in order to show white people in the working class that a hierarchy does exist. This is done in order to prevent class solidarity from taking place, as described by Paulo Freire in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*: “the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors³” and “in their alienation, the oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressors”. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Franz Fanon touches on this idea by referring to the unconscious and internalised ideas and values of whiteness that are imposed on black people. This proves my point of whiteness as a construction, rather than a clearly defined reality. Whiteness is seen here as an unattainable goal, a level that black people may try to grasp but can never reach.



Besides relying on historical examples of whiteness to showcase how whiteness exists as a dominating force, I feel it is still necessary to discuss how it is reproduced in a different way in modern Western society. Because proximity to power is able to blind class-based oppression, black people climbing the economic ladder may expect to be released from racialized oppression. However, this is not the case. Instead, any privilege they may experience is thanks to the upward shift in their class position. Yet, regardless of the individuals' class position, they still face oppression for being black (even though this oppression may be experienced in differing ways by black people of different classes).



It is clear that whiteness, being a construct that is fluid in nature, is based on proximity to power. Conversely, blackness - given the neocolonial world we live in - is manufactured in such a way as to undermine solidarity between peoples, grounding hierarchies of domination in racism, hostility, and systemic violence. It is the persistent reproduction of these racialised constructs that sustains the very structures of oppression under which we all suffer.

¹ C.L.R. James (1980). *The Black Jacobins*, p. 28.

² C.L.R. James (1989). *THE SLAVES*. *Caribbean Quarterly*, 35(4), p. 7.

³ Freire, P. (2005) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, p.45, 62.

Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party

**Bastian
Baak**

Malcolm X advocated for freedom and liberation for all Black people in the United States. He emphasized unity among Black people, political and economic control of Black communities by Black people themselves, and national human rights for Black people. His definition of struggle for Black liberation took a more radical turn when he split from the Nation of Islam in 1963. Where the Nation of Islam focused mostly on the ethnic struggle in the US, Malcolm X turned more towards an ideology of class struggle. Instead of centering his rhetoric on demonizing white people, he focused more on building up Black communities, calling for Black resilience and advocating for Black emancipation, with or without the help of white people. Additionally, Malcolm X pushed for a more international anti-imperialist approach, advocating for human rights for all oppressed peoples and international solidarity between them. Eventually, Malcolm's radical ideology became a threat for the US government and the status quo because it advocated for complete revolutionary system change. On February 21, 1965, he was assassinated while speaking at the Audubon Ballroom in New York City.



In the struggle for Black liberation, Malcolm X recognized he had to start with the psychological emancipation of Black people, "the unbrainwashing of an entire people". Due to years of indoctrination, he believed that Black people had internalized the concept of racial inferiority. Malcolm aimed for a reconstruction of Black cultural identity by emphasizing its African roots, as well as pointing out the historical cultural

tendencies among Black people in the United States. Malcolm divided these tendencies into two categories: either Black people became "house slaves" or "field slaves". The ideology of the "house slave", was based on assimilating the worldview and culture of the white supremacist as a condition for survival. That of the "field slave" however, was based on the destruction of the master and all his works. Here lies the core of Malcolm X's ideology, and also explains his criticism of the accommodationist orientation of civil rights leaders like Martin

Luther King Jr. According to Malcolm X, real sustainable change comes from complete destruction of the system and the rebuilding of something new, not reform. MLK believed that you could appeal to the morality of the white supremacist system and plead for more rights. Malcolm X argued that this was humiliating and degrading, and above all futile because those in power will never give up their position willingly. We can see this in his critique of MLK, when Malcolm X stated "that's what you mean by non violent: be defenseless". Malcolm X was an internationalist who saw economic structures as essential in an analysis of black liberation, "you can't have capitalism without racism".

Malcolm X would not shy away from other forms of resistance which, at its most radical, included urban guerilla warfare. Malcolm's quote "The Ballot or the Bullet" from 1964 reflects this ideology well:

Now in speaking like this, it doesn't mean that we're anti-white, but it does mean we're anti-exploitation, we're anti-degradation, we're anti-oppression. And if the white man doesn't want us to be anti-him, let him stop oppressing and exploiting and degrading us... If we don't do something real soon, I think you'll have to agree that we're going to be forced either to use the ballot or the bullet... If it's necessary to form a black nationalist army, we'll form a black nationalist army. It'll be the ballot or the bullet. It'll be liberty or it'll be death.



Malcolm X strongly affirmed the right of self-defense as a fundamental human right; adding that as individuals have a fundamental right to self-defense (according to the UN), a collective of individuals fundamentally should have these rights too. Additionally, Malcolm saw nationalist struggles as necessarily violent, explaining that as imperialism, oppression, and white supremacy was imposed through violence, undoing these processes would also require violence.





Malcom X set a clear ideological foundation for the Black liberation movement in the civil rights era, and his influence is visible in groups like the Black Panther Party. The roots of the Black Panther Party lay in the economic inequalities and racial indignities that Black Americans faced in post-war Oakland. These underlying economic issues created the perfect conditions for the emergence of the Black Panther Party. Both Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale themselves came from this environment, experiencing the street violence, crime, and substance abuse in their communities first hand. They themselves saw how practices of non-violence demonstration had failed to improve the situation in their own communities, and it pushed them to become their own agents of change. Newton and Seale shared an interest in anti-imperialist political theory, especially the works of Mao, Fanon, and Guevara. They turned to Marxism to explain the poverty they saw around them, identifying capitalism as the root cause of oppression and inequality. As a source of inspiration, they looked towards global anti-colonial movements, becoming particularly interested in the use of guerilla tactics as a means of improving the situation for Black people in America.

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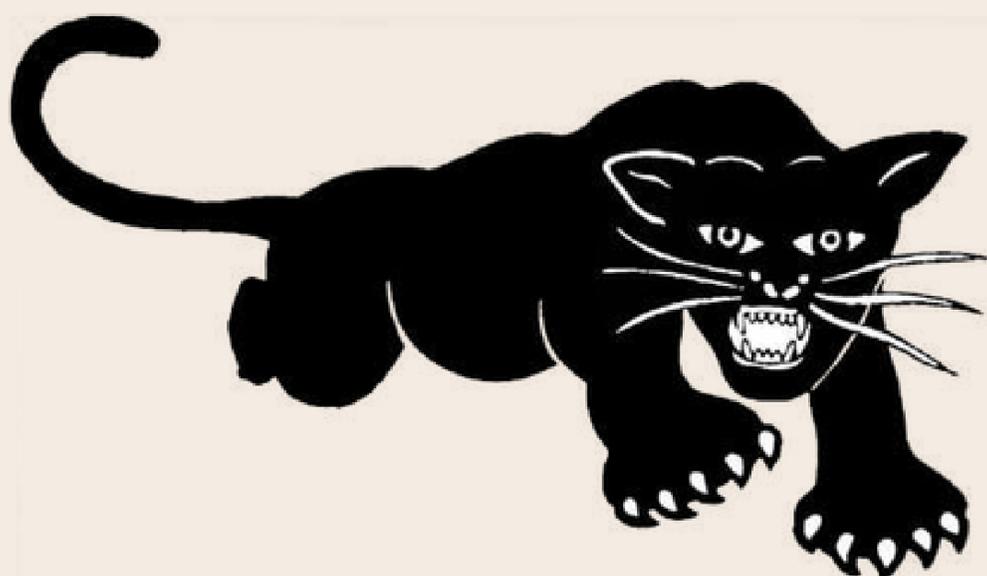
The Ten Point Plan

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.
2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.
3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALISTS OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.
4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.
5. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.
6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.
7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.
8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.
9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U. S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.
10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.



In October 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale laid out the foundations for the Black Panther Party, with their Ten-Point Program, drawing heavily on Malcolm X's Ten-Point platform, drafted for the Nation of Islam back in 1963 (although now without the Islamic rhetoric). Newton and Seale wanted to create a program for the people, that related to them, that they could read and understand, and that expressed their desires. Besides taking back control over Black communities and exerting their rights of self-defense against police brutality, the Panthers initiated another radical step: the community breakfast program for children. This program was aimed at aiding the community where the federal and local government failed, namely taking care of the youth. This initiative not only undermined the US government for failing to provide basic necessities to its population, it also functioned as a major source of political power and gave the Black Panther Party an overwhelmingly positive image in the media.

The Black Panther Party heavily used Fanon's work to empower Black communities, understanding that Black people in the USA were suffering from centuries of indoctrination by the white supremacist system, thus internalizing the idea of racial inferiority. This development had resulted in a large Black lumpenproletariat (the lowest stratum of the proletariat defined by being largely unorganized and yet to gain class consciousness), readily exploited by capitalism, and it was therefore necessary for Black people to organize themselves against both the racial and capitalist systems. The Panthers saw the Black community as a colony within America, and the police were deemed occupation forces, from which Black people and all oppressed peoples must liberate themselves. Newton argues that only by developing a force with real destructive capacity can Black people obtain political power, quoting a citation from Mao: "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". It is here that the Panther's ideology takes a more militant turn, understanding the role of the Black Panther Party as leading the people into armed struggle and emphasizing the Party's commitment to advancing a revolution that addresses the needs and interests of the Black community. To a lot of Panthers, struggle consisted of only two aspects: picking up the gun, and serving the people.



A Satire of Techno-Nationalism. A second experiment in hypo-theory: VOMIT by Viri

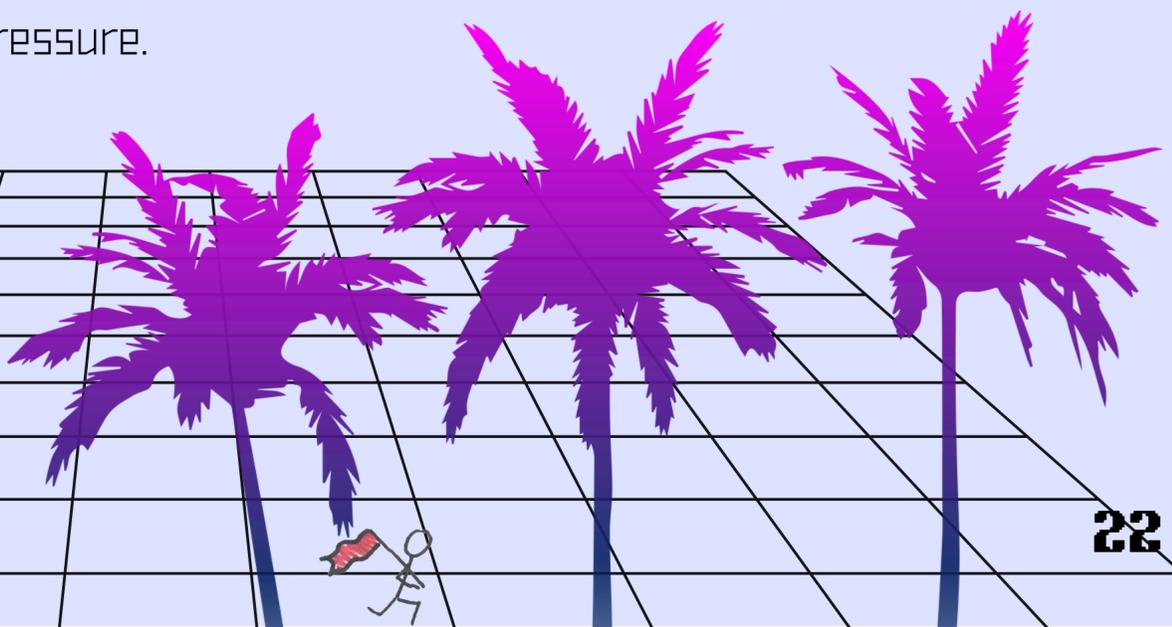
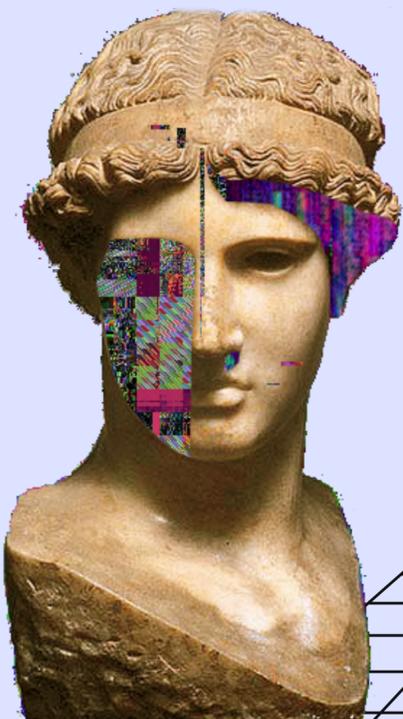
TECHNO-NATIONALISM

Techno-Nationalism reconfigures the supposed coupled equivalence of nation and state into a triad: state-nation-technology. States seek to reinforce their material and digital stack and to attain power to protect their corporations, leveraging technological prowess for a cybernetic cycle of autarchy and imperialism where the contingencies are dictated in return or expansive turns by how much resistance arises.

Before, they enacted an entropic push through the openness of digital and technical systems, based on an ideology of efficiency, seamless connectivity and information extraction, drugged with the euphoria of raining investments. Still, capital is capital whichever geography it stains. I maintain.

Now, they noticed. They noticed that it mattered who could choke each other out from the spectral field of data and materials we navigate, untangling wires and clouds. They noticed how materialities became heavy once again (although they never stopped carrying weight). Thus, they became scared of antennas, because they couldn't open them up or repair them at will. They wanted in the struggle of the new age of seas, fought over ocean cable-laying. They understood that everything stood on the shoulders of the great king, the microchip. But the king is naked now that Moore's law fails, and expenses rise. They noticed what our eyes were bleeding in sight towards: the concentration, the oligopolies, the re-configured colony, now steeped in information as much as bodies.

Techno-Nationalism is a trap. A well-laid one, indeed. Ask yourself, how does ideology infuse metal, wires and computation architectures? Because it is a terrain, or a cave, to be exact. A cave from which conditions for extraction are rendered active and alive. And you, the miner, are forced into the dark. You thought you saw multiple paths, but they all lead to the deep. The deep has no limit. The limit has not been set on resources. The limit has not been set on supply chains. The limit has not been set on cognition. These you will be able to find in the cave, glimmering, like crystals crushed by pressure.





It is up for the taking, if you are wearing the right face. They will tell you to grab, so you will not notice how painful it is to strip yourself of your own hair and teeth.

The cave was made global, so that everyone had to, at best, find an entrance. They signalled it with giant arrows of neon, made of slave trades, inhuman testing, projectiles and atom-splitting blasts to make sure no one would miss them. When we wished to avoid them, we were coerced, called upon, and identified. Selected technologies become multipliers for the military-industrial complex. Everything changes so that everything can remain the same, they say, and what sustains the loop, coupled with the division of labour, is the anti-production potential of war. A black-hole for economic resources, materiality, and imagination.

And so they build their stacks. Disrupting land, energy, communication. Efficiency and geopolitics kill technodiversity even if it is suggested that localities will have a place at the table. The trap tells its citizens they will be safe. Techno-nationalists and traditional neoliberal economists will fight, throwing chalk at each other, but we will still breathe all the dust and kill our lungs in the process, coughing to maintain a spark of class consciousness to see that, once again, we get debris, even though we will do the labour, we will be sacrificed on the semiconductor-stack-altar to teach artificial intelligence what we think about what we think so that it can think and speak and organise and end breath much alike this sentence. Our brains will still be pressed out of information, so that our neurons can thrive in schizo-capitalism.

With stacks they wish to create new poles. If only we did not get co-opted into believing there had been a day of peace in the cave. Technonationalists hope for a re-territorialisation, which is, still, a shift of power, yes, but it is not deglobalisation, it is not a dismantling of core-periphery relations, but a reconfiguration. Through infrastructure, and governance software of earth, cloud, city, address, interface, and user, every layer coupled once again with systematic discrimination, the maintenance of hierarchies weaved in ontologies.

OVERLOAD, THE DIALECTIC OF HYPO/HYPER VISIBILITY

What if this move of governing is a war. What if the global social war is dressed as a civil war. Is it so that we stop looking at class? The fight is about recuperating the future. We struggle to imagine it, to contend with its gods and idols. After the pandemic, the trinity of Nation-State-Capital has become more exposed (in this trinity, Capital and Technology are interchangeable).

At the contemporary configurations, they cannot be separated as they self-justify their relationship, reeking of economic and military competition. Coexistence is securitised, exploitation and profit are allowed to expand. We have stopped thinking about locality and the right has appropriated its space. They slipped behind, when the thermodynamic ideology pushed the free market and economic freedom, new individualisms in which the single is the market and its actions become in accordance.

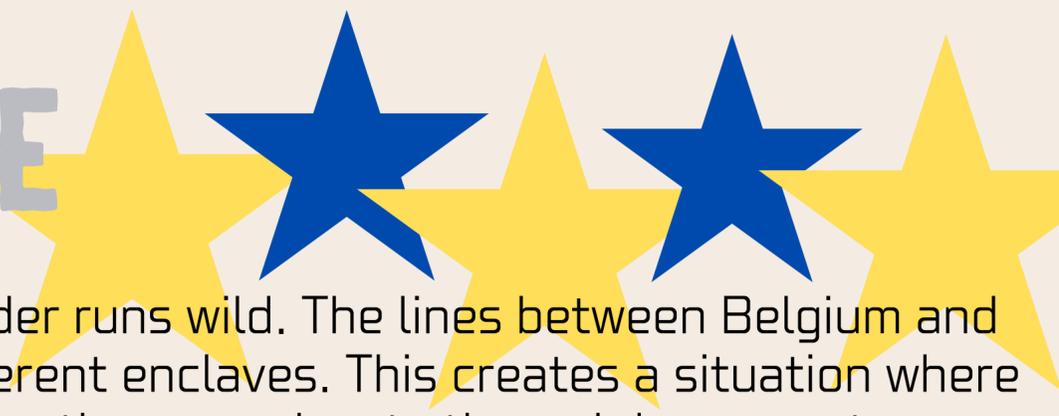
I do not yield a solution. Rather, a path of retaining glitches, delays, becoming kin with them. Through the bricks they packed us in, we will find the cracks and slip away as they have done. When police become rendering visible and seeing is sensing we need to look at the ruptures and folds to find the contradictions to exploit. During the pandemic, supply-chains and global logistics were interrupted. There again we could see how fragile of a project it is (but it is still a project at work) to synchronise transportation and communication technologies. Still, if the human is a technological phenomenon as much as technology is a human phenomenon (how to unravel this grove remains unthought), becoming spectre is not enough. Action is overload. Overload is overheating. It is a dialectic between occupation and disappearance, translated into the spaces of communication (this vomit does not deal with the nation-state but with its unfolding into communication technologies). Overload is mis-use. It is the recognition of a state of affairs that does not disentangle itself from action. To occupy and disappear means making our presence invisible and yet indelible. It will not be enough to appropriate technology as a means of production without re-ordering its current configuration, without queering it. And so we'll find ways to refuel our ways of knowing, being societies and cultures becoming opaque and ubiquitous, turning every user-manual upside down. Locality will not be appropriated by those who limit their interest to the nation-state. We use their means so we can erase them.



The classless society will be digital. It has to.

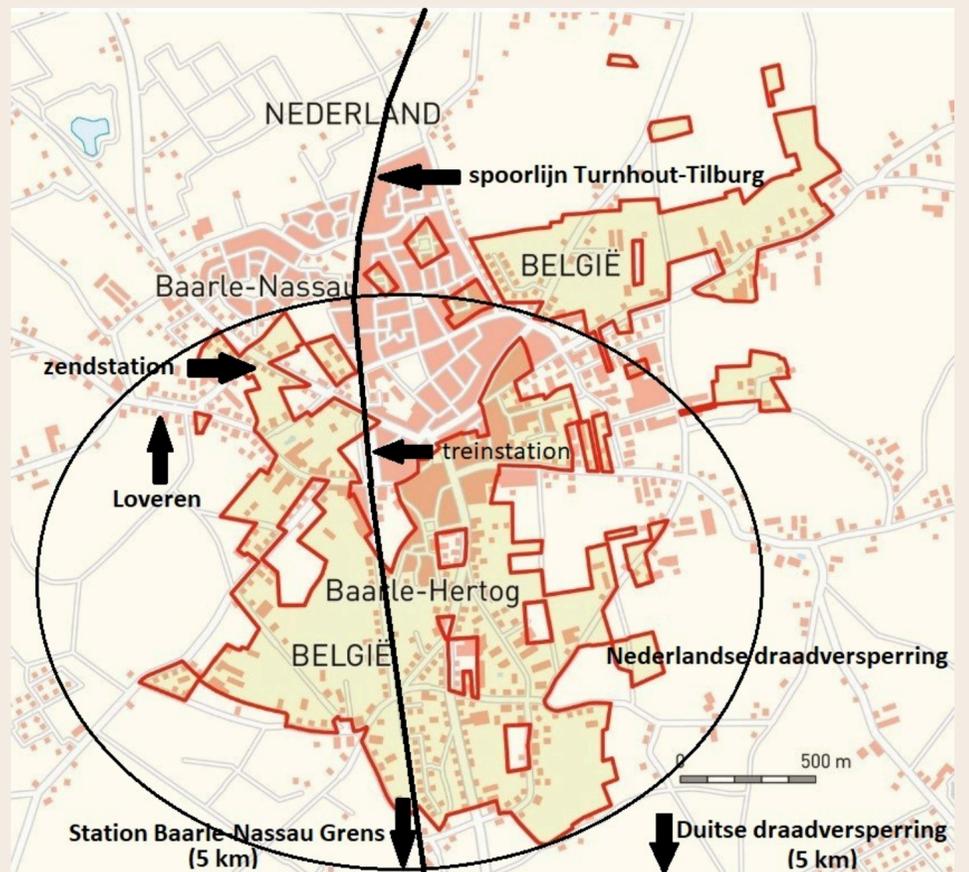


BORDERS BY GABE



In the Dutch town of Baarle-Nassau, the border runs wild. The lines between Belgium and the Netherlands separate into dozens of different enclaves. This creates a situation where the border, now marked by a decorative line on the ground, cuts through houses, stores, streets, and empty fields. Today, this means very little. Both countries are signatories to the Schengen Agreement, leaving no need for border control, as people and goods pass through the two countries unimpeded.

Many see these lines as proof that we have returned to a time before modern states and passports, where lines in the sand were of little importance. Just a fun quirk made to pop up on Reddit every couple of months. This is the ideal of the Schengen agreement and the broader European Union, enlightened cooperation abolishing the irrational borders of a common Europe. Yet this image of progress contains a deep contradiction, one that has fueled the current crisis of immigration and nationalism both in the Netherlands and across the whole continent.



While the abolition of internal European borders allows for the free movement of capital and those who benefit, it has not allowed for, nor does it intend to allow for, the free movement of the poor, the racialized, and the immigrant. Instead, the EU and the states within have consistently shifted further right due to this border schema, hardening external European borders, and massively increasing surveillance of internal European borders. Leading to a system where the borders may be hidden, but they are more potent than at any time outside of war.



Since the onset of the Syrian refugee crisis, the European Union and the majority of its member states have increasingly securitized their borders. This includes so-called frontier states of Europe, Italy, Greece, and Spain, which together have made the Mediterranean the deadliest border crossing in the world. The word frontier itself is racialized terminology suggesting uncivilized hordes

beyond European settlements. These states embody this etymology, contracting out their border security, paying states like Algeria, Turkey, and Albania to stop migrants from reaching EU member states. The borders of Europe extend deep into Asia and Africa.

This contradiction between Europe's internal and external borders is the result of both the European Union and the Schengen Agreement. This brought about limited freedom of movement for European nationals and free movement for commodities and capital flows. This is incredibly beneficial for global and European capital interests while depressing the living standard for the average European worker. It also restricts the movement of non-European nationals, creating a new security apparatus to contain surplus people.

In the increasingly stagnant economy of Europe, European states claim they cannot accommodate all refugees. This is the response of the ruling class to the lowering living standards across Europe, which result from neoliberal capitalism. Immigrants are scapegoated as the culprits, and used to justify further austerity measures, destroying any collective worker movements across the continent. As goods flow freely within the European Economic Community, it destroys the autonomy of the worker while directing their malice against fellow victims. This political maneuvering saves the ruling class, which directly benefits from the labor immigrants provide.



As European workers turn against their working-class comrades, any sense of an international solidarity movement is destroyed. All political calculus is increasingly done in a nationalist zero-sum frame. It directs the European worker to actively exploit his global comrades and continue the exploitation of the third world for European gain, resulting in the same material conditions that push people towards Europe in the first place. Benefiting Europe through the continuation of neoliberal formations while denying the possibility of a future that can accommodate everyone.

This turn against migration has been clear within the Netherlands. The current far right government of Dick Schoof emerged from the migration crisis that toppled the centrist Rutte coalition in 2023. A new government that includes professional Islamophobe Geert Wilders and his fascist party, Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV).

The rhetoric and politics that result are a play on old anti-Semitic tropes, but now with Islam and immigrants: allowed in by elitist liberal EU technocrats, these foreigners play off the liberal and tolerant nature of the Europeans to be lazy economically, and kick out your average "Henk and Ingrid" out of their own country culturally. Just like anti-Semitism, this is practiced intentionally by the capitalist and ruling classes, who want to bolster their numbers with members of the petty bourgeois who belong to the dominant national and ethnic categories. Framing the material problems of a neoliberal capitalist Europe as a national cultural fight for survival.

The solution then is to become like Israel, borders and apartheid are your savior. The European rights love affair with Israel stems from their perception of their inability to put racialized immigrants in their place. No wonder Geert Wilders openly calls for European Zionism; in his calculus, Israel stands as a clear guide for the future of Europe, one that can prioritize its national peoples at the expense of any poor racialized other. The solution for the PVV is for every European country to turn to its eternal national culture and permanently marginalize those who are not viewed as European.

Crucially, this is not done to stop migration and the labor it brings. The capitalist class wants the cheap surplus labor that comes with migration, but they do not want the migrants themselves. The consumption of the cheap services and commodities these immigrants provide is framed as the epitome of freedom by the right. The anti-immigrant politicians are looking to leave immigrants vulnerable and push them forever to the margins. Allowing for the continuation of surplus labor while denying these immigrants any claim to the nation that they help enrich.

This is done facing a new international economy, one that has long lost any illusions of successfully integrating everyone into its spoils. Instead, racialized immigrants become pawns in a global order that has left them behind. In the best of cases, making it to Europe, only to face constant discrimination and be forced into the most exploitative jobs and living situations.

This is the far right political landscape brought about by the neoliberal era. A center-"left" that, due to global capital movements, did not guarantee any material security for immigrants and local populations, exacerbating the crisis of living in its wake. As the left does not push for policies that would uplift the working classes of all races and nationalities, the far right prospers.





Neoliberal capital profits off of cheap immigrant surplus labor while fostering internal animosity within the working class. Meanwhile, capital promises the white working class and petit bourgeois of Europe that they will maintain their place within the hierarchy. This takes the form of promises to fight globalization, which is personified through both the ultra-wealthy and those in the most dire poverty. Just like antisemitic tropes before, it can offload the destabilizing elements of a capitalist system onto racialized peoples.

The way the right can frame this development is through borders. Borders are used as a claim to the nation and who it serves, allowing the right to project as if they will help those in precarious economic positions at home. Borders become a tool of a new right-wing elite. A solution to protect your status and material gains, while still profiting off precarious labor at home and oppressed workers abroad. It's no wonder that the European immigration debate most often takes the form of a dragon seeking how best to hoard its wealth.

The only solution is not the false open borders of Schengen but the true abolishing of the border system. Required within that is the abolishment of a global economic system that lives on the exploitation of the vast majority of the planet, in turn creating the conditions of mass migration. Borders are potent symbols for the current world economy. While Belgium and the Netherlands can pretend they have moved past the need for a real border, immigrants are drowning in the Mediterranean or living on the edges of European society, just barely hanging on. Until the very last borders separating Europe from the rest of the world have been abolished, we will not be free.



Racism is not static

Since the Holocaust during World War 2, the atrocities that the Jewish population has suffered across Europe and throughout history can never happen again. Liberals have decided that a society divided into races should be swept away and become a thing of the past. No more of the eugenics or scientific racism. Discrimination can never happen again, so identification based on religious grounds in Western Europe has been a thing of the past. Liberalism has learned from its failures and truly moved forward. Fascism has been defeated! Hooray!!

David Theo Goldberg describes this process as the Europeanization of racism. It illustrates how Europeans developed racial colourblindness after the Second World War. Racial colorblindness posits that the best way to combat racism is to ignore the existence of race and see everyone as equals. We would like to argue that the conceptualization of race changes over time; in the words of Jamaican sociologist Stuart Hall, race is a floating signifier. The basis of discrimination is a social construct and changes over time. For example, Mexicans were historically seen as white now as brown, whereas the Irish are now seen as white. Racism is very much real and affects the material reality. It is no wonder that the Thomas Theorem goes, 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.'. This is precisely the problem with colorblindness; acting as if race doesn't exist is idealist and misses the material basis of the real lived experiences of race.

An example of Racism being an ongoing process, a floating signifier. The occurrence of 9/11 was terrible for the Muslim population across the West. It made the Muslim minority in many countries feel unsafe. A brown skin colour meant being Muslim, which is showcased in the death of Balbir Singh Sodhi, a Sikh-American from Punjab, India. Sodhi was mistaken for a Muslim simply by his marker of being brown. It should be noted that racists do not discriminate in their racism.

Furthermore, figures like Pim Fortuyn rose to prominence in the Dutch context. Pim Fortuyn, a former Marxist professor, weaponized his homosexuality against Islam and formed his party, 'De Lijst Pim Fortuyn' (LPF). This rightwing party came second in the Dutch elections in 2002 with 26 seats out of 150 or 1,6 million votes. Pim Fortuyn got murdered afterwards, and his death only served to legitimise the reactionary anti-Islamic stance in the Netherlands. Pim Fortuyn is seen as the main inspiration of the PVV, a prominent Islamophobic rightwing party in the Netherlands, which even won the elections in 2023, getting 37 seats with 2,4 million votes. This showcases that Islamophobia has grown in the Netherlands, but also been more normalised. Nowadays, Pegida, a rightwing organisation that does Koran book burnings, has been normalised in the media as 'protecting' free speech at times.

The media does a powerful job of diverting the working class people and pitting them against each other. By showcasing this ant-immigrant stance and legitimising discourse the different races in the working class get pitted against each other not knowing that DPG media is owned by a Belgian Billionaire who owns AD, Trouw, De Volkskrant, NU and Het Parool, these are all Dutch newssites where the majority of the Dutch people gets their news. This furthering of racial anti-immigrant discourse only serves the billionaire class. Examples would be questioning whether Geert Wilders is far-right by a reporter on the evening of the elections. The contradictory part is that the capitalists need low-paid workers from different countries since most of the working class in the Netherlands doesn't want to do the low-paying 'dirty' jobs. There is thus a contradiction in pointing to the minority as a cause of all the injustices and economic penalties suffered by the people to stop the boogeyman of immigration. Yet, these are precisely the workers who keep the economy afloat.

Racial blindness is very prominent in the Netherlands. Living in the Netherlands. During the prominence of the BLM movements, racism in Europe became a topic as well. Racism in the Netherlands was mainly waved off as something nonexistent; 'She's exaggerating, there's no actual racism in the Netherlands ~ high school friend. This is of course, an example of racial color blindness that is prevalent in Western Europe, especially the Netherlands. This neglect of actual racism in the Dutch context is what Philomena Essed calls everyday racism. Essed ascribes this ignorance of racism in Dutch society as one possibly coming from the idea of tolerance that played a major role during the Dutch 'Golden age' during the 17th century where the Netherlands was seen as a haven for other religions then protestantism, which was seen as very open minded in Europe at the time and attracted people like John Locke and Rene Descarte. Meanwhile, people in the global South were enslaved, neglected and colonised by the same open-minded people. This is ignored when talking about tolerance; thus, Essed sees this idea of tolerance still being active in Dutch society as why racism is ignored in the Netherlands.

To conclude, racial colorblindness is not grounded in material realities and ignores the cultural and religious dimensions of race that over time change, as race is a floating signifier. It is also very important to be aware that when the process of othering takes place in the form of religion and culture, there is a deep-rooted racial practice involved as well. This has been illustrated with the following: First, the death of Balbir Singh Sodhi. Second, the idea of tolerance in the Netherlands which has historically neglected the global South. Finally, Islamophobia is being accepted as protecting free speech by the Dutch media, Pim Fortuyn and the PVV. The extension of cultural and religious dimension of race being implemented in racist discourse only serves empire and capitalism, undermining the working class and pitting them against each other.



THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF CULTURAL HEGEMONY

BY FRANCO ZUZUNAGA

The unifying force, Nationalism, is people under one banner and cultural identity against the threats posed by other groups. However, this unification is born out of division and thrives by weaponizing culture, ideology, and history. How does nationalism manifest itself? How can we rethink the concept of culture to break out of ideological and social domination? The question worth exploring here is how nationalism manifests itself in the cultural dynamics of a society. Nationalism, at its core, is a movement toward a certain cultural identity sprinkled with ideological non-truths. The predominant nontruth is the classic promise of safety or economic concerns, which is also, incidentally, closely tied to the hegemonic group.

One cannot talk about nationalism as a purely political project without understanding the cultural dynamics that shape this identity (Culture understood here as fictitious ideological boundaries that could and, for the most part, do correlate with ethnicity but do not equate to it.) This is because cultural phenomenology, lived experience, comes a priori to nationalist ideology, which is why we must explore how beliefs are internalized through culture. When any cultural identity becomes naturalized, it creates a distorted pathology, mirroring ideals rather than reality. Dostoevsky, in his critique of ideology, states that man "began to love the idea more than man himself [sic]". This process of weaponizing culture aligns with Gramsci's idea that control over culture and ideology is as crucial as material coercion in maintaining dominance. Marginalization, self-marginalization, and universality are the phenomenological weapons used by cultural groups in order to maintain power. These mechanisms are not accidental but strategic, ensuring the perpetuation of the dominant group's values as the "natural" or "universal" way of life.

The crystal clear problem of nationalism is that it reinforces inequality. Solidifying the dominance of a particular cultural narrative systematically excludes and devalues other identities, embedding and creating structural disparities deeper into society. If we were to implement a coarse neoclassical economic analysis, it would determine increased social costs leading to a further antagonization of marginal communities. However, this analysis completely misses nuance because it overlooks two factors: first, the structural conditions set in place that displace those communities, and second, the economic reality that (through a capitalist lens) the full integration of those communities would result in a significant economic boost. In fact, countless studies demonstrate that marginalized groups and immigrant populations, when given equitable access to opportunities, drive innovation, expand labor markets, increase tax revenues, and stimulate broader economic dynamism. This is important to point out since right-wing policy makers use nationalism as a tool to secure political support, but at the same time contradict their capitalistic logic. This contradiction highlights a fundamental flaw in the narratives that only serve to consolidate power, instead of their fake populist welfare.

Now, let's return to the cultural dynamics at play. Some examples are necessary to showcase how the weapons of the dominant class are utilized, since it is not one-size-fits-all, and, in different settings, they can function in very different ways. The United States, Peru, and the Netherlands are particularly relevant, as they each present distinct weaponization of culture, and their phenomenological characteristics differ drastically..

How does cultural hegemony manifest itself in an American setting? This happens in the most vulgar, least subtle manner possible. The white majority, which functions as a "universal", non-marginal entity, freely assimilates different aspects from marginalized groups as it pleases. This dynamic is not a neutral exchange but an exercise of extraction. Marginal cultures are fetishized and commodified, existing in the field of the other. This alienating factor reinforces the illusionary narrative of universal neutrality while at the same time distancing itself from the cultures they consume. This can be exemplified when Malcolm X made clear that the decision to adopt the "X" in his name was not arbitrary. It was his way of rejecting the marginal cultural identity he was pushed to adopt, an identity shaped by the very forces that sought to exclude him (white Americans).

On the other hand, Peru functions as an annex of the U.S. in economic and cultural dimensions. The United States have historically used economic and military hostility to coerce its neighbors to the south into playing along with its interests. This has created pathological societal internal relations where the local culture has symbiotically adapted to American culture and values, shaping local identities. A fairly odd dynamic was born where universality is adopted by an elite minority. This minority's demographic is, for the most part, comprised of the whiter end of the Peruvian racial spectrum, which is itself a direct product of Peru's colonialist past. The historical layering of colonial structures has not only shaped racial and class dynamics but also continues to determine who has access to the so-called universal identity.

This group, as it happens, takes the same attitude as the white American universalist: "we are the cultureless citizens of the world, who transcend our roots in the same manner as the Americans." In adopting this stance, they implicitly frame their own cultural identity as the default, neutral, and superior, while marking others as rooted, particular, and backward.

Meanwhile, the majority, composed largely of indigenous peoples, are paradoxically instructed to conserve their cultural identity, yet this very identity is simultaneously framed as primitive, folkloric, and incompatible with modernity. This tension between imposed universality and degraded particularity is not merely theoretical but is embedded in the lived experience of Peruvian society. In *La Ciudad de los Perros*, by the recently deceased Mario Vargas Llosa, the author mirrors Peruvian society inside a military academy, a microcosm of the national order, in which "la jerarquía no se basa en la virtud, sino en la fuerza." (Translation: "hierarchy is not determined by virtue but by force") The power and violence exerted in the past still carry on today, shaping social relations not through merit or shared civic ideals, but through the blunt continuities of domination and exclusion, actualized through economic means.

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Furthermore, even if I have been living in the Netherlands for just a few months, the dynamics I have been experiencing here have revealed a peculiar form of social stratification. The main characteristic of the predominant group in the Netherlands appears to be contrarian to the US and Peru case, as it rejects universality and instead decides to self-marginalize, as a form of exclusion from the desired inclusion adopted by immigrants. This is exemplified by the barriers posed by English-speaking Dutch people, for instance, in working environments, where the insistence on linguistic and cultural “authenticity” operates as a subtle filter of access.

This reminds me of the French-occupied Algeria, where the colonizers engaged in a similar subtle form of self-marginalization aimed at preserving a distinct, localized identity, to maintain social distance and dominance. While claiming the universal ideals of French civilization, the settlers simultaneously constructed barriers to prevent genuine integration with the indigenous population. In both cases, the dominant group’s self-imposed separatedness serves less as a withdrawal and more as an active strategy of maintaining social hierarchy under the appearance of neutrality, whilst maintaining a social, legal, and psychological disconnect.

The paradoxical element of nationalism is that a seemingly unifying force divides and displaces. The process in which culture is weaponized, as we’ve seen in the United States, Peru, and the Netherlands, is not uniform but adapts to different cultural and historical contexts, revealing the various ways in which dominant groups assert their power through marginalization, self-marginalization, and the creation of a false universality. We have to challenge the predominant conceptions of culture, understanding that they are used as forms of ideological control, and create a new sort of universality. Marx would suggest uniting against the forms of universal capitalist oppression. I think here is precisely where we can learn from Malcolm X, who, later in life, changed his exclusionary views on culture and identified capitalism as the common enemy following his trips to Africa.

This shift sought to find solidarity among the oppressed, since true liberation can only be achieved through collective action against capitalist structures. The focus on class struggle, rather than cultural divisions, allows us to confront the economic and social inequalities that capitalism perpetuates across cultural boundaries. Hence, the mainstream pseudo-universalism needs to be replaced by the acknowledgement of universal class struggle, and I would suggest further expanding that to all sorts of oppressive mechanisms.

Brexit means Brexit:

In September 2015, shortly before Jeremy Corbyn became leader of the Labour Party, then UKIP (UK^{means} Independence Party) leader Nigel Farage wrote an article calling on Corbyn to join the growing number of pro-Leave voices. Drawing on the “common ground” he believed the two could find, Farage reminisced about the British Left’s long-standing resistance to the bureaucracy, corporatism and inequality baked into the EU’s institutions, and asked Corbyn to relight that old flame.

Before the 1980s, it was the left in Britain who had voiced the most scepticism towards the European Economic Community (EEC). Internal divisions in the Labour party led to a referendum on continued membership in 1975, just two years after the Conservative government had brought the UK into the organisation. Jeremy Corbyn himself voted against this membership, later opposing the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 (the foundational treaty transforming the EEC into the EU) and even supporting a membership referendum in 2011. Despite this, Corbyn positioned himself and his party in 2015 as the pro-EU choice although unenthusiastically.

The death of left-Euroscepticism

Will Fisher

By the turn of the century, the Labour party had mutated into Blair’s rebranded, neoliberal ‘New Labour’, left wing Euroscepticism receded into the background. Meanwhile, a significant anti-EU faction in the UK’s right wing was emerging. While this new Eurosceptic movement may have shared a broad goal with the left-wing movements, they set out radically different visions for a post-Leave UK. Concerns over labour rights, financial interests, and the steamrolling of small member states that defined left-wing opposition were replaced by concerns over “national sovereignty”, foreign immigration, and whether membership of the EU could be squared with cultural “Britishness”. It was the same tired right-populist line: your jobs, your society, your identities are being decimated by foreign influences, whether that be refugees or regulations.

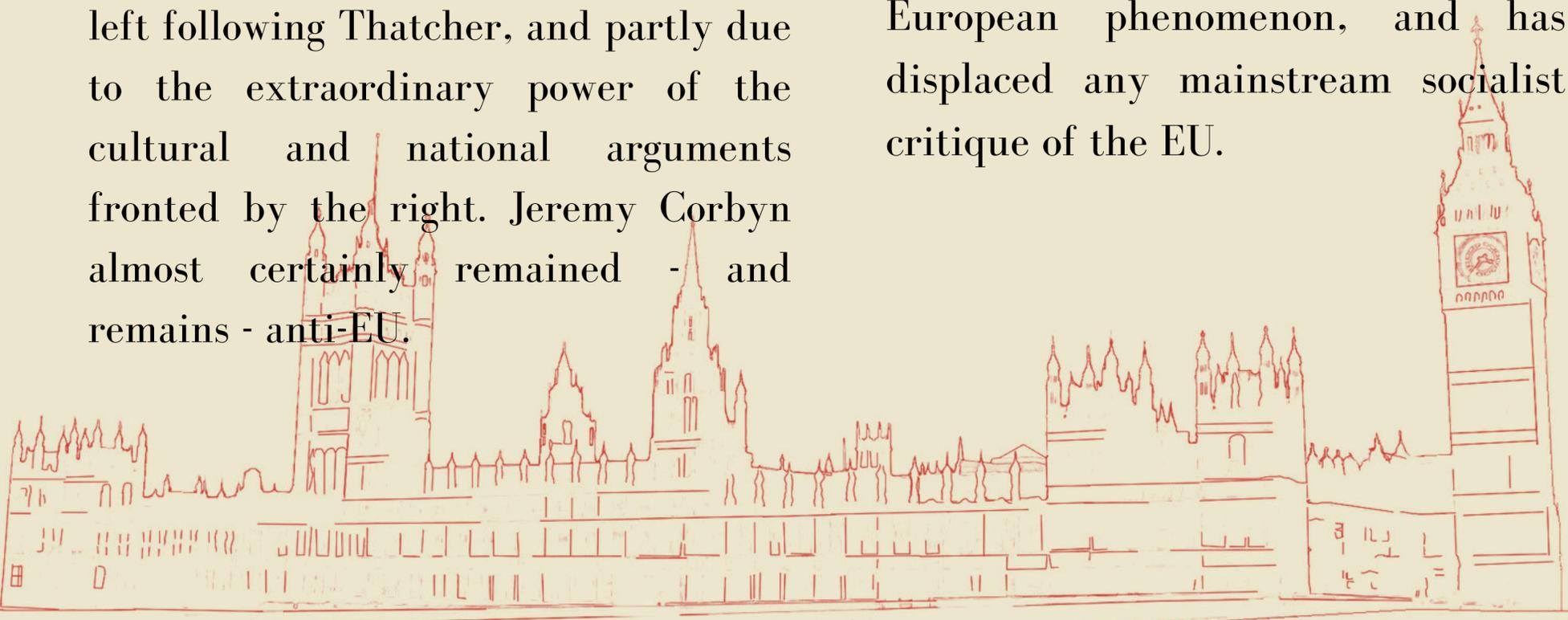


Following UKIP's success in the 2014 European Parliament elections, a referendum on membership became a growing reality. Through the next two years, after the formal referendum announcement, the "Brexit" campaign picked up steam, spearheaded by Nigel Farage and future Prime Minister Boris Johnson. Meanwhile, a tepid Remain campaign, pushed along by the centrist Liberal Democrats, half of the Conservative party, and Corbyn, with a self-professed "seven, or seven-and-a-half" out of ten support for Remain, hardly lit the voter base on fire. The victory for Leave sent a message across Europe: the EU was vulnerable, but the threat wasn't coming from the left.

The British public had come to associate anti-EU sentiment only with the nationalistic screed of the far right.

This was partially a result of the general disintegration of the British left following Thatcher, and partly due to the extraordinary power of the cultural and national arguments fronted by the right. Jeremy Corbyn almost certainly remained - and remains - anti-EU.

The UK had long stood as an "awkward partner" within the EU. Separated geographically and historically from mainland Europe, the country had always opposed complete integration to a greater extent than most other member states (even including specific legislation removing the UK from integration efforts such as Euro adoption in previous treaties), and its citizens had never embraced a truly European identity. It's no surprise that when separatist sentiment emerged in the EU, it did so first in Britain. But far from an isolated anomaly, the UK was the one of the first cases of an epidemic now sweeping Europe. The rise of France's National Rally, of Germany's AfD, the Dutch PVV, signal that this far-right Euroscepticism has become an European phenomenon, and has displaced any mainstream socialist critique of the EU.



This Euroscepticism must be understood as fundamentally distinct from left-wing criticism of the EU. Our critiques point to the insufficient labour standards of the EU, the neo-imperialist projects it embarks on, the selective favouring of developed powerful economies and the entrenchment of free-market capitalism in the world economy. The far-right bases its own on the loss of “national sovereignty”, immigration, and the nebulous “elites” running the show. It was the political unification of the EU that gave the right a political threat to rally its anger around, as it had broadly taken little issue with the liberalisation of capital and finance that had previously defined the Eurosceptical project.



Farage was wrong. There is no common ground between us. It is not enough for political actors to broadly agree on a problem. Where our motivations differ, our solutions will also, and the “solutions” proposed by these far-right parties will not benefit the international proletariat our movement stands with. Xenophobic, anti-immigrant sentiment targets the migrant workers, while diverting attention from the interests of the wider working class. Capitalism, not immigration, is the threat to workers, and giving power or legitimacy to these political movements only steers the cultural narrative further into their hands. Even the occasional nominal support the right lends to the welfare state is done on exclusionary and nationalistic grounds. In all its forms, the far right is not to be worked with, and never to be trusted.

This is not to suggest that we throw ourselves behind the cause of European economic integration. The EU is a neoliberal, genocide-funding, imperialist organisation, and is not our ally in the fight for socialism. But every problem we have with the EU will be maintained in a post-EU world if the current wave of far-right parties is allowed to direct its downfall. If we want to see a brighter day, we need to put up our own fight.



iNTErVIEWiNG

On the 20th of May we were able to interview Emma, the president of BASA, a Black Afro student association at the UvA to speak about racism, resistance and the struggles Black Afro students face.



Would you like to introduce BASA? Who are you? What are you doing? Since when do you exist?

BASA stands for the Black Afro Student Association and me and two of my friends, Manaar and Jarai started it in April 2024. I came to Amsterdam because the study advisor in my high school said it was such a diverse place, but I remember when I got here I was like, hm, there is something i must have missed, because it was not what I thought it would be. I guess my first year was just figuring stuff out in uni, like housing etc. But then I realized, we really need a community because every Black student, and there weren't that many in my course first of all, needed a space. In the beginning it was just an idea but then we created a little logo and planned our first event. It was in October last year and like 50 people showed up, which we didn't expect and the atmosphere was amazing.

We were like, this is fun, and this is actually something that's going to work. So we started looking for a board and we planned a variety of events.



We just want a space for us to exist comfortably without the white gaze and just chill and relax. I think a large thing was also to make some Black friends and something that brought us together was that we were hoodwinked into thinking that this was a diverse city.

What are some struggles which Black African students face here?

We're not a homogeneous community so I think there are some distinctions. One thing is being a first generation student which makes it difficult to acclimate to a whole new process. But also just having a place to go to for advice is another thing. For example, a small, trivial thing is where to get your hair done. When you first come here you just need to have context for small things. Another thing is feeling isolated in university because a lot of times you are the only Black person in class. Also a lot of times you go into a space and you have so many insights. You have so much to say. But they can't be reciprocated because people don't have your experience. Of course, all the regular struggles that students face, not Black students, those are there as well and maybe they're amplified.

What do you think Black African students would need?

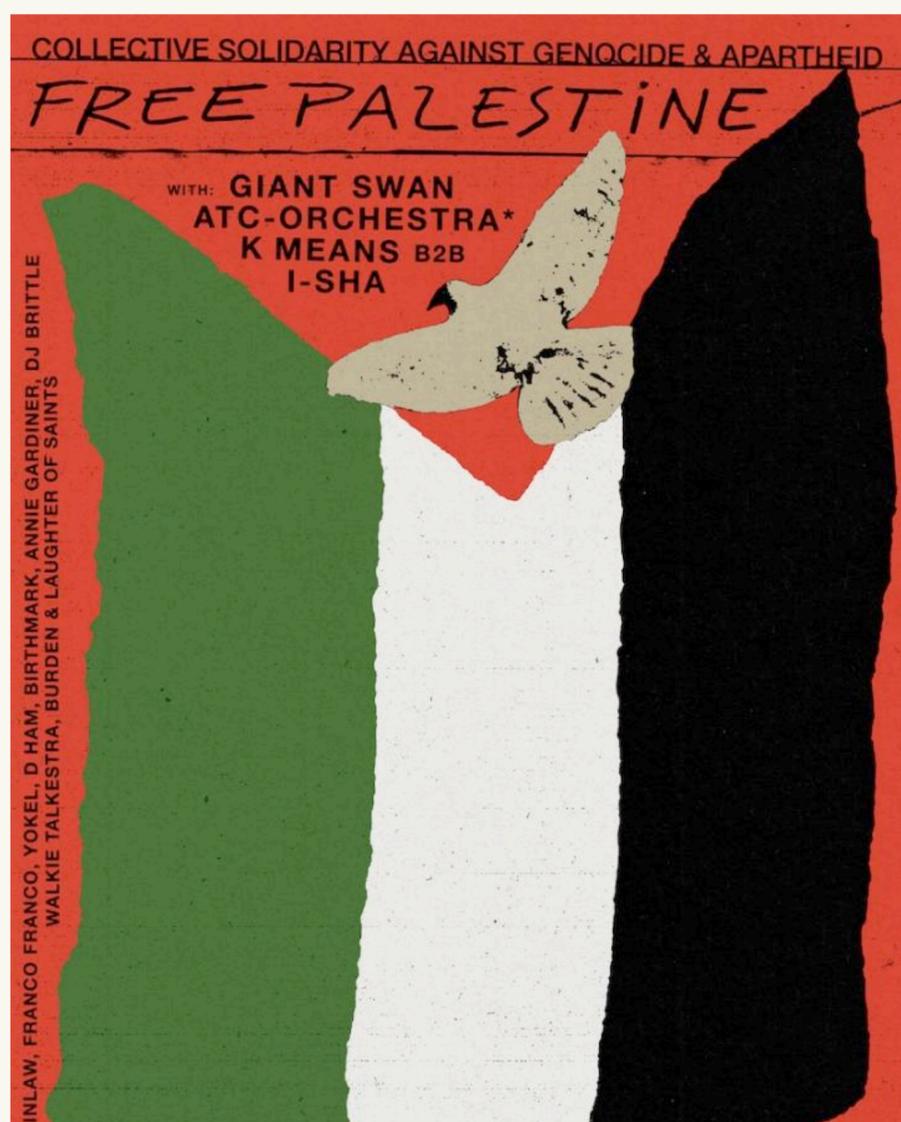
The university could definitely financially support BASA, but I think there's a limit because the university likes tokenizing diversity organizations and I think that's one thing that we are always a bit concerned about when the university gets involved. Because of that we've tried to minimize our connections with the university, even though we want to become a registered association. We would also like more leeway to protest, for example for Congo, and to be more vocal politically but I guess they won't really offer us that much.

What do you think about the Palestine protests and the encampments that have been going on?

A lot of our student base in BASA is politically engaged at a high level and a lot of our students of course have been at the protest. A board member was very active also at the encampments. This December they took her. Do you remember when they would take people on the buses and then just drop them in the middle of nowhere? Like that happened to her.

We talked about Palestinian solidarity in BASA and then we also had an event where one of our students connected land grabbing in Kenya to land struggles in Palestine. So I think we're very aware of the ideological similarity for Black liberation and Palestine. And also considering anti-blackness and white supremacy as structures that permeate in both Palestine and our lives here is I think the prime connection. So it's definitely on our agenda and we have made clear that we don't have space for Zionism.

How does BASA fight against racism?



I think rather than a fight against racism, it's just the comfort you get from being able to talk about racism. Because a lot of times the racism that you experience is really weird, funky stuff. And then to have a space where you can just share anecdotes, stories and have the ability to take up as much space as you want is one way how we fight against racism and dominance.

There are a lot of societal expectations people put on you and to have a space to shed all of those things, is my favorite part about the struggle against racism. But I also don't think we're deeply in a "struggle against racism". Like we're an anti-racist organization but our existence alone is already that.

Do you have any last things that you would like to share?

A lot of our events are only for Black students and we want to keep it that way. But when we have events that are not for Black students, especially like the speaker series, I would recommend people to come to those because it's really nice and you can learn a lot. We had a talk about going back home and taking up space and humbling yourself. Just being able to learn from others and the empathetic connection that we all share I think is super important.

Thank you for the interview!



Evaluation of the Palestine Encampment at the University of Amsterdam, 2nd - 20th June 2025

On the 2nd of June, the students of the University of Amsterdam, together with support from young workers and migrants, set up the second Palestine encampment under the title Al-Najjar Camp. With courage, we fought steadfastly for the liberation of the Palestinian people and struggled against imperialism and Zionism in the coalition United Front for Palestine.

The UFP put forward the students demands to cut all ties with Israeli institutions and to end UvA's complicity in genocide. We learned from the mistakes of last year's student intifada. Instead of being paranoid and secluded, we struggled openly and proudly together with all students. Through the extraordinary effort of our comrades, the encampment did not fall into left-wing radicalism but continued the struggle honestly and with a long-term strategy behind it. We were able to give a voice to students and remain approachable to all willing to struggle for the Palestinian cause.

The encampment lasted almost three weeks and became a space of political education and organizing. We learned to negotiate not only with the CvB but also with the deans, we improved our camp democracy, and we raised publications and info material that reached many. Most importantly, we strengthened unity between students, young workers, and migrants.



Yet, a grave mistake was the sectarian tendency to keep the leadership of the encampment limited to students, leaving workers and migrant youth as merely "supporters." This became visible in the General Assembly when some argued that the movement must remain student-led because students were there first, had better knowledge, and because the demands targeted the university. As a result, young workers and migrants raised concerns about exclusion. Another example was on the first night, when people from the Palestinian community came for protection, but the camp failed to build real points of contact with the migrant youth.

The student struggle is important, but it can only realize its potential when connected with the working class, the class holding power in society. Our task is not to limit the fight to the university but to link it with the broader youth and to uplift the student struggle into class struggle.

Secondly, although we were open and welcoming, the encampment was unable to connect to the broader masses of students. We did not succeed in showing students their direct interest in cutting ties with Israeli institutions. Too often, we remained on moral grounds instead of connecting liberation with students' daily struggles.

For example, our main flyer invited participation based on "feeling safe to raise your voice in support of Gaza." the material consequences of the Genocide and oppression was not mentioned. What was missing was the link to issues such as budget cuts, canteen prices, tuition increases, the undemocratic nature of the university, racism, sexism, and the rise of fascism in the Netherlands. These struggles are immediate and concrete, yet we did not connect them strongly enough to the Palestinian cause.

Additionally, we failed to initiate broad coalitions early on with other associations and organizations that already provide platforms for students. We did not work enough in the spaces where students naturally are.

Despite improvements after the first week (such as open committees for students, young workers, and migrants) our democracy was still insufficient. Participation and voting needed to be more collective and legitimized. For example, we should have established a central camp committee and voted on the content, negotiations, and positions to express.

The Palestine encampment of 2025 made us stronger, more experienced, and more organized. But we must learn from our mistakes:

1. Fight sectarianism: build unity between students, young workers, and migrants on an equal basis
2. Link struggles concretely: connect Palestinian liberation to students' immediate interests and social struggles
3. Strengthen coalitions: work earlier and deeper with existing associations and organizations
4. Deepen democracy: establish legitimate, participatory structures in camp decision making

Together, as a united youth, we will learn from these mistakes and carry the struggle on into the next year!



ROSA in pictures



2024-2025



WHEN ISSUES SUCH AS MIGRATION ARE FRAMED AS POLITICAL PROBLEMS DETACHED FROM HISTORICAL DIALECTICS, THE ORIGIN OF THESE SYSTEMIC ISSUES MUST BE ANALYSED AND EMPHASIZED. OTHERWISE, WE WOULD ALLOW SPREADING MISINFORMATION, POPULIST RHETORICS AND RACISM. IN FACT, MIGRATION AS A CONCEPT IS CLOSELY RELATED TO THE NOTIONS OF RACISM AND BORDERS: ON ONE HAND, THE VISION OF A MIGRATION THREAT



JUSTIFIES AND SPREAD RACIST NARRATIVES BECAUSE IT ALLOWS YOU GUYS, THE POLITICIANS, TO REDUCE YOUR OWN ACCOUNTABILITY AND BLAME MIGRANTS FOR CURRENT ECONOMIC INSTABILITIES. IN REALITY, MIGRATION IS CAUSED BY GLOBALISED LATE STAGE CAPITALISM, NEO-EXTRACTIVISM AND NEO-IMPERIALISM IN THE PERIPHERY.

ON THE OTHER HAND, BORDERS FUNCTION AS AN INITIAL SEPARATION: I BELONG WITHIN THE LINE, YOU BELONG OUTSIDE. LINES THAT WERE HISTORICALLY DRAWN TO CONTROL, DIVIDE AND ANTAGONIZE.

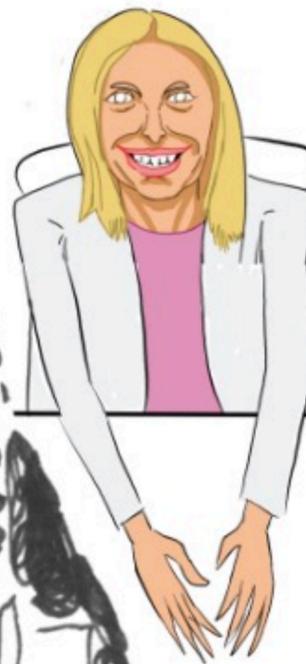
IF BORDERS ARE JUSTIFIED HISTORICALLY, THEN WHY IS MIGRATION NOT?



KNOWLEDGE IS WRITTEN BY THOSE WITH POWER. BORDERS SERVE THE INTEREST OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS BY MAINTAINING A VISION OF DIVISION AMONG COUNTRIES — RATHER THAN BETWEEN CLASSES. THE DEMONISATION OF OTHER CULTURES IS A FREQUENT STRATAGEM EMPLOYED BY THE RULING CLASS TO KEEP EXPLOITING WORKERS



WHILE IT MAKES SENSE, IT IS ECONOMICALLY BENEFICIAL FOR OUR CLASS TO MAINTAIN A CONSERVATIVE PERSPECTIVE SINCE REAL SOLUTIONS WOULD ENTAIL THE LOSS OF OUR PRIVILEGES.



OKAY, AS USUAL WE DID NOT REACH A CONCLUSION. I BELIEVE TODAY'S SESSION IS OVER.

See you at our Introweek!

PROGRAM

Thursday, 25th of September	15:00-15:15	Introduction Speech	REC (Grass patch)
	15:15-16:30	Student Politics: The Council and Protests on Campus	REC (Grass patch)
	17:00-18:30	"Nationalism & Racism" - Zine Panel Discussion	REC (Grass patch)
	19:00-23:00	Social Evening (Concert, Dance and Drinks)	REC (Grass patch)
Friday, 26th of September	15:00-17:00	Tatreez Workshop	REC (Grass patch)
	17:00-19:00	National Dutch Election: What to expect	REC (Grass patch)
	19:00-21:00	Militarization and Cuts in Social Spending	REC (Grass patch)
Saturday, 27th of September	21:00 - open end	Party	Cafe Skek
Sunday, 5th of October	11:30-19:30	Marxism 101 Introduction to Historical & Dialectical Materialism	Surgical Theater (New Uni Library)



Want to become a member?

Sign up for the intake:



Find us on instagram!

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