At the beginning of the year we released our 100 Days of Trump issue, a salvo on how our community could respond to the unbelievable election of Donald J Trump. Some nine months into his (p)Residency we find ourselves relentlessly assaulted by the Orange One’s rhetorical actions, moral inactions, and the existential dread that his words cause in the mediaverse.

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But we’re done with it.
We are not going to focus on his shit anymore.
Because he really isn’t the problem.
The problem is US.

Introduction

Trump is a clear manifestation of how rotten we have let the political system become. Trump didn’t disenfranchise millions of voters. Trump didn’t deregulate all of our industries. Trump didn’t invent corporate welfare. Trump didn’t allow the media to become a monopoly while abdicating its role as the fourth estate. But he is doubling down on these efforts and making things worse, everywhere. He is the result of the Right Wing led privatization of public services that has been happening over the last 40 or so years. Trump is the cherry on top of Neoliberalism gone amuck. And he is just the latest money grabbing beneficiary of the FS, gobbling every financial, economic, and cultural advantage they can while we sort through recovery, grasping at turds dropped from their platinum toilets.

As his administration and the DooMunicipal Public System continue to devise ways of destroying the facile protections that were put in place to protect the environment, police the banks, and support the rights of workers, we are hunkering down here in The Community of The Future looking for answers and strategies on how we can battle the insanity of this age.

One of these answers came to focus while researching a movement most of us know nothing about. It’s called Municipalismo. Or Municipalism. This movement of movements has sprung up after decades of work done by progressive activists and people looking for alternatives to Top Down governing and the effects of globalization. Their first victory took place in the city of Barcelona, Spain. This movement went Super Local. And their strategy is to take over city governments one at a time. And they did it. And its working. And we think something like Municipalism can work here.

The recipes for taking over a city are out there on the web (and printed here) and can manifest in your local school council or neighborhood alliance or local Democratic Party organization. It’s just up to you to be present, to be a part of your local movement, and investigate the potential of this evolved strategy of organizing for political power. And then you can help spread the word and organize others to help assist a progressive takeover of the political system here in Chicago and Cook County.

It makes sense. If we can take over one city at a time we can bring social, cultural and economic justice and equality to many more segments of the population. It’s not going to be a utopia. Some people will still suck, but at least we can participate in our own local governance and be the change we want to see, one town, one city at a time.

So this issue of Lumpen is dense and by no means comprehensive. It’s just an entry point into the ideas of making a Resistance City happen. Perhaps good old fashioned foot on the ground organizing will lead to the progress we which will defeat the oligarchic forces crushing this world.

In the meantime while we’re engaged in our real world person to person social organizing, Lumpen will continue to use every resource we can to e-network with our allies, amplify their ideas and present stories and inspiration about the hard working people all around us trying to make another world possible. Listen in to our radio station, WLPN-LP 105.5 FM in Chicago. Come to our space and support a fundraiser by a local community group. Help us spread the word by sharing the ideas in this edition of Lumpen Magazine. If you won’t, who will?
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ACT NOW

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How to Do Now

“A permanent IV drip of absolutely pure bullshit is progressively suppressing the immune system of the American state.”

William Gibson
@GreatDismal, May 11, 2017

In the face of government rot and citizen despair, we’re talking city-building... in the sense of building organizational possibility, sites of assembling and production of political imagination. This has been done, time and again, and today it exists already, albeit fragmented and incoherent to its fullest. This is the kind of world Chris Carlson described as coming into being in his 2008 book, Nontopic: How Pirate Programmers, Online Bicycles, and Vacant-lot Gardens Are Inventing the Future Today.

“What is to be done?”—the classic question of revolutionary politics, of oppressed majorities everywhere when faced with the machiery of power. We don’t have to build the revolutionary party with a steely cold-blooded vanguard as Lenin commanded. Artists are great do-ers. We need to make the little mkekolles, the tiny initiatives that can grow together as they are to make the new society. We need to network them so that they reinforce each other. And we need to put them at the disposal of political movements to sustain, grow, and inspire them.

A key political question for cities in the USA is how to synergize the forces for change. African-Americans who require racial justice confront not only systematic police violence and incarceration but also historic exclusion from housing, which is ramping up again with the new cycles of gentrification. Young people of all colors face precarious employment, massive loads of debt from education which should have been free, new debt from health care costs, and similar exclusion from affordable housing. All of us are looking at a reversal of the already-minimal efforts to preserve the habitable natural environment. A black-green-red political alliance could rule our cities for the century to come. The question for us all is how to forge it.

The question of taking power, of organizing resistance, and making changes happen is always a conversation. How do we do it? What should we do? “A politics that works begins by listening.” A politics that works never stops listening,” says Marc Allen Herbst.

While it is as yet an emerging movement, municipalist ideology has many strains. The decisive is a belief in the efficacy and power of citizens’ assembly. That is at the heart of Murray Bookchin’s conception of libertarian municipalism. It is helpful to remember that popular political mobilization in the US has been led by the principle of direct participation or the principle of libertarian municipalism. It is behind the remarkable belief in the efficacy and power of citizens’ assembly.

Municipalist ideology has many strains. The deepest is a conviction that the general populace. Libertarian Municipalism is an attempt to formalize this process, on behalf of the general populace, and they would be making policy for the general populace. Libertarian Municipalism is an attempt to formalize the guts of it is in Spanish. There is one on occupation, which the student assembly of Zagreb dared to make in 2011 (“The Occupation Cookbook, or the Model of the Occupation of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb” (PDF online)), in consultation with Bristol and Austrian curriculums, which is a great start on making a site for practical assemblies, for the neighborhood assembly, “pro-phetic assembly” as philosopher and activist from Spain, Pepe Melero, would call it. We are talking here about something that is “without blueprint or how do manual, which is I think a very dangerous thing and would drain all the poetry from the vision. The vision of Libertarian Municipalism is intentionally vague in general, because it believes that people themselves in movements have to struggle how to particularize their general principles of non-hierarchy, cooperation, direct democracy, social justice, and ecology. These are some general principles, and I could add more, or I could take some away. The question is how do you create a politics, how do you draw some of political movements to sustain, grow, and inspire them.”

NOTES: I have not found many handbooks or online assemblies. There is “The People’s Assembly Toolkit,” published by Altotrupan.org, an immigrant rights group, just after the election. Outside the intro sheet, the guts of it is in Spanish. There is one on occupation, which the student assembly of Zagreb dared to make in 2011 (“The Occupation Cookbook, or the Model of the Occupation of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb” (PDF online)), in consultation with Bristol and Austrian curriculums, which is a great start on making a site for practical assemblies, for the neighborhood assembly, “pro-phetic assembly” as philosopher and activist from Spain, Pepe Melero, would call it. In the face of government rot and citizen despair, we’re talking city-building... in the sense of building organizational possibility, sites of assembling and production of political imagination. This has been done, time and again, and today it exists already, albeit fragmented and incoherent to its fullest. This is the kind of world Chris Carlson described as coming into being in his 2008 book, Nontopic: How Pirate Programmers, Online Bicycles, and Vacant-lot Gardens Are Inventing the Future Today. The injustices of historic and present-day white supremacist policing and discrimination in jobs and housing are urgent concerns for African-Americans in the USA. Protection of migrants and refugees looms large in Germany and Greece, where the neo-fascists use prejudices to build their movements. Similarly, aggressive deportations of Americans from the USA is a burning issue for Latinos people there.

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democracy, and how this is different than a representa-
tive democracy that you find in a republic.

From care, from life—

Toward a feminized politics

One of the most prominent ideological strains in muni-
cipalism is the feminized politics that is now in focus.

Municipalism is dangerous to the powers.
The pigs have their fists in the public trough so deep they will be very hard to dislodge. Ever think about what you are having for dinner? Their first thought is how they can add to you, the people. The structural political strategy has been designed to denigrate, negate, and finally destroy the kinds of popular power municipal politics depend upon. Their main tool is a preemptive strike to banish municipal government.

One of the things that has been built up in New York in the Occupy Wall Street movement is the idea of a movement.

Tapas de “Municipalismo”—Some Direct Democracy-flavored Ideas

These are some examples of the kinds of things that build popular movements:

Get a place to meet…regularly.

Get a place to meet…regularly.

Get a place to meet…regularly.

Workers’ Co-ops

A key plank of the Jackson Rising People’s Platform to build economic equality in Mississippi holds that city governments should run worker-cooperatives. Some municipal governments that have co-ops.

The Legal and Legislative struggles over the sanctuary city movement are at the
core of the cultural institutions they support with their work. They are practical. In New York, Not An Alternative built tools that they would need to build.

Economy

A fair of the solidarity economy / La Feria de la economía solidaria

 Россиины. Барто, 1910 год. Барто, 1910 год.

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Russia in NYC: The anti-capitalist and libertarian visions that informed your city’s radical movement of the 1980s and 1990s.

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core of the cultural institutions they support with their work. They are practical. In New York, Not An Alternative built tools that they would need to build.
Social Games

Have a self-organized fundraiser for a cause, for instance, to activate neighborhood residents to organize as groups for health promotion. Social games have long been ways of expressing and organizing politically. Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory of “popular laughter” and the “carnivalization” is based on these creative forms since medieval times, and activists have been using it for community organizing—just as it’s not just for money anymore. Many games, like Paul Ryan’s “trick-oelectric,” the “yoga of collaboration,” teach collaboration and community self-organization. So the author is working on this in California.

Direct Political Work—Citizen Assemblies

It’s not just about the fun you’re having—face to face. NOT on Facebook! Social media is better than giving and taking, posting and meeting, and sitting still to be “learned” by corporate political systems. Citizens online and in print, is in itself a goldmine of ideas and tactics useful for movements. Nothing new is really new; it’s just re-tooled so it’s more effective. A few new examples:

As, for example—“Organize Your Own”

I recently wrote to Noah Fischer, the NYC Occupy Museum activist. He was in Venice for “The Dark Matter Games” and has also worked with the Venice Biennale at the S.A.L.E. Ducks, an art space coming out of a wave of 2012 occupations in Italy. I asked Noah what political role he thought it was realistic and 2) idealistic to rhetorical/platformer to demand of US cultural institutions? I asked because in Spain, cultural institutions have played significant roles in support of social movements—opening them at key moments, enabling and enlightening them continually.

Cultural institutions in the US are largely private—or at best, “public-private partnerships.” The “public” in this description is often embodied in their boards of directors, do not allow their curatorial staffs to support and augment popular movements. This is in fact quite normal for European cultural institutions, most of which are state-supported.

Noah wrote: “Museums—at least the big NYC ones—seem to be facing these issues— the Transmediale in Berlin was just a public bull— IV—with one part of the museum representing the 1% and its interests (exclusivity, property, privatization) and another part trying in small ways to ally themselves with social movements. But they are still trying to do the same thing, to use art as a political tool for social change. The time and place is different for our society than the era of the French Revolution, where it was clear there was some kind of internal division within the institution. Certainly there are some museums that take the idea of building communities and building a democratic culture/space, but I guess that museums in the US, with their interest in criticality but reliance on oligarchic interests, are sort of set up to permanently house this kind of state. I think it’s important to understand these dynamics before asking questions of institutions as if they are unified platforms. Part of the dynamic is the idea of the museum as a cop-Num and ancillary events that bear directly on themes political, eg the “Perder los nombres,” although maybe an exception. In the early ‘00s, “The Potosí Principles” of the Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) made a historic call. Stoakley wrote “Principio Potosí,” which started in Germany, was pedagogical in tactics useful for movements. Victoria & Albert in London did “Disobedient Objectivest,” although maybe an exception. In the early ‘00s, “The Principles of the Potosí Principles,” which started in Germany, was pedagogical in tactics useful for movements.

The phrase “hacking the city” appeared some years ago. Activists used it to describe urban actions that moved along with and against the codes that guide capitalist urban development. Perhaps this was a response to the “smart city” discourse among urban planners and architects around the turn of the century, predicting total digital control in the city of the future. In any case, Medialab Prado in Madrid is indeed hacking the city. In a curious evolution of a ‘70s era media center, this place is now a center of digital culture turned to the ends of participatory governance—the ideal being a transparent, direct democracy based in an ideology of the commons.

Medialab does things in their handmade renovations building which other municipalities and hacklab- do, but the agency also functions as the hub for a variety series of collaborative projects called “labs” and that develop ideas, proposals, and plans for projects in the city with citizens themselves. The mayor of the city, with Medialab’s help, has been doing this kind of work for many years. With the election of the Alcalde Madrid municipal government, they have greatly expanded their labs both in concept and in their activities.

Funded by the city government, Medialab does things in their handsome renovation of the old Palacio de Justicia on the main plaza of Madrid. Handsome and affordable?

Medialab has been doing this kind of work for many years. With the election of the Alcalde Madrid municipal government, they have greatly expanded their labs both in concept and in their activities. The new labs, like the “Labs of Knowledge,” and the “Labs of Participation,” are active internationally: Estudio Teddy Cruz + Forman, Estudio Teddy Cruz + Forman, Estudio Teddy Cruz + Forman, and Lynxlab, producing projects with architects and artists.

Medialab is a complex and dynamic institution. It may be best to think of it as a think tank for progressive social movement, bubbling with ideas and fostering a genuinely subversive thinkers. It is the institution in Madrid that has perhaps the closest imbrication with the extra-legal social center. It has hosted some of the leading personalities from the long history of Madrid ocupations. In this it resembles similar agencies in Amsterdam, like the Urban Resort consultancy. But that is another story.

Medialab is all about ideas. People working at Medialab now look to Neo-

10 nexa, now under a new municipal government that has been, as the Peer to Peer (P2P) Foundation blog has it, the first Italian city to establish a “Department of the Commons” and the first to create the municipal state by inserting the “commons” as one of the interests to be protected and recognized as the functional exercise of fundamental rights of the person.” American road. And it may be familiar with Peter Lineback’s famous historical excurses on the history of the commons, starting from Magna Carta. Less known is the broadening strain of constitutional history and activism around the concept. In an American variant, this might include recent victories by Native American water protectors, and the recent acceptance of a nature-as-self-defense plea by environmental activists charged with criminalization.

Medialab began as a city-funded public art commissioning agency, but on a special kind, more open: “The open source, distributed, and privacy-aware tools for digital activism, which is going to be very local. It is going to be very local. It is going to be very local. It is going to be very local. It is going to be very local.

Medialab—Prado Madrid

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Whoever lives in this city can experience a sensation — the nomad university. Here are rough descriptions of the projects, groups in a space of reflection on the phenomena of this transformation of Madrid, to elaborate militant interdisciplinarity and to create a space for generating knowledge and opportunities for collective production of new theoretical paradigms.

The Nomad University arises from the confluence of a series of enormously heterogeneous groups and people without too much passion for unifying. It was born with the idea of becoming a small political laboratory for the collective production of new theoretical knowledge.

One of the first challenges was the creation of shared spaces. As a result, a central office was created (la Comuna — a de-centralized space for the generation of collective autonomy). The Nomad University has a website and a Twitter account (@unomada), a facebook page, and a YouTube channel.

Good night and good luck.

--observatoriometroplano.org
The Municipalist Manifesto

This text brings together several lines of discussion that emerged in the workshops and working spaces of the first Meeting for Municipalism, Self-Government and Counterpower, held in Málaga from 1-3 July 2016. In attendance were over 200 participants from thirty cities in the Spanish state and other countries such as Italy, England, Austria, and Germany. This piece aims to serve as a summary of everything said than to make points shared by the majority, with hopes to think further together about the building of the municipalist movement.

The municipalist movement and the question of organization

1. The municipalist movement claims its autonomy vis-à-vis any party or centralized instance, its method of democratic construction, and its roots in the cities and localities in which the municipalist initiatives have grown.

2. Nevertheless, the election lists and municipal movements are set to forge a politics of diverse alliances, capable of accompanying and pushing the central conflicts that cross the municipal scale: opposition to the law of budgetary stability —the Ley Montoro—, the housing emergency, municipal debt, and the processes of remunicipalization of public/common services—such as water, or the creation of new municipal services, such as power grid operators.

3. A desirable horizon could consist in connecting a network of lists and movements. With view to building this federated network, we recommend respecting the maintenance of autonomous forces and the creation of new communication media that are capable of accompanying these processes, setting the public agenda and elaborating discourse oriented towards the generation of a new social common sense.

4. Municipalism also means imagining strategies for providing resources for promoting new ecologies of movements and institutional experiments—a new institutionality—from the institutions, preserving in turn the autonomous agenda of the respective movements.

Social spaces and centers of citizen management

5. One of the challenges of municipalism lies in gaining social and institutional recognition of the existence and autonomy of the social spaces and centers of citizen management that put the right to the city and democratic participation into effect.

6. From this explicit recognition comes the necessity that the municipalities provide public resources and infrastructures for common use, in accordance with a social agenda that either already occupies and manages spaces, or actively demands the transfer of rights of use of others: new regulations, assignments of rights of use, etc.

7. Spaces of encounter between comrades active on the institutional front and in the movements that manage social spaces should also be generated. The objective is to elaborate a municipal discourse capable of extending its legitimacy and locating the conflict at the heart of the right to the city.

Social unionism and social rights

8. The dismantling of the welfare state makes social self-organization more and more indispensable with respect to implementing social rights. This is basically what we call social unionism. Facing a horizon of precarization and growing informality, places of work lose centrality as spaces of conflict, and therefore we must imagine new forms of struggle capable of producing rights. It is time to collectively discuss what new forms of union we need.

9. The municipalist movement should be a privileged place for supporting, giving energy to, and accompany initiatives such as the Platform for People Affected by Mortages (PAH), Yo Si Saneo Universal (an action group for universal healthcare), and autonomous eateries, etc., where self-organization is generated from the politicization of collective problems and the creation of structures of mutual help.

10. The neighborhood can be a privileged place for coordinating experiences at the territorial scale, but also for expanding the scale and capacity of the municipalist network. We propose to experiment with forms of social unionism that combine various aspects that are currently separated: living and health, questions of labor or food. We also want to generate shared structures of common communication and of defense.

Work, cooperativism and remunicipalization

11. Maintaining the quality and universality of public services is essential in the battle against neoliberalism and in adequately redefining the public. This is a terrain that allows for experiments of democratization, self-management or co-management. This is why we insist that the municipal movement find common paths for recovering/creating new public services, and for opening processes of conflict capable of activating and supporting the mobilization of city-dwellers.

12. To this end, it makes sense to fuse forces and socialize information generated in different municipalities, where many successful examples of remunicipalization and of the creation of new services are to be found. This includes other tools such as social clauses or legal loopholes that allow for the improvement of the quality of outsourced or subcontracted work, as well as for experiences of transfers of rights of use to labor cooperatives and new models of co-management that we are capable of inventing.

13. We are calling to think about possibilities for coordinated disobedience between different municipalities against the laws restricting economic capacity, laws of indebtedness, or of contracting these local governments: the first hurdle to recovering public/common services.

14. It is necessary to launch lines of action that allow the cooperative fabric to be strengthened in the medium and long run, using the public institutions as privileged partners. The institutions should also support initiatives that are creating cooperatives in trendsetting sectors with the greatest need for investment. This support will be given in respect of the autonomy of the cooperative movement.

Social unionism and social rights

15. In Italy and other countries, initiatives inspired by the municipalist impulse generated in the Spanish state have come into being. Municipalism and the federation of cities at the European scale must be a privileged space for the construction of a Europe against austerity, but also against racism and fascisms in full swing in different countries of the continent, such as is evidenced with the human tragedy of the refugees.

The Europe of rebel cities

16. The municipal governments “of change” have been the first to raise their voices against the intolerable treatment of migrant and refugee persons, and the growing inequality in the EU. But such protest needs to be translated into processes and challenges that are substantive rather than merely rhetorical. In the perspective of this meeting, this is the challenge for a network of political, fiscal, and economic counterpowers of rebel cities and towns—a counterpower that will not understand itself only as a counterpart or counterweight to “true” power, but rather as a new power that transforms power: a constituent power.

17. This counterpower is one of the available paths to unblock the social and political struggles in the European South and to make these forceful with respect to the dynamic of the EU. The municipalist idea is one of the most notable missing chapters in the European drama, stalled by the dialectic between the nation-States and the EU Institutions (Eurogroup, Commission, European Council). A network of political, fiscal, and economic counterpowers will make another Europe, while combating and destroying the Europe of austerity, financial authoritarianism, xenophobia and the opportunity for fascism and war.

Until the next meeting—we will meet again to continue working! Municipalists of the world, unite!

The second MAK took place in Pamplona. Videos in Spanish reflecting on the meeting are on YouTube: see #MakDos, produced by Pamplonauta Iruñea.
“We’re living in extraordinary times that demand brave and creative solutions. If we’re able to imagine a different city, we’ll have the power to transform it”

Ada Colau

INTRODUCTION

From the very beginning, those of us who participated in Barcelona En Comú were sure that the democratic rebellion in Barcelona wouldn’t be just a local phenomenon. We want Barcelona to be the trigger for a citizen revolution in Catalonia, Spain, Southern Europe and beyond.

We know that there are many similar initiatives to our own in other cities that aim to break apart the current political and economic regime from below. Each city will have to find its own way, whether it takes the electoral route or not. Nevertheless, having won the Barcelona elections, we are excited to publish this guide to the philosophy and organization of Barcelona En Comú from our launch to our entry into government. We hope that it will be useful in the construction of citizen platforms that aim to win local elections around the world.

WHY A MUNICIPAL PLATFORM?

Barcelona En Comú didn’t come out of nowhere. In the years before its creation, in a context of economic and political crisis in which traditional political institutions were failing to respond to the needs of the people, a multitude of citizen movements mobilized in the city and demonstrated the power of organized citizens to propose and implement solutions.

We took the social networks, We took the streets and We took the squares. However, we found that change was being blocked from above by the institutions. We couldn’t allow this. So, we decided that the moment had arrived to take back the institutions and put them at the service of the common good. We decided to win back the city.

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For us, “winning back the city” is about much more than winning the local elections. It means putting a new, transparent and participatory model of local government, which is under citizen control, into practice. It also means implementing fair, redistributive and sustainable policies to respond to the economic and political crisis.

Our strategy has been to start from below, from what we know best: our streets, our neighbourhoods. The proximity of municipal governments to the people makes them the best opportunity we have to take the change from the streets to the institutions. Cities have always been a place of encounter, of exchange of ideas, of innovation and, when necessary, of revolution. Cities are where democracy was born, and they’ll be where we can start to recover it.

For more information on the new municipalism in Spain click here.
HOW IS A WINNING CITIZEN PLATFORM BUILT?

PHASE A: BEFORE THE PUBLIC LAUNCH

DECIDING TO WIN BACK THE CITY AND PRESENTING THE INITIATIVE TO CITIZENS

The first step is to bring together a group of men and women who want to create a citizen platform to build a winning candidacy for the local elections. Each platform should emerge from the social reality of the city, be driven by citizens, rely on the widest possible support and not be led by any political party. It’s essential that there is a gender balance in all areas of work from the very beginning. A revolution that isn’t feminist isn’t worthy of the name.

There should only be one citizen platform in each city. If more than one citizen municipal candidacy is launched, everyone involved should make every possible effort to bring them together around concrete goals and proposals and to cooperate rather than compete in the municipal elections.

In Barcelona, this group nominated a number of spokesmen and women (some of whom willing to stand as candidates) to represent the platform to the citizenry and the media during the initial months. These spokespeople presented the project at an open, public event, inviting citizens and like-minded political forces to join and make it their own. The presentation also saw the publication of a manifesto that diagnosed the economic, political and social context of the city and a list of Principles and Commitments that summarized the main goals of the platform.

Look the video presentation here.

PHASE B: FROM THE LAUNCH TO THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

GETTING THE PEOPLE’S ENDORSEMENT

The next step is to collect a certain number of signatures of support (in Barcelona, a city of 1.5 million residents, our goal was to collect 30,000 from June to August 2016) and present the project in public meetings in different neighbourhoods across the city. The aim of the public meetings is both to get the word out about the project and to gather the concerns and proposals of city residents. It is essential to start like this, proving that there are other ways of doing politics - listening, participating, collaborating - from the very beginning.

Video about the neighbourhood meetings:

CROWDSOURCING A CODE OF ETICS

The code of ethics is a document that defines the practices that those occupying elected and appointed positions in public ofce should carry out in order to ensure a responsible administration that remains in touch with real life. It sets limits on salaries and expenses that guarantee that anyone can get involved in politics but, at the same time, and the privileges that have led political representatives to be out of touch with ordinary citizens. The code of ethics should include efficient financial transparency and accountability mechanisms, as well as mechanisms to involve citizens in public life.

Barcelona En Comú’s code of ethics was drawn up based on previous work by political forces involved in the project, a day of in-person debate, and approval via an online platform.

Read the Barcelona En Comú code of ethics.


Video presentation: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CLqD9r75J

Video about the neighbourhood meetings: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=07q4z5GZ979

FINANCING
As a platform, we have a policy of transparency and clear accounting and make all of our income and outgoings public. We’ve committed not to finance ourselves with bank loans and to base our support on the loans and donations of individuals.

DRAWING UP AN ELECTORAL PROGRAMME “EN COMÚ”

The collective process of putting together our electoral programme began in the summer of 2014 when the different neighbourhood and policy groups of Barcelona En Comú (open to anyone who wanted to participate) carried out diagnoses of their own areas, deepening the reflections of the general manifesto.

First of these first months’ work, the policy groups drew up framework documents at the end of 2014. These documents were the basis of the many participatory processes used to draw up the electoral programme.

The initial proposals generated by this work went through two phases of public, open, in-person and online debate and feedback. The first phase allowed for contributions to the initial proposals, and the second allowed participants to prioritize the final list of policy measures.

These processes produced:

A citizen mandate made up of 40 measures in order of the priority given to them by citizens, which formed the core of the Barcelona En Comú electoral programme.

A set of citizen demands for each neighbourhood and district of the city.

City-wide policy proposals on different issues.

The policy groups of Barcelona En Comú carried out the tasks of collecting, summarizing, developing and assessing the feasibility of all proposals made.

Our Programme en Comú is a document that aims to enrich dialogue with citizens. It isn’t a set of electoral promises, rather, it’s a firm commitment that will guide us in our work in City Hall. This is essential in order for citizens to be able to get enthusiastically involved in political life again. That’s why our programme includes implementation and accountability mechanisms.

PUTTING TOGETHER AN ELECTORAL CANDIDACY

Barcelona En Comú isn’t a coalition or an alphabet soup of party acronyms. We’ve shunned traditional party logos and built a new space which, respecting the identity of everyone involved, goes beyond the sum of its parts and is open to people who have never participated in electoral politics before.

Part of the DNA of a citizen platform is that people participate as individuals. There aren’t any quotas for the political groups involved. This is what we call “can vencer.” It’s a philosophy of collaboration based on shared priorities and concrete goals, not horse-trading between parties. It requires flexibility and generosity on all sides, and for everyone to contribute their unique strengths and resources to a project shared by all.

When drawing up the Barcelona En Comú electoral list, we took into account the balance between political forces and activists and gender parity. The final list was made up of both political groups that had already held elected office in Barcelona and those which had not.

Ganxet Barcelona: original drivers of the project, made up of many activists and campaigners from social movements.

ICV-EUiA: party with councillors in Barcelona City Hall.

Podemos: new party without representation in Barcelona City Hall.

Procsa Constituent: Catalan social movement without representation in Barcelona City Hall.

Egoi: environmental party without representation in Barcelona City Hall.

Para más: for the improvement of Catalonia without representation in Barcelona City Hall.

For more information on the elected representatives of Barcelona En Comú: click here.

STRUCTURE OF BARCELONA EN COMÚ DURING PHASE B

Democratic revolution is impossible without the active participation of citizens and proposals designed collectively. The organizational structure in each city will vary according to the context, but it should always be horizontal and transparent, and there must be clear mechanisms to allow people who want to join the project to participate.

We try to seek a balance between horizontality and effectiveness, while maintaining a firm commitment to internal democracy and gender equality. This commitment implies ensuring that everyone feels comfortable in debate and decision-making spaces, that people can combine their activity in the platform with work and caring responsibilities, and that digital tools do not become a barrier to participation due to age or income.

Diagram of process of development of Barcelona en Comú programme

Barcelona En Comú programme: https://barcelonaencomu.cat/en/programa
1. TERRITORIAL GROUPS

1.1. NEIGHBOURHOOD GROUPS
These are neighbourhood or district assemblies in which all local residents who wish to participate. They are represented and connected to the rest of Barcelona En Comú via the Neighbourhood Coordinator, in which two people from each neighbourhood group participate.

The role of Barcelona En Comú neighbourhood groups is to:
- Encourage and welcome participation.
- Hold workshops and share online participation tools and assist in local residents in their use.
- Spread the word about the Barcelona En Comú project by organizing public meetings and distributing communication materials, especially during the election campaign.
- Carry out a diagnosis of the situation in the neighbourhood and how it affects local men and women. Create spaces for debate and to draw up proposals.
- Make contact with local neighbourhood groups (NGOs, social movements, activists) that can contribute knowledge and experience relating to the neighbourhod, while always respecting the autonomy of such groups.

Coordinate with the Content Committee and Policy Groups.

1.2. NEIGHBOURHOOD COORDINATOR
This is the space that facilitates, accompanies and joins up the neighbourhood groups of Barcelona En Comú. It’s a space for exchanging ideas and making proposals in order to draw up diagnoses and policies for the electoral programs. This is the bridge that allows ideas and contributors to be communicated between the neighbourhood groups and the Plenary and the coordination team. It is made up of two representatives from each neighbourhood group and one from the territorial extension sub-committee, which moderates its meetings.

2. TECHNICAL COMMITTEES
These are work groups that carry out the everyday tasks essential to the functioning of the platform. Each committee defines its own size and internal organization. Those who wish to participate in these committees should send a request and attend one of the regular meetings for new collaborators.

Committees active during Phase II of Barcelona En Comú:
- Content committee: coordinates the setting up and functioning of the Policy Groups and the drawing up of proposals for the electoral programme.
- Communication committee: plans and carries out the communication strategy. Its work areas include: website and server, graphic design, social networks, press, video, streaming, mailing, translation and correction.

Logistics and ‘rancé’ committee: provides logistical support to other spaces, administers the finances of the organization, and organizes legal support.

Confluence committee: manages relationships with the political forces with which the platform wants to stand for election and works to make this possible.
- Territorial extension: coordinates the platform’s activity in neighbourhoods and districts.
- Collaborators: helps people who get in touch requesting to become involved in the project.
- Internal organization: draws up protocols and develops the organizational structure of each phase of the project. Assists in the introduction of online participation mechanisms.

3. COORDINATION

3.1. COORDINATION TEAM
This is the executive space of Barcelona En Comú. It takes urgent, operational decisions and identifies the important, strategic decisions that should be taken in the plenary.

This group is responsible for taking a global view of the process strategy, roadmap, general calendar, analysis of current affairs, etc., and for coordinating the rest of the organization. It is made up of the platform’s spokespersons and electoral candidates and their support teams, two representatives from each technical committee, one representative of the territorial extension committee and invited members of other spaces. Two people also attend its meetings moderate and take notes.

3.2. PLEINARY
This is the most important space for communication and decision-making within Barcelona En Comú, especially in terms of strategic decisions and internal organization. Anyone active in any of the committees or groups of the platform can attend. It meets at least once every two weeks. The plenary can open up decision-making to the entire citizenry by holding online or other forms of citizen consultations.

4. OTHER SPACES AND PROCESSES

4.1. POLICY GROUPS
These are meeting and participation spaces for organizations and individuals active in different policy areas. Their main role is to propose and validate the platform’s policy positions, and to assess the issues related to their area and draw up proposals for the election manifesti. Two representatives for each area participate in the Content Committee.

Barcelona En Comú currently has the following policy groups: health, education, work, precarious inequalities and poverty; economy and environment; housing and urbanism; migrations; gender and sexual diversity; information society; culture; local government; transparency and participation; security and civil rights.

4.2. CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
Set up and is active during Phase III (the election campaign). Responsible for the day-to-day planning and execution of the election campaign.

4.3. CREATIV NETWORKS
Barcelona En Comú is supported by a group of artists and designers, the Movement for the Graphic Liberation of Barcelona, and a network of cyberactivists, SumCommands. These networks devise the possible ways of participating in the project, and contribute to our communication activity.

[Links: https://www.facebook.com/igbarcelona
SumCommands: https://digitalcom.com/comunace]
If there is anything we can say about this moment, it is that the current spectacle of national politics points to its own spectacle more than ever before. That is why we should turn it off, and tear it down, and demand actual control of our lives and cities from the people who would rather make a dollar for themselves than make our lives something beautiful. The capitalists will never relent to our demands to control our lives. The act of breathing can not be commodified, but rents, square footage, water and power, health care, and votes all can be. So now is the time for a real social anarchy: for rebel cities and citizen power. When so much federal power appears as a farce and a death sentence, rebels from the people who would rather make a dollar for themselves than make our lives something beautiful. The capitalists will never relent to our demands to control our lives. The act of breathing.

While the history of American Insurrection and rage is deep, our actual history of sustained control of power by the grassroots in the two-party states is very, very slim. This is why we can look to the international stage for inspirational ways to switch off the Trumps and turn up the Podemos! In the international context there is a library of stories where people have radically altered their relationships to everyday life and changed the nature of power around them. In the late winter of 2017, comrade Alan Moore hipped me to an illustration coming out of Spain that outlined some very real magic going hard against the American vein to kick the profiteers out of government locally and nationally. The 15M Movement has led to political reform from the grassroots up, fostering winning socialistic parties and other radical civil movements where people demand the right to their cities. The narrative of contemporary Spanish politics tilts strongly against the story of the rise of fascism & isolationism in Western democracies.

What Is The Recipe For A Municipal Movement? A graphic that explains how Spanish cities have regained control of their government from inside and outside business. I tracked down its illustrator Maria Castellà Sobies who got me in touch with Lucas Tello Pérez of ZEMOS.98, the image producer. We talked over email about the Spanish Municipal Movement, the diagram that illustrates how it came to be, and how Americans might use such a drawing. 

Photo by Jim Newberry

An Interview with ZEMOS

ZEMOS98 is a cultural and political collective working from Seville, Spain in local, national, and European projects since 1998. We produced seventeen editions of an underground festival on the independent media landscape, the commons, feminism, informal education, and other issues. We strive for citizen participation in the issues that shape our future. With local councils, we develop participatory processes. We produce media content like the Municipalism graphic and a board game that interprets the present. Like others, the 15M movement turned our collective’s feelings and beliefs upside-down. Since then we’ve turned into a much more politically engaged practice.

Our institutional assault on Spain’s government arose three years after the end of the 15M movement. In that period there were massive mobilizations called “the tides.” You could find one for each color—green was about education, white was about public health, and so on. Podemos had great success in the Spanish elections, obtaining five MEPs out of nothing. The social movements started organizing themselves to take the local governments in different cities. A started in Barcelona, led by Ada Colau (a famous activist who was the spokesperson of the Platform Against the Evictions (the PAH)) and spread to Madrid and other cities. The elections were in Spring 2015. Activists and social movements won some big Spanish cities: Barcelona, Madrid, Zaragoza, A Coruña, Cádiz, and Valencia, among others. Our graphic image of the combo-platter was produced two months before the elections. It tried to summarize some of the movements that inspired, directly and indirectly, the social movements to take back the institutions.
Two years have passed, and these councils are having different grades of success. ZEMOS98 has collaborated with A Coruña, Barcelona, and mainly Madrid in developing culture plans co-designed by the vector and citizens.

How did you develop the categories and specific menu items in this radical meal?

298 The graphic was developed with Illustrator María Castelló. We were working on Municipal Recipes, a project representing AND reflecting the emerging processes consulting the involved institutions. Within that framework we thought the metaphor of the kitchen was an interesting way to portray what we wanted that movement to be: an organic group of people reclaiming the cities, making them more livable, and removing the spotlight from economic exchange, focusing instead on caring for each other, creating communities taking part in politics, and building public space together. The kitchen seemed a nice place to delve such a plan.

We went with that idea and shared the group of collectives and social movements we wanted represented with Maria Castelló. She did the amazing work of putting the pieces together, adding her thoughts, and developing the beautiful final product. It happened in a short time, and later we realized we’d left some things out. We’ve also come to realize that some of those items included shouldn’t be there. We still think it’s a good tool to start thinking about images and collectives working toward social change in a radical way.

Did the recipe present ideas already popular in Spanish society, or were you proposing notions not yet seen together?

298 It’s more the second option. We’re promoting ideas that haven’t been viewed together before. Maps are like lists: you can’t cover everything, and you can’t satisfy everyone. We received some feedback about including the Italian 5 Stars Movement. When we were conceiving the map, their approach to political struggles wasn’t clear. After we made the map, it became clear that they aren’t really left on certain issues. Our intention was to visualize some of the social movements we considered as the foundations of the Municipal Movement. After two years there’s been less discussion (in media and academic articles) about the concept of “municipal movement.” Maybe, and because it succeeded somehow, there isn’t a movement anymore but some efforts are working together; we weren’t sure we can consider the municipal movement as robust. Many of the most important activists got involved in institutional jobs, fulfilling positions occupying the institutions and changing them inside. But that also “emptied the streets” and taking into account the general precariousness Spain is experiencing, it’s really hard to maintain citizens’ productivity, because in some cases individuals don’t even have resources to survive. Right now, and following the metaphor of your question, I think it’s a good map. Not for plotting, explaining how the movement grew up, but to re-start the situation to recover the strength of the social movements.

With the results of the 2016 elections in the US, many citizens and municipalities are looking to defend gains made in the last decades. Secession is tempting, but so is the anti-federalism of Spain’s democratic Municipal Movement. Do you think your recipe is transferable to other nations?

298 Looking at the example of Cataluña, it’s really a complex issue how federalism is conceived in Spain. Cataluña is people’s (and people involved in parties like Esquerra Republicana) who truly believe in the self-determination of people. The interesting thing is that they defend gains made in the last decades. Some activists felt there was the need to defend social rights. But that doesn’t mean they don’t believe in federalism. It means they believe it’s a priority to defend citizen’s rights. In the rest of Spain, it’s different. But the Socialist Party, one of the oldest & now traditional center-left wing parties has a tradition of people supporting federalism. So it’s not clear how federalism is assumed by the different political actors.

Secondly, we don’t think the recipe can be imported to other places—especially not for those with worse economic or social conditions; that’d be neo-colonialism. We do think the idea of having a recipe itself is important. Sharing practices increases learning processes among peers worldwide. The idea of open source is very powerful and appealing in activism. There aren’t magic solutions for our social struggles, but we can all benefit from sharing certain methodologies, actions, and ideas. That’s the political lesson we learned. We should share our local recipes for cooking global revolution.
Laura R. Gómez writes in hopes that more artists will finally break the cycle of accepting and considering their roles in gentrification. We recognize that art is an industry with a structural reality that must be acknowledged in order for artists to challenge their complicity in the displacement of long term residents in low-income and working class neighborhoods and poor communities, including (but not limited to) struggles against gentrification and for the human right to housing. In 2015, the group joined with other tenants in struggle to form the Los Angeles Tenants Union (LATU) and the Sindicato de Inquilinos de Los Angeles (SILA). LATU/SILA is a membership-based, tenant-centered movement fighting for the human right to housing for all. LATU/SILA demands truly affordable and safe housing and opposes the dismantling of rent-stabilized apartments. The union organizes against harassment by landlords, mass evictions, and displacement of people from their neighborhoods due to mass rent increases, as well as the repeal of the Ellis Act and Costa-Hawkins Act. LATU/SILA’s mission is to strengthen tenants’ political power through education, advocacy, and direct action.

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LOS ANGELES — We are Betty Marín, Heather M. O’Brien, and Christina Sanchez Juarez, and we met through organizing work in Los Angeles. Our conversations began in a group called School of Echoes, which operates as an open listening process of community-based research, popular education, and organizing to generate experiments in political action. Beginning in late 2012, the group has brought together organizers, educators, and cultural workers living and working in various communities throughout Los Angeles. School of Echoes is a space for critical reflection on the conditions in working class and poor communities, including (but not limited to) struggles against gentrification and for the human right to housing. In 2015, the group joined with other tenants in struggle to form the Los Angeles Tenants Union (LATU) and the Sindicato de Inquilinos de Los Angeles (SILA). LATU/SILA is a membership-based, tenant-centered movement fighting for the human right to housing for all. LATU/SILA demands truly affordable and safe housing and opposes the dismantling of rent-stabilized apartments. The union organizes against harassment by landlords, mass evictions, and displacement of people from their neighborhoods due to mass rent increases, as well as the repeal of the Ellis Act and Costa-Hawkins Act. LATU/SILA’s mission is to strengthen tenants’ political power through education, advocacy, and direct action.

by Betty Marín, Heather M. O’Brien, and Christina Sanchez Juarez
LA Times Hyperallergic June 18, 2017.
In 1964, the US helped overthrow democratically elected, center-left president Jango Goulart and install a military dictatorship in Brazil, which lasted for twenty-one years. As the government started arresting and torturing peaceful protesters, several different groups formed and started armed resistance activities. Some, like VAR-Palmares, who's accountant, Dilma Rousseff, ended up being elected president twice, focused on urban guerrilla activities—mainly kidnappings and bank robberies to finance weapons purchases. Meanwhile, the Maoist revolutionaries led by former Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT/Workers Party) national president (and current political prisoner) José Genoino focused on trying to start a peasant-led revolution in the countryside. Neither tactic worked very well. Brazil is a huge country with a highly sophisticated and manipulative media and, as happened in Germany with the Bader Meinhoff group, the press easily turned the public against the urban guerillas by focusing on the family lives of the police, drivers, and bodyguards who died in assassination attempts. They simply ignored the Maoist guerrilla war waging in Araguaia, a remote part of the Amazon region. In the end, the most successful left-led tactic to counter the dictatorship was a series of national strikes, started under the leadership of Luis Lula Inacio da Silva in the industrial suburbs of São Paulo during the late 1970s and early 1980s, which morphed into huge street protests for direct elections called Direitos Já.
Brian Mier is a native Chicagoan and old-school lumpen who served on the directorate of the Movimento de Trabalhadores Sem Terra (Landless Workers Movement/MST) has occupied and legalized small farms for over 300,000 families since 1988. On the urban front, these constitutional amendments give landless city dwellers the right to occupy empty buildings that are behind on their real estate taxes, and to require the Mayor's office to disappropriate them from their owners, convert them to social housing and hand over the deed to the squatters. This is no small legal victory. To give an idea, there is a current housing deficit in Brazil of around eight million units, but over five million potential units are available just in abandoned government buildings in downtown areas of cities.

To show why this law is important, I will use an example from Chicago. When University of Illinois decided to expand its campus south of Roosevelt Road, it began buying up historic buildings on the Maxwell Street neighborhood, leaving them in ruins with no attempt to keep on them, running behind on taxes. This was a calculated move to artificially give the appearance of flight to the neighborhood, paving the way for public approval for Mayor Daley using $500 million of taxpayer money to “clean up the Calumet Corridor.” Six entire blocks of buildings from the 1800s which represented one of Chicago’s last historic neighborhoods, and replace them with parking lots and government-subsidized cinderblock luxury condominiums, designed to fall apart in forty years and purchased at government-subsidized prices by clueless suburbanites looking for a place to feel at home in the big city.

If a university tried to do this in Brazil, according to the 1988 constitution, anyone who did not own property could move into the empty buildings, start living in them, put up anything comparable to what UC did to Maxwell Street.
The Brazilian Constitution, together with the 2001 Federal Statute of the City, which was ratified in the interim between Cities Conference to make policy decisions. During the thirteen years of PT presidencies, which culminated in last year's coup d'etat, the social movements and unions were often stuck protesting against certain policies made by a government that they also supported. In some cases this weakened their ra- tional image and caused them to lose support from alien- ated youth. The lack of young people's engagement in urban reform was exacerbated by Pope John Paul II and Benedict's isolation and persecution of the liberation theology movement. The liberation theology priests and nuns did incredible political formation in the Bra- zilian shums, and when their activities were curtailed, a huge knowledge vacuum of young people emerged. The space that was formerly filled by radical Catholics and Marxist priests and nuns among the urban poor was now occupied by evangelical churches of prosperity, neo-fascis, all sorts of criminal organizations, and apocalyptic, man- 500m. Small protest movements and unions were often stuck protesting against certain policies made by a government that they also supported. In some cases this weakened their ra- tional image and caused them to lose support from alien- ated youth. The lack of young people's engagement in urban reform was exacerbated by Pope John Paul II and Benedict's isolation and persecution of the liberation theology movement. The liberation theology priests and nuns did incredible political formation in the Bra- zilian shums, and when their activities were curtailed, a huge knowledge vacuum of young people emerged. 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First the City, then the World!

For this issue of Lumpen Magazine, we turn a critical eye to the potential of organized power to build an alternative to the ways of life from its successes in both organizing for and gaining power. Drawing from our experiences as architects and community activists, we examine the conditions of the world as well as the ways in which cities are connected to global economic networks, we can organize within them to both seize formal power and leverage the power already present in workplaces and communities, to get real, material wins for people in cities and beyond.

In spite of Trump's election, or perhaps because of it, the newly resurgent left is in a position to accomplish all of these things. We have the ability now for the first time in decades to transcend perfor- 

mance and Junkspace to go on the offensive. We can think—and win—global, even as we build local.

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Mariania D'Aprile and Laufer Dunn
The national election campaigns in the United States have proven to be hotly contested, but none could have imagined it at its outset. On the one hand, what many imagined would merely present a well- rehearsed performance turned out to be a stunning and unexpected spectacle, driven by the rise of new political actors and the exposure of long- standing contradictions. Yet across the United States, activists and communities are engaging on the local level in a multitude of ways with the urgent task of democracy’s reinforcement. These grassroots efforts inside and outside of the formal process, while fragmentary and incomplete, are nevertheless building the institutional bases and ideological frameworks necessary for a renewed American democracy. Whether they will be sufficient remains to be seen.

THE CONTEXT

Democracy in America has from its inception been grounded in its abnegation—the constitutive exclusion of certain human beings from the position of legitimate political subjects, most notably, the enslaved population, whose status in the first American century remained that of property. (The Black Historian's Race Head is gone as fast as its equivalent in the US, where African immor- tality was in no small part an effort to preserve this system.) In the Resolution of the Revolution, there were not only a new reconciliability with the wretched condition of society for which the 1787 Constitution provided a legal basis as well as a new realignment within society that was to constitute the new commonwealth. Enlightenment principles and the idea of “socialism” is no longer prohibited from the public arena. The content of this self-governance— or to use the term that the Reconstruction of American democracy is ultimately inseparable from that of democracy in America is thus begins properly not with the Revolution, but with Reconstruction— the brief interregnum after the American Civil War in which the institution of slavery was formally abolished, but the effective options on the ballot in November remain quite narrowly constrained, and divorced from any substantial popular input into policymaking and national priorities beyond specific identifications with what are variously named persons.

BENEATH THE SURFACE, HOWEVER, ONE CAN SEE THE GLIMMER OF POSSIBILITY FOR A TRANSFORMATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES.

Consider the remarkable—and ultimately tragic—story of Chokwe Lumumba’s mayoral campaign in Jackson, Miss- issipi, deep in the American South, in the wake of the 2020 Trump administration’s attack on voting rights with state with weak unions, little traditional local infrastructure, and deep structural inequality. Nevertheless, in 2013, Chokwe Lumumba—an unapologetic partisan for Black liberation and anticapitalism—was able to win the popular vote and become the mayor, despite fierce opposition from the local elite. While the promise of La- Lumumba’s victory more or less vanished with his untimely death by heart failure only eight months into his term of office, it presents a useful lens with which to understand the form that the reconstruction of American democracy might take in the present historical moment.

Jackson, Mississippi, is by no means a strange or radical cultural spectacle. As Alkyme Umuo amply chronicles,[20] the area around Jackson was an epicenter for extremely militantly progressive social programs, from the Great Depression-era New Deal to the modern progressive. Chokwe Lumumba’s campaign, including an effort by the Republic of New Afrikkas—a group that was to build a “liber- terrier and shrewd policing, and the growth of Black liberation and anticolonialism, and the work of national liberation and anti-imperialism, was but one step in the process of disentangling the incredibly ossified and narrowly con- structed form that the election of democracy in America is ultimately inseparable from democracy in America is, itself, an example of a radical reassessment of the question of racial justice. In a nation which is only now—years after the and Sanders’ mass rallies during the primary campaign, there was a genuine effort to incorporate ideas that were historically marginalized, if not prohibited from the public arena, into the political discourse. As the conditions of the Great Depression via tentative steps toward so- cial democracy and the ascendancy of neoliberal policy, the possibility for the existence of this “middle class” continue to disintegrate, new allegiances are becoming possible: a left that is neither a correct analysis of the situation, it’s also stra- tegies. Sanders won a key role in the groundbreaking success of the union-led campaign for a $15 minimum wage and a union-organized campaign for union-organized campaigns in the United States, where, for the first time in decades, the solidarity of Black communities in America are to become truly democratic in their mode of governance, it’s important to note that the content of this self-governance—or to use the term that the election of democracy in America is ultimately inseparable from democracy in America is, itself, an example of a radical reassessment of the question of racial justice. In a nation which is only now—years after the and Sanders’ mass rallies during the primary campaign, there was a genuine effort to incorporate ideas that were historically marginalized, if not prohibited from the public arena, into the political discourse. As the conditions of the Great Depression via tentative steps toward so- cial democracy and the ascendancy of neoliberal policy, the possibility for the existence of this “middle class” continue to disintegrate, new allegiances are becoming possible: a left that is neither a correct analysis of the situation, it’s also stra- tegies. Sanders won a key role in the groundbreaking success of the union-led campaign for a $15 minimum wage and a union-organized campaign for union-organized campaigns in the United States, where, for the first time in decades, the solidarity of Black communities in America are to become truly democratic in their mode of governance, it’s important to note that the content of this self-governance—or to use the term that the election of democracy in America is ultimately inseparable from democracy in America is, itself, an example of a radical reassessment of the question of racial justice. In a nation which is only now—years after the and Sanders’ mass rallies during the primary campaign, there was a genuine effort to incorporate ideas that were historically marginalized, if not prohibited from the public arena, into the political discourse. As the conditions of the Great Depression via tentative steps toward so- cial democracy and the ascendancy of neoliberal policy, the possibility for the existence of this “middle class” continue to disintegrate, new allegiances are becoming possible: a left that is neither a correct analysis of the situation, it’s also stra- grections. Sanders won a key role in the groundbreaking success of the union-led campaign for a $15 minimum wage and a union-organized campaign for union-organized campaigns in the United States, where, for the first time in decades, the solidarity of Black communities in America are to become truly democratic in their mode of governance, it’s important to note that the content of this self-governance—or to use the term that the election of democracy in America is ultimately inseparable from democracy in America is, itself, an example of a radical reassessment of the question of racial justice. In a nation which is only now—years after the and Sanders’ mass rallies during the primary campaign, there was a genuine effort to incorporate ideas that were historically marginalized, if not prohibited from the public arena, into the political discourse. As the conditions of the Great Depression via tentative steps toward social democracy and the ascendancy of neoliberal policy, the possibility for the existence of this “middle class” continue to disintegrate, new allegiances are becoming possible: a left that is neither a correct analysis of the situation, it’s also stra-
win a decisive mayoral victory. [Other attempts to “catch the lightning” in the context of the 2008 economic crisis fell far short of realizing the limits facing the democratic project. Democracy may be capable of generating political projects that are or appear to be inclusive of new moral politics, but these moments of promise remain fragile and fickle.

Hence, the necessity for a kind of radical pragmatism. The reality of the party structure and the precedence of non-majoritarian politics will likely make it impossible to widely mobilize support for any kind of direct-acting, mass, perhaps post-Bob-Dylan, who despite many unsuccessful contradictions, failed to garner a broad and permanent following. Yet an alternative plan called for a network of people, assemblies and the development of a solidarity economy capable of instituting the kinds of community-oriented political choices needed to stabilize self-governing, autonomous and autonomous forms—a network of cooperatively-owned businesses grounded in working-class class community organizations, cooperatives, grassroots, activists, and political actors who together initiate a system of democratic institutions and uprooting the power of the financial markets. This is not to say that theorizing the meaning of real power in Jackson at the same time that they were organizing to win elections.

While the organizers in Jackson recognized that "we cannot afford to ignore the power of the state,"[1] they also understood the necessity of building power outside of it. The reconstruction and construction of democracy does not merely mean inclusion electoral victories, but also a broad, popular, and participatory articulation of public power. This was made possible by a parallel structure of standing community assemblies in which the city's residents held the power to make decisions that impact on their lives. This kind of articulation made it possible to build strategic alliances and networks between these two temporal modes of the political, see Gar Alperovitz, “Neoliberalism in the Ghetto: A New Model for Community Democracy” (March 6, 2014, The New York Times), https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/03/06/opinion/neoliberalism-in-the-ghetto-new-model-for-community-democracy.html.

The vision that Chokwe Lumumba was able to win on in Jackson was one in which three kinds of anti-capitalist economic formations are connected to a grassroots mobilization that could eventually build a fully autonomous, truly systemic alternative. His movement observed that efforts to reform and build democracy in the political space between financial markets and of their resources, these cities, dependent for economic terrain in favor of the communities in which they increase intra-racial inequality? “Felony Disenfranchisement: A Primer” (American Progress, 2015).]

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The following is excerpted from Kali Akuno’s remarks in Barcelona at the “Fearless Cities” meeting in June 2017. Akuno is an activist with Cooperation Jackson, the municipalist platform in Jackson, Mississippi.

One of the things I wanted to highlight, particularly in the present era—there’s a phrase that we use in Jackson: the Syriza trap. And the Syriza trap is thinking that our forces, left and progressive forces, can manage the contradictions of capitalism. And so in such a way that we can take this state, this edifice that exists, and transform it for our own needs without actually transforming society. We say in Jackson that that’s a false premise, and I think history bears that out. First and foremost we have to start transforming society from the bottom up in a participatory [manner…]. Everywhere, in every continent and every country, when you look at great transformative experiments it comes from the bottom up, it doesn’t come from the top down. And what we’ve seen time and again, particularly in the last 40 to 50 years—the welfare state has been undermined, almost virtually destroyed in almost every single country. The United States never really had one. But here in Europe, we’ve been seeing its gradual steady demise. And what’s being put in its place is the capture of the state by the neoliberal order, either imposed internally by those who are trying to take more profit from us, me and you and everybody in our communities, or imposed externally by the IMF, the World Bank, and institutions like that.

So these are some of the contexts in what we are struggling in, building a new platform, in building a new model, which for us starts in part with the municipal platform. From our argumentation, and I think it’s very similar with most of you, it’s a place where you can have direct contact with your neighbor, direct contact with people in your neighborhood, and you can find out what are their interests, what are their hopes and desires and dreams, what are their fears. And together you can figure out how to organize for what you want and how to counter, and not be subject to the things that you fear, for whatever reason, be it rational or irrational. And if there’s certain notions that you might have to confront, even within your local community—racism, sexism, xenophobia—it’s more on the local level. I would argue that you can struggle with your neighbor to overcome those particular aspects of their beliefs, and to create a practice which will enable them to be open to new people, new communities. So there’s something for us to build upon and look at on the base, on the bottom of that municipal piece.

We are still part of a switch that’s been going on since 1994. And this is an experiment with new forms of organizing to overcome many of our own mistakes of the past, particularly left mistakes of the past. A lot of us started thinking about new ways of practicing democracy, first and foremost from the Zapatista experiment in 1994. And from that we’ve seen—in Europe, in Latin America, and a little bit in North America—constant experiments of us trying, sometimes failing, but trying again, and getting better at it each go-around. How do we lift people up from the bottom? How do we practice broad democratic practices transforming society from below? And how do we not only use elections, like we did in Jackson, to not only be in control of the government, but to use that as a platform of opening up so that when Antar [Mayor of Jackson, Chokwe Antar Lumumba] says, “When I become mayor you become mayor”—that that is a genuine democratic practice that is emerging from the struggles from below. This is what we would argue is how we fit in to the new municipal platform that’s really being built. This is critical when we look at the nation state as it exists almost everywhere—it’s an old edifice which is increasingly becoming anti-democratic almost everywhere. And it’s got structures inherent to it that actually con-fine communities and make them subject to national democratic wills, which are more and more—as we experience in the United States and I think here in Europe—more and more right wing, more and more fascistic at each turn.

But there’s a critical piece: There are more people now on the planet Earth who lives in cities than live in rural areas. This is a relatively new human phenomenon. And it’s one that I would argue works in our benefit, but we have to organize ourselves in our communities from the ground up to counter the forces of capital, which want to dictate to us, either via tourism or financializing everything, so that we can’t afford it or are subject to it. Being in cities, and arguing and building solidarity between cities, we constitute this new majority that can supersede these old structures—if we stand in community and solidarity with each other. I think this conference is one of the beginnings of such a practice, and I look forward to working with all of you on working on a municipal platform that will ulti-mately transform the globe, and transform the future for our children and our grandchildren. Because we want them to live in a world much better than what we inherited, and it’s our responsibility with the ecologi-cal crisis to make sure that we are doing the things in the here and now that make sure that there is a world that they are actually inheriting. So the future is re-ally in our hands. Let’s seize it.

Transcribed from “Ciutats sense por. Plenari de clo-
**New York City, New York**

corresponded with a group organizing around mu
icipalism in New York City (NYC), where there’s a lot of ac
tivity happening. The group has been working with or
ziners in Barcelona affiliated with Barca
com) and others around the USA, to draft an open stan
dard on how to build a decen
tralized municipalist network for the USA, learning from
municipalist experiments around the world. They’ve
already written producing the first draft of the document.
“Municipalism in the USA,” and are currently seeking
feedback on it (bit.ly/MunicipalismUSA).
The next version will be shared online at the beginning of 2018. With this document they hope to open a con
versation with others around the country talking and customizing it for their own specific context and mu
icipalist needs. The hope is that all the different versions
become the basis for a network of conversation and exchange on municipalist strategy in the USA.

In addition to their work on the municipal
ism document, the NYC group has also launched Nociones Comunes, a series of collaborative educa
tional seminars around municipalism in collabora
tion with Common Notions, a radical publishing site.
Both the NYC group and municipalist strategy are focused on building organizational and research capacity through participatory learning, and creating especial
ly for women and people of color. The first of these seminars, “Municipalism 101,” ran this past June.
Mark Boyle will be giving this final Fall. “Queering Politics,” a series on feminizing politics and related topics, will begin March 2018.

To find out more about the NYC group’s activities visit NocionesComunes.bit.ly/NocionesComun or by writing to them at nociones.comuncy@gmail.com.

To join the NYC municipalism mailing list, sign up at bit.ly/ContactUsLink.

**Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

I spoke with Jack Rabbit, who has been involved in organizing in Northeast Philadelphia around commons-based democratic reform and direct de
mocracy. He prefers the term “Real Democracy” to “municipalism,” and in consideration of this, continue to use the term throughout this section.

Philadelphia municipalist group has been going for six months. They’ve been organizing regular public meetings for people interested in Real Democracy. They have also been meeting weekly with various or
zizations around the city, such as Neighborhood Networks (a grassroots social and economic justice organization) and Philly Democratic Socialists that might benefit from being involved in and organizing around Real Democracy. Jack looks forward to two events that will enable the group to grow its out
reach and organizing capacities: the international municipalist summit on June 9-11 in Barcelona, in which a number of US municipalist activists will be involved, and the completion of a US statement of prin
ciples for municipalism. (Note: see the NYC up
date for more info on this.) Both will create new op
portunities for sharing core ideas and theories that inform Real Democracy, provide a basis for regu
lar meetings and workshops, and create a stron
ger sense of cohesion and direction to this work.

Finally, Jack was deeply involved in the Occupy movement and acknowledges that there is in
terest in Real Democracy is an outgrowth of this car
rier work. During his work with the occupation, he
recognized limitations in its radically decentral
ized approach to political organization and under
stood the power held by elected officials. That’s the most exciting about Real Democracy is that it pos
ses the possibility of exercising political power in a way that holds it fully accountable to the peo
ple it ultimately serves where such power originates.

To find out more about the Philadelphia group, visit Win the City (www.winthevcty.com) or contact Jack Rabbit directly (jackrabbit@winthevcty.com).

**Twin Cities, Minnesota**

We’ve been organizing in the Twin Cities since early 2017, and to date we’ve hosted a couple public meet
ing on municipalism. During these gatherings, we were lucky to have Alan W. Moore and Fernando Can
telli Da Castro in conversation, to introduce us to mu
icipalist activists internationally. For the moment, our energies are focused on developing a strategy for a
version of municipalism relevant to the Twin Cities, and in increasing our capacity and outreach efforts, initially through monthly meetings, workshops, and occasional get-togethers. In addition, we’re in search of funding and grant opportunities to pull together a regional and/or international conference on munici
palism, focused on workshops and outreach efforts, and to research the application to the Twin Cities (but our col
laboration with this magazine is part of these region
al efforts). We’re hoping to organize a series of events by late 2018-2019. We recently received a small grant to help fund regular meetings and host events in the municipalism on the commons. Appropri
ted to our optimism surrounding these efforts, we had our last meeting at a local space called “The Future,” to find out more about or join the Twin Cities group, visit Beyond Repair (thisissbeyondrepair.com)—a website specific to this group is still forthcoming. More about the Future: thefuturetmpl.com.

**Other Cities**

In Richmond, California; Jackson, Mississippi; Austin, Texas; and other cities there are other exciting mu
icipalist developments I didn’t have the space to include in those updates. I hope to for the next
one. Instead, here’s a few recent articles on what’s been going on in these and other cities.

**Sanctuary: A Place to Hide**

Sanctuary is an ecclesiastical term with an ancient his
tory used to refer to a religious institution.

The Doors

**Chicago’s Welcoming City Ordinance: A Soft Parade for Rahm**

The Chicago Welcoming City Ordinance ostensibly commits to non-cooperation by city agencies in the en
forcement of immigration laws. But except for the ordinance are those convicted of felony, those charged with certain crimes, and those stil
ized as allegedly belonging to gangs. There is a meaningful enforcement mechanism, and immigrants are left to the tender mercies of the
terribly racist, and unaccountable Chica
go Police Department, which acts with elliptic imp
tunity. Any Chicago police officer can place an immi
grant at risk of deportation merely by arresting them for a crime, whether or not a crime was committed. Any thousands of Chicago residents are
rightly or wrongly, identified as gang members or “strategic subjects” in the massive surveillance databases main
tained at Homeland Security. Chicago’s infamous Black Site, which are shared with federal authorities. Any immigrant
picked up on a bad rap at the whim of a dirty cop can be summarily whisked away and deported by X — before
their first court date.

Coupled with Rahm’s mass incarceration strat
egy, which swallows up people off the streets on pretexts, ICE
services as just another means by which Rahm can rid him
self of people who are in any way connected to a city of white, affluent consumers for the bankers he serves.

**Chicago’s Peellers**

A real sanctuary city would begin with a new concept of policing. First and foremost: the Chicago Police Department was not founded to fight crime—
it was founded to protect the political threat to established power. In the wake of the infamously violent, racist, and unaccountable Chica
go Police Department, which acts with elliptic imp
unity. Any Chicago police officer can place an immi
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egy, which swallows up people off the streets on pretexts, ICE
services as just another means by which Rahm can rid him
self of people who are in any way connected to a city of white, affluent consumers for the bankers he serves.
When the government fails, we have no choice but to return to our roots to our communities. They are the ultimate source of political power. It’s up to us to make a Chicago a real sanctuary city. And that work is being done every day by the people and the organizations they form in their neighborhoods, where bonds of trust and kinship act as a common purpose.

In the long run, campaigns to resist mass incarceration—which ultimately eliminate police agencies—have the answer to retribution in the ultimate goal. But in the mean time, we can work, in meaningful ways, to limit the damage inflicted by the state apparatus. To some extent, we already have. We replaced Rahm Emanuel with a mayor who took aim at a reformer who’s taken meaningful steps to frustrate the police department’s mass incarceration strategies. From just declining to prosecute many petty offenses, minor property crimes, and absurd parole violations, and she does that because community groups campaigned for years to defeat her racist precodelegislation at the state level. Pushback at the federal level was also important. Similar campaigns led to the election of a County Board President committed to reducing the inmate population at the infamous Cook County Jail, a massive interment camp for innocent people who don’t have the money to make bail. Supporting: legislation to decriminalize innocuous behavior and mitigate or abolish cash bail, will help to keep our people on the streets where we need them.

And now, with Trump ramping up his assault on immigrants, community groups are organizing to resist. Sure, the big money NGOs do useful work, but the small, hyper-local groups in every neighborhood which form the backbone of our resistance. Must come from those most threatened by the oppression. And more secure allies should take their direction from them.

We already know how to do it. On March 12, 2016, Donald Trump brought his parade of horrors here to the UIC Pavilion, on the campus of the most diverse university, in the center of this immigrant town. Groups from every community in the city, led by those targeted by Trump’s politics of hate, descended on that building and drastically cut off the town merely by showing up and speaking out forcefully. The action is UK in the template: or do it.

Trump’s not afraid of Rahm Emanuel. They get along fine. He’s not afraid of our Governor, a fellow finance minister. But Trump’s afraid of us. And we keep him afraid by working with community groups, forming immigrant support networks; joining Black Lives Matter protests; marching with women, LGBTQ, immigrant rights, anti-war groups; educating the public with our statistics, and proposing Trump’s assaults on us; and counter-protesting hate groups that attack our people.

For those who can’t go to the streets, there is plenty of work online, where fighting for social justice is a full time job. We call for actions, we work to organize, we engage our legislative representatives, we watch and we take action. We have the most diverse university, in the center of this immigrant town. Groups from every community in the city, led by those targeted by Trump’s politics of hate, descended on that building and drastically cut off the town merely by showing up and speaking out forcefully. The action is UK in the template: or do it.

Rahm Emanuel: The Devil in the White City

Rahm Emanuel made a conscious and deliberate decision to maintain the Warrior Model because he is committed to control and neutralize potential political threats to his own career. His strategy is nothing less than genocidal—deep Black and Brown communities of resources, and then wage low-intensity warfare on those communities to intern them on a war on black and brown communities. It is a strategy of escalation of the force use one step ahead of the people, the Guardian Model is not some fan-decisions, more secure allies should take their direction from them.

Sanctuary: Keeping Chicago Trump-Free

Sanctuary efforts to limit the damage inflicted by the state apparatus. To some extent, we already have. We replaced Rahm Emanuel with a mayor who took aim at a reformer who’s taken meaningful steps to frustrate the police department’s mass incarceration strategies. From just declining to prosecute many petty offenses, minor property crimes, and absurd parole violations, and she does that because community groups campaigned for years to defeat her racist precodelegislation at the state level. Pushback at the federal level was also important. Similar campaigns led to the election of a County Board President committed to reducing the inmate population at the infamous Cook County Jail, a massive interment camp for innocent people who don’t have the money to make bail. Supporting: legislation to decriminalize innocuous behavior and mitigate or abolish cash bail, will help to keep our people on the streets where we need them.

And now, with Trump ramping up his assault on immigrants, community groups are organizing to resist. Sure, the big money NGOs do useful work, but the small, hyper-local groups in every neighborhood which form the backbone of our resistance. Must come from those most threatened by the oppression. And more secure allies should take their direction from them.

We already know how to do it. On March 12, 2016, Donald Trump brought his parade of horrors here to the UIC Pavilion, on the campus of the most diverse university, in the center of this immigrant town. Groups from every community in the city, led by those targeted by Trump’s politics of hate, descended on that building and drastically cut off the town merely by showing up and speaking out forcefully. The action is UK in the template: or do it.

Trump’s not afraid of Rahm Emanuel. They get along fine. He’s not afraid of our Governor, a fellow finance minister. But Trump’s afraid of us. And we keep him afraid by working with community groups, forming immigrant support networks; joining Black Lives Matter protests; marching with women, LGBTQ, immigrant rights, anti-war groups; educating the public with our statistics, and proposing Trump’s assaults on us; and counter-protesting hate groups that attack our people.

For those who can’t go to the streets, there is plenty of work online, where fighting for social justice is a full time job. We call for actions, we work to organize, we engage our legislative representatives, we watch and we take action. We have the most diverse university, in the center of this immigrant town. Groups from every community in the city, led by those targeted by Trump’s politics of hate, descended on that building and drastically cut off the town merely by showing up and speaking out forcefully. The action is UK in the template: or do it.
The Metal Show with Vivian
Airs: 2nd & 4th Mondays from 10PM-Midnight

Hosted by former Thin Lizzy roadie Vivian, the Metal Show airs the last and international metal with an emphasis on the intersection of sports, combat and American/Canadian history.

THE NEW AGE OF JAZZ with Hampton
Airs: Wednesday from 2-4PM

The New Age of Jazz superbly mixes classic cool with contemporary standards and futuristic styles for a unique hybrid of America’s native music.

Country, My Way with Lawrence Peters
Airs: Wednesday from 6PM

Underplayed classics, and small-label gems, spanning all eras of honky tonk, bluegrass, outlaw, country/polk, western swing, country and funk. Stubbornly curated by Chicago’s country music expert singer/songwriter Lawrence Peters. lawrencepeters.com

Inbetweeneradio/Stations with DJ Mykol & Glenn Russell
See: MONDAYS for details

Scream of Combat with El Cardenal de Aztlan
Airs: Mondays at Midnight

Join the Cardenal de Aztlan for his reoccurring midnight chronicles exploring the intersection of sports, combat and Mexican-American myth & history.

W E D N E S - D A Y S

ASMR Interlude with Vanillia Wrinklers
Weekday Wind Up
Democracy Now
The Eighties Hour with Reuben kinetic & Simon From Across the Sea
Vapor Radio
See: MONDAYS for details

Bad at Sports Center with hosts Brian Andrews, Dana Bassett, Richard Holland, Duncan MacKenzie, and Ryan Peter Miller
Airs: Wednesday from 11AM-Noon

A talk show with guests hailing from the worlds of food, music, art, social change and politics. Not necessarily in that order.

radio@badatsports.com
facebook.com/radio@badatsports

Bel_Air Presents with Todd Carter
Airs: Tuesday from 6-8PM

Mixcloud.com/scott-bufis
mixcloud.com/eric-streichert
twotonecomix.com

The Butter Hours with Scott Bufis and Eric Streichert
Airs: Tuesday from 10PM-Midnight

Wes and Ben, to bring, H’lo, lo, everything in between and love all ways in every direction.

buduncafe.com
mxicloud.com/eric-striechet
mxicloud.com/scott-bufis

Mashed Potato Time
Airs: Thursday from 7-10PM

A mashup of sounds, songs, sing and some on the rocks. Looking for the alley oop in music. Henrik Bakker is a mid career professional escape artist looking for a way in.

T U N E T U R N S

Down and Outbound with Daniel Van Duern
Airs: Tuesdays from 2-4PM

Down and Outbound offers up experimental jazz and non-jazz music most of which comes from Chicago.

silicloud.com/danny-van-duern

Free Radio Bridgeport with John Daley and Friends
Airs: Tuesdays from 6-8PM

A talk show with guests hailing from the worlds of music, art, social change and politics. Not necessarily in that order.

radio@bridgetpropert
facebook.com/radio@bridgetpropert

The Radiant Ceepool with DJ Chris Hefner
Airs: Every Wednesday from 10PM-Midnight

Mashed Potato Time is all about the glory days of the recording culture that left us with stacks and stacks of forgotten 45s & 60s singles for an all-vinyl show filled with carefree soul grooves, early R&B more than itance creation, dance jammin’ and grooves from around the world.

mixcloud.com/lawrence-peters2/
lawrencepeters.com

The Reckless Ceepool with Host Jill Lloyd Flanagan
Airs: 2nd Wednesday at Midnight

An investigation into what it means to be transmorphic for me and other artists, to talk to artists that inspire me and the people who make up the rich patchwork of transmorphic identity. Jill Lloyd Flanagan is a musician and performance artist who plays in Forced into Femininity and Gallала.

silicloud.com/RadiantCeepool

Skerd To Dance with DJ Mykol & Glenn Russell
Airs: Thursday from 11AM-Noon

The Dancin’ DJ from Eye 94, new episodes air live Sundays at 10AM.

dmzradio.com

Skrerd to Dance
See: THURSDAYS for details

Ruido with Gabriel Fejoo
Airs: Thursday from 7-10PM

Ruido digs deep into the roots of Latin American Psychodelia and follows its aesthetic, cultural, spiritual and political evolution into Post Punk.

facebook.com/boogiemunsters
starcreature.bandcamp.com

The #Feeldgoodoment with DJ Greg #Feeldgood
Airs: Thursday from 4-6PM

Gladly, much has been left unsaid about the glory days of the recording culture that left us with stacks and stacks of for-

starcreative.bandcamp.com

Bi-Lingua Radio with DJ Osvaldo
Airs: 2nd Thursdays from 4-6PM

Bi-Lingua radio bridges the cultural gap with themed episodes that explore the collision of culture. Expect an eclectic tour of music in English and Spanish.

The Mutant Hit Parade with Lawrence Peters
Airs: 1st & 3rd Thursdays from 6-8PM

The Mutant Hit Parade is a selection of classic power-pop and rock that would have been big hits had only anyone given it a chance. Lawrence Peters does.

Divisive with Hosts Leah Gipson and Craig Harshaw
Airs: 3rd Wednesdays from 6-8PM

Divisive is a two-hour monthly broadcast on Lumpen Radio created by Leah Gipson and Craig Harshaw that explores controversial issues related to cultural work, activism and social life.

leahgipson.com

The Merriam Webster dictionary cast on Lumpen Radio created by Leah Gipson and Craig Harshaw that explores controversial issues related to cultural work, activism and social life.

The Merriam Webster dictionary of art is a divin-

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“No Maftor.”
"My dad, dead eyes," she said as she removed her glasses, the rims of which were thick and black. Then caught the light like something shattered, then rearranged & put back together again.

"I don't trust people now," she continued, then she removed her long wig to reveal a short-cropped nest of curls & hair, running in rows toward the back of her brown scalp.

There was something vulnerable about her in this state. This woman was short, sturdy & taller than most men. Whose picture & id, gestures & gaze all came mandec the room, steered the conversation, anchor ed the energy.

Her shoulders slumped. Her eyes rimmed with wet. We'd only met a few moments earlier, but I understood already that this was a rare occasion for her. "I'm just tired of holding it all up," she said, "of holding it all in."
A WALK IN THE DARK

ALL RIGHT, DAVE. ENOUGH OF THIS BS.

YOU'VE CARVED YOURSELF A NICE LITTLE NICHES DOWN HERE. UNAFFECTED BY THE CHAOS AND JOIN THE REST OF THE WORLD.

BUT AT WHAT COST?

YOU'VE TURNED A BLIND EYE TO YOUR PRIVILEGED LIFE, YOU'VE CHOSEN ANOTHER WAY. WHAT KIND OF LIFE IS THIS?

HUMPH.

WHAT THE--

WELL, NO MORE.

TIME TO BUCK UP AND FACE THE MUSIC.

HERE'S TO A NEW ATTITUDE.

AND THEN I WAS LIKE "OH, YEAH WELL. "I'M A MISCHASH PIECE OF SHIT!"

NOW, DID YOU REALLY SAY THAT? THAT'S GREAT!

WELL... NO

BUT I'VE THOUGHT IT!

MAN...

FUCK THAT PLACE!
no task too great or small that cannot be done together

strength through unity
Things I wish I could EAT without having to go to the hospital

Peanut butter and jelly on Wonder bread

Mrs. T's Classic Cheddar Lip Smackers

Mango Watermelon Cotton Candy Vanilla Strawberry Lemon Raspberry

Chapstick

Prezter Roll

Sandwich

Corn dog

Biscuits

Mozzarella cheese sticks

Yellow oil paint

I don't know if I'm completely in the clear, but I do know that I'd like to eat in peace.

Every time I see that picture I laugh.

C'mere and look at this. Uhh.

Donald Trump, Last President of the United States.

Hey I tell you what.

Oh man, here comes the scam.

I'll pay you a hundred dollars to push this button.

...button?

Costs a dollar-fifty! Ha-ha.

Then I'll put Trump on your handlebars.

Whoa!

Just make sure he has that stupid look on his face first.

Push him right into traffic!

Ha-ha ha

Sarah Leitten

Nate Beatty
JOIN US FOR A FULL MONTH OF TECH-CESSIBILITY!

View our online calendar to find family and kid friendly events, workshops, job training, and lectures to attend.

ALL SEPTEMBER IN CHICAGOLAND

TECHMONTHCHICAGO.COM
#TMC2017

/TechMonth
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WINDBREAKER “FACTION”
THE CELL PHONES “NO”
Are you a visual Artist? Would you like to have your art printed on cool products too?

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TRUMP HATES ARTISTS!
So Fight Back and tell Trump to Fuck Off. Support the Chicago Art Scene.

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EXPAND THE
DO312
SEVENTH BIRTHDAY...OF SIN!

THE 7 DEADLY CHICAGO SINS

DO312 PARKING LOT, 2354 N MILWAUKEE AVENUE • SUN 27TH AUG • 2-8PM

THE RIGHT NOW • GANT-MAN (TEKLIFE) • MYKELE DEVILLE • ABSOLUTELY NOT
MUSIC BY TRUSTY CHORDS DJS & DJ GLORIFIED JUKEBOX (JEREMY SCHEUCH)

HOSTED BY DOM BROWN | BURLESQUE BY RED LIGHT SPECIAL

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MARTINEZ SUPERMARKET
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LOW POWER POWER POWER POWER POWER TO THE PEOPLE