

niche
AN NCH STUDENT CORONAZINE

ISSUE

05

FREE

JUNE 2020
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05

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MAY 2020

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A note from the editor

Niche stands with and unequivocally supports the Black Lives Matter movement and will continue to do so. This will not be a one-off show of support.

I sincerely hope students will continue to feel that Niche is a safe space to express frustration, advice and discourse surrounding race especially within our own overwhelmingly white community, where we clearly have many and very significant issues of our own.

I therefore take this as a brief opportunity to reiterate that all submissions via the Google form are entirely anonymous and even potentially identifying factors like file names or time stamps will never, ever be shared.

I hope everyone is staying safe and keeps doing their best to learn and educate themselves despite the end of the first wave of exams.

Victoria Comstock-Kershaw

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Niche News

- Lili Teichner and Lucy Page have been announced as NCH's new Welfare and Diversity Officers respectively. Many thanks to all candidates and congratulations to Lili and Lucy.
- Isabelle, Maria and Marie, officers for NCHarity, have set up a poll to vote for which charities the summer ball funds will be donated to. Choices include Black Thrive, the Prison Reform Trust and more. Please see your emails and the NCH Facebook group for more info.
- Estelle Paraque and Leighan Renaud have established a Diversity and Equality Working Group to draw input from the wider community on issues of race and representation at NCH.
- A.C Grayling has announced that NCH will be working with BBA to explore how NCH can support BAME academics.
- Gaby Becker has shared some great internship opportunities for Law, econ and other students. See your emails for more information.
- Rebecca Stewart has sent out a call for recipes for the NCH Freshers Recipe Book with a £15 Amazon voucher for each submission. See your emails for more info.
- Diana Bozhilova has sent all NCH students an invitation to the UN75 Dialogues at NCH about Climate crisis and Sustainability that will explore questions about global cooperation, pandemic recovery, the role of the UN and more. See your emails and Google calendars for more info.

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BLM Resources

A huge thanks to the folks over at Reclaim the Block for hosting, giving access to and allowing permission to share this Minneapolis-based list.

- African Career, Education, and Resource (ACER) - A nonprofit organization that engages African immigrants living in the north and northwest suburbs of Minneapolis.
- Al Maa'uun - Al Maa'uun is a nonprofit with deep roots in North Minneapolis, serving thousands of households each year with food and critical supplies.
- Birth Revolution - With these funds we will create accessible trainings for birth workers, provide free training for BIPOC, and pay our elders and educators a living wage for the knowledge they pour into us all.
- Black Immigrant Collective - The Black Immigrant Collective amplifies and makes visible the voices of Black immigrants in Minnesota.
- Black Women Speak - Gathering Black Women in Minnesota to share our experiences in order to heal, find joy and move toward liberation on our own terms!
- Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en Lucha - CTUL is a worker-led organization where workers organize, educate and empower each other to fight for a voice in their workplaces and in their communities.
- Defend Glendale - A grassroots campaign of residents organizing to prevent the privatization of public housing in Minneapolis. The objective is to ensure zero displacement, eliminate systematic gentrification, protect, and build more public housing, and minimize racial and economic inequities in Minneapolis and Hennepin County.
- Division of Indian Work - Division of Indian Work's mission is to support and strengthen urban American Indian people through culturally-based education, traditional healing approaches, and leadership development. We provide many services to the community but the most relevant one right now is our food shelf.
- Du Nord Riot Recovery Fund - Du Nord Craft Spirits is a Black-owned distillery with a building that was damaged. They've "received a tidal wave of love and support from across the nation and many have asked how they can help... Therefore, Du Nord is establishing this fund to support black and brown companies affected by the riots.

- Femme Empowerment Project - Venmo @femmeempowermentproject. Skill shares and discussions led by and for QTIIBPOC femmes in the twin cities. Creating space for cultural resiliency, healing and ancestral wisdom. Currently organizing supplies and medic trainings.
- Isuroon - Isuroon is a grassroots nonprofit organization working to promote the well-being and empowerment of Somali women in Minnesota and beyond.
- Joyce Preschool - emergency fund for families who had to evacuate their homes near Lake Street last week, and who are now coming back to a devastated neighborhood with no grocery stores within walking distance.
- Juxtaposition Arts - JXTA is a teen-staffed art and design center, gallery, retail shop, and artists' studio space in North Minneapolis. Since the uprisings in Minneapolis began, JXTA has played a critical role in building community alternatives to the police, led by Black, POCI and other youth who are already building the abundant and just future they envision.
- Lake Street East African Worker Recovery Fund - Business owners have raised millions to rebuild, but workers have no recourse until then.
- The Awood Center is raising money to provide aid to hundreds of workers until they can return to their jobs.
- Latino Community on Lake Street - fundraiser for Latinx owned businesses on Lake Street.
- Little Earth Residents Association - Food and safety needs for residents of Little Earth of United Tribes.
- Migizi Communications - MIGIZI Communications advances a message of success, well-being and justice for the American Indian community. Support them rebuilding after fire.
- Minneapolis Sanctuary Hotel - This isn't a hotel anymore, this is a community resource made possible by George Floyd. George Floyd was a shelter worker at the largest homeless shelter in Minneapolis. He supported and advocated for people experiencing homelessness while he was alive, and this Sanctuary will be a part of his legacy.
- Minnesota Healing Justice Network - We provide a supportive professional community and mutual aid network for wellness and healing justice practitioners who also identify as IBPOC (indigenous, black, or people of color).
- New Mindsets, New Media, New Leaders, and Narratives (N4) - youth-led organization that applies community mobilization to heal and transform society. We combat social stigmas related to race, gender, culture, intelligence, and health utilizing artistry and activism. applications, debt relief and direct cash payments.

- Northside business support - support businesses on Minneapolis's Northside that have been impacted by recent demonstrations. Oasis of Love - A Northside organization that was established to help combat the challenges of domestic violence.
- Pimento Relief Fund - We're partnering with Pimento to provide black business without insurance relief after white supremacists set them on fire during the protests.
- Powwow Grounds - send via paypal to angelswann2021@gmail.com - Native-run cafe, currently providing meals to elders, protectors and community, purchasing medical supplies, fire supplies, cooking supplies.
- PPNA - Renters Support Fund - operated by the Minneapolis Renters' Coalition, a group of residents, community organizations, and neighborhood organizations committed to supporting renters in our community.
- Public Functionary - #CREATIVESAFTERCURFEW: Public Functionary's team is working in collaboration with independent artists and muralists who are organizing in response to the Minneapolis uprisings and the murder of George Floyd. They are mobilizing resources to directly support a BIPOC-led effort of artists and allies using mural making as a form of narrative messaging, healing, rebuilding and remembrance.
- Redeemer Center for Life - We are a Black-led non-profit in North Minneapolis and our mission is to act as an agent of hope and transformation to preserve a vibrant community in the Harrison neighborhood & broader North Minneapolis. Our primary programs include 26 affordable housing units, youth leadership programs, workforce development opportunities, like our social venture bike and coffee shop - Venture North. We also have community engagement projects like our At Home in Harrison artist cohort, Fairview Health Commons at the Living Room, and a community garden!
- Southside Harm Reduction- Southside Harm Reduction Services works within a harm reduction framework to promote the human rights to health, safety, autonomy, and agency among people who use substances.
- Spiral Collective - A volunteer full-spectrum reproductive options and support group comprised of doulas, birth-workers, and passionate reproductive justice advocates. based in the Twin Cities area of Minnesota, occupied Dakhóta territories.
- Twin Cities Coalition for Justice for Jamar- A coalition formed after the murder of Jamar Clark by MPD to continue the work and gather people around the fight against police crimes. TCCJ4J has been active on the frontlines after the murder of George Floyd.
- Unicorn Riot - A decentralized media organization that has been live-streaming uprisings.

- Until We Are All Free - Non-profit organization working towards the liberation of incarcerated men and women and help them fulfill their roles as human beings in society, contributors to art, financial liberation, community development, culture ambassadors, mothers.
- West Broadway Business and Area Coalition - WBC in partnership with Northside Funders Group will direct all donations to support Northside businesses that have been impacted by COVID-19 and the recent uprising.
- Women for Political Change - Holistically investing in the leadership and political power of young women and trans & non-binary individuals throughout Minnesota.
- Young People's Action Coalition is an intersectional high school and middle school student led group that organizes to improve Minneapolis Public Schools and build community and power around such campaigns as getting cops out of schools.
- ZACAH - provides emergency financial assistance to folks who are on the brink of experiencing homelessness or already are. They are currently engaged with organizers at Powderhorn Sanctuary to support those who have been displaced and need help with finding/putting a security deposit down for low income housing, access to crisis shelters, county assistance, job applications, debt relief and direct cash payments.

Reclaim the Block adds: We are so grateful for the support & donations we've gotten in the past week. Your support will strengthen our efforts to defund police in Minneapolis. We also want to lift up that so many incredible organizations in Minneapolis are doing powerful work to keep people safe in the streets, defend Black, Indigenous and other targeted communities from the police and white supremacists, rebuild our city, feed people, offer healing support, build long-term infrastructure to keep us safe without the police, and so much more. If you're considering donating to Reclaim the Block this week, please consider giving to some of these other groups instead. This is an evolving list of groups and people in our community. Please follow their social media presence or email lists to learn more about what they're doing - right now and long-term.

Another huge thank you to **Lola Minney** who has forwarded the following Google Docs and files full of incredibly academic, cinematic and personal resources aimed at both allies and black readers:

<https://bit.ly/2NjVJXa> - A collaborative learning resource on matters of race, privilege and combating white supremacy by Gabby Menezes-Forsyth and Miriam Bennun

<https://bit.ly/3hYFIEq> - A fantastic microcosm of black culture in honour of Black History Month.

Please find below a reading list comprised of works suggested and sent in by NCH students, faculty and alumni.

- I'm still here: Black dignity in a world made for whiteness by Austin Channing Brown
- Kindred by Octavia Butler
- Raising white kids: bringing up children in a racially unjust America by Jennifer Harvey
- The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks by Rebecca Skloot
- The Racial Contract by Charles W. Mills
- Brit(ish) by Afua Hirsch
- Natives by Akala
- Race without Racists by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva
- Anansi Boys by Neil Gaiman
- Citizen by Claudia Rankine

Please also find a list of London/UK based and black-owned businesses to support if you have the time and resources:

- Black Cowboy Coffee
- 79 Luxe
- Legra Soaps
- Rad Swan
- The Vision Presents
- Ananse Arts
- Malobi's (editors' note: try the beetroot burger, it will change your opinion on vegan food forever)
- Tee's Kitchen
- Fluffies Lashes (e.n: insanely affordable and genuinely good quality lash kit service. I once got some of the glue in my eye and the technician picked up on her private phone number at 11PM to calm me down and walk me through the process — I couldn't recommend enough for both service and quality)
- Special Touch Design

Student Submissions

Dear white NCHers

"nch poc tired of performivity" (Anon.)

- Don't say or sing racial slurs
- Don't let your friends say or sing racial slurs
- Don't say or sing slurs even if your poc friends have given you "permission"
- Don't post a black square and feel forgiven
- Don't vote Tory
- Don't tell poc how to feel
- Don't expect poc people to educate you
- Don't pretend you were never racist
- Don't expect congratulations from us on being a decent person
- Don't expect us to tell you how grateful we are you're finally an anti racist
- Don't let your lecturers, parents, bosses get away with racist things
- Don't treat discussions about racism like exercises in debate
- Don't use examples of inter-community racism as something you suddenly care about
- Don't use these debates as fuel to any racist or right wing behaviours you have even if you come out of them looking or feeling stupid or defeated
- Don't forget that the most effective use of your "allyship" is to listen and act, not to speak
- Don't fight your poc friends if they tell you you are being racist
- Don't "apologise" for racism, colonialism, slavery, wars etc just do better
- Don't use BLM to support your business unless you are donating proceeds to anti racism charities
- Don't be violent at protests
- Don't start chants at protests
- Don't use protests as a cute opportunity to show off your clever little meme-based slogans about race
- Don't take up space at protests this includes waving banners or pickets that say anything other than Black Lives Matter
- Don't let your poc friends come into harms way at protests
- Don't forget the intersection of queer and coloured experiences
- Don't think because you're queer you know what it's like to be a poc
- Don't mix up the names of the half dozen or so poc in college
- Don't assume every poc in college is here on a scholarship
- Don't tell people, who live in areas of London that are gentrified or rundown or mostly lived at by black or brown people, how "awful" it must be
- Don't ever ever fall under the impression that NCH is not home to racist behaviours
- Don't ever ever fall under the impression that YOU are not actively and currently capable and guilty of racist behaviour

Skies

John Constable said in a letter to John Fisher (1821):
*"certainly, if the sky is obtrusive, as mine are, it is bad;
but if it is evaded, as mine are not, it is worse."*

Constable was more than likely a racist old White guy I'm sure, but I like what he said about the sky. Since we've all had a global time-out I've noticed the sky more often. It's seemed more alive, more awake, more engaged. I cried when I saw the super moon in April. The skies are pretty free, no one can stop me sitting on a wall and stare at the sky until my head hurts.

At the protest my arms ached, my head hurt from the noise, I got dizzy and dehydrated. But someone could stop me from doing that; it's not a free act- it's an act for my freedom. The sky felt alive that day too, engaged but enraged. Hot and heavy, close and dense.

Evie Shipp

[lo·ca·tion]: The BLM March @Hyde Park. 06-07-20

THE UK
IS NOT
The photo cut off the "IN" at the beginning. It is spelt correctly
INNOCENT



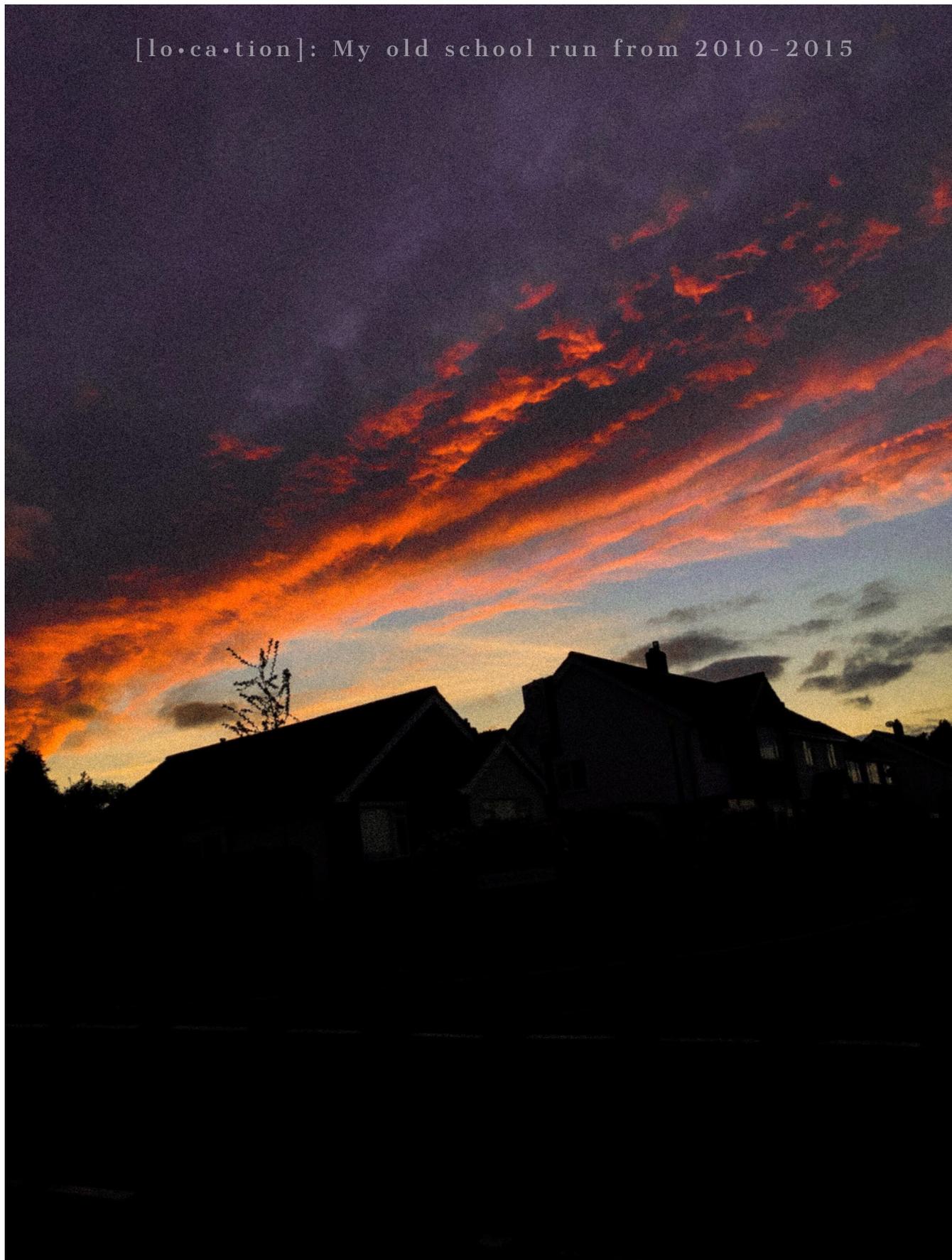
[lo•ca•tion]: Millennium Bridge (I think?)



[lo•ca•tion]: The highest point of the “valley”



[lo•ca•tion]: My old school run from 2010-2015



Explaining racism to my white working-class family

Agne Slusarska

There is so much to say about the importance of the Black Lives Matter movement, and all of it from people more qualified, equipped and deserving of being heard than NCH's resident redhead. So it goes without saying that **this is not the only reading you should be doing about this**. What I have is some experience in explaining and talking about important political matters with family members who just do not understand to the extent to which we live in a racist society. Although here I am focusing on talking about race, there are many injustices society should be preparing itself to overcome. If you find my insight at all useful please extend it to those as well. Alongside my advice, I think admitting to ourselves and each other that our family can be racist, sexist and other horrible things is another way of seeing just how flawed our society is. I hope that we are promoting ourselves and each other to do this, as being raised in any kind of environment is no reason to ignore systemic oppression.

I am two-thirds of my way through an undergraduate degree and I am literally the most educated person in my close family. This is why I know I have to start this conversation with them. So since becoming interested in social justice issues as a teen I tried to be outspoken and criticise anything prejudiced my family would say, whether it was at a family gathering or just my dad and I watching TV. As I think many of you relate this made me, the family's resident 'anti-establishment, gay loving, marxist-communist'. After about five years of having these conversations, whether on black rights or the #metoo movement I think now not only did I manage to make my family more informed, but I also learnt how to talk about what some may call 'difficult' conversations. My stance is that these conversations are only 'difficult' to start.

No one will say they have had an easy life, and that's true. Different backgrounds just mean that we all have a different set of obstacles. But there's no denying that being born white, especially English, Western European or American white is a great privilege. This is where I think conversations about race should start. Acknowledging privilege. I asked my dad, a first-generation Polish immigrant who knows very basic conversational English but is more than eloquent in Polish how he feels when being pulled over by police in Poland and in England. Very quickly, he realised that what he is really concerned about when police stop in the UK him for being 3mph over the speed limit is that he cannot defend himself, because of the language barrier. Furthermore, he knows perfectly well when a police officer is being prejudiced towards him as an immigrant 'low-skilled' 'essential worker'. He can clearly see that he is the victim in this situation. Then, I mentioned how Desmond Ziggy Momberyarara was treated by the police for speeding and making a non-essential journey. After a minute, my dad acknowledged that he was not unnecessarily tased or insulted because he was white. It did not matter whether he was a desirable nationality, being white is protection from police violence. Being white also helps you not be followed around shops, it means old people are not scared of you. My dad agreed with all those things. Push whoever you're trying to educate to think for themselves.

After acknowledging our white privilege we can start learning to question the information we believe and consume. Before learning new perspectives on issues, we should understand that by fighting against our own injustices we also help those disadvantaged in other, but related ways. Very simply put everyone who is not rich, hetero, white and male is fighting the same fight for equality, but battling different kinds of inequality and prejudice. My family is racist in the way that it does not see the struggles of BAME people as their problem. However, just as much as LBGTQI+ rights and black rights share history, the struggles of migrants and racial minorities are related. Above all because of the statistical likelihood that being a migrant means you are a racial minority, and vice versa, but also because both groups experience hostility from those with the power of the establishment on their side.

Again, the voice at the back of my family's head says that they have their own problems, so how do I try and make them realise these struggles are interconnected? Name the common enemy, long-standing racist establishment. But also talk about the intersectionality that exists between class, race and sexuality. Before my family would talk over a news story about racism in their football and not listen to the black footballer talking about the racism he experiences- as evidenced by the video clip of a banana thrown at him by some disgusting racist- I would try and say, this is important, listen. Get them to shut up, get them to listen. And it worked. Although I sometimes worry that my family members are internalising their views I can see that they are listening. I think it's important to use my voice to open up their ears and let them know there are people that need to be heard. Guide your family members to see the importance of intersectionality and make them realise that they are the problem until they recognise that this is also their problem. We are seeing news stories about racism on Polish news, and have access to articles that analyse those issues and tell us in plain language what we can do to help. Put those on the TV and in front of your family.

Now that my parents and sister have admitted their privilege, understood that this issue is important to them and watch news stories that showcase different kinds of racism they know they have more educating to do. So when I call my mum to just talk to her I mention statistics, stories or books which I have learnt from. It helps me stay on track and keep learning, but it also helps her. In a few weeks, I am moving out of my accommodation and back home, so I can better try and have these moments.

My mum and dad moved across Europe to provide me with a better quality of life, and above all an education. So now I am starting to use it for good. Alongside conversations about racism, I also try and talk to my parents and sister about lgbtqi+ rights and wealth inequality. I am always very proud of myself for these little triumphs, like when my sister finally admitted that calling black people 'more ugly on TV' is racist, wrong, harmful for everyone and that she will never do it again.

Realising that people around us are saying such horrid things can make you more motivated to keep educating yourself. My family have said some really nasty racist things, for which they have to and are starting to apologise. Unfortunately, we cannot unfriend or unfollow all racists, but I know that you can successfully chip away at their racism (which is more productive anyway). Many do it better than me, which is why I need to keep listening and educating myself but I am probably one of few people that my parents would ever talk to about race and white privilege. If you also have these family members (if you are white you 99.9% do) then also start. There's more information on how to do it. Books. Podcasts. Even Cosmo has tips on this. It's all over social media. We must not stop caring about Black Lives Matter.

Disclaimer

Zuzanna Pawlowska, NCH alumnus

First of all I would like to say that I am a white writer, I have never experienced racism and I am not and will never try to speak FOR people of color; I can only try to use my privilege in a way that gives platform to their voice. By using the terms 'people of colour' and 'non-white populations' I am by no means trying to put all non-white people in one box. I am using it to show how the white cis heterosexual man centred the world is and how it discriminates upon all that are not the aforementioned man. Both of my texts are an evaluation and analysis of great writers speaking on the topics of race, sexuality and climate change, most of them writing from their perspective as people of color. In an overwhelmingly white and elitist college that NCH is, I believe it is very important to introduce the work of such writers to fellow students so as to offer a different and much needed perspective, and fight the ignorance that western modes of knowledge teaching and learning produces. I have tried to make my writing accessible, however it is still quite 'academic' and can come off as elitist but I think it fits the colleges narrative on education. I am open to any discussion and criticism of my work, feel free to email me at zp1672@students.nchlondon.ac.uk

Climate Emergency:

Did we start caring only because it has now hit the white and rich populations? Or because we realised that if the poorer and non-white communities are hit first we won't have anywhere to dump our toxic waste, and people to use for cheap labour?

Zuzanna Pawlowska

Feminist thinkers have for a long time now tackled the issue of climate change and the epistemic responses to it. The main focus has mostly been the concept of the 'Anthropocene' and its white- men-centred narrative. The term is a geological one and it signifies the epoch we currently find ourselves in, where "human activity has been the dominant influence on climate and the environment" (Vitse, 2017). The issue with this term is twofold. Firstly, it is not simply human activity, but rather the activity of the white man; namely colonialism, industrialisation and, finally, capitalism that has influenced our planet negatively. Secondly, the word Anthropocene is relatively new; it was only thought of when climate change had finally started to affect rich white populations. The term Anthropocene recognises the irreversible loss to species and various forms of non- human being. Inherent within the white man's 'Anthropocene' is the radicalisation of the 'Other' as this has helped him treat any non-white individuals as non-human and sustain the relation between the capital, man and the 'Other'. Anthropocene has been a reality for the racialised 'Others' for centuries; through "colonial violence of forced eviction from land, enslavement on plantations, in rubber factories and mines, and the indirect violence of pathogens through forced contact and rape" (Yusoff, 2018), the non-white and non-male communities were seen as extractable, just like planet earth; they were the means to sustain industrialisation and colonial power. Large swathes of land were burnt as a tool for colonization, wiping out important natural landscape as well as cultures and histories, and this was a tactic commonly used by most empires (including the French and British). The invention of race and hierarchy within it has allowed the white neoliberal man to ignore the climate emergency for as long as it only affected the peoples that he saw as 'non- humans'. "The Anthropocene began with the annihilation of the Colonial Other" (Yusoff, 2017).

In order to better understand the relativity of the concept of Anthropocene, two writings on the matter should be examined closely, namely *A Billion Black Anthropocenes or None* by Katherine Yusoff and *Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation An Argument* by Sylvia Wynter.

What is visible from both writings is that there exists a strong connection between epistemic death and species death. Wynter, in her text, outlines how the extractive imperative of the white western man's capitalism was only possible through racism and dates it back to colonial times. From her writing, we can gather that she sees racism as a part of the colonial machinery, which then leads to the creation of the capitalist machinery. Perceiving people of color as extractable also helps with the goal of extracting resources from nature; both nature and 'the other race' are being viewed as inferior, something to tame, take from, use, or have 'dominion' over: they exist to serve one purpose only - to expand white man's capital – and especially where the white man has used up his resources at home. Wynter sees race as white's man's greatest invention as it helps to sustain the 'land + labour = capital' equation (Wynter, 2003). The discovery of the New World allowed for the "reduction of the indigenous peoples to being landless, rightless" (Wynter, 2003), all for the purposes of improving the economy by introducing slave trade and white man owned plantation systems. Yusoff, clearly compelled by this argument, cites Wynter and re-examines the notion of "the reduction of Man to Labour and of Nature to Land under the impulsion of the market economy." Yusoff presents a similar view and heavily draws on the black humanism of Wynter; she sees how the private property, so crucial to capitalist ideas, can easily be achieved through the mixing of earth resources and the 'close to animal', 'inhuman', black labour.

The extractive relationship does not only refer to land but also to the perception of being 'inhuman'. The effects of this extraction culture are real and they are visible through the global warming we are currently experiencing. The main issue here is not only that the white man has used racism to further his colonial claims and capitalism through extraction culture, but also the environmental racism that came as a result. As Yusoff points out, "origination of the event of this geologic happening organises a material and discursive space that arranges relations of power through the constitution of beginnings and ends that reproduce formations of power in the present through an account of materialities of the past" (Yusoff, 2018). Global warming only became an issue when coral reefs started to disappear, even though it was the reality for many black and brown people for centuries; "if the Anthropocene proclaims a sudden concern with the exposures of environmental harm to white liberal communities, it does so in the wake of histories in which these harms have been knowingly exported to black and brown communities under the rubric civilisation, progress, modernisation and capitalism" (Yusoff, 2018).

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The extractive relationship does not only refer to land but also to the perception of being 'inhuman'. The effects of this extraction culture are real and they are visible through the global warming we are currently experiencing. The main issue here is not only that the white man has used racism to further his colonial claims and capitalism through extraction culture, but also the environmental racism that came as a result. As Yusoff points out, "origination of the event of this geologic happening organises a material and discursive space that arranges relations of power through the constitution of beginnings and ends that reproduce formations of power in the present through an account of materialities of the past" (Yusoff, 2018). Global warming only became an issue when coral reefs started to disappear, even though it was the reality for many black and brown people for centuries; "if the Anthropocene proclaims a sudden concern with the exposures of environmental harm to white liberal communities, it does so in the wake of histories in which these harms have been knowingly exported to black and brown communities under the rubric civilisation, progress, modernisation and capitalism" (Yusoff, 2018). Global warming only became an

issue when coral reefs started to disappear, even though it was the reality for many black and brown people for centuries; "if the Anthropocene proclaims a sudden concern with the exposures of environmental harm to white liberal communities, it does so in the wake of histories in which these harms have been knowingly exported to black and brown communities under the rubric civilisation, progress, modernisation and capitalism" (Yusoff, 2018). Wynter puts it perfectly when she says, "the white utopia was a black inferno" (Wynter, 2003). The problem was not only ignored in discourse and omitted in policy implementation, it has also actively been exacerbated by the western population; from dumping toxic waste on the land of the poorer countries to performing nuclear tests on presumably uninhabited land (which in actuality was inhabited, just not by a white population). As Yusoff writes, "It is predicated on the presumed absorbent qualities of black and brown bodies to take up the body burdens of exposure to toxicities and to buffer the violence of the earth" (Yusoff, 2018). This attitude is clearly visible in the times of the current pandemic, where until the virus touched the rich white communities, namely Europe and the US, the issue was not taken seriously. What I would add to Yusoff's argument is intersectionality in a way that would take into account sexuality and identity. The LGBTQ+ community has been treated as lesser and somehow inhuman, often even more if they were also a person of color. It is not the first time we are dealing with a virus killing large numbers of population, a perfect example of this argument being the outbreak of AIDS epidemic in the 1980s, during which the US government willingly ignored the disease, presuming it to 'only' affect the gay community (Fitzsimons, 2018). Therefore, when talking about Anthropocene, I would say that it only started to be examined and talked about when the rich white cis and heterosexual man was affected.

It is not surprising that the white-man-centred Anthropocene is seen as a new epoch, a new phenomenon, as it is very much embedded in the progress narrative. White biological existence is being prioritised due to the invented 'animal' and inhuman nature of the 'Other'. In this scenario, harm is only done if it touches the self-proclaimed 'master of planet earth'. As Yusoff points out, a difference between the geological and biological existence is created in which biological existence becomes a privilege of the 'educated' and 'human' west, a privilege that cannot be afforded by 'the Other' (Yusoff, n.d.).

Sexuality, Race and Discourse

Zuzanna Pawlowska

When talking about sexuality, race and discourse, two important writings should be discussed; Foucault's "History of Sexuality" and Alexander Jacqui's "Not Just (Any) Body Can Be a Citizen". The term sexuality could be understood in multiple ways. Foucault does not define what he means by sexuality; he largely speaks of sexuality as a sexual orientation but also of desires, activities and sexuality of institutions. Alexander Jacqui's understanding of sexuality seems to be mostly focused on sexual orientation and the sexuality of a nation. Trying to dissect what each author meant by sexuality is however beside the point, it seems to me that they have purposefully not defined the meaning of sexuality, as to avoid the taxonomy of sexuality they both criticise. Rather than asking what sexuality is, we should focus on what it is shaped by and for what purposes.

Both thinkers discuss the construction of heterosexuality as a norm created for political purposes, as well as formulation of homosexuality in direct opposition to heterosexuality. The creation of a deviation helps to define the norm, with its construction being essential for exercising control over individuals. There is no clear definition of what amounts to 'natural', therefore, a clear establishment of what unnatural sex is, is crucial for defining the natural sexual practices; "Heterosexual sex assumes the power of natural law only in relation to sex which is defined in negation to it." Foucault argues that sex is controlled, and if used only for pleasure is incompatible with a general and intense work imperative. He believes power to be both producing and repressing sexuality at the same time. As a capitalist system focuses on the increase in efficiency in labour, the time for pleasurable activities should be limited. Therefore, sex should only serve reproductive purposes; same-sex relationships are problematic, as they deviate from the procreative norm, hence do not produce future workforce. Jacqui talks about appropriate sexuality in the eyes of the government and the implication it has on citizenship. She writes: "Not just (any) body can be a citizen any more, for some bodies have been marked by the state as non-procreative, in pursuit of sex only for pleasure, a sex that is non-productive of babies and of no economic gain". Both writers focus on how capitalism influences the creation of heteronormativity. Other sexualities are simply not productive enough to sustain the capitalist economy. Jacqui coming from a postcolonial state, blames

the creation of a subject based on sexuality for political purposes not only on capitalism but also on decolonisation and nationalism. She blames colonising powers for creating sexualities based on race. Black people have been hyper-sexualised (black women seen as promiscuous in contrast to white women), and given different legal treatment; aggressive colonial masculinity was never considered rape while black masculinity and sexual engagement was criminalised.

Jacqui discusses how after colonialism, and years of working class masculinity and inferior masculinity, the black masculinity had to transform into the ruling masculinity and reassert its political power. This was done by legislating and policing black femininity. Here, Jacqui criticises colonialism and the way it has influenced the societies of postcolonial states, contrary to Foucault whose focus was solely 'Western'. The issue with Foucault's analysis is that he is guilty of constructing a West vs. East binary, he creates the 'scientia sexualis' versus 'ars erotica' distinction and makes it geographical; within his theory Western societies are guilty of categorising sexuality, while Eastern societies are more 'erotic'. Even though for him 'the East' should by no means aim to achieve the normalising society 'the West' has, his thought embodies the progress narrative. By doing this Foucault subscribes to the already existing notion of the 'West' as the knowledge maker and the 'East' as the exotic and the sexualised. Foucault and Jacqui seem to have a different idea of power. For Foucault "power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere". There is no one institution holding all power or distributing it, we all have the power (although not equal) and that's how different constructs and stereotypes remain in place, we assert them. For Jacqui the power is held by different actors; colonial nations, post-colonial government. She discusses how they are responsible for the sexuality discourse present; 'Black masculinity continues the policing of sexualised bodies, drawing out the colonial fiction of locating subjectivity in the body". I think Jacqui's view of power is not so dissimilar to Foucault's, I don't think she believes only those above-mentioned hold the power, however her view of its distribution is different. While Foucault sees this discourse as an effect of capitalist system, Jacqui sees it more as an effect of patriarchy and racism.

On a theoretical level, Foucault's definition of power makes it easier for us to revolt; an example of resistance to the current sex discourse would be talking about sex while trying to move away from categorising and examining it. However, on a practical level, this would be highly unattainable, especially where one's sexuality could be penalised by the state. This is something that

Jacqui acknowledges in her article, rather than focusing on ones own performativity of sex she talks about organising in political spheres and finding solutions to the oppressive societal rules. Consequently, on a practical level, Jacqui makes a sexual revolution seem less abstract. And although both theoretical and practical methods are needed for a disruption of sexuality discourse as we know it today, I believe that a complete deconstruction of it is impossible as it is too embedded in capitalism, todays culture and the deep need to examine and classify the unknown. The only way out is abolishing capitalism.

Atlas Hopes: some thoughts on libertarianism and race

"anon rand" (Anon.)

The modern Libertarian is as almost difficult to define as he is to defend. Thoughts of Gary Johnson's "What's Aleppo?", Vernon Supreme's "free ponies for every American" and that one weird guy from high schools' Facebook posts about the second amendment all come to mind. The image of Libertarians as money-over-morals, the-age-of-consent-violates-the-NAP high-schoolers and neckbeards has become a bit of a meme over the past few years — perhaps deservedly so — but the growing popularity of the ideology as seen through American voting patterns (Boaz/Kirby, 2006) points to at least some sort of intrinsic appeal that goes beyond hebephilia jokes and terrible subreddits. I aim to briefly dissect the role of race within this upward movement, and to propose some predictions concerning the course of this relationship.

It is of course risky to say if the recent events in America will help or hinder this apparent growth, although I lean towards the former for several reasons. Firstly, the historical and ideological origins and basis of the movement are totally in line with the goals and actions of BLM. The abolitionist movement of the 18th century was a direct result of Lockean libertarianism, and the Black Panthers were heavily supported by the Socialist Libertarians both in the US and the UK the 60s and 70s. Anti-racism is and always has been a pillar of the classical libertarian ideology, expressed partially through economic measures (free trade and open borders) and partially through social ones (unrestricted marriage and socialisation). Any classical libertarian would have a hard time denying this. Secondly, anti-police sentiment has never been higher, both among non-libertarians and libertarians alike. Distaste (if not hatred) of those who enforce authority in classical Libertarianism goes above and beyond race, but the treatment of minorities by police forces across the world tends to help the case: to infringe upon any right is sacrilege, to do so systemically and with such discrimination is doubly so. The restriction of individual rights is by no means colourblind.

This clearly does not apply to moderate neoliberals like Joe “shoot-dissenters-in-the-leg-instead-of-the-heart” Biden or indeed radical rightists, but the offence is alive and acknowledged on all levels by the classic libertarian. So Libertarianism has here an upper hand both in theory and in practice: to deny that NAP clearly honours both the premise and consequences of the Black Lives Matter movement would be simply untrue to the historical origins as well as the contemporary application of the political movement. When one considers the fact that Ayn Rand’s (gag, I know, but bear with me) answer to “Under what circumstances is the use of violence justified?” is “In defence against a prior use of force”, political and social propositions from black-led political forces — from the protests and riots of 2020 against police brutality to the proposal of reparations to the descendants of black slaves proffered in the 50s to today — are considered absolutely reasonable and perhaps more importantly, solvable under a libertarian society. (The word violence is perhaps problematic here, as propositions of equality are not violent, but the sake of this article and as a counter-argument to both liberal and conservative rejections of the applied violence of a few BLM riots I believe it is appropriate.)

Affirmative action, economic reparations and acts against inequity all have their place within the libertarian movement (Valls 1999, Alston 2008 and Iyer/Koleva/Graham/Ditto/Haidt 2012) and, despite the stereotypes, are widely accepted as deserving and significant of such a place within much of the modern libertarian community. This gives great hope to those eager to see Libertarianism take a greater place in the American political voting system, particularly those who wish to see racial and social injustices addressed and erased.

I am of course aware that this is a particularly hopeful and arguably unrealistic view of the actual state of various Western Libertarian parties as well as their followers. It is a damning yet revealing quality of Libertarianism in 2020 that someone who advocates for closed borders, restricted trade, and maximalist scope of both legislative and social authority and someone who advocates for the complete opposite can both claim to be Libertarians. It is perhaps even more damning that both are, within their own realms and rights, potentially correct. In contrast to the social right/left consensus, libertarian analysis of social inequities does not lie in institutions or structures: it boils down to individuals making various decisions for various reasons. This leaves a huge amount of wriggle room for closet racists and alt-righters to argue against progressive reform within governments simply because anti-statism allows for it, not to mention a very adequate space for the moderate white’s expression of “order over justice” as described by MLK in his letter from Birmingham Jail.

This ideal of “negative peace” does not per-say violate the NAP and so in turn leaves space for theories of arguably Libertarian economic entitlement (Nozick’s theory of Natural Justice or Rawls’ frankly nonsensical principles of fairness as just two examples) without real rebuttal. On a more practical level, the idea of “each man for himself” in relation to the erasure of the economic and social realities of non-white individuals and the challenges they face is not quite rejected by both historic and modern Libertarianism — but is simultaneously not acknowledged. This is simply not good enough but also something modern classical Libertarians express desire to resolve (see Amash’s recent tweets and political statements).

There is a part of me that hopes this upwards movement will educate and welcome the correct ways to resolve racial issues and address social inequities in America — and eventually the world. But, as always, the theory of the matter is likely to be vastly altered and hijacked as it is applied. Freedom to tolerate the intolerable is easily justified by the various definitions that can be attributed to concepts of power and individualism with the libertarian movement itself. Similarly, it is not this authors place to say what will or won’t benefit black American voters, but the fact that a) the worst cases of police brutality have occurred consistently in Democrat cities and states and b) Republicans have and continue to exhibit overwhelmingly racist legislative and social tendencies do point to a gap in the market — if you’ll forgive the phrasing.

niche

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