

Generative Refusal

by ozhaawashko-animikinini

Excerpt from Chapter 4 of Achille Mbembe's Necropolitics (p.96-97): Mbembe, A., & Corcoran, S. (2019). Necropolitics. Duke University Press.

Entanglement is not all that characterizes the now. Indeed, wherever we look, the drive is decisively toward contraction, containment, and enclosure. By enclosure, contraction, and containment, I do not simply mean the erection of all kinds of walls and fortifications, gates and enclaves, or various practices of partitioning space, of offshoring and fencing off wealth. I am also referring to a matrix of rules mostly designed for those human bodies deemed either in excess, unwanted, illegal, dispensable, or superfluous.

Indeed, perhaps more than at any other moment in our recent past, we are increasingly faced with the question of what to do with those whose very existence does not seem to be necessary for our reproduction, those whose mere existence or proximity is deemed to represent a physical or biological threat to our own life.

Paradigmatic of this matrix of rule is present-day Gaza in Palestine. Gaza is a paradigmatic example on two counts. On the one hand, it is the culmination of spatial exclusionary arrangements that existed in an incipient state during the early phases of modern settler or genocidal colonialism. Such was the case of Native American reservations in the United States, as well as island prisons, penal colonies, camps, and Bantustans in South Africa in the not-so-distant past. On the other hand, Gaza might well prefigure what is yet to come.

Here, the control of vulnerable, unwanted, or surplus people is exercised through a combination of tactics, chief among which is the "modulated blockade." A blockade prohibits, obstructs, and limits who and what can enter and leave the Strip. The goal might not be to cut the Strip off entirely from supply lines, infrastructural grids, or trade routes. It is nevertheless relatively sealed off in a way which effectively turns it into an imprisoned territory. Comprehensive or relative closure is punctuated by periodic military escalations and the generalized use of extrajudicial assassinations. Spatial violence, humanitarian strategies, and a peculiar biopolitics of punishment all combine to produce, in turn, a peculiar carceral space in which people deemed surplus, unwanted, or illegal are governed through abdication of any responsibility for their lives and their welfare.

"I have no doubt that the revolution will triumph. The people of the world will prevail, seize power, seize the means of production, wipe out racism, capitalism, reactionary inter-communalism - reactionary suicide. The people will win a new world. Yet when I think of individuals in the revolution, I cannot predict their survival. Revolutionaries must accept this fact, especially the Black [and Indigenous] revolutionaries...whose lives are in constant danger from the evils of a colonial society."

- Huey P. Newton, Revolutionary Suicide

This article is a companion to the nearby excerpt from Achille Mbembe's Necropolitics. Here we will draw further not only from Mbembe's work, but from other Black and Indigenous revolutionaries, to sketch out an understanding of sovereignty, revolutionary optimism, and generative refusal. Before we can wade too deeply into some ways Black and Indigenous people deal with The Ordeal of the World, it's important to ensure you have at least an idea of how fucked up things are.

Achille Mbembe uses the term Society of Enmity to describe one of the biggest problems with the way civilized Western society has developed over the past several centuries. To think of oneself as civilized, or another as uncivil/uncivilized/barbaric indeed already

disguises and normalizes a particularly brutal form of violence, colonialism (racism). "In fact, liberal democracy and racism are fully compatible. At the same time, historically, liberal democracy has always needed a constitutive Other who is and is not at the same time part of the polis...America, in this sense, means the impossibility of sharing freedom with others - which "whiteness" properly understood, is." This is one way of getting at the heart of what Necropolitics is, a politics of surplus, but in particular of surplus people, those who may be put to death or allowed to die without consequence, without anyone really giving a shit.

We see Necropolitics in one of its most intense modern variations in Palestine. Hundreds of millions of people within the imperial core not only cannot be bothered to put an end to Israel's continued settler-colonial slaughter, but in fact may even actively cheer it on in the name of Israel's "self-defense". Israel's establishment as a state is inseparable from the Nakba in 1948, in which *one half to three quarters of all Palestinians were expelled from their homes* by Zionist settlers and the Israeli "Defense" Force. This was the foundation on which the rest of the country's infrastructure was established: on ethnic cleansing, on genocide. And while Israel has continued to take more land, slaughter more Palestinians, and hold the remaining Palestinians in conditions closer and closer to death over the past several decades, the average (white) American is more than happy to look at October 7th, 2023 as the "beginning of the current hostilities". The Nakba and the occupation which followed it never ended, just as the occupation of Native lands in the United States still has not ended. The legal systems of both countries still protect and enshrine a foundational violence, establishing the "rights" of a certain kind of human through the exclusion of another.

"If you stick a knife in my back nine inches and pull it out six inches, there's no progress. If you pull it all the way out that's not progress. Progress is healing the wound that the blow made. And they haven't even begun to pull the knife out, much less heal the wound...They won't even admit the knife is there."

- Malcolm X

How have we reached this point? How can even otherwise "kind" and empathetic people have such a fucked up position on the wholesale slaughter of Palestinians? Palestinian people asserting their right to live with dignity and sovereignty is an existential threat to the system of colonial control, and as Frantz Fanon tells us in *The Wretched of the Earth*: "the colonist turns the colonized into a kind of quintessence of evil. Colonized society is not merely portrayed as a society without values... The 'Native' is declared impervious to ethics, representing not only the absence of values but also the negation of values. He is, dare we say it, the enemy of values." Here as in Israel, it's a kind of sickness which hangs over us, living within a colonial system. To some it's best understood in terms of a spiritual sickness, for others it's easier to understand that **living within a colonial (racist) society is killing us**, that the stress of it alone is capable of destroying our bodies. The latter was Frantz Fanon's approach, which he developed while working as a psychiatrist in French-occupied Algeria. For a few years, Fanon treated both the French colonists and native Algerians - and Wretched of the Earth contains detailed descriptions of the illnesses he encountered which could not be separated from an explicitly colonial pathology.

Frantz Fanon's voice echoes throughout Mbembe's Necropolitics, but especially in the fifth chapter: *Fanon's Pharmacy*. Here, citing Fanon frequently and directly, Mbembe describes the

pathogenesis of many colonial-caused illnesses: "The loss of freedom, the loss of the sense of time, the loss of the capacity to watch over oneself and take care of oneself, the loss of relation and the loss of the world, he thought, constituted the real drama of the ill person and the alienated individual. This is so because the same human being is a social human being. The illness 'cuts him off' from other social beings and 'isolates him from them.' It separates him from the world, leaving him powerless, alone, with an evil that is strictly his."

Not only is colonial order killing us, but it's a threat to nearly all life on Earth, settler "culture" is incompatible with a habitable planet. In the long term, the only real cure for colonialism and its associated illnesses is decolonization, the permanent abolition of both colonizer and colonized. As Fanon describes: "decolonization is always a violent event... decolonization is quite simply the substitution of one "species" of mankind by another. The substitution is unconditional, absolute, total, and seamless...The need for this change exists in a raw, repressed, and reckless state in the lives and consciousness of colonized men and women. But the eventuality of such a change is also experienced as a terrifying future in the consciousness of another "species" of men and women: the colons, the colonists." As Mbembe puts it, "The unique thing about slavery, or colonialism, is to produce beings of pain, people whose existence is forever overrun by threatening Others." He's describing here an anxiety not only of the slaves, but also (if not especially) of the colonizer. This is something that white Americans in particular will need to learn to work through - a visceral fear or anxiety for anything that could dismantle the colonial order you were raised to find comfort in - and the most right-leaning white-bodied people will need the most support in this.

We can't wait until some unknown date in the future to finally be ok. If the colonizer and colonized are going to be abolished, we need to be bringing the human of the new world into being with every action that we can. White-bodied people need to help other white-bodied people heal from growing up in a country that was wildly inspirational to the fucking Nazis. It's also not enough to simply reject fucked up systems, we can't center those systems (and our disavowal of them) as the content of our political existence. We need to know what to focus on cultivating in order to grow out of the corpse of colonialism, and the colonial system's ideas on democracy. This is something Leanne Betasamosake Simpson discusses while putting forward the concept of Generative Refusal in *As We Have Always Done*: to turn our backs on some harmful system in a way that nurtures and protects our own lives, and those of our community. Leanne Simpson uses the example of an Anishinaabe story about the deer, in which the Nishnaabeg were overhunting and overharvesting the deer, in violation of what Leanne has called grounded normativity. In response, the deer left to protect themselves, practicing generative refusal: "They did not try to talk to us or negotiate. They didn't explain to us how our actions were hurting their nation. They didn't appeal to us morally. They didn't look to the Nishnaabeg for recognition...Instead the deer withdrew and turned inward to rebuild themselves as a nation and as a clan...The deer refused and organized on their own terms."

For more inspiration on what we can focus on building in generative refusal of colonial systems - we look to the community programs of the Black Panther Party, also called survival programs, which sought to provide food, housing, education, employment, healthcare and much more. The Black Panthers are excellent teachers of generative refusal in their own way. Chairman Huey P. Newton's term for it was *revolutionary suicide*, which he

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Public Libraries and Community Building

by Johnathan Hill

The humble public library rests as a cornerstone of American society. Seemingly unassuming, there are more than 17,278 in the United States alone (American Library Association, 2024). In such difficult times as these, public libraries are a beacon of hope. Let us then explore the ideals that public libraries actualize on a daily basis. Ideals of equality, liberation and egalitarianism are actualized.

Praise and discussion of public libraries are certainly not new among leftists circles. For instance, Kropotkin uses the idea of a public library in Kropotkin's influential anarchist work, "The Conquest of Bread" Citing:

"When you go to a public library [...] - the librarian does not ask what services you have rendered to society before giving you the book, or the fifty books, which you require[...]. By means of uniform credentials [...] - the scientific society opens its museums, its gardens, its library, its laboratories, and its annual conversaciones to each of its members, whether he be a Darwin, or a simple amateur."

In essence, a public library acts as a great equalizer. Regardless of one's background, money accrued, or social position, it offers the same level of access. Information yearns to be free. This is achieved in a public library. How wonderful is it, then, that such a structure exists? Unlike other commercial spaces such as paid online lending libraries, there are no tiers or inaccessible information to individuals who use the service. All, be they bourgeois or proletariat, have equal access.

Education is a tool that fights facism. Public libraries provide this service, and offer diverse and opposing viewpoints that provide perspective. Two particular points from Umberto Eco's 1995 work, "UR-Facism (14 points)" come to mind with the role of public libraries. Despite the different ways that facism is built in history, Eco identifies 14 points that are associated with all movements. A public library fights against two characteristics of facism:

As a consequence, there can be no advancement of learning. Truth has been already spelled out once and for all, and we can only keep interpreting its obscure message.[...]

Besides, disagreement is a sign of diversity. Ur-Facism grows up and seeks for consensus by exploiting and exacerbating the natural fear of difference. The first appeal of a fascist or prematurely fascist movement is an appeal against the intruders. Thus Ur-Facism is racist by definition.

Libraires are an antidote to the above conditions. As a public institution, they do not censor or remove information from the community.

Outside of educational contexts, libraries are vital to community strength. Public Libraries are one of the last free Third Spaces within current society. Coined by the sociologist Ray Oldenburg, a Third Space describes a neutral space between work and home. In his work "The Great Good Place," he offers that third spaces are vital to interpersonal relationships. As capitalism encroaches on previously free and accessible spaces, they become harder to come by. Coffee shops, community centers, and other locations cost money, which reduce their accessibility. Marx's famous theory of Alienation fits neatly within these observations. Marx described four types of alienation, including alienation of self and society (Asher Horowitz, 2011). Capitalism leaves little time and capacity for relationship and community building.

In the public consciousness, public libraries are often associated with quiet, stuffy places that are nearly always empty.

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opposed to the reactionary suicide of just letting the colonial and capitalist world eat each of us to death. To live with revolutionary suicide in mind is to know that a revolutionary is more than likely a doomed person, and to devote oneself to nurturing life and community anyways. Newton goes out of his way to stress the importance of the survival programs, that they were always a higher priority than the Black Panthers' practice of cop-watching and the assertion of the right to bear arms. In his autobiography by the same name, he describes that "Revolutionary suicide does not mean that I and my comrades have a death wish; it means just the opposite. We have such a strong desire to live with hope and human dignity that existence without them is impossible. When reactionary forces crush us, we must move against these forces, even at the risk of death. We will have to be driven out with a stick."

Some of Achille Mbembe's own thoughts on surviving and combatting imperialism and Necropolitics draw very similar conclusions - he echoes a conception of sovereignty from Georges Bataille that "takes many forms. But it ultimately takes that of a refusal to accept the limits that the fear of death would have the subject respect." Mbembe takes a greater deal of time drawing out another piece of advice, it becomes the final chapter of the book and what he calls The Ethics of the Passerby. Thanks to the continued existence of right-wing and police violence, the ethics of the passerby isn't something we can practice everywhere, all at once yet. But perhaps it's something we can strive for, especially for the sake of the human of the new world: "Allowing oneself to be affected by others - or to be defenselessly exposed to another existence - constitutes the first step toward that form of recognition that will not be contained in the master-slave paradigm, in the dialectic of powerlessness and omnipotence, or in that of combat, victory, and defeat. On the contrary, the kind of relation that arises from it is a relation of care. So, recognizing and accepting vulnerability, or even admitting that to live is always to live exposed, including to death - is the point of departure of every ethical elaboration whose aim, in the last instance, is humanity."

Death's Veil

by Jack

In celebration of the courageous life of African American revolutionary and educator Dr. James Turner of the Africana Studies & Research Center and April 1969 Cornell University.

"Yesterday two people important in my life cycle stepped thru the veil. Sox has been holding space with one of them (James Turner) for a good while now."
-Kétu Oladuwa

"The earth shifts beneath my feet. James Turner was truly a redwood in our grove. The ground still shakes a day later."
-Sox Sperry

Death's veil only opens one way:
In the end life is only for the living.
Death is an intimate loss from a being's passing,
as that one's time as a living being,
force alive on earth passes through the veil separating the living from the dead.
Death is a force in the material world that the living must endure to survive.
That loss of gravity that the now dead held before passing through the veil is immediate.
The living to overcome the loss,
the grief of death's passage,
takes time and for one you loved there is not enough time to truly forget the living presences
and what more of life would have been.
The life force of a great human being,
a measure of a revolutionary political history,
what was achieved and created while alive,
even with the passing of years,
stays alive and with the living,
for successive generation to build upon.
In the end life is only for the living:
Death's veil only opens one way.

Death's Veil

However, these assumptions couldn't be further from reality. Libraries are dynamic, living spaces that are greater than the sum of their parts. The Portage District Public Library (PLDL) in Houghton is a prime example of this vital Third Place in work. Not only does the library offer a wide range of books, audiobooks, online services and other media. The PLDL has hosted a wide range of community education programs and workshops- from mushroom growing to political organizing, a wealth of hands-on education and skills are available, free of cost. The PLDL has also been the home of the Keweenaw Socialist's organizing. As a library, they provide the necessary space for community groups of movers, shakers, and those looking for connection. One look at the bulletin board by the front entrance confirms this- the PLDL is teeming with local events, community groups, and community gatherings..

Library programs as strong as the PLDL don't come out of nowhere. They come from hardworking folk in the library, in government, and from everyday citizens. The property taxes you pay in help to fund programs that assist all members of the public.

I implore all reading to consider visiting your public library.

Kropotkin, Peter. "The Conquest of Bread." Marxists Internet Archive, 2021.

Echo, Umberto. "Ur-Fascism." The Anarchist Library, June 22, 1995.

"Libguides: Library Statistics and Figures: Number of Libraries in the United States." Number of Libraries in the United States - Library Statistics and Figures - LibGuides at American Library Association, 2024.

Oldenburg, Ray. The Great Good Place: Cafes, coffee shops, bookstores, bars, hair salons, and other hangouts at the heart of a Community. Great Barrington, MA: Berkshire Publishing Group LLC, 2023.

Anarchist Federation. "Libraries and Liberation." The Anarchist Library, 1995.

Book Club

Readings from Books Clubs this Quarter

Disability Justice - April

Capitalism and Disability by Marta Russel and Ravi Malhotra

10 Principles of Disability Justice from *Sins Invalid*

Crip Theory: A Useful Tool for Social Analysis by *Mikael Mery Karlsson and Jens Rydström*

Poems by Mahmoud Darwish - May

Identity Card

Oh My Father, I am Yusif

A Soldier Dreams of White Lilies

May's Book Club was conducted at the Northern Michigan University solidarity encampment.

Modern Monetary Theory - June

Modern Monetary Theory: A General Introduction by *Usman Chohan*

A Coherent Monetary Theory is Threat to the Capitalist State by *Charles Stevenson and Ellen Helker-Nygren*

The Deficit Myth: The Biggest Lie in Politics *video essay by 1Dime*

The Keweenaw's Looming Rental Housing Monopoly

by Eli Haber

In an upcoming article, I will attempt to assess the state of the rental housing market in Houghton and Hancock, drawing on the experiences and perspectives of local tenants. In doing so, I will focus on the recent buyout of Houghton Rental Housing by their competitor Bradway Enterprises. While I won't dwell on the specifics of these companies or the deal between them here, one of the issues raised in my investigation is the possibility of an impending rental monopoly in the area. In this piece, I hope to describe what such a monopoly might look like, and consider some ways it could be mitigated.

Increasingly, housing in the United States has become concentrated in the hands of a few large landlords. This has occurred both on the national scale with investment firms like Blackrock, as well as on the scale of towns, cities, and neighborhoods by individuals and smaller companies like Bradway Enterprises, Houghton Off Campus Housing (HOCH), Lahti Properties, and their competitors.

Common across these scales is an ideology which holds that housing is first and foremost an investment, rather than a place for people to live. The clearest practical effect of this belief is landlords' tendency to do the bare minimum to keep units functional and up to code (or, in many cases, to violate codes where possible), extracting ever-higher rents for service that only ever changes for the worse. This can have dangerous or even deadly effects in an area full of fire-prone buildings like the Keweenaw.

Furthermore, property owners are incentivized to rent out units that were historically owner-occupied, decreasing the prospects of homeownership for Millenials and Gen Z (to say nothing of avocado toast). Other units that could house full-time residents are increasingly converted into short-term vacation rentals, which are often more lucrative and less regulated. In some cases, houses simply sit empty for years while investors wait for their value to increase, before selling them off again. This cartel behavior artificially increases the scarcity of rental housing, driving rents up.

Especially around the MTU campus, landlords like Bradway and HOCH already own nearly all the rental properties, locking in guaranteed leases from the many students who do not own cars and need to live close to campus. The Copper Country is becoming home to more and more renters, at a time when the cost of housing is increasing and rental units are being concentrated into fewer and fewer hands. If nothing is done to change course, we can expect the trends already present in East Houghton to spread to all of Houghton and Hancock, and perhaps beyond.

Needless to say, this situation is bad for renters. When the prevailing belief among the owning class is that profits (i.e. rent payments) come first, everything else is neglected. Too often, landlords think of tenants' legal responsibilities under a lease as a duty, but treat their own obligations as an inconvenience. As I discussed above (and will expand upon in the upcoming article), this leads landlords to deprioritize tenants' comfort and safety, price them out, and violate their legal rights.

Worse yet, local government and other institutions tend to share this perspective with landlords, or even help them enforce it and enshrine it in law. Municipalities generally provide police assistance in carrying out evictions and other enforcement against tenants. However, enforcing tenants' rights is rarely within the purview of those same police departments, forcing renters who may not be able to afford a lawyer to pursue civil claims against their landlords in court. Tenants who live in unsafe conditions, have deposits withheld without reason, or face other illegal treatment by their landlord often have no practical recourse. As a result, crime by landlords runs rampant throughout the country. In college towns like Houghton, universities can also help solidify housing monopolies through tit-for-tat deals with large local landlords. However, these institutions could, and in some places do, serve the needs of tenants instead.

Local governments on the city, township, and county level have significant, though not unlimited, power to improve the situation of renters in the Copper Country. Historically, renters'

rights have not been a priority for city councils. Perhaps this is a reflection of the fact that nearly every member of the Houghton and Hancock city councils are homeowners, and a few are even landlords themselves.

Both Houghton and Hancock have implemented and amended procedures for licensing landlords in the last decade or two. While licensure is a common demand for tenant advocacy groups, the version of it that our local city councils have adopted is relatively toothless. In both cities, landlords must annually go through a building inspection, fill out and submit a one-page license application, and pay a fee to the city. The application is reviewed and (nearly always) approved by a Code Enforcement Officer. While there are provisions for denying or revoking rental licenses, these most often come into play when landlords fail to renew licenses, apply to rent a house without adequate parking, or exhibit other issues unrelated to safety.

One easy way for our local governments to help tenants is to strengthen this existing licensure process. Instead of leaving inspections and application review up to a lone city official, Houghton and Hancock could delegate these processes to separate individuals or bodies, and make the whole process more democratic and transparent. (Until 2019, Houghton had a Rental Housing Board which voted on licensure requests; a similar body could be reinstated). Additionally, township and/or county governments could implement similar requirements, since there is no landlord licensing process currently in place in Houghton County outside of the cities of Houghton and Hancock.

Relatedly, local municipalities could increase standards for building codes, as well as improve code enforcement. In Houghton and Hancock respectively, the same Code Enforcement Officer tasked with reviewing rental license applications is also the singular official in charge of inspecting rental properties and ensuring compliance with landlord-tenant ordinances. On top of offloading application review onto a separate entity, cities could hire additional workers to ensure that inspections are regular and thorough. They could also do a better job of interfacing with other enforcement authorities, such as the county building inspector and state health department, to ensure that rental properties are safe for their occupants.

Better yet, municipalities could require that some of the individuals involved with these enforcement mechanisms are themselves tenants, in order to counter the trend of regulatory capture by landlords and developers. One straightforward step would be for cities to make it easier for tenants and neighbors to report suspected violations to the city. Additionally, if a Rental Housing Board or similar body were reestablished, a quota could be set for renters to be represented on the board. Local residents including tenants could even be hired, permanently or seasonally, to participate in building inspections.

While currently illegal under Michigan state law, legislation is currently under consideration in Lansing to unban rent control. If the law changes, Houghton and Hancock (as well as surrounding townships) should institute strong rent control ordinances. This would maintain the Keweenaw as an affordable place for students and young working people to live, rather than increasingly funneling their money into the hands of a few large landowners.

Another contributing problem to the housing crisis in the Copper Country is the lack of new, affordable development. Many new housing projects, such as the development at 100 Pearl Street, are only affordable to a minority of the residents they hope to attract. Given the monopolistic conditions that exist in the housing market especially close to the MTU campus, students who cannot afford to live in developments like this one will have no choice but to sign leases on apartments outside of their means. Houghton's Planning Commission (as well as similar bodies in other municipalities) ought to prioritize affordable developments instead of luxury ones, especially in areas where residents'

The Right of Free Speech

by Demos, reprinted from the May 29, 1908 issue of The Wage Slave, Hancock, MI

It is gratifying to see the Mining Journal wake from their lethargy, sit up and take notice of the socialists. Of course this is not because they want to, but because they can't avoid it. They don't like the mental medicine the socialists carry with them, so they must try by some means to counteract its effect upon the public mind. The old party papers are in a predicament as to what to do about the socialists. They can't keep still about them, as that would leave the ground all too east for socialists. They dare not tell the truth about them, as that would also be in favor of the socialists. So there is but one thing left for them to do and that is to lie about them; and even that won't help them very long because the truth will come out.

In Saturday's issue of the Mining Journal and other subsequent issues they reviewed the work of comrade Henderson while passing thru this count, painting the blackest side possible to it, and handling the truth very carelessly in reference to it. The only food thing they found in their heart to say was that he had a good command of "english."

Of course it is quite natural that they should regard everything as flat except the pancakes that they and their ilk continuously hand out to a long suffering public.

However we hope they (the authorities) will take the advise of that business man and instead of making anarchists of themselves by opposing the rights of citizens regarding free speech and peaceable assemblage, making up their mind to respect the rights granted by the constitution of the State and the United States. Both these constitution expressly states that no laws shall be passed restriction the rights of free speech and free assemblage. While we may swallow their bluff for the time being there will come a time when we shall call their bluff and stand by our rights as granted by the constitution.

We do not expect to be painted in anything but an unfavorable light by such papers as the Mining Journal and their ilk; irrespective of what merit there may be in our cause or the ability of our speakers to present our principles.

The old party papers have entered into an agreement to fight socialism by certain policies, without regard as to whether their statements be true or otherwise, so long as they can set up bugaboos and misconceptions of our movement. Their idea is to give us as much trouble as possible in knocking the straw men, of their making, out of the minds of the people, so that we won't have much time to spare to tell the great vital truths about our movement. They have a mortal fear of the great truths that are the foundation and bulwarks of socialism; consequently they put forward every effort to blind the people and scare them away from the real truth about things. But it makes no difference which way they go about demolishing socialism; after they have done their worst, socialism looms up stronger and more magnificent, after every effort that they put forward to try and break it down. Socialism is in line with natural law and Social evolution and it is only fools who get in the way of it. An ounce of study will bring better results than tons of lies and force. All winds blow towards socialism. Now instead of being a log of "Jass-Axes" get some sense into your craniums and learn to spread yours seals with the breeze. Cooperate with natural law that we may all the sooner reach the commonwealth. There, we will forget the differences and struggles of the jungle of capitalism, and will redeem the earth as a heritage for all the children of men instead of allowing it to be made a veritable hell of poverty that the lusts, greed and selfishness of a few may be satisfied.

We have no respect for the anarchists whether in office or out, we respect human rights and we shall use our greatest powers through education and the ballot box to obtain and maintain them. If by force you take away free speech and the ballot box you may hold yourself accountable for the results that will surely follow such a Trust-made policy. Free Americans will not stand to have the rights and liberties which the constitution grants to them stolen away from them by a set of self made despots. We sincerely hope in the future when we as citizens exercise our rights, that those in authority will not have the brazen audacity to exercise power which the constitution expressly forbids. If the authorities press us to carry the rights of free speech then the courts they will find themselves coming out at the wrong end, and it will certainly not be pleasant to bear the reproach that will of necessity fall upon them.

The club is not mightier than the constitution as some are want to say. The welfare of humanity must every by the supreme issues, and reason is always

better than force.

In the meantime, time and energy spent to teach official ignorance, better manners can be better applied to proclaiming the whole truth about our social conditions from the house tops if need be. The whole truth being the only way in which society can save itself from the cancers of greed that is eating the heart out of the nation.

Use reason instead of self arrogated force and you will find the socialists a reasonable set of fellows to deal with as they always believe in fighting their battle for human rights with their brain in stead of the shotgun.

When you say that out speakers are flat etc. and the next thing you set yourselves squared against the constitution in an effort to prevent them from speaking, you make your words belie your acts. Now all we ask is that you will be the gentlemen that you find us to be and in a short time you will find bumps on the top of your head that was not caused by a club of any kind. Bumps that are caused by the evolution of thought. They more you listen to our side of the story the less use there will be for the policeman's club. The more that socialism finds its way into the minds of the people, the less use will there be for the jail, insane asylum, and a number of other bad and useless things that we now need because of our ignorance.

Now don't be foolish and try to keep back the rising sun, you will only burn your fingers by such endeavors. Study, read, think, observe, investigate, get wise and don't be a hireling's fool.

It was Hammond who said, "things which have been regarded as infallible for ages, are upset by a late telegram today," so don't despise the tea kettle that produces the steam engine. Things cannot be kept back because they are small. Nor cal big things be kept up when they are not right. A cause that is righteous and just cannot be scoffed out of existence by a lying press nor blown off the earth with powder and shot. Knowledge, tolerance and reason are mightier than the club, so let humanity follow the easiest route, that happiness for all concerned may increase upon the earth.

Editors Note: The use of the term "anarchists" in this article should be read with the colloquial definition of anarchy, that is, chaos and disregard for the safety of others, rather than the socialist political philosophy of Anarchism.

Christ was a Socialist

by J.A. Williams, reprinted from the May 22, 1908 issue of The Wage Slave, Hancock, MI

A Socialist thinks that the land is the Lord's,
That the earth was not made for a few;
That ye should do to others the way that ye should
That others should do onto you.
If ye would not toil for another one's gain
Do not force him to do so for you.
Though the churches deny it, we know by his word
That Christ was a Socialist, too.

A Socialist thinks that you cannot love God
And injure your dear brother man.
The worst way to hurt is to do it by law
For he cannot get even again.
If you love your neighbor the same as yourself,
No injustice to him will you do
The doctrine that all are the children of God
Shows that Christ was a Socialist, too.

A Socialist thinks that the one is a thief
Who gives not all that is earned,
And Christ called them thieves when the temple within
Their tables of change he o'erturned.
When the Socialists today strive the lowly to aid,
Persecutions they have to go through;
He laid down his life for his love of mankind,
So Christ was a Socialist, too.

The Socialists preach the glad news to the poor;
They seek to uplift the oppressed;
The same as the Christ went about doing good,
Relieving the weak and distressed.
And he said, "He that loves not the one he hath seen,
And loves him as I have loved you,
Cannot love the Father he never hath seen;"
So Christ was a Socialist, too.

CONTINUED FROM
THE KEWEENAW'S LOOMING RENTAL...

income is unlikely to be high. Cities could also allocate funds to their respective Housing Commissions to develop, purchase, and subsidize rents in additional affordable units.

Other, more ambitious ways for local governments to deal with impending (or already-extant) rental housing monopolies exist as well. Large landlords contributing to monopolies could be broken up, and some or all of their properties taken over by city Housing Commissions. Municipalities could pass ordinances similar to one already in place in Dollar Bay, disincentivizing absentee homeownership, encouraging owners of vacation and short-term rental properties to rent out or sell their properties to longer-term residents, and raising property taxes on those who do not. In particular, owners of vacation homes which sit vacant outside the summer months could be encouraged to rent to college students, who are typically away during the summer.

Another way to combat the local housing crisis is to provide increased transit service. A robust, reliable, and affordable transit network connecting densely populated areas of Houghton, Hancock, Chassell, Calumet, and Laurium could be established, reducing the need for MTU students to live close to campus, and for workers to live close to their workplaces. This would have the added benefit of reducing residents' reliance on cars (a stated goal of many local developers). This would allow denser developments to be built without the need for extensive parking space, as long as local ordinances were changed accordingly.

Lastly, tenants can take things into our own hands to improve the situation. An organized body like the Keweenaw Tenants Union (KTU) allows renters to act as a political bloc, affecting change through local government or confronting landlords directly. The early stages of KTU have already created a space for Copper Country residents to engage in effective mutual aid, sharing information about local landlords and landlord/tenant law. Going forward, the group hopes to be able to organize rapid responses to illegal evictions, demonstrations against abusive landlords, and rent strikes. KTU also intends to act as a voice for tenants in local government meetings. If the prospect of organized, militant tenancy in the Keweenaw sounds off-putting to local landlords, they ought to improve conditions in their properties before their tenants feel the need to join such an organization.

Retraction

The piece, "Introduction to the Carbondale Plan: Municipal Socialism and Dual Power from Illinois to the Keweenaw" has been removed from this edition of the quarterly. The author has notified us of major factual errors in the piece after re examination and requested the article be removed as to preserve the integrity of the publication. The author also wishes to apologize to those involved in the Carbondale spring movement in inaccurately portraying the narrative of the movement and co-opting the municipality's history in order to construct a quasi-presidential blueprint for the Keweenaw.

Revolutionary Optimism

The Theme for this Quarter

As leftists it can be easy to fall into despair. Our individual contributions can seem small in the face of the global capitalist hegemony and looming climate change. It can be easy to think that our efforts are meaningless, our cause unwinnable, that the end of history has been reached. This, however, could not be

We must dismiss the ingrained liberal notion that change is only possible through the successes or failures of individuals, and remember that we are all struggling together as a class. It is not you alone against the owning class but you alone side the great mass of workers struggling together. We must find hope in the knowledge that as capitalism's contradictions become increasingly pointed we have the opportunity to bring more workers to the cause and hasten the downfall of this oppressive system such that a new system of equality and democracy can rise in its place.

"We live in capitalism, its power seems inescapable – but then, so did the divine right of kings. Any human power can be resisted and changed by human beings."

- Ursula K. Le Guin

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Keweenaw Socialists Quarterly is an anti-capitalist quarterly publication bringing academic literature, meaningful discussion, visual art, poetry, and prose to the people of the Keweenaw. This publication seeks to advocate for the liberation of workers, indigenous peoples, and all other minorities in the Keweenaw peninsula and throughout the world.

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