

Excerpts from “Everybody Wants to be a Fascist”

by Felix Guattari

Section 1

It is said that psychoanalysis is concerned with something which takes place on a small scale, barely the scale of the family and the person, whereas politics is concerned only with large social groupings. I would like to demonstrate that, on the contrary, **there is a politics which addresses itself to the individual's desire, as well as to the desire which manifests itself in the broadest social field.** And it has two forms: either a macro politics aiming at both individual and social problems, or a micropolitics aiming at the same domains (the individual, the family, party problems, state problems, etc.)

The despotism which exists in conjugal or family relationships arises from the same kind of libidinal disposition that exists in the broadest social field. Inversely, it is by no means absurd to approach a number of large scale social problems (for example, the problems of bureaucratism and fascism) , in the light of a micropolitics of desire. In that case, it is no longer a simple question of describing preexisting social objects, but one of engaging in a political struggle against all machines of the dominant power; whether it be the power of the bourgeois State, the power of any kind of bureaucracy, the power of academia, familial power, phallocratic power in male/female relationships, or even the repressive power of the superego over the individual.

The militant Marxist system of thought...constitutes itself as the collective system of representation of the masses' desires. This system recognizes the existence of a revolutionary desire, but it imposes mediations on it: that of the theoretical representation of Marxism, and that of the practical representation of the party which is supposed to be its expression. A whole mechanism of transmission belts is thus put into place between the theory, the direction of the party, and the militants, so that the innumerable differences which run through the desire of the masses find themselves "massified," restored to standardized formulations whose necessity is deemed to be justified in the name of the cohesion of the working class and party unity. We have switched from the impotence of a system of mental representation to the impotence of a system of social representativity.

[This analysis] will no longer pretend to find all the answers in the action of a unique revolutionary party standing as a central depository of theoretical and practical truth. Therefore, a micropolitics of desire would no longer present itself as *representing* the masses and as *interpreting* their struggles. Which does not mean that it would condemn, a priori, all party action, all idea of party line, of program or even of centralism, but it would endeavor to locate and relativize this party action in terms of an analytic micropolitics which, at every turn, would stand in opposition to the Manichean [good/evil] dualism that presently contaminates the revolutionary movements. It would no longer seek support from a transcendent object in order to provide itself with security. It would no longer center itself on a unique object - the power of the State, which could only be conquered by a representative party acting in lieu of and instead of the masses - but rather, it would center on a multiplicity of objectives, within the immediate reach of the most diverse social groupings.

Starting from the plurality of partial struggles ... far-reaching collective struggles could be launched. There would no longer be mass, centrally ordered movements which would set more or less serialized individuals in motion on a local scale. Rather, it would be the connection of a multiplicity of molecular desires which would catalyze challenges on a large scale. This is what happened at the beginning of the movement of May '68: the local and singular manifestation of the desire of small groups began to resound with a multiplicity of repressed desires which had been isolated and crushed by the dominant forms of expression and of representation.

The unification of struggles is antagonistic to the multiplicity of desires

only when it is totalizing, that is, when it is treated by the totalitarian machine of a representative party.

For political struggle to coincide with an analysis of desire, you have to be in a position to listen in on whoever is speaking from a position of desire, and above all, "off the track." At home, a child "off the track" is put down, and this continues in school, in the barracks, in the factory, in the trade union, and in the party cell. You must always stay "on the right track" and "in line." But by virtue of its very nature, desire always has the tendency to "stray from the subject," "to get off the track," and to drift from its proper course.

Section 2

Let's come back to this question of fascism and to its relation to Stalinism and Western style "democracies." We are not interested in establishing reductive comparisons, but, on the contrary, in complexifying the models...There are all kinds of fascisms, all kinds of Stalinisms and all kinds of bourgeois democracies. These three groupings break up as soon as one begins to consider, at the heart of each grouping, the relative status of, for example, the industrial machine, the banking machine, the military machine, the politico-police machine, the techno-structures of the State, the Church, etc.

It is the same fascism under different forms which continues to operate in the family, in school, or in a trade union. A struggle against the modern forms of totalitarianism can be organized only if we are prepared to recognize the continuity of this machine.

Therefore, the analysis of fascism is not simply a historian's specialty. I repeat: what fascism set in motion yesterday continues to proliferate in other forms, within the complex of contemporary social space. A whole totalitarian chemistry manipulates the structures of state, political and union structures, institutional and family structures, and even individual structures, inasmuch as one can speak of a sort of fascism of the superego in situations of guilt and neurosis.

Today the productive forces provoke the explosion of traditional human territorialities [everything that marks us as a member of some group], **because they are capable of liberating the atomic energy of desire.** This phenomenon being irreversible, and its revolutionary scope impossible to calculate, the totalitarian-bureaucratic capitalist and socialist systems are forced to constantly perfect and miniaturize their repressive machines. We simply don't want to miss the impact of this totalitarian machine which never stops modifying and adapting itself to the relationships of force and societal transformations. Therefore, it seems to me that the constant search for this machinic composition of totalitarian powers is the indispensable corollary of a micro political struggle for the liberation of desire. Molecular analysis is the will to a molecular power, to a theory and practice which refuse to dispossess the masses of their potential for desire.

It is often asserted that, at their outset, the fascist regimes supplied a minimum of economic solutions to the most urgent problems - an artificial boost to the economy, a reabsorption of unemployment, a large-scale public works program, control of capital. These measures are then contrasted, for example, with the powerlessness of the socio-democratic governments of the Weimar Republic. Explanations like, "The socialists and communists had a bad program, bad leaders, a bad organization, bad alliances," are considered sufficient. Their deficiencies and betrayals are endlessly enumerated. But nothing in these explanations accounts for the fact that the new totalitarian desiring machine was able to crystallize in the masses to such an extent that it was felt, by international capitalism itself, to be even more dangerous than the regime that came out of the October revolution. What almost everyone refuses to acknowledge is that the fascist machine, in its Italian and German forms, became a threat to capitalism and Stalinism because the

masses invested a fantastic collective death instinct in it. By reterritorializing their desire onto a leader, a people, and a race, the **masses abolished, by means of a phantasm of catastrophe, a reality which they detested and which the revolutionaries were either unwilling or unable to encroach upon.**

For the masses, virility, blood, vital space, and death took the place of a socialism that had too much respect for the dominant meanings. All fascist meanings stem out of a composite representation of love and death, of Eros and Thanatos now made into one. Hitler and the Nazis were fighting for death, right up to and including the death of Germany; the German masses agreed to follow along and meet their own destruction. How else are we to understand the way they were able to keep the war going for several years after it had been manifestly lost?

The last World War will thus have been the opportunity to select the most efficient totalitarian machines, those best adapted to the period. Unlike [Ur-]fascism, capitalist totalitarian machines manage to divide, particularize, and molecularize the workers, meanwhile tapping their potentiality for desire. **These machines infiltrate the ranks of the workers, their families, their couples, their childhood; they install themselves at the very heart of the workers' subjectivity and vision of the world.** From this standpoint, it must be acknowledged that the Western totalitarian machine has now completely surpassed its Stalinist counterpart. The failure of Stalinism, which is no doubt one of the most striking developments in the modern period, evidently stems from the fact that it could not adapt itself to the evolution of the productive forces and in particular to what I have called the molecularization of the work force.

This new situation, which involves heterogeneous social groupings whose action is not channeled into purely economic objectives, is met by proliferation and exacerbation of repressive responses. Alongside the fascism of the concentration camps, which continue to exist in numerous countries, new forms of molecular fascism are developing: a slow burning fascism in familialism, in school, in racism, in every kind of ghetto, which advantageously makes up for the crematory ovens.

Everywhere the totalitarian machine is in search of proper structures, which is to say, structures capable of adapting desire to the profit economy.

We must abandon, once and for all, the quick and easy formula: "Fascism will not make it again." Fascism has already "made it," [long before Trump had ever taken power] and it continues to "make it. " It passes through the tightest mesh; it is in constant evolution, to the extent that it shares in a micropolitical economy of desire itself inseparable from the evolution of the productive forces. **Fascism seems to come from the outside, but it finds its energy right at the heart of everyone's desire.**

Fascism, like desire, is scattered everywhere, in separate bits and pieces, within the whole social realm; it crystallizes in one place or another, depending on the relationships of force. It can be said of fascism that it is all-powerful and, at the same time, ridiculously weak. And whether it is the former or the latter depends on the capacity of collective arrangements, subject-groups, to connect the social libido, on every level, with the whole range of revolutionary machines of desire.

A Mocking Song

by K.G. Jack Muzzy

A Mocking Song – Παρωδία

All Fools’ Day | Believing Bourgeoisie Lies

The Russia-Ukraine war: Beating a predictable drum of anti-Western rhetoric that you could call a definition of παρωδία.

The politics of propaganda is a slick business:

Read many sources and in-between-the-lines to understand the why of the Russia-Ukraine war in real time.

U.S. foreign policy establishm ent—Pentagon, North Atlantic Treaty Organization—beating a familiar anti-Russian drum:

Russian oligarchs a.k.a. Russian gangster capitalists, the Russian Orthodox Church—post the era of Perestroika and Mikhail Gorbachev, the eighth and final General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—U.S. conservative evangelicals, ultra-nationalist Americans, America First neo-fascist politicians, far-right militia group leaders, all have publicly prayed for and saluted Putin and Russia.

Russia is taking a page from NATO’s playbook and trying to replace U.S. hegemony in Europe:

The people of Ukraine are the victims of Russian protectionism and Western conspiratorial provocation. The pawns in the game are uprooted young Russian soldiers, flesh, and blood Ukrainians. Men, women, and children—living, fighting, bleeding, dying—in the trenches, rubble of destroyed Ukrainian cities reminiscent of World War II. Lost lives, both Nations’ dreams for security and prosperity dissipate in this war; instead killing each other on the field of battle in a war that will not help the world achieve economic and social justice—peace and respect—even for its own humanity. Ukraine war ravaged—Russia’s point made—NATO creates war.

Imagine Russia allying itself with Mexico in a formal economic and military alliance:

One that places advanced offensive weapon systems on the U.S. southern border. The U.S. would go to war against Mexico to prevent that from happening. The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 should serve as an historic example and precedent setting.

The 1917 Russian Revolution made Ukraine and Crimea a part of a federated Union of Soviet Socialists Republics:

Vladimir Ilyich Putin has denounced Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and renounced Marxism-Leninism and his invasion of Ukraine looks predictable i.e. a would-be 21st century Russian Tsar, Putin the Great, retaking the Crimean Peninsula, reestablishing Russia as a world-power and broker. A superpower enough to be a thorn in the West’s agenda of expansion into what was formally Eastern-Europe and a part of the USSR before the implosion and demise of the Soviet Union in 1991.

The cost is the Russia-Ukraine war: Making billions of U.S. dollars in profits for the Military-Industrial Complex—the Masters of War while touching bleeding hearts in the West; bleeding white lives, resources, and refugees’ command’s the attention of mainstream racist white media.

Ask yourself why the Russia-Ukraine war has happened:

Why cannot the West demilitarize and resolve this Russia-Ukraine border war through a negotiated settlement? Allow the regions of Ukraine to decide for themselves, through referendum, which country—Ukraine or Russia—they wish to belong to.

U.S. imperialism: Instead of helping humankind build an equitable and sustainable Earth. In the last century when has the U.S. not been involved in an overseas conflict or war? Not since the end of the Vietnam War in 1975—
CONTINUED ON BACK

Serious Times Are At Hand

by A.M. Stirton, reprinted from the April 24, 1908 issue of The Wage Slave, Hancock, MI

The signs of the times point unmistakably toward a violent revolution in the United States before many years, despite all that Socialists can do in trying to prevent it.

Socialists have long seen that with the coming of the industrial crisis when thousand of men all over the country would be laid off from work they would be in a mood to receive the cooperative message, but it comes somewhat in the nature of a surprise to many that the capitalists have seen it too and that they should take such vigorous measures as are now being taken all over the land to prevent that message from being heard.

They are no longer content to discriminate against the Socialist in permitting him the same rights that are accorded to others in sing the streets to proclaim his teachings; they are now boldly taking the initiative and sending their blue-coated minions to break up the Socialist hall meetings also on the ground that such meetings are “prejudicial to social order,” in other words the economic interests of the ruling class.

Philadelphia seems just now to be the especial scene of these exhibitions of force on the part of the ruling class, and their ruthless trampling upon the most sacred and primary of human rights, that of free speech, solemnly guaranteed as it is by the Constitution of the United States.

We give below an extract from a capitalistic paper of Philadelphia, the “Northern American,” issue of April 13th, descriptive of a recent breaking up by force of a Socialist meeting in that city:

“Following out the order of Director Clay and Assistant Superintendent of Police “Tim” O’Leary that meetings which tent to breed disorder may not be help, police of the Fifteenth street and Snyder avenue station yesterday broke up a socialist meeting at Southwark Labor Lyceum, 1208 Tasker street.

Entering the hall they requested a word with Charles P. Gildea of Coaldale, the chief speaker and former candidate of the Socialist party for Lieutenant Governor. When he advanced to meeting them two policemen grasped him by the hand and pulled him to the floor. Them seizing him roughly, they hauled him through the crowd and 200 persons, tearing away his collar and tie, and ejected him from the building.

J.J. McCelvie, chairman of the meeting, next met with their attentions. Pulling him from a chair they rushed him to the back of the hall and threw him bodily down a flight of thirty-two steps. He had said, “No American citizen would handle men and women as the poliOce are doing.”

Other men were beaten by the policemen. AND THE SCORE OF MORE WOMEN IN ATTENDANCE WERE MAN-HANDLED SPEEDILY FROM THE PLACE. As they fought to execute their orders, some of the policed cursed steadily.

In the crowd gathered to attend the meeting was E. Nieves, a young Socialist from the University of Pennsylvania. When the fighting began he stepped to one side to avoid trouble. Asking the young man if he “were looking for trouble,” Policeman Harry Osterheldt struck him, cutting his lip and bruising his face. He was led, bleeding, from the hall by women.

The disturbance created by the police drew a large crowd to the meeting hall. Reuben Satin, a Socialist, attempted to address them. He was arrested on charges of inviting to riot. None of the person whom the police threw from the hall was arrested.

The meeting was under the auspices of the First and Thirty-ninth Wards branch of the Socialist party. Mr. Gildea, in addition to having been a candidate for a high state officer on the Socialist ticket, also has served as a member of the United Mine Workers’ executive board.”

No one needs to be a prophet or the son of a prophet, but merely an ordinary observer of human nature and of the facts of history to predict some of the things that must shortly come to pass in this country if this policy is adhered to, as evidently it will be on the part of the ruling class.

We may be very sure, in the first place, that the APPARENT SUCCESS of these methods at first, will lead to their extension and that the ruling class, drunk with power will go further and further, not only suppressing Socialist meetings and processions of the unemployed in other place but aft meeting which tend to voice the discontent of labor. The freedom of the press will also be further infringed. Fred D. Warren, Managing Editor of the Appeal is

now awaiting trial for publishing articles reflecting on the dignity of the President and we have the further ominous spectacle of a president of the United States ordering the suspension of a paper and trial of its Editors afterward.

Let no one deceive himself and [...] where there is no peace. The capitalist tiger has already tasted blood and we may reasonably expect that when his savage jungle passions are thoroughly aroused, his ferocity will go the limit.

Free speech in American is already dead. The Constitution and its sacred pledges are no longer regarded even as a formality.

As the Industrial Panic deepens and the army of the unemployed increases always menacing the interests of the possessing classes, we may as well make up our minds to the fact that the repressive measure of the ruling class will rapidly become more drastic and severe. Taft, “the father of the injunction,” not calls loudly for a larger militia, “to quell local disturbances,” that is, to put down all expression of discontent on the part of the plundered and disinherited. And there is no reason to doubt but what that militia will readily be forthcoming.

But in the end this will not work. For a time it may, and the apparent success will lead the ruling class on to still more dastardly and high-handed acts, until finally a breaking-point is reached. The day has gone by when the working people can be clubbed and shot into submission without retaliation. But the capitalist class in the United States do not know that.

Meanwhile the duty of the Socialist is ten-fold more pressing to spread out propaganda as rapidly as possible and around as many of the working class as possible to class-consciousness and united action against yet more evil days than those that are upon us now. Soon our propaganda will be conducted under far greater difficulties than any that have beset us yet. The days of persecution and of the Iron heel are upon us. “Work while it is day, the night cometh when no man can work.”

It will not do to say, “O when the Panic is really here that will teach the workers: the Panic will make Socialist out of them.”

The Panic never yet made a Socialist of anybody. All that the Panic can do is to make the opportunity to teach Socialist, And the ruling class have already determined that as the Panic intensifies and Socialist propaganda becomes more and more dangerous to their class interests, they will make the attempt, indeed they are making it now, to prevent our reaching the workers with out message, nor will they hesitate to put down all expression of discontent in blood.

Now is the time, while it is yet in our power to do it peaceably, to push our propaganda by every means in our power. Now is the time to arrange propaganda meetings all over the land. Now is the time to build up our Party press and sow the country knee deep with socialist literature before it is too late, and the propaganda of education gives place, alas, to the appeal to the sword. “The Philistines be upon thee, Samson!”

There is something else on which the charges should be rung, by every Socialist paper in the land, but upon which, unfortunately, too many of them are silent. Would that it could be burned into the thought of every socialist in the United States in letters of living fire till his mind was all aglow with it. It is this: The capitalist class will never submit to the decision of the ballot-box when a National election goes Socialist unless the Socialists are prepared to enforce that decision. The capitalist class will never throw up their hands and walk peaceably away simply because the Socialists have a few more pieces of paper in a box than they have. The ballot-box never enforces itself. The reason that the minority submit in any National election, is, either that they recognize that there are no issues involved worth fighting about or that the voting power of the majority is about equal to their fighting power. But the workers are unarmed and the capitalist have the army and the police, the machine guns and the battleships.

Did the Southern slave-holders submit peaceably when Lincoln was elected even with an overwhelming majority?

What means are at hand where-by the workers may expect to enforce submission to their will when a working-class party captures political power at the ballot-box.

Industrial Unionism is the word. The old Craft Unions dividing the workers into petty, waning factions, are of no value for

this purpose nor for the constructive processes of the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Let us get busy then and organize into great Industrial Unions, competent TO STRIKE AND STAY, that’s the word, not to strike and leave as the manner of the Craft Unions is. Get busy and build up the I.W.W. Let every miner in the country join the Western Federation of Miners, and let the Western Federation of Miners swing into line and take its place where it ought to be in the I.W.W.

Against a united working class organized into great Industrial Unions prepared to back up a working-class ballot by seizing and holding the Industries, the capitalist class might hesitate to throw their military power. Otherwise, working-class victory at the ballot-box will be the signal for armed rebellion on the part of the capitalist class and their supporters.

This is the thing that we don’t want. War is disastrous and one of its worst evils is that the wrong man so frequently gets shot. We don’t want it. But we will never avoid it, by closing out eyes to the signs of the times and living in a Fool’s Paradise.

While you are at it, look into the Modern Sons of Marx. This society is doing a great a practical work in a quiet and unobtrusive way. Write to Vernon F. King, Holland, Mich. For information.

We don’t want a violent revolution. We are for peace. But it is as certain as that two and two make four that the capitalist class are preparing to spring it upon us. And that they, who trample under foot the guarantees of free speech and natural rights embodies in the Constitution which they profess to uphold which never submit to the decision of a working-class ballot except as the working-class are prepared to enforce submission.

Build up Industrial Unionism. Do it now.

CONTINUED FROM A MOCKING SONG
due to a decade of internal U.S. opposition to that war and civil unrest over inequality and racism—until the invasion of Granada in 1983. And other than World War II those wars were solely in the national interests of U.S. imperialism.

U.S. colonialism:
The English colonies that became the U.S. waged war and took land first from American Indian Tribes, then imported Africans to be sold as slave labor to build the U.S. economy, then made war on Mexico in 1846 following the annexation of Texas. Is the U.S. planning to give back American Indian land—land taken illegally and in violation of ratified Treaties—pay Reparations to African American descendants of U.S. slaves, give Texas back to Mexico? Why is it that Taiwan and China are not looked at the same as Crimea and Ukraine?

Ukraine support tracker March 14, 2025:

Since the Russia-Ukraine war began on February 24, 2022, the Biden Administration has directed \$182.8 billion in emergency funding, including advanced American-made F-16 fighter jets stipulating that the Ukrainian pilots be trained by NATO.

Enter a self-proclaimed 21st century U.S. Monarch:

Holding court in his gifted-gilded gold-plated White House office, a setting created for the sole purpose of creating and distributing Donald Trump’s media image and message worldwide, shock and awe, where nothing is left to chance. Imagine a 244-pound narcissist, obese King size-derriere poised on the edge of his chair in the middle of the Oval Office surrounded by senior staff, Secret Service, a handpicked White House press corps, and you’ll take in the stage setting. Poor ole Once Upon A Time A Comedian-Volodymyr Zelenskyy had made the mistake of campaigning for the opposition or the Democrat presidential candidate Get Yourself A Shotgun Sleepy-Joe Biden and the cash, U.S. dollars, handed out to keep Ukraine’s war going against Russia while lining officials’ pockets.

Oval Office, Friday, February 28, 2025: Naive Ukraine President Zelenskyy didn’t realize who now sat in the Oval Office required fidelity from all others including other Presidents’ of countries, or what his purpose was in the Trump script to follow: The President of the United States does a clown like animated tantrum,

rant and rave, berating an Ungrateful-President of Ukraine for all that the U.S. has done for Ukraine; belittling the War Making Capabilities of the country of Ukraine as compared to Russia, to the delight of Trump’s devoted fanbase, after his dressed up in a suit and tie court jester, the Vice President of the United States, introduces the skit. In President Zelenskyy’s mind the meeting was simply designed to sign a Ukraine mineral for U.S. security guarantees deal at a joint presidential press conference. Volodymyr Zelenskyy could not duck fast enough Once A Marine Always A Marine-JD Vance started swinging and then Make America Great Again- Donald J. Trump threw his Ukrainian counterpart presidential ass out of the Oval Office and White House for being disrespectful and not wearing a suit and tie.

Made in America fascist royalty:
A would-be Benito Mussolini, the Duce of alt-right fascists. Employing a Ponzi scheme billionaire Punk Rocker-Elon Musk or Senior Advisor to the President of the United States, who willingly saluted his Führer several times, Sieg Heil, while speaking at the Grand Old Party-GOP Inauguration gala January 20, 2025. Grave diggers, book burners, of Diversity, Equity, Inclusion: the facts of U.S. colonialism and history. The truth of a genocide of Palestinians, daily taking place in the 21st century, perpetuated by Israel Defense Forces, supported by U.S. aid, military weaponry, and intelligence. The final shaping, sculpting, of the good ole USA into a first-class fascist Corporate State.

SOB:
Screwing the American people and raping the world for sake of sheer greed and profits—employing a fountain pen and eccentric signature—bring U.S. life to an end for unfortunate immigrants and grad students alike no matter the pain and suffering involved: the abduction and deportations of undocumented, the abduction and detentions of anti-Zionist students.

New era of McCarthyism:
U.S. universities, historic institutions of higher learning groveling on their knees—writing student conduct rules that protects racism, Israel's genocide of Palestinians, putting critical course work under White House approved receivership—while begging for assistance: meaning the return of U.S. government grant money.

The richest one percent:
Sitting on top of the world drinking expensive scotch on their yachts that only money or credit can get them while enjoying another hard-earned macroeconomic Trump tax break for society’s elite financed by the U.S. working class. Let’s talk about Supply-Side Economics, and the patron saint of fiscal conservatives, or ole Vote Yourself Out Of A Union Job-Ronald Reagan and Trickle-Down Economics: Meaning that the Have-Nots will live and prosper on the byproduct of the Haves because of the excess given the upper class is so great that it will inevitably trickle- down to the working class in more and better paying jobs, which in other words, is pie in the sky and a load of rich folks’ crap. Believing that you can live and prosper on a load of rich folks’ crap is the same as believing bourgeoisie lies. Yes: We are fighting for peace and respect an equitable and sustainable world where those that seek to immigrate to the U.S. first have a choice of staying in their home countries living free of right-wing violence and economic exploitation.

A good fit for U.S. imperialism:
Never forget that that SOB was voted into office to lead the Free World. In a pig’s eye, don’t be taken in: America First is as ugly today as it was in the 1940s, it allies the U.S. with the ideals of other neo-fascist racist dictators shaping the world because that shoe has been and is a good fit.

All Fools’ Day | Believing Bourgeoisie Lies

A Mocking Song – Παρωδία

April 1, 2025

Fascist Death-Worlds

by ozhaawashko animikii

Fascists build Death Worlds, worlds where their sovereignty, their bodily security, is grounded in the right to kill, "to let live or expose to death," the right to maim, to eliminate, and continually reduce others. The original conception of the death-world is taken from Achille Mbembe, though we will soon be looking at it from a different perspective. In Necropolitics, Mbembe describes death-worlds as: "new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to living conditions that confer upon them the status of the living dead". Using Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the Body-without-Organs (BwO) and combining this with the work of other theorists on fascism, this article will attempt to trace out a better materialist analysis of the psychology of fascism.

WHAT THE FUCK IS A BODY WITHOUT ORGANS?

Whether you are reading this online or in printed form, you have to touch your screen, a mouse, touchpad, keyboard, or the paper at some point. This connection between your hand and \$getThing produces a sensory signal. The connection between your eyes and the light emitting/reflecting the text produces another signal. A recording of this sensory experience is sent down the nerves to the Central Nervous Thing.

As this sensory signal is received by the central nervous thing, it leaves something behind. The body without organs (BwO) begins with this residue of your full life's worth of sensory experience. It has been growing, changing, since the moment you had functioning nerves. The more intense any particular bit of sensory information is, or the more often it is repeated, the more likely it is to leave a lasting impression upon the body-without-organs.

The BwO is not quite "you," but it fundamentally shapes how you live and act in the world. It is the imprint left behind from the sum total of your sensory experience - but more than that - it is also the impulses, biases, deep-seated emotional responses and habits that have formed as a result of that imprint. **It is the unconscious but physical and visceral material from which all our conscious behaviors begin.**

In their later work (A Thousand Plateaus) Deleuze and Guattari write of the body-without-organs as a tool with almost boundless potential for creativity, something to be experimented with: but this is not the conception of the BwO that we need at the moment. No, it's the earlier conception of the BwO in Anti-Oedipus that best describes the psychology of the fascist. In the place of what could be an "unlimited number of stationary, metastable states through which a subject passes [and continually recreates itself]", the fascist has a prison, a camp, a place where nothing is permitted to move or pass. **The body-without-organs of the fascist is a Death World.**

GENDER, WAR, AND DEATH
The fascist builds a Death World in meatspace because he carries a virtual one around with him at all times. "Though the devastation wrought on his body originates in social agencies and human 'modelers' he perceives it only as an evil ('bestial') interior, which he cannot perceive as social and thus inevitably sees as 'essentially human.'" But what "social agencies" cause this? How do they build the inner/virtual Death World that the fascist then replicates?

A popular theory is that fascism springs from the conditions of capitalism and colonialism, and while this is true - colonialism is already the construction of a Death World. If we are to understand the social forces that could ever lead a human to being this broken in the first place, we need to grasp fascism's deepest roots in patriarchy and misogyny. As Virginia Woolf asserts in her 1938 analysis (Three Guineas): "Patriarchy is to private life as fascism is to public life." Long before the Nazi-saluting, swastika-adorned fascist began building death camps and ruining the lives of complete strangers - he was a terror to those in his own household.

Jack Z. Bratich traces this development of patriarchal and misogynist subjects into fascist ones in his book *On Microfascism: Gender, War, and Death*. Microfascism here is differentiated from fascism "proper" (or molar, macro, or mass fascism) in that it denotes the behaviors, attitudes, and relations from which mass fascism develops. What we are looking at is how the fascist BwO is built before it becomes

totalizing and blooms into a recognizably fascist individual. The Death World is an attitude, a posture of contempt and disgust held in relation to material reality, and above all to the world of actual, living women. The fascist is so incapable, so deathly afraid of dealing with women and their desires on equal social footing that he will happily devote himself to constructing an entire world for exposing others to death - simply as a kind of social/emotional armor. So eager is the fascist to reduce, repress, and control women that he will happily harm and reduce his own life in the process.

Jack Bratich puts forward the term "autogenetic sovereignty" to describe his understanding of fascism. *Sovereignty* in this case already being described above as bodily security, *autogenetic* denotes a form of sovereignty springing from the fantasy of man's self-creation. "The self-made man, always on the brink of losing his subjective kingdom, must remake himself. This is done again and again through the reduction of women." Autogenetic sovereignty is a circuit in which the fascist continually flees from all that he fears in the material world to his internal world of fantasy. Because he is incapable of actually fully fleeing from the material world of women, the fascist returns to it, but with violent intent. Microfascism is a maintenance of the Self rooted in fear and resulting in repression and harm: "autogenetic sovereignty only exists as a process of renewal (rebirth) and elimination (of women)".

The fascist and proto-fascist gangs and paramilitaries are more modern variations on an older patriarchal formation: the Männerbund or (plural) Männerbunde, Germanic or even Proto-Indo-European men's war-bands. These war-bands were composed of young, not-yet-fully-grown males, who only *became men* through rites of initiation based around "defending" their host culture through violence against others, including sexual violence. These Männerbunde as described may themselves be only fantasies dreamed up by the early fascist and proto-fascist theorists that preceded the Freikorps and Nazi Sturmabteilung. What isn't fantasy is the actual war that these men's associations have waged on women since long before fascism was a glimmer in Mussolini's eye.

In his war on women, the fascist decides and upholds the boundaries of both "woman" AND "man." Anyone in this society can be marked for violence for stepping outside the lines. This is not simply the *result* of the fascist's law, *it is the point*: "It's not that patriarchal order is established first and then women transgress it. Law only exists as a way of framing Eve's behavior as transgression. .The need for punishment and control precedes the establishment of law." Soon it's not just women that the fascist fears, but men, Jews, Blacks, the Indian Savage, the transgender person, the communist, the *contagious*. Everyone who lives in the fascist's world and dares to dream of something better. The Other's desire for a better world becomes a newfound fear because it is a direct threat to the patriarchal-colonial order.

The freedom of living outside this order is looked upon by the fascist with horror, but "Hell is inside, in the darkness of the body; the body is a tomb, a dungeon." The circuit fires again. Fear, flight, "rebirth" and fantasy. Returning to reality: repression, reduction, elimination. It is

unthinkable that anyone would want to live outside his order. But he can't escape it. Everywhere the fascist looks he comes face to face "with the external incarnation of his devouring, dead unconscious." The circuit of death fires again, and again, bringing the only form of freedom the fascist can imagine. With every repetition the circuit builds a death-world like a stream digs its riverbed.

The fascist has cobbled together a social/emotional armor that numbs him to the outside world. In order to feel something - anything through this armor - he seeks a series of escalating shocks at the expense of others. Eventually the fascist BwO seems to take over entirely. This late-stage, malignant fascist becomes *necrophilic*. Not in the colloquial sense of the word necrophilia (though unfortunately not excluding it): "The necrophilous person loves all that does not grow, all that is mechanical...as if all living persons were things...The necrophilous person can relate to an object - a flower or a person - only if he possesses it; hence a threat to his possession is a threat to himself...He loves control, and in the act of controlling he kills life."

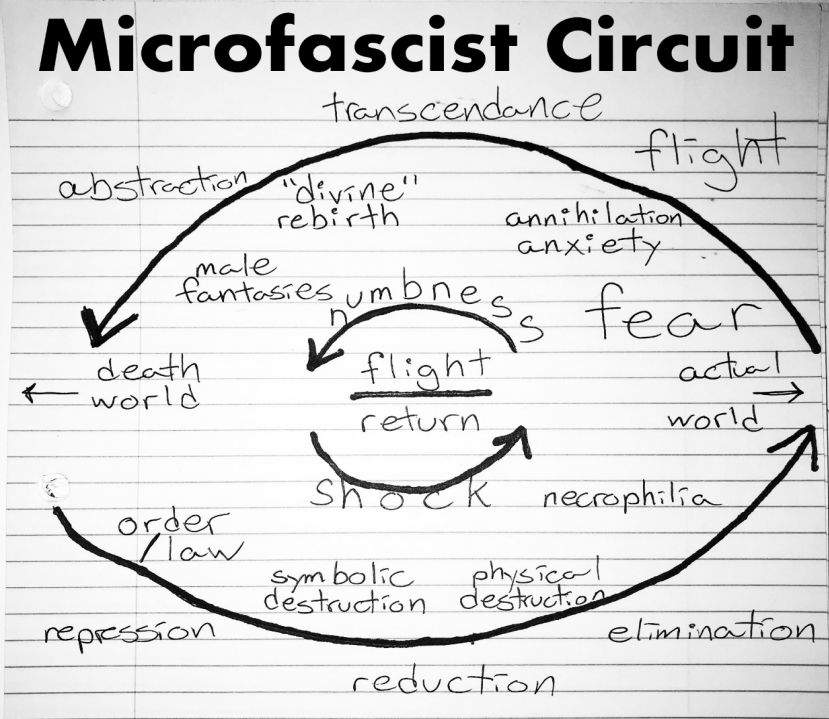
DESTRUCTION AND LIFE

The fascist's greatest fear can now be summed up in a single word: decolonization. As Frantz Fanon describes on the very first page of Wretched of the Earth: "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 is also experienced as a terrifying future in the consciousness of another 'species' of men and women: the colons, the colonists."

Every white-bodied person (but cis men especially) is more likely than not already carrying a partially formed death-world around with them. You cannot by sheer force of will separate yourself from the racial character of your position in society, from the material impact it had on your development as a human being. "[W]hatever the name used..decolonization is always a violent event. At whatever level we study it". It will take work: difficult emotional work, collective action on ourselves, amongst each other, and against the settler state. In order to become the best at killing fascists that you can possibly be, you have to kill the one inside (and probably multiple times). Every dyed-in-the-wool fascist could drop dead tomorrow, and fascism would still remain a forever-problem until we can learn to identify and excise these partial death-worlds once and for all.

How do you keep yourself sane in a racist and patriarchal society? BY DESTROYING IT. Don't ever let a fascist call himself "pro-life" again. Take that shit back. What does your Lifeworld look like? What culture(s) do you draw it from? What are you doing to bring it about?

So the fascist craves death, not just for others but for himself as well. We may as well oblige him. But how do we kill as many fascists as possible while minimizing our own losses? By attacking the fascist everywhere it reproduces. Look for what he fears, watch how he runs from it with every word, every action. Interrupt the process. Shred his armor and try to reach whatever pathetic excuse for a human that remains. GET HIM TO FEEL SOMETHING - TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT HE FEELS SOMETHING - or put that undead piece of shit out of his misery



What is Mutual Aid

by Mutual Aid Network of Anchorage

Mutual aid is the giving and receiving of unconditional material support to those in our community based on a shared analysis of root problems, and done so while working to help people survive existing systems.

“Giving and receiving”: Practitioners of mutual aid recognize that "what goes around comes around", and that any giving of aid must be done in the spirit of reciprocity. Mutual aid is done in a way that benefits all parties involved, not just the giver or the receiver. In this way, mutual aid is not the same as charity, which is a one-way transfer of aid and does not produce a mutually beneficial relationship.

Example: Plants photosynthesize sugars from carbon dioxide, water, and sunlight, and exhale oxygen as a byproduct. We as humans breathe that oxygen in and exhale carbon dioxide which is then used by plants to produce more oxygen. We are in a mutually beneficial relationship with plants, with both parties receiving and giving support, and so photosynthesis can be considered an example of mutual aid from plants to humans.

“Unconditional”: There should be no categorization of people into “deserving” and “undeserving”. Everyone deserves support no matter what.

Example: Welfare systems such as SNAP are not considered mutual aid, because they require a certain level of income in order to qualify for it. SNAP puts people into categories of “deserving” and “undeserving”.

“Material support”: The support that we provide for one another should be rooted in meeting each others' basic needs, and done in a way that is tangible and useful. Material support in this context doesn't simply mean physical objects, it encompasses the full range of human needs, from food and water to emotional, and spiritual needs.

Example: Many mutual aid groups are organized around giving aid to people who are homeless. There is a mutual aid group in Anchorage called Mutual Aid Phone Guy that organizes to get homeless folks supplies such as tents, sleeping bags, jackets, gloves, and much more.

“Shared analysis”: We are social creatures, and talking things over is an excellent way to collectively come to a greater understanding of what our needs are, and also what resources and assets can be used to meet those needs, which increases our effectiveness.

Example: The upcoming discussions, along with the discussions from January's event are an example of shared analysis. You're doing the thing! By having conversations about these topics we can collectively build up a picture of what's really going on.

“Of root problems”: This shared analysis should be focused on the underlying issues behind the needs, rather than attempting to put a band-aid on things.

Example: Egg prices in Alaska are at record highs. A shallow analysis of why might find that the reason is because of the high number of chicken deaths due to bird flu in the Lower 48. However, the cause of the bird flu epidemic is the fact that chicken farms pack chickens together in miserable conditions, which increases the transmission of disease and led to the spread of bird flu. The root cause is the mistreatment of animals, not bird flu, so any solution that aims to fix the initial problem (high egg prices) needs to also fix the problem of factory farms.

“Survive existing systems”: We all currently live under many different systems (social systems, economic systems, etc.), and peoples needs arise from those existing systems. Mutual aid should be targeted at needs that are created by these systems.

Example: Our climate is an example of a system that we live under. There are documented cases of mutual aid groups springing to action to provide food, water, and supplies to those affected by major natural disasters, most recently during Hurricane Helene in North Carolina and the Los Angeles fires a few months ago.

This article was written for one of MANA's monthly meetups and gives a brief explanation of the different components of mutual aid. MANA is a mutual aid group based in Anchorage, Alaska, and provides relief from eviction notices, missed utility bills, delayed welfare, and more via income redistribution, as well as acting as a nexus for community organizers and activists. You can find their website at wearemana.org

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