

# F\*KIT MAG

**RADICAL IDEAS AND ACTION  
IN THE SOUTH-WEST**



ISSUE  
4

**"FUTURES OF RESISTANCE" AUTUMN  
2025**

# TO LOVE THIS COUNTRY

Author: Daffodil  
Art: Crow

What is it like to love this country?

To feel the roots  
which connect you to it  
and not want to tear them off  
(even if they take your skin with them)?

What is it like to speak its name in a way that is not an apology?

What is there to love here?

The coal, the oil that infect the land?  
The metal melted down into bombs that burn their way through tents?  
The 'protections' from puberty blockers so that children starve themselves to mimic  
their effects?

The *people*?

The people who rally outside hotels to burn and beat and kill in the name of  
patriotism?

The roots that keep me living here are not roots to 'England,'

Not roots to a concept of a nation that has built itself through theft, rape, murder,  
Not roots to a government that exchanges deaths for power.

My roots connect me only to the people who are hurting.

The people whose homes flood, who collapse and die in heatwaves.

The people who do not even live here and yet suffer from laws which send weapons  
to bring their homes down on their heads.

The people who inject themselves with chemicals bought illegally because they don't  
want to wait until they're nearly dead to be who they are.

The people who risked everything to come here only to face agents of the state itching  
to remove them and a populace itching to kill.

The only thing there is to love about this country are the people that it hates.

# Editorial and Contents

Co-editing the fourth issue of F\*kit magazine was a great collaborative experience. As editors, we exchanged pdfs frequently and used online writing environments to share ideas and material. We distributed tasks between ourselves and our way of working together reflects our different skills and decision making processes. Although we've been quiet for a while, it's been great to get (?) many copies printed in time for the Bristol Anarchist Book Fair. We've even published a digital version online!

The texts included here interrogate 'futures of resistance' in a variety of ways. The initial poem, To Love This Country, does this by asking what it might mean to live in a country we could love, and who we would have to empower to make that future possible? Meanwhile, Ocelot's Social Media and Software Licences encourages people to leave big tech social media platforms behind and to use alternative media instead. The short piece Battling Self-Hatred has a strong emotional charge, calling for a future shaped by fantasy, as well as by pragmatism. It's raw and personal and unfinished and its powerful because of that. The Radical Army Knife poster is intended to suggest a feeling of how different groups - including ones not yet theorised - contribute to a collective movement. @blue.corporeality's drawings of protestors and police illustrate the importance of supporting Palestine and knowing how to engage with demonstrations, whether in London or elsewhere. Their ambiguity captures the particular uncertainty of the future in the face of the government's ban.

The poem Who Joins a Movement gestures towards a future shaped by our actions, rather than one in which our past defines who we are and what we can become. It links personal and political, personal redemption and collective empowerment. N(A)TE's What Won't Change The World critiques reformism, reminding the reader that political systems are more disappointing and prescriptive than they are effective and representative. Anarchist Memory For the Future archives some of the movements that have preceded this one, and powerfully reminds us that the foundations of ongoing radical action are the often lost work of organising, care, and communication. Lastly, let's make the future free of hunting! The Devon County Hunt Saboteurs are looking for folks to join them. Get involved now by messaging 07717 473 305.

Since the flag-raising campaign has picked up speed, a number of well-meaning leftists have proposed reclaiming the English or UK flags. But if we are to help our communities resist Reform, it seems to us that we have to propose an alternative to its ideology - not play to it. With this in mind, what does it mean to develop a contemporary anti-nationalist position, if not tactically and organisationally, then theoretically? How do we resist the attempt to divide our communities along geographical and political boundary lines? These are some of the questions we'd love to see examined in the next issue.

Title	Author	Page	Title	Author	Page
To Love This Country	Daffodil	2	Pal Action Demo	@blue.corporeality	9-11
Editorial	The Editors	3	Who Joins a Movement	Daffodil	12-13
Social Media and Software Licenses	Ocelot	4-5	What Won't Change the World	N(A)TE	14-17
Battling Self Hatred	Red	6-7	Anarchist Memory For the Future	inky mollusc	18-21
Radical Army Knife	Crow	8	Devon County Hunt Saboteurs	DCHS	22

# SOCIAL MEDIA AND SOFTWARE LICENSES

ocelot

This essay begins with a brief history of software politics to better articulate connections between some contemporary software licenses, anarchism and anti-fascism. I then discuss social media platforms based on free / open source software. I argue that, despite possible criticisms of free and open source software licenses, such online spaces present viable alternatives for organising.

## Politics of Free & Open Source

Tensions between advocates of free and open source software are traced by philosopher David Berry in his book *Copy, Rip, Burn: The Politics of Copyleft and Open Source*. The text focuses on the history of software politics during the 80s, 90s and early 00s. Berry maps out a narrative of conflicts between organisations associated with each ideology: with the Free Software movement on the one hand and the Open Source movement on the other. Of course, proponents of Free / Open Source Software (F/OSS) are aligned to some extent. Both hold that source code should not be proprietary, that is, privately owned and restrictive to the user. Their commitments to the concepts of freedom and openness are embodied in software licensing strategies. These licenses propagate underlying concepts by controlling, in different ways, what can be done with the software by recipients of the source code. 'Until now, the vast majority of discussions around FLOSS licensing have remained locked in a tiresome comparison between free software's emphasis on user ethics versus the open source approach based on economics' (Mansoux and Roscam Abbing, 2020, p. 139). How, then, are the terms of contemporary software politics shifting?

## Beyond Free and Open Source

I love Open Source, and I want to give my software away to as many people as possible. However, I refuse to let my work benefit those who support fascism. (Kyle, 2025)

The anti-fascist MIT license is notable for its political dimension. It points to fascist software applications

permitted by MIT licensed source code through the implementation of an explicit refusal. Such a clause breaks with the contention of political indifference and neutrality which has been repeated *ad nauseam* by some. Such people might maintain that 'if FOSS was directed towards a political end, it would sully the "purity" of the technical decision-making process' (Coleman, 2004, p. 512). Therefore, such people argue, an anti-fascist MIT license cannot be taken seriously or robustly applied. However a clear ambition of this license is to cast doubt on such a position; to highlight it as an untenable view to hold and foreground the implicit politics of permissiveness.

Departing from the political indifference of industry standard software licenses is not limited to the Open Source context. Radical critics have poked holes in the position of Free Software proponents without resorting to Open Source advocacy. There are critiques of the zeroth freedom of the Free Software definition: '[t]he freedom to run the program, for any purpose' (Stallman and Gay, 2002, p. 43). Some might say that it's too broad, for example. As thufie (n.d.) asks: 'can licenses which do not leverage ethical restrictions on "freedom" really be said to "Free Society" as Stallman claims when they allow for the running of concentration camps and surveillance states?' Of course the question is rhetorical and 'anarchists have no interest whatsoever in advanced military technologies or in technological systems specific to imprisonment, surveillance, and interrogation' (Gordon, 2009).

These licensing examples exist among a plethora of alternative licenses such as the Peaceful Open Source Licence<sup>1</sup> and the Hippocratic license<sup>2</sup>. They are illustrative of emerging, partial perspectives on how to counteract potential loopholes in free software and the permissiveness of open source. Such alternatives are relevant on the basis of evident affinities with anti-fascism and anarchism.

## Alternative social media

Let's face it, Meta is a piece of s\*\*\*. 'In January ... [f]act-checkers were fired, and the Hateful Conduct Policy was removed, lifting restrictions on comparing marginalized groups to objects, dirt, or diseases' (Groothuizen et al., 2025). To state the problem more succinctly: 'Our communities are being—and will continue to be—used as tools for violent propaganda' on Instagram, Facebook, Threads and elsewhere (Ibid.). It is imperative to abandon such platforms, they are not made for us. Thankfully, there have been alternatives around for quite some time.

Federated platforms are one such alternative. As pieces of free and open source software, developers tend to apply conventional licenses, rather than opt for an emergent licensing strategy. The software is mostly licensed

under the (Affero) General Public License or a MIT license. In view of the preceding discussion, it should be noted that some Mastodon client applications, such as Hyperspace<sup>3</sup>, are licensed under the Non-Violent Public License. Such a way of browsing Mastodon will appeal to people who take issue with Freedom 0.

## Conclusion

Despite debates about software licenses, there are anarchist Fediverse instances and anti-fascist actors on the Fediverse too. As the anti-colonial anarchist collective Kolektiva state in the code of conduct on a self-hosted Mastodon instance: 'We believe that it is imperative that anarchists and social movements abandon surveillance capitalist platforms. In fact, we think everyone on Earth should abandon these services.'

## Reference list

Coleman, G. (2004) 'The Political Agnosticism of Free and Open Source Software and the Inadvertent Politics of Contrast', *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 3, pp. 507–519 [Online]. Available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3318232>.

Gordon, U. (2009) 'Anarchism and the Politics of Technology', *The Anarchist Library*, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/uri-gordon-anarchism-and-the-politics-of-technology> [Online]. (Accessed 2 September 2025).

Groothuizen, R., Petrozzi, G. and Allerding, S. (2025) '.zip - life in February', <https://mailchi.mp/f651aa17522d/playground-17228878> [Online]. (Accessed 3 September 2025).

Kyle, J. (2025) 'Jamiebuilds/anti-fascist-mit-license', [Online]. (Accessed 2 September 2025).

Mansoux, A. and Roscam Abbing, R. (2020) 'Seven Theses on the Fediverse and the Becoming of FLOSS', in *The Eternal Network: The Ends and Becomings of Network Culture*, Amsterdam, Institute of Network Cultures, pp. 124–140.

Stallman, R. M. and Gay, J. (2002) *Free software, free society*, Boston (Mass.), Free software foundation.

thufie (n.d.) 'Nonviolent Public Licenses', <https://thufie.lain.haus/NPL.html> [Online]. (Accessed 2 September 2025).

<sup>1</sup> <https://web.archive.org/web/20140924010836/http://wisearthpublishers.com/sites/wisearthpublishers.com/files/PeacefulOSL.txt>

<sup>2</sup> <https://firstdonoharm.dev>

<sup>3</sup> <https://hyperspacedev.github.io>

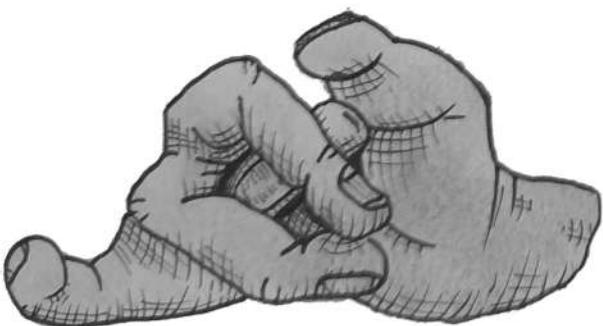
# Battling self hatred: revolution really does start in the mind

words: red / art: anon

*'Recovery is resistance. Personal recovery from dysfunctional programming is recovery from authoritarianism.'* (From Erin Wax, Waging Nonviolence)

I often find myself directing my frustration at injustice inwards. I'm sure many people who are aware of and care about this world have had a similar struggle of feeling guilty, weak, and angry towards themselves for not doing enough, not being 'enough' when there is so much that needs doing. Too many days I have wasted doing nothing, just giving up and self-destructing. All while being completely aware of the idiocy, the meaninglessness, the selfishness, the weakness, which only drives the self-hatred. So the pattern repeats

On the worst days the physical and mental impact of addictive, harmful coping mechanisms is debilitating, while you think you deserve it because 'you did it to yourself'. But the truth is, you wouldn't feel the need to cope in this way if you didn't hold so much compassion for a world that is bleeding and dying before your eyes. You destroy yourself to feel alive, to feel real, because the fatalist, apathetic world around you in comparison to horrific reality is enough to drive anyone insane. You think that to feel okay would be an insult to truth. But you don't have to feel okay, you just can't keep making things worse for no goddamn reason! I know it's easier said than done to stop, believe me. But you have to keep trying.



After one particularly miserable week of self-destruction, I came up with the idea of imagining myself as who I wanted to be, with the analogy of a different setting but with the same concepts that I face (or don't face, but know I should) in real life. Here is an extract from my notebook where I describe how I came up with this:

*"I was just watching Andor, (great Star Wars show if you haven't seen it, I recommend pirating it cause fuck Disney) and I started sobbing at the scene where the prisoners of the Empire made their beautiful escape. I thought of the prisoners of occupied Palestine, and all the prisoners of this bloodsucking capitalist system and I wished that they could all run free like that. Made me think how impactful a narrative can be; what if I created a character for myself that was fighting the Empire? A character that didn't drown themselves in food and poison, cry and stare at a screen all day. I wonder if I would feel stronger. I know that I have strength, somewhere.*

*I think I will create this character. Even if it doesn't work, it will be fun. I could write a whole story of me under an analogy of a different person, and a different setting. I mean in reality, what I'm up against as a human being with a heart in this world is a huge, fearsome monster of indescribable evil. The hard part is it has no central, obvious location. It seems to be everywhere and nowhere. So, I will localise it with an analogy. I will learn how it operates, reveal its weaknesses. Then I will get up off my ass and fight it."*

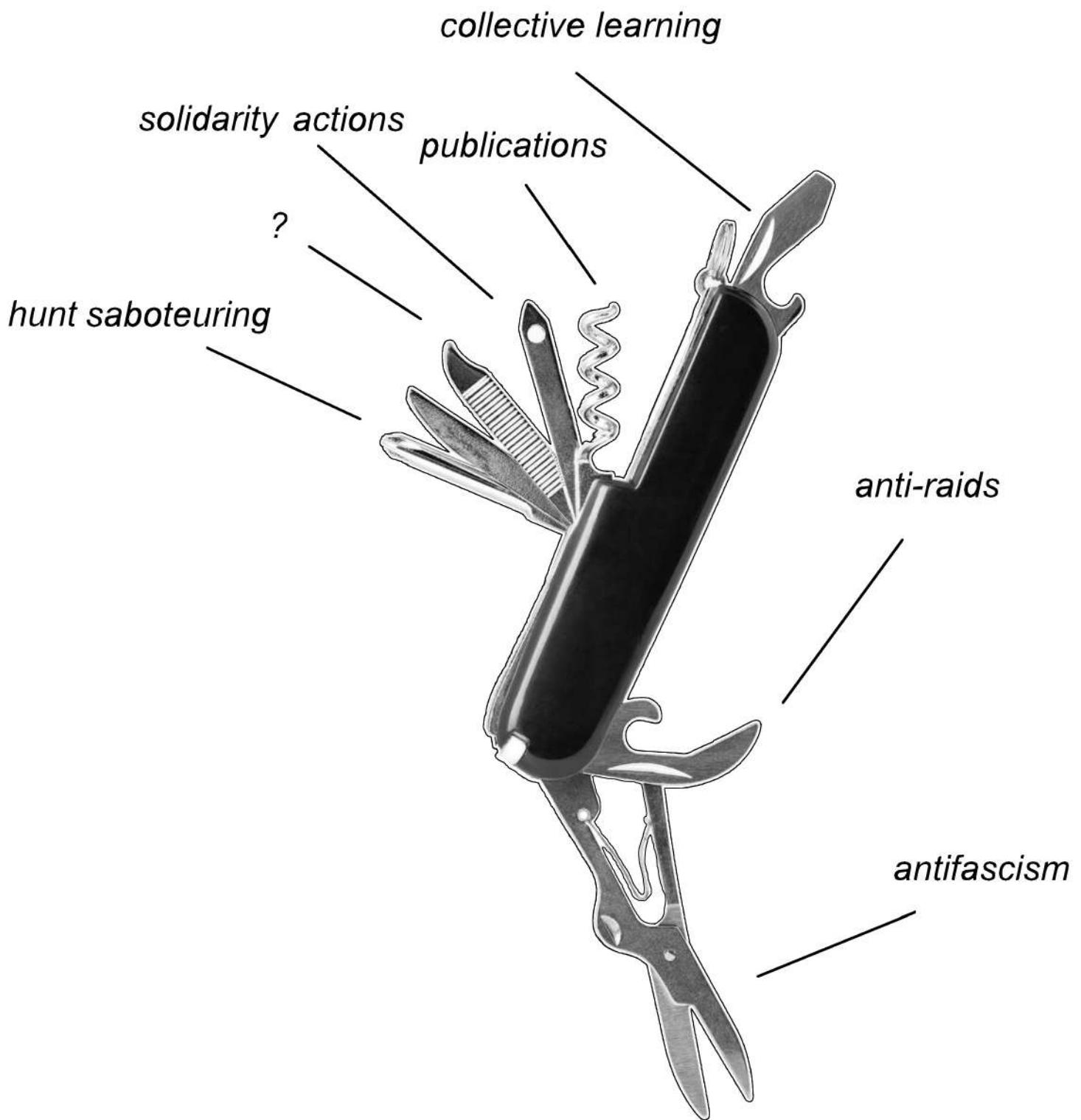
After thinking of this analogy and becoming excited about it, I felt new. I imagined myself as new and I started planning. I had a vision, and I held onto it for dear life. I didn't get better straight away, but whenever I write and imagine myself as breaking through barriers and destroying the weapons of the empire in my mind now, I don't feel stupid, I feel alive. I guess my point here is that envisioning who you want to be with storytelling can help you feel closer to becoming it.

So, I started writing a story of this character, that was about me in a world where there is no question over the necessity of revolution; no option of self-sabotage, because 'the Empire' causes enough damage. And when you take on the purpose of revolution, starting in the mind, as painfully slow as it can be, it is beautiful and so far from hopeless; it is the definition of hope.

Further reading: <https://wagingnonviolence.org/2025/10/how-12-step-programs-can-help-build-healthier-movements/>



# *radical army knife*



*we are an emerging scene, a group of people with differences and similarities of ideas, an unfinished toolkit for challenging systemic bullshit.*



I OPPOSE  
GENOCIDE  
I SUPPORT  
PALESTINE  
ACTION

WOMEN'S FOR

PALESTINE





# who joins a movement?

words: daffodil

design: crow

Is it the guilty? Those whose guilt stretches out over their entire lives. Blu-tack stuck to their birth and pulled out to now without ever breaking. Those who know that life is about asking things from others. To exist means to need things, to want things, to take things. To exist needs a justification.

How can they stand there, on a road someone else made, wearing clothes woven of someone else's fibres, they themselves the product of someone else and not give everything of themselves? How can they exist without making up for it?

The guilty join movements to be allowed to exist one day more. For a reason to have space in the world. To try and give a fraction of what they have taken.

Who joins a movement?

Is it the lonely? Those who know what it is like to be surrounded by isolation. Silence following even into clubs and crowded bars. Loneliness always etched deep, no matter how far in the past its actuality lies.

The lonely will always run from loneliness. No matter how many friends they gain there is always the fear of going back to solitude. Always the need for more people to turn to. In case, in case, in case.

Give a place to talk, new people to meet, a guarantee of a community that will always be there, week after week and the lonely will come.

Who joins a movement?

Is it the restless? Those who itch to do something. An itch that they would pull flesh from bone to get to. An itch to keep going keep going keep going, to find something that will calm them down, that will stop, finally, the buzzing in their heads.

Boots on the ground, bodies on the line; an action, a movement, a purpose.

What else is there except this? What else can the restless do except always look for the next action? Always move to the next place they're needed? Always the ones who are up for it, up for anything, ready to go.

Who joins a movement? What can we do about it? We can provide what people need. We can provide something good to do, a community, a purpose. But what of the others? Those who are happy, loved, stable? Those who won't do anything that hurts to excuse their existence, those who won't take a risk as soon as a friend suggests it to them, those who won't burn up, muscle melting from bone, going out week after week. How do we encourage people who have good lives? Who have the resources, the time, the stability to keep something going longer than the time it takes for everyone else to pull out their guts to make a change? We can't make them guilty, lonely, restless. We shouldn't even try. We can't force them into this. But how can we keep relying on people who are hurting?

Who joins a movement? How can we change that?

# What Wont Change The World

## *Why Political Parties & Voting Doesn't Work*

Adapted from a longer blog post at <https://peacefulrevolutionary.substack.com/p/what-wont-change-the-world>

by NATE

## Why Reform Isn't Enough

A lot of people idealistically look to the era of Clement Attlee (or Franklin D. Roosevelt in the U.S.), and to what the French call the Thirty Glorious Years from 1945 to 1975. A time when university was free, buying a home was possible, and you could afford to have a couple of children, and retire on one income (albeit mostly applying to white middle class men).

Workers had voted in politicians that seemed to share some of their values, and who enacted social programmes (and eventually equality and civil rights legislation) that led people to believe that it might be possible to have a political system that worked for them.

Reforms were won: the eight-hour working day, union rights, universal healthcare, civil rights legislation. Each victory seemed to build momentum towards a more egalitarian society.

All the while the ultra-wealthy and their corporations, banks, and media empires were working to undermine and ultimately regain their power over the politicians, economists, and news outlets. Which they did successfully by the late 1970s, installing their appointees back again in power, such as the Thatchers and Reagans (and later Blairs and Clintons), who would do their bidding.

Lately this has culminated in many of the previously hard-won guarantees that benefitted hard working people being undermined, and leading to a precarious situation now in which most younger workers never expect to have

enough money to own a home, have children or retire. Not only that, other freedoms we've been able to take for granted are under assault by increasing authoritarian politicians whose relationship to corporate power is greater than ever. Of course, even during the supposedly golden age of the past, the comforts of a privileged middle class were built on a familiar imperial cycle: wealth extracted through coercion and exploitation of a lower class at home and overseas funding concessions to unionised workers and political radicals demanding better treatment. But the ruling class never accepts these concessions permanently, they immediately begin using propaganda and divide-and-rule tactics to split this middle class against its own interests, whilst systematically undermining the very organisations that won those victories in the first place, all maintained through imperialism and violence.

The problem with the whole system is: Reforms are what politicians allow, rights are what the government grants, laws are what the legal system enforces selectively. What we need are freedoms that we can assert without having to ask others permission to obtain.

Reform isn't transformation, reform isn't progress. Reform is the casino letting you have just enough to keep you at the table. You might have a brief winning streak that makes you feel hopeful, but the game is rigged and the house always wins in the end.

For example police reform still keeps the police around and still gives them power, that power can still be used as a threat by politicians, like-

wise prison reform keeps prisons operational, and the fear that you might end up in one if you oppose the system.

Returning society to an earlier part of a destructive cycle won't stop the cycle, it can't be delayed indefinitely because it will still have all of the elements that made it go so bad in the first place. Reform, however well-intentioned, becomes an obstacle to revolutionary change, to lasting change for the better.

## Why Voting Won't Save Us

'If voting changed anything, they'd make it illegal.'

– Emma Goldman

Your vote probably doesn't count. The mathematical reality of electoral systems reveals their fundamental illegitimacy. In the 2019 UK election, only 28% of eligible adults voted for the Conservative party, yet it became the ruling party. Even among those who bothered to vote, 70.8% were simply discarded because they went to non-elected candidates.

Similarly, no American presidential candidate has ever received votes from a majority of all eligible voters. Trump became president in 2016 with support from just 27.2% of American adults, despite losing the popular vote by nearly 3 million. In many Western countries, the largest single group in any election are those who don't vote at all, effectively rejecting the entire system as unrepresentative and illegitimate.

This system isn't a flawed one that can be reformed - it works as it was designed to operate. No one was ever asked whether they wanted parliaments or congresses in the first place, they were imposed upon us. The vote was gradually extended from the privileged few to

property owners, then slowly to others, but always within the constraint of choosing between pre-selected candidates who typically require corporate backing.

I hate to break it to those who hope that next time their vote might count, that next time a politician might truly represent their interests, that next time we'll put the right safeguards in place to stop corporation corruption, I'm sorry, but it's not going to happen. It's the lie they want you to believe so they can keep you waiting every four years to be disappointed yet again, but keep thinking 'maybe next time', while each government removes more power from you to give to the wealthy who they really serve.

The truth is that voting is keeping the world from changing for the better. Voting is there to pacify you into powerlessness. An occasional noble-minded politician won't change this, and even if they did for a moment, then eventually the system would revert back to doing what it was always designed to do - to protect the wealth and power of the wealthy and powerful, at the expense of your freedom and control over your own lives and communities.

Even supposed revolutionary parties fall into this trap: They promise 'The next time we get into power we won't be so authoritarian, and then we'll really bring about socialism - trust us!' But state power always corrupts regardless of the ideology that initially seizes it.

## How Politics Distracts Us

'Politics' is an interesting word. It can mean the will of the people (the polis), which can be a good thing in theory if we all agree on something, it can also mean the realm of political parties and representatives and the power they hold and enforce (from which we get the word

police). It can mean a system which serves us, or one that serves and protects power.

Our daily political cycle is a form of manufactured helplessness: wake up, read the news, absorb outrageous headlines, feel angry but powerless, maybe engage briefly on social media, then disengage in frustration. This is the political process working exactly as intended, not to empower you, but to disenfranchise you. It creates an abusive relationship where you're made to feel that change is always just one election away, if only you put your faith in the right representative who will inevitably let you down.

Look at how often the Democrats in America promised to enshrine abortion as a right as soon as they were voted in, including Barak Obama who promised Planned Parenthood in 2007 that 'the first thing I'll do as president is sign the Freedom of Choice Act,' but then said at his 100-day press conference that it was 'not my highest legislative priority.' Today that right has been lost, in part because of people relying on a president's empty promises.

Whilst we're distracted by political theatrics, people like Rupert Murdoch and Elon Musk (who control our news and social media) are laughing at us believing their misinformation, or at least the money they make off of people's fears and anger. The system achieves exactly what it's designed for: apathy, impotency, disillusionment. The political process doesn't enable change, it gets in the way of it.

Party politics serves a few, but not you. The pattern is predictable: first they recruit you with promises of change, then disappoint you with 'political realities,' then if you run for office yourself, they gradually corrupt your ideals through compromise and loyalty demands until you become indistinguishable from what you originally opposed.

If you wanted to come up with a plan to divert people's power away from achieving substantial

freedoms for themselves and their communities, you probably couldn't come up with a better one than having a couple political parties pretending to act in others interests, working to distract, diffuse, and drain people's attention, energy, and potential power away from building genuine alternatives.

## Postponing Change

This endless cycle of political disappointment isn't just frustrating, it's actively preventing the changes we need. Each election cycle that passes without real transformation is time we can't afford to lose.

As long as hierarchy and capitalism exist this cycle will continue. They may be sometimes uneasy bedfellows, but they do share the same bed. You may have hierarchy without capitalism, but you can't have capitalism without hierarchy, because capitalism is just another form of hierarchy.

Concentrated capital accumulation restricts access to resources to make a profit, and by pay-walling these resources (or by promising a portion of those profits) this allows capitalists to have power over others who either need or want access to them, and this will always inevitably be used to control and corrupt any political system. As long as hierarchical systems exist – whether capitalist, state socialist, or any other top-down structure – this cycle will continue. Of course it is technically possible for there to be a good leader, but then you have to take the chance that not only will enough people employed within the system allow them (or not stop them) from doing good, but that they won't have a bad successor who will undo it all. The problem isn't finding the right policies or the right leaders, it's the very existence of positions of power that

inevitably corrupt those who hold them. But, it's actually worse than this - capitalism will lead to the destruction of the world. Our only chance at survival is to rid the world of capitalism. Tinkering with it just won't save us. This kind of change isn't on the ballot, it isn't something that can be voted for, it isn't in the interests of the political parties (and certainly not their backers) for them to get rid of it - they depend on it. So we must get rid of hierarchy too to have any hope of solving this problem (or surviving it), because as long as hierarchy exists this cycle will continue. We don't have time to hope for some party or politician (or even scientist) to solve it for us.

If only all the effort put toward voting, campaigning, seeking and exercising state power was focused instead on achieving worker and people power, we'd already have transformed society! The resources, energy, and brilliant minds currently wasted on electoral campaigns could be building worker cooperatives, community land trusts, mutual aid networks, and other forms of prefiguration (creating the world we want within the shell of the old) that actually improve people's lives whilst undermining capitalist and hierachal control.

## Building The Alternatives

If we abandoned the endless cycle of electoral disappointment and put our efforts into building collective power, this would increase our collective strength, and people currently on the fringes or sitting on the fence might finally see a path worth joining.

The view of a large group of people can change quickly, and history shows us that massive social transformations often emerge from movements that were once considered tiny and mar-

ginal, only a few years earlier. The abolition of slavery, women's suffrage, the eight-hour working day, civil rights - all began with small groups of 'unrealistic' radicals who refused to accept that things had to remain as they were.

A huge number of people can become involved in alternatives rapidly when conditions align. This usually follows a recognisable process: there's an inciting incident or major issue that impacts many people's daily lives, creating widespread dissatisfaction with existing arrangements. Crucially, there needs to be a clear vision of a possible alternative - people need to be able to imagine something better, not just critique what exists. And there must be people already in position in their communities to take advantage of the moment, with organisational networks, practical skills, and the courage to act when the opportunity arises.

We see this pattern repeating throughout history, from the Paris Commune to the Spanish Revolution, from the civil rights movement to more recent uprisings. What often appears as sudden, spontaneous change is actually the culmination of years of patient organising by people who understood that real transformation happens outside electoral politics, through direct action and mutual aid that demonstrates alternatives in practice.

We're seeing glimpses of this pattern today. Despite decades of pro-corporate media dominance, millions of people have rejected the official narrative on issues like the genocide in Gaza, sharing information and organising solidarity through social media networks that bypass traditional gatekeepers. This is why governments are scrambling to control social media platforms, they are scared of losing their power. We need to keep scaring them. Because as V (from V for Vendetta) reminds us, 'People shouldn't be afraid of their government. Governments should be afraid of their people.'

# Anarchist Memory For the Future

*words: inky mollusc*

We may associate memory with the past, but its evolutionary purpose is to help prepare us for the future; this is as true for us as twenty-first century anarchists as it was for our hunter-gatherer ancestors. Learning stories of past resistance can offer hope or important perspectives on our current situation, practical role models to emulate or examples of what not to do. Documenting current struggles may give similarly important context and guidance to future revolutionaries.

It is easy to feel lost and overwhelmed at the moment given the myriad intersecting crises we are facing. It is also easy to feel our movements are stuck, facing a lot of repression and unable to learn from our mistakes. We may feel frustration with previous generations for not pushing hard enough for change, or with current younger generations for apparently repeating our mistakes or being ignorant of the past. However, learning from the past need not be an exercise in nostalgia or recrimination; we can reflect on ways to keep resisting and supporting each other in different circumstances.

Anarchists, anti-imperialists and other radicals have rich history of resistance spanning the world across millennia; this article will focus on events within (my) living memory, and things we can all do to keep the history and memory of our current struggles alive. This is not attempting to tell a complete story, but to identify some themes and threads of continuity.

## ***What is anarchist memory?***

Memory is intensely personal, but memories of political and social events are always collective, even though this collective memory inevitably includes tension and contradiction.

*art: author's archives / anon*

All memory is slippery, contested and less reliable than we would like it to be. Anarchist memory can be especially difficult to locate: many of us discover anarchist politics through taking collective action, while others may use anarchistic tactics and organising methods for decades but never give themselves that label. I am writing about memory here rather than history because I am interested in how we establish and share our own history using collective memory, and in how events, struggles and ways of thinking and organising can get lost in the past when we do not take care of our collective memory. I am focussing on anarchism because the more radical elements of a struggle are often the first to be forgotten, misrepresented or whitewashed.

Anarchist culture has a fairly strong oral and folkloric tradition, with stories of past struggles shared at camps and gatherings, around a fire pit or on a road trip. However, these accounts often focus on the most heroic and outrageous moments of our collective past – a record-breaking eviction or the glory of outwitting the cops – rather than the day to day work of organising that makes such moments possible. This work is also unlikely to be captured in images or journalistic write-ups of events – a two-hour consensus meeting, followed by some people going to wait outside the police station for comrades while others clean the social centre or organise stall kit, doesn't make for dynamic stories and images.

Anarchistic grassroots movements often have a high turnover of people, some of whom might be deeply involved in a struggle for just a few weeks or months and then leave. Sometimes a phase of a campaign ends with eviction – meaning those involved may then be looking for somewhere to live, and possibly dealing with trauma or legal consequences, rather

than working to document the campaign. Burnout, trauma, or simply exhaustion from trying to fight and survive in an increasingly repressive and neoliberal world, can limit our capacity and enthusiasm for documenting our struggles for future generations.

Ephemera from past protests and struggles, such as old fliers, zines and badges, can be a rich source of historical information and a way of prompting memory. However, we often store such items in precarious spaces, where they may get damp or be lost during an eviction, or on digital formats that become obsolete. Organisers in a social centre struggling for storage and meeting space may not agree on the value of old materials, meaning things often get thrown out to make space rather than preserved for the historical record.

Sometimes people may take direct action and choose not to document a particular event, or leave out some details, to protect the safety of those involved or make it easier to do again. However, from the Luddites to sabotage of peat extraction equipment and GM crops in the 90s, to more recent disabling of SUVs, persons unknown have found ways to safely share information on targets and tactics. Non-corporate, open source, anti-capitalist media channels can make this easier – this is discussed below.

## *Forgetting*

Forgetting is an inevitable flipside to remembering, and is not always a negative – sometimes it prevents us from bearing a grudge, helps us move on from difficult experiences or makes space for new ideas and tactics. However, collective forgetting can also mean losing context for our history, leading to unrealistic ideas of what is involved in running a grassroots campaign and, importantly, how we win. A focus on documenting the more heroic or spectacular actions at the expense of regular small ones, sabotage, impromptu interventions or ongoing community organising, can mean history is skewed towards the more dramatic or photogenic elements of our campaigns. For example, the resistance to the Poll tax in 1988-91 is a great example of community organising in action, ultimately leading to the downfall of Margaret Thatcher. While the London riot of 31st March 1990 is widely known about, the campaign consisted of street by street flyering and posterering, community meetings, resisting evictions and supporting those going through court and prison.

## ***Threads of resistance: Eco-anarchism***

The 90s-00s were a vibrant time for eco-anarchist resistance in the UK, from the roads



- A bailiff is only allowed to enter your home if you have let them in.
- If you do let them in, they can use force on later visits.
- Council officials may well be doing the bailiffs job at first.
- Bailiffs can enter through an open window, so keep them locked.
- Tell your children not to open the door.
- Ask a friend to be a witness to prevent illegal action, better still contact your local authority or police.

### *Join the Railiff Rusters*



255-504

EASTON:  
553004  
522329  
540424  
513749  
512756  
520602  
520424

protests to uprooting genetically modified (GM) crops, to the growth of an anti-capitalist climate movement.

The Newbury Bypass campaign of 1995-6 is probably the most famous moment of the anti-roads movement, but was itself the culmination of several years of intensive learning and movement-building. Long term protest sites in this era served as a way in to anarchistic politics and tactics, and formed a network of spaces in which people could experiment with ways of living and resisting together while learning about other struggles, from feminist anti-military campaigns to Indigenous people resisting logging. While the sites whose names we remember are those which were evicted and turned into roads (or in some cases, airports or opencast coal mines), the depth of resistance led to the abandonment of future road-building plans, saving areas of woodland that we still enjoy today. Furthermore, the movement helped catalyse a generation of people who had experience in direct action and – increasingly – an anti-capitalist analysis of the problems we face. This helped set the stage for resistance to GM crops, for mass participation in the alter-globalisation movement and for the climate movement.

An effort to commercialise GM crops in the UK was defeated by a broad coalition including Indian peasants, anonymous grassroots activists, scientists and NGOs. Watching the imposition of GM crops, patents, fertilisers and trade agreements on communities from India to Canada gave anyone who was paying attention a crash course in what's wrong with colonialism and capitalism, leading to increased interest in such struggles worldwide and a growing enthusiasm to take direct action. The alter-globalisation movement may be famous for carnivalesque days of action at trade summits, but it was inspired by communities, primarily from the Global South, fighting for their land and livelihood.

Similarly, seeing communities from Colombia to Nigeria fighting to reclaim their land from multinational oil companies catalysed solidarity actions against the oil industry in the UK and the Global North before the notion of a 'climate movement' had emerged. 2025 marks 30 years since the murder of Ken Saro Wiwa and 8 other Ogoni activists by the Nigerian state acting in the interests of Shell – sparking occupations of oil industry headquarters and embassy demonstrations worldwide. Ogoni people continue to fight for justice.

## Useful resources:

### *Spaces*

BASE - Base for Anarchy and Solidarity in Easton. Bristol's anarchist social centre since 1995, FKA Kebele. Library/archive upstairs open whenever the building is open, librarians often present on Wednesday and Friday afternoons.

Sparrow's Nest - an archive of anarchist material from Nottingham and beyond, with an impressive amount catalogued online <https://www.thesparrowsnest.org.uk/> visits by appointment only

Mayday Rooms- a central London archive of radical material some of which is catalogued online, the only space listed here to have regular funding and paid staff <https://maydayrooms.org/>

56a - Old skool DiY social centre in South London with a very extensive archive - not catalogued online, but you can drop in <https://56a.org.uk/>

### *Books*

Helen Beynon, *Twyford Rising*  
Merrick, *Battle for the trees*  
Jim Hindle, *Nine miles*  
Kate Evans, *Copse*  
Danny Burns, *Poll tax rebellion*  
Dave Hann, *Physical resistance*  
Kate Wilson, *Disclosure*  
Alison et al., *Deep deception*  
Notes from Nowhere (ed) *We are everywhere*

### *Websites*

Indymedia: <https://www.indymedia.org.uk/>  
SchNews: <https://schnews.org/>  
History of resistance: <https://historyofresistance.org/>  
Act up oral history project:  
<https://www.actuporalhistory.org/>  
Greenham women everywhere:  
<https://greenhamwomeneverywhere.co.uk/>

The international Rising Network for climate justice was formed in preparation for the COP6 climate Summit protests in Den Haag in 2000. In the UK, Rising Tide, along with Earth First! and other networks, played a key role in organising against the Stirling G8 summit in 2005, and subsequently Climate Camp, which started at Drax power station in 2006 and happened annually at various high carbon emitting sites until 2010.

### ***Radical media***

The idea of a vibrant and cohesive radical media feels like a distant prospect now, but for many years it was a movement in its own right as well as documenting events across different campaigns. SchNews was a weekly newsletter made in Brighton covering local and international events and struggles, including prisoner contacts for letter-writing, campaign updates and more analytical pieces, all on two sides of A4. It was born out of the resistance to the Criminal Justice Act in 1994 and continued weekly until 2014. SchNews may be among the most consistent, but in the pre-internet era it existed within an ecosystem of newsletters, zines and pamphlets which circulated in radical and DIY spaces.

Indymedia was an online news platform which was developed during the alter-globalisation movement, reporting live on anti-capitalist flashpoints such as June 18th 1999 and the Battle of Seattle a few months later. At this point the idea of publishing real-time updates on the internet was still new and exciting, and the internet itself was not subject to the same degree of corporate control that it is now. It was possible to create an anonymous account on Indymedia and publish a communique, and to read articles and updates without constant demands for a login, subscription or to download an app on a personal device.

In time, Indymedia came under multiple pressures including constant trolling, state repression and internal differences of opinion on how the project should continue. This was not before it had spread around the world, with autonomous chapters on every continent,

and become the go-to place online for radical news. However, corporate social media was now gaining popularity, with a lot of people and campaign groups switching to platforms where they could get more 'likes' – but were not in control of their data. Simultaneously, increasingly restrictive legislation around housing and benefits made it difficult to maintain entirely volunteer-run projects, and all forms of radical media were suffering.

These websites and publications were important at the time for sharing news the mainstream media would not, in a way that activists were in control of. With time, all these materials become historical objects and can prompt our memories of past events or provoke questions about things we have forgotten or never experienced.

### ***Anarchist memory work, now and in the future***

This article has focussed on the 90s-early 00s because some of these events are in my memory, and this is my brief take on them. However, there is no one true story and many histories will forever remain unwritten. By considering these events as anarchist memory, we can respect a diversity of experiences within them, including those that are traumatic or that disagree with each other about the event's legacy or meaning. If we do not record our own stories we risk them being misrepresented or written out of history. The future is unwritten and we are active agents in how it unfolds. Let's record our struggles in whatever way feels appropriate so future generations can get a sense of how we fought.





# DEVON COUNTY HUNT SABOTEURS



**HUNTS ARE STILL HUNTING.  
WE ARE STILL SABBING. JOIN US!**

follow us on social media for hit reports  
and for more information on how to get involved  
message us on: **07717 473305**

# Colophon

F\*kit Magazine #4 — Futures of Resistance — Autumn 2025

*Contact us at: anarchistlearningexe@proton.me*

## Title fonts

To Love this Country - 1 Punk Regular  
Social Media and Software Licences - Punknova  
Battling self-hatred - Hiragino Kaku Gothic Pro W3  
Who Joins a Movement - Bangla MN Regular  
What Won't Change the World - T<sub>E</sub>X Gyre Heros  
Anarchist Memory - DIN Condensed Bold

## Software

GIMP and ConT<sub>E</sub>Xt for text layout  
Krita, Graphviz and ImageMagick for graphic design  
pdfcpu, ghostscript, pdftk and pdfjam for imposition



## Most pictures are original

- the faces in the back cover collage are from Spain, 1936, by David Seymour. Available here: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Trabajadores\\_extreme%C3%B1os,\\_saludado\\_con\\_el\\_pu%C3%B3n.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Trabajadores_extreme%C3%B1os,_saludado_con_el_pu%C3%B3n.jpg)
- the picture of a Swiss Army Knife comes from google images

