

*Counterfutures* is a multidisciplinary journal of Left research, thought, and strategy. It brings together work from across Aotearoa New Zealand's Left, aiming to intervene in, and inaugurate, debates about how to understand and influence our society, politics, culture, and environment.



# counterfutures

LEFT THOUGHT AND PRACTICE AOTEAROA

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ISSUE 11 2021

*The Hokianga Dog Tax Uprising*  
*Anti-Expressway Campaigns*  
*Swarbrick's Auckland Central Victory*  
*Moralising the Market*  
*Christianising Fascism?*  
*Incantations of Race*  
*Abolish Landlordism*  
*Fetish and Restructuring*  
*Neoliberal Human Rights*

## **counterfutures 11**

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# Contents Overview

## **Landlord Neutral 2030**

JACK FOSTER, MURDOCH STEPHENS & DYLAN TAYLOR

With the housing crisis continuing to punish renters, we call for the abolition of private landlordism.

## **The Hokianga Dog Tax Uprising**

CATHERINE CUMMING

An excerpt from Catherine Cumming's forthcoming book, *The Financial Colonisation of Aotearoa* (ESRA, 2021). In the 1880s, colonial authorities levied a tax on dogs in order to protect sheep, the central building block of the fledgling colonial economy. Māori resistance to the dog tax, culminating in the 'Hokianga Dog Tax Rebellion' of 1898, is told as a story of resistance to the attempted interpellation of Māori as colonial citizen-subjects.

## **Chlöe Swarbrick's Auckland Central Victory**

HUW MORGAN

What can the socialist left learn from Swarbrick's unexpected victory in Auckland Central? A veteran of the campaign explores the practical lessons of this success for movement-building and political engagement in Aotearoa New Zealand.

## **Inscriptions and Incantations of Race**

FAISAL AL-ASAAD

A reflection on the necessity to narrate that was imposed upon Muslims in the wake of the Christchurch massacres. Seeking to escape the organising grammar of race, which fixes the subject in time and place, it is asked how racial destinies might be rewritten.

## **Christianity Without Guarantees**

CHAMSY EL-OJEILI

Scrutinising Hannah Strømmen and Ulrich Schmiedel's *The Claim to Christianity*, Chamsy el-Ojeili untangles the prevalence of Christian identitarianism in the thickening post-fascist atmosphere. Might Christianity be providing moral and spiritual energy to the presently unsystematised 'museum of fragments' that is post-fascism?

## **Populist and Institutional Logics of Anti-Expressway Campaigns**

MORGAN HAMLIN

An examination of the campaign against the Kāpiti expressway yields insights into the limitations of individualistic and institutionalist modes of political action. It is shown that emphasising shared interests between local opposition groups and nationally focused activists is essential in building effective campaigns on environmental issues.

## **Workplace Restructuring and its Discontents**

WARWICK TIE

Through an engagement with Marx's notes on methodology, this article considers the role of the commodity fetish, the fetishisation of intellectual labour, and the fetish of knowledge-without-consequences in the debate over the restructuring of the College of Sciences at Massey University.

## **Human Rights Against Human Rights**

NEIL VALLELLY

Review of Jessica Whyte, *The Morals of the Market: Human Rights and the Rise of Neoliberalism*. A new history of the parallel rise of neoliberalism and human rights.

## **Mission-Oriented Capitalism**

JACK FOSTER

Review of Mark Carney, *Value(s): Building a Better World for All*. Stakeholder capitalism as a line of flight from our uninhabitable earth?

## Contributors

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Iraq-born writer and researcher based in Tāmaki Makaurau, and PhD candidate at the University of Melbourne. His research interests are in critical theory and the study of race, settler colonialism, and Islamophobia.

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