

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

ISSUE 16 2024

Whakapapa of a Prison Riot

Thinking with Teresia Teaiwa

Tuwhare's Communism

Wendy Brown

History of Palestinian Nationalism

The Work(s) of Motherhood

The Politics of Road Building

China's Path to Capitalism

counterfutures 16

EDITOR Neil Vallelly

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR Simon Barber

CONSULTING EDITOR Graeme Whimp

EDITORIAL BOARD Simon Barber, Sue Bradford, Emalani Case, Ritodhi Chakraborty, Tim Corballis, Chamsy el-Ojeili, Jack Foster, Kate Stone, Amanda Thomas, Warwick Tie, Neil Vallelly

WEB SUPPORT Tim Corballis

DESIGN Xanthe Griffiths

ADMIN SUPPORT Luke Biggs

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD Ozan Alakavuklar, Maria Bargh, Cassandra Barnett, Anita Brady, Sophie Bond, Toby Boraman, Shannon Brincat, Ciara Cremin, Karen Davis, Eli Elinoff, Peter Howland, Campbell Jones, Cybèle Locke, Georgia Lockie, Dougal McNeill, Brett Nicholls, David Parker, Sean Phelan, Helen Potter, Nate Rigler, Brian Roper, Murdoch Stephens, Giovanni Tiso, Cindy Zeiher

Post: Sociology, Gender Studies and Criminology Programme
University of Otago
PO Box 56, Dunedin 9054,
New Zealand

Email: counterfutures@counterfutures.nz

ISSN 2463 - 5340



Contents

ARTICLES

- 10 **Whakapapa of a Prison Riot: Prison Censorship, Free Speech, and the Fight against Fascism**
EMMY RĀKETE & TI LAMUSSE
- 28 **At the Edges of Islands**
EMMA POWELL & EMALANI CASE
- 44 **Māori Marx, Māori Modernism: Hone Tuwhare**
DOUGAL MCNEILL

INTERVIEWS

- 64 **Towards a Counter-Nihilistic Politics**
WENDY BROWN
- 82 **The Neck and the Sword**
RASHID KHALIDI

REVIEWS

- 124 **A Real Piece of Work**
LYDIA LE GROS
- 138 **The Politics of Infrastructure and Anti-Roads Campaigns in Australasia**
MORGAN HAMLIN
- 146 **China and Its Discontents**
TOBY BORAMAN

Contents Overview

Whakapapa of a Prison Riot: Prison Censorship, Free Speech, and the Fight against Fascism

EMMY RĀKETE & TI LAMUSSE

An analysis of the Waikeria Prison Uprising of 2020–21, focusing on the suppression of prisoners' free speech, the authors' censorship at the hands of the Crown, and the need for mass struggle in the face of liberal 'safetyism'.

At the Edges of Islands

EMMA POWELL & EMALANI CASE

A conversational reflection on the legacy of the influential scholar, teacher, poet, and activist Teresia Teaiwa's thought and practice, exploring Teaiwa's use of the 'edge' as a conceptual device, her insistence on reflective and reflexive thinking, and her understanding of the island as a verb.

Māori Marx, Māori Modernism: Hone Tuwhare

DOUGAL MCNEILL

A study of Ngāpuhi poet Hone Tuwhare's body of poetry in the context of his Communist Party activities and reading of Marxist and socialist thought, illustrating how Tuwhare makes audible collective forms of working-class agency and subjectivity.

Towards a Counter-Nihilistic Politics

WENDY BROWN

An interview with the renowned political theorist, who discusses the recent pro-Palestinian encampments at US universities, considers the relationship between her work on nihilism and melancholia, and reflects on her contribution to critical studies of neoliberalism and sovereignty.

The Neck and the Sword

RASHID KHALIDI

An interview with the prominent historian of Palestine, who discusses the history of the Palestinian national movement, the importance of understanding the Arab Revolt of 1936–39, the evolution of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the emergence of Hamas, and Palestine's complicated relationship with neighbouring Arab regimes.

A Real Piece of Work

LYDIA LE GROS

A review of Louise Wallace's first novel *Ash*, focusing on motherhood, reproductive labour, and the gender politics of workplaces.

The Politics of Infrastructure and Anti-Roads Campaigns in Australasia

MORGAN HAMLIN

A review of James C. Murphy's *The Making and Unmaking of the East-West Link*, which reflects on the planning, and eventual cancellation, of the East-West Link motorway in Melbourne, providing lessons for anti-road campaigners.

China and Its Discontents

TOBY BORAMAN

A review of Ralf Ruckus' *The Communist Road to Capitalism*—a study of political, economic, and social transformations in China since 1949.

Author Biographies

TOBY BORAMAN

An Independent Researcher

WENDY BROWN

UPS Foundation Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. Her most recent books are *In the Ruins of Neoliberalism: The Rise of Anti-Democratic Politics in the West* and *Nihilistic Times: Thinking with Max Weber*.

EMALANI CASE

A Senior Lecturer in Pacific Studies at Waipapa Taumata Rau, University of Auckland. She is the author of *Everything Ancient Was Once New: Indigenous Persistence from Hawai'i to Kahiki*. She comes to Aotearoa from Waimea, Hawai'i.

MORGAN HAMLIN

Lecturer at the Open Polytechnic of New Zealand. His research focuses on housing and transport activism.

RASHID KHALIDI

Edward Said Professor Emeritus of Modern Arab Studies, Columbia University. Editor of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*; author inter alia of *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine* (2020) and *Brokers of Deceit* (2013).

TI LAMUSSE

A prison abolitionist scholar and activist. Ti is a founding member of People Against Prisons Aotearoa and the Prisoner Correspondence Network. Ti is currently employed as a lecturer in Criminology at Te Herenga Waka, Victoria University of Wellington.

LYDIA LE GROS

PhD candidate at the University of Otago researching the political economy of housing, and Assistant Research Fellow with NZ Centre for Sustainable Cities looking at the financialisation of public housing.

DOUGAL MCNEILL

Teaches in the English Literatures & Creative Communication Programme at Te Herenga Waka, Victoria University Wellington. He is active in the Tertiary Education Union. His other books include *Writing the 1926 General Strike*, co-authored with Charles Ferrall, and an edition of Harry Holland's *Robert Burns: Poet and Revolutionist*.

EMMA NGAKURAVARU POWELL

A Lecturer in Indigenous Studies at Ōtākou Whakaihū Waka, University of Otago. She is a daughter of the islands of Atiu and Mangaia. Her research explores genealogies and stories from across the Eastern Pacific.

EMMY RĀKETE

(Ngāpuhi) A communist and prison abolitionist. She helped to found People Against Prisons Aotearoa in 2015. Her research uses Marxist economic science to explain mass incarceration. She is a lecturer in Criminology at Waipapa Taumata Rau, University of Auckland.