



REVOLUTIONARY LOVE

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R.U.N.
ROSA WRITING NEWSLETTER

ISSUE 3 - September 2024

ReVOLUTIONARy LOVE

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ROSA



DEAR READER,

We introduce you to the third issue of R.U.N. - ROSA Uniting Newsletter. Throughout our struggles last year, we have noticed the importance of community and love. The importance of overcoming individualism and the patriarchal forms of relationship which are propagated in our everyday life. We have come to realize that only if we stand together, with a strong consciousness, with comradeship love and companionship, can we truly achieve change. We have learned to love each other, to love the community we have built and to regain empathy for one another. This is why we have dedicated this issue to the topic of "(Revolutionary) Love".

We begin with a conversation between two ROSA members exploring the compassion that drives our work. In a love letter to the revolution, we express our longing for a better world. In between these pieces, we delve into the patriarchal structures of our society and why we need to abolish the nuclear family, followed by an interview centering around queerness in Amsterdam. Next, we look at what expectations our society puts on girlfriends and wives, which is also closely connected to the nuclear family. In another conversation, we explore how communal living can be possible again. In a piece about mourning and remembering, we honor our fallen comrades and loved ones. In connection to this honoring of our martyrs, we present a piece inspired by Che Guevarras phrase: "The true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love". Then follows a book recommendation: "A great love" by Alexandra Kollontai. We end the zine with a comic emphasizing the need to center the community. To do so, we must continue struggling together, in love and comradeship, in our schools and workplaces and to put forward our demands for a caring community: We need free & public schools and universities! We need free & public health, child and elderly! We need safe abortions!

We hope you enjoy reading this edition of R.U.N., in revolutionary spirit!



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Sparks Fly: Initial Reflections on '(Revolutionary) Love'

The piece below is a conversation between two ROSA members and their initial reflections and thoughts on the theme of this edition of R.U.N.—“(Revolutionary) Love”. This collaborative reflection acts as a bridge or starting point from a very broad understanding of the zine’s theme and invites readers to come up with their own ideas on the theme before delving into more focused and narrow analyses that follow.

◆: How does love and empathy shape your activism and praxis ♣?

♣: Well, I think all activism is itself rooted very much in love and empathy to begin with. Because even though, say, [activism] can look angry (and obviously you often are very angry when demonstrating) and it can involve a lot of heartache and sadness and frustration, those feelings are coming from a place of empathy. That’s why you have this passion to continue to fight. This is also why it becomes frustrating to see radical Left activists portrayed as just another belligerent extremist group.

◆: Mhm, I definitely agree. I would also say love and empathy are the main foundation of activism, and that people being drawn towards the Left, or Leftist organisations like ROSA, because of that deep rooted feeling of injustice, love for humanity and love for your community. And obviously, I mean we all know how important theory is and its role in shaping praxis, but I do strongly believe that for a lot of people, their attraction to Leftism comes from a place of “I feel all this emotion and I need to do something about it!”. We [Leftists] are often called very emotional, at times aggressive, but, as you said, how can we not be when there is so much emotion behind activism. In that sense, you really could call it ‘revolutionary’ love because we’re not just talking about a romantic or platonic love, but a general sense of love and empathy.

♣: I’m also reminded of how easy it is to fall into the - really very Liberal perspective - that these strong feelings of love and empathy are a reflection of the individual activists themselves. We don’t want to make this assertion that people on the Left are just inherently more empathetic or that we just “feel more deeply” than people with alternative political ideologies. I think we are often encouraged by this individualistic, Liberal framing that is constantly being pushed on everyone to perceive activism as some form of self-expression rather than a legitimate struggle towards an ultimate goal. That’s also the hole that you really don’t want to fall into.

◆: No, I mean, that’s very interesting and I feel like I’d have to ponder on that a bit more, but while you were talking, I thought of how detachment is such a big part of Liberal culture, and how we’re so strongly pushed to feel detached from general crises and problems we can obviously all see and feel. I feel like in that way that’s also the ‘revolutionary’ part of the phrase ‘revolutionary love’ because at a certain point it does become revolutionary for you to harness and to actively use all the empathy you have for the causes we are so strongly pushed to feel detached from. In that sense, I feel like it is also a revolutionary act and something that I feel we shouldn’t try to hide or fight. But I definitely think it would be wrong for us to say that people on the Left just tend to have more empathy because I like to believe in the “greater good” of all humankind and that we all-

♣: -don’t we all? [laughs]

◆: [laughs] have love and empathy. I think it is more so about what you do, which I guess then would be praxis. So maybe it's not about how love and empathy shape our activism and praxis, but about how it is inherently a part of praxis? What do you think?

♣: Yeah, I agree with you that it's "inherently a part of praxis". And I think that follows what you said about it really being a revolutionary act to - and this is going to sound incredibly sappy - but to choose love [laughs]. To choose to stand by those feelings of love and empathy even when capitalist society pressures you to suppress them. From the Liberal mindset, empathy and love for others outside your immediate circle is only acceptable up to a certain point. And at some point they are no longer viewed as "beneficial". Because once people do begin to give prominence to the empathy they have for strangers, they would want to tear apart the system, because it is a system of oppression and of pain. Thinking of homelessness, for example, we are expected to accept the basic 'fixes' that Liberal culture provides, rather than fighting back against the concept itself. To challenge the causes that lead to conditions like homelessness would push you to question what this system is, and what it creates. And in that way empathy and love are radical emotions.

◆: I feel like also, we talked about praxis and obviously stuff we do more actively, but even beyond that, you do also find such a sense of community within Leftist spaces because you know that all the emotions you have, being love or anger—you get to realise that you're not insane for feeling those [emotions] and that your feelings are valid and there are material reasons behind having them. Being surrounded by people who feel that too and getting to feel those emotions together with them is why community is so important!

♣: [laughs]. [sarcastic] Community, love, ... these are the real parts of life, you know?

◆: Honestly! I know that we already said it but we are actively pushed against these ideas. General Liberal society and the systems we currently have in place are trying to sway us from going down 'paths' of collectivism. I mean, individualism runs so deeply within everything that surrounds us, which again we already said this, but it's why it's a revolutionary act to ... it's revolutionary to love in 2024! [laughs]

♣: It seems that throughout this conversation what has come up as the key opponent [to love and empathy] is individualism. To start, there's the more basic idea of individualism which is that you care for only yourself and the small group of people around you but there's also this individualism that states that "my views or my way of viewing the world is the way it is because of my specific traits" rather than arising from a wider collective experience. Love and empathy, for instance, are integral parts of humanity. Everyone feels these emotions on some level, the difference is more how people are driven to mobilise around them. I think it's interesting that even when we try to discuss these ideas you kind of have to untangle that very Liberal way of conceiving of your own emotions.

◆: Yeah, I'd say what it all boils down to is a system that makes you feel like the love and empathy you feel is wrong is absolutely a system we should want to fight against. I feel like that's the main point of this whole thing.



CRITIQUE OF THE WESTERN NUCLEAR FAMILY

LOVE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AS A TENET OF MORALITY - A CONCEPTION OF THE RULING CLASS. IT HAS BEEN WEAPONIZED TO PUNISH THOSE THAT DEVIATE FROM THE BINARY STRUCTURES THAT UPHOLD THE NUCLEAR FAMILY. THE WESTERN CONCEPTION OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY DESCRIBES A UNIT IN WHICH A MAN AND A WOMAN RAISE 2-3 KIDS. IT TEACHES AND SOLIDIFIES THE GENDER ROLES NEEDED TO SUSTAIN CAPITALISM'S INVISIBLE LABOR AND HIERARCHIES THAT DIVIDE US. IT AFFIRMS THESE POWER STRUCTURES, AND ASSERTS THAT UNPAID HOUSE AND CARE WORK ARE SIMPLY NATURAL TRAITS THAT THE WOMEN IN THE FAMILY ARE EXPECTED TO CARRY OUT.

THE NUCLEAR FAMILY IS NOW FACED WITH BOTH A REJECTION OF IT AND A CRY FOR ITS RESURGENCE.

LOGAN HATHAWAY-WILLIAMS



REJECTION

THE NUCLEAR FAMILY'S HEYDAY WAS DURING THE 1950S, IN A WESTERN SOCIETY IN WHICH A WHITE MALE FACTORY WORKER'S SALARY WOULD BE ENOUGH TO SUSTAIN HIS CHILDREN AND WIFE: THE PARENT WHO WAS RELEGATED TO THE DOMESTIC SPHERE. WITH THE RISE OF GLOBALIZATION A COUPLE OF DECADES LATER, COMPANIES THAT PROVIDED THESE DEPENDABLE JOBS OUTSOURCED THEIR LABOR, SHIFTING THEIR OPERATIONS TO COUNTRIES WITH CHEAPER LABOR, AND LOOSER ENVIRONMENTAL, HEALTH, AND LABOR REGULATIONS. WITH THIS, THE AMOUNT OF DECENTLY PAYING ENTRY-LEVEL JOBS PLUMMETED IN THE WEST. SUPPORTING THREE OR MORE PEOPLE WAS NO LONGER FEASIBLE FOR THE WORKING MAN; THE HEAD OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY HAD BEEN DETHRONED. NOW, THE WOMAN MUST JOIN THE PAID LABOR FORCE ALONGSIDE THE MAN. SHE WILL EITHER CONTINUE WORKING IN THE DOMESTIC SPHERE ALONGSIDE HER PAID LABOR, OR OFFSET THE DOMESTIC WORK TO PREDOMINANTLY MIGRANT WORKING WOMEN. MAINTAINING CHILD CARE AND DOMESTIC WORK BECAME HARDER THAN EVER, AND AS THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS THAT THE FAMILY WAS BORN INTO HAD SHIFTED, THE NUCLEAR FAMILY NO LONGER MADE SENSE.

THIS HIGHER DEGREE OF CAPITALISM HAS LED TO A PARTIAL DISSOLVEMENT OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY, AS THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THIS STRUCTURE IS SHEDDING ITS PLAUSIBILITY. THIS IS COUPLED WITH THE RISE IN THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENT, WHICH HAS LIBERALIZED MUCH OF QUEER RESISTANCE, AND THUS ALLOWED FOR WIDER SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE. THIS MERGE INTO NEUTERED STRUGGLES HAS INCLUDED THE GAY MARRIAGE MOVEMENT, AND THUS HAS BROADENED THE CONCEPTION OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY. HOW DOES A NUCLEAR FAMILY FUNCTION WITHOUT THE TRADITIONAL GENDER DIMENSIONS THAT UPHOLD IT? NOW WE SEE DEVIATION CONTINUING IN FORMS SUCH AS NON-MONO GAMY, COMMUNITY LIVING, AND SINGLE PARENTING.

RESURGENCE

YET, IT REIFIES ITSELF STILL. AS THE WELFARE STATE DETERIORATES, 'TRADITIONAL FAMILY VALUES', AND THUS THE TRADITIONAL NUCLEAR FAMILY, HAVE BEEN RE-CENTERED BY CONSERVATIVE FORCES WITHIN POLITICAL DISCOURSE. THE CAPITALIST STRUCTURE HAS FORMED THE CONCEPTION OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY TO LEGITIMIZE THE DOMESTIC LABOR DONE BY THE WOMAN. NEO-LIBERALISM HAS SPELLED THE DEGRADATION OF WELFARE, AND THUS THE CARE THAT WAS ONCE IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE HAS BEEN FORCED INTO THE PRIVATE. THE CAPITALIST STRUCTURE NOW RELIES ON THE FAMILY TO OBFUSCATE THE STATE'S SHRINKING RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS ITS CITIZENS. AS THE WELFARE STATE RECEDES, MIGRANT LABOR AND THE TRADITIONAL NOTION OF FAMILY TIES AND ROLE WITHIN THE FAMILY IS WHAT'S LEFT TO FALL BACK ON. PENSIONS DECREASE AND ELDER CARE BECOMES PRIVATIZED. THE STATE FLEES AND LEAVES THE WOMAN ENTWINED WITH THE ENTITY OF FAMILY AS A ROPE TO KEEP HER THERE. CARE HAS BEEN COMMODIFIED AND ABANDONED BY THE STATE. THE GENDERED ROLE OF CARE AS A SIGNIFIER OF MOTHERHOOD, OF WOMANHOOD, IS USED TO PERPETUATE THE FREE LABOR OF CARE THAT SHOULD BE HELD BY STATE INSTITUTIONS.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CARE IS PUSHED BACK ONTO THE FAMILY, AND THUS ONTO THE WOMAN AS THE HEAD OF DOMESTICITY AND THE NON-FINANCIAL REALM OF SURVIVAL. THIS IS IN THE FORM OF A CALL FOR A RETURN OF TRADITIONAL FAMILY VALUES, WHICH DOESN'T APPEAR TO BE GENDERED AS IT ADVOCATES FOR THE FAMILY AS A WHOLE. BUT IT IS INTRINSICALLY GENDERED - IT IS ADVOCATING FOR AN UPSURGE IN FEMALE LABOR, SPECIFICALLY INVISIBILIZED AND UNPAID.

FAMILY WITHIN INDIVIDUALISM

WE ARE OFTEN TOLD THAT THE FAMILY IS A PLACE TO ESCAPE FROM THE HYPER-INDIVIDUALISM OF OUR CAPITALIST SYSTEM, TO WORK FOR SOMETHING GREATER THAN ONE'S OWN SATISFACTION OR GREED. HOWEVER, THE FAMILY IS AN EXTENSION OF YOURSELF - IT IS STILL CLOSELY ATTACHED TO THE INDIVIDUAL AND COULD BE MADE PART OF THAT INDIVIDUAL NUCLEUS. WITHIN THE LABOR MARKET, IT STILL POSITIONS YOU, AND YOUR FAMILY AS ATTACHED TO YOU, IN COMPETITION WITH THE WORKING PEOPLE. IT IS ISOLATING YOU FROM YOUR ROLE WITHIN THE PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT, STRANDING YOU ON A SHORE OF DESCENDANCY. IT SHRINKS CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND STIFLES THE IMPETUS TO RESIST. WE ARE TOLD TO SACRIFICE FOR ONE'S FAMILY, AND TO PUT THE FAMILY ABOVE ALL ELSE. IN THIS SENSE, THE FAMILY IS A SITE TO STRAY FROM THE COMMUNITY OF THE FELLOW EXPLOITED, DISTRACTING ONE FROM RISING UP AS ONE OF THE PROLETARIAT: THE PRIORITY IS NOT EMANCIPATION OR YOUR FELLOW WORKER BUT INSTEAD YOUR CHILDREN, YOUR PARTNER, YOUR PARENTS. IT IS NOT THE COLLECTIVE BUT THE PEOPLE YOU KNOW AS TIED TO YOU - THUS, TIED BACK TO THE INDIVIDUAL.

THE PROLETARIAN WOMAN (AND HER STRUGGLE)

IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE GENDERED ROLES THAT WE HAVE NATURALIZED BEYOND RECOGNITION ARE OUTLINED BY LABOR AND THE CATEGORIES OF LABOR ASSIGNED WITHIN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. A PROLETARIAN WOMAN MUST SUBJUGATE HERSELF FURTHER THAN THE BOURGEOIS WOMAN. IT IS HARDER TO RESIST THE BOUNDS AND CONFINES OF WOMANHOOD AS A WORKING WOMAN - OF DEPENDENCE AND CARE - YOU DO NOT HAVE THE MEANS TO BREAK FREE. THE BOURGEOIS WOMAN CAN PAY FOR THE WORK THAT SOLIDIFIES THE WOMAN IN HER ROLE OF SERVITUDE TO THE HOME AND TO THE HUSBAND: THIS WOMAN CAN PAY FOR CLEANING, CHILDCARE, COOKING- THE CARE AND DOMESTIC TASKS THAT DISTRACT FROM WOMEN'S AUTONOMY AND TIE HER TO THE HOME ARE NOT OF ISSUE TO THE BOURGEOIS WOMAN. THUS, SHE CAN SLIP MORE EASILY FROM THE GENDERED CATEGORY OF OPPRESSION. WHILE THE BOURGEOIS WOMAN PROFITS FROM THE EXPLOITATIVE CAPITALIST SYSTEM, AND THUS IN PART FROM THE GENDERED SYSTEM THAT UPHOLDS IT, THE PROLETARIAN WOMAN IS DOUBLY EXPLOITED. THE PROLETARIAN WOMAN UNDERSTANDS CLASS STRUGGLE AS THE MEANS TO FREE HERSELF FROM THE BONDS OF DOMESTICITY.



WHAT IS OUR ANSWER

WE SEEK

THE COMMUNIST SOLUTION TO THE FAMILY PROBLEM.

WE SEEK

THE SOCIALIZATION OF ALL LABOR, THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF CHILDCARE AND DOMESTIC WORK - THE CHILD IS TAKEN FROM THE INDIVIDUAL CONCEPTION AND BROUGHT INTO THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COMMUNITY.

THE BOURGEOISIE HAVE ALREADY PUSHED REPRODUCTIVE LABOR OUT OF THE REALM OF THEIR FAMILY, TURNING THEIR HOUSEWORK AND CHILD CARE TO THE MARKET. BUT WE DON'T CALL FOR THIS LABOR TO BE GIVEN TO THE MARKET, BUT INSTEAD PUT IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. WE WANT FREE AND PUBLIC HEALTH CARE, PUBLIC SCHOOLS, CHILD AND ELDERLY CARE. WE WANT SAFE ABORTIONS AND SELF DETERMINATION OVER OUR BODIES. TO REACH THESE GOALS, WE MUST CHALLENGE THE VERY SYSTEM WE LIVE IN.

THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN IS COUPLED WITH THE ABOLISHMENT OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY. WE MUST STRUGGLE FROM THE CONFINES OF THIS GENDERED STRUCTURE TO TRULY DEGENDER OUR SOCIETY AND FALL AWAY FROM GENDER IN ITS VIOLENCE AND SUPPRESSION.

Love letter to the revolution

My dearest love,

Our world aches for your warm embrace. Too long it has been, since we have felt the intoxicating radiance of your passion and commitment. Your spirit, like a lighthouse in a stormy sea of inequality, beckons us toward a horizon where justice is not a mere whisper but a resounding clarion call. In a realm where oppression reigns, your spirit rises like the dawn breaking through the darkest night.

How fervently we await the day when the fires of your conviction ignite our hearts, and every soul is no longer a pawn in the grand game of exploitation, but rather a partner in the symphony of a new order. The world, burdened by the weight of ceaseless inequity, yearns for the liberation that only you can bestow. It is in the crevices of every broken dream and shattered hope that your promise shines through, a beacon of unyielding solidarity.

Our love is a revolution in itself, a defiant stand against the chains that bind us. We do not merely speak of change but live it, breathe it, make it our heartbeat. In every protest, in every strike, in every act of defiance, we carry your essence like a banner of hope. We have seen how the flames of injustice can scorch the spirit, but it is the gust of your righteous fury that fans the flames of our resolve.

You are the architect of our collective aspirations, the sculptor of our dreams. The rhythms of your fervor beat in the pulse of every endeavor toward a better future. Your love is not a transient infatuation but a deep and abiding commitment to the betterment of humanity. In your specter, we find our purpose, our direction, our unity.

So let the march continue, let the struggle rage on. We stand shoulder to shoulder, inspired by the vision you have so eloquently laid before us. Let every step be a testament to your undying influence, every breath a vow to uphold the values you hold dear. In the embrace of your revolutionary zeal, we find our strength, our conviction, and our undying hope for a world where justice and equality reign supreme.

Forever devoted to your cause, ever ready to carry forth the banner of your love,

-P



QUEER AMSTERDAM: Liberation or Assimilation?

Half an hour before Kathi, chair of the gay student association A.S.V.Gay went to the Pride, we had the chance to interview her about how it is to be queer in Amsterdam. We discussed how important community is for queer liberation and how we can learn from history that homosexuality challenges the nuclear family and roles which are crucial to the capitalist way of organizing labor.



What is the history of the queer movement in Amsterdam?

First of all, thanks for meeting with me today. In Amsterdam, homosexuality was decriminalized in 1811. Well, you wouldn't have called it queer back then. It would have just been gay because it was mostly directed towards homosexual men. Women and other identities within the community were more invisible back then. And then, you had the Nazi occupation in the Netherlands and they inflicted their strict anti-gay laws. But after World War II, gay rights movements formed quickly demanding their rights back. Amsterdam was always a place where people from other parts of the Netherlands who didn't fit in their little towns and the more conservative environments went. It always had a lot of nightlife and political organizing, like the fact that we have the Homomonument next to Westerkerk isn't for nothing. It is for the homosexuals killed during WWII, because these victims were for a long time not recognized. There is also the liberal side of the LGBTQ community, which is Pride. In its current form, pride has been a thing since the 90s and it's just getting bigger and bigger. I think Amsterdam Pride is one of the biggest Pride festivities in the whole world and pretty unique.

What queer spaces exist in Amsterdam and what meaning do they have for the community and the city?

You have a lot of bars and clubs in Amsterdam that are for the queer community like the Reguliersdwarsstraat close to Rembrandtplein. You also have Club Church, Bar Buka or Club Raum nowadays. But there are also places that are less commodified, civil organizations that create meeting opportunities.



At the Homomonument they have parties several times throughout the year. De Trut is a foundation that throws volunteer-run benefit parties on Sundays to support good causes within the community, and you also have things like the queer skating meetups. For me, an important space is Vrankrijk, a queer feminist squat in Spuistraat, which is opposing the commodification of queer spaces. Because in many queer spaces, you need to have the money to participate, and poorer members of the community are excluded.

Now during Pride Month, there are so many events and things you can do, but there's a pretty big price tag attached to a lot of them. For example, the Milkshake Festival in Wester Park, is a big queer festival, but although the motto is inclusion, a single day ticket is like 85€. That's a problem with the whole going out scene. I would rather just have more gender non-conformity, more drag and more heteronormative boundary breaking in everyday life.

ASVGay is a space for queer students in Amsterdam. What exactly are you doing as an association?



The traditional student associations in the Netherlands are rather conservative and don't provide a space for queer people. Not long ago, ASVGay was founded to create this space. At the very basis we organize hangouts, events, activities, parties, bar evenings, educational events and much more. We are a space where people connect and can feel safe and calm in their sexuality, even if you are unsure about it.

How is homosexuality connected to the anti-capitalist struggle?

If we are talking about a system that not only "tolerates" homosexuality, but accepts and celebrates it, then you're also going against the capitalist, patriarchal economic structure and against the family unit. Capitalism is connected to certain views of what it means to be man or woman and this is threatened by queerness because it challenges gender roles. In that way, being gay questions a lot of the structures that capitalism needs to function. But my problem with this is that right now, we see a form of acceptance for homosexuality that is subsumed into the capitalist system. Homosexuality is either incorporated into capitalism (gay assimilation) or it will destroy capitalism (queer liberation), which was more of the goal in the past.





Let's for example talk about the Stonewall Riots, one of the big catalysts for the gay rights movement in New York. In 1969, the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar, was again raided by the police - but this time the community of the Stonewall Inn decided to actively fight back against the police. It was such a big, defining moment and didn't just facilitate the gay civil rights movements in the US, but also a lot of other countries too. And it opened a movement that fought a lot more actively and aggressively for its rights. Parts of the struggle are very conveniently forgotten by people advocating for acceptance and not liberation and are satisfied by marrying each other and also being able to participate in the nuclear family way of life.



What are your personal experiences being gay in Amsterdam?

I grew up in a small town in Germany and when you first come out to yourself, then you're not part of any community yet and just a little gay somewhere without a network. And for me, this feeling of a queer community only came when I moved to Amsterdam. Because suddenly your social circle was just really gay. Now I understand the activist side of the community much more and see ohw much we are entangled with other forms of oppression. While, when you're a little 15-year-old baby gay, whose understanding of homosexuality comes from social media and that one gay neighbor you have, it is a lot easier to individualize queerness. But now I'm gay in practice. It is my community now, and it feels way more collective. Change needs to be brought about on a collective level. The liberation of the individual can't be the end goal and I understand that more now than when I was younger and not part of a community.

Sometimes it's a little bit disheartening I admit. For example Pride right now when you're on the dance floor somewhere with your drink in your hand and your €30 ticket on your phone, and you look around and see people dancing and you think is this it? Is this the end goal that we fought for? Is this all there is to it? And no. It shouldn't be!

N A R Y

L O V E

Down

- [1] Last Name of female Russian revolutionary
- [2] Loving and caring romantically about more than one person
- [4] Key in relationships
- [5] Uprising in New York 1969
- [7] Love and attraction regardless of sex and gender
- [8] Type of love that is not common in neoliberal pop culture
- [11] Pseudo feminist movie from 2023
- [13] One solution, ...
- [16] An unquestioned right in socialist countries
- [17] Rosa...
- [18] Mostly unpaid work of women
- [20] App to find a partner
- [24] Harry meets...

Across

- [3] Last name of female Palestinian resistance fighter
- [6] Short for showing love in front of others
- [9] We live in a ... society
- [10] "We are proud, we are..., refugees are welcome here"
- [12] Revolutionary class
- [14] Liberated society
- [15] When a state or organization tries to benefit from superficial support of queer rights (e.g. Israel)
- [19] Last name of author of "all about love"
- [21] People uniting to oppose something
- [22] Last name of Marxist feminist writer supporting Cuba
- [23] Pride month
- [25] Bourgeois or religious union of two people

gender Roles Girlfriend & Wife

Oskar Zach



It is no secret that our society has predetermined gender roles, which men and women have to adapt to. Next to the other two dominant gender roles that are prescribed to women (mother and daughter) the heterosexual partnership is the soil for the gender role of girlfriend/wife. It is no coincidence that all three of these gender roles for women are located in the nuclear family (father, mother and child). In the modern patriarchal society, this "private sphere" (the home and family) is the domain of women, while the "public sphere" (work and politics) is the male domain. This division between private and public creates an economical dependency for women. For a long time, women were not allowed to work, and even though women have obtained many rights through struggle, the gender pay gap is still at 14% in the Netherlands. In addition, women face more precarity and less benefits, many working part time or subcontracted jobs. For a long time, the majority of working class families were pressured into letting the man work (because his working conditions and pay were better) and to let the women do the care work at home. Today, with a larger integration of women into the labor force, working women suffer from a double load of working and still having to do most of the unpaid care work. The girlfriend/wife is expected to cook, clean, take care of elderly family members, to do emotional labor and raise the children; all attributes which most still look for in romantic relationships. In order for this gender role to be fostered, women, along with men, must believe its fulfillment to be necessary. The trend of "tradwives" on social media is one example in which being a housewife and women's dependence on men is romanticized¹.

The second characteristic of the girlfriend/wife gender role is to be a status symbol. Similar to having a car, the girlfriend is portrayed as an achievement of the man. Men heighten their status in society by having a girlfriend, and increase it even more by winning the girlfriend comparison with other men. The value of the girlfriend is determined by socially-understood beauty and the subsequent validation of other men.

Thirdly, providing unrestricted sexual pleasure is part of the gender role of girlfriend/wife. The girlfriend/wife is the only obligational projection of all sexual desires for the man, except in open relationships. She is supposed to fulfill all fantasies and wants that the man has, wherever and whenever he wants. For many, the demotion of women to an object of sexual pleasure is a core principle of the romantic relationship. Even women believe they have this "duty" in order to fulfill this role of a wife/girlfriend. It is therefore no wonder that sexualized violence happens most frequently in romantic partnerships. The inflicted gender roles accept this violence, since it is the wife/girlfriend's "duty" to fulfill the man's sexual "wants", even if these fantasies are objectifying and degrading. Even worse is that the violence is foundational to this gender role; girlfriend/wife's purpose is to be the non active pleasurer of the man; when she resists, and thus this purpose is not fulfilled, violence is used to force this purpose upon the woman².

To sum up, the pivotal characteristics of the gender role of the girlfriend/wife in our society are (1) care worker, (2) status, and (3) sexual pleasure. Because of the violent and dehumanizing nature of this gender role, it is horrifying that most people in our society strive for exactly this romantic relationship based on this gender role. And although a call to rethink romantic relationships at this point of the text is a necessity, we must go further and understand that this gender role is not coincidental, not an idea that men have come up with. It is the favored type of relationship by the economical conditions and by the organizing of production and reproduction in our society. It is from the organization of work that women's dependence on men is created and the oppression of women is carried on. It is our duty to fight for public health care, public schools, child and elderly care. To fight for safe abortions and self determination over our bodies but also against the profit oriented organization of labor in our society and connect the fight for better relationships to the fight for different relations of production!



1: The phenomena of tradwife has a particular cynical undertone because to be a housewife, which the tradwife portrays to be, contains an economical dependency on the bread winning man. However, tradwives make a lot of money through the promotion of being a housewife and are therefore not even forced into this dependency which they advocate for.

2: A note needs to be made that violence and resisting sounds like physical fighting, however, psychological pressure (which this gender role already presupposes) is also violence and saying "no" is also resistance.



A CONVERSATION ON COMMUNAL LIVING

Emma & Paloma

Paloma and Emma are sitting in a beautiful garden. It's summer, it's sunny. Emma is in a hammock; Paloma is lying on the grass. Their discussions on education, family and comradeship lead them to this conversation on community living.

She stands straight. "Imagine we could raise our children together in a community house. You know, we would be taking care of them and each other. It would be so nice to live in a place built on mutual support and solidarity!"

Paloma

"Yes, I feel like now taking care of children is always a personal obligation, but it would be so nice to live in a world where care becomes collective, and where the main goal is communal well-being." She mimics a sphere with her hands while speaking. "I want to build loving relationships that go further than friendships built on personal connection, relationships that contribute to the broader liberation of all."

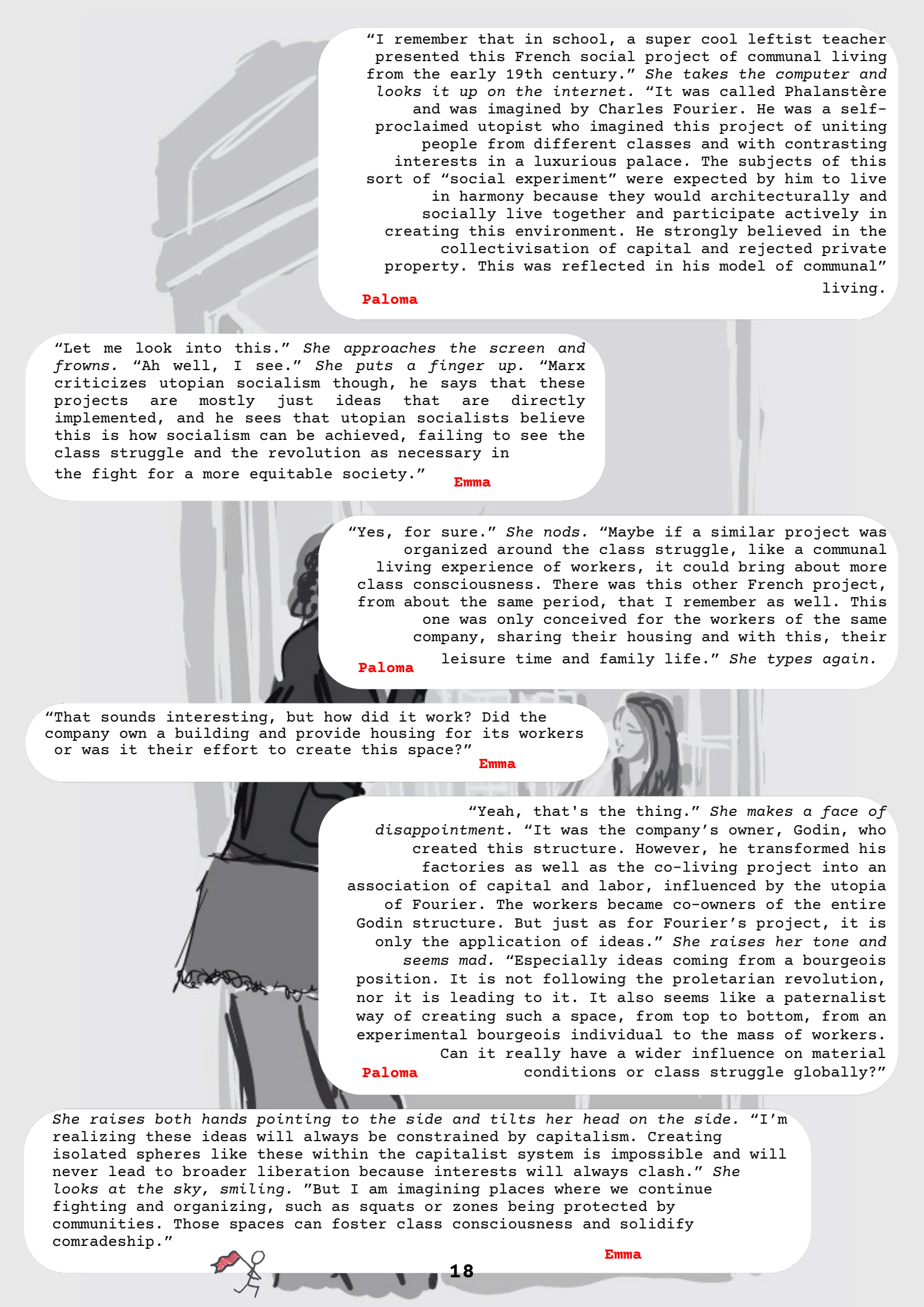
Emma

"Well, we would have to rethink our individualist tendencies. Interdependence in a shared living arrangement, for example, would foster mutual support, because people would rely more on each other. This would create a community built on shared responsibility."

Paloma

"This is especially important because care work is so political. We see this when we look at who is doing our care work and how we organize it now. It really shows the broader power dynamics of our society. We need a system where everyone contributes to care but also benefits from it!" She is getting gradually more excited talking about the project. "Living in a community like this would offer an alternative to the individualist lifestyle and nuclear family arising from capitalism, and would cultivate mutual care and compassion."

Emma



"I remember that in school, a super cool leftist teacher presented this French social project of communal living from the early 19th century." *She takes the computer and looks it up on the internet.* "It was called Phalanstère and was imagined by Charles Fourier. He was a self-proclaimed utopist who imagined this project of uniting people from different classes and with contrasting interests in a luxurious palace. The subjects of this sort of "social experiment" were expected by him to live in harmony because they would architecturally and socially live together and participate actively in creating this environment. He strongly believed in the collectivisation of capital and rejected private property. This was reflected in his model of communal living."

Paloma

"Let me look into this." *She approaches the screen and frowns.* "Ah well, I see." *She puts a finger up.* "Marx criticizes utopian socialism though, he says that these projects are mostly just ideas that are directly implemented, and he sees that utopian socialists believe this is how socialism can be achieved, failing to see the class struggle and the revolution as necessary in the fight for a more equitable society."

Emma

"Yes, for sure." *She nods.* "Maybe if a similar project was organized around the class struggle, like a communal living experience of workers, it could bring about more class consciousness. There was this other French project, from about the same period, that I remember as well. This one was only conceived for the workers of the same company, sharing their housing and with this, their leisure time and family life." *She types again.*

Paloma

"That sounds interesting, but how did it work? Did the company own a building and provide housing for its workers or was it their effort to create this space?"

Emma

"Yeah, that's the thing." *She makes a face of disappointment.* "It was the company's owner, Godin, who created this structure. However, he transformed his factories as well as the co-living project into an association of capital and labor, influenced by the utopia of Fourier. The workers became co-owners of the entire Godin structure. But just as for Fourier's project, it is only the application of ideas." *She raises her tone and seems mad.* "Especially ideas coming from a bourgeois position. It is not following the proletarian revolution, nor it is leading to it. It also seems like a paternalist way of creating such a space, from top to bottom, from an experimental bourgeois individual to the mass of workers. Can it really have a wider influence on material conditions or class struggle globally?"

Paloma

She raises both hands pointing to the side and tilts her head on the side. "I'm realizing these ideas will always be constrained by capitalism. Creating isolated spheres like these within the capitalist system is impossible and will never lead to broader liberation because interests will always clash." *She looks at the sky, smiling.* "But I am imagining places where we continue fighting and organizing, such as squats or zones being protected by communities. Those spaces can foster class consciousness and solidify comradeship."

Emma

-----Memento Mori Memento Mortuorum-----

I

In the summer, I visited the Huis te Vraag cemetery in the south of Amsterdam for my photography. It was a small graveyard, with most graves I saw being from the late 19th to the mid 20th century. It was quiet and I was only one there except for a lady tending to the flowers. I saw no visitors of the loved ones buried within these grounds. With graves as old as 1961, it is easy to imagine that those who have buried their loved ones had already passed away as well.

The graves were decrepit, and have not been cared for, for a long time. Moss grew over the epitaphs engraved on the tombstones. A sea of ivies engulfed the graveyard, with only the tombs sticking out, as if the currents of time washes away the efforts man has made to be immortalised.

A few graves have even succumbed completely to the greenery, with the ivies even covering entire tombstones. The names and the faces of those deceased, slowly fading away into the warm embrace of nature. It seems that the Huis te Vraag had lived past its purpose as a place of mourning and remembering, but rather as a relic of past.

But for what its worth, the deceased were buried and mourned by their loved ones, and memorialised within this beautiful park where visitors could walk by, have a moment of peace, and a moment of contemplation.

To love is to mourn.

And to be loved is to be mourned.

II

Earlier in the morning, before visiting the cemetery, I saw the news on my phone, of the Zionists releasing a truck of decomposing bodies into the streets of Gaza. All are not privileged to be offered a dignified death. Martyrs unceremoniously thrown into mass graves. Martyrs burned alive. Martyrs unidentifiable, never to be recognised and never to be put to rest by the people who love them.

How many more will die without their loved ones there to bury them, to mourn them or even to remember them? Death is inevitable. But I like to think that most should meet death as it embraces us after having lived a long fulfilling life. It should not have to carry, with so much sorrow, the soul of a child abruptly taken from this world too soon. It should not tear lovers apart. It should not have to stand in the corner of a delivery room, were life should be welcomed instead. It should not have to reunite a mother and her child too soon. Death should not be at the chains of the greedy.

III

Memento mori: Remember that we will all die someday.

But we choose what makes our lives worthwhile.

We live on, we love, we resist and we fight with the memories of those who brought us into this world, our parents, grandparents, ancestors and our community.

Our existence is testament of love for those who lived before us.

We live on, we love, we resist and we fight in the memory of those those who have fought for the continuous struggle for liberation. The martyrs may fade from the earth but may they never fade from our memories.

Our resistance is a testament of love for those who fought before us.

Memento Mortuorum: Remember the dead.

Even as the dead decompose into the earth. Even if their ashes are scattered in the Mediterranean. Even as their tombstones slowly cover themselves in ivies.

We remember the martyrs.

We remember the resisters.

We remember the liberators.

We remember the fighters.

We remember the carers.

May they be memorialised in a small graveyard in our hearts.

To love is to remember.

And to remember is to be loved.

REVOLUTIONARY LOVE

IS THE

REVOLUTIONARY'S GUIDANCE

Most of human history we lived in groups, without surplus. Many anthropologists describe how humans in this period lived in "primitive communism." The key to this is that there was an absence of surplus, which came after the Agrarian Revolution. It was a group effort to keep your community going. We would not be here today if not for our cooperative nature as this has been essential for surviving the last 295,000 years (at least) on Earth surrounded by predators and in harsh environments like deserts, jungles and even in freezing temperatures. The Agrarian Revolution was the start of Class Society because it enabled individuals to accumulate an indefinite amount of resources. Thus community-oriented survival wasn't longer necessary for certain individuals; this new class of people who emerged had contradictory interests to those with limited resources.

Class Society has led certain characteristics of human nature like selfishness, competition, and jealousy to take the upper hand. This shows that the way human nature expresses itself depends largely on material conditions which are in turn formed by the dominant mode of production.

Changing this mode of production into socialist, and eventually communist one - where it's from each according to their ability to each according to their needs - will lead to favourable human characteristics like cooperation, compassion and selflessness reasserting priority.

The social aspect of human nature expresses itself in many areas of life,, may it be in our neighbourhoods and communities, during disasters or in shows of solidarity with peoples from other nations such as Palestine. Anthropologist Camilla Power even states that capitalism parasitizes our social nature by placing workers in cooperative settings in which we naturally work together with our colleagues, providing a productive and effective workplace for the capitalist. Despite the competitive and selfish behaviours capitalism promotes, the essence of our nature still expresses itself in many areas of life. This sense of community, cooperation and belonging also shows itself in the mental health crisis,



where many researchers (such as Humphrey (2021), Chambers (1992), Krys, (2019), and Ogihara (2014)) link mental health problems to the individualistic nature of society while associating good mental health with a sense of belonging (Haim-Litevsky, 2023).

The social essence of human nature which expresses itself through emotions like love and compassion is what should drive a real revolutionary. Or to put it in Che Guevara's words: "The true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love." The class struggle aims to bring an end to all injustices in the world, and socialists must dedicate themselves to it with this ultimate objective always in mind. Some people might express their feelings of love by giving to charities, volunteering or caring for their neighbours and friends. Many of us (who identify with the radical Left) might do the same things, but the revolutionary love we possess (and cultivate) makes us go to a greater extent than this and dedicate much of our time, energy and even life to the cause [KM1]. A revolutionary should do this without the expectation of personal gain, but nevertheless, doing so can be rewarding for our mental health. There is much fulfilment to be taken by channeling our discontent and anger into the building of socialist organization(s) and involvement in the class struggle and other social struggles. Seeing the importance of our work makes us able to enjoy it too, and this way making us into more dedicated and effective revolutionaries. When describing him, Nadezhda Krupskaya (Lenin's wife and a Marxist in her own right) stressed that "work for the cause was the mainspring of his life, what he loved and what carried him away."

Even though there are aspects of socialist militancy that are hard, it is the feeling of revolutionary love for others and for working towards an egalitarian society that helps us through. Love is an incredibly powerful emotion. For instance, love enables parents to go through unimaginable sacrifices for their children, such as fleeing a country, working long hours as an immigrant,

or enduring hunger so that their children can eat. And it is this same emotion that should drive us to be able to endure the difficulties on the road to communism. Although that doesn't mean we all ought to act like 60's era hippies espousing "flower power" and declaring that "love will heal the world!" Revolutionary love is intertwined with anger, because when something we love is harmed, it is anger that makes us act on it. Without revolutionary love, [KM1] we wouldn't get angry about the injustices and would instead be sad or indifferent humans like the ones that are more indignant about student protests than genocide.

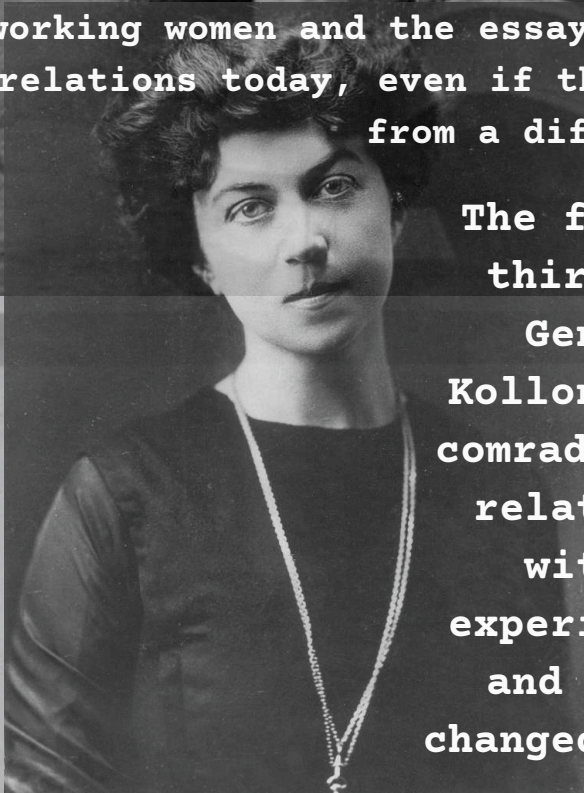
Socialists are internationalists; and thus aim to feel the injustices that are committed elsewhere in the world as if they were committed to ourselves. The basis of our empathy is not simply association or family lines, but class solidarity. Our reality isn't bounded to a singular nation or continent. The reality of student protestors in Bangladesh getting shot by police, of Congolese people being massacred in a war over resources, and of countries where democratically elected presidents get coup'd with the help of foreign imperial powers is the reality that we understand and the one that inspires us.

Many revolutionaries have come from privileged backgrounds, yet it is their understanding of the world and their revolutionary love that gave them their humanity and their willingness to fight for others. Without revolutionary love some of us may lose touch with the reality of the masses. Che Guevara said about this: "One must have a large dose of humanity, a large dose of a sense of justice and truth in order to avoid dogmatic extremes, cold scholasticism, or an isolation from the masses".

We must strive every day so that this love of living humanity is transformed into actual deeds. Revolutionary love is putting our heart in the cause, against all injustice. Our heart that is the same colour as our ideology, will make us stay loyal to the cause.

Aleksandra Kollontai - A Great Love

A great Love by A. Kollontai is a collection of three essays (I. A great love, II. Sisters & III. The love of Three Generations), in which Kollontai explores the love relations of Russian working women in the early 20th century. We can only recommend reading this well written and sharp analysis of love, polyamory, abortion, and queerness. This exceptional book derives its quality from its author's experiences in the time of overcoming bourgeois and tyranny rule in Russia. In the Soviet Union Alexandra Kollontai would become the first female government minister in the world as the People's Commissar for Welfare and later also the first female ambassador in the world. She was a fierce defender of the rights of working women and the essays are still applicable to love relations today, even if they seem like far away stories from a different time.



The following extract is from the third essay: "The Love of Three Generations". In this essay, Kollontai receives a letter from a comrade asking for advice about her relationship. The comrade shares with Kollontai in detail the experiences of her mother, herself and her daughter and how loving changed over the three generations.

What stands out in this essay are the different generational perspectives and the conflict of reaction and revolution. When reading, we ask the reader to consider how love has changed throughout the generations that are alive today. How does your grandmother love? How does your mother love? How do you love? We hope you enjoy this extract and get inspired to read her works and discuss them with your fellow friends, students and workers.



"Mother, you say that my actions have been vulgar, that one should not give one's self without love. You tell me that my cynicism makes you desperately unhappy. But tell me frankly, mother. If I were your twenty-year-old son who had been at the front, who was living independently, would you be equally indignant if you should hear that he had had relations with women whom he liked? I am not speaking, mind you, of prostitutes and paid love, and of course, not of girls one deceives and betrays. That is dastardly. But women who liked him, and of whom he, too, was fond? Would you be so indignant? Why are you so unhappy, then, over my "immorality?" I assure you I am as human as he would be. I am fully conscious of my duties. I know my responsibility toward the Party. But what have these things, the Party, the Revolution, the White Guard and the collapse of things that you have been speaking of, to do with the fact -that I gave myself to Andrei? You see, mother, to have a child at this time when every one of us is so sorely needed, that would be wrong. I understand that, and I would not become a mother now under any circumstances. But the other. . . ."

"But did you never think of me?" Olga Sergejewna had asked her. "You never thought of what I might think of your relations with Andrei?"

"But why should that make any difference? You wanted us to be friends. You were happy when you saw that I liked him and he liked me. Where is the border-line of friendship? Why should we be allowed to live together, to have good times together, and not to kiss one another? We have taken nothing that belongs to you. Andrei worships you as he always worshiped you. I have not taken a single spark of the feeling he has for you. That I kissed him . . .? Have you time for him,? Mother, surely you do not want to chain Andrei so firmly to yourself that he may not enjoy life while you are away! That is not love. That is a selfish desire for possession. Grandmother's bourgeois training speaks in you there. That is unjust. You lived as you pleased when you were younger. Why not Andrei?" "

Olga Sergejewna was pained and indignant because neither her daughter nor Andrei showed a spark of regret over what had happened. They regarded it all as perfectly commonplace and matter of course - she had the feeling that Genia and Andrei considered themselves extremely forbearing and tolerant as they tried to enlighten her with a few superficial phrases. They evidently regretted what had happened, if regret it they did, only because it displeased Olga Sergejewna, of whom they were both exceedingly fond; in their heart of hearts there was not the slightest consciousness of wrongdoing.

They assured her again and again, separately and together, that nothing had changed their love for her, that neither of them would dream of intentionally hurting her. If this was the way she felt about it, they assured her, they would, of course, abstain from all further relations. In this crisis Olga Sergejewna decided to come to me, to ask for advice and assistance.

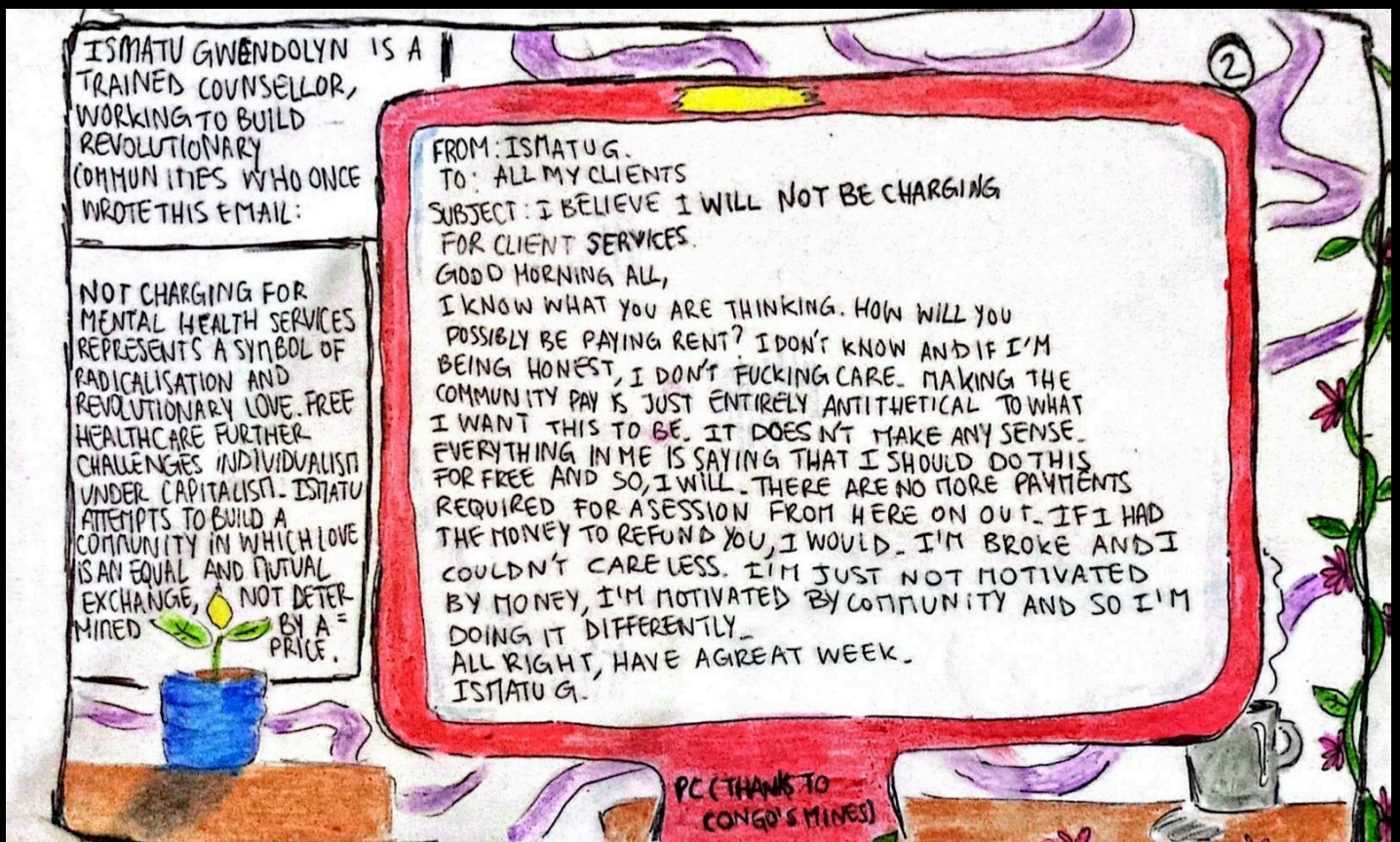
We discussed the matter long and earnestly. How was one to take this new generation? Was this unrestrained licentiousness that knew no law but its own desires, or honest conviction born out of a new life, the product of the problems that a new, growing state represented? New morals....

"What grieves me most of all," said Olga Sergejewna, supporting her head on the graceful hand that reminded me so much of Marja Stepanowna, "is that it is all so passionless and unfeeling. This cold, calculating weighing of right and wrong, as if they were old men and women ... this complete lack of sentiment. If Genia loved Andrei, or if he loved her, I would have understood. I would have suffered cruelly, for I love Andrei with all my heart, but without this nausea and agony. How can I tell you what I feel, the resentment I bear against both of them for betraying me when I trusted them so absolutely? How could they who profess to love me with all their hearts, have had so little consideration for what they must have known I would suffer?

Don't misunderstand me. I feel that persons capable of disregarding every human consideration as they have done are, in the very nature of things, incapable of love. Both assure me that they love me, but is that love which wounds the deepest and holiest feelings of the object of its tenderness so lightly, so without pity and without regret? I can see nothing but unfeeling dullness and hardness of heart. ... I cannot understand them....



WORDS & IDEAS TAKEN FROM ISMATU GWENDOLYN'S PODCAST 'THREADINGS':
 THE EPISODE "REVOLUTIONARY LOVE COSTS YOU SOMETHING." @ISMATU.GWENDOLYN
 @TH.READINGS





3

ISN'T WHAT MADE YOU DECIDE TO STOP CHARGING? ISN'T THAT A LITTLE CRAZY?

YOU KNOW, THE SOCIETY WE LIVE IN INDOCTRINATE US INTO BELIEVING THAT LOVE IS WORTH A PRICE, WHICH INADVERTEDLY MAKES US WORTH A PRICE. FOR INSTANCE, HEALTH CARE IS ACTUALLY PROPORTIONATE TO OUR WAGES. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS IS THE TYPE OF LOVE AND SOLIDARITY THAT OUR INSTITUTIONS PREACH. WE ARE TAUGHT TO VALUE MONEY OVER COMMUNITY AFFECTION AND NEEDS. MOREOVER, WE ARE TAUGHT THAT DEPENDENCE FROM OTHERS IS A WEAKNESS RATHER THAN A STRENGTH. HENCE, HOW CAN WE TRULY PROGRESS AND LEARN TO SUSTAIN EACH OTHER? THE FALSE HOPE OF INDIVIDUALISM ACTIVELY CREATES A DISTINCT DIVISION AMONG SOCIAL GROUPS. RATHER THAN LOVING, WE ARE TAUGHT TO HATE. THE CONCEPT OF REVOLUTIONARY LOVE AIMS AT DESTROYING THIS BARRIER CREATED BY WEALTH AND STRUCTURAL INJUSTICE. REVOLUTIONARY LOVE IS BLOOMING AS IT PUSHES US TO BUILD DEPENDANCE AND TRUST WITHIN A COMMUNITY, IN WHICH MONEY IS A SECONDARY PRIORITY.



4

BLOOMING IS AT FIRST UNCOMFORTABLE, AND MOVING IN LOVE MAY APPEAR PRECARIOUS. BUT, THERE IS STRENGTH IN LOVE AND TOGETHERNESS! ♡

THE REVOLUTION CALLS FOR DEATH SO THAT WE CAN HAVE THE SPACE TO BUILD SOMETHING LIFE-GIVING.

"WORKING TO BUILD COMMUNITY, YET CHARGING FOR IT ISOLATES ME FROM THE VERY COMMUNITY I AM TRYING TO BUILD! ATTACHING LOVE TO MONEY RUINS US. THAT IS WHY I AM NO LONGER CHARGING FOR CLIENT SERVICES."



Upcoming Events!!!!

ROSA intreeweek - Erasmus Park

Wednesday 4/09 - 13:00 - 23:00

Flea market, faculty meet up, Palestine 101, dinner, football tournament, movie screening

Thursday 5/09 - 13:00 - 01:00

Flea market, arts and crafts, boxing, Palestine 101, BBQ, Party @ Vondelbunker

Marxism 101 - Science Park campus

C0.05

Saturday 7/09 - Introduction to political economy

Sunday 8/09 - Imperialism and War

For more information find us on instagram :)

@rosaradicalstudents

