for providing data (diagrams, audio, photos, and videos, etc.) to the distributed particles of their associtaed formation of Sisters in the Coming ReproCommunal Tribe.

5   Arguably, the "rent a womb" internet marketing campaign of the 2010s will morph into a social media driven ReproAirBnB in the next decade. Freelance surrogacy is on the horizon.

6   If you look at silicon, for example, it's classified as a metal. When it's in elemental form, it's very shiny and really looks like a metal. When you expose it to oxygen, it forms thousands of possible molecular bonds and the substance starts to become mineral. Ninety-five percent of Earth's stone mantle is silicon and oxygen bonded in various formations.

Contagion Propagations

Jonas Staal

A contrast that matters: former US vice president Joe Biden appeals to the public in a pseudo-presidential address in the midst of his 2020 campaign for the Democratic nomination against Bernie Sanders, and calls for bipartisanship in the face of the outbreak, claiming that the "coronavirus does not have a political affiliation." Sanders meanwhile appeals to the public on the same day, but instead criticizes the $1.5 trillion infusion into Wall Street by the Federal Reserve to save private companies, and drives home the added urgency of his key policy proposal, Medicare for All, especially in the midst of an outbreak in which the most vulnerable and precarious among us will be hit hardest.

Biden is wrong, as he has always been. The coronavirus certainly *has* a political affiliation—with the alt-right, big pharma, and the securitization industry, which will make ideological gains and grotesque profits from this crisis. The virus makes visible the ideological framework underlying our political, economic, and social infrastructures—or their ruins after decades of austerity and privatization. A meme circulating on social media in March 2020 shows the image of a virus with the line "Nice country you've got there, would be a shame if it laid bare the cruelty inherent in its very structure." And this is exactly the point: the *material propagation* of the coronavirus makes visible a series of *ideological propagations*, both past and present, with severe consequences.

The question in front of us is: What alternative propagations can withstand the threat not only of the coronavirus, but of the far worse pandemics and system failures we will face in the climate catastrophes of the near future? Asking this also means confronting the difficult question of why the political platform of Bernie Sanders has failed to clench the nomination—especially in a time in which his

social policies have broader support and are proven more urgent than ever before.

1. From Covid-19 to the Specter of Eco-Fascism

Let's begin at the beginning. The coronavirus itself is inherently intertwined with global capitalism, which, as urban theorist Mike Davis argues, now appears to be "biologically unsustainable" in the absence of a truly international public health infrastructure.[1] Covid-19 has been replicated through global trade and transport, a network hailed as the best of all possible worlds that again proves to be extremely vulnerable and dependent upon taxpayer money—an infusion meant to keep intact the very system that creates the conditions for these types of global contaminations in the first place. The climate catastrophe, which is enabled by the very same industrialist and extractivist mindset, will only amplify such pandemics in the near future. In the words of The Red Nation, "The crisis has exposed the capitalist system for what it is: anti-life."[2]

Cheers for the reduction of CO_2 emissions resulting from the pandemic—as if this was some global exercise in degrowth—ring hollow in the context of a death toll largely consisting of people who were already extremely vulnerable, either due to structural racial oppression, preexisting illnesses, old age, homelessness, incarceration, undernourishment, or war. The economic damage caused by the pandemic has been disproportionately transferred to the working and precarious classes, who simultaneously have to pay up to save private corporations and banks through tax infusions. The ruling classes have their private clinics, respiratory support systems, and luxury bunkers—so the joy expressed when Jair Bolsonaro was proven to be infected or the ongoing speculation about Donald Trump's illness will be short lived. They were never going to suffer

from this the same way we were anyway. Even worse is the cynical ageist embrace of the virus as a way to rid the welfare state of elderly people, a dark foreshadowing of the genocidal engineering strategies which we will hear more of as the eco-fascist movement comes to the fore.

All of this exemplifies a preexisting mentality: every day, tens of thousands of people die because of poverty, exploitation, and warfare. People who are now most acutely confronted with this virus are those for whom measures such as "social distancing," regular handwashing with water and soap, and working at home sound absolutely absurd. Consider just that 25 percent of the world population already lacks access to adequate sanitation.[3] According to Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, such people fall into the category of those who, in the eyes of the imperialists, are to be considered "unworthy victims," compared to their own "worthy victims."[4] The latter are those who, in Judith Butler's words, are regarded as human enough by ruling elites to be "grievable" in the first place.[5] In the context of a pandemic, the Global North is no longer able to fully externalize the unworthy victims offshore—the unworthy ones now also come to include the elderly, the unemployed, and those with preexisting conditions within our borders. They were always less valued than the white and able-bodied, but are now reduced to collateral damage in the fight to protect "worthy citizens" from becoming worthy victims.

At this point, we have not even addressed the racialization of the coronavirus, the alt-right contagion that spread even faster than the virus itself. Hate crimes against people of Asian descent, the equation of bodies of color with disease—this all follows the textbook propaganda strategy of Fritz Hippler's Nazi faux-documentary *Der ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew, 1940), in which rats and other vermin were used to allegorize Jews in Europe. Alt-right ideologue and filmmaker Steve Bannon was quick to embrace and propagate the narrative that the coronavirus is actually a bioweapon manufactured in a secret Chinese lab, which serves to deepen his conspiracy that the People's Republic of China is at the center of a new axis of evil, while adding legitimacy to Trump's border wall, as the virus and the migrant become conflated into one big threat aimed at infecting the sovereign body of the United States. It did not take long for this narrative to contaminate Trump's daily hate speech briefings, in which the coronavirus was rebranded as the "Chinese Virus." In India, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party claims a direct relation between Muslims and the coronavirus, which has led to an outbreak of targeted violence. Hungary's far-right president, Viktor Orbán, claimed a direct link between the coronavirus and the threat of "illegal" migration and has, in the meantime, suspended parliament altogether.

The racialization of the coronavirus obviously follows from conditions of the culture wars that precede the pandemic, in which one front has been drawn by ultranationalist and hard right parties and another by the global capitalist elite. Between the capitalists attempting to maintain hegemony and the nationalists seeking to racialize the virus, the culture wars give us *eco-fascism* as the ideological paradigm of the world we face after this pandemic—a world in which climate catastrophe will inevitably generate far more of these global viruses in the near future.[6] It is via eco-fascism that the fatal myth of overpopulation is spreading even faster in the context of the present crisis. The capitalist class has never shown any hesitancy in declaring vast parts of the population irrelevant to work or consumption, and white nationalists have long been on the lookout for conditions in which to turn their genocidal fantasies into reality.

But the eco-fascist myth risks contaminating progressive discourse just the same. Think of the Michael Moore-produced film *Planet of the Humans* (2019), directed by his long-term collaborator Jeff Gibbs, launched online in the midst of the coronavirus outbreak. The film claims to advance a legitimate critique of "green capitalism," but instead uses dated research and misplaced image sources to argue that it requires more fossil fuel to produce solar and wind powered energy resources than they can ever hope to generate—a narrative that was quickly embraced by the alt-right media outlet Breitbart News. Instead, Gibbs argues, we have to confront the issue of overpopulation, because "our human presence is already far beyond sustainability" and "it's not the carbon dioxide molecule destroying the planet, it's us."[7] But population growth in the Global North is at an all-time low, while energy consumption is unsustainably high, which then automatically leads to pointing the finger at the higher population growth in the Global South, whose consumption rate is infinitely lower. The racialized myth of overpopulation bypasses the fact that it is not human population but the global capitalist system that is ecologically unsustainable, enabling the murderous eugenics that inform eco-fascism instead. As researcher Sherronda J. Brown writes:

> [W]e have to understand that institutional and corporate disregard for the planet cannot be divorced from disregard for marginalized beings from those same destructive systems. Know that when you post and share variations of "humans are the virus" online, you are parroting the rhetoric of white supremacists. Instead of doing that, I encourage you to remind others and yourselves of the capitalist, corporate, colonialist, and imperialist failings of a deeply unequal world.[8]

What we witness in the pandemic is an accelerated propagation of ideological forms inherent to the "deeply unequal world" that Brown describes, which in the process lay the groundwork for an eco-fascist future. But these narratives can also be traced to an imaginary of a world that is beyond communal governance, and which can only be taken "back into control"—to paraphrase the ultranationalist Brexiteer slogan—through brutal engineering strategies.

2. The Ungovernable World

Various Hollywood pandemic movies have laid the groundwork for the successful racialization of the pandemic. Whether it is the Motaba virus modeled after Ebola in *Outbreak* (1995), or the MEV-1 virus modeled after SARS in *Contagion* (2011), the virus always originates in a "foreign" body. For US empire, all that is foreign is to be both feared *and* extracted, whether from Zaire or Hong Kong. In *World War Z* (2013), the most telling scene shows the arrival of survivors of a zombie plague in Israel, whose US-subsidized weapons and surveillance industry have made it the rare world actor capable of withstanding the contagion (a scenario that obviously aims to legitimize the maintenance of the occupation of Palestine and its foreign backing in the present). In the film, it is the high-pitched singing of Arab refugees who had been benevolently taken in by their occupier that finally triggers the hordes of zombies to overtake the Israeli fortress, despite all precautions, proposing the deeply offensive and revisionist narrative that it is essentially Israeli *altruism* that forms its true vulnerability.[9] Such a worldview sees a superior military-industrial complex as mandatory to secure the survival of worthy citizens, an idea that goes hand-in-hand with the unequivocal framing of Palestinians as an unworthy zombie race beyond redemption.

Such pandemic cinema has further engrained in us certain behavioral responses to disaster. Another zombie-type virus in *28 Weeks Later* (2002) renders survivors more dangerous to one another than the zombies are (from "humans are the virus" to "humans are the zombies," although *some* humans are always more zombie than others). Here, or in the more allegorical infertility epidemic in *Children of Men* (2006), we the precariat are expected to largely fend for ourselves, hoard food, medicine, and weapons, and trust governing elites to impose brutal securitization measurements upon us, praying that we are exempted from their worst consequences, while they themselves save cultural treasures to gaze upon in their securitized private bunkers. These narratives suppose the antiquated social psychology of Gustave Le Bon's *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (1895). Le Bon's concept of the crowd would influence the widely used notion of the "herd," which he describes as an "unstable flock"[10] consisting of a "swarm of isolated individuals," so easily manipulated as to be barbaric.[11] It is not difficult to see the parallel between these popular imaginaries and the framing of humans as the virus. While it is global capitalism that is biologically unsustainable, here the idea is that it is "human nature" itself that is laying ruin to the earth and other life sustaining structures, and that this is a truth revealed only to its full extent in times of crisis, when worthy humans must face the unworthy zombies that used to be tolerated in their midst.

This reactionary mindset that takes (particular) humans as a barbarous herd has been instilled in governing elites through decades of war gaming, developed by the likes of the RAND Corporation. Think of the *Atlantic Storm* game, staged by the Center for Biosecurity at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center in 2005 as a ministerial tabletop exercise.[12] The script starts with a fictional multination summit in Washington, DC, when reports suddenly come in that a massive terrorist attack in Europe is taking place in the form of a rapidly spreading smallpox virus.[13] Senior government leaders played the role of heads of state assembled at the summit, with Madeleine Albright acting as the US president.[14] As news of casualties rolls in, the message of the game scenario is clear: the combination of disease and terrorism poses a threat greater than all the wars of the past century combined, cultivating a scenario in which only the most drastic responses are imaginable—militarization of public health infrastructures, extreme securitization, a disregard for any existing laws, and unlimited patriotism and nationalism to protect at least part of the population. In other words, from the perspective of *Atlantic Storm*, the world is no longer governable through common means—a situation familiar to the Italian government, which at the height of its crisis was refused help of medical supplies from Germany: all can ungovern for themselves. With these cultural artifacts we are thus scripted into the idea that it is scarcity—whether the lack of toilet paper and intensive care equipment, or worse, massive crop failure and the disappearance of inhabitable land—that determines how we respond to others in order to ensure some form of survival. Suddenly, democratic governance, human rights, and privacy are revealed as the luxuries that they supposedly always were, and elite engineering—such as population control—remains the only viable option.

So far, governments in the Global North affected by the virus have largely privileged the continuity of economic activity and the healthy pulse of the Dow Jones rather than the healthy pulse of the actual living and breathing members of their populations—the United Kingdom's initial strategy of "herd immunity" being the most cynical, brutally weighing the collateral damage of its own

seemingly disposable population against the "greater good" of market stability. This strategy was consequently adopted as the main approach of the Dutch government, who euphemistically reframed it as an "intelligent lock-down." The seeds of an engineering mentality are clearly planted, and as governments increasingly realize that an on-and-off series of lockdowns is the only scenario for the next year at least, we need to be prepared for the *Atlantic Storm* mindset to come further into play, with the help of the security industry, for which a pandemic is nothing but the next market opportunity. And while the current coronavirus pandemic is ultimately containable, we need to understand we are seeing a dangerous blueprint emerging as the specter of eco-fascism rises to meet the inevitable climate crises of new pandemics, food scarcity, and millions of refugees yet to come.

3. Red Virus International

The conditions emerging from the pandemic enable different pathways forward: they can become the basis for the propagation of "shock doctrine" austerity, racism, and mass securitization, or for the propagation of radical new forms of socialization and collective care. In the words of Naomi Klein:

> If there's one thing history teaches us it's that moments of shock are profoundly volatile. We either lose a whole lot of ground, get fleeced by elites, and pay the price for decades, or we win progressive victories that seemed impossible just a few weeks earlier. This is no time to lose our nerve. The future will be determined by whoever is willing to fight harder for the ideas they have lying around.[15]

In José Saramago's novel *Blindness* (1998), a small group of quarantined people try to survive an epidemic of blindness in an unspecified country. In the story, the narrative of the securitization of the ungovernable world is central. But in Saramago's subsequent novel, *Seeing* (2004), the epidemic is no longer biological but *social*: at election time, people vote for nobody, leaving the ballot blank instead. No matter what anti-terrorist policies the government of the same unspecified country impose to deter this "subversive" behavior, people leave the ballot blank in higher and higher numbers. As punishment, the government decides to abandon its people, and the people in turn respond by organizing collective health care and food distribution themselves.

For a long time, I wrongfully believed that *Seeing* was a manifesto for leaving the ballot blank. Later on, I realized it is a literary manifesto for our ability to respond *differently* and *transformatively* to the crises that the regimes under which we live impose upon us. In the US, the Democratic Party establishment did everything in its power to frame a vote for Sanders as a blank vote, because he supposedly never got anything done as a senator and would never get anything done as president. Better to vote for Biden, they say, and join those who maintain the status quo respon-sible for the crises of the present, in which we are left to praying to be recognized as worthy citizens entitled to a right of survival. But this is not a world worth propagating.

Instead, from Italy to Iran, streets have been filled with chants of solidarity from balcony to balcony. Autonomist groups have quickly organized the necessary structures of life support for those who were already by and large abandoned as worthy citizens. Comrades—when they are fortunate enough to do so—practice social distancing to be nearer to one another, as they further socialize goods and digital means of communication to enable alternative modes of gathering and assembly. Healthcare workers

share their own health with those affected. Unions are at the doors of parliament demanding compensation for the precarious classes, and cultural workers popularize the demand "Close everything, pay everyone!"[16] Activists and social workers demand the immediate evacuation of refugee camps in Greece and of ICE detention centers in the US. Spain's first left government since the end of fascism has instantly taken control over private health infrastructures—and now it's up to us to make sure they never privatize it back again. The Black Lives Matter movement has taken hold worldwide, making visible the brutal additional toll of the pandemic to the already structural murder of Black people everywhere, and enforcing radical transformation of the security apparatus through the demand "Defund the Police." As political theorist Jodi Dean noted, in the early weeks following the pandemic breakout:

> The truth of capitalism presents itself in all its naked horror in a crisis. Everyone hates the hoarders and profiteers. We appreciate purchase limits, laws against price gouging. We all recognize that healthcare is too important to be left to the market. As the cruelty of the market appears without its ideological sheen, more and more people realize the necessity—for the good of all—of free medical care, of paid medical leave, of a social safety net. Everyone's a socialist now (whether they have recognized it or not).[17]

Here we see the possibility of propagating a different contamination; not a biological virus, but a virus of egalitarian ideas. A red virus, that has turned policies such as universal healthcare, fair pay for care workers and cleaners, and basic income into newly mainstream demands. But if the red virus has been successful in changing the discourse

surrounding our commons and in forming a front against the ungovernable world and the specter of eco-fascism, it has not yet insured a structural stake in new emancipatory forms of governance. In other words, if we can't have Sanders now, then when?

The propagation of the red virus opens a trajectory in which we can engage this pandemic transformatively, but in doing so, we cannot ignore the recent past. Countries where emancipatory politics succeeded not only in the street, but in in gaining a stake in institutional governance as well—such as Spain—have the relative means to enable this moment of transformation, as the Podemos coalition has done not only by temporarily nationalizing private health care but also by trying to implement a universal basic income on a longer term basis. Compare that to Greece, where the conservative-right New Democracy party has succeeded the social democratic Syriza party, and its government rents ICU beds from private clinics to meet demand. In other words, the coronavirus pandemic shows that in order to script the crisis away from disaster capitalism into a transformative politics, it is crucial to lay an emancipatory claim on governing institutions—even if the full-scale demand is the total remaking of those institutions all together.

We cannot ignore the waning influence of emancipatory political parties and unions when it comes to building infrastructures that can channel the energies of politicized crowds—such as those the red virus propagates into being—into organized and disciplined bodies of change. In Dean's words, "commonality arises not out of identity, not out of who one is, but out of what is being done—fighting, circulating, studying, traveling, or being part of the same apparatus."[18] The Sanders campaign has been one of exceptional organizational skill, but the longer ruling

neoliberal norm of the Democratic Party makes it hard for supporters of his ideas to believe they are materially realizable in the present, and the face of his platforms leadership is still far from acquiring the "leaderful" form of Black Lives Matter.[19] Whereas Biden can promise a return to the normal of the neoliberal Barack Obama era, Sanders must reach back as far as the New Deal era to make the case that his ideas of the future build on real gains of the past. And even this, as proponent of the Green New Deal Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez highlighted, is deeply problematic because: "We act as though the New Deal wasn't racist. The New Deal was an incredibly economi-cally racist policy that drew literal red lines around Black and Brown communities. And basically it invested in white America, and . . . allowed white Americans to have access to home loans that Black and Brown Americans did not have access to, giving them the largest form of intergenerational wealth, which is real estate."[20] Ocasio-Cortez stresses the leaderful emphasis as a counterpoint, by arguing that "this is why the intersectional frontline community aspect of the Green New Deal is so import-ant, because it allows indigenous communities to lead, and for Black and Brown communities to have a certain self-determination that has not existed in public policy."[21] Instead of making an imagined past "great again," this organizational endeavor thus aims to be transformative rather than nostalgic.

In the current pandemic, policies of social distancing and self-quarantine seem to be opposite to the physical closeness historically required for shaping the common-alities Dean references to build the popular power needed to enforce transformative change. But there is also an opportunity to build nearness not through the proximity of our bodies, but through the infrastructures that connect and sustain us. The red virus produces unexpected

allies—even pop star Britney Spears called for a general strike and a redistribution of wealth at the height of the pandemic, and was subsequently rebranded "Comrade Britney." But, as Dean argues, "comradeship is a disciplin-ing relation," and thus supposes the need to create and maintain an infrastructure that sustains common struggle and enables the necessary power to turn egalitarian imaginaries into egalitarian realities.[22]

The point is, organizational closeness goes beyond proxim-ity. There was closeness achieved through the disciplinary relation of comradeship in the former Comintern, but this ideological intimacy is one structured by egalitarian ideas and shared work—even when the bodies sharing these ideas and work are far apart from one another—resulting in the profound experience of becoming something more by being on the same side, together in the fight to collectively bring a new world into being. The necessity to critique the Comintern, particularly after its Stalinist turn, does nothing to alter the loss of a transnational body of com-radely organization, particularly in a moment like the one we are facing now. The Green New Deal is one of the rare viable policy proposals of our time to ensure some form of meaningful common survival—human, non-human, and more-than-human alike—but it needs now to be pressed upon neoliberal and increasingly far-right regimes who, if they adopt any of its plans at all, will do so from their desire to either maintain the capitalist paradigm under a green guise or impose eco-fascist eugenics, or a combina-tion of the two. That the pandemic moment coincides with the declaration of a new Progressive International, initiated by the Democracy in Europe Movement 2025 (DiEM25) and the Sanders Institute, is crucial, but it will only succeed if the red virus does not merely propagate the desire for new egalitarian imaginaries, but also the organizational willingness to bring them into being.

In this light, the role of emancipatory culture is vital. The commonized world still needs art and literature, poetry and film, to enable narratives in which crisis does not reduce us into hoarders and preppers, but creates new communal frameworks, symbols, and shared powers instead. That also means that this culture cannot be created as a "swarm of isolated individuals," as Le Bon called us, but as comrades structured organizationally in a twenty-first century International. For the elites, this might be an ungovernable world. But we still have many worlds to propagate, in which to live and love in comradely care.
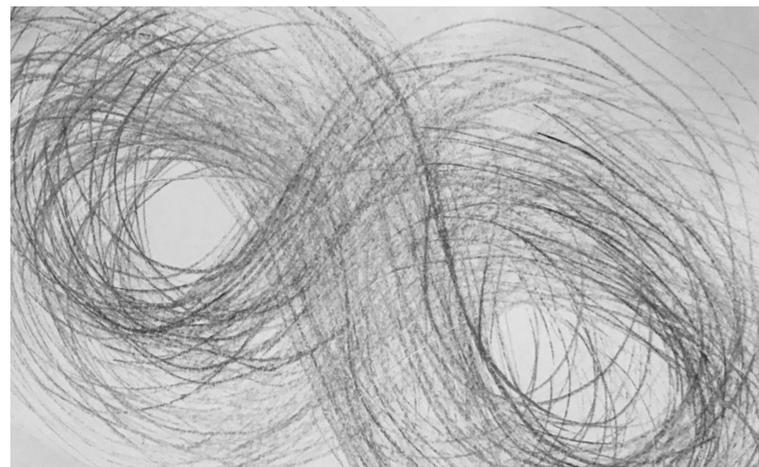
Working groups at Jonas Staal's *Organizational Art Training* in the framework of *Propositions #9: Deserting from the Culture Wars*, BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht, 13 November 2019, photo: Tom Janssen

Logos of the artist organizations Time Travelers' Alliance (top) and Conspiracy of Unequals (bottom), originated at Jonas Staal's *Organizational Art Training* in the framework of *Propositions #9: Deserting from the Culture Wars*, BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht, 13 November 2019, photo: Sven Lütticken

Post Scriptum: Organizational Art Training Manual

How do we organize in, with, and through art? How to elaborate concrete tactics to propagate for and to contribute to the movements that are engaged in emancipatory practices of world-making? What is the role of art and artistic competence in contributing to the imaginary of new alternative transnational infrastructure of self-governance and collective care? On request of the editors of this reader, what follows is a possible contribution to the real time propagation of the red virus and the egalitarian life-forms it makes possible: a training manual for organizational art, developed before the coronavirus pandemic and offered here for adoption and adaptation.

What I term "organizational art" is practiced through the model of the artist organization—political parties, campaigns, laboratories, social platforms, and schools—conceived both as political organizations *and* as artworks. In 2015, the Artist Organizations International at the Hebbel am Ufer Theater in Berlin—which I co-organized with Joanna Warsza and Florian Malzacher—brought together over 20 of such organizations. The twenty-first century has seen a substantial rise in organizational art, developed by artists who aim to work in direct relation to popular movements and transform their collective imaginaries into durational infrastructural morphologies.[23]

Think, for example, of Tania Bruguera's artist organization Immigrant Movement International (IMI, 2010–2015), which operated from a storefront in a former beauty salon in Queens, NY, where Bruguera and her collaborators organized English lessons, provided legal support for immigrants, established cultural workshops for children, and collectively authored the *International Migrant Manifesto* (2011).[24] This modest community center operated as a

practical space of empowerment, while at the same time announcing itself as the first building block of a radically new transnational organization declaring the immigrant as a new "global citizen."[25] In this planetary détournement, it would not be the migrant that has to adapt to the logics of the state, but the state that must transform to meet the shared reality of being-migrant. Another example would be Ahmet Öğüt's The Silent University (SU, 2012–ongoing), an alternative school that operates through art institutions and universities that provides a teaching platform to immigrants with an academic background who are unrecognized for their competences in their country of arrival. As such, SU "un-silences" knowledge, and since its founding, has been active in London, Stockholm, Hamburg, Ruhr, Amman, and Athens. Similar to IMI, SU operates somewhere between the real and the possible. It has been modestly successful in providing academic work for its members but is unambiguous in its near-utopian ambition to reject traditional currencies, overthrow pedagogical hierarchies, demand equality of all languages, and recognize silence as an alternative form of knowledge transfer.[26]

The rise of global authoritarianism, structural racism, precarity, and climate collapse means that the demand for a new imaginary of transnational infrastructure is the only reasonable act to guarantee a form of meaningful earthly survival. But this will require insistence on translating artistic imaginaries into political realities in order to avoid this new infrastructural organizational art mappings from becoming the symbol of its own impotence. In that sense, the artist organization has the obligation to measure its imagination in relation to its real-time capacity to ensure durational political transformation.

The diverse methodology of organizational art practice, operating between the real and the possible, provides

crucial means of mobilizing the popular imaginary. As artistic work in political parties and activist platforms is often forced to respond within the conditions and urgencies produced by the order that they themselves wish to abolish, organizational art can contribute to demanding not just what is possible within the systems that present themselves as given but for the fundamental reorganizations of these very systems. In other words, organizational art emphasizes the demand for the impossible as the only realistic thing to do—and working for liberation from the supposedly natural order as the way to unleash the collective desire to *demand more*.

This does not mean to deny the constraints of day-to-day responses to immediate urgencies, but rather to insist simultaneously on a relentless demand for the alternative horizon we actually wish to achieve. It is crucial to respond in the here and now when it comes to supporting refugees, ensuring democratic socialist voter turnout, or resisting ultranationalist parties and governments, but it is just as urgent to insist on a profound transformation of the structures of governance toward those that would recognize migrants as the norm and the state as the exception, or to demand new transnational models of emancipatory governance in which the very notion of nationalism as a point of reference is annihilated all together. The realistic and the possible do not negate one another but enable each other.

The following is a manual for an organizational art training that requires at least four to five hours, to which the preceding text can serve as an introduction through a collective reading group. Obviously, many artist organizations were developed over several years and cannot be replicated in the short time frame of the training. Therefore, it is first and foremost a training in a *methodology* that can

be applied in real time if the participants wish to dedicate themselves to further organizing work. But even if this is not the case, the below guidelines stand as an imaginative exercise that draws from artistic, campaigning, and activist practices.

The organizational art training can be practiced with groups ranging from 15 to 50 people, depending on the available time. Ideally, the participants differ in discipline, mixing together artists, designers, architects, filmmakers, students, activists, and organizers. After the introductory reading, ask the group to divide themselves into subgroups of a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 8 members, based on *the participants they know the least*. Avoid preexisting organizational bonds or familiarity with one another as far as possible. Ask participants to maintain diversity in each subgroup; avoid, for example, all-male subgroups. And maintain an important rule: the amount of time one member talks in a subgroup should be the same amount that each other member of a subgroup speaks as well. Make space for those who feel less comfortable expressing themselves; don't speak for them.

The subgroups will each be working through four phases: *narrative*, *infrastructure*, *morphology*, and *(re)presentation*. Each of these phases needs a minimum of 45 minutes before the next one is introduced but can also take a day each—again, depending on available time. These four phases are derived from the methodology of existing artist organizations. In considering IMI, for example, the *narrative* is the proposition of the immigrant as the global citizen, the *infrastructure* is the former beauty salon turned campaign headquarters, the *morphology* manifests as a near-utopian transnational political campaign, and the model of *(re) presentation* takes the form of collective workshops, public actions, and collectively written manifestos.

NARRATIVE

I.   Identify a common interest.

Participants in each subgroup have different backgrounds and are implicated in and by different forms of struggles. Share concerns and seek, despite these differences, a social issue that all consider urgent.

II.   Identify a common objective for change.

Now that a common concern is identified, what desired change is shared across the group? Do not feel restrained by existing oppositions between "problem" and "solution": share genuinely unrestrained desires for the kind of transformation you wish to see with regards to your commonly identified social issue/struggle.

III.   Identify a common name that embodies the desired change.

Decide on a working name for your group, one that embodies the common objective of change you have identified. For now, this is a working name that can change through the next phases of the training.

INFRASTRUCTURE

I.   Identify the infrastructure needed to bring about the desired change.

Does your desired change demand a school, a political party, a union, a media station? Or is there no preexisting infrastructure you can think of, and does your common demand therefore require a desire for a completely new organizational form of its own?

II.   Identify how you can contribute to, access, hijack, or claim an infrastructure.

Are there already organizational forms that reflect your desired change? In this case, think of how you could contribute to them, either as a member or by hijacking, repurposing, or claiming the infrastructure as your own. If there is no existing model that reflects your desired change, think of how you could either transform an existing one or conceptualize the new infrastructural form your common demand needs to manifest in the world.

III.   Identify the minimum and maximum demands for the desired change your infrastructure can bring about.

Artist organizations operate between the real and the possible. What is the minimum concrete result you wish to bring about, and what is the maximum? Make sure the maximum is actually a maximum: our manifold crises are the result of what our supposed leaders consider "reasonable," but their reason is our disaster. Be relentless in thinking of the worlds your infrastructure can world.

MORPHOLOGY

I.   Identify how your common objective for change translates to common symbols.

What image is evoked by the common name and infrastructure that you have identified? What signs and

forms can communicate in an affective way to a public not yet familiar with your organizational art form in the making? Listen carefully to each other's interpretations: what is a common symbol for one person in your group that can be read as exclusionary by another.

II. Identify different applications of your common symbol that fit your objective of desired change.

Is the symbol applied in a traditional way (as a poster, meme, button, shirt) or can it take alternative forms (as public interventions and performative actions), or both?

III. Identify the means to make visible—communicate— your common symbol in the public realm.

In which context do you imagine your common symbol to appear, and how does this context relate to the constituents with the most interest in the change you aim to bring about? Try to think of the way you bring your symbol into the public realm as a first step in pre-enacting the alternative worldview you are trying to bring about.

(RE)PRESENTATION

I. Prepare to introduce your narrative, infrastructure, and morphology as a representative of your artist organization to the other groups.

Avoid merely "briefing" others on your group discussions, try to fully identify with the artist organization you conceptualized and embody the idea that you are its members, its representatives, tasked with convincing, recruiting, and mobilizing supporters.

II. Consider the embodied form of representation (e.g., single representative, co-chair, leaderful).

How do the values of your organization translate to its representation? Did you choose a form with a clear hierarchy, and does it make sense to have only a single representative? Is your organization leaderless, or structured on collective practices and would a co-chair or a collective leaderful presentation be more accurate?

III. Consider the means of representation (e.g., spoken word, performance, printed material, common action).

Think of how the representation of your artist organization links to your common objective of change. Is a public statement most applicable? Or should you be physically absent, letting visual or written components represent your organization for you? Is your strategy of mobilization performative in nature, and do you demand the participation of your public? Should it take place where the training was held, or can you take your public to another location related to your objectives?

In closing, return to your subgroups and ask one another if you would be willing to actually pursue bringing into being the artist organization you have conceptualized. If not, share why, since this tells you something of the difficulties and challenges in organizing work. If the answer is yes, do not hesitate: the world will not organize for us, we can only organize it collectively ourselves.

This essay contains revised and expanded segments of "Coronavirus Propagations" published in *e-flux conversations* (17 March 2020) and "Organizational Art" in Jonas Staal, *Propaganda Art in the 21st Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2019). The "Organizational Art Training Manual" is based on three consecutive organizational art trainings held by Staal at ViZ Laboratory for Visual Culture, Athens (2 November 2019); BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht, in the context of *Propositions #9: Deserting from the Culture Wars*, curated by Sven Lütticken as part of *Trainings for the Not-Yet* co-convened by Jeanne van Heeswijk and BAK (13 November 2019); and INSTAR Hannah Arendt Institute for Artivism in Havana (24 December 2019).

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14 Bradley T. Smith et al., "Navigating the Storm: Report and Recommendations from the Atlantic Storm Exercise," *Biosecurity and Bioterrorism: Biodefense Strategy, Practice, and Science* 3, no. 3 (2005), p. 258.

15 Naomi Klein, "Coronavirus Capitalism – and how to beat it," *The Intercept*, 16 March 2020, https://theintercept.com/2020/03/16/coronavirus-capitalism/.

16 "Museums, Galleries, Art Fairs, Art Centers, Universities, Theaters, Festivals … Cancel Everything, Pay Everyone!," *Documentations*, 14 March 2020, https://documentations.art/Cancel-everything-pay-everyone.

17 Jodi Dean, "So amazing (but not really) how the truth of capitalism presents itself in all its naked horror in a crisis," Facebook, 14 March 2020, https://www.facebook.com/jodi.dean3/posts/10157862284914277.

18 Jodi Dean, *Comrade: An Essay On Political Belonging* (London: Verso Books, 2019), p. 79.

19 As KUCHENGA, writer and representative of Black Lives Matter UK, explains: "In actual fact, we need to foster the leadership skills of everyone. And I found that to be really enriching in working with Black Lives Matter, because all of our voices are equal. It's something that endues everyone with confidence. And it's really useful, because you're not so easily picked off," *Propositions #2: Assemblisms*, panel "After the Assembly" with Havin Güneşer, KUCHENGA, Kate Shea Baird, and Birgitta Jónsdóttir, BAK, basis voor actuele kunst, Utrecht, 25 November 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CkTV6oXZju4.

20 See conversation between Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Briahna Gray, South by Southwest Festival, Austin, 10 March 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JU-SE5eNt04.

21 Ibid.

22 Jodi Dean, *Comrade: An Essay On Political Belonging* (London: Verso Books, 2019), p. 86.

23 See Ekaterina Degot, "The Artist as Director: 'Artist Organisations International' and Its Contradictions," *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, and Enquiry*, no. 40 (Autumn/Winter 2015), pp. 20–27.
Whereas the term *morphology* today has significance in domains as varied