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Bad Ap

Contents

- Nora Ziegler

 Islam and Anarchism:
 An Interview with
 Mohamed Abdou
- Anti-Authoritarian
 Concepts and
 Practices in the
 Qur'an
- **8** Jo and Nora
 Interfaith Work in Rojava
- 10 Ghazal Tipu
 Little Prophet Jesus
- 12 Joyoti
 A non-binary
 experience of the
 Buddhadharma

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About us

We are a group of friends based in and around London who want to engage in conversations about faith and social justice organising. We are Muslim and Christian women and non-binary writers and activists. We are inspired by anarchist, queer, feminist, anti-ableist, anti-colonial. anti-capitalist and anti-racist practices and schools of thought. We encourage dialectic thought that challenges the boundaries between the secular and the mystical, the political and the personal.

We hope this new zine will inspire you and give you something to think about. We welcome anyone who would like to join our collective or contribute articles, illustrations, cartoons, jokes, whatever. If you've been a bad apple, we want to hear from you!

Cover illustrations: Susanne Ziegler, Pomegranates, acrylic on canvas.

Islam and Anarchism

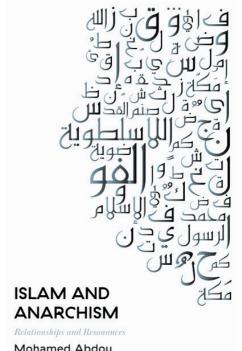
An interview with Mohamed Abdou Nora Ziegler

Bad Apple is still a small zine, but it has already brought us into conversation with inspiring dedicated individuals around the world who are reaching out and building solidarity across differences. This work is crucial at a time when many politicians. activists and writers exploit divisions to gain or maintain their individual power, while many others struggle to engage with difference due to trauma and exhaustion. The aim of our zine is to help foster dialogue between different religious and liberatory traditions, supporting people to engage in difficult conversations, and challenging gatekeeping and opportunism in our shared movements.

In his compelling new book, Islam and Anarchism: Relationships and Resonances, Mohamed Abdou draws on queer, feminist, anti-racist and decolonial theory to develop an anarchist interpretation of Islam. He argues that social justice movements, and anarchists in particular, can learn from Muslims how to better disagree with each other, and welcome each other, instead of tearing each other apart over ideological and personal differences.

Liberal euphemisms

I began our interview by asking Mohamed what motivated him to write this book. He described his work as an intervention into language and euphemisms: the liberal hollowing out of words that undermines the ability of people, and in particular black, indigenous and people of colour



Mohamed Abdou Islam and Anarchism: Relationships and Resonances Pluto Press 2022

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(BIPOC), to conceptualise alternative ways of being. He gave as example, that Islam is mistranslated as 'submission' and anarchism is mistranslated as 'chaos'. Even the word 'liberal' suggests liberation and yet, as Mohamed observes, 'liberalism is far more insidious in its white supremacy than the conservative right could ever be'. [continued on page 4]



Above: Protesters at Al Tahrir square's million man protest, 2011 photo credit: Zeinab Mohamed License: Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike

Mohamed's aim is not just to redefine words, although he does provide interpretations of anti-authoritarian concepts and practices in the Qur'ān (see excerpt on page 6). However, he explained to me that this is also problematic because Islam is inherently anti-authoritarian and oriented towards social justice, and yet it is up to Muslims to justify their existence in anarchist and Marxist spaces. It is up to them:

'To make their experiences legible or rational and thereby capitulate in a certain sense [...] as if BIPOC people don't have their own governance and economic structures, concepts, practices that they can put into implementation. We have to always borrow from the west [...] even if that includes the radical leftist west'.

Mohamed's goal is not to show how anarchism and Islam fit together in an abstract and final sense. He is extending a hand towards anarchists, Marxists, people of faith and people without, queer and feminist groups, and BIPOC, saying 'we can be allies'. The work of getting to know each other, and becoming invested in each other's communities, can only happen in practice.

Ideology and poststructuralism

Throughout the book, Mohamed draws on poststructuralist theory, in particular the work of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. Lasked Mohamed why he found this theoretical perspective useful for his project. Poststructuralism emphasizes the contingency of belief systems, which means that belief systems like Islam or anarchism are embedded in specific historical and social conditions. Poststructuralism rejects transcendent values or concepts of divinity. I agree that religious beliefs are contingent and yet I also hold mine very sincerely. I believe that God is fully embedded in our world and

transcendent at the same time. In my view, poststructuralism does not take this paradoxical nature of faith seriously enough and therefore ends up reproducing colonial and patriarchal assumptions about religious subjectivity.

Mohamed responded that feminists and BIPOC use poststructuralism as a toolbox. He explained that it is useful 'because while you and I may be aware of the contingency others are not, at the grassroots level. Others have already internalised ideological spectral formations [...] again I take classical anarchists and Marxists as a prime example of that'. Mohamed described ideology as a fantasy: the illusion that one idea, such as Islam or Marxism or anarchism, could solve all our problems and include all aspects of life and of liberatory struggle.

However, Mohamed emphasised that poststructuralism is only useful as long as it is connected to the liberatory praxis of actual social movements. It is not enough to only critique existing ideologies and structures, we also have to build alternatives. Mohamed is a scholar-activist who has been involved in activism for 22 years, within anti-war and anti-globalization movements, in solidarity with the Zapatista and Palestinian liberation movements, and he was involved in the protests in Tahrir Square in 2011. Reflecting on his experience in Tahrir he said that:

'There was no construction of alternatives, and people did not want to operate according to a politics of responsibility or a process of getting to know one another. It's easy to have a revolution insofar as an uprising. We burnt 99 police stations in Egypt. But what are you creating

as alternatives? And because of the diffusion of power, unless the Islamist is talking to the liberal, is talking to the leftist, the anarchist, the feminist, [...] the factionalism that exists within the state and which the state thrives and survives upon [...] will only lead to them wanting to embrace a politics of rights and to throw back the responsibility upon the state.'

I suggested, that if our movements were organised in such a coalitional way, if we were constantly challenged in our ideological perspectives, then maybe we would be able to hold on to ideas without these becoming ideological. Mohamed responded that ideologies are strategically limited because once we embrace certain ideas or identities, they become embodied. He argued that:

What should take precedence over identities or ideological subscriptions are the ethical and political commitments that inform those ideas in the first place [...] it is not a matter of you being a Christian and me being a Muslim that determines my relationship to you. It's the ethical-political commitments that defines your Christianity, as much as it defines your relationship to other Christians, that will define our relationship'.

The issue with ideology is that it does not enable us to engage healthily with conflict and difference, even among people who adhere to the same ideas. My relationship to other Christians and other anarchists is mostly defined by abstract beliefs, rather than shared historical commitments and practices of dialogue and hospitality. Ideology becomes a substitute for community.

Anti-Authoritarian Concepts and Practices in the Qur'an

Mohamed Abdou Islam and Anarchism an excerpt



Umma

[..] the emphasis in Islām, in the Qur'ān, is on the radical and decolonial non-racialized and non-territorial Islamic concept of Umma, which has problematically been misinterpreted to strictly refer to a community of Muslims irrespective of borders, cultures, and nationalities, despite the fact that Prophet Muḥammad's original Umma was constituted by Muslims and non-Muslims alike bound by spiritual ethico-political principles and commitments to each other. (p.118)

Dawla

Anarcha- Islām is then, in part, founded on the premise that in the wake of post-colonial independence movements Muslims (and in particular Arabs) altered the meanings of their own language to correspond with European definitions, ontologies, and terminologies associated with 'the nation' and capitalist-states. (p.16)

For example, Dawla is the post-colonial term used by Arab nationalists to refer to each individual Arab and Muslim state, and has been deployed by movements such as ISIS in the form of al-Dawla al-Islamiyya (the 'Islamic State'). [...] As a pre-colonial and pre-modern Muslim term that remains distorted by Arabs, Dawla therefore refers to any political arrangement, as long as it is temporary and not territorially fixed, with sovereignty lying in the Umma, and not the Dawla. (p.120)



Khulafā

As a pluralistic term, the Qur'ān regards all our species as Khulafā, which can be translated as Caretakers or Viceregents who are locked in dynamic and temporary symbiotic liaisons with the Creator. (p.16)

A Caretaker is a provisional 'beneficiary,' a 'trustee,' or borrower of God's property, which includes our bodies and selves [...]. A Caretaker is not an absolute owner as under capitalism. (pp.150-151)



Tawhīd is the acknowledgment that the singular authority one pledges allegiance to is Allāh, with the deification of any other referred to as širk (polytheism), including the rampant worship of materialism, power, prestige, money. (p.84)

From the foundation of Tawhīd, God affords Muslims the right to embrace

any macro-political governing structure as long as it does not contradict other Islamic political practices such as Shūrā (mutual consultation), Ijmā (mutual consensus), and Maşlaḥa (public welfare). (p.85)

Shūrā

To beckon for help, to ask for advice, is Islamically tantamount to humbling oneself, without shame, to Others. It contributes to one's maturing, the taming of our superegos, as opposed to parasitically feeding our insecurities and vulnerabilities. In divulging our intimate fears we abandon our pride, envy, our righteous and holier than thou cloaks to facilitate intimacy and familiarity with each Other, who in turn are also undressed and exposed to us. (p.86)

ljmā[°]

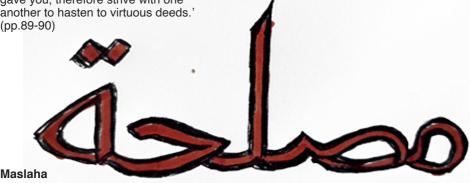
limā' is the practice required by a Muslim community in seeking 'consensus' in matters pertaining to the community. limā' emphasizes compassionate. emotionally intelligent, good-faith, knowledge-based, and horizonless open debate that is the cornerstone of any healthy community. Debate and differences are natural and to be expected in Islam for our collective enhancement. Contrary to dogmatists, the Qur'an itself states, 'for every one of you did We appoint a law and a way, and if Allah had pleased He would have made you (all) a single people. but that He might try you in what He gave you, therefore strive with one another to hasten to virtuous deeds.' (pp.89-90)



Maslaha

In Islām, it is unnecessary to privilege the merited right of the community over the individual, or the legitimate right of the individual over the community, as they are interdependent upon each other. [...] In other words, an individual's creative desire does not have to follow their community's desire. otherwise inspiration dies. It is equally unnecessary that an individual's desire be motivated by narcissistic and individualistic pursuits of the ego that would ultimately result in that person's exploitation of their Umma and community. Rather, an individual's desire may be accompanied and marshalled by an individual's earnest quest for a community's Maslaha. (p.152)

Arabic script by Ghazal Tipu



Interfaith Work in Rojava

Jo and Nora Ziegler



Above: Mosaic showing symbols for Christian, Islamic, Yezidi and Zoroastrian faiths. Photo credit: Jo

In October 2022, Jo travelled to Rojava, as part of the Water for Rojava committee, visiting cooperatives and representatives of the women's movement and other economic, water and education structures in the region.

Water for Rojava is a campaign initiated by the Solidarity Economy Association that has so far raised over £150,000 for vital water projects and women's co-operatives in North and East Syria, a region currently facing a catastrophic water crisis as a result of Turkish state policies and

damming of rivers upstream. Turkey is also currently waging a new large-scale military war against the entire region of Kurdistan.

Rojava is the Kurdish name for the autonomous region officially known as North and East Syria. The region is administrated by the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (AANES). Despite political, economic, and military repression by the Syrian and Turkish states, the people of Rojava are building a unique political project: a multi-ethnic democratic society based on gender equality, ecological regeneration, and real democracy, through locally devolved power³.

The AANES recognises the rights of religious and ethnic minorities to practice their culture and beliefs freely, openly, and autonomously as a fundamental aspect of its political project. This aim has been realized to some extent, although there are contradictions and disagreements within and between minority groups and the AANES⁴.

As part of their visit to Rojava, Jo's delegation met with a group of people representing some of the many different faiths in the region, including an Armenian Christian woman, a Zoroastrian woman, a Yezidi man, a Syriac Christian man and two Muslim men. The meeting was held in Kurdish with English interpretation.

The group came together after the International Congress on Mesopotamian Religions and Beliefs, held at Rojava University in January 2022. They work together to promote interfaith understanding and cooperation, and to fight religious sectarianism. One of the Muslim representatives, Mohamed Abdulrahman, explained his view:

'If God created us differently, with different colours and languages, we should

also be following our own religions and we should give each other space for this and not deny each other's religions and experiences. The word 'god' has a different meaning, but also a common understanding between each religion.'

Christians are the largest non-Muslim religious community in Rojava. Many Christians in this area are descended from survivors of the genocide of Armenians and other Christian peoples of the Ottoman Empire in 1915. After the outbreak of the war in Syria in 2011, Christian communities suffered large-scale attacks from ISIS, the Turkish Armed Forces and their proxy militias, and other radical jihadist groups such as Jabhat al-Nusra.⁵

Hana Barsum, the Syriac Christian representative, explained that:

The Christian community here faced genocide by the Ottoman Empire in 1915. When again in 2012, Al-Nusra was threatening the region, we had these concerns. We decided to unite here with all the society here

in North and East Syria and meet in the Mosque, and from here we were collaborating and making a plan to stand against this [...] When the battle started in Serê Kaniyê, we sent about 3,000 fighters to participate. We realised if we did not stop them, they would also come to Qamishlo and we would face the same situation as in 1915.'

Yezidis are another religious and ethnic minority in Rojava who have faced persecution and genocide. Yezidis trace their beliefs as far back as 2500 BC. They have a monotheistic God, believed to be only the creator and no longer an active, immanent force in the world. They pray twice a day; when the sun rises and when it sets.⁶

Zoroastrianism is another old religious tradition which is thought to have emerged from a polytheistic Indo-Iranian religion in the 10th century BC⁷. Before 2011, the Syrian Arab Republic denied and suppressed Yezidi, Zoroastrian, and other minority ethnic and religious identities.

Bekir, the Yezidi representative said: 'My name is Bekir, but in the Syrian Arab Republic I was registered as Bekiri, which is a more Arabic sounding name. We were afraid to even identify ourselves or to build an identity as Yezidis. Now we recognise ourselves, we are recognised in the schools and in the system here [...] I am a Yezidi and I now go to the mosque, and we all know each other's ceremonies and traditions.' [continued on page 15]

Little Prophet Jesus

Ghazal Tipu

Away in a manger no crib for his bed The little Prophet Jesus laid down his sweet head The stars in the bright sky looked down where he lay The little Prophet Jesus asleep on hay.

The cattle are lowing, the baby awakes
But little Prophet Jesus, no crying he makes
I love thee, Prophet Jesus, look down from the sky
And stay by my bedside, till morning is nigh.



As a young Muslim girl growing up in Kent, this is how I adapted hymns and carols during school assemblies and at Christmas concerts at school. 'Lord Jesus' got replaced with 'Prophet Jesus', and 'Father' got replaced with 'Allah', which I whispered under my breath. This was my Islamification of Christian songs in an attempt to not blaspheme against my faith but still try to be involved in the Christian parts of school life. You see. Islam states that Jesus is not the son of God but a Prophet, though a highly revered one no less. I ultimately wanted a sense of belonging at school.

I also liked singing Christian songs and to this day feel comfortable singing them. 'Be thou my vision' is my favourite. I feel a sense of spirituality and any song or prayer which is about the Almighty brings me closer to God. I am open to connecting to the Divine in multiple ways. The form of worship is different but the essence and connection with the Divine is the same

10

A non-binary experience of the Buddhadharma

Joyoti

I remember standing on the Rajbari island, my feet re-rooting my body in the red earth of Where I Come From. My ancestors - warriors, weavers, women, men and all genders- surround me, my cousins by my side, the wide river below us and Bhante island⁸ across it from us.

Dada pointed out the vihara on the Bhante island and told us how Bana Bhante's goodness is known and respected even by the occupying army. The Commanding Officer overseeing the militarisation of our home. the building of cantonments and human shield villages of enforced settlers around them who are then armed and used as weapons themselves against us; on the land our people have tended and lived in respectful relationship with for immeasurable time. That CO crossed the river onto the island where only the monks live. He went to ask for guidance and blessings for his family from Bana Bhante.

I can share the story as an example of how life is not binary: a military commander of an occupying army asking for blessings and guidance from the spiritual leader of the very People whose land he is occupying; the faith he is oppressing, the temples that are being burnt to

the ground under his command. The Buddhadharma⁹ helps me look after all the conflicting emotions that arise in me as I search for the words to recount it.

From where I stand, Bana Bhante's own position is an even more powerful illustration of the non-binary nature of life, the non-duality that is central to the teachings of the historic Buddha, Gautama Siddhartha. Bana Bhante was recognised as an arhant (fully enlightened being).

To me, Bhante's practice of liberation from illusion was embodied by the skillful way he facilitated the dharma, both for our Indigenous communities under military occupation, and for the military personnel who also sought his guidance.

And there is still space in me to recognise that some ways in which we practice our Dharma path are not yet liberatory. My sister-in-law took monastic yows and shaved her head in 2016 to show by her own example that this option is open not only to the men of our communities. Traditionally, all AMAB (assigned male at birth) folks over the age of puberty in our communities are invited/expected to enter the monastery as short-term monastics. [continued on page 12]

A non-binary experience of Buddhadharma

continued from previous page As far as I know, my sister-in-law is the first person outside the AMAB binary to follow the practice.

When my uncle died in 2008, I was living with my children and their father in Australia. It was hard to be so far from close family members. unable to join with them in traditional family rituals. Instead, my cousins and elders suggested we ask the monks at the nearest Theravada Buddhist temple to pray for my uncle by name. So, my little family of four went off to do so. Afterwards, the young monks played with our older, AMAB, child, who was seven at the time, teasing him that they would keep him at the temple with them. Our younger, AFAB (assigned female at birth) child, aged five, excluded from the games, whispered to me, 'Do they hate me because I'm a girl?'

There wasn't anything to be said in response to that question that could help, only being cuddle-carried away and reassured with our love.

I'm writing these words in bed in a home where we are not related by blood but connected by principles and practices of Mutual Aid. It's been as much a teacher in my life as the Buddhadarma, as the long-term health condition I've lived with for nine years, as my children's lives, their questions and revelations to me, as my Queerness and the loving communities it's brought me into, as my multiple cultural heritage, as my landing here in diaspora as a migrant child fleeing war with my privileged

family. All these experiences and paradigms are interconnected, as are all my intersectional identities and privileges.

Mutual Aid maybe helps me make sense of all these interconnections, how we all need help sometimes and we all can give help sometimes.

Being Gender Queer in diaspora and on my own Dharma path, I have found guidance in the teachings of contemporary Dharma practitioners, of all genders, in diaspora themselves. Difficult feelings arise in me when I read some interpretations of the early teachings - and I remind myself these were written down at the very earliest 500 years after the death of the Historic Buddha, Gautama Siddartha. I have sat in sangha with the Thai Forest tradition that is the closest form of Buddhism in the UK to the Theravada Buddhism practised in my Jumma community of origin. I have found refuge in some of the written teachings published by the Thai Forest monastics in the UK. and I find myself uncomfortable with and excluded by the binary gender divisions in place for the retreats they run. This gender binary imposition is the norm in all the Dharma retreats. I have come across in the last five years, although some sangha are starting to offer accommodation along more fluid self-identified lines.

When I first sat in sangha with Lama Rod Owens in 2018, I felt like I had found a home in the dharma where all parts of myself were welcome. He describes himself as a Black Buddhist Southern Queen and by naming and loving these parts of who he is, he named and loved the parts of me that were invisibilised in the all-white, mostly straight, mostly able-

bodied, middle-class, middle-aged sangha I had been practising with.

Since then, I have sat with him online and in person. And I have found love, insight, and guidance in the teachings of Sebene Selassie, Kaira Jewel Lingo, La Sarmiento, Yong Oh and with the Colours of Compassion BPOC online sangha who follow the teachings of Thich Nhat Hanh.

My own Queerness, my gender nonconformity, has come into focus in recent years as I have developed my practice of taking refuge in the triple gem: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. This practice of bringing awareness to the non-duality of existence, and the interconnection of all life, has helped the punitive dualistic constructs imposed by capitalist hegemony to loosen their grip. Some spaciousness has been allowed, and a widening of imagination and action is taking place in the gaps that are arising.

As I become able to notice and explore the interrelation of everything, binaries, and boundaries of every kind - nations, genders - reveal themselves as divisions created for the benefit of the owning classes. They are powerful fictions, but fictions none the less. By bringing awareness to them, we uncover them for what they are, and find that, of course, no system of binaries could ever encompass all that we are.

Joyoti is a writer guided by their intersectional experience of life, including being a parent, QTBIPOC, disabled by society, of Indigenous (Jumma) and Maltese origin, a migrant; the teachings of our ancestors and contemporary Dharma teachers and the principles of Mutual Aid.

Islam and Anarchism

continued from page 5

Ethics of hospitality

I asked what exactly Mohamed means with 'ethical and political commitments', and specifically the 'ethics of hospitality' which he refers to in his book.

Mohamed described hospitality as a 'non-ideological position whereby one acknowledges the potential risk and in fact strives to the possibility of the destabilisation of the own sense of self [...] allowing relationality to happen to the point of even fusion, so you become I and I become you'. For example, he told me, if 'you really want to know Islam, and not for the sake of conversion but openness to the possibility that maybe you will identify as a Muslim, that's when you're able to break the boundary'.

Hospitality is about people with different views and backgrounds living and working together, taking the time to get to know one another 'beyond a liberal multicultural investment'. Mohamed explained that this happens by sharing in things like food and celebrations but most importantly it requires a level of material investment in each other's communities. This investment is mutual but not transactional: 'both are invested within it for a greater sense of purpose.'

This means that we have to stop seeing each other as only means to an end. We have to build coalitions, not merely as a means to growing structural power, but also as relationships that are meaningful and important in themselves.

[continued on page 14]

Islam and Anarchism

[continued from page 13]

Mohamed observed that: 'We are not witnessing coalitional engagements, or at least more than the abstract theory, precisely because of that ...we've internalised the capitalist Protestant ethic, us leftists: 'do do do', 'revolution revolution revolution'. But we are not thinking about power striving, what tools we're using, who is included, who is excluded, on what grounds are the politics of inclusion and exclusion occurring'.

Hospitality acknowledges and addresses divisions of power in order to build relationship across those divisions. For example, Mohamed argues that an ethics of hospitality requires listening to the rage and frustration of women, instead of tone policing. It requires recognising the rights of colonised people to armed self-defence, instead of adopting an ideological position of non-violence.

This is not about simply giving up one's own beliefs and identities. It is about being open to the possibility that our beliefs and identities are transformed in our relationships with others.

The role of faith

In Islam and Anarchism, Mohamed writes that the Prophet Muhammad created a revolutionary community (Umma) of 'believers' from different faiths including Muslims, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Sabaeans and atheists¹. He defines believers in terms of their ethical practices and relationships, rather than the abstract belief systems they adhere to. In the

Qur'ān, disbelievers are explicitly described as people who uphold injustice, corrupt the earth, and dismiss responsibilities towards women, orphans, travellers, and the poor².

I asked Mohamed what spiritual faith means to him and what role it plays in his life. He told me:

'Faith is more than what guides; it is what provides hope. [...] It is faith that gives me the ability to continue on day to day and it is what reminds me of my responsibilities towards all my relations. It's what gives me praxis, it's what gives me dignity, it's what give me my own sense of roots and belongings that require decolonisation. [...] It is the mourning of what has been done in the name of this faith. [...] I can't love without faith. I can't learn to die without faith.'

I relate strongly to this sense that faith is what holds together hope alongside grief, love alongside death. It enables praxis which holds together action and reflection. Faith is what makes possible relationality, between people, but also between the opposing forces and ideas within us.

Mohamed Abdou is a North African-Egyptian Muslim anarchist activist-scholar. He is currently a Visiting Scholar at Cornell University and an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the American University of Cairo. His twenty years of activist research and experience centers on Palestinian, Indigenous, Black, and people of colour liberation, and draws on the Indigenous Zapatista movement in Chiapas, Mexico, as well as his participation in the Egyptian uprisings of 2011.

Nora Ziegler is an anarchist organiser and writer.

Interfaith work in Rojave

[continued from page 9]

Minal Sadûn, the Zoroastrian representative:

'We shared the same problems as the Yezidi and Armenians. We were hidden here and did not have any rights. We were completely unrecognised. Because of this association, during the [Autonomous] Administration we have started to write about our own religion and perform our own ceremonies. Our religion is one of joy, hope and pride.'

In 2014, ISIS attacked the city of Shengal in Iraq, killing thousands of Yezidis, raping and kidnapping thousands of Yezidi women, and forcing hundreds of thousands to flee. Hana Barsum described the impact of the interfaith work in Rojava on communities such as Shengal that have been decimated by genocide:

'We also went to Shengal. For the first time the people of Shengal welcomed a delegation of people from all religions. They were surprised about what was happening, particularly the collaboration between Christians and Yezidis. They noticed that all of us being together, including the Muslims, they realised the genocide had stopped.'

Jo is a member of the Solidarity Economy Association, that works to build the solidarity economy from below as an alternative to capitalism. SEA initiated the Water for Rojava campaign

www.solidarityeconomy.coop/donate

Endnotes

Islam and Anarchism

1 Mohamed Abdou, Islam and Anarachism, Relationships and Resonances, London 2022, p.11 2 Ibid. p.117

Interfaith Work in Rojava

3 https://rojavainformationcenter. com/background/key-facts/ 4 After Isis: ensuring a future for Christians and other minorities in North and East Syria Rojava Information Centre https:// rojavainformationcenter.com/ storage/2020/09/rojava-informationcenter-ensuring-a-future-for-ethnicreligious-minorities-final-sept-2020medium.pdf p.3

5 Ibid p.2

6 lbid p.23

7 https://zoroastrians.net/2016/08/26/kurdish-zoroastrians-to-open-council-in-rojava/

A non-binary experience of Buddhadharma

8 Bhante is the word for monk. Bana (Forest) Bhante became known as such after spending twelve years meditating in the original forests of Where We Come From, before they were flooded by the construction of the dam and hydreoelectric project that dispossessed thousands of families and devastated the ecology and traditional knowledge systems of our People.

9 The Buddha - historic figure, Gautama Siddhartha, and our own capacity for awakening.

The Dharma - the teachings of the historic Buddha.

The Sangha - community of practice.

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