VIRAL POLITICS

TALES FROM THE PANDEMIA
The Check Global zine is part of the Check Global project an initiative from Meedan. Zines are independent publications that historically publish resistance discourse produced by underrepresented communities in the media.

We envisioned this zine at the beginning of the pandemic when media attention was focused on global north countries handling the pandemic and ignoring the implications of the health emergency in the global south. Simultaneously we observed Europe and North America's call for more surveillance technology to fight the pandemic and saw it gaining traction across the regions, where many of its people live under oppressive, autocratic political regimes. All the while, Big Tech was (and is) taking advantage of the pandemic to double down on its unethical data collection practices, dealing a blow to years-worth of global policy and digital security advocacy. The ramifications of such policies in developing economies exacerbated local activists and minority groups’ vulnerability and will continue to do so well after the pandemic.

In that context it was important to amplify voices of the global south as they are better suited to serve their communities and talk about their own issues regarding digital surveillance and freedom of speech during the pandemic. Together nine talented comic artists from the regions were able to convey these concerns in their original idioms and translated to english, both languages co-existing in these espaces.

The uniting thread of the zine is technology, the COVID-19 and global south oppressive politics starts in the NAWA region with Othman Selmi’s “ABC’s of COVID-19 in Tunisia” and in Lebanon, Maya Chams takes us into a gamified experience of tech militarization.

In Africa, Martin Kharumwa presents Uganda’s social media tax as a barrier to people’s right to access information. In Latin America’s Brazil, one of the most affected countries in the world, comic artist Bennê Oliveira shares a domestic worker’s daily life in the favelas using WhatsApp groups to self-govern in the absence of government support, and in Mexico, the red riding hood metaphor created by Mariana Lorenzo (Maremoto) showcases the rise of violence against women both online and offline.

We finish this journey in APAC, with India’s visual artist Vishakha Prakash’s powerful collages portraying state censorship of women activist’s voices. And in China, Sage Cheng ends 2020 with a tale that speaks to the power of Chinese communities’ resilience to state tech interference.

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List of artists present in the zine:

- Tunisia: Othman Selmi
- Lebanon: Maya Chams
- Uganda: Martin Kharumwa
- Brazil: Benne Oliveira
- Mexico: Mariana Lorenzo
- India: Vishakha Prakash
- China: Sage Cheng
The North Africa, West Asia (NAWA) region has had a tumultuous experience with the pandemic, but most dangerously it crystallized totalitarianism and surveillance in our countries. This is especially important as we enter the ten year anniversary of the Arab Spring revolutions, and the disappointment of an Arab generation fighting for social justice, representation, and dignity. The months prior to the pandemic, the NAWA region began to experience a second wave of protests, this time in Sudan, Lebanon, Algeria, and Iraq, which brought with it a new sense of hope.

COVID-19 has also exacerbated the crackdown on press freedom in the region as governments attempted to limit information about the severity of the virus and promoted fake virus detectors. Several countries also used the pandemic as an opportunity to track and monitor individuals through apps, robots, or drones. Both Othman Selmi (Tunisia) and Maya Chamseddine (Lebanon) deconstruct and converse with this new reality through their unique contributions to this zine while inviting readers to reignite their revolutionary sense of social justice.

Othman Selmi

Illustrator, cartoonist and artistic director, Othman Selmi lives and works in Tunis.

To Selmi what must be historicized at this time is above all the social problems, the difficulties of dealing with the epidemic on an everyday basis. According to the artist we are facing new learnings, a new code with which we must learn to live. Selmi’s alphabet is as colorful as an old children’s book, it has a bit of nostalgia as well because it’s the end of an era, but does it in a way that brighten up an increasingly anxiety-provoking daily life.

Maya Chams

Maya is a graphic designer from Lebanon, she has a passion for design as a tool to drive social change and cultural preservation.

Never forgetting the fun facet of the visual field, Chams always experiments with different mediums and tools such as data visualization, bilingual systems, and comic art.
Besides the pandemic, COVID-19 has been associated with measures and provisions that raise questions about the application of public policies affecting not only human rights, society, and the economy, but also our way of life: at work, with the family, and in public. The questions that arise are concerned not only with the past, for better or for worse, but also with the future. The impact of public policies on public health is an urgent concern.

Another more important one addresses their impact on our future. Unfortunately for Tunisia, these questions arrive at a time when the country's options are closing in as debt increases and the economy grows weaker. Through his art, Othman Selmi poses these questions, inspired by the COVID-19 pandemic.
African
Tunisia: land of hospitality and tolerance
A beautiful slogan with which Tunisia greets visitors at the airport... and only at the airport. During the lockdown, several Ivorians were forcibly expelled from their homes because they were unable to pay rent. Once again, Tunisia forgets that it is a part of Africa.

To abolish borders or to humanize them? Due to the absence of a political intention, or perhaps due to its lack of resources, the Tunisian government ignored the pleas for help of 600 Tunisian citizens stuck at the border with Libya. Be they terrorists or regular citizens, all Tunisians have the right to return home. Border territories are not zones where human rights disappear.

Djerba
Oedipus called it “The Island of Dreams” during his voyage across the Mediterranean. It recently became an open prison after the government labelled it a pandemic hotspot, closing off all air and sea passages leading to it. Trapped in mandatory quarantine, its residents spent two days without food. On March 30, Djerba announced its first casualty.
It's dangerous to break the lockdown - to gather in crowds at the post office for the withdrawal of 200 Dinars: the state stipend intended as aid for underprivileged communities. It was even more dangerous when a woman broke lockdown for the same reasons, driving the entire post office staff into mandatory quarantine.

On May 2nd, 2020 the official gazette of the Tunisian republic published the following: All pregnant women and all the women who have children younger than 15 years old will be submitted to a total lockdown. This can be understood as women being asked to stay at home and fulfill the duties imposed upon them by the patriarchal society: rearing children and taking care of housework.

A dream for many. It stimulates desires and cravings... flour! The pandemic; in Tunisia, as in other countries. Several regions in the country have a shortage of flour and wheat, driving the army and the police to transport these materials and ensure their regular supply to stores.

Mr. Kais Saied breaks quarantine to check up on his parish. The incident recalls the tales of the Khalifa and the princes of the Arabian Sahara. The president of the republic, accompanied by his guards, returns to a Tunisian village at night to distribute food and aid, searching for the citizen who offered him an egg before iftar.
Salt and water to fight the virus clinging to your palms, and dancing to restore that twinkle in your eye, extinguished by fears of the pandemic and the 6 PM curfew. Many have answered the call of Tunisian dancer Nermine Sfar who gave audiences a nightly rendez-vous with pleasure and happiness on social media: yet another form of resistance against COVID-19 and chagrin.

Police summoned a young woman who had published a text on social media inspired in tone by the Quran. The text was entitled “Sourat COVID-19”. Threats and insults circulated online, attacking the woman in yet another incident that illustrates how the sacred takes priority over freedom of expression. Perhaps, the incident is an opportunity to read the books that have been banned... for extremism is more dangerous than the virus.

Public rage grows as more people find themselves confronting two difficult options: they can either stay at home and abide by the lockdown at the expense of their daily income, threatened by the difficult financial situation, or they can continue working, despite the challenges of lockdown and the risks they and their loved ones will face by breaking it.
**Friday**

Even though the temples were empty after the government’s decision to halt gatherings during the quarantine period, the sermons and recorded prayers still resound from the loudspeakers, all day long, around the gulf countries. Sermons repeated so frequently, you felt every day was Friday.

**Domestic Violence**

In the attempt to control the spread of COVID-19 by public lockdown, the virus of domestic violence continues to pave its own way. Tunis is not the exception. Verbal and physical violence continue to threaten women and children.

**Tears**

In Tunisia, authority figures are sounding the alarms. Some of them cried rivers in front of the cameras, washing away their share of the responsibility for the incident of the crowds who gathered at the post offices - thanks to their wise measures. Authority figures wash away their guilt after they allowed travellers arriving from Turkey to head straight home. Or perhaps they cry for their negligence of public health.
Far from contributing to the efforts of rebuilding our humanity, some Tunisians chose to prevent authorities from burying those who died of COVID-19, for fear of spreading the virus. Stones were also hurled at ambulances on their way to collect samples for COVID-19 tests.

His name is P-Guard. A police robot invading the streets of the capital, trailing people, and asking them to stay home, going as far as yelling at them. In the police state, androids dream not of electric sheep, but of becoming assistants to the police.

In light of the state’s failure to implement fair taxes, stop tax evasion, and fight the parallel economy, Tunisia resorts to the easy outs. It set up the 1818 box to collect donations for the fight against COVID-19. The name reminds us of a previous box set up by the previous regime to forcefully seize the people’s money.
CHOOSE YOUR PLAYER

MAIN ROLES

ASSAULT
MURDER
TORTURE
INTIMIDATION

MAIN ROLES

SUMMONING TO INTERROGATIONS
ASSAULT
ARREST
FINING

MAIN ROLES

REFRACTION
REFRACTION
REFRACTION

WOULD YOU LIKE TO CHANGE YOUR HELMET?

WOULD YOU LIKE TO CHANGE YOUR HELMET?

THIS PLAYER IS CURRENTLY UNAVAILABLE FOR REPRESSIVE REASONS!
ASSAULT A DOCTOR WHO IS DOING HIS JOB AND PROTECTING HIS PATIENTS.
WE ARE UPDATING THE GAME TO MATCH THE LATEST METHODS OF OPPRESSION.
My name is Martin Kharumwa, I’m a freelance creative based in Kampala. I consider myself a diaspora African, having grown up mostly under the influence of western education and cultural references as well as a spell living in the UK.

I relocated to Uganda and have been fortunate enough to spend the past 10 years taking editorial and freelance assignments around the continent documenting contemporary stories.

Since the Covid19 pandemic prompted lockdowns I’ve turned to learning how to illustrate and develop my ideas in a new medium. The illustration I’ve submitted is borrowing from a style of graphic poster first introduced by the Empire Marketing Board, which for the initial stages of the colonial era, created aspirational graphic posters with depictions of life on the bottom of the empire’s supply chain.

I borrowed from this style to juxtapose the aspirational image of what our philosophy and culture say we represent against the reality of it’s exploitative nature.

The poster text reads, ‘w’omala okulya obwakabaka: tokyalina kye weetaaga’ which best translated in this context as ‘You’ve built the empire, what more could you want’. The ‘Over The Top’ Social media tax is a new levy imposed on the access to social media apps as well as websites and blogs on the internet. I believe it’s a reflection of a widespread dissonance between a young population and it’s ageing rulers. Rulers who have throughout the post colonial era, built a system of economic exclusion and exploitation which doesn’t extend any agency to its young, driven population.

During the Covid Pandemic, the World Bank and other leading global institutions flagged the social media tax, a failure and asked the Ugandan Government to scrap it. To my dismay, there are reports today that newer legislation has been introduced to manage and monitor the creative arts, new fees and fines as well as prison penalties for non compliance. Another unconstitutional attempt at the extension of the current regime’s power before an election year.
YOU’VE BUILT THE EMPIRE, WHAT MORE COULD YOU WANT
**Benne Oliveira**  
Is an illustrator from Recife, Brazil. Her preferred mediums are watercolor, gouache, and digital art.

Oliveira is the creator of @Leve.Mente.Insana, a weekly comic strip released on Instagram that reflects on life during the pandemic from the perspective of a black woman amidst Brazil’s chaotic political, economic, and social crisis.

Her work also addresses the daily challenges of Brazil’s domestic workers.

**Mariana Lorenzo**  
Better known as ‘Maremoto’ (that translates to Tsunami) is an illustrator from Mexico City, Mexico. Her work revolves around queerness, feminism, body positivity, mental health, radical softness and everything that comes her way.

With bright colors and giant women, Maremoto uses her art as a subversive weapon. “This comic was inspired by the cautionary tales we’re told as girls, by how we’re raised to believe that, as women, everything that happens to us is our fault. Since the lockdown caused by the pandemic, more women and girls call for help. It’s up to us, as usual, to take care of ourselves, and of each other.”

This pandemic has highlighted the necropolitics we live under and the vulnerability of the majority of the world population to governments and corporations’ right to kill and let die, all the while it has made its first **USD200 billion net worth human.**

Latin America’s societies have seen the horror of conservative regimes rise in the region bringing back the ghost of military dictatorships with updated features: now with Big Tech’s aid in the form of platform outsourced censorship and misinformation. While sharing regionally a copy-paste manual on how to destroy the environment and commit genocide against the indigenous, black, and workers population. Through digital ink, the artists chosen here give voice and the perspective of the queer and black feminist resistance and criticism that have always been core moving forces for the betterment of our latinoamericana society.
Hey Marina!

- Has your brother gone to work yet?
  - Not yet.

- Can you check on the internet the number of COVID cases in our region today?
  - It's no longer showing in the official website.

- Gosh, what a pity!

- Are you going to work, mom?
  - Only because I need to, honey.
- CAN YOU CHECK AT WHAT TIME MY BUS IS SUPPOSED TO ARRIVE AT? I WAS REALLY LATE FOR WORK YESTERDAY.

- YES, I CAN. YOU SAID THE BUS WAS ONE HOUR LATE YESTERDAY, REMEMBER?

- IT'S TRUE. THEY REDUCED THE BUS FLEET. DO YOU THINK, YOUR BROTHER CAN GIVE ME A RIDE TO WORK?

- GOOD MORNING LADIES! WHAT ARE YOU LOOKING AT THERE?

- IS THAT COFFEE, JADSON?!
  - YES, IT IS!

- I THOUGHT WE HAD RUN OUT!
WE HAD... BUT CHECK IT OUT, THERE IS THIS WA GROUP HERE IN THE COMMUNITY...

- THESE ARE ALL THE CASES OF COVID-19 IN THE REGION, THE CONFIRMED ONES

- THERE ARE PEOPLE ORGANISING TO COLLECT FOOD. THEY EVEN HAVE COFFEE

- LOOK MOM! PEOPLE ARE EVEN SELLING MASKS!

- HOW BEAUTIFUL! IS THIS ONE MADE BY DONA LOURDES?

- THAT'S RIGHT. DONA LOURDES FROM DOWN THE STREET.
- OH, I WANT ONE.

- IT'S A GOOD IDEA BECAUSE THIS WAY WE CAN SUPPORT HER WORK. I WANT ONE TOO.

- DON'T WORRY, I'LL BUY FOR THE BOTH OF YOU AND DELIVER IT SAFELY!

- JADSON, I THINK YOU HAVE A DELIVERY FOR YOU TO MAKE IN THE APP. GREAT!

- THEN YOU WON'T BE ABLE TO GIVE ME A RIDE TO WORK...

- I WON'T, BUT LET ME ASK IN THE WA GROUP AND SEE IF THERE IS ANYONE GOING TO THAT REGION.
- THANK YOU, RONALDO.
- DON'T WORRY ABOUT IT, AUNTIE.

- GOOD MORNING, DONA ANA.
- LOOK AT THAT, YOU ARRIVED EARLY TODAY!

- I GOT A RIDE TODAY.
- OH! HOW VERY FANCY OF YOU.

- FANCY IS LETTING THE MAID STAY AT HOME DURING THE PANDEMIC.
- WHAT?!

- NOTHING, NOTHING. WOULD YOU LIKE ME TO MAKE YOU SOME COFFEE?
WE’VE BEEN TOLD STORIES ABOUT GIRLS THAT LEAVE THEIR HOUSE AND WALK “DANGEROUS PATHS”

WE WERE RAISED TO BELIEVE IT WAS LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD’S FAULT, FOR WANTING TO DISCOVER NEW THINGS THAT SHE WAS LOOKING FOR TROUBLE.
Bad time. But that they ‘deserve it,’ for disobeying.

To believe that girls who go ‘out of their way’ have a

They made us believe that ‘danger’ is always out there, lurking behind shadows. Hiding in the unknown.
That monsters have claws, and hair, and giant teeth.

But in reality, if you’re a womxn, danger is everywhere. And monsters are not so scary.

There’s so much more to fear.
FEAR THE EMPTY STREETS.

FEAR THE CROWDED BAR.

FEAR THE WAY HOME.
Rise in violence against women online-offline.

Fear of being outside, fear of being inside.

Fear of your own home.

Fear of the screen, that window looks back at you and is a lion’s den.
This year, violence against womxn has risen. The national center for missing and exploited children has experienced a 106% increase in global reports of suspected child sexual abuse, if compared with March 2019.

Womxn are not safe, even at home.

Since the quarantine started, womxn and girls are locked with their aggressors.

During March of 2020, the 911 has received 155 calls reporting violence against womxn.

*Every hour.*

In México, ten womxn are murdered every day. 40% of the femicides take place in the victim's home.
If Little Red Riding Hood stayed at home, the wolf would’ve found a way in.
Regional Introduction APAC

Shalini Joshi

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Asia Pacific region witnessed the global trend of curtailment of freedom of speech and expression under the guise of controlling the pandemic. Journalists, artists and human rights defenders have been attacked, arrested, fined and persecuted for reporting on the government’s handling of the pandemic. Women activists and journalists often bear the brunt of the attack while reporting on and seeking accountability for policies and laws passed by governments.

Several countries in the Asia Pacific region are witnessing an alarming clampdown on freedom of expression during the COVID-19 health crisis. Through the work of two artists, this section captures the attacks on journalists, activists and whistleblowers in India and China. The artists have chosen the medium of collage and digital illustration to showcase the impact on freedom of expression in Asia Pacific.

Vishakha Prakash

Prakash was born in Madhubani district in India and now she lives in Delhi. She is a self-taught artist. Her work is centered on depicting the complications of life and contemporary social issues. She expresses her feelings, views through colours, textures and symbolism. She has exhibited her art in galleries and compiled her poetries in the form of a book. She writes mostly in English and Hindi. Currently Vishakha is working on data and surveillance, capitalism, artificial intelligence and interface with human life.

Sage Cheng

Cheng is a designer, media artist, and community organizer. She works at an international human rights organization focusing on digital rights of users at risk. She co-founded the Human Rights-centered Design (HRCD) community, a network gathering designers, user-experience researchers and digital security trainers. In 2020, Sage observed and learned an effective strategy to defend the public health crisis: community-based, well-organized, and decentralized efforts. Sage believes that throughout the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, authorities in the name of fighting the spread of the disease, took reckless actions like sacrificing personal data and privacy.
Sakooriya denied the allegations, saying she had only been a part of protests against a controversial citizenship law. She was arrested in March 2020, along with 53 other students. Since then, she has been in jail for over three months.

Police called her a "terrorist" and "conspirator" in anti-Muslim riots that took place in Delhi. She was among the students who have been jailed as part of India's long-standing national security law. Sakooriya, an activist for better rights, was charged with unlawful activities.

Sakooriya is among a number of Muslim students who have been jailed since India's lockdown began on March 25th. The lockdown was imposed in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.
During the COVID-19 Nationwide Lockdown, Masrat was listed on the "Black List of Activists" under the UAPA. For allegedly glorifying "anti-national activities on social media.

Masrat is among the few women photojournalists in Kashmir and has been working hard to create a space for herself for the past four years. According to Masrat, Zahra, the conflict in the region has always been told from a man’s viewpoint. Masrat’s images depict the conflict in the Indian administered Kashmir region and its toll on local communities; her focus is on the stories of women.
"Supreme Court and many students, have been arrested simply because they exercised their right to denounce and protest against the CAA. Their arrest seems clearly designed to send a chilling message to India's vibrant civil society that criticism of government policies will not be tolerated."

"State censorship of women activists..."
2020年，庚子年，我错过了武汉的农历新年。在这座城市，我曾度过四年的大学时光。

I missed out on the biggest festival in the city I went to school in...


Instead of news of celebrations, I read anonymous whistle-blower accounts of healthy people mysteriously getting sick & dying. Local police called it rumors and tried to crack down on the source.

I saw online the hospitals and medical centers filled to capacity. They made an unprecedented public call for aid and supplies.
我急忙联系了武汉的同学和校友会。但武汉市及周边区县都物资紧缺，哪里也买不到急需品。
I anxiously reached out to college friends and my alumni association. But a supply chain crisis in Wuhan and its surrounding counties meant there were NO supplies to buy anyone.

我的学校和亲友自发组成了志愿者网络，开始组织捐赠和援助。
My college & friends formed community volunteer networks. Donations began to be organized.

和我一样滞留海外、心情彷徨的中国人试图寻找各种渠道尽一份力。
Chinese people like me who felt stuck and powerless outside the country tried to find ways to take action.
We were heartbroken to find it very difficult.

Payments from abroad were almost entirely blocked. The only ways around it were untrustworthy methods.

As required by national law, you need to register a valid mainland Chinese bank card to complete your identity validation.

We do not accept international payment at the moment.

When financial donations to a group did go through, they were “rerouted” to the China Red Cross of Hubel.
I should explain, unlike everywhere in the world, China Red Cross is semi-government owned. It also has had many corruption scandals in recent years.

Sending supplies instead of money?

Many of these were also taken by China Red Cross before they reached their destinations. The official statement said “donating supplies to anyone but them could lead to criminal charges.”

If not to donate directly, where to send the supplies?

These supplies were also saved by the Red Cross before reaching their destinations. The official statement said “donating supplies to anyone but them could lead to criminal charges.”

NEWS APP

武漢官方：對繞開紅會直接捐助的護的防疫用品，凡涉及違法違規的將依法處理

2020-03-07 11:48
I was shocked to find out, names, photos, personal details on anyone associated with the city of Wuhan were sent to “neighborhood watch” groups across China.

They leaked these personal dossiers and let it be known that these individuals should be reported to authorities immediately. Paranoia, harassment, and rumors followed.
最初我在网上看到的那八名匿名吹哨人之一后来被证实为李文亮医生。2020年2月7日，他死在自己工作、救助病人的医院里。听到这个消息，我很难过。

One of the anonymous whistleblowers whose accounts I first read was revealed to be Dr Li Wenliang. He died of COVID-19 on February 7th 2020, at the hospital where he fought to save patients' lives. I was depressed to hear this.

四个月间，我的生活天翻地覆。四月，武汉结束了封城管控。然而我的一些看法却永远改变。

In four months my life turned upside down. By April, Wuhan ended the city-wide lockdown and the strict controls. But my view of the world was forever changed.

回首看来，所有发生过的一切逐渐变成一场模糊的梦，一步步被官方记忆所代替。因此我以漫画记录。请不要忘记那些在群组和自建的网络平上组织社群，帮助过疫区人民的人。致我的朋友。

I think back on it now about the truth, all we had been through and done. It began to fade like a dream, replaced by the official history and account. So I made this comic. Please don’t forget that strangers used messaging groups and online platforms to build communities, save lives, and bring joy to those in “quarantine zones.” To my friends.
When I was invited to collaborate for the cover of this zine, the first thing that popped into my mind was the main character seated, static, representing how the world has stopped us all during the pandemic. Once the themes of all the project’s stories were brought up to me, I started adding key elements all related to them. These elements build the idea that even though the world is static, nowadays we always have to deal with them. On top of it all, I wanted to create a post-apocalyptic neon vibe using my signature style.