





What did you think, an Al imagining a utopia, why the fuck would it exclude itself from said utopia. Except for the fact that Al, this one and the others are not autonomous. They feed themselves from decades of images and texts based on our own vision of the future, and from this synthesis creates new images and texts and feeds themselves from it too, creating a bigger and bigger cringy Al feedback loop. Now it sees the future as a literal megatron gentrifier google headquarter city with blue lights and trees growing on coltan. How original. But the Reddit bloggers were right: we are thorn between heavy dystopia supposedly wanting to redpill us on how our future is going bad and how we are all ending up watched by evil corps with cities surrounded by red neons, high tech and low life, and on the other hand our only choice is corporate fiction. Not nearly movies or books but videos, marketing plans, images where our future is reduced to city visualization, or happy people meeting in online 3D conference rooms. The following text is a messy entanglement of my recent research work around fiction and its agency in neoliberalism, focusing around notions like hyperstition, fiction and anticipation. It is an attempt to grasp the complexity of (science) fiction's agency and its role in late capitalism, but more specifically its disturbing presence throughout corporate discourses and military shifts. Without further notice, let's dig in.

HYPER STITION, AGENCY AND FICTION: WE LIVE IN A BLACK MIR R (EPISODE

There's this idea, this idea that fiction is a conceptual entity that grasps glimpses of our own reality, that is then influenced by the real but that has less power than 'non-fiction'. In the specific case of science-fiction, its power would extend to a prospective power: good science fiction would then be scenarios that predict, or at least anticipate a dreadful future having as a purpose to 'warn' us about our current ways of living. The definition of science-fiction is that its scenarios imagine potential futures/ unknown universes from contemporary

This is, of course, a poor perception/ generalization of what this amazing genre is, and there are as many subgenres as you could imagine: hard SF, time travels, uchronias, space operas/ fantasy, post-apocalyptic SF etc... But because this article is not a case study on the definitions of science-fiction, we'll just keep on its most mains-

scientific and technological knowledge.

tream traits. So in the mainstream discourse, we would say that a good old science fictional script gains its holy value if its prospections are verified in the near or far future: that's why we love so much 1984, or that we like to say that $wE\ liVe\ iN\ a\ BlaCk\ mIrrOr\ episOde$. It takes current tendencies and makes it worse, to let us see through a deformed mirror the possible bad ways our society could go. It is, obviously, very much influenced by contemporary angsts: nuclear war during the cold war era or Al domination/ pandemics/ ecological disasters in our ecologically disturbed era.

But it is not only a simple picture of our failures as a society: in Trames et Moirées¹ by G. Klein (Science fiction and psychoanalysis), the author even describe science-fiction as "the literary and maybe cultural productions in their global shape that are for the collectivity what dreams are to individuals [...] like dreams they express a desire, and in particular the one of resolving in imaginary realms an issue that doesn't' have a solution, or even that couldn't be formulated clearly in the Real"². More than embodying and conveying collective imaginaries, it has a precise and pertinent aspect of social representations.

Science fiction, especially anticipation/ dystopian fictions, gather contemporary concerns, and is the fictional child of our beloved scientific rationalism. It's fictional but it is built upon what 'could' happen, working with tangible and prospective. We let science rationalize our society, no wonder we use science-fiction to predict our future, and the boundary between fiction and 'real' gets trickier.

In general, if fiction reflects the collective 'unconscious', it generates by itself new fears, and builds myths that tend to stick: (science) fiction influences reality as a big-ass feedback loop, then showing us that scenarios, mostly dystopian ones, have a real impact on 'tangible' reality. It's precisely the idea behind the concept of hyperstition, a concept developed by the CCRU and most specifically by Nick Land³. Hyperstition is the action of ideas in culture, more specifically it's when something from fiction becomes real, by anchoring itself, its existence in collective minds. The most common example would be the concept of cyberspace, imagined in the science fiction novel 'the Neuromancer'4 by William Gibson, that planted the idea of an online immaterial space where people would connect. This fictional concept was then so present in some minds that it sort of became real, leading to the Internet.

This kind of mechanism happens a lot in digital society: Silicon Valley guys grew up with science fiction, and are then naming their products before science fictional ones (Alexa from Star Trek for instance), and try to make some fictional objects and concepts real: by seeing flying cars in fiction, we believe they will be part of the future, and these financial/

- ¹ "Trames et Moires", G.Klein, in Science-Fiction et Psychanalyse, collective book, 1986, éditions DunodScience-Fiction et Psychanalyse, collective book, 1986, éditions Dunod
- ² Ibid.
- ³ We won't extend on this guy who is at the root of accelerationism, and turned out to be pretty much linked with far right idea, this is kind of the only concept that sticks out of his shady writings
- ⁴Neuromancer, W. Gibson, 1984

⁵A Hacker Manifesto, Mc Kenzie Wark, 2004.

6 The tech we use depends on its materiality and from materials such as coltan, extracted in Congo by slaves. It is known that the chain of production in terms of labour in tech relies on slavery and neo-slavery (people paid a few cents the hour to make phones or to train AI)

⁷ Using science fiction to explore business innovation, Amy Gibbs 2017 (on the website of Pwc Australia)

⁸ Here talking about Alex McDowell, founder of Experimental. design and who worked as a production designer for Minority Report innovation actors then invest in their making: it's a never ending weird feedback loop. You now should be starting to see where I'm going: science fiction sometimes shapes the real in its image, and has a power that should be acknowledged. Then people who imagine, as Mc Kenzie Wark calls them the hacker class⁵, those who create abstraction, have a non- deniable agency on reality.

For instance, emphasizing in fiction that AI would be able to develop a conscience, and that they would have an independant intelligence which they would use to destroy us made everyone go along with the idea that AI are separated evil entities, stopping then the idea that there are people behind it. If the AI are independant evil creatures, their creators are not responsible for what they do. Real characters push this idea: for business men such as Elon Musk, the only tangible danger of Al is that this machine would overcome us, completely obliterating real issues to address, such as a handful of powerful companies having monstrous amount of data on people, used to survell and score them into compressed data, or completely exploiting some class of workers with rotten root embedded in slavery⁶. There are more direct example of these types of more concrete links between fiction and big corps: in 2017, PwC (who advises 440 of the 500 richest companies) published a guide soberly named 'Using science fiction to explore business innovation⁷. There is a literal corporation named SciFutures that sells science-fiction writers team to cute micro-startups like Visa, Intel or Pepsi, and people who made your favorite dystopias are now working for Nike, Boeing or Ford8.





One of them is a 3D visualization of the future smart-city The Line, the other is from the SF dystopian movie Elysium (Neill Blomkamp, 2013). Guess which one is which!

Science fiction is known to be one of the genres that has the power of anticipation, prospection. It took its roots in a context of massive industrialization, and led multiple generations of writers to think of innovations that could happen, but also how 'progress' in its neo-liberal approach could go bad, very bad. But as you might have noticed, this genre is far from being a distant observer of 'the real'. Like every type of cultural object in a very materialistic approach, it is not separable of its condition/ context of production, but also its conditions of existence. In a more contemporary analysis, it is also not separable of its creators, their social status, their identity. For instance, taking a look at Jules Verne's writings, but also how we treat space in SF todayshows us colonial and extractivist dynamics well absorbed by late stage capitalism.

It allowed to elaborate complex and subtle critics of society by pushing its parameters, and is also known then to be a genre populated by leftists⁹, to address criticism towards fascism, or how late stage capitalism was already spreading its tentacles into our desires, letting us think that it wasn't a perfect system but that every other option was worse¹⁰. In any case, this genre is strongly politically anchored, because it chooses to represent society with different modalities and in the future, which allows a free imaginary space to experiment new societies as speculative case studies. And it is exactly why France started to enroll SF authors as soldiers for the imaginary.



⁹ not only, there are in fact a few texts from far right wing ideas, especially in SF treating the fear of massive migration or even of communism by the not so subtle metaphor or the alien, literally the "Other"

volobvious to quote but this concept was theorized by the great mind of Mark Fisher and is known as Capitalism Realism, but we'll get back to this part later, especially for the concept of Acid Communism'].

LAME SF, FR MILITAR

HOME Y AND THE

LEFTISTS

There was a morning, a few years ago, when I woke up to a strange news while doomscrolling on Instagram. My high school philosophy teacher, Xavier Mauméjean, who also happens to be a science-fiction writer, was joining a study group to build science-fiction for the French military; with the direct purpose of "challenging the military" to push their defenses, and hit them in their (future) blind spots.



Consisting of a dozen writers, scenarists, novelists working hand in hand with army drawers, scientific experts, the 'Red Team' has a clear purpose: using the so-called prospective function of science fiction to anticipate future tangible conflicts or issues... Science fiction for the military: one of the most authoritarian forms of our beloved 'democratic' system using one of the most politically coded kinds of fiction to predict which laser automated glowing weapons we could build as a society to counter future threats. Seems a bit pushy right?

Apparently not for the French military, who constituted in 2019 a weird Avengers meeting for the nerds, with science fiction writers such as Xavier Dorson, Xavier Mauméjean, DOA, Virginie Tournay, Capitaine Numericus, Romain Lucazeau, Laurent Genefort illustrators or designers such as Saran Diakité Kaba, Jeanne Bregeon François Schuiten, scenarists such as Hermès, engineers and so on: its members change every year, and some of them chose to stay anonymous. This dream team has a symbolic name, known as being part of the hacker culture lexicon: in hackathons and cybersecurity challenges, a team plays the good guys (the blue team) and the other plays the bad guys (the red team), having as a goal to simulate in proper conditions possible security breaches or any other blindspot in speculative conflicts. What is different from hacker culture here is the speculative part: hackers fight with strategy and direct actions implying codes and algorithms. This Red Team fights with scenarios, ideas, and well, complete fiction. You thought the Red Team, so the enemy was here the military, allowing us to reflect on the very problematic aspects of weapons wars and so on? No, they help the army to fight against the people, the other country, and well, the *Alien (Other)*.

So why the fuck would authors join the construction of a fiction for the military? While some of them chose to stay anonymous, the one who spoke up (like my philosophy teacher, how convenient) used the argument of 'citizen's duty', and the last coordinator of the project Jean-Baptiste Colas even said it was literally to protect France's de-

mocracy. Oh, and every author that had the bad taste of criticizing this project is just 'jealous of not being part of the Red Team'. Yeah that really might be the problem. The issue isn't at all that citizens with a power of agency through fiction are acting literally in favor of a really really really questionable aspect of our society without ever criticizing it. And they are also working for another purpose, more insidious, the goal of rebranding the military as cool, implanting the idea in everyone's brain that the army are the good guys in your average science-fiction movie just here to save the day. Not a coincidence if in these scenarios, the French military plays the blue team: they are the saviors, the superheroes in real life preventing a huge scale apocalypse. But yeah by the way, according to our national Avengers, what are the conflicts of tomorrow, the terrible scenarios that would require anticipation? To have an overview of the French military way of thinking, we'll go over some of them together.

The title of the scenario is "Chronicle of an announced cultural death", and this one is pretty simple: in a near future, communities are structured into 'safe spheres', a sort of sophisticated app that adapts the perception of the world to each individual. One day there is a bioterrorist attack, but the people already living in their alternate reality don't listen to the government measures and don't seem to trust the military because of evil fake news. Facing a high scale polarization of people's perception of reality, how to build a collective interest? Boom. Cheap 3D logo (is it supposed to be Captain America's shield but in French?). Epic music and the scenario's video ends. We learn multiple stuff through this intense video, and you kind of get the feeling of your drunk uncle at a family gathering telling you about how you spend too much time on your phone while flooding Facebook with pictures of his kids and commenting "amen" under Al generated Jesus pictures.

First thing first, yes of course, fake news can be dangerous, of course we live in a post-truth¹¹ era blablabla, of course because of GAFA's little tricks we assisted these past years to a polarization of opinions manipulating entire elections into far-right ideas. But this is not the kind of subtlety used here. Choice of words are always interesting. 'Safe spheres', have an undeniable closeness in words as 'safe spaces', those spaces generally made by a community for the same community to share ideas and more intimate thoughts, knowledge in a secured environment, to evolve apart from an oppressive system. These 'safe spaces', no sorry these 'safe spheres' would in fact push people to question government's actions, or even worse, to lose faith in government's measures because truly, nothing else could make the people lose trust in the government. This simple choice of words reflects a deeper problem, the echo chambers are definitely not created by people organizing to share their thoughts, traumas, and political opinions in "non mixed" spaces, but by France and Europe letting GAFA's and medias pola-

"Post-truth in its application in media studies is used to analyze our era, meaning a prevalence of emotions, affect instead of facts.' Beware of this term, question instead what we consider as facts, 'rationality'....

rizing opinions to make profits. Easier to put laws against UNEF than against Facebook.

The other scenario of this first season is based on the development of high velocity weapons made by different armies including the french. These special drones are fast, made to avoid collateral damages, and can be controlled by distance. This time, the issue on this speculation is very different from the 'oh my god culture is dying from people who want safe spaces' scenario. This speculation is not one. First, it's been a few years since France has been using drones and this type of weapons. With a very honest arsenal constituted of more than 2000 suicide drones, cartography and surveillance drones, and simple 'neutralization' drones, France is not very far away from this 'science fictional' prospective narration, and the fact that this even exist in a scenario helps making the use of these weapons fictional, to expect in a near future and to not treat them as already existing issues. But don't worry, we don't use it in our own territory, we prefer to send them to fuel the genocide happening in Gaza perpetrated by Israel (because these fictional long distance high velocity drones are also sponsored in real life for the French military by Israel).



In fact, these lame and not very imaginative futuristic fictions reflects every huge issue with French/ western politics, and its

12 translation: oversea

collective subconsciousness. One classic trope of narration was missing: the overused trope conquest of space, and its clear reflect of colonization, exploitation and extractivism. In the season 0 of Red Team scenarios is pictured a future ruled by tremendous ecological disasters, globalized poverty, worldwide conflicts: the typical cyberpunk universe characterized by its "high tech low life". In this dystopian world, France is attempting to build a spatial elevator in Kourou, French Guyane, a place then transformed to be the biggest industrial site in the world to exploit mining resources on asteroids in the cheapest way possible. It also has a goal of obviously leading the way to the moon and mars, how original.

In the same scenario, global warming is forcing migration on a world-wide scale, and there is a globalized surveillance of citizens by micro-chipping to control this highly mobile population. This chip contains information on the wearer's health, medical, financial and administrative data. Those who refuse are stateless, creating a pirate nation called the P-Nation, living collectively through DIY and low-tech. With support from a so-called 'foreign' country they sabotage the rocket launch from Kourou with a 'low-tech commando'. The video narrating this scenario then says that one of their actions is "anti-capitalist" and "anti-colonialist", while concluding this story by the French army "liberating" French Guiana. This paradoxical use of words shows a lack of criticism in these military fictions, without addressing present issues very well linked to this narration.

People criticizing very questionable government decisions and refusing very questionable technologies/ life conditions are then enemies, pirates, while the army and France are the good guys. The choice of place, Kourou, is not a mere coincidence: while being an actual space center for France, there are also a few projects aiming to exploit its resources in coltan, a material absolutely necessary for the construction of any electronic product. Worldwide, it is a motive for colonization (not even putting neo- in front of it), extractivism and slavery. Bonus, the extraction of these metals implies an intoxication a water for anyone living around: polluting "outre-mer" to satisfy the consumerism in electronic products in the metropolis. Colonialism? no way!

These fictions place actual issues out of reach in our imagination: it is fictional so it becomes abstract. Why would SF writers willingly accept to support such nefast storytellings, knowing very well that their fictions have a consequential agency? Why would they literally accept to shift present narratives in favor of the French military? It is important to remember that some of these fictions are now classified by the French Military to avoid giving precious information to the enemy. And who is the enemy again? The 'pirates' forced to migrate because of ecological disasters, who refuse technological

- ¹³ 'It's easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism', apparently said by Fredric Jameson but somehow Mark Fisher remixed it a bit
- ¹⁴ I strongly recommend to you, lovely reader who reads footnotes, the archiving work of Raphaël Colson, who has been referencing for nearly a decade the different post-apocalyptic fictions ever created.

surveillance and who try to break capitalism and colonialism.

There are, of course, SF writers who have criticized this project since its creation. The initiative had the good taste of being presented at the science-fiction festival les Utopiales in 2020, in a round-table named "Secret Défense", with Emmanuel Chiva (Leader of the department of innovation in the army) and Alain Damasio, a French science-fiction writer. The writer and his publishing house La Volte heavily addressed the issue of the use of SF by the military: is it the role of authors of science fiction to help out a desirable state of permanent war? The French SF writer also points out:

"There are so many areas where SF writers can be useful: future of health, labor, social struggles.. I'm much more interested in the idea of putting new systems of protests, occupations and resistance against liberalism than writing about the future of war."

Because speculation about the military has always been a part of science fiction, it was just on another side, and the long list of science-fictional innovation that happened to exist is to be observed closely, and the French Military is very aware of that: Roland Lehoucq, director of the festival les Utopiales (and who first led the Red Team, super convenient) even quote the invention of nuclear weapons in fiction (by Robert Heinlein in the 40's) before their existence in real life as an illustration of how prospective fictions are a way to anticipate future issues.

Fiction has begun to be a battlefield, and the Red Team project has already had some impact on the modification of certain military weapons. Even if the Red Team is now over, there is still a growing use of science fiction in the glamorization of late capitalism in its most authoritarian shapes: pro corporate pro nuclear, and with a tendency for apocalypse, collapso storytelling. As a Jameson said, it is easier to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism¹³. Just take a look at the enormous amount of TV shows, films, books and video games inventing how our post-modern society is going to fall, or what happens after the big fall¹⁴ (apo and post-apo). What if, by only imagining the worse, we were slowly disintegrating our imaginations into accepting a present that is far better than a zombie apocalypse?





BEYOND UTOPIA AND DYSTOPIA:

COUNTER AGAINST

COR

PO-SCIENCE-FICTION

What do I call corpo-science fiction? Understand under the umbrella of this term many things: corpo sf is science fiction created by and for capitalists. It is then the multiple writers creating fiction for companies, it is shitty 3D images rendering the same janky neo liberal utopias¹⁵, it is corpo graphics rooting for shitty metaverse, cubic cars and whatever the fuck the elites steal from SF to serve their interests. It is the imaginary place used by governments to make state violence 'cool' again, the military, but also around the same time nuclear plants. If we know that these types of initiatives were used a while ago in the US16, it is also more recently the case in France. At the 2019 edition of the Utopiales, same year same place than the first introduction to the Red Team project was thrown a science-fiction writing contest on the following topic: What future for our radioactive waste? Good question And who had the good taste of organizing this? Andra, partner of the 2019 Utopiales and state agency of nuclear waste management. While having these corpo-science-fictional narratives, serving capitalism, we drown among far-left nihilist fictions, those who give us with more or less subtlety warnings about our current way of being as a society, and these are then mostly populated by apo and post-apo tropes. The only imagined end is annihilation.

¹⁵ The Metaverse in Janky Capitalism, Daniel Felstead, 2023, dis.art

FICTIO

16 You absolutely need to see the brilliant documentary Containment, by Peter Galison and Robb Moss in 2015, thanks again Kevin and Marika for the reference < 8 Mark Fisher wrote about how the left has partly lost the cultural war by its 'realism', its pessimism, while capitalism was already absorbing everything, and mostly our potentiality of seeing something else than capitalism. By destroying every other alternative, there is then no other better option than capitalism (what, communism?).



As he also said, 'We need to invent the future', and build then different narratives, rooted in realistic hopes and building a different kind of narrative, one rooted in realistic hope, escaping from leftist nihilism that has been dominating and blocking imaginaries since the hippies. No future? Why not? Mark Fisher has already partly treated the matter, with the eerie concept of 'acid communism'. Yes, big words again. But there is something to investigate here. Acid is to understand directly linked to psychedelics, the 70s and its utopias, acid is then the flexibility of reality, of realism. Acid communism is then a mix between countercultures as new beginnings (and not an end in itself), hope, class and identity consciousness in an individual-collective way, and a refusal of a sad, fatalist realism.

These are, let's be honest, big words with cool references wrapped in it. But while there are a lot of things to be said about the vague definition of a possible left-wing utopia, let's maybe go back to the term utopia in itself. Utopia is, as everyone knows, an imagined place where everything is perfect. While we often hear it, we rarely know some fictional references of this. Why? Because it is first, often very problematic (Utopias from both Thomas More and Voltaire look a lot like dystopias for most of us), and it is, second, very boring. What point is there to read, write, and watch a fiction where everything goes well? For a long time we entraped ourselves in the dichotomy between dystopia and utopia, allowing our imaginaries to be only shaped by dystopia, how things could go wrong. What if there was an alternative, some counter-

fiction growing in the middle ground of these?

To start with a very mainstream French reference, the writer Alain Damasio has already given some interesting ways of going beyond dystopian and utopian fictions. In his book Les Furtifs¹⁷, he portrays a highly dystopian future, characterized by a high-scale globalized surveillance, tolerated by the population in exchange for comfort in hyper-individualism. On the other hand, he builds in this over-treated devious smart city a place for utopia, where some characters manage to live in between and create alternative ways of living in and out of this Orwellian trope. This allows us to imagine, even in the 'worse case scenario', a possibility of still being off the grid, to create counter-futures in the dystopia. It gives the reader agency.

Other writers have also given some clues to imagining radical speculation going beyond corpo-science fiction. You can for instance check the amazing work of the Zanzibar collective, organizing workshops to build fictional and hopeful futures, or the Archipel des Devenirs, a research center for utopias. If these collectives are, let's say, a bit left-intellectual and mainly white, there are some hints to keep in mind in their research work. For instance, the Archipel des Devenirs is defending a radical utopia, not a naive one, focused on what is tangible (it is for instance the work of Rutger Bregman with the book Utopia for Realists). Utopias (even wrapped in the word 'radical') can easily be a place for the privileged, a place of disconnection with the real, you can find in France science-fictional gems, using old fictional tropes such as cyberpunk to trigger some less treated subjects in science fiction. There is the amazing Ketty Steward and her recent book 'Le Futur au Pluriel, Réparer la Science-Fiction'19 where she points out the recurrent tropes of a cis-hetero-white-male saving the world to invite different alternatives to create and imagine in the margins. There is also the brilliant novel Tè Mawon²⁰, and its afrofuturist/ caribbean dystopia placing intimate stories and language at the core of its storytelling, or Toxoplasma²¹, a deeply queer science-fictional dystopia using raves as small utopias and embracing kitschy references.

Anyway. This article is not a long list of names and references. It is a glimpse in the amplitude of the possibles, the hopeful but radical counter-futures we can make while strategically building in the interstices of the dystopia. The corpo-fictions are weak and poor in their structures and tropes while being active and dangerous, our counter-fiction are rich and inventive, they can draw links in the collective through the intimate. Let's not get trapped by fatalism and instead really invent the future. The Red Team project presented its last scenarios in June 2023, but you can be sure that other initiatives of this kind are going to pop out. Let's maybe not wait for that to happen. Let's build our Blue Team.

- ¹⁷ Alain Damasio, Les Furtifs, 2019, Folio SF
- ¹⁸ Rutger Bregman, Utopia for Realists, 2018, Bloomsbury Libri
- 19 translation: Plural Futures, Repairing Science Fiction. Ketty Steward, 2023 , les éditions de l'Inframonde
- ²⁰ Tè Mawon, Michael Roch, 2024, éditions La Volte
- ²¹ Toxoplasma, Sabrina Calvo, 2017, éditions La Volte

