

# PGA

**NETWORKING  
STRUGGLES  
SINCE 1998**


**PEOPLES'  
GLOBAL  
ACTION**

**Peoples' Global Action  
● 5th Newsletter**

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**PEOPLES' GLOBAL ACTION  
NETWORKING STRUGGLES SINCE 1998**

**Brought to you by iç-mihrak  
on behalf of KOLEKTİF/EGO**

 **iç-mihRAK**

  
**KOLEKTİF/EGO**

al wars to come. Therefore we call for a meeting of antimilitarist individuals, groups and collectives during the next PGAconference in Alexandroupoli, Greece, to counter this development. War and militarisation of societies is a current phenomenon. We can find it everywhere on a global level. The threat of war against governments or groups endangering global "security", the construction of military infrastructure all over the world and the extension of riot control programs within countries are just some general examples for this.

During the meeting, we suggest discussing these issues and how to deal with them. In particular, we propose talking about possible future cooperation: how could we discuss about most recent local developments, spread information about local actions and organise global solidarity? Furthermore, a concrete possible topic could be the next NATO summit 2009 in Strassbourg/Kehl (France/Germany), where serious decisions will be made. These are just some proposals from our side. We are waiting for more to come...

We are thinking about basing our co-operation on the PGA-Hallmarks – the basic tool to organize radical anti-globalisation movements. Therefore we decided to call for this (first) meeting to take place during the PGA-conference.

**WE ARE MORE POWERFUL THAN WE THINK - TAKE IT TO THE STREETS!**

**VENCEREMOS! TO THE BARRICADES!**

Carambolage Berlin  
Global Office/PGA-inspired Infopoint  
Contact:  
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**OK, here again!!! This is the 5th issue of the newsletter inspired by PGA.**

At the conference in Dijon, a need for a non-digital communication tool was mentioned. There was an idea to refresh a printed newsletter. We would like to continue the project with this call.

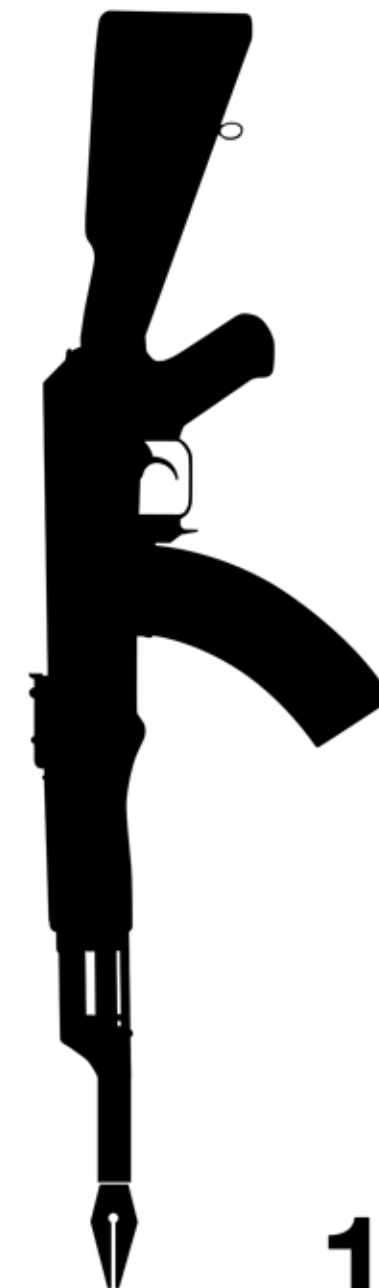
Our aim is to continue using this newsletter as a forum of debates, different projects, actions and struggles related to PGA. The newsletter does not speak in the name of the network, but is inspired by PGA.

Therefore it will continue to be an autonomous project with subjective views, but can only work through the participation of various collectives and single persons in the network. This project should be an open process and switching workgroups should take the responsibility for each issue.

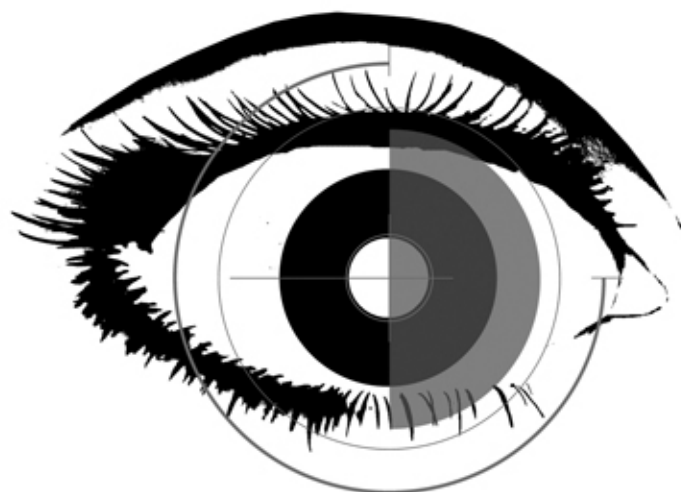
The group working on the next issue announces their idea for the next issue and sets a deadline for articles (both on the *pga\_europe\_process@squat.net*). After layouting and publishing it is also helpful if the working group cares for skill sharing with the next group (which means to introduce in the tools used for the newsletter)! The final printing and distribution, like the creation of articles, is in the responsibility of all the collectives and single persons in the network. To make the next newsletter a better instrument of information and perhaps more open to global struggles, please send articles.

**PLEASE SEND ARTICLES**

5



**A CALL-OUT FOR ANTI-REPRESSION WORKSHOPS AT THE PGA AND INTERNATIONAL REPORTS OF ATTACKS ON POLITICAL SPACES, EROSION OF POLITICAL FREEDOMS, AND REPRESSION OVER THE PAST DECADES**



**WORKSHOPS AND MEETINGS**



**WORKSHOP 1 (possibly on thursday 21.Aug):  
European Security Architecture**

We (a bunch of people in Germany and the Netherlands) try to strenghten the discusssion about the so called "european security architecture", that mixes inner and outer security, such as military and police, leading to more European surveillance, repression and war. We will make a proposal at the European Social and autonomous Forum in Malmö to take the NATO-summit in France/Germany 2009 as a reference point to struggle against new police-and-army-collaboration in Europe. One of our aims is to focus more networking between groups in other countries that are working on that issues. So please feel invited to join the preparations!

Find a summary on institutions, agreements and techniques on:  
<http://gipfelsoli.org/Multilanguage/English/4819.html>  
Or see the presentation for workshops (as pdf) on:  
<http://euro-police.noblogs.org/gallery/3874/euro-police-networking.pdf>

**WORKSHOP 2 (possibly on friday 22.Aug):  
From Bucharest to Strassbourg/Kehl – NATO-Summit 2009**

The recent years have seen decisive changes in international war-affairs. Military interventions are justified with defending the free-world. Whatever free-world meant: defending state-socialism from the barbarity of free-market democracies or vice versa. New wars are justified with defending freedom, democracy, human rights and natural resources. According to this development NATO – the most important global-war-player– will massivly be restructured. In our workshop we want to talk about the old and new structure of the NATO and its consequences for world politics. We want to show this development according to the decisions made during the last NATO-meetings. And we want to have a look at the issues discussed and decided during the next NATO-summit in Strassbourg/Kehl. Then we want to report and discuss about the activities against this summit next year.

**WORKSHOP 3 (possibly on saturday, 23. Aug):  
Global Action Day Against Military Infrastructure**

Peace and antimilitarist groups all over Europe have issued a call out for a "European Day of Action against Military Infrastructure" (<http://www.europeanpeaceaction.org/european-day-action-against-military-infrastructure>) on November 14th-15th, 2008. According to this call out we want to talk about military infrastructure and show some examples where military infrastructure can be found and how militarisation of societies is proceeding. During our workshop we want to discuss our proposal for a separate PGA global action day against military infrastructure. This call-out will be sent seperately on the PGA-e-mail-list(s).

**MEETING on Sunday, 24. Aug)  
Encounter Global War Strategies**

There have been immense changes in world politics since the last decades of the 20th century. Wars were-fought in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan andIraq in order to implement democratic peace. These wars were justified with defending freedom, democracy, human rights and natural resources. And there are many more perpetu-

We suppose there is no need to explain why and how important anti-repression activities and mutual support are, especially now. In the last two decades the situation in the world has changed drastically. Neoliberal reforms, privatization, precarisation,gentrification. New labour, housing and other codes. To shut up the discontents and dissidents new anti-terrorist and anti-extremist laws were enacted. At the same time systems of control and surveillance were developed.

For the 5th European PGA conference, we propose a series of workshops on anti-repression to elaborate strategies to fight mounting state terror and to strengthen our solidarity. To gain practical benefits from these workshops we would like to prepare a good basis, then we can concentrate directly on more practical issues. We ask people to write an overview of the attacks to political spaces, erosion of political freedoms, and repression, that have happened in their countries over the past decades and send them in before the PGA conference or to bring them to the conference. Please, send your overviews, ideas, analyses to [antirep@riseup.net](mailto:antirep@riseup.net). To give you a starting point we prepared a list of questions. You can base your overview on this list, you can give answers to the questions, or you can just ignore it. Whichever you prefer.

Even if you do not plan to go to the 5th European PGA conference and you have something to say, please feel free to contribute to the project. It might also be a good idea to inform us that you are going to write something on your country since there might be other people writing something as well, with whom you can coordinate and cooperate. For coordination and preparation of the workshops you can also subscribe to the mailing list [legalguides@squat.net](mailto:legalguides@squat.net). We also have an idea of publishing the collected information (maybe as wiki-page, maybe somehow else).

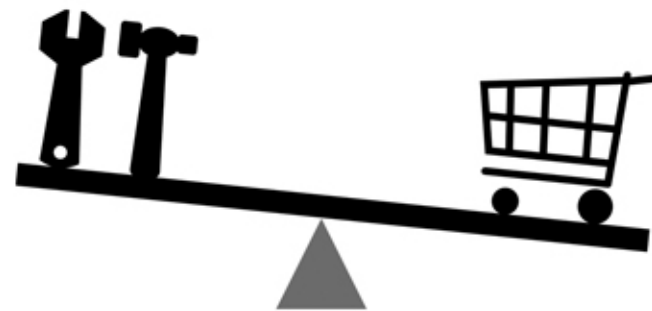
Some of us have experience from anti-repression workshops at the Leiden PGA conference 2002 and the Belgrade PGA conference 2004, some from the Dijon PGA conference 2006, where the International Legal Guide project <http://legal.squat.net/> was started, where we made the first attempt to develop some kind of international overview of the attacks on and erosion of our political space over the past decade.

We would like to make such workshops more effective. Thus, we would like to avoid repeated and endless presentations from different countries and cities, instead we would like to print such presentations as a readout so that people could familiarize themselves with the information prior to the workshop. We would also try to summarize different experiences and make a short overall presentation in the beginning; however the main focus would be on the evaluation of the already existing projects and discussion about new ones. This does not mean that people not involved in such a work are not welcome; quite the contrary, however we do not have the luxury of spending a rare occasion of international workshops for talking about issues which everyone may read about from internet anytime.

We are therefore looking for analyses of legal changes and strategies of repression of grassroots activism in your city or country over the past five or ten years. Generally speaking, we would like to know how repression and social control has increased in your country over the past five to ten years. In which ways does your government try to suppress the discontents (e.g. harsher accusations, easier convictions, higher sentences, more state violence at demonstrations and public spaces to intimidate, high claims for damage, use of surveillance)?

# PREWHAT? ●

## Precarity Issue On The PGA Conference



"Precarious literally means unsure, uncertain, difficult, delicate. As a political term it refers to living and working conditions without any guarantees: for example the precarious residential status of migrants and refugees, or the precariousness of everyday life for single mothers. [...] Precariat, an allusion to proletariat, meanwhile is used as a combative self-description in order to emphasise the subjective and utopian moments of precarisation." -- Frassanito Network. "Precarious, Precarisation, Precariat?" In: Seymour, Benedict (ed.). Mute Volume II. #0: Precarious Reader. London: Mute Publishing Ltd, 2005.

### Topics

Our intention is to drop in questions, and generate a debate, rather than a clear opinion about what precarity is and why we are using this expression. We are not affiliated with the Euromayday network either.

#### - Why is Precarity?

Developing and discussing precarity as an analysis of contemporary capitalism and the role of work through a cross-cutting issue. Historically, precarity has been the rule rather than the exception. It doesn't grasp all factors involved, but perhaps it can be used as a strategic focus term for political work in the present situation. However, for that we have to be aware of what it means for different people in different places in geopolitical space and on the social hierarchy. How can the multiplicity of realities and the unity of political thrust converge?

#### - State of the Euromayday

What is the Euromayday network and where is it going? Focusing on outreach to peripheral groups and strengthening activity between Euromayday parades. Possibilities for action, collaboration and cooperation.

#### - Talking about Flexicurity

How to move beyond reformism? Precarity movement is simply reformist if it just has 'demands' for the European Union or the national governments! What is the vision and practice of flexicurity? Precarity movement is simply conservative and backward looking if it seeks a return to the welfare state! But what is the alternative vision and the best practices that guide us towards a good life?

### Background

- en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Precarity
- Euromayday.org
- Mute Magazine Precarious Reader issue
- Republicart Precariat issue
- Chainworders.org
- Franco "Bifo" Berardi: Art and Immaterial Labour at the Radical Philosophy Conference London
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling. London: University of California Press, 1983.
- Precarious Bourdieu, Pierre. Job insecurity is everywhere now. In: Firing back: against the tyranny of the market 2. London & New York: Verso, 2003.
- Boltanski, Luc & Chiapello, Eve. The new spirit of capitalism. London & New York: Verso Books, 2005.
- Gorz, André. Les Métamorphoses du travail. Paris: Gallimard-Jeunesse, 1999.

### List of questions:

\*What new laws have been introduced? e.g. Anti-terrorist legislation, Civil Laws (housing, labour etc.), Public Order legislation/freedom of assembly (such as the Criminal Justice Act in the UK, or the Codice Penal in Spain, Identification Duty in the Netherlands) etc.

\*How could these laws be passed and accepted? How has society reacted?

\*How have those laws been applied? Has the boundaries of these laws been extended or functions changed? Differences between theory and practice (legislation and repression practices).

\*Changes in the judicial system (e.g. Precedent Law in France, restrictions for appealing in the Netherlands).

\*Suppression of different political rights and freedoms (in legislation and in practice): restrictions of freedom of speech and assembly, to expression of opinion and demonstration (easier to be arrested and convicted nowadays; denormalization of government critics).

\*How has the practice of social control changed? Use of preventive measures; if possibility of offence is punishable (e.g. preventive arrests, ASBO in the UK, etc.)

\*How are they using surveillance? (e.g. Patriot Act in US, CCTV, Phone tapping, ID cards and controls, travel cards, etc.)

\*Who are the main targets of this repression (e.g. migrants, activists, minors, subcultures participants)?

\*Use of anti-terrorist / anti-extremist legislation to repress protest (e.g. 129a in Germany), and other legislations (e.g. lock up anonymous activists in deportation prisons in the Netherlands)

\*Changes in jail / prison / detention centres system (privatization processes, etc.)

\*What impact has this had on grassroots political activity and on society in general?

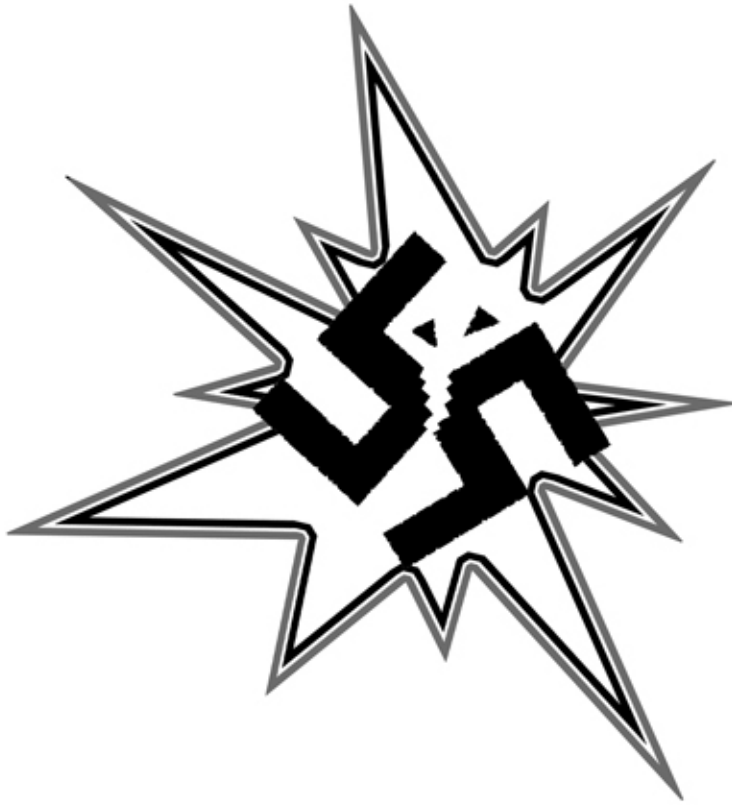
\*Descriptions (links at internet and other publications) of the most outrageous cases of repressions.

\*Strategies of counteracting repressions.

\*Groups, collectives, and so on dealing with repressions in your country/city.

\*Is there anything else you think is important to know about the situation in your city/country?





We would like to announce an issue for the next PGA conference about antinationalism and antifascism, especially in a region (Balkans) with a critical situation and really strong nationalist influence in the population of its countries! Greece is a country with close borders for immigrants and refugees. Greece is also the southern border of the European Union. Especially now that Greek state is planning to block the name of Macedonia and the new situation between Kosovo and Serbia, this topic is an emergent one. In the rest of Europe the situation is not the best either. Sarkosi has power in France and conservative parties are taking the power all around. The attacks of Nazis and the antifascist resistance are also parts of this issue. We would like to invite collectives and activists in order to establish the continuity of our anti-nationalist work all around Europe.

## **NATIONALISM IN GREECE AND MACEDONIA** ● **THE STUPIDITY OF NATIONALISM** by a Macedonian Anarchist

Well to start off, a simple view on nationalism. Nationalism is the belief that people who speak one language, share one culture and traditions should be in one place marked with borders which will separate them from other humans that speak different languages, have different cultures and traditions. Most of the people, with the help of the mainstream media, can't tell the difference between the state, the country, the land and the people which reside at a certain geographical space. That is the ground where the so-called patriots plant their nationalism, with the help of the politicians. Nationalism is a tool, a tool that is used by governments to manipulate the masses, in order to create tensions and instability as well as fear among people of different nations. The best way to show my point of view on nationalism is by an example, an example from the real world, an example from the Balkans. That is the issues between Macedonians and Greeks, or to be more precise, between the governments of the states of Macedonia and Greece.

When historians are asked about a certain nation and its roots, they will take you back, say few hundreds, maybe even a few thousand years, in order to tell you from what tribe or tribes the nation has been created. But the real question is: What about the time before that? And the historian will probably answer that there were no nations before that, and not just that, there were probably no races based on the color of the skin, there were just people, just human beings, who, like the rest of the beings on this planet were surviving and living their life. So yes, we are all human beings!

Well let's look at the example. There were many tribes and "nations" which were born and died and some are still alive in the Balkans. But we know from history as a fact that tribes migrated a lot. So the Balkan Peninsula with its neat geographical space was one of the places of the earth where people settled, moved, traveled through, not just today but many years back. As such region, there was mix of cultures, mix of tribes, mix of traditions, mix of religions, mix of languages, etc. So how can we speak about nations with all the mixing that



## **ZAPATISTA AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' STRUGGLES OF THE AMERICAS AND THE WORLD** **CALL OUT** ●

It has been just over 14 years since the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN) and the Zapatista communities have self organized their autonomy using both the Fire and the Word, mostly a Word that has echoed in all parts of the world with the sounds of an inspiring rebellion.

Since the initiation of the Caracoles (the Conches - a way that the communities are organized in five groups according to their locations) and the Juntas de Buen Gobierno (Councils of Good Government - the Zapatista peoples' own elected, but instantly recalled representatives) in August 2003, the Zapatista communities have self organized and managed their own health, education, justice, self governance, work cooperatives and gender equality, always in a manner of governing with obedience to the people and moving forwards by asking.

Since 2005 and with the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle, the Zapatistas have started constructing networks of solidarity against the neoliberal capitalist attack against all of humanity and nature. Such networks, based upon respecting differences and using dialogue, are the Other Campaign in Mexico and the world (January 2006), meetings with Via Campesina (July 2007), American Indigenous Peoples meeting (October 2007) and meetings of the Zapatista peoples with the peoples of the world (January, July and December 2007), amongst others.

Many European collectives have been inspired since 1994 by the Zapatista struggle and this has led to solidarity projects that have helped in the construction of the Zapatista autonomy or inspired global processes such as the PGA itself.

Especially during the last year, the threats towards the autonomous Zapatista communities have increased significantly, along with increases in the number and camps of military special forces and paramilitary groups such as OPPDIC. In addition to this, the deliberate silence of the media over the increasing repression in Chiapas and the distance that the so called left political party of PRD has taken after the initiation of the Other Campaign in 2006 and the Zapatista proposal to search for another way to make politics that is non electoral, have taken their toll on the Zapatista communities and let the right wing PAN government of Felipe Calderon and the left PRD governor of the state of Chiapas Carlos Salinas attack the Zapatista bases of support.

At the same time, the movement of the Other Campaign is repressed throughout Mexico and the rebellion in Oaxaca and Atenco were violently repressed. As was seen in the Indigenous Peoples meeting of the Americas in Vicam and in the Second Meeting of the Zapatista peoples with the people of the world, the situation of increasing repression is the same throughout the Americas and the world against indigenous and rural movements such as the movement against the Winter Olympics in Canada, the struggles to keep the oil in the ground in Equador and the Niger Delta, against farmers' and indigenous peoples' movements such as the MST in Brazil and many more throughout the world as they were expressed by ViaCampesina.

The need to get to know such struggles is evident as they are part of the global anticapitalist struggle, the fight for our Mother Earth and our right of self determination as peoples. The indigenous struggles of "Tierra y Territorio", for land and territory, for land and freedom, have similar goals to the squatting movements, reclaiming the streets and many more struggles in European history of reclaiming the commons and protecting the Earth.

Solidarity to such struggles is our weapon, by building local creative resistances which construct our autonomy, along with communication and coordination with these struggles through common networks, as is proposed in the Sixth International that was created in the depths of the Lacandona jungle in Chiapas. This is the essence of the People's Global Action network.

We need to come into contact with Indigenous struggles in the Americas and the world, to understand the essence of Zapatismo and to activate the Sixth International in Europe, and to build solidarity networks with the post capitalist communities that are being created or struggling to survive, right now all over the world in many different ways, and always "Abajo y a la Izquierda", from the bottom and to the left.

**A CALL OUT AGAINST THE OIL PIPELINES AND NUCLEAR REACTOR PROJECTS IN THE BALKANS**

by UTOPIA A.D. collective

**Our motto as a group is "less talk, more action" so we'll keep it short.**

Because of the whole energy crisis ,the Balkans have been assigned the role of toxic and nuclear wast-edump in order to provide cheap fuel and energy to Europe and the U.S. Two massive oil pipelines are already in progress, the Russian-Greek interest Burgas Alexandroupolis pipeline passing oil to the Aegean sea through Bulgaria and Greece and the US interest AMBO pipeline passing oil to the Adriatic sea through Bulgaria, Macedonia and Albania. Plus, several plans for nuclear reactors have surfaced in Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece (in our hometown, Komotini) and many others. If you add several plans for cyanide using goldmines and coal using powerplants in the same territory, the whole situation reeks the pungent stench of a much dreaded (by us) and much celebrated (by capitalist scum) Balkan Free Trade Zone, Tijuana style.

Why we are against it is pretty obvious. Any way you look at it ,the whole picture is an abomination. Say hello to a new era of repression, feudalism and most importantly ecological destruction of a massive scale in the Balkans, the Aegean and the Adriatic.

Join us in the PGA conference in Alexandroupolis in August for a workshop that hopefully will lead to less talking and more acting if we stand a chance to defend ourselves, our homes and mother Earth.

**No class, just war!**

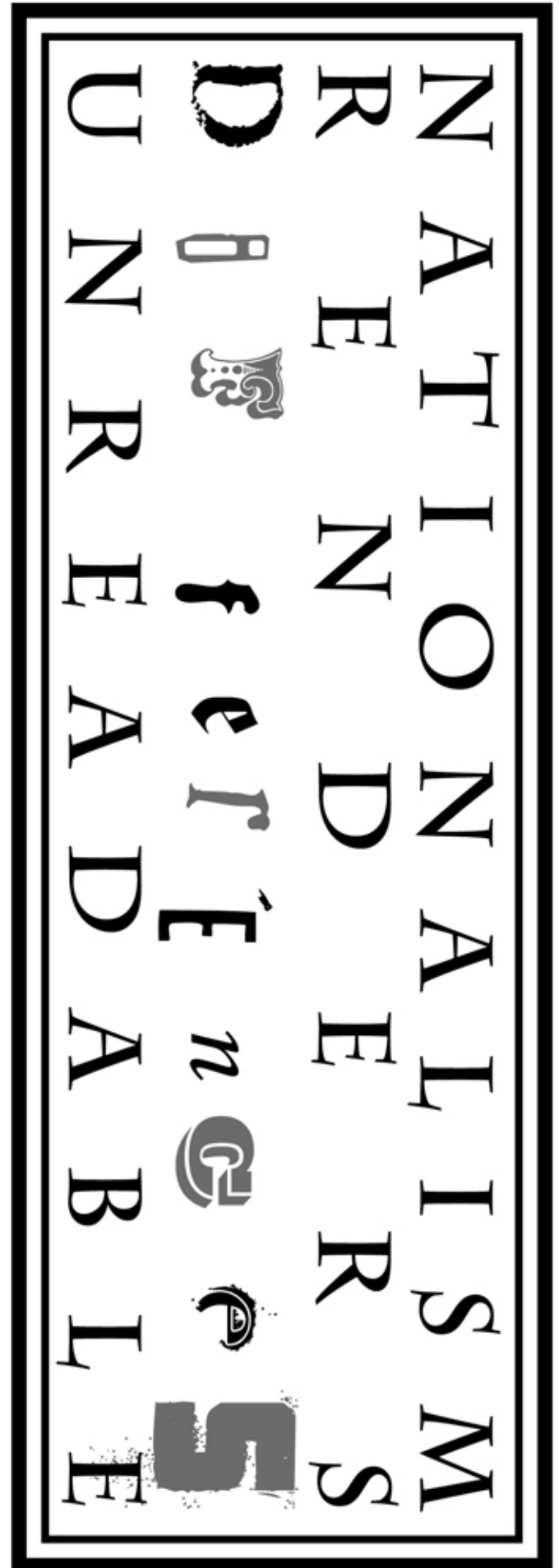


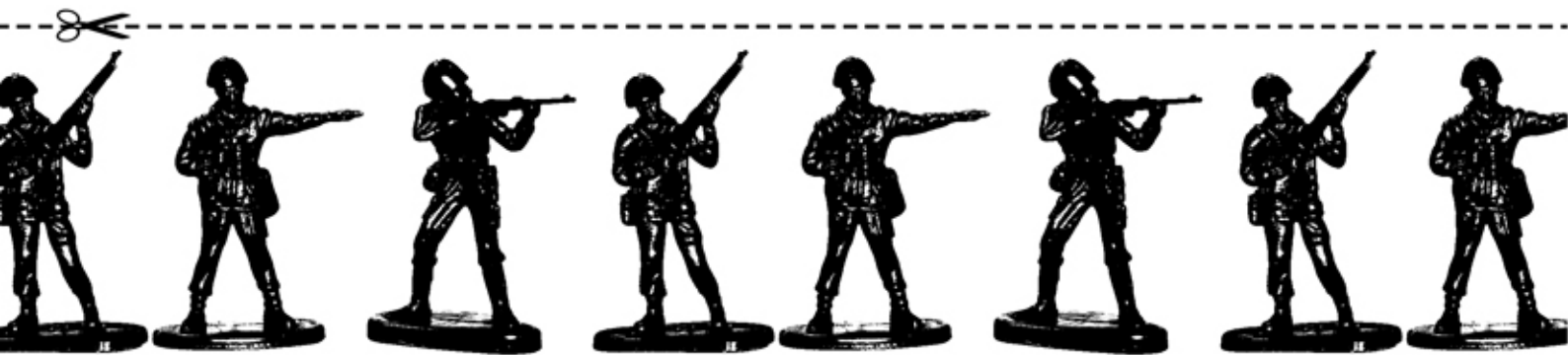
happened throughout history?

Nevertheless, at the present day there are "nations" and there are states, which keep people separated, such is the case with Macedonia and Greece, instead of inter-changing and sharing among the people who consider themselves Macedonians and Greeks, we see only coop-eration between businesses from both of the states. Instead of learning from the history, states push us, the common people, against each other using the history as an excuse. The common people, what an interesting phrase. The sad part of it all is that most of these common people are easily fueled with anger against some imaginary enemies created by the governments. That is so, unless the common people have greater concerns like having jobs, or having land or having the conditions to exist. When one of those issues is endan-gered then people really don't care about the nations or the history or whatever, they care about their existence in this world, they care about now.

But why is all this noise and fuss about some stupid name issues, or history? Well the simplest answer I can provide is: Because of the plans that governments try to apply and escaping of the everyday problems of the people, while entertaining the people with other "really important" questions. What plans? Well, NATO, the European Union, the laws that are changing every day towards more repression and control, while we are busy working, and concerning about our future. What everyday problems? The strikes in Greece and Macedo-nia, the social issues, the real life where there is so much to be done, the pollution of this world, the homeless and the hungry, the common people, the cheap labor force for the multinational companies. So you see, by the power of the mainstream media governments are trying to divide us the people using some fictional excuses, which are not of real importance like some other issues who are deliberately avoided. In Macedo-nia, there is a certain rise of nationalism supported by the current government; they want people to feel proud that they are Macedonians. But what is pride for, when one lives as a slave? So all they sell is an illusion, to make the common people feel good about something well as I stated before, something imaginary. So you see, the curve there, instead of the governments to provide us a better life, well that's what they always say they are there for, they are bombarding us with unnecessary information, such as the bilateral relations between Macedonia and Greece (the States, not the people which live there).

**We do not need states, the states need us!**  
-Anarchist





# ALL SOLDIERS ARE TOYS

**CARAMBOLAGE COLLECTIVE BERLIN: CALL FOR OPEN MEETINGS AGAINST MILITARISM DURING  
● PGA CONFERENCE  
CALL FOR OPEN DISCUSSIONS FOR THE ANTI-MILITARIST  
● OBJECTORS IN TURKEY BY TURKISH ANTI-MILITARISTS**

(see: [http://europe.pgaconference.org/en/greece\\_o8/topics/antimilitarism](http://europe.pgaconference.org/en/greece_o8/topics/antimilitarism))

The world is at war. After the worldwide changes during the last decades of the 20th century we are now facing efforts to restructure the whole world according to the needs of capitalist production.

The wars in Iraq, the war in Yugoslavia and Afghanistan violently express this tendency in world politics. To continue this policy, the countries began to establish rapid reaction forces, so that they can intervene on any conflict everywhere with a minimum of time. Furthermore military bases are set up worldwide under the name of NATO to defend freedom and democracy.

On the other hand, police forces are trained and established to do the same on an inner state level. For example riot control and counter-insurgency trainings are held by the different European state polices. And at the same time the cooperation of the different police forces of the European states is intensified. Even a common European police force is established. Similar developments can be observed globally, for example during the preparations for G8-summits when the different police forces share their experiences with mass-protests.

But security politics do not just reinforce military and police structures. They are also aiming to control our everyday life. Video-observance of public spaces to prevent crime, wire tapping and the surveillance of the internet are just some examples of this tendency.

To put it in a nutshell, we are confronted with an overall policy to establish what is euphemistically called "security". In plain words, this means an authoritarian formation of the societies. Any disturbance of the ongoing process of exchanging goods shall be made impossible at its early beginning. Militarisation and repression are the terms that describe this tendency. Military interventions on the outside and massive repression on the inside are the two sides of the same coin.

Therefore we call for an issue on antimilitarisation and antirepression during the next PGA-Europe-Conference on 18th-25th of August. We invite any antimilitarist and antirepression collectives and groups to take part and to prepare workshops and discussions during the conference.

**DON'T HATE THE PLAYERS, HATE THE GAME.**

**FIGHT BACK AND MEAN IT!**

Carambolage Collective Berlin

## DIY (DO IT YOURSELF) ● AND SHARING SKILLS

by FARMA collective participants

D.I.Y. is the way to take the situation in our own hands, away from passive consuming and letting others decide and do things for us. Its meaning and application is so wide that it varies from simple constructions to the idea of the active self organization of our everyday lives.

There are many examples in the world where people are trying to make by themselves, little but important changes in the environment they live in. Do it yourself music production and concerts take place in a non-commercial way, collectives are constructing small wind generators in order to achieve autonomy in energy and not to pollute nature, people create open-source computer programs in the basis of sharing knowledge without profit, others cultivate land and use composting in order to take control of their food and be independent from companies and markets, others are taking care of their own health by using healing herbs and still there are many more examples of peoples' efforts to expand our autonomy from capitalism and the state in our everyday life.

Do it yourself or better do it ourselves, has political value only when it is connected to the perspective of radical social change. It is radical in the way that people try to be creative and start building today the world for which we fight to create tomorrow. It is an effort to take knowledge and know-how back from the monopoly of the state and capital, a way to believe in our ability to construct. In addition to that, the idea of not listening to specialists or someone over us, brings us to the essence of grassroots procedures. It gives ground for people to see in action and live what self-organizing is and not just have theories and abstract ideas about it.

Sharing skills and generally knowledge, like sharing everything, is a pleasurable experience. It puts all the values of the autonomous movement like solidarity, respect for others, equality, collective work, non-competitiveness and non authoritarian relations into action. The simple and natural process of learning from each other, while smashing the barrier between teachers and students is a good example of radical, libertarian education. The practice of sharing skills and co-education questions oppressive methods of education created intentionally by the state and capital and can open the way for understanding and practicing libertarian education.

The grassroots movement holds in itself a unique dynamic of creativity and inspiration for the simple reason that it is based in the free initiative and free cooperation of human beings. Unlike the barbaric state, capitalism and boring fossil parties(!) that prevent this dynamic from being unleashed, self organization and D.I.Y. can produce results in our everyday life and strengthen the movement. A movement that wants to be creative and search for other ways today and now, can produce amazing examples that can be very inspiring. If we put together grassroots anti-capitalist resistance with creativity in our everyday lives, the mixture can be very inspiring and explosive.



## DISCUSSION FOR DIGITAL STRUGGLES ISSUES

Digital tools are increasingly important in social struggles. Many activists & collectives communicate regularly through mailing lists, blogs, wikis, maps, audio & text chat systems like IRC & Skype, open publishing media sites like Indymedia & YouTube and social networking sites like MySpace & Facebook.

Some of these tools are provided by private corporations that can be very accommodating to serve requests for data mining, especially towards state agencies. In addition, the E.U. plans for obligatory retention of data from all telecommunications, pave the way for massive social surveillance in unprecedented scale.

In some areas, we are developing technical alternatives for the social movements and the rest of society, some of which are transforming activism and culture (Indymedia, riseup, piratebay, etc). But the maintenance and further development of those systems is a hard and complex process.

The next European PGA conference is an opportunity to raise some interesting questions about such issues and share the stories of our little triumphs and tragic failures.

Some of the questions that could be asked are the following:

- \* What kind of tools do we actually need? Don't we have enough already? Do we really need to invent new ones?
- \* When do we use corporate services?
- \* Can't we just design innovative technosocial systems that will turn the world upside down?
- \* How do we design our alternative systems? Are there sustainable models to support their development?
- \* How do we get/pay/manage the server infrastructure?
- \* What do we do with the data that is generated? How do we keep the blue meanies out of our servers?
- \* How do we share the responsibility of technical administration? How do we manage technical control in open collectives during internal political conflicts?
- \* Indymedia 2.0. IMC-CMS. Indycore. What's going on with these projects? Are we getting any closer towards reinventing Indymedia?

(see: [http://europe.pgaconference.org/en/greece\\_08/topics/digital\\_struggles](http://europe.pgaconference.org/en/greece_08/topics/digital_struggles))



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## Proposal For Workshops During the PGA Conference

As the topic of antimilitarisation and antirepression opens a wide variety of topics we want to state shortly, on what we are specifically interested in and which workshops we probably are going to prepare. We hope that many other collectives and groups will also propose workshops or discussions connected with this issue.

### \*European Security-Architecture

European police forces are intensifying their cooperation in order to coordinate riot control and counter-insurgency programs. We are planning to organize a workshop that informs about these processes.

### \*Nato-Summit 2009 in France/Germany.

In April 2009 the 60th annual Nato-Summit will take place in Strasbourg/Kehl. We are planning a workshop about the state of mobilisation to this event. And we also want to meet other collectives and groups to talk about and to coordinate the international mobilisation against this summit.



IT WON'T GROW AGAIN.  
CLEAN UP THE  
LANDMINES.

### \*Days of Action Against Military Infrastructure (14th-15th November 2008)

On the web circulates a call for days of action against the military infrastructure.

(see <http://europeanpeaceaction.org/european-day-action-against-military-infrastructure>) We want to discuss about this call and about the possibility of a PGA-call to join these days of action.

### \*Open Discussion Spaces About Military Objectors

Militarism is the source of hegemonic domination, discrimination etc... We believe that to create a new world we need to destroy it and its all instruments in human relations. It also supplies gender roles, immanent authority of all kind of relations and makes obedience widespread.

We call all the various antimilitarist collectives from Europe and beyond to participate in the next PGA conference in order to discuss the topics of objectors, antimilitarism and conscientious objection, to establish a bridge between the objectors, to create a network and to empower their solidarity.

Antimilitarists from Turkey



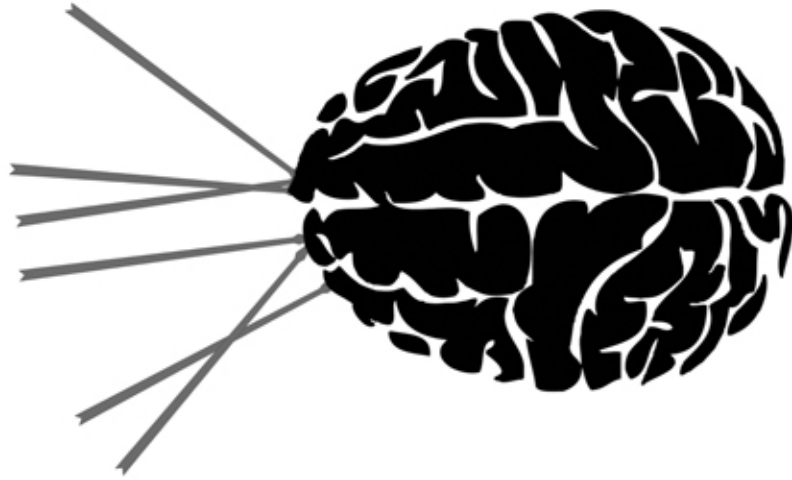
YERİNE YENİSİ ÇIKMAZ.  
KARA MAYINLARINI  
TEMİZLEYİN.

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# TARGETTING THE FRONTAL LOBE: THE SIX ARROWS ● OF KEMALISM

by kolektif/ego



The frontal lobe of the brain is the site of organized thinking. It can generally be thought of as what is meant by the mind. Neuropsychiatrically, it is the region of the brain that is involved in the comparison between social/ethical norms and the Self. It facilitates planning and execution while inhibiting socially inappropriate behaviour. It also harbours the brain's mechanism of judgement and insight.

Kemalism is a Turkish brand eclectic and pragmatistic quasi-ideology. After the war of independence ended celebrating the supposed victory of the ex-Ottoman military elite over the Allies, the young Republic of Turkey was announced in 1923; a formal state structure established over the ruins of the aggressive Ottoman Empire. The first president of Turkey was General Mustafa Kemal, the former leader of centralized Turkish resistance and founder of CHP (acronym for Republican People's Party), the only allowed political party in the young state. In 1937, before the premature death of Mustafa Kemal in 1938, the main ideological principles of the Republic of Turkey were established and built into the Constitution of 1937: The Six Arrows of Kemalism.

The first arrow represents republicanism, meaning the rule of a unitary state over a heterogenous people. Democracy and rights to identity were of secondary importance. All dissidents and minorities should be silenced or rather destroyed whenever possible. This axiom of unitary state was extended to daily life, homogenizing the language, ethnicity and political loyalties of the many peoples comprising the population.

The second arrow, nationalism, meant the predominance of the supposedly Turkish -in a broader sense, muslim- population over the non-muslims and the predominance of the non-Kurdish population over Kurds. Turkish was accepted as the official language of the state while other mother tongues were informally banned.

The third arrow, laicism, supposedly separated the state affairs from religious affairs. But in practice, it worked as a powerful tool for inventing a homogenous, sterile and docile Turkish Islam whereas it had almost no beneficial effect on the practical discrimination of the non-muslim population. All independent islamic institutions and sects were banned, women were denied the liberty of wearing veils and the official calendar and alphabet were annulled in favour of the continental European system.

Revolutionism, the fourth arrow, represents blind loyalty to the state and to its only ruler, the supposedly elected Mustafa Kemal. Any suspicion of treason was punished severely and immediately, mostly before any type of judicial assessment.

The fifth arrow represents statism meaning the economic rule of the state over a yet dwarf private sector. The state's duty was to build a national bourgeoisie by confiscating the non-national capital for the newly emerging bourgeoisie, as a Robin Hoodish act of charity.

The sixth and the last arrow was populism, the socialistic influence of the newly founded state, concealing its deeds towards repression, homogenization and semi-military dictatorship. Although Kemalism was challenged many times by the Turkish right wing (which is traditionally loyal to islam and economic liberalism) after the allowance of open elections in 1946, it experienced many revivals in the hands of the traditionally Kemalist Turkish Army. There were at least three open and 2 covert military coups in the period between 1960 and 2008. The military has the constitutional right and duty to preserve the official

ideology in Turkey, which consists of a synthesis of nationalism, repressive laicism and a non-democratic brand of republicanism.

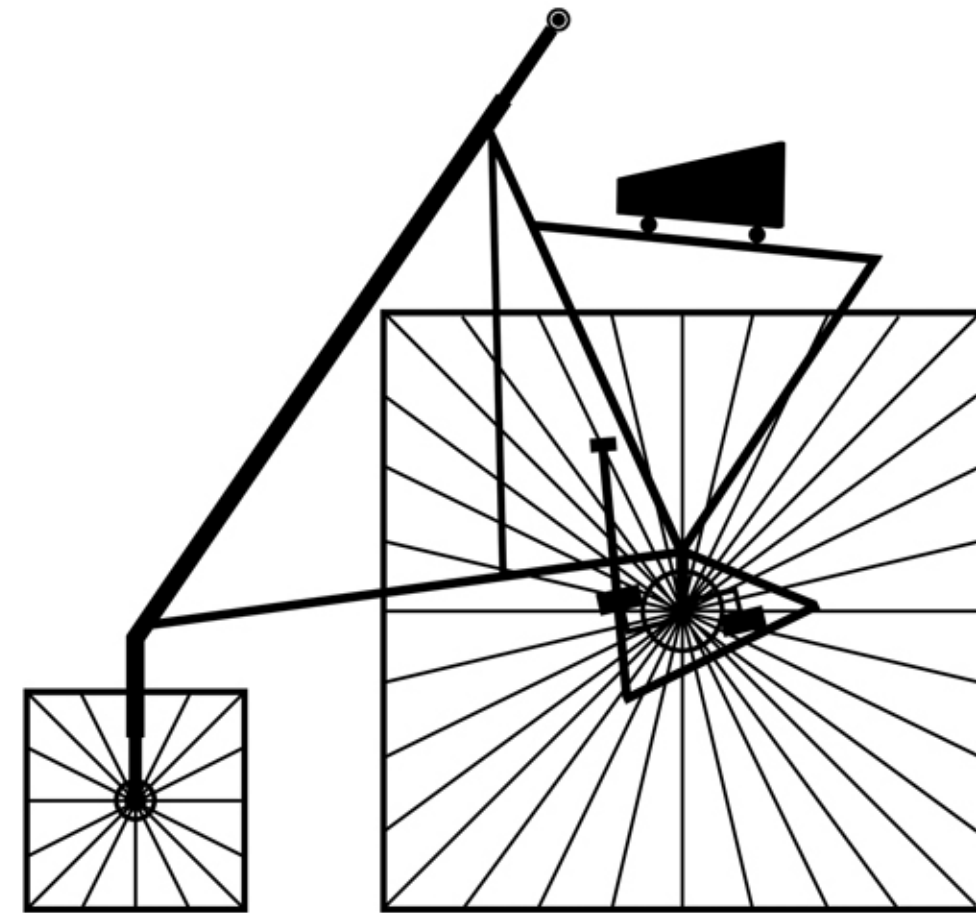
Although Kemalism is claimed by the civil and military elite to be a homogenous and integral ideology, in different conjectures it served to "restore" different kinds of status quo: economic statism, mixed economy and even neoliberal capitalism. Along the short life of the Republic of Turkey, Kemalism, continually evolving, served both to preserve the stronghold of the elite and to restrain political negotiation by creating a taboo around the figure of Mustafa Kemal. Mustafa Kemal is protected by a special law that flexibly prevents any kind of criticism.

Any political/social group in Turkey has to declare loyalty to Kemalism to be able to survive and thrive. Even the absence of such declaration may lead to serious prosecution by the state.

The Turkish educational system is based on a central body of authority, namely the Ministry of National Education. Any school, whether public or private, is obliged to arrange its curriculum according to the dictated Kemalist norms.

Kemalism is so vague and so flexible an ideology that it can be claimed both by the right and left wings of the political sphere.

The struggle against nationalism in Turkey is a complicated one. It is complicated by the restraining effects of Kemalism on the political space. Kemalism, which is supposedly a type of civil nationalism, does not lack racial influence at all. To establish a viable antinationalist movement in Turkey, at least a kind of weak consensus on how to manage Kemalism which inhibits the liberties to think, to speak and to act must be reached within the wide spectrum of Turkish left. There sure is a long and tortuous way to go.



# TURKISH MODERNIZATION

# 1923 - 2008

# WHAT IS İÇ-MİHRAK



İÇ-MİHRAK

"iç-mihrak" literally translates as "internal focus", a term widely used in the context of turkish nationalism(s) to define domestic groups engaged in so-called treason, with or without foreign support. The adoption of the name can help elucidate fundamental principles of the group; that is ironical transgression of any established cultural/political nomos, be it legal, political, traditional, popular, humanistic, secular or religious.

## ● ADEQUATIO INTELLECTUS ET REI

iç-mihrak is a post-anarchism oriented cultural intervention group founded in Istanbul, in 2007. It operates as a collective, non-hierarchical, anti-authoritarian consensus-based semiotic terrorism group working on the immediate and historical political and cultural discourse in Turkey. It works by contorting, distorting and turning down official, popular and traditional cultural epistemes with the hoped outcome of parrhesia, a truthful clearing of mind about matters of urgent significance to the people.

iç-mihrak, knowing that mockery of their power is what the rulers fear most, adopts in principle laughing hysterically (accompanied by 7 pieces of flatus salute) at any official, popular and traditional cultural code, from the chamber pot of the Pope to the mausolea of statesmen.

[icmihrak.blogspot.com](http://icmihrak.blogspot.com)  
[icmihrak@gmail.com](mailto:icmihrak@gmail.com)

iç-mihrak mainly uses the web and streets as media of choice although it does not hesitate entering the confines of exhibitions without compromising its political and ethical principles. iç-mihrak also aims to build a new and high-quality D.I.Y. propaganda aesthetics in Turkey. For this purpose it gives free design service to any political/activist group with which it can come to an agreement about main ethical principles like anti-authoritarianism and opposition to a representative brand of politics.

# HOW TO GET INVOLVED

## EUROPEAN MAILING LISTS

- [pga\\_europe\\_process@squat.net](mailto:pga_europe_process@squat.net): PGA process, organization, conferences and internal discussions
- [pga\\_europe\\_resistance@squat.net](mailto:pga_europe_resistance@squat.net): announcements about actions around europe
- [pga-announce@pgaconference.org](mailto:pga-announce@pgaconference.org): to receive main announcements relating to PGA projects and meetings, to be invited to next conference and other bigger events
- [pga-i18n@pgaconference.org](mailto:pga-i18n@pgaconference.org): if you have any translations skills, this is the list you can join and for translation of calls, important mails and documents
- [pga-infopoints@pgaconference.org](mailto:pga-infopoints@pgaconference.org): a list used for various infopoint administrative tasks, for new infopoints who want to be listed, for old infopoints who want to update their survey, and to send the various documents and translations that should be added to the infopoint webpage
- [pga-www@pgaconference.org](mailto:pga-www@pgaconference.org): this is the list of people dealing with this very website

## GLOBAL COMMUNICATION

- [globalaction@lists.riseup.net](mailto:globalaction@lists.riseup.net): for the PGA global process
- [convenors@lists.riseup.net](mailto:convenors@lists.riseup.net): for convenors
- [pgawana@lists.riseup.net](mailto:pgawana@lists.riseup.net): for PGA Middle-East

## WEBSITES

- <http://pgaconference.org> PGA Europe
- <http://www.agp.org> Peoples Global Action Global Page
- <http://all4all.org> Global Action Data base
- <http://balkans.puscii.nl> Balkan Decentralized Network