



WORLDWIDE RESISTANCE ROUND-UP INSPIRED BY

Peoples Global Action

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'We do not want your charity, we do not want your loans. Those in the North have to understand our struggle and to realise it is also part of their own. Everywhere the rich are getting richer, the poor poorer, and the environment is being plundered. Whether in the North or South, we face the same future... Globalisation should mean we want to globalise human society, not business. Life is not business.'

A farmer from Karnataka, India



June 18th 1999, City of London. Washing capitalism off the streets.

"They never knew what hit them. They had assumed it would be business as usual, the way it had been for decades. Rich men gather, meet, decide the fate of the world, then return home to amass more wealth. It's the way it's always been. Until Seattle."

- Michael Moore, U.S comedian (not the WTO director general)

"In a very real sense, the Zapatista movement emerged as a tentative and transitory solution to precisely the problem which confronts us everywhere: how to link up a diverse array of linguistically and culturally distinct peoples and their struggles, despite and beyond those distinctions, how to weave a variety of struggles into one struggle that never loses its multiplicity."

Foreword

Peoples' Global Action (PGA) is an international network that was originally inspired by the Zapatista struggle in Mexico. PGA had a hand in events such as the June 18th Global Day of Action which saw London's financial centre shut down, and the 'Battle of Seattle' anti-World Trade Organisation protests, alongside hundreds of other not-so-(in)famous events. Due to its diffuse and fluid nature as well as not having any offices, paid staff, funds or bank accounts, the role of PGA and its link between different events has remained obscure. We hope this publication clarifies these links and helps to further build the PGA network and the whole movement of positive resistance to capitalism.

When deciding to put this together we have been faced with the complexities of representation. While not wanting to speak for, or on behalf of anyone beyond ourselves, we have been forced by limitations of space and the sheer volume of information available from groups, to edit - sometimes severely - other people's writing. We've highlighted what seems to be exciting, interesting and inspiring and tried our best to keep its content and 'feel' of writing. But no doubt we'll have made mistakes, so sorry if this is the case...

What you hold in your hand is an expanded and revamped version of the PGA bulletin number 5 which already exists in various non-English forms. PGA bulletins have previously been a series of action reports, written by those involved, compiled by a team and sent around mostly via email and the web. Many people do not have access to the internet, and are not on the email lists where much of

this information flows, so it is necessary to regularly compile this information in printed form. We have used the action reports as the foundation for this bulletin, which traces the trajectory of the PGA from its first conference in February 1998 until now.

What follows has been collated, edited and laid-out by a collective of revolutionaries/activists/people (OK, so we've had problems defining ourselves!) living in the UK who often work under the banners 'Reclaim The Streets' and 'Earth First!'. This is essentially a PGA bulletin for a UK audience, but we've produced a large print-run so we can give copies to groups requesting them from other English-speaking countries. This is in the hope that our all-night editorial get-togethers might inspire other groups to make more use of the information collected for future PGA bulletins.

We welcome comments, corrections and all your feedback, however vitriolic(!) Ideas for writing/ theory/ analysis to be included with the next collection of action reports are welcome, which we'll pass on to the next group mad enough to take on the next edition. We can be contacted via the Reclaim The Streets (London) address, see resources on page 30.

The editorial collective, London, Feb 2000.



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Weaving the fabric of global struggle

Never heard of Peoples' Global Action (PGA)? Our impassioned chronicler presents a review of the history, inspirations and manifestations of the PGA network; with a nod to the revolutionary possibilities beginning to (re)emerge....



The Accelerating History of PGA Capitalism had won; many had declared it was the end of history - it was November 1989, the Berlin wall had just fallen. Travel a mere ten years forward in history... it's November 1999, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), legislators of global capitalism, try to meet in a city reeking of tear gas and paralysed by tens of thousands of demonstrators. A piece of graffiti is painted all over Seattle: "Don't Forget - We are Winning". It was clear that history had a lot further to go.

Whether you were on the streets of Seattle that day dodging the rubber bullets, or following the hundreds of bullock carts converging on the Narmada dam in India, or marching with trade unionists in Manila, or in London trapped by the £3m police operation, or mocking the stock exchange in Buenos Aires, or even occupying a McDonalds in Milan... one thing was clear to everyone: at the end of the 20th century resistance had become as transnational as capital.

As the state, transnational corporations and their puppets the International Monetary Fund and WTO impose "free market" policies on every country on the planet, putting profit and economic growth above all else, they are unwittingly creating a situation where

diverse social movements are able to recognise each others struggles as related and are beginning to work together in new ways. But where did this extraordinary show of international solidarity spring from?

It wasn't in the acrid mist of Seattle's tear gas that this global movement was born, but in the humid mist of the Chiapas jungle, in Southern Mexico on New Years Day 1994 the day. This was the day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect, a day when two thousand indigenous peoples from several groups came out from the mountains and forests. Masked, armed and calling themselves Zapatistas, their battle cry was "Ya Basta" - "Enough is Enough". An extraordinary popular uprising, which was to help change the landscape of global resistance, had begun. Using a jungle battered laptop computer and intermediaries to get the discs to an internet connected computer, the Zapatistas were able to bypass the media censorship of the Mexican state and communicate directly. People everywhere soon heard of the uprising.

These masked rebels, from poverty stricken communities, were not only demanding that their own land and lives be given back, neither were they just asking for international support and solidarity; they were talking about neoliberalism, about the "death sentence" that NAFTA and other free trade agreements would

"They were demanding the dissolution of power while encouraging others all over the world to take on the fight against the enclosure of our lives by capital"

impose on indigenous people. They were demanding the dissolution of power while encouraging others all over the world to take on the fight against the enclosure of our lives by capital. "Don't join us - do it yourself" was their message.

The sense of possibility that this uprising gave to millions of people across the globe was extraordinary. In 1996, the Zapatistas, with trepidation as they thought no-one might come, sent out an email calling for a gathering, called an "encuentro" (encounter), of international activists and intellectuals to



meet in specially constructed arenas in the Chiapas jungle to discuss common tactics, problems and solutions. Six thousand people attended, and spent days talking and sharing their stories of struggle against the common enemy: capitalism.

This was followed a year later by a gathering in Spain, where the idea for the construction of a more action focused network, to be named Peoples' Global Action (PGA), was hatched by a group made up of activists from ten of the largest and most innovative social movements. They included the Zapatistas, Movimento Sem Terra, (the Brazilian Landless Peasants Movement who occupy and live on large tracts of unproductive land) and the Karnataka State Farmers Union (KRRS), renowned for their "cremate Monsanto" campaign which involved burning fields of Genetically Modified crops.

The group (who became the PGA convenors committee, a role that rotates every year) drafted a document outlining some of the primary objectives and organisational principles of the emerging network. It outlined a firm rejection of appeals to those in power for reforms to the present world order. A support for direct action as a means of communities reclaiming control over their lives, and an organisational philosophy based on autonomy and decentralisation. In February 1998, Peoples' Global Action was born. For the first time ever the worlds grassroots movements were beginning to talk and share experiences without the mediation of the media or Non Governmental Organisations (NGO's).

This first gathering of the PGA was held in Geneva - HQ of the much hated WTO. More than 300 delegates from 71 countries came

to Geneva to share their anger over the current phase of the capitalist project. From the Canadian Postal Workers, and Earth First! to anti-nuclear campaigners, to French farmers, to the indigenous from the Maori, U'wa and Ogoni peoples, to Korean Trade Unionists, to Reclaim the Streets, to the Indigenous Women's Network of North America, to Ukrainian radical ecologists... all were there to form, "a global instrument for communication and co-ordination for all those fighting against the destruction of humanity and the planet by the global market, while building up local alternatives and people power." One of the participants spoke of this inspiring event: "It is difficult to describe the warmth and the depth of the encounters we had here. The global enemy is relatively well known, but the global resistance that it meets rarely passes through the filter of the media.

And here we met the people who had shut down whole cities in Canada with general strikes, risked their lives to seize lands in Latin America, destroyed the seat of Cargill in India or Novartis's transgenic maize in France. The discussions, the concrete planning for action, the stories of struggle, the personalities, the enthusiastic hospitality of the Genevan squatters, the impassioned accents of the women and men facing the police outside the WTO building, all sealed an alliance between us. Scattered around the world again, we will not forget. We remain together. This is our common struggle." One of the concrete aims of this gathering was to co-ordinate actions against two events of global importance that were coming up in May of that year, the G8 meeting (an annual event) of the leaders of the eight most industrialised nations,



Ecology has influenced many movements today and that is perhaps why their model of organisation and co-ordination resembles an ecological model, why it works like an ecosystem. Highly interconnected, it thrives on diversity, works best when embedded in its own locality and context and develops most creatively at the edges, the overlap points, the in-between spaces. Those spaces are where different cultures meet, such as the coming together of the American Earth First! and Logging Unions or London tube workers and Reclaim the Streets. The societies that they dream of creating will also be like ecosystems, diversified, balanced and harmonious.

The global "race to the bottom" in which workers, communities and whole countries are forced to compete by lowering wages, working conditions, environmental protections, and social spending, to facilitate maximum profit for corporations, is stimulating resistance all over the world. People everywhere are realising that this resistance is pointless if they are resisting in isolation. E.g - say your community manages, after years of tireless campaigning, to shut down your local toxic waste dump, what does the transnational Company that owns the dump do? They simply move it to wherever their costs are less and the resistance weaker - probably somewhere in the Third World or Eastern Europe. Under this system, communities have a stark choice either compete fiercely with each other or co-operate in resisting the destruction of our lives, land and livelihoods by rampaging capital.



which was to take place in Birmingham and the second ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organisation which was being held a day later in Geneva. The outcome of the gathering was that three months later in May 1998 for four consecutive days, acts of resistance echoed around the planet.

In Hyderabad India, 200,000 peasant farmers called for the death of the WTO, in Brasilia landless peasants and unemployed workers joined forces and 50,000 of them took to the streets, while over thirty Reclaim the Streets parties took place in many countries, ranging from Finland, to Sydney, to San Francisco, to Toronto, to Lyon and Berlin. In Prague, the biggest single mobilisation since the Velvet Revolution in '89 brought thousands into the streets for a mobile street party which ended with several McDonalds being "redesigned" and running battles with the police. Meanwhile in the UK 6,000 reclaimed the streets blocking central Birmingham as the G8 leaders fled the city to a local manor, to continue their meeting in a more tranquil location. In Geneva the streets exploded: world leaders had congregated there for the WTO ministerial, and to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), the forerunner of the WTO. Over 15,000 people from all over Europe and many from other continents demonstrated against the tyranny of the WTO, banks had their windows smashed, the WTO Director General's Mercedes was over turned. Three days of the heaviest rioting ever seen in Geneva followed.

It was clear something was happening, something big, and the momentum was becoming unstoppable. A year later an

intercontinental caravan of 500 people from the global South toured Europe, directly confronting governments, corporations and banks. On June the 18th the caravan ended in Koln where the G8 was holding its annual meeting. That day carnivals against capitalism took place in financial centres on every continent. The term "anti capitalist " became common currency in many media reports. Five months later on November the 30th the World Trade Organisation is brought to its knees... the rest is history...

At over 100 years old, activist Hazel Wolf has lived through a Russian Revolution, a Chinese Revolution and the fall of the Berlin Wall. "the thing about all of them is, nobody knew they were going to happen." she says. A revolution, by its nature, hardly seems possible before it takes place, but it may seem obvious and even inevitable in hindsight. But one thing is sure, revolutionary epochs are periods where tyrannical institutions lose their legitimacy. They are eras of convergence, when apparently separate processes collect to form a socially explosive crisis. They are moments when hope is ignited, the hope that everything can be transformed, and transformed quickly. They are times when history speeds up >> >>

KRRS, Capitalism and coconut curry...

The second PGA Conference took place in Bangalore, India, in August last year. For six days people from over 25 countries as diverse as Nicaragua and Indonesia, gathered to talk about the network, its strengths, weaknesses and the direction in which it was moving. For many the gathering also provided a focus for discussion on how to co-ordinate global resistance to the forthcoming WTO Ministerial on Nov 30th.

The conference resulted in a number of fundamental changes to the structure, philosophy and self-perception of the PGA. It was felt by almost all of those present that there was a need to extend our critique beyond the WTO and free trade and to attack capital and other forms of domination in their entirety.

Although meetings were characteristically chaotic (being in English, Spanish and often two Indian languages), it was decided to explicitly distance the PGA network from groups who hold fundamentally different ideas to our own, for example far-right groups, political parties and reformist NGOs.

The conference also provided an opportunity to begin calculating methods of both expanding and consolidating the network, whilst taking it out of the realms of cyber-space and relating it to our own, and others, lived experiences. Most importantly, the convergence of individuals from the most disparate and diverse social movements allowed for inspiration and understanding to be shared, built upon and taken home to be put into practice. <http://www.squall.co.uk> (features) for full report.



Enquentro: The latest Zapatista-inspired 'enquentro' was for the Americas only, and took place in the Amazonian city of Belem in December 1999. Over six days nearly 3000 people participated in hundreds of discussions about linking struggles, sharing information and ideas, and importantly some serious partying. Groups attending ranged from the Workers Party, Brazil's main opposition political party, to indigenous peoples including the Yanomami, to Brazil's strong black movement, and the inspirational radical 'hip-hop' street movement. While problems arose leaving two parallel meetings for two days - broadly the 'official enquentro' attended by the left political parties, and another 'alternative enquentro' attended by most of the other groups - it was impressive that the spirit of continued dialogue allowed these parallel meetings to coalesce for the final two days.

'If you come only to help me, you can go back home. But if you consider my struggle as part of your struggle for survival, then maybe we can work together.'

The Inter-Continental Caravan, spring 1999 was made up of 400 farmers and grassroots activists including members of India's KRRS, Zapatistas, Colombians and women from the landless movement in Bangladesh. It was a month-long tour to protest against debt, unfair terms of trade, economic globalisation, GM foods and recolonisation of the South. Eleven buses carried them around 12 European countries to meet and exchange experiences with local environmental and social activists. Actions took place at Monsanto and Cargill's European headquarters, at an anti-GM 'crop squat' in Norfolk, England. There were also meetings with Polish ecological farmers. The Koln G8 laugh parade was frustrated by a state crackdown and logistical problems, but many strong links were made across cultures and countries. More details: www.agp.org N30:www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/inter/UScaravan/

J18: June 18th 1999

An international day of protest, action and carnival aimed at the heart of the global economy: financial and banking districts. Seventy two places across all continents burst into action whilst the G8 leaders met under armed guard in Köln, Germany. (www.j18.org)

The proposal for a worldwide day of action in the financial centres around the world was translated into 7 languages and distributed to over 2000 groups worldwide by post and email:

"...Wherever there is Oppression there is Resistance... A proposal has been made by various groups and movements of activists from England to hold an international day of action aimed at the heart of the global economy: the financial centres, banking districts and multinational corporation power bases. The suggested date is the 18th June 1999... This proposal is made in the spirit of strengthening our international networks and follows from the success of co-ordinated global action during May 16-20th 1998. These events coincided with the G8 meeting in Birmingham, Great Britain, and the second ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organisation in Geneva, Switzerland... Next year between the 18th - 20th June the G8 will meet in Köln, Germany... Each event would be organised autonomously and co-ordinated in each city or financial district by a variety of movements and groups. It is hoped that a whole range of groups will take part including workers, peasants, indigenous people, women, students, the landless, environmentalists, unemployed and others... everyone who recognises that the global capitalist system, based on the exploitation of people and the planet for the profit of a few, is at the root of our social and ecological troubles... OUR RESISTANCE WILL BE AS TRANSNATIONAL AS CAPITAL!"

As the proposal weaved its way through the world's communication systems, enthusiasm for the day began to gain momentum. Inspired by the possibilities which lay within the simultaneous occupation of the world's primary financial districts, and ever conscious of the new connections and understandings we were beginning to make, the day finally arrived...

J18 WORLDWIDE ACTIONS >> >> AUSTRALIA : >> MELBOURNE OPPOSITION LEADER KIM BERZELEY CUSTARD PIED... MOVING DEMO VISITED STOCK EXCHANGE AND WESTPAC BANK... NIKE STORE PAINT BOMBED. >> SYDNEY ANTI-BUSINESS LUNCH AND 'SCUMBAGS TOUR' OF FINANCIAL DISTRICT... EVENING CRITICAL MASS BIKE RIDE TOURED THE CITY. >> PERTH: DEMO AGAINST WESTERN MINING'S DESECRATION IN THE PHILIPPINES AND ACTION AGAINST LOCAL ENGINEERING COMPANY - CLOUGH - WHO ARE BACKING PLANS TO BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR WASTE DUMP IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA. >> ADELAIDE THE WILDCAT COLLECTIVE 'STUCK COINS AROUND IN STRATEGIC PLACES' INCLUDING THE STOCK EXCHANGE... EVERYONE FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE FUTURE DID A BANNER WALK NEAR THE MAIN BRANCH OF WESTPAC BANK INVESTING IN THE JABILUKA URANIUM MINE. >> >> ARGENTINA: BUENOS AIRES MULTI-RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLY AGAINST DEBT AND GLOBAL CAPITALISM IN GENERAL STAGED IN FRONT OF THE I.M.F AND CENTRAL BANK BUILDING... MARCH THROUGH STREETS OF FINANCIAL DISTRICT. >> >>



London Actions: 30,000 copies of a spoof newspaper 'Evading Standards' were handed out to explain the J18 events, analyse capitalism and provide visions of a brighter future. At 00.01 on J18 the action began when the London Metal Exchange was paint-bombed. Then in the early hours of the morning Tower Bridge was closed by absailing climbers hanging a 'Life before Profit' banner. From 7.45am through to midday a 600 cyclist strong **Critical Mass** toured The City blocking traffic. 50 people barricaded London Bridge with cars, chains and a 'Stop The City' banner. Mid-morning saw an Animal Rights march wind through The City visiting animal exploiters, and CAAT the **Campaign Against the Arms Trade**, occupy Lloyds Bank and Friends Provident for their roles in arms exporting. The **Association of Autonomous Astronauts** picketed companies involved with the 'militarisation of space'. **London Greenpeace** picketed various McDonalds and their subsidiary Aroma during the day. **The International Solidarity with Workers in Russia** group targeted clothing company GAP for their slave labour practices in Russia.

Carnival against Capital: London, - a personal account... The Carnival kicks off in Liverpool St station and the drums are loud and thrilling on the marble type floor of the huge concourse. We snake out with the drums to a dead plaza with a McDonalds and a brazen office block of the Thatcher era. The drum beat is thrilling, mountaineers climb up the office block to do a cheeky dance on the parapet, wild cheering of the Naked Protest while the officers of the office stand looking out of the window, they the passive spectators of what is normally their undisputed territory.

I'm reading the great spoof of the Evening Standard paper called Evading Standards that are being given out. One of many sharp headlines reads "The Final Act of Enclosure". The drummers keep up the momentum. Someone gives us Green masks, this is the Gift Economy, the selfless and anonymous work that is making all this happen. The mask has a practical suggestion inside- "On the signal follow your colour...Let the Carnival Begin. In the station there are



also Red, Black and Gold Masks. Inside the mask too is printed a web site address and a keen understanding of the mask:

"These in authority fear the mask for their power partly resides in identifying, stamping and cataloguing: in knowing who YOU are... The wearing of a mask symbolises the rejection of the cult of personality so crucial to consumer capitalism...While the elite gangs of state and capital become evermore faceless their fear of the faces of everyday resistance grows."

We are with the Greens and at the word set off away from the main crowd, a thousand of us. No leaders but messages are passed and there is a mood of trust, the very production of the mask and the paper speaking of the intelligence and nous of those who have worked to make this happen. This is a Magical Mystery Tour to be enjoyed. With whistles and drums, inviting those in the offices to come out on the street we cross Bishopsgate and down Middlesex Street. The cops are hardly anywhere to be seen. Some in the masks are dressed in suits. Meanwhile those in the offices and banks have been told to dress down. More identity confusion. The suits that are in suits look strangely sheepish.

The move it transpires is for Aldgate East Station. The few cops there let us stream through. The word is for a Westbound District Line train. Not the first train. We wait for the second. Full of blank faced passengers it does not stop, nor the one after. For a moment the trust is shaky. Feels like a trap down in the tube but the word is to make it out of the other exit. Back out on the street we start back westwards back into the heart of the City. Complete take-over of the street, traffic halted. London sightseeing buses full of tourists who wave. Some angry guy wants to smash our faces in but 'there are too many of you' - precisely.. Security guys stood in Bank doorways. So many faces at the windows.

Then that great feeling, we are all re-united, masks of all colours,

"My Lords, is there evidence that there is a potent folk memory in certain political circles of the success of an extremist group in taking over a demonstration and assaulting and bringing down the Winter Palace? It launched a most momentous revolution with terrible consequences."

- Lord Simon of Glaisdale, House of Lords Discussion of the attempted occupation of LIPFE building during London's J18 carnival.

"Suggesting people partying will take it indoors 'storming the Winter Palace' style is also pretty unlikely, given the passivity of street parties."

Green Anarchist magazine, no.56 spring '99

BANGLADESH: DHAKA HUNDREDS OF DOMESTIC WORKERS DEMONSTRATED IN THE CENTRE OF THE CITY AGAINST THE IMF, WORLD BANK, CAPITALISM, TNCs, AND EXPLOITATION BOTH LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL. >> >> **BELARUS: MINSK** TWO GROUPS ORGANISED A PICKET AT MCDONALD'S. HANDING OUT PAMPHLETS ABOUT MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, AND TOILET PAPER TO PEOPLE ENTERING MCDONALDS... A "NO CORPORATIONS"-OPEN AIR FESTIVAL WAS STAGED WITHOUT PERMISSION FROM THE STATE. >> >> **BRAZIL: DESTERRO** THE 12 METERS HIGH CLOCK IN THE CENTRE OF THE CITY, ERECTED BY MEDIA GIANT "GLOBO NETWORK" TO CELEBRATE 500 YEARS SINCE THE 'DISCOVERY' OF BRAZIL, WAS STAINED WITH RED PAINT SYMBOLISING THE BLOOD OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE SHED BY THE EUROPEAN CONQUERORS THEN SPRAY PAINTED WITH THE QUESTION: "CELEBRATING WHAT?" >> >> **CANADA: CALGARY** LOCAL ACTIVISTS CONVERGED ON THE HEADQUARTERS OF SHELL CANADA, IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE NIGER DELTA. >> **OTTAWA** A MOVING DEMO OF AROUND A 100 PEOPLE VISITED, THE BANK OF NOVA SCOTIA, THE US AND MEXICAN EMBASSIES, MONSANTO AND ARMS MANUFACTURER RAYTHEON, CLOSING DOWN A SHELL STATION ALONG THE WAY. >> **TORONTO** STREETS RECLAIMED WITH OVER 2000 CYCLISTS, DANCERS, PEDESTRIANS >> **VANCOUVER** ABOUT 100 PEOPLE "QUARANTINED" THE

"We are conscious of the devastating capability of transnational capital but we are also conscious of the creative capacity of imagination and freedom. That's why we will protest in force on J18 but we will also celebrate with joy, the joy of making possible human contact, warmth, art and life." Club de los Intelectuales Podridos (Decaying Intellectuals' Club) from Bogota, Colombia.

right in the belly of the beast by the London International Financial Futures Exchange or LIFFE building where billions of dollars are sent whizzing round the globe from computer screens on a 24 hour basis. More anonymous geniuses have been at work. In the cobbled street running down to the Thames by the side of the building a whole area has been blocked off by our side and best of all in the heat a hydrant let off and turned into a forty foot waterfall as the drums beat out in these alien buildings. It's fucking mental. Dancing and singing in the rain. Which is also cover for the bricking up of some LIFFE entrances and the smashing of others. We blocked up the drains of Dowgate Hill to flood it and took a rest with some other joyous faces down on a tiny bit of beach on the Thames.

The LIFFE building is part of a multi-storied bridge across Cannon Street. Right along is strung up a huge banner: THE EARTH IS A COMMON TREASURY FOR ALL. This is Precise Protest, where it matters. Other geniuses the musicians, have used an underground car park as a base to ferry in speakers, decks, computers even. Down Cannon Street beat the drums. More banners are raised up using the CCTV cameras to tie their ropes to. The musicians have taken a bit of precinct further back.

We have a break a couple of streets away to get a drink and returned to find a new mood. News of a young woman being run over by a police van and some of the fearless youth who had stormed into the LIFFE building itself. Now the cops showed themselves, they were hot, they had been given the run-around, had never dealt with the fast-moving fearlessness of the generation who are the children of us middle-aged 'anti-capitalists', as the media had begun to say, that is a kind of victory in itself. They had the new telescope batons, the shields, the all-in-one helmets and they were on the charge. Young guys in suits brought out flare canisters out of suitcases to join the bottles flying in the face of the police charge.

Adrenaline was up and running. A luxury Mercedes showroom was trashed, another bank attacked as the police charge was held off.

After many clashes the crowd seemed to be split in two large groups with many heading towards another 'autonomous action' in central London while others were forced across the river away from 'The City'. Plumes of smoke could be seen rising from the financial centre and the sound of a police helicopter filled the air. The 'J18 Carnival' was over but for sure, a new mood of resistance is rising.

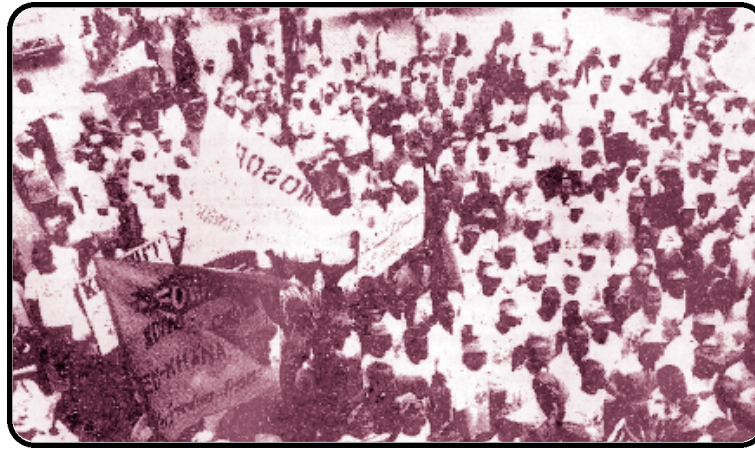


STOCK EXCHANGE AND THE LOCAL HQ'S OF TIMBER GIANT MACMILLAN BLOEDEL. >> >> **CZECH REPUBLIC:** HUGE STREET PARTIES IN BRNO AND PRAGUE IN THE WEEKS LEADING UP TO J18, WHILE ON THE DAY ITSELF INFO SHOPS WERE ORGANISED IN A NUMBER OF CITIES AND IN PRAGUE A CROWD OF 400 CAUSED TROUBLE AT VARIOUS BANK BRANCHES AND CORPORATE HQ'S. >> >> **FRANCE: BORDEAUX** A SO STRONG GROUP VISITED AND OCCUPIED AROUND 20 DIFFERENT BANKS. >> >> **GREECE: ATHENS** 300 PEOPLE TOOK OVER CITY CENTRE STREETS, BURNING PALLETS, SETTING UP BARRICADES, AND MAKING LOTS OF NOISE. >> >> **ITALY: BOLOGNA** AUTONOMOUS ZONES WERE CREATED FOR THE NIGHT, BLOCKING TRAFFIC AND INVOLVING INTERACTIVE PERFORMANCES. SIMILAR ACTIONS HAPPENED IN MILANO, ROMA, SIENA, FIRENZE AND ANCONA. >> **ISRAEL: TEL AVIV** A 'GOODBYE TO THE MALL' STREET PARTY WAS HELD IN THE FINANCIAL DISTRICT. >> >> **MALTA:** MOVIMENTI GRAFFITTI STAGED A ROCK CONCERT UNDER THE BANNER 'MALTA NOT FOR SALE'. >> >> **NEPAL:** ACTIVIST GROUPS COMPOSED A MEMORANDUM AND GAVE IT TO THE NEPALESE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE IMF, WORLD BANK AND ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK. >> >> **NETHERLANDS: AMSTERDAM** 50 ACTIVISTS BLOCKADED THE STOCK EXCHANGE, HANGING BANNERS. >> >> **PAKISTAN:** GUJARAT A MARCH AGAINST NUKES

Nigeria: Carnival of the Oppressed: a personal account... People from across Nigeria and the Niger Delta ethnic nations joined the rest of the freedom-loving world to observe the J18 International Day of Action. The Nigeria event tagged "carnival of the oppressed" kicked off about 9.00 a.m. when thousands of people from all walks of life gathered at the Port Harcourt International Airport to wait for Dr. Owens Wiwa, younger brother of the slain Ogoni Ken Saro-Wiwa. Owens was four years ago forced into exile in North America by the late dictator General Abacha.

By 10.30 a.m. the plane conveying Owens from Lagos landed in Port Harcourt. He was accompanied by Sam Olukoya, a journalist and Doifie Ola, journalist, environmentalist and member of the Co-ordinating Council of the Chikoko Movement. A brief speech by Owens expressed optimism that the peoples of the Niger Delta would overcome in their struggle against the alliance between the Nigerian state and Western multinational oil companies like Shell, Agip, Mobil, Chevron, Elf and others who have for over four decades destroyed the basis of livelihood of the Niger Delta peoples. The crowd then moved in a convoy to Agip junction in Port Harcourt where a street named after General Abacha was unofficially re-named after Ken Saro-Wiwa and the old signpost pulled out. The Agip offices in Port Harcourt were stormed where two mock coffins were deposited in its front in protest against the human rights atrocities of the company, the most recent being the carnage at Ikebiri, Southern Ijaw local government of Bayelsa State where soldiers on the orders of Agip shot eight villagers, including a two-year old baby last April.

The demonstrators also blockaded the gates leading to the offices of Shell in Port Harcourt. The blockade lasted for about two hours and solidarity messages were presented by representatives of virtually all the ethnic nationalities in Niger Delta and groups like



the National Association of Nigerian Students. There was dancing and singing in the streets, bringing Port Harcourt, Nigeria's petroleum capital, to a standstill.

The June 18 event in Nigeria was co-ordinated by the Chikoko Movement. Several ethnic nationality organisations, social movements and NGOs participated in the event, including: Environmental Rights Action (Friends of the Earth, Nigeria), MOSOP, Ogoni Solidarity Movement, Ijaw Youth Council, National Association of Nigerian Students, Peoples Democratic Liberation Party and Women in Nigeria-Rivers State. Other groups are Pan African Youth Movement, Niger Delta Women for Justice, Society for Awareness and Growth in Etche, Civil Liberties Organisation-Rivers/Bayelsa, Watch the Niger Delta, Oodua Peoples Congress, Isoko National Youth Movement, Egi Forum, Oron National Forum and the Supreme Egbesu Assembly.

World Wide Web: The Electronic Disturbance Theatre launched an international Internet blockade of the Mexican Embassy in solidarity with the Zapatista communities - 18,000 people from 49 countries participated, clogging the embassy website.

Video footage and detailed reports of many of the actions were on the J18 website within 20 minutes of them taking place. The server was full to capacity with people logging on all day. And within 3 days a video documentary of the London J18 events had been produced.

BROKE THROUGH POLICE CORDONS TO TOUR PARTS OF THE CITY. LATER POLICE CHARGED AND TEARGASED PROTESTERS ARRESTING SCORES OF PEOPLE AND HOLDING UNION LEADERS ON CHARGES EQUIVALENT TO HIGH TREASON. >> >> **PORTUGAL: LISBON** A STREET PROTEST INFORMED ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY OF CAPITALISM... THEY ALSO SIMULATED THE DEMOLITION OF A BANK. >> >> **SENEGAL:** 600 PEOPLE ASSEMBLED FOR PERFORMANCES AND SPEECHES IN PROTEST AGAINST CHILD EXPLOITATION. >> >> **SOUTH KOREA: SEOUL** HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE GATHERED FOR A RALLY WITH SPEECHES AND PERFORMANCES BY FARMERS GROUPS AND UNIONS. >> >> **SPAIN: BARCELONA** AT 8AM, 25 PEOPLE BLOCKED TWO MAIN ROADS TRANSFORMING ONE INTO A BEACH, BIKE DEMOS CLOSING A MOTORWAY... 100'S OF PEOPLE RECLAIMING A PIECE OF LAND WHERE AN EVICTED SQUAT HAD BEEN DEMOLISHED TO MAKE A VEGETABLE GARDEN. AT 7PM GROUPS CONVERGED FOR A MASSIVE STREET PARTY >> **MADRID:** A J18 STREET PARTY ENDED 7 DAYS OF ACTION FOR SOCIAL RIGHTS THAT INCLUDED AN INVASION OF THE MADRID STOCK EXCHANGE >> **OVIEDO, AVILLES, GIJON (ASTURIAS)** : IN ALL 3 CITIES BANKS, DEVELOPERS AND MCDONALDS WERE PICKETED AND INFO STALLS SET UP - LATER PEOPLE GATHERED FOR MUSIC, DANCING AND THE PRINTING OF A MURAL. >>

J18: Reflections and analysis

June 18th: Just another day, or an unprecedented global movement in action? An all too sketchy look at the reality of the international links, the internet hype surrounding the event, the focus on finance and the language of 'globalisation'...

The revolution will not be emailed

"The internet is an elite organisation; most of the world hasn't even made a phone call." Most British media reports and commentaries on the events of J18 repeatedly declared that the action had been organised on the internet. While the internet was indeed useful, the mainstream media's devotion to exploring its use by radical groups reflects more the current technological restructuring of the global economy than the reality of peoples' knowledge of and participation in the event.

Those involved in J18 organising in London for instance, though prone to forgetfulness, were well aware of the elitist connotations of the technology. In addition to website and email use organisers sent out over a thousand action proposal letters in several languages through libertarian and anarchist address lists, printed up a succession of leaflets in runs of 30,000 or more, held and attended regular meetings, conferences and the like, all of which are, contrary to media-imposed impression, still crucial to any successful mobilisation or movement.

The media may have ignored this old-fashioned organising but any movement serious about confronting inequalities of power and creating free and ecological communities can ill-afford to do so. Internet access and use is controlled and dominated by 'the north', and the rich in the north at that. Like various lifestyle choices, internet access tends to coincide with how much cash there is in your pocket and with a particular background. We will not 'connect' with the peoples' of 'the south' through internet-working; regardless of the Zapatistas mythical laptop communiqués from the Mexican jungle. Nor will we connect with the needs and desires of many people in our own regions through any number of email discussion lists. Why? Because the internationalised market system will increasingly polarise the inequalities of internet access along

class lines and tolerate radical use only to the extent that it doesn't hinder the technology's commercial development.

Even if organising mainly through the internet were possible it wouldn't be desirable. Given the present social system, the internet is to communication what the motor car is to transport: useful for getting you, or your message, from A to B but ultimately an atomiser of social space and a commodified substitute for human association.

We should of course continue to use the internet for information sharing and for initial contact with like-minded groups but with awareness of its market-led trajectory, its limitations and always alongside more involving and humanising activities. For a radical grassroots movement will require the real warmth of human togetherness and the raw 'shout on the street' to make a true social and ecological communications revolution; and it probably won't be emailed.



VALENCIA A CARNIVAL OF 400 PEOPLE DANCED THROUGH THE STREETS BEFORE OCCUPYING THE FINANCIAL DISTRICT. >> >> **SWITZERLAND: GENEVA** ACTIONS ON CITY BANKS AND IN THE EVENING A MOBILE CARNIVAL BLOCKED ROADS AND SERVED BLACKCURRANT SYRUP TO DRIVERS. >> **ZURICH** 300 PEOPLE OCCUPIED A DEVELOPMENT CONSTRUCTION SITE, HOLDING A PARTY WHICH, TO THE AUTHORITIES DISMAY, CONTINUED ALL NIGHT. >> >> **UK: ABERDEEN** CROWD LEAFLETED THE CITY CENTRE. >> **ASHTON COURT** ACTIVISTS FROM THE ASHTON COURT QUARRY CAMPAIGN VISITED THE OFFICES OF PIONEER AGGREGATES, RESPONSIBLE FOR EXPANDING THE QUARRY AND DESTROYING MEADOW. HANGING BANNERS AND DISRUPTING THE DIRECTORS BOARD MEETING. >> **EDINBURGH** REED EMPLOYMENT AGENCY WAS PAINT-BOMBED AND FLYPOSTED. >> **GLASGOW** 500 JOINED A MOVING CARNIVAL PARADE TOURING THE CITY STREETS STOPPING AT THE COUNCIL CHAMBERS, ARMY CAREERS OFFICE, BANK OF SCOTLAND AND POLICE STATION. >> **LANCASTER** THE J18 COLLECTIVE OCCUPIED THE OFFICES OF CITY LAW FIRM FRESHFIELDS UNFURLING A BANNER "CAPITALISM IS KILLING THE PLANET". LARGE CRITICAL MASS GATHERED IN THE TOWN CENTRE. >> **LINCOLN** AN ACTION AGAINST THE GAP'S SWEATSHOP PRACTICES WAS FOLLOWED BY STREET THEATRE, INFO STALLS AND CRITICAL MASS BIKE DEMO. >>

From "WTO under fire... from left and right..."

"The discourse on globalization fits so well into right-wing racist rhetoric because it blames an international capital not tied to a geographical location, for the economic and social difficulties. The simplistic analysis overlooks the role of local capital in the process of accumulation and exploitation and thus allows the demand to protect the latter against the international financial capital..."

The Globalisation discourse also easily fits in with conspiracy theories. It is not any longer the processes of production and of capital accumulation that are at the centre of the attention, but clubs of influential men (and some women) who negotiate among themselves the future of the world behind closed doors...

A substantial part of even the leftist variants of the discourse on "globalisation" work through emotionalising, calling upon fears about the threat on one's livelihood represented by "multinational corporations". This is very pronounced in the struggles against Monsanto and other gene technological corporations, for instance.

In parts of the ecological left the perceived threat on their livelihoods is not seen so much as a power relation between social groups, but as the destruction of "Mother Earth" by a "modern world" gone astray. Traditionally leftist ideas of self-management and autonomy get mixed with discourses on regionalism which tend towards racism, and leftist criticism of technology receives support from essentialist and fascist discourses.

The close look at local consequences of global processes, the analysis well rooted in the material, and especially the connection made with a critical assessment of "public space" including the mechanisms of its racist regulation, are hard to integrate into a right-wing discourse...

More J18 reflections: www.infoshop.org/octo/j18_reflections.html

Nearly real: the virtual reality of PGA

Of all the millions that allegedly participated in actions over the 16-20 May '98 and the global day of action on June 18th '99, how many had actually heard of the G8 or the WTO? How many knew of protests happening in other places? How many had heard of Peoples' Global Action? And so on. Partly PGA may inspire people because it offers a new internationalist way to look at existing social movements. But sooner or later we will have to work out real ways to encourage the real convergence of these movements. From this point of view the value or contribution of PGA can hardly be measured by simply adding up protests that we might somehow imagine are connected. Nor by simply listing the groups or individuals that have variously been connected to us, whether as convenors, conference participants or whatever.

The way to assess the value or contribution of PGA is in the extent to which we are able to transform the quality of relations between movements, to increase our knowledge about each other, our ability to take action in solidarity, and to offer each other mutual support. The value of PGA lies not in the abstract summation of different movements but in the real existing communication between movements and between individuals in touch with the movements. From this point of view then, PGA hardly exists.

Rather than fantasise about being a unified global voice of all these movements we need to work on thickening the density of the real interconnections at the base, whether we are talking of individual friendships, resource sharing, joint actions, mutual aid, 'movement twinning', whatever. People live and struggle locally. The global is how we imagine the rest of the world from where we are. There is no centre anywhere that could hope to organise and oversee all this mutual thickening of ties. It would be like trying to instruct a forest how to grow.

In building a global movement of resistance we can assert our will to struggle as peoples against all form of oppression. But we do not only fight the wrongs imposed on us (and our planet). We are also committed to building a new world. We come together as human beings and communities, our unity deeply rooted in diversity.

NEWBURY DEMO HELD OUTSIDE THE OFFICE OF VODAPHONE, MOBILE PHONE COMPANY, AGAINST THEIR PLANS TO TRASH GREENFIELD SITES. >> >> **URUGUAY: MONTEVIDEO** THE CENTRAL SQUARE WAS TURNED INTO A 'TRADE FAIR' THEN LATER A 'RECYCLED PARADE' THROUGH THE CITY OCCUPIED THE MONTEVIDEO BANK AND THE STOCK EXCHANGE. >> >> **USA: ASHEVILLE** 100 PEOPLE HELD A STREET PARTY, "ALTHOUGH SMALL WE ARE IN SOLIDARITY WITH 1000'S ACROSS THE WORLD". >> **BOSTON:** OVER 100 ACTIVISTS HELD STREET THEATRE PERFORMANCES OUTSIDE BANK BOSTON IN THE HEART OF THE FINANCIAL DISTRICT. >> **EUGENE:** BANK AND SHOP WINDOWS SMASHED AND TEAR GASSING OF DEMONSTRATORS - 20 ARRESTS AND 8 POLICE OFFICERS INJURED. >> **LOS ANGELES** A FIRST RTS PARTY TOOK PLACE COMPLETE WITH SOUNDSYSTEM, TRASHED CAR AND AN INSTANT SKATEPARK. THERE WERE 17 ARRESTS. BOMB SQUAD WAS SENT IN TO CHECK THE TRASHED CAR! >> **NEW YORK** 500 RECLAIMED THE STREETS IN THE FINANCIAL DISTRICT RALLYING OUTSIDE THE STOCK EXCHANGE. >> **OLYMPIA** STREET PARTY HELD A FEW DAYS BEFORE IN SOLIDARITY WITH J18 EVENTS. >> **WASHINGTON DC** 600 DEMONSTRATORS FORMED A CHAIN AROUND THE US TREASURY DEPT. >> >> **ZIMBABWE: HARARE** 5 PEOPLE TOOK TO THE STREETS SPREADING INFORMATION ABOUT GLOBAL ISSUES...

and the struggle continues...

From West Papua to France, Greece to the Philippines, hundreds of thousands of people take action daily to resist the further encroachment of their lives by various forms of oppression. Here are first-hand reports.



19/11/99 Greece, Athens: Left parties and groups demonstrated in cities across Greece against Clinton's first visit after the Kosovo war. The nights before the visit there were several attacks on US car shops, and on the day of his arrival 25,000 people demonstrated in Athens against a wide range of issues including world trade. While Greece is a NATO member and US ally, people were overwhelmingly against the NATO bombing of Yugoslavian civilians. Autonomous groups from all over Greece faced a huge police presence demonstrating outside the US embassy, and the 500 protesters were equipped with 2 meter sticks and helmets to prevent the police from getting too close. The police started firing tear gas when a few syndicates tried to break through the police line, resulting in many anarchists, also people from leftist grassroots groups and even the communist party (!!!) fighting the police back. The protestors continued to clash with the riot police throughout the day and night, and banks and shops in the centre of Athens were attacked with stones and fire. Results: 8 banks burnt down (including a two story building), more than 50 luxurious shops seriously damaged, two Kiosks and several luxurious cars destroyed.

22/11/99 Switzerland, Geneva: WTO headquarters was occupied. One group, posing as "visitors" occupied the hall and chained themselves to the main stair leading to WTO Director-General's office with a banner saying "No Trade, no Organisation: Self-management!". Others occupied the roof of the building and deployed two banners (below) The occupants beamed pictures of the occupation out directly onto the Internet from a portable installation.

Indigenous struggle continues in West Papua: In 1963 Indonesia annexed West Papua - a beautiful land of mountains and jungle with over 200 indigenous cultures. The military marched in guns blazing and the multinational mining and logging companies followed soon after. Ever since, the tribes have waged armed resistance against the Indonesian army and the exploitation and ecological destruction they defend. Since the occupation began a sixth of the population (300,000) have been killed. Despite this genocide the resistance continues.

Since the elections last year the Jakarta based politicians have been trying to project a caring democratic image. But as the elite stage press conferences in Java, the army are still shooting demonstrators in West Papua. In the most recent incident in December, hundreds were injured and three were killed at a flag-raising attended by thousands. Scattered units of the Liberation Army of the Free West Papua Movement (OPM/TPM) remain in the jungle. On October 4th the offices of three corporations active in W. Papua were occupied across Britain. The following quote is taken from a communique of thanks sent from the OPM:



"The struggle to free W. Papua is not to take away one government and replace it with a new government. We do not want to administer ourselves the capitalist 'profit-making'. It is the struggle between modern society and tribal people. We have our common enemy, and we need to work together, throughout the world to make it disappear from this planet earth. We can only make it happen if we are united. The unity of all people in this world will make it happen. Yi Wa O!"

The British OPM Support Group is organising a European speakers tour mid-Feb to mid-March by a West Papuan. For more information or to get a copy of the 'West Papua Action Update' contact us. OPM SG, c/o 43 Gardner St, Brighton, BN1 1UN, UK. Or visit: <http://www.eco-action.org/opm/>

15/11/99, Amsterdam, Netherlands some 20 activists, occupied a museum ship, one of the earliest symbols of Hollands' colonial past, in the harbour of Amsterdam, in a protest against the WTO.

24/11/99 Manila, Philippines: Anti-ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) demonstrators were beaten by riot police and had water cannon spray used against them during a protest rally against ASEAN's fast track trade and investment liberalisation. New York, USA: The protestors erected a two-story tripod in 44th Street, a busy intersection, bringing traffic to a standstill and drawing a large crowd on the one of the busiest shopping days of the year.

25/11/99 Paris France: 5000 farmers with their sheep, ducks and goats, feasted on regional products under the Eiffel tower in protest at the impact of trade liberalisation

27/11/99 Nantes, France: 200 people, some dressed as carrots, salads, aubergines and strawberries went into a supermarket carrying banners saying "No WTO, no GMOs, No to agri-business", and 'it's not GMOs you have to eat, it's capitalism that has to be abolished".

27/11/99 Padua, Italy: A peaceful demo in front of the GMO Exhibition "Bionova" - attended by the top managers of GMO companies - was wildly attacked by the police, twice.

27/11/99 Geneva, Switzerland: Two columns of demonstrators, almost 2000 farmers and 3000 city dwellers from all over Switzerland met in the center of Geneva and marched on the WTO HQ.

27/11/99 Milan, Italy: Groups from the anarchist/ Social Centres area joined a grassroot trade union demonstration and gave it a strong anti-globalisation character. Workers and squatters were for once united against WTO. Meanwhile, a group of "White Coveralls" (direct action group from the zapatist/ social centers area) occupied the main McDonald's, locking themselves on the building facade, hanging banners denouncing neoliberalism and distributing flyers. Later the White Coveralls joined a city-wide meeting for the closure of the migrant prison camps, with a Anti-McDonalds banner hung upside down to symbolise the non-food served by this multinational.

29/11/99: Milan, Italy: Students of the new University 'La Bicocca' occupy the faculty of 'Biological Sciences' to protest against WTO and biotech food.

France: 75,000 people in 80 different cities in France took to the streets protesting at the dictatorship of the markets and the WTO.

Struggles against Dam construction

Narmada dam, India: Communities of farmers and Adivasis (indigenous peoples) living on the banks of the Narmada river, organised within the grassroot movement NBA (Narmada Bachao Andolan, Save Narmada River), have been fighting for 12 years against a dam construction known as the Sardar Sarovar project. NBA is also member of the National Alliance of Peoples Movements, which has been a PGA Convenor. After successful resistance in the early 90s, which led to the withdrawal of the World Bank in 1993 and a halt of the construction in 1995, the NBA has intensified the struggle again. Some villages were flooded three times last year. On November 29th 500 people from the Narmada valley arrived in New Delhi for 3 days of actions with 2 specific targets - the coalition of Indian industry, multinational corporations and the German state to build the dam - against the WTO regime, for the vandalistic and insidious dispossession that it creates globally.

The Itoitz dam, Basque country: On February 6th 1996, 8 people from the direct action group Solidarios con Itoitz entered the dam construction site, where they cut cables, stopping work for 9 months. In 1998 the 8 were sentenced to 5 years each in prison, and after an appeal the high court resolution is about to be delivered.

The Solidari@s are now on an action/information tour of Europe, and on October 25th, eight members of Solidari@s con Itoitz and the solidarity group Narmada UK climbed London's Millennium Wheel to protest against the destruction created by big dams, unfurling big banners with the slogans "Stop The Dams!", "Free Narmada, Free Itoitz!" and "Let The Rivers Run Free!".



24/11/99. New Delhi, India: Adivasis Occupy World Bank. More than 300 Adivasis [i.e. indigenous peoples] from the Indian state of Madya Pradesh, representing all mass Adivasi movements, jumped over the fence of the World Bank building. They blocked the building, covering it with posters, graffiti, cow shit and mud, shouting slogans and singing traditional songs at the gate.

N30: November 30th 1999

An international day of protest action and carnival, against global capitalism, to coincide with the third ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organisation in Seattle, USA. Over seventy cities worldwide erupt in anger. (www.n30.org)

Seattle... Thursday... 01/12/99... 01:10:14...

As I write this riot squads and the national guard are shooting tear gas, concussion grenades, rubber bullets, pepper spray (from cannons and directly into faces), using long batons, boots, etc. against peaceful protesters, shoppers, workers, and anyone else they come across.

Yesterday (Nov 30), what seemed to be at least 100,000 people took to the streets of Seattle for non-violent protest, civil disobedience, direct action, and also fucking shit up. Riot cops gassed people sitting on the ground and dancing in front of them at 9:30am. The next time I was gassed, I was again sitting non-violently - backed up by the Infernal Noise Brigade, a marching band of anarchists in matching band outfits, fuzzy hats, and gas masks with flag twirlers, a drum corps and others, marching and standing in formation, as we waited to get gassed! As we dispersed they shot the tear gas ahead of us up the block, in front of us, trapping people in alleys.

By 3pm, the United Steel Workers and IWW decided to break from the homogenous (and only permit granted, cop escorted) march and head straight into the heart of things and get into a face off with cops. There were many people now arriving in town who had not received any protest training, had no experience of this sort of thing, and had no idea what was going on.

This face off led to confrontation (another attack from cops), this led to a huge stand off at 5pm. Again, the Infernal Noise Brigade marched right up in front, this time blockaded with burning dumpsters, in front of the riot squads and 'the peacemaker', an armoured artillery cop vehicle. More people were out in the streets,



checking things out, pissed at the cops, who fired gas, concussion grenades, rubber bullets constantly. It was about this time that the rioting really broke loose, curfew was declared, and the cops started to drive people out of downtown. They followed far beyond the perimeter they declared, at least two miles out of downtown into a neighbourhood which then responded in kind as best they could. This fighting kept on until early hours.

I've been gassed more times than I can count now, sprayed with pepper spray, seen children, old women, and anyone else you can imagine, brutalised. A girl shot between the eyes with a rubber bullet. People lying on the ground losing consciousness in clouds of gas, running blind and vomiting if they can.

Today has continued beyond that, with the declaring of martial law, police chief refusing to comment when asked if gas and bullets are being used, claiming that all explosions (the concussion

N30 WORLDWIDE ACTIONS >>> ARGENTINA: BUENOS AIRES AN ACTIVIST COALITION CARRIED OUT A MOCKING PERFORMANCE IN FRONT OF THE STOCK EXCHANGE. PEOPLE, NATURE, AND "VALUES" WERE SOLD AND AUCTIONED AT LOW PRICE AND DEMONSTRATORS HAD THEIR BODIES "DEREGULATED" TO THE SOUND OF A BAND PLAYING. THE STREET WAS DECLARED A "BEYOND THE MARKET" ZONE.>>> AUSTRALIA: BRISBANE ACTIVISTS PROTEST AGAINST THE WTO OUTSIDE BRISBANE STOCK EXCHANGE.>>> BRAZIL: SANTOS GREEN ALTERNATIVE COLLECTIVE, THE LIBERTARIAN NETWORK OF BAIXADA SANTISTA AND THE LIBERTARIAN UNION OF BAIXADA SANTISTA PERFORMED STREET THEATRE, WHILE CLOWNS DISTRIBUTED LEAFLETS DENOUNCING POVERTY AND CAPITAL. PEOPLE CARRIED POSTERS AND BANNERS SAYING "RESISTANCE AND DIRECT ACTION TO GLOBALISATION", "REBEL YOURSELF", "NO TO DESTRUCTIVE PROGRESS" AND "BRAZIL, 500 YEARS OF INDIAN, BLACK AND POPULAR RESISTANCE".>>> CANADA: QUÈBEC DEMONSTRATORS FROM THE ANTI-WTO COALITION TOURED THE HEART OF THE CITY VISITING THE PARLIAMENT, MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND SEVERAL BANKS. STREET THEATRE WAS PERFORMED AND THE DAY CULMINATED IN A DANCE FOR PEOPLE BEFORE PROFIT.>> CZECH REPUBLIC: PRAGUE FOOD NOT BOMBS SERVED FREE FOOD, AND SUPERMARKETS WERE

grenades which are fired in rapid succession into crowds) are pipe bombs thrown by demonstrators. The police declared a NO Protest zone in the core of downtown. By this early afternoon, they went outside of that zone, way beyond it, firing gas and grenades and rubber bullets into crowds, driving us into an outdoor market and gassing the people on the streets shopping, eating lunch, going home, etc. Then columns of riots squads began to occupy streets, beating people, herding people to the waterfront. There has not been a curfew imposed in Seattle since WWII, and martial law was last declared in 1919.

The solidarity here has been amazing, steelworkers supporting ecology activists supporting anarchists. Lots of citizens completely in agreement and completely disgusted by the police state actions. The space that is being used by Direct Action Networks (including Art and Revolution, Reclaim the Streets, Food Not Bombs, etc.) is an amazing hub. The few days before this civil war erupted, they held workshops on legal rights, direct action training, etc.

There are over 500 people in jail, practicing disobedience and jail solidarity there. Supposedly jails are full, which is why the cops have become so much more brutal, as they have nowhere to put us. Yesterday they arrested almost no one at all, and when asked why not, the chief replied "you can't just arrest people for nothing." Oh, but you can brutalise them into submission.

What some would call deserving businesses were "targeted" (starbucks, nike, gap, etc.). In my experience, almost all destruction came in response to police attacks on non-violent protestors (not to mention the young black kids taking to the streets after years of police attacks). This is an all-out war at this point, and it is amazing to me that in the face of body armour, batons, grenades, gas,



pepperspray, rifles, and what is pretty much a tank, we are defending ourselves with only wetted bandanas, swim goggles (if you're lucky), baking soda and water solutions, and solidarity. I am writing to you from a militarized zone where they are laying siege to entire neighbourhoods in the name of "restoring peace", a peace that exists save for the violence they bring. For every news segment showing "the anarchists in black" smashing windows, how about us anarchists giving medical aid and helping people in the streets while under attack? The organizing is incredible, medical and communication teams, daily meals, jail solidarity. It's amazing to see all the red/black flags and neckerchiefs flying everywhere.

The millennium round.

Round 1: 29/11/99 - Hundreds of delegates are kept waiting outside the conference centre following a "security breach". Police search the building for 5-1/2 hours before it is reopened. A symposium for trade ministers and WTO officials to listen i.e. co-opt and neutralise the critical views of Labour, environmental and human rights groups has to be rescheduled.

Round 2: 30/11/99 - Kofi Annan and Madeleine Albright's motorcades are prevented from reaching the building by thousands of activists blockading access to the conference centre. Other delegates are stuck in their hotels. The opening session of the WTO is cancelled.

Round 3: 3/12/99 Many Third World countries revolt against the negotiating process, and their complete exclusion from some discussions. The negotiations collapse. The closing ceremonies are cancelled and the WTO is forced to adjourn in disorder and confusion, without an agenda for the next round..

LEAFLETED. >> >> **ENGLAND: HALIFAX** A NESTLE FACTORY WAS OCCUPIED AND A BANNER DROPPED OUTSIDE. >> **LONDON:** THE CONSTRUCTION SAFETY CAMPAIGN HELD A DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE CANADIAN EMBASSY PROTESTING AT CANADA'S ATTEMPT TO USE THE WTO TO REVERSE THE DECISION BY SEVERAL EU COUNTRIES TO BAN ASBESTOS USE. A GROUP OF STUDENTS PICKETED THE LEWISHAM BRANCH OF CITI BANK AGAINST THE UNDER FUNDING AND PRIVATISATION OF EDUCATION. A STREET THEATRE/ PEOPLE'S COURT RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEVASTATION IN THE NIGER DELTA WAS PERFORMED BY NIGERIAN EXILES AND BRITISH ENVIRONMENTAL ACTIVISTS OUTSIDE THE MAGISTRATES COURT IN COVENT GARDEN. 2,000 PEOPLE GATHERED AT EUSTON STATION FOR A RALLY JOINTLY ORGANISED BY RECLAIM THE STREETS AND THE LONDON STRIKE SUPPORT GROUP TO HIGHLIGHT LINKS BETWEEN THE WTO FREE TRADE AGENDA AND THE PRIVATISATION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORT. LATER A POLICE VAN WAS OVERTURNED AND SET ON FIRE. >> **LEEDS:** FACED BY OVER 300 POLICE AROUND 50 PROTESTORS HANDED OUT LEAFLETS OUTSIDE COMPANIES. >> **MANCHESTER:** LLOYDS BANK WAS OCCUPIED AND SHUT DOWN BY 50 ACTIVISTS, WHO THEN PROCEEDED TO BLOCK THE ROAD OUTSIDE. >> **TOTNES:** A DISUSED GARRAGE AND AN OLD TOLL HOUSE, SOON TO BE "LUXURY FLATS" WERE SQUATTED TO DRAW LOCAL PEOPLE'S ATTENTION TO THE WTO. >> >> **FRANCE: LILLE** 12 BANKS GOT PAINTED IN RED DURING THE NIGHT, INCLUDING THE 'BANQUE CENTRALE DE FRANCE'. >> **AVESNE-SUR-HELPE:** FLYERS WERE DISTRIBUTED IN DIFFERENT SCHOOLS AND IN FRONT OF THE CHAMBER OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE AND

Interference FM, the pirate radio collective that broadcast across London on June 18th, repeated broadcasting again on November 30th against the commodification of the airwaves. They transmitted on the frequency used by Millennium FM 106.9. The pirates were taken off air at around 4pm in a large operation by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), responsible for enforcing the state control of radio and TV transmissions.

Geneva, Switzerland: While in Seattle hundreds of protesters were jailed and a curfew declared, the WTO Head quarters in Geneva was plunged into darkness. Computers crashed, communications to Seattle were wiped out; the chaos could only be solved after a few hours. A group with the poetic name of 'Les Reinettes Vertes' (the green apples) caused a short-circuit and explosion in the power supply building of the WTO. The group said in a brief communiqué it had targeted the WTO because it believes the watchdog doesn't give people a voice and aimed to maximise the volume of international commerce while forgetting that all transport pollutes.

From Canada to Mexico, the whole length of the West coast of North America, dock workers known as 'longshoremen' shut ports in solidarity with those in Seattle. Dozens of trucks carrying shipping containers were delayed at the entrance to the California United container terminal as hundreds of West Coast dockworkers stopped the movement of cargo.

Seoul, South Korea. KOPA staged a demonstration in front of the downtown Government buildings. A farmer cried "the Uruguay Round has been the source of countless tears and blood shed by farmers, the WTO New Round is a matter of life and death to the famers. Also the Seoul Human Rights Film Festival acted in solidarity with the international day of action, showing 3 films on the effects that the WTO, IMF and neo-liberal globalisation has had on the people of the world.

The KOPA said "We are receiving news from Seattle of the demonstrations and are greatly motivated and moved by them. Our struggle is your struggle! Power to the People!



Brazil, Santos: On November 30th, the Green Alternative Collective (CAVE), the libertarian network of Baixada Santista (RLBS) and the libertarian union of Baixada Santista (ULBS), organised a protest against the global capitalist system in Santos, in the state of Sao Paulo. The action involved environmentalists and anarchists performing a theatre piece based on "The Governed", a text by French anarchist Pierre Proudhon. Besides the performance there were about 30 people dressed as clowns who distributed about 1000 leaflets denouncing poverty and capital to people passing by. There were also people holding posters and banners saying "Resistance and Direct Action to Globalisation", "Rebel Yourself", "No to Destructive Progress" and "Brazil, 500 years of Indian, Black and Popular Resistance".

ART GROUPS PERFORMED A THEATRE PIECE. >> **DIJON:** 30 PEOPLE CHAINED THEMSELVES TO THE DOORS OF THE DIJON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND THE NEXT DOOR BANK. >> **TOULOUSE:** PEOPLE HUNG BIG ANTI-WTO BOARDS IN THE MAIN STREET OF THE TOWN CENTRE, WHILE ANTI CAPITALIST FATHER CHRISTMAS'S GAVE ROTTEN CAPITALIST FRUITS TO PASSERSBY. >> >> **GERMANY: BERLIN** A PARADE POINTED OUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF NEOLIBERAL POLITICS AND GLOBALISATION AT LOCAL LEVEL WITH MOCK SLOGANS AND FAKE BANNERS CRYING FOR MORE ORDER, MORE SECURITY AND MORE POLICE. SLIDE SHOWS PROJECTED ON BUILDING WALLS ("JAN THE WTO"). >> **TUEBINGEN & BOCHUM:** TWO GROUPS SYMBOLISED THE WTO NEGOTIATIONS AS A FOOTBALL GAME, THE BALL BEING THE WORLD. >> **HAMBURG:** FOOD NOT BOMBS DISTRIBUTED FOOD TO PEOPLE IN THE STREET. >> **MUNICH:** 150 PEOPLE PROTESTED AGAINST SIEMENS, A TNC WHICH BECAME RICH DURING THE HITLER'S FASCISM BECAUSE THEY USED JEWISH AND OTHER PRISONERS AS SLAVES, THEY HAVE ALSO RECENTLY TRIED TO GET INVOLVED WITH IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NAGESHWAR DAM IN THE NARMADA VALLEY. >> >> **SOUTH KOREA: SEOUL** KOPA STAGED A DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF THE GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS IN DOWNTOWN SEOUL. THE SEOUL HUMAN RIGHTS FILM FESTIVAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE SHOWED THREE FILMS ON THE EFFECTS THAT THE WTO, IMF, AND NEO LIBERAL GLOBALISATION HAS HAD ON THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. >> >> **INDIA: NEW DELHI** : REPRESENTATIVES AND SUPPORTERS OF NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN (SAVE THE NARMADA MOVEMENT, NBA) ENTER THE GERMAN EMBASSY TO DELIVER 11,000 PROTEST POSTCARDS FROM PEOPLE OF THE



Thailand



France



England



Aotearoa/New Zealand



USA

N30 in Israel: about 30 people went to the US embassy to protest the WTO. Among them were a group from the "women in black" vigil, people from the East Mediteranian Anarchist Collective, direct action greens (two from the PGA caravan to seattle) and a few commies who insisted in holding their party propaganda high...

"They are worried about a few windows being smashed. They should come and see the violence being done to our communities in the name of liberalisation of trade." A Philippino activist

Solidarity with those facing repression in Seattle:

Manila, 3rd Dec, Protesters tried to force their way into the gates of the U.S. Embassy in Manila for a "lightning rally" against the violent dispersal and arrests of protesters in Seattle, Washington. **Amsterdam 3rd Dec,** people demonstrated in front of the American consulate in Amsterdam, to show solidarity with all those arrested in Seattle. **Pakistan, 5th Dec,** Multan. More than 20 goups demonstrated, while the leaders from different communities and organisations held speeches against the police violence in Seattle. **Mexico, On 11th Dec,** around 500 students at the UNAM (Autonomous University of Mexico) staged a march and rally in front of the U.S. Embassy protesting the repression in Seattle during the meeting of the WTO and demanding freedom for Mumia Abu Jamal. - a black journalist facing death penalty in the US. The State police replied with very violent repression as the students were leaving.

Cyber activities: The official WTO website (www.wto.org) was put out of action for part of the day. Throughout the night the Seattle Police Department radios were fed live over the Internet, allowing listeners to hear the latest developments in Seattle as the 'troops' moved in, and the curfew began.

MAHESHWAR AREA. 100 OTHER NBA ACTIVISTS PROTEST OUTSIDE THE EMBASSY WITH BANNERS AND PLACARDS AGAINST THE DAM AND THE WTO. 500 MEMBERS OF NBA, ALONG WITH SCORES OF ACTIVISTS FROM JAGERTI MAHILA SAMITI (COMMITTEE FOR THE AWAKENING OF WOMEN, A GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT FROM THE SLUMS OF DELHI), PRAWAHA (A STUDENTS' ORGANISATION), THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF PEOPLES' MOVEMENTS AND SEVERAL LOCAL ORGANISATIONS, HELD A PROTEST AGAINST THE WTO NEAR RAJ GHAT, WHERE THE ASHES OF MAHATMA GHANDI ARE BURIED. >> **NARMADA:** MORE THAN 1000 PEOPLE FROM 60 VILLAGES PARTICIPATED IN AN ANTI-WTO PROCESSION WITH BULLOCK-CARTS ORGANISED BY REWA KE YUVA (YOUTHS FOR NARMADA.) >> **BANGALORE:** SEVERAL THOUSAND FARMERS FROM ALL DISTRICTS OF KARNATAKA (KRRS), >> >> **IRELAND: LIMERICK** 20 PEOPLE FROM VARIOUS GROUPS HELD LOUD PROTEST OUTSIDE A MCGARBAGE, A HAV, A BURGER KING AND A PENNY'S. >> >> **ICELAND:** PROTESTS TARGETED A US MILITARY BASE AND EMBASSY DEMANDING "YANKS OUT". >> >> **ITALY: ROME** A GROUP OCCUPIED THE HQ OF THE "NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR BIOSAFETY", HANGING BANNERS AGAINST GMOS AND THE WTO. >> **MILAN:** PERMANENT INFO TENT IN LARGO CAIROLI, A VERY CENTRAL SQUARE, TO INFORM THE CITIZENS ABOUT THE WTO AND THE REASONS FOR THE PROTESTS AGAINST IT - BUT ALSO ABOUT THE NARMADA AND ITOITZ DAMS AND THE PRISON CAMPS FOR MIGRANTS. IN THE EVENING PUBLIC DEBATE AT THE SOCIAL CENTRE LEONCAVALLO. >> **AREZZO:** JUGGLERS, MUSICIANS AND ARTISTS MADE A CREATIVE DEMONSTRATION THROUGH THE MAIN STREETS.. >> >> **LUXEMBOURG:** THE "CENTRAL COUNCIL OF DISPERSED ANTI-WTO

N30: reflections and analysis

The events in Seattle and elsewhere hatched contradictions. Why did some people smash windows when others insisted the day should be peaceful? And is the enemy really the WTO?

From a leaflet at Euston Station, London on N30:

Capitalism will not be destroyed by one action - no matter how exhilarating. It will require a sustained social movement of millions of people. It will also require us to think about what we are doing, to understand our enemy and the forces we can draw on against it.

The concept of globalisation is now a commonplace both among those who support and many who try to criticise the present world order, but this idea can be misleading. It is not about the weakening of good democratic nation states in favour of bad unaccountable corporations. It is the democratic states themselves and the big corporations that are setting up international frameworks like the WTO. The plan which governments and corporations are trying to agree on is to dismantle the key barriers to the free passage of money and commodities while keeping up the barriers to the movement of people. Nation states are in no danger from the process of globalisation because they are to remain prisons for their peoples. These states are not getting weaker but are increasing their powers of repression. The state and capital are two sides of the same coin.

We need to think why we are against the WTO. The problem is not free trade because the opposite of free trade is protected markets, which are still markets. The problem is not corporate rule because the opposite of corporate rule is government rule, which is the control of our lives by politicians rather than businessmen. The problem is not the loss of sovereignty to an undemocratic and unaccountable institution because we are no more in control of the sovereign democratic state than we are in control of the WTO. The problem is not just private capitalists because state run enterprises rely on the same exploitation and drudgery. The problem is not big business because small business lives by the rules of the

market just as much. The problem is not that the free trade of the WTO is not fair, because all trade is about the trading in human misery. The problem is capitalism as a whole, the fact that humanity is divided against itself, politically into separate nation states, economically into separate capitalist enterprises (whether private or state run) and individually into separate atomised worker/consumers competing with each other.

From a group destroying property in Seattle:

We contend that property destruction is not a violent activity unless it destroys lives or causes pain in the process. Private property should be distinguished from personal property. The latter is based upon use while the former is based upon trade.

In a society based on private property rights, those who are able to accrue more of what others need or want have greater power. By extension, they wield greater control over what others perceive as needs and desires, usually in the interest of increasing profit to themselves. Advocates of "free trade" would like to see this process to its logical conclusion: a network of a few industry monopolists with ultimate control over the lives of the everyone else. Advocates of "fair trade" would like to see this process mitigated by government regulations meant to superficially impose basic humanitarian standards.

As anarchists, we despise both positions. Private property--and capitalism, by extension--is intrinsically violent and repressive and cannot be reformed or mitigated. Whether the power of everyone is concentrated into the hands of a few corporate heads or diverted into a regulatory apparatus charged with mitigating the disasters of the latter, no one can be as free or as powerful as they could be in a

OPPONENTS" PENETRATE THE MINISTRY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WTO NEGOTIATIONS AND DROP A BIG BANNER FROM THE SECOND FLOOR SAYING "STOP THE WTO - FOR FAIR TRADE". >> >> **NETHERLANDS: AMSTERDAM** AT SCHIPHOL AIRPORT OVER 100 ACTIVISTS DEMANDED FREE TICKETS TO SEATTLE FROM THE THREE AIRLINE COMPANIES SPONSORING THE WTO SUMMIT. BANNERS WERE UNFURLED AND PAMPHLETS WERE DISTRIBUTED EXPOSING THE SPONSORS. >> >> **PHILIPPINES: MANILA** 8000 UNION MEMBERS AND ACTIVISTS RALLY OUTSIDE THE U.S. EMBASSY AND PRESIDENTIAL PALACE. >> **BACOLOD:** RALLY AGAINST PRESIDENT JOSEPH ESTRADA'S PLANS TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION ALLOWING FOR GREATER FOREIGN INVESTMENT. >> **ILOILO:** PROTEST AGAINST THE 1995 MINING ACT, WHICH ALLOWS 100 PERCENT FOREIGN EQUITY IN LOCAL PROJECTS. >> >> **PAKISTAN:** MORE THAN 8000 DEMONSTRATED AT THE MUZAFER, CARRYING BANNERS AND POSTERS WITH THE SLOGAN 'SHUTDOWN THE WTO', 'WTO IS A DANGEROUS TOOL FOR AGRICULTURE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES'. >> >> **PORTUGAL: LISBON** ABOUT 300 PEOPLE FROM LEFTIST AND ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANISATIONS AND ANARCHIST MOVEMENTS STOPPED THE TRAFFIC CARRYING BILLBOARDS, A COUPLE OF EARTH'S AND AN OCTOPUS TO REPRESENT CAPITALISM. THE CITY'S CHRISTMAS TREE AND McDONALD'S WINDOWS WAS COVERED WITH GRAFFITI, FIREEATERS AND STREET ARTISTS PERFORMED. THE MARCH ENDED IN A SQUARE - THE WTOCTOPUS WAS BURNED. >> **PORTO:** PROTESTERS HANDED OUT FLYERS OUTSIDE VIA CATARINA, A SHOPPING CENTRE, WEARING T-SHIRTS WITH SLOGANS LIKE "THE WORLD IS NOT MERCHANDISE", "AGAINST CAPITAL, GLOBAL RESISTANCE", "ECONOMY

non-hierarchical society.

When we smash a window, we aim to destroy the thin veneer of legitimacy that surrounds private property rights. By "destroying" private property, we convert its limited exchange value into an expanded use value....A storefront window becomes a vent to let some fresh air into the oppressive atmosphere of a retail outlet....The potential uses of an entire cityscape have increased a thousand-fold. The number of broken windows pales in comparison to the number broken spells - spells cast to lull us into forgetfulness of all the violence committed in the name of private property rights and of all the potential of a society without them. Broken windows can be boarded up (with yet more waste of our forests) and eventually replaced, but the shattering of assumptions will hopefully persist for some time to come.

From 'ColourLines', US magazine of race and action:

"I was at the jail where a lot of protesters were being held and a big crowd of people was chanting 'This Is What Democracy Looks Like!' At first it sounded kind of nice. But then I thought: is this really what democracy looks like? Nobody here looks like me."

In the vast acreage of published analysis about the splendid victory over the World Trade Organization in Seattle, it is almost impossible to find anyone wondering why the demonstrators were overwhelmingly Anglo. How can that be, when the WTO's main victims around the world are people of color? Understanding the reasons for the low level of color, and what can be learned from it, is absolutely crucial if we are to make Seattle's promise of a new, international movement against imperialist globalization come true.

A major reason for not participating given by many was lack of

knowledge about the WTO. As one Filipina said, "I didn't see the political significance of how the protest would be anti-imperialist. We didn't know anything about the WTO except that lots of people were going to the meeting." The problem of unfamiliarity with the WTO was aggravated by the fact that black and Latino communities across the U.S. lack Internet access compared to many white communities. So information about WTO and all the plans for Seattle did not reach many people of color.

Limited knowledge meant a failure to see how the WTO affected the daily lives of U.S. communities of color. "Activists of color felt they had more immediate issues," said one activist. "Also, when we returned people told me of being worried that family and peers would say they were neglecting their own communities, if they went to Seattle. They would be asked, 'Why are you going? You should stay here and help your people.'" Along with such concerns about linkage came the assumption that the protest would be overwhelmingly white as it was. A Bay Area activist originally from Mali, West Africa, said she had originally thought, "the whites will take care of the WTO, I don't need to go." Another activist said, "I think even Bay Area activists of color who understood the linkage didn't want to go to a protest dominated by 50,000 white hippies."

Yet if only a small number of people of color went to Seattle, all those with whom I spoke found the experience extraordinary. They spoke of being changed forever. "I saw the future." "I saw the possibility of people working together." They called the giant mobilisation "a shot in the arm," if you had been feeling stagnant. More than ever, we need to work on our ignorance about global issues...we need to draw specific links between WTO and our close-to-home struggles in communities of color.

'Seattle marked the end of a period. The idea of PGA was launched to focus on the WTO and 'free trade'. This chapter is over now. Most people by are aware that this is not enough: The discourse is easily recuperated by the NGO reformist community which goes hand in hand with governments playing the trick of 'dialogue with civil society'. Most agree we need to extend our discourse and analysis if we don't want to end up contributing to the stabilisation and modernisation of capitalism.

The WTO and 'free trade' are nothing but expressions of underlying social relations which need to be examined, understood and tackled. If we don't manage to formulate what we stand for, our protest will be easily recuperated and incorporated in the capitalist development.'

SUFFOCATES, IDLENESS WITHERS". JOINED BY MUSICIANS, FIRE-EATERS AND OTHER STREET ARTISTS THE DEMONSTRATORS ENTERED THE SHOPPING CENTRE HANDING OUT FAKE MONEY. >> >> **NEW ZEALAND: WELLINGTON** THE COMMITTEE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CIVILISATION (WELLINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP) GAVE OUT FREE VEGGIE BURGERS WITH A LEAFLET ON WTO. THERE WAS A DISPLAY AND A VIDEO SHOWING HOW THE SANCTIONS ARE EFFECTING THE PEOPLE IN IRAQ. >> **ROTTERDAM:** ABOUT 25 PEOPLE TOOK PART IN A STREET THEATRE PROTEST AGAINST THE WTO, INVOLVING FACELESS STILT WALKERS REPRESENTING THE WTO LEADING POLITICIANS WITH 2 FACES ALONG THE STREET AND POLITICIANS WITH CORPORATE SERFS CAUGHT UP IN A NET. >> >> **USA: BALTIMORE** A CRITICAL MASS AND A BLACK BLOCK OF ANARCHISTS JOINED 125 DEMONSTRATORS. >> **NASHVILLE:** PROTESTERS ENTERED THE RECEPTION AREA OF AL GORE'S PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN CARRYING A 13 FOOT RONALD MCDONALD PUPPET AND A LARGE BUTTERFLY, SINGING 'NO, NO, NO WTO'. >> **WASHINGTON:** PROTESTORS TURNED OUT TO EXPRESS THEIR DISPLEASURE WITH CORPORATE GREED AND FDA INACTION ABOUT GENETICALLY-ENGINEERED FOODS. **BOSTON:** DEMONSTRATORS PROTEST AGAINST THE WTO OUTSIDE THE FEDERAL RESERVE BUILDING. >> **SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH:** THE LOCAL CARPENTER'S UNION ALONG WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH STUDENT LABOUR ACTION COMMITTEE AND ENVIRONMENTAL GROUP TERRA FIRMA HOSTED A FUN MARCH THROUGH THE DOWNTOWN AREA. >> >> **WALES: CARDIFF** AN ANTI-WTO PROCESSION MARCHED THROUGH THE CENTRE OF TOWN. >> **BANGOR:** A COALITION OF GROUPS HELD A PROTEST MARCH IN THE HIGH STREET...

and the struggle still continues...

Where next after Seattle? From Ecuador to Mexico, Columbia to Thailand, the question is answered with continued and connected resistance.

Ecuador: In January 2000 a peoples' uprising against the free market-obsessed government came close to beginning a positive new beginning for the country, until it was frustrated by US and other major investors along with the military. The grassroots indigenous group CONAIE was a convenor of PGA until the Bangalore conference. Indigenous peoples, representative Antonio Vargas said the government is committing an error by arresting leaders instead of opening a dialogue with the indigenous movement. "They're never going to shut the people up," said Vargas, "because the people are rising up and seeking changes."

Davos, Switzerland: On the 29th of January people demonstrated outside the World Economic Forum (WEF) meeting in Davos, the meeting of the 2000 self proclaimed world leaders in business and politics. This year, the WEF had a special significance, since it was the one after Seattle and we know that TNCs and industrialised governments are still keen on opening more markets. The mobilisation was surprising. Many people crossed half Europe to make it to the Swiss Alps. We ended up being 1300 people, from France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy.

The mood was good, kind of euphoric. The demo was fluid, not divided too much into blocks, with a nice diversity of people. People's banners and shouts were very diverse also including anti-fascist, free Mumia, against corporate rule, solidarity with the people in Ecuador, TNCs won't rule the world, anti-capitalists. The anti-WTO co-ordination had a clear 'no dialogue with the WEF', position. A beautiful moment was when a few people tore down one of these huge McDonald's ads saying 'Think global - eat local'. It was just such a provocation that it was enthusiastically torn apart by the crowd and the tissue set on fire. The big smoke cloud resulting from this fire went straight into the windows of the hotel where the WEF was meeting, and people joked that "the ghost of Davos was exorcised".



UNAM support demo Mexico's biggest in 12 years.

More than 100,000 people demonstrated in Mexico City on February 9th to demand the liberation of students arrested when police regained control of the country's main campus closed by a nine-month strike.

The demonstration, which included students, parents of the detainees, trade unions and leftist groups, was the largest in 12 years in Mexico, and came at the height of campaigning for July 2 presidential elections. Chanting "freedom, freedom," the demonstrators demanded the release of the 85 students still held since police took control of UNAM's main campus on Sunday. They held up banners pledging to continue their strike even though they lost control of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), Latin America's largest university, which they had blockaded for more than nine months. The demonstrators also chanted slogans calling for an end of the Institutional Ruling Party (PRI)'s 70-year hold on power. Chants of "not a vote for the PRI" echoed across the historic city centre as more than 100,000 people - some estimates put the number of 150,000 people - converged on the central Zocalo square.

Zapatista leader sub-commandante Marcos denounced what he described as the jailing of "hundreds of young students in clear violation of the law, common sense and reason." "No one can talk of democracy in this country as long as students fill the jails," he said. **We are everywhere! Solidaridad con los estudiantes de la UNAM! Hasta la victoria!**

Colombia: U'WA: Feb. 3, 2000 marked an international day of action in support of the U'wa of Colombia, who are protesting the plans of US-based Occidental Petroleum Corp. (Oxy) to drill for oil on their traditional lands. A group of indigenous Colombians from the U'wa took part in a protest march and encampment that encircled the Environment Ministry building in Bogota. Environmental and human rights groups demonstrated on Feb. 3 outside Fidelity Investments offices in Boston and 19 other cities (including London and Amsterdam) to protest the mutual fund company's stake in Oxy. The day of action was organized by groups including the Rainforest Action Network, Amazon Watch and Project Underground. In Prague, Geneva, and Tel Aviv, protest groups demonstrated in front of Colombian embassies in support of the U'wa.

The Colombian military began evicting the U'wa from their traditional lands for Occidental's Samore project in northeastern Colombia on January 25 in order to begin a major oil drilling operation. The U'wa consider the area, which includes intact Andean cloud forest and overlaps with the reserve, to be sacred ancestral territory. "The region under contention has great significance as a U'wa sacred site." said Berito KuwarU'wa, spokesperson for the U'wa people, "The protection of this area adjacent to our reserve is fundamentally important to our way of life." In 1995 the U'wa leaders grabbed international attention when they threatened to commit collective suicide if the project was not stopped.

In recent weeks the U'wa have repeatedly stated that they are willing to die to stop the project. "With oil operations comes destruction," said KuwarU'wa. "Each area of the forest that has been developed for oil has paved the way for civil war battles, causing great violence against people and our Mother Earth."

There are plans for a European tour by a member of the U'wa at the end of March 2000; contact oilwatch@aseed.antenna.nl
The campaign against Fidelity and Occidental continues.
PO Box 92066, Amsterdam, 1090 AB, Tel: +31 (0)20 668 2236

Thais resist 'the new Imperialism'

A thousand activists marched on a major UN trade conference on Feb 12th calling for radical changes to the global financial system which keeps much of the world locked in poverty. Demonstrators were not deterred by a massive Thai security curtain around the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). As world leaders and delegates met inside a conference centre, singing and yelling protestors carrying banners lambasting the World Bank, World Trade Organisation and IMF found their route to the venue blocked by riot police. 'WTO/IMF/ADB/WB - Go to Hell' and 'Struggle Against the New Imperialism' read banners hung between balloon-decked trucks carrying the protesters.

Flanked by cordons of police, several hundred Thai and foreign protestors were later allowed to approach the conference centre hosting UNCTAD and stand across the road from the venue. Once in front of the venue, protestors slammed globalisation and presented their demands to UNCTAD officials, who came out to police barriers to meet demonstrators. 'We hope organisations realise globalisation is leading the world to chaos, inequality and madness,' said protest or Demoussa Dembele. Earlier in the day, some of the 300 trade unionists camped on the boundary of the exclusion zone managed to break through the police line.

The pies the limit!

Question - what do the following people have in common? Arch free-marketeer Milton Freeman, Monsanto CEO Bob Shapiro, ex-WTO DG Renato Ruggiero, outgoing IMF boss Michel Camdessus, and Bill 'microsoft' Gates, (+ many others whose names we've forgotten).

Answer - They have all been recipients of the ancient and mysterious art of the pie-thrower or 'entarteur' in recognition of their crimes against humanity and their general pomposity. No dodgy public figure, shadowy corporate boss or shady scientist is safe from the scourge of a carefully flung flan. There is no easier way to injure the dignity, poll ratings or PR image of those who want to screw the world and it's people. So as the Biotic Bakers Brigade would have it: try it yourself as we are all zapatisseristas.



Possibilities and pitfalls

The events of Seattle have reverberated around the world. Many different groups have, or want, a stake in the future, Who are these groups, and are they really part of the movement against capitalism?

The battle for the mantle of Seattle.

The events in Seattle have reverberated around the world; all the elements of the broad coalitions involved and various elements who weren't, are now looking to build on the 'success' of Seattle. In the UK they include, minority political parties, both left and far-right, non-governmental organisations, and what's often called 'the direct action movement,' or by the media, 'the anarchists'.

The most visible attempt to build on the events in Seattle has been a series of public lecture-cum-meetings organised by the Socialist Worker Party (SWP) called 'People and Protest: where now after Seattle?'. The meetings have provided a forum for the SWP and other speakers on the panel - often including the Green Party and NGO's such as the World Development Movement and Jubilee 2000 - to present their perspectives on the new "anti-capitalist movement".

Attempts by the SWP, and others from the authoritarian left, to jump on the bandwagon of burgeoning new movements is not a new phenomenon. Dynamic, vibrant and fluid resistance movements have time and again become victim to the dogma and drudgery of the politics of the past. The passion and creativity seen in the Spanish anarchist collectives of 1936, in the factories and universities of Paris '68 and now on the streets of Seattle have been jealously seized upon by such elements of the left. Radical challenges to the power structures which dominate our lives are assimilated and recuperated by those who claim to be on our side but whose primary goal is simply to become the new elite.

Equally worrying is the potential for recruitment by far-right

political groups being opened up by debates around issues such as national sovereignty and the empowerment of local economies - issues being highlighted by some of those resisting the worst excesses of the global economy. While far-right groups in the UK are almost non-existent, in Australia nationalist groups sent messages of support to those taking action on June 18th 1999, while in Belgium the anti-MAI (Multi-lateral Agreement on Investment) coalition was destroyed through the involvement of the extreme right.

Non-Governmental Organisations are a diverse grouping, however they do share some common traits. Who are NGO's responsible to? These are usually either mostly middle-class people who pay subscriptions, for example Greenpeace, or a mixture of subscribing supporters and government grants, for example Oxfam. No NGO is going to bite the hand that feeds it so none will ask for any measure which may upset the middle classes. While Christian Aid back the Brazilian landless peasants movement, they would never publically support radical land struggles in the UK, for fear of alienating their funding base. Thus while many people's first involvement in political protest is via local NGO groups, these groups cannot be the agents of the sweeping social change required.

Equally important is the impact of NGO's in the Third World. They usually focus on local projects benefiting a small section of the population, while their 'self help' ideology helps divert popular attention from the sources of poverty - shifting the perspective from looking upward at the owners of land, industry and banks to looking down at scarce resources and the poor working hard to solve micro-problems at a local level. NGO's compete directly with social movements for the loyalty and activity of the poor, often depoliticising and demobilising movements while their foreign funding co-opts local leaders.

Unlike those groups described above, those of us involved in putting together this publication come from the direct action movement. Direct action, unlike joining a political party or ideology, or lobbying for reforms, is about the total reclamation of all life. It is about people, both individually and collectively, creating their own means of confronting and dismantling the power structures which dominate our lives and are destroying our planet. We have no leaders and no party line, only the dream of a free and ecological world in which competition and coercion are replaced with community and co-operation



How to get involved:

Its easy to get involved in the PGA. Just send us your annual membership and you will receive a monthly bulletin which you can read from the comfort of your own home. Once you have become member you can log onto our web site and download pro forma letters and petitions to send to your pet hate corporations and politicians. Best of all once a year you can participate in a mass action organised for you by a team of specialists working from central PGA Headquarters in Geneva.

Well actually NO:

The PGA is founded around the concept of direct action, and direct action is about changing things through our own self organisation and ultimately taking direct control of our lives and communities. The role of PGA is simply to help such action to be communicated and co-ordinated across the world.

To get involved is to get into the information flows, to spread your own information, to reflect on the ideas, to find out about and work together with direct action groups in your local area or to get together with friends and set up your own action group. To get involved is to highlight the common causes of diverse issues locally and to use and remake the PGA bulletin, web site and e-mail networks to forge links internationally. To get involved is to help organise regional PGA conferences which can support and co-ordinate with the international PGA conferences. To get involved is to recognise that the abolition of capitalism, domination and hierarchy will require sustained global grassroots action by co-ordinated and autonomous, groups, networks and organisations working together.

YOU ARE THE PEOPLES GLOBAL ACTION

www.agp.org

Prisoners: Direct Action has its risks, of the many who go through the courts an unlucky few end up in prison. (while many others successfully sue the police for wrongful arrest). Prisoner support is vital to any attempt at large-scale social change. If you challenge corporations or the state, and you begin to be effective, strenuous efforts will be made to criminalise you or your movement. If the innocent deserve our support, the 'guilty' do more so!

Prisoner support: For reasons of space we could not even begin to list the addresses of all of those inside, or even all of those imprisoned for explicitly anti-capitalist activities. We have provided the contact addresses of a few UK based prisoner support groups who can keep you informed about new prisoners along with the latest information on releases and address changes. Life in prison can be hard, but receiving support from others can make a lengthy sentence appear much less daunting. If you've never written to a prisoner before and are not sure what to say, why not just send a postcard. Prisoners addresses available from contacts below.

June 18th Prisoners: Although surprisingly few arrests were made on J18 itself, the State has been waging a campaign of intimidation in its aftermath. The photographs of hundreds of people suspected of committing offenses on the day have been circulated to police forces around the country, published in the press and displayed on the City of London Police web site. As a result arrests have been made.

Unfortunately investigations and arrests are likely to continue. If you are arrested you should remember - and take advantage of - your right to silence. You are obliged to give your name and address but nothing else. Even if you are shown photographs of yourself committing offenses do not be tempted to make a statement. It is their job to prove to a court that the photograph is actually of you.

Ask to speak to a good solicitor and contact the Legal Defence and Monitoring Group (LDMG) as soon as possible.

LDMG contact: BM Haven, London, WC1N 3xx, 0181 533 7116

Earth Liberation Prisoner (ELP): Supports all of those imprisoned for ecological direct action, and publishes the regular bulletin Spirit of Freedom. Contact them c/o **Cornerstone Resource Centre**, 16 Sholebroke Avenue, Chapeltown, Leeds, LS7 3HB, U.K. or e-mail: earthlibprisoner@hotmail.com

Watch out for the terrorism bill. The state is running scared... The British Government is pushing through sweeping new laws disguised as a bill to prevent domestic terrorism attempting to put a stop to political dissent outside the "proper" channels. If you have ever supported the ANC or any similar foreign struggle, if you have ever gone to a demo where property may be damaged, if you have ever suggested action which may risk anyone (including your own) "health or safety", if you have spoken at a meeting supporting such political dissent, posse's a leaflet about, or are suspected by the police of any of the above... then you could be branded a "terrorist" and have your rights removed and be jailed for years... campaign contact Pilgrim on 0171 428 0872 <http://www.blagged.freereserve.co.uk/terrorbill/index.htm>

Feeling inspired ? Itching to get onto the streets ? Well here are some dates to pencil into your diary. But remember a revolution doesn't happen in one day, its a 24hr occupation....

Caravan to Washington DC to oppose IMF & World Bank, Meeting on the 16th and 17th of April - The Global Unity Movement (G.U.M.) is organising the caravan using the affinity-group model to organise. If any of you want in, or want to provide support, now is the time to start talking to people and organising affinity groups to fund-raise and organise logistics.

We're also going to be holding a series of workshops on everything from non- violence training to first aid to legal. Anyone who can volunteer to teach/assist/etc with those should also contact us - the (temporary) web site is <http://members.xoom.com/arkeoptryx/globalunity.html>
The voicemail/update line is: (510) 496-6000 ext. 105.

Demonstration in Washington against the IMF/World Bank: Meeting April 16th - 17th. For more info contact: 50 Years Is Enough Network (Washington DC), www.50years.org and www.a16.org

Global week of action on GMO's in April 2000:

From April 1-8 an International Week of Action will take place under the name: Resistance is fertile! The idea was born and worked out in Bryansk, Russia, where around 40 Genetic Engineering campaigners and activists gathered to talk about strategies. The idea has been picked up in the US by the Biotech Action Network (BAN), and many groups in Europe are planning events. A web site with the basic information has been set up at www.resistanceisfertile.org

For more information contact: Nina Holland, A SEED Europe, Postbus 92066, 1090 AB Amsterdam Netherlands; tel:+ 31-20-668-2236, email: nina@aseed.antenna.nl

UK contact: Genetic Engineering Network, PO Box 9656, London N4 4JY; genetics@gn.apc.org Tel: 0171 374 9516

International Woman's Day: On March 8 there will be a global women's strike. For more information contact: International Wages for Housework campaign, Crossroads Women Centre, 230a Kentish Town Road, London NW5 2AB, womenstrike8m@server101.com or web site <http://womenstrike8m.server101.com>

Latin America PGA meeting in Nicaragua

March 26-31st 2000 - focusing on Latin American movements. Email Daniel Querol: gme@tmx.com.ni for more information.

May Day 2000 Global Day of Action:

Global day of Action celebrating what we are about and what we want.. A day when historically the green, red and balck comes together. A day to celebrate the powerful cocktail of pleasure and politics.. Actions planned in Europe and US so far... In London, UK a 3 day conference of anticapitalist ideas is followed by a mass actions on Mayday.

For more info contact: lobster1.dircon.co.uk/md_index.html or infoshop.org/mayday2000.html. For the latest London Mayday info see the Mayday 2000 site @ <http://www.freespeech.org/mayday2k>

North American PGA meeting to be held in Windsor, Canada from June 1-4, 2000 during the meeting of the Organisation of American States. For more info please contact: MWMorrill@aol.com, dbleakney@cupw-sttp.org or briane@tao.ca.

A message from the MST (Brazil) - I would like to ask people to denounce a World Bank project in Brazil called "The Land Bank". The World Bank - like the WTO and the IMF - was created to benefit big capital. In the last 15 years, the World Bank has sent about \$10 billion to Brazil. In the same period, we have paid back about \$14 billion to the World Bank.

The World Bank does not help us eliminate poverty. Instead, it takes out our resources. To learn more about the World Bank project in Brazil and respond to our action alert, check GX web site: <http://www.globalexchange.org> and <http://www.mstbrazil.org> - Jao Pedro Stedile, MST National Board

Prague 26-28th of September: Proposal for a Global Day of Action to coincide with the Annual General Meeting of the IMF/World Bank, Prague 26-28th of September. 'The dynamic generated by PGA has had major successes in the North with the global days of action, but is very weak in the South. Latin American groups have been saying that IMF would be a good target to get the dynamic going again in the South, as it is much better known than the WTO.

In Prague and Eastern Europe the organisation and mobilisation process has already started. Suggestions for organising towards this day is for each group in the North to twin up with a Southern group. This would permit exchanging politically in

more depth. The European groups could help representatives from their Southern partner to come north, do conference touring (maybe mini-caravans) and then come to Prague. The twinning idea should in any case be a good one for PGA. Please give us a reply ASAP. In solidarity; PGA support group who met after Davos, Geneva 2/2/00. Contact: contact@destroyimf.org - www.destroyimf.org

From June 1st - EXPO2000 in Hannover, Germany.

During the five months of the world exhibition expo2000, 170 governments, international organisations and corporations want to present their view of 'our' global problems and solutions.

Under the slogan "Man Nature Technology" the EXPO 2000 is to deliver this one message: There is no alternative to capitalism. The so-called new solutions are just the old ones: genetic and bio-engineering, information technologies, nuclear technologies, etc..

The EXPO is an occasion and not the reason of our work... The main aim of our politics is not to mobilise for the EXPO. We are for approaches going beyond this and allowing a continuous collaboration with others. Please direct enquiries to antiexpo2000@gmx.de more info on the expo www.expo2000.de



The Future is not business as usual

Never again will the elite economists and technocrats be able to decide the fate of the world in anonymous tranquillity. There are rumours going around that the next WTO Ministerial meeting may be held in Qatar, in the Persian Gulf i.e. : in the middle of a very hot and extremely inaccessible desert. What are they afraid of ? If this is the only place that the de facto world government feels safe to meet in, then capitalism has become extremely vulnerable of late.

We have entered a unique historical period, a period of great transition. The whole system is in crisis and when systems reach such points of disequilibrium, small gestures can have big effects, radical change becomes much easier and more likely. And it is radical change, the complete rejection of capitalism, which is being sought by movements across the world.

What makes this revolutionary period unique is the complete delegitimation of the state, an essential pillar of the present world system and an unprecedented awareness of the possibility of imminent ecological collapse.

It has become clear that revolutionary objectives cannot be gained by some change in who controls the state structures. The history of the last 200 years of failed revolutions has taught us that state reformist action has gained nothing. All it has done is contain struggle and dampen any higher expectations. Everywhere people are rejecting political parties. It is significant that more people under 25 went

on the " J18 Carnival Against capital" in London than voted in the 1999 European Elections. At no time since the French revolution of 1789 has there been such a pervasive antistatism and without the state the endless accumulation of capital is no longer possible.

The urgency of the global ecological situation also makes reform pointless. The whole basis of the present system, progress defined by economic growth, is profoundly anti ecological, and we can no longer wait for the right historical conditions for revolution, time is rapidly running out for the planet and its many species. Radical change must happen now, because there is no time left for anything else.

The future has probably never been so uncertain, yet it is such moments of crisis, when everything is in disarray and disorder, that change is most likely to occur. The word "crisis" comes from the Greek "Krisis" meaning the decision, the turning point of a disease. One thing is certain, the future will be what we make it, and there seems to a very simple decision to be made, do we want a future or not?

“The enemies of capitalism will be back...”

The Times newspaper editorial, London 19/6/99 the day after J18 carnivals erupt on every continent.

GLOBAL ACTIVIST NETWORKS
Groups highlighted in colour have been key movers in the PGA

Peoples' Global Action:
Email: pga@agp.org
www.agp.org

Campaign Against the Arms Trade:
Email: admin@caat.demon.co.uk
Tel: +44 (0)171 281 0297

Reclaim The Streets:
Email: rts@gn.apc.org
Tel: +44 (0)171 281 4621
PO Box 9656, London, N4 4JY, UK
www.reclaimthestreets.net

A SEED Europe:
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*If you think
you are too
small to make
a difference,
try sleeping
with a
mosquito.*

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http://damn.tao.ca

DISCLAIMER: The people who threw this newspaper together would like to reassure you, gentle (and not so gentle) reader, that capitalism isn't really that bad. So pop another Prozac, turn up the TV (to drown the shouts from the street), and if you do have to go out, don't forget to shop like hell. Oh, and don't whatever you do get incited by this product to do anything silly like take control of your life. Or break any laws...



we are everywhere

