N5M3
NEXT 5 MINUTES 3
WORKBOOK

KEIN MENSCH IST ILLEGAL

HOW LOW CAN YOU GO

KEIN MENSCH IST ILLEGAL

HOW LOW CAN YOU GO

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HOW LOW CAN YOU GO

KEIN MENSCH IST ILLEGAL

HOW LOW CAN YOU GO

LOWTECH SLOWTECH NOTECH

LOWTECH SLOWTECH NOTECH

LOWTECH SLOWTECH NOTECH

GET ORGANISED!

GET ORGANISED!

TEACHING THE TEACHERS

TEACHING THE TEACHERS

TEACHING THE TEACHERS

TEACHING THE TEACHERS

NEXT 5 MINUTES 3
TACTICAL MEDIA EVENT
12 - 14 MARCH 1999 AMSTERDAM / ROTTERDAM

HOW

LOW

CAAN

YOU GO

NEXT 5 MINUTES 3
PROGRAMME AMSTERDAM

🌐 THURSDAY MARCH 11TH 🌐

17.00 - 18.45
De Balie, grote zaal

NEW MEDIA CULTURE IN EUROPE
Presentation of the book 'New Media Culture in Europe' and the Hybrid Media Lounge website & cd-rom
With: Marleen Stikker (De Waag), Rick van der Ploeg (Secretary of State for Culture), Thorsten Schilling (mikro.org), Bronac Ferran (Arts Council of England), Tijmen van Grootheest (chair Virtueel Platform)

20.00
De Waag

MONGREL'S INSTALLATION 'NATIONAL HERITAGE
Opening of the Installation in the Theatrum Anatomicum
Including material from the Mongrel workshop in the Bijlmer
Open from 12.00 - 20.00 hours from Friday 12th March until Thursday 18th March
(In co-operation with Montevideo)

Ganzenhoef

MONGREL'S WORKSHOP 'NATIONAL HERITAGE'
Presentation and conversation in the Bijlmer at the community centre Ganzenhoef
Saturday 6th March 14.00 - 17.00 hours: presentation
Sunday 7th March 11.00 - 17.00 hours
Monday 8th March 13.00 - 17.00 hours

The Mongrels are: Graham Harwood, Mervin Jarman, Matsuko Yokokoji and Richard Pierre Davis.

21.00 - 01.00
Kalenderpanden,
Entrepotdok 98

GRAND OPENING NIGHT
Organisation: Radio Patapoe and n5m
With: Station Rose (Frankfurt), Convex TV (Berlin), Erik Hobijn (Amsterdam), Ashley Gillard (London).

🌐 FRIDAY MARCH 12TH 🌐

10.30
De Balie, grote zaal

TACTICAL GUIDE TO THE CONFERENCE
Program outline and introduction to the overall themes

11.00 - 13.30
De Balie, grote zaal

FEMINISM & MEDIA STRATEGIES/CYBER FEMINISM
With: Old Boys Network and next Cyberfeminist International Participants. Outcomes of the debates at the next Cyberfeminist International (8 - 11 March, Rotterdam); Maria Fernandez (Pittsburgh): The Web and Questions of Race and Ethnicity; Vesna Jankovic/Attack and Suncana Spirovan/Zamir/'Because' (Croatia): Fe-mail activism in Croatia; Irina Aristarkhova (Moscow): Radek, Russian women and the net.
Moderation: Karin Spaink

13.00 - 14.00
De Balie, salon

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
Presentation of the outcomes of the Vienna European Cultural Backbone/Networking Centres of Innovation meeting. Presentation plus future of Hybrid Media Lounge Site & CD-ROM.
Moderation: Marleen Stikker

14.00 - 17.30
Paradiso, main hall

ART OF CAMPAIGNING
With: Ineke Zeldenrust of the Clean Clothes Campaign International Secretariat (Amsterdam), Apo Leong, Asia Monitor Resource Centre (Hong Kong) and Rex Varona, Asia Migrant Centre (Hongkong); Recent campaigns in France, presented by Nathalie Magnan (Paris); Mogniss Abdallah, IM'Media and Marc Chemillier, webmaster (Paris): Sans Papiers; Gisela Seidler and Florian Schneider (Munich): Kein Mensch ist Illegal;

DeeDee Halleck (San Diego), founding member of Paper Tiger: Prison Campaigns in the US; Rachel Baker (London): The Clubcard Project; Agustin de Quijano (London): Reclaim the Streets! (free cities/illegal street parties); Sam de Silva (Australia): Stop Jabiluka (uranium mining) and other campaigns; Alex Karschnia (Frankfurt): Vote Yourself! The Art & Politix-Mix of Christoph Schlingensief's "Chance 2000" (a German anti-party).
Moderation: Geert Lovink

17.30 - 19.00 De Balie, grote zaal	**THE AMSTERDAM MEDIA DEBATE** Due to commercialization and regulation, tactical media are on the defensive. What are the strategies that can be devised to counter the current situation, and claim as much space as possible, on all available channels.
17.30 - 18.30 Balie, salon	**INTERFUND LAUNCH MEETING** With: Manu Luksch, co-organiser of Art Servers Unlimited (London); Armin Medosch, telepolis (London); Inke Arns, curator and critic (Berlin); Diana McCarty, organiser (Budapest); Pit Schultz, net critic (Berlin); Lisa Haskel, curator (London), and others. Moderation: Rasa Smite, e-lab (Riga) and Eric Kluitenberg
20.30 De Balie, grote zaal	**NIGHT OF THE VIDEO ACTIVISTS** With: Yutaka Tsuchiya, video act (Tokyo), Undercurrents (London); Michael Eisenmenger, Paper Tiger TV (Next Generation); Sonja Radenkovic, B92 video production (Belgrade); Free Speech TV (New York); Tony Doument, Hi8us (UK), and others. Moderation: David Garcia
21.00 Paradiso, main hall	**HOW LOW CAN YOU GO SHOW** With: Tjebbe van Tijen, artist and archivist (Amsterdam): Shadow Play; James Wallbank/Redundant Technology Initiative (UK): Low Tech Manifesto; Alexei Shulgin (Moscow): 386DX Cyberpunk Rockband; Katarina Soukup (Montreal): Radio Bicyclette; Marko Peljhan (Ljudmila): Insular Technologies; Gustav Metzger (London): From Low-Tech to No-Tech; Vuk Cosic (Ljubljana) and Walter van der Cruijssen (Amsterdam): Ascii Art Ensemble; Eine kleine Wassermusik (Amsterdam): Aquartet; Tetsuo Kogawa (Tokyo): mini fm lecture/performance; Convex TV (Berlin): a/bbs, the audio bulletin broadcast system; Institute for Affordable Lunacy (IBW, Eindhoven): Let's Go; Emer Beamer and Fred Abels (Amsterdam): Beeldbuizen en Huilbuizen.
 23.45 00.30 01.00 03.00	**VIP-CLUB DANCE NIGHT** Low-tech solutions to high-tech problems, VJ's, DJ's & live acts go back to basics! live performance Project Dark live performance Streamer DJ Alec Smart DJ Angelo(w) With VJ's Boris Le Bouffe, Vision Impossible & Leptomania Art Movement

⊕ SATURDAY MARCH 13TH ⊕

11.00 - 13.00 De Balie, grote zaal	**NET.ACTIVISM** With: PJ, tao communication, a collective/political content provider (Toronto); Zenon Panoussis (Amsterdam); Autonome a.f.r.i.k.a.-Gruppe, communication guerrilla syndicate (Germany); Rop Gonggrijp (Amsterdam); Steve Kurtz/Critical Art Ensemble (Pittsburgh); Paul Garrin (New York); Franny Armstrong, McSpotlight, McLibel and undermining multinationals (London); and others. Moderation: Jo van der Spek.
11.00 - 13.30 Paradiso, main hall	**TACTICAL EDUCATION: MEDIA COMPETENCE** Shahidul Alam and Partha Sarker, director and multimedia trainer at Drik/Learn Foundation (Bangladesh); Jinx (aka Szabo Sandor): Roma Youth Music Project in the Internet, C3, Centre for Culture and Communication (Budapest); Ann Whitehurst (UK), "My work and that of Center Consultants is to challenge the very existence of the norm, challenge the conforming non-disabled and their limited/limiting understanding of life, politics, culture"; John Hopkins (non-located), Tech-no-mad artist and educator, neo-scenes occupation; Olia Lialina (Moscow): Web Stories; Mervin Jarman/Mongrel (London), National Heritage: radical software products that scramble the assumptions of the new media industry; Thomas Poole (New York): Poetry Slams, using competitive street poetry developed by African Americans to raise

media literacy; Michael Eisenmenger, Paper Tiger TV (New York); Reneé Kool/Stefan Kunzmann (Amsterdam/Vienna): Visual artist, theater maker and graphic designer enable children to encounter culture in the primary and secondary schools of the province Friesland.
Moderation: David Garcia and Eric Kluitenberg.

13.00 - 14.00 Paradiso, small hall	**STREAMING MEDIA: WORKSHOP** Tetsuo Kogawa, (Tokyo); Rasa Smite, founder of e-lab (Riga); MauzZ and Nina Meilof, Digital City (Amsterdam); Adam Hyde, Radio Qualia (Adelaide); Josephine Bosma (Amsterdam); Convex TV (Berlin).

14.00 - 15.30 De Balie, kleine zaal	**SATELLITE WORKSHOP** Ups and downs of communication satellites and tactical media (veritas & fantasy). With: Raul Marroquin, MauzZ and Zoe D'Amaro (Amsterdam); DeeDee Halleck, Paper Tiger/Deep Dish TV, (New York); Diederik Bangert, editor in Chief of Europe by Satellite; Alan Fountain; Dr. Dish, German satellite specialist/journalist; Vicki Gray, A2000 (Amsterdam); Michiel Hegener freelance journalist (The Hague), Marko Peljhan (Ljudmila/insular technologies); Jed Rosenzweig (New York), artist and media activist working with satellite feeds; Robert van Boeschoten, Dutch McLuhan program (Amsterdam); Rens Maas, director of TSS-Telecom, operator of an Europe-wide amateur satellite TV channel from Heerhugowaard (the Netherlands); Danny Puchen, satellite & tv dealer (Amsterdam): The use of satellite dishes among members of ethnic minorities as a main competitor of cable tv; Tetsuo Kogawa, radio activist (Tokyo).

14.00 - 17.30 Paradiso, main hall	**POST GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION** **PGO DEBATE** Steve Cisler/Association For Community Networking (US): U.S. Community, Network groups as PGOs; Kevin Dowling (UK): relationships between NGOs, mercenary armies and corporations; Adrienne van Heteren/Open Society Institute (Budapest): The role of NGOs in the transformation processes in Eastern Europe; Thomas Keenan (New York): The politics of the NGO-movement; Saskia Sassen (New York): Migration, global finance systems, governance and the transformations of economic and social networks in the age of electronic network technologies.
	PGO PROJECT PRESENTATIONS Richard Barbrook (London): Digital Workers Union; Luchezar Boyadjiev (Sofia): Culture Board; Daniel Garcia Andujar (Valencia): Art Power Database; RTMark (Los Angeles): Y2K Industries; Rasa Smite (Riga) and Manu Luksch (London): The Interfund; Association of Autonomous Astronauts. Moderation: Marcia Luyten and Andreas Broeckmann

16.30-18.00 De Balie, salon	**RADICAL SOFTWARE: CRITIQUE AND PRACTICE** An open workshop with: Volker Grassmuck, mikro.org (Berlin), co-organiser of the upcoming Wizards of OS conference (Berlin, july 1999), members of Mongrel (London), Micz Flor (Vienna): The Threadder, a web tool; organizers of the second international Browserday (Amsterdam, May 20), and others. Moderation: Ted Byfield (New York)

17.00 - 19.00 De Balie, grote zaal	**SOUTH ASIA** With: Shahidul Alam, photographer & director of Drik Picture Library (Dhaka, Bangladesh); Kunda Dixit: Panos South Asia/Himal (Kathmandu, Nepal); Afdhel Aziz: freelance journalist (Sri Lanka/London); Shudhabrata Sengupta, independent filmmaker (New Delhi, India); Gijs Hillenius: Burma Centre (the Netherlands). Moderation: Eric Kluitenberg

19.00 - 21.00 Balie, salon	**V2_EAST/SYNDICATE MEETING** Meeting of the Syndicate Network, the mailing list on electronic and media art in Central and Eastern Europe (http://www.v2.nl/east).

22.00 - 22.30 Paradiso, upper room	**FAKESHOP PERFORMANCE** Artificial Geography, an Internet performance and TV-broadcast by Fakeshop (Brooklyn/NY), live from the media studio: on-line, on the air, and on TV.

21.00 Paradiso, main hall 20.30 21.00 22.45	**TACTICAL EDUCATION: POETRY & MOTION** Doors open; DJ Soundwich Film Slam - Let the Words Fly (Marc Levin, 1998), presented by Emerald Beryl Mike Ladd (30 min) performing Poet

23.10	Baby Kain Band (30 min.) Gylan Kain, original member of the Last Poets
23.40	Technopoetry: Serge van Duijnhoven, VJ Daniël Kousbroek & DJ Fat
01.00	Noodlanding: alternative dance night

| Paradiso, upper hall | |
| 01.00: | Cyberslam for Mumia: live on http://www.dds.nl/live from New York, Los Angeles, and a taco shop in San Diego. Hosted by Marty Lucas and Thomas, Poole (in Amsterdam) and Papoleto Melendez (USA). |

🌐 SUNDAY MARCH 14TH 🌐

11.00 - 13.00
De Balie, grote zaal

INTEREAST FORUM
With: Ilya Lee (Luo Taipeh), Media/net.activists in Taiwan; Anna Har Mei-Yoke, Community Video trainer and practitioner (Kuala Lumpur); Tedjabayu Basuki (Jakarta): Countering government propaganda; Haejong Cho (Seoul): Do it yourself media for young unemployed; Toshiya Ueno, cultural studies theorist (Tokyo): Inter-East and media activism in Japan.
Moderation: John Hutnyk (London)

11.00 - 14.00
Paradiso, main hall

MEDIA & CONFLICT RESOLUTION
With: Iris Luarasi, Faculty of Journalism (Tirana): The Rise of Private Electronic Media - an Alternative?; Arber Vllahiu, Radio Koha (Preshtina): Alternative Media and the Kosovo Conflict; Vesna Manojlovic (Belgrade/Amsterdam): Peace Schools in the former Yugoslavia/Opennet Classroom; Vesna Jankovic (Zagreb): ATTACK/PAKRAC - Anti-War Action; Marilyn Hyndman (Belfast), Northern Visions; Michael Warschawski (Jerusalem/Bethlehem): The Alternative Information Centre - A joint Israelian and Palestinian initiative; Afdhel Aziz (Sri Lanka/London), freelance journalist: Conflict Resolution through Television.
Moderation: Andrée van Es

13.00 - 15.00
De Balie, grote zaal

CORPORATE COUNTER CAMPAIGNS
With: Andy Rowell (London): The Green Backlash; Sheila O'Donnell (San Francisco): Investigating Assaults on Activists; Claudia Peter (Munich): TetraPak and the PR-strategies against Greens; Helen Holder/ASEED (Amsterdam): PR or Monsanto.
Moderation: Eveline Lubbers

13.00 - 16.00
15.00 - 16.00
De Balie, salon

IKON RADIO: DE ANDERE WERELD VAN ZONDAGMIDDAG - N5M SPECIAL
Srebrenica Debate. With: IKV, Press Now, Hasan Nuhanovic and Kiko Malkic
Moderation: Jo van der Spek

14.00 - 14.30
Paradiso, main hall

STREAMING MEDIA: B92 PRESENTATION
Presentation of Belgrade intitiatives B-92 (the FM radio), www.opennet.org (Internet), ANEM (the radio satellite network) and plans for television. With: Sasa Mirkovic, Drazen Pantic and Sonja Radenkovic.

14.30 - 16.30
Paradiso, main hall

STREAMING MEDIA FORUM
With: B92 (Belgrade); Tetsuo Kogawa, radio activist (Tokyo); Ashley Gillard, pirateradio.co.uk (London); Erwin Blom, VPRO (Netherlands); Eugen Saracini, Radio 21 (Preshtina); Freespeech TV (New York); Adam Hyde, Radio Qualia (Adelaide).
Moderation: Josephine Bosma

15.00 - 16.30
De Balie, grote zaal

ART AFTER ACTIVISM?
This debate will address some of the doubts that hard core activists have about the usefulness of (new media) art in a political context. With: DeeDee Halleck (US), Alex Galloway/Rhizome, Shu Lea Cheang/visual artist (New York), Renee Turner, Stichting de Geuzen (Amsterdam), Kate Rich/Bureau of Inverse Technologies (New York), Steve Kurtz/Critical Art Ensemble (Pittsburgh), David Garcia (Amsterdam) a.o.
Moderation: Babeth van Loo

15.00 - 16.30
De Balie, kleine zaal

MIGRATION MEETING
Hacking the Borderline: Media & RL activism against new border regimes. With: Autonoom Centrum (Amsterdam), Marc Chemillier (Paris), De Fabel van de Illegaal (Leiden), IM'Media (Paris), Cross the border (Munich), Olia Lialina (Moscow), RTMark (US), Rex Varona (Hongkong), Wil van der Schans, Bureau Jansen & Janssen (Amsterdam) and others.

| 16.30 | CLOSING DEBATE & REPORTS |
| Paradiso, main hall | |

21.00	CINEMA DIGITAAL - CLUB NU
Paradiso, main hall	
20.30	DJ Huub Roelvink
21.15	Interview with Richard Sandler, director of the film 'The Gods of Time Square'
	Presentation: Kees Brienen
21.30	Start film: The Black Flag (10 min)
21.40	Start film: The Gods Of Time Square (100 min)
23.20	Club Nu: n5m Closing Party with DJ Huub Roelvink

⊕ TACTICAL AUTONOMOUS ZONE (TAZ) ⊕

De Balie, kleine zaal and salon.

A free space for presentations, workshops and debates.Please look for a special program in the main hall of De Balie, and at the information desk, for specific time and places of the TAZ program.

* Noel Douglas (UK): SupUrmarket- Ur scanner, a prototype portable network device for anti-corporate information
* Paul Garrin (New York): Update of the Name.Space project (http://namespace.xs2.net)
* Gabriele Leidloff (Hamburg): l o g i n/l o c k e d   o u t - a Statement on Mass Communication
* Gary Danner and Elisa Rose (Frankfurt): Station Rose - The First Decade, book presentation
* Robin Hamman (London): Using free tools for building activist communities online
* Tcrps/Edgar Um Bucholtz and J. Fox (Pittsburgh): Pittsburgh filmstrip demo
* Guy van Belle (Gent): New Young Farmers Claim Future
* Raul Marroquin (Amsterdam) and guests: The Low Technology Workshop
* Undercurrents/Paul O'Connor and Roddy Mansfield (Oxford): Alternative News Radio
* Andy Porter: Hi8us-projects, invent and perform camcorder dramas on the streets
* Igor Markovic: A joint presentation of Attack, autonomous cultural factory, Arkzin, medialab Lamparna and BBS Zamir
* Dave Sag/Virtual Artists PTY Ltd (Aus): Robocam, working with surveillance art
* Link; Lella (Bologna): The Global Link Project/ Meeting Gate Project
* Sue Thomas: !XENOPHOBIA! - a trAce Forum
* Christina Kopernik-Steckel (Amsterdam): EYFA Video Activists Network
* Denise Gaberman/Paper Tiger Television (New York): Subverting Media: a Guide To Low Tech Information Activism/ Don't just view it do it!
* Eric Galatas and Manse Jacobi, Free Speech TV (USA): Media as a Movement Building Tool
* Institute for applied autonomy (Pittsburgh): 'Contestational robotics' project
* Stadtwerkstatt (Linz, Austria): 'clickscape98', public Internet projection project
* Alex Galloway (New York): Rhizome, an online mailing list on site-specific art
* Sava Tatic (Prague): Introducing C@MP, the Centre for Advanced Media in Prague
* Therese Zoekende: Amsterdam artist presenting her Bijlmer years
* United Press Conference: United for Intercultural Action, launch of the European Action Week against Racism
* Equipo Fiambrera, Flyingmind, Marcelo Exposito and United Artists from the Museum: Tactical Area, a low-tech Internet project

SCREENINGS

Curated by Peter van Hoof, Kees Brienen, Babeth van Loo and Giselle Micolo.

FRIDAY, BALIE

19:00-23:00	Night of the Video Activists
23:00-01:00	Waco: The rules of engagement. William Gazecki, 1997, US (136 min)

SATURDAY, BALIE

14:00-16:30	Mumia Abu Jamal: Justice Denied. Thomas Filmyer, US 1998 (25 min)
	Micky Mouse goes to Haiti: Walt Disney and the Science of Exploitation.
	Crowing Rooster, Haiti/US 1997 (24 min)
	Zoned for slavery: The Child behind the Label. Crowing Rooster, Honduras/US,1997 (24 min)
	McLibel: Two Worlds Collide. Franny Armstrong, UK 1997 (60 min)
21:00-23:00	La pitié dangereuse. Rony Brauman, France (58 min)
	A Pig's Tale. Leah Gordon & Anne Parisio, 1998, UK (52 min)
23:00-01:00	Coraje. Alberto Durant, Peru 1998, (110 min), English subtitles

SATURDAY, PARADISO

21:00-23:00	Slam: Let the Words Fly. Marc Levin, 1997, US (94 min), 35mm

SUNDAY, BALIE

19:30-21:00	Slam: Let the Words Fly. Marc Levin, US 1997 (94 min), 35mm

SUNDAY, PARADISO

21:00-23:00	Black Flag. Istvan Kantor, Canada 1998 (10 min)
	The gods of times square. Richard Sandler, US 1998 (100 min), director present.

VIDEO LIBRARY

Paradiso, cellar, open 11.00-23.00, video screening possibilities, for individuals and groups, with monitors and a projector. Access to the Next Five Minutes video collections, containing both old and new material. For more information, please go to the on-line catalogue: http://www.n5m.org/video

PROGRAMME ROTTERDAM

INSULAR TECHNOLOGIES

Workshop at V2_Organisation Rotterdam
Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, March 15 - 17
The presentations on Monday evening and Wednesday evening are open to a wider audience.

MONDAY MARCH 15
late afternoon: first meeting, socialising

20.00 - 22.00:	Public Presentation of the Insular Technologies project in co-operation with PACT Systems Ljubljana and Ljudmila HW-LAB (Marko Peljhan/Borja Jelic/Tomaz Izanc)

TUESDAY MARCH 16
Lectures, discussion and working sessions on:

10.00 - 14.00	Wireless Data Communications Technologies - characteristic and alternatives.
15.00 - 18.00	Encryption - technical possibilities and legal aspects.
20.00 - 22.00	International Telecommunications Laws - legal and political implications of the Insular Technologies System

WEDNESDAY MARCH 17
Follow-up discussions

11.00 - 18.00	Follow-up on the themes and discussions of the previous day, drafting of a realistic, suitable plan.
20.00 - 22.00	Public presentation of the IT Consortium and workshop results

PARTICIPANTS INCLUDE:
Balazs Beothy (HU), representative of Consortium member C3; Jaap Both (NL), packet radio and computer bricoleur; Michael van Eeden (NL), representative of Consortium, member De Waag; Arthur Elsenaar (NL); innovator in the field of radio, analogue/digital and human machine interfaces; Karel Fassotte (NL), representative of WorldCom; Jaanis Garancs (LV), representative of Consortium, member E-Lab; Rop Gonggrijp (NL) founder of XS4ALL and cryptography expert; Peter Hagdahl (SE), representative of Consortium, member of CRAC; Borja Jelic (SI) of PACT Systems and Ljudmila HW-LAB, radio/computer software engineer; Dmytrik Kleiner (CDN), pirate radio & netcasting wizard of IDIO-AUDIO infamy; Sergiy Kuchma (UA), secure speech communication, speech coding; Kees Mulder (NL), packet radio and computer bricoleur; Marko Peljhan (SI) of PACT Systems, short-wave tactical radio strategist; Tomaz Isanc (SI) of It-T, radio/computer software engineer; Sinisa Rogic (YU) Representative of Consortium, member of CyberRex; Remko Scha (NL), innovator in the field of sound and radio; Raitis Smits (LV), representative of Consortium, member of E-Lab; James Stevens (UK); representative of Consortium, member of Backspace; Patrik Tschudin (CH), packet radio over short-wave (HF) and VHF; Will Waites (CDN), TAO-affiliated GNU-coder and network protocol specialist; Maurice Wessling (NL), encryption expert, working at the xs4all.nl, political department.

PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS OF THE CONSORTIUM INCLUDE:
Backspace, London; C3 - Centre for Culture and Communication, Budapest; CRAC - Creative Room for Art and Computing, Stockholm; CyberRex, Belgrade; E-Lab, Riga; Ljudmila - Ljubljana Digital Media Lab, Ljubljana; Public Netbase, Vienna; V2_Organisation - Institute for the Unstable Media, Rotterdam; De Waag - Society for Old and New Media, Amsterdam.

NEXT CYBERFEMINIST INTERNATIONAL

RELATED INDEPENDENT EVENT
Zaal De Unie, Mauritsweg 35, Rotterdam
Monday 8th - Thursday 11th March
Organised by the Old Boys Network: http://www.obn.org
More info at: obn@ipr.nl

MONDAY, MARCH 8
14.00   opening event of the next Cyberfeminist International
With: An introductory discussion by Old Boys Network members. Nat Muller: Cyberfeminists and Activism; Mare Tralla (Estonia/UK) and Pam Skelton (UK): Private Views: Space; Recognised in Contemporary Art from Estonia and Britain; Yvonne Volkart: Art strategies in the New World Order; Helene von Oldenburg: SpiderBug. Browsing the Brain.

TUESDAY, MARCH 9
Hacking as method and metaphor
With: Cornelia Sollfrank, Barbara Thoens/ Rena Tangens, Stephanie Wehner, Corrine Petrus/Marieke
17:00   open discussion: "women and hacking" with statements from all speakers of the day.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10
Goethe Institute   'Split bodies and fluid gender: the cutting edge of information technology -- (between scientific and artistic
Westersingel 9   visions)' With: Claudia Reiche: Bio(r)Evolution® - On the Contemporary Military-Medical Complex
And Maren Hartmann: The Cyberflaneuse.

THURSDAY, MARCH 11
Feminist Activism/Resistance/Intervention/Globalism
With: Feminism, Difference, and Global Capital (Maria Fernandez and Faith Wilding in conversation); Ursula Biemann: <performing the border>; Rasa Smite: net.audio: enlivening the space; Caroline Bassett: A Manifesto Against Manifestos.

BROADCASTS

Live web broadcasts at http://www.dds.nl/live:
DDS 1: radio from Paradiso (24 hours a day)
DDS 2: the live program from the main hall in Paradiso and the TV live show
DDS 3: from the Balie

RADIO BROADCASTS AT:
n5m3-basis: 95.8 FM
Radio 100: 99.3 FM
Radio Patapoe 97.2 FM
Agent Radio: 96.3 FM

TELEVISION BROADCASTS AT SALTO A1 (CHANNEL 26)
Friday: live from 21.00 - 1.00, tapes from 2.00 - 16.00 hours
Saturday: live from 22.00 - 2.00, tapes from 2.00 - 11.00 hours

CONFERENCE VENUES:

PARADISO, Weteringschans 6-8, NL-1017 SG Amsterdam, tel. +31 20 6264521, fax +31 20 6222721,
e-mail: paradiso@paradiso.nl, http://www.paradiso.nl

DE BALIE, Kleine Gartmanplantsoen 10, NL-1017 RR Amsterdam, tel. +31 20 5535151, fax +31 20 5535155,
e-mail: info@balie.nl, http://www.balie.nl

V2_ORGANISATIE, Eendrachtsstraat 10, NL-3012 XL Rotterdam, tel. +31 20 2067272, fax +31 20 2067271,
e-mail: v2@v2.nl, http://www.v2.nl

SOCIETY FOR OLD AND NEW MEDIA/DE WAAG, Nieuwmarkt 4, NL-1012 CR Amsterdam, tel. +31 20 5579898,
fax +31 20 5579880, e-mail: society@waag.org, http://www.waag.org

VIRTUAL CONFERENCE VENUE, The Digital City, Amsterdam, http://www.dds.nl

TICKET PRICES

Passe partout / Dfl.65,-   for all day, evening and night programmes at De Balie and Paradiso
Day tickets / Dfl.25,-   for De Balie and Paradiso, evening and night programmes included

De Balie screening tickets / Dfl.10,-

EVENING AND NIGHT PROGRAMMES:
Friday Dfl.20,-   (How Low Can You Go Show/VIP-night)
Saturday Dfl.20,-   (Poetry & Motion/Noodlanding-dance night)
Sunday Dfl.15,-   (Cinema Digitaal/Club Nu)

http://www.n5m.org   info@n5m.org

The Next 5 Minutes is the result of a lengthy period of research by the conference editors, a number of the invited contributors and the extended network of supporters, volunteers and critics. Over the months the N5M3 internet mailing lists have operated as a space of intense analysis and debate in preparation for the conference. Usually, the result of this kind of process evaporates into the ether; however, on this occasion these debates functioned as a catalyst for making the N5M3 Workbook.

Moving from and including many of the rants, raves and responses, the bread and butter of any working process, we, along with the main editors, also followed some of the classical procedures of soliciting texts and visuals around specific subjects that we saw necessary to address. This collection is not intended to faithfully mirror or comprehensively catalogue the themes of the conference. Although many of the chosen topics overlap, the eight selected headings in this reader function as an organisational matrix, a way of plotting particular threads running through current forms of resistance and interventionist practices. The collating and editing process has been rapid and immediate; many of the texts were authored in the month preceding the conference. Some contributions are scholarly in nature, others are drafts and others 0.1 versions waiting for a follow-up. As the editors of the reader we chose to minimally correct the English with the acknowledgement that to develop text based projects on the net is to directly experience the fact that the english language no longer belongs to anyone, and has become richer and stranger as a result. We therefore restricted ourselves to regulating comprehensibility rather than insisting on any orthodox notion of correctness.

The N5M3 Workbook is a frozen moment, a snapshot, in the ongoing debate on tactical media. It has been designed with the intention of being a companion for visitors, a distribution site, a way of circulating information and strategies. In terms of tactical media, this publication is meant to function quite literally as a place where notes and addresses can be jotted down in the flurry of the conference. (The Workbook Editors)

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THE ART OF CAMPAIGNING

WHY CAMPAIGNS?

The Art of Campaigning is important to address because there are fewer radical, fast-acting critical movements, that have the ability to gain momentum in a short period of time. The format of the campaign seems to be an appropriate answer to the (apparent) lack of political activities in the late nineties. Campaigns are less local; they are diffused, fragmented and prepared over the Net and other communication media. Campaigns usually culminate into actual events; summer camps, demonstrations, the occupation of a certain site, gathering people together from very different locations and backgrounds. Most campaigns require the work of dedicated technical (media) specialists and are multi-disciplinary by their very nature: video, dance, music, cooking, communication, radio, print, websites and support groups elsewhere.

THE UNDISCIPLINED AND PUNISHMENT:
On Line Resistance to the Prison Industrial Complex in the U.S.

DeeDee Halleck

In the past several years a lively list serve has evolved that addresses issue of incarceration and justice in the United States. Each night I log on to messages that range from desperate pleadings for someone life to cautious discussions of what the slogans should be on the posters for the next Mumia march. There are technical descriptions of prison architecture and quests for herbal cures to cell block bronchitis epidemics. It is the underside of what is one of our leading industries: locking people up.

Prisons are a big business here: construction of cells, outfitting of facilities, training and equipping guards are some of the expenses of an industry that is sapping state and local funds for education and welfare. In the past seven years California has increased prison spending by 500 per cent, while scaling back higher education by 25 percent. In the state capital of Sacramento, the prison guard union is the biggest lobby force, out-flanking tobacco and agribusiness. The prison contractors, law enforcement suppliers (stun guns, barbed wire, restraint suits, etc) and the guards' union were able to join forces to pass the Three Strike Law to ensure long terms and full cells. The US has more people per capita behind bars than any where on earth. At present almost two million people are behind bars: five million are in the system if you include those awaiting sentencing or on parole. Women are the fastest growing sector. And especially women of colour. Finally equal justice under the law.

Prisons have become a key source of labour, with many transnational corporations contracting with states to manufacture goods and set up telemarketing stations. TWA and Eddie Bauer Sporting Goods use prisoners to work their phone reservations and orders. Microsoft Windows 95 was packaged, shrinkwrapped and shipped by incarcerated workers. The State of California put it this way: "Why go abroad, when you can have a disciplined workforce here at home?" in a video to entice more corporations to join the "Joint Ventureship Program" of placing factories in prisons. As more and more U.S. businesses become entwined in this booming industry, it seems harder and harder to reverse this trend, even though crime rates are low every where but on television.

However, in response to these conditions there are a variety of resistant activities that range from grass roots demonstrations to full page ads in the New York Times to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Abu-Jamal is the first internationally recognised U.S. Death Row prisoner since the Rosenbergs were executed during the Cold War (http://www.mumia.org/) For many in the United States, Mumia is The Voice of the Voiceless (the title of a radio show which he hosted before his arrest), the symbol of those masses behind bars, and a figurehead for the broad movement of those who are resisting the prison industrial complex.

The counter prison movement is perhaps the most focused and viable of activist groupings in the U.S. at the present time. The people involved are ex-prisoners, families of prisoners, Quaker and other religious peace activists, victims for reconciliation, human rights workers, Vietnam vets, the Bruderhof (a Christian Communist network of communities numbering several thousand), academics from sociology to geography to cultural studies, philosophers, lawyers, parole officers and guards. For this diverse crew the internet has become a major tool.

There are countless web sites for individual prisoners and pages for organisations and coalitions. An organisation in Berkeley, The Prison Activist Resource Center, has been a central node (http://www.prisonactivist.org) in much of the activity, maintaining both a list serve and a web site with numerous links. The Center was one of the central organisers of the successful Critical Resistance Conference in Berkeley in September, 1998, a gathering of over 4,000 prison activists

and spokespersons.

Prisons are usually located in rural areas, far from the urban centers where most of their population is from. A growing trend in incarceration is a move to having private corporations contract with states and cities to house prisoners. One of the results of the increased privatisation of prisons is the fact that many states contract for the housing and care of prisoners across state lines. So someone arrested in Missouri could end up in Texas, where the cost of maintenance is lower, and access to legal aid and human rights may be harder to come by. One way that prisoner's families use the web is by creating individual prisoners pages with personal histories, art work, poetry and addresses. Usually posted by parents or spouses and friends, these sites become a virtual presence of the loved one who is often far from home. Although many prison families do not have personal computers, they can log in at the local library, school or cyber cafe. There is an anecdote that a cleaning woman in a large New York law firm logs on in the evening not only to activist sites, but to on-line law journals and case records to work on legal strategies for her husband's case. (http://www.findlaw.com/)

A mother's site is at http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/1526/

A site for high end machines is http://peopleoftheheart.org/index2.htm

Lacresha Murray Watch out, it crashed my computer with all its streaming video and graphic arpeggios. It's an amazing story of an eleven year old child who has been sentenced to twenty five years.

The web can also be a way to keep tune to the latest in instruments of repression. There are many industry sites where you can order handcuffs and pepper spray. (www.counterterrorism.com/copex.html) There are counter cop sites such as http://www.prisonactivist.org/copwatch/ Hundreds of service organisations are posting sites: activist against unjust sentencing (http://www.sentencing.org) the Bruderhof Christian radicals (http://www.bruderhof.org/hold/issues/deathpen/inmates/index.htm)

There are many artists web sites addressing these issues. The graphics collective, Third World War, has posted a series of comic style drawings and texts. David Thorne and others have created a series of posters which are posted on line. (http://www.igc.org/prisons/resistant-strains/) Various political prisoners have posted drawings of their cells. Many sites have prisoners drawings and paintings. There are many prison poems and drawings on the Deep Dish site. (http://www.igc.org/deepdish). A web page of the Critical Resistance Conference is archived there on line. I worked with Gina Todus, Chris Burnett and members of Paper Tiger San Francisco to stream audio from that conference and post cultural material and statistics from the conference. The site has been accessed by thousands of users and is still being updated. An overview site is posted at http://members.tripod.com/~gmoses/prison/plinks.htm and one on the maximum security units at shu http://www.igc.org/prisons/cpf/CPFshu.html

Many black nationalists see the U.S. prison system as genocide, and compare it to South Africa under apartheid: http://www.amandla.org/

A list serve with postings of many messages a day is maintained by the Prison Activist Resource Center. The purpose is to provide newsalerts and pointers. For some the list serve is literally a matter of life and death. The most desperate messages are the pleas from mothers or wives or children trying to enlist help to beg for pardons as the execution date nears. There are currently almost 4000 people on Death Rows awaiting executions. Email campaigns have been used successfully to get medical attention for sick prisoners, or to obtain eye glasses, and there is always hope that a flood of messages will startle a governor or member of the state supreme court to take notice and review a capital case.

The list serve is the center of many controversies. One very active member is Cayenne Bird who is said to the wife of an inmate who was killed by guards. She is quite patriotic and her site has billowing American flags as a background. She has been critical of the fact that former Black Panther and ex-Communist Party USA member Angela Davis has emerged as one of the main leaders of the prison activist community. Cayenne does not consider herself a radical and spends much of her time trying to register voters. http://hometown.aol.com/jumplaw/politics52/index.htm

Cayenne has many on-going arguments with other list members. For a very brief period of time, a volunteer working on the site tried managing the postings by editing the mail. The hue and cry that ensued was deafening and worse than all the

on-going spats. He quickly apologised and the site continues in its free form and often cantankerous manner.

At its best the list serve is a true life line for the thousands of prison activists and families of prisoners out there waging what has been lonely battles against powerful state and corporate apparati and the peculiar form of state slavery that has evolved in this post Cold War World. The prison movement for many of us battle scarred lefties is the final battle: one which looks at the true end stage of "free market" capital. We are looking at the face of fascism in America. We are the enemy.

<BORDER=0>
THE ART OF CAMPING

florian schneider

Of course, the dream of abolishing borders is much older than the Internet. The myth of borders was always tied up with the myth of pushing them back, overwhelming them, and moving the frontier forward. In the current process of globalization, borders, at least those which encompass nation-states, seem to disappear in a way -- but for flows of money, goods, and capital, not for people. Borderlands have become a laboratory for new control technologies, and the postmodern or post- national borderlines become the barrings of a worldwide apartheid system.

Nevertheless, the hype of the Internet is essentially based on the promise that the worldwide dissemination of new technologies might remove all barriers between people. Many critics have unmasked this rhetoric as an escape from real existing capitalism or as promotional campaign for neoliberal barbarism. However, there is a more dangerous mistake made in the popular regard for the net as an 'alternative' territory to the 'real world,' or as a place, where free and unfettered communication might become a reality. In this view, borders become something you cannot see or touch, and the net and the various networks became an arena for 'new' border policies.

Ironically, then, the iron curtain was replaced very quickly by these new borders, which consist of the strategic use of modern observation and surveillance technologies. Thus we see the rise of huge decentralised databases such as Schengen Information System (SIS) and its national supplementary counterparts called SIRENE, or the fingerprint database in which personal data about asylum-seekers is stored. The relation? Along the German borderline with Poland and the Czech Republic, border guards are armed with a wide range of high-tech gadgets: Global Position System (GPS) navigation devices, thermo- and infra-red-cameras, and so on.

Thus, the former border is moving, folding in on itself: it is mapping the borderland and inner cities, the railways and main arteries, and the communications networks. The borders are moving forward to neighbouring countries, expanding the control system toward a zone model, which includes the Schengenland as its center, surrounded by a cordon of countries under intense surveillance. These efforts are marked as well by intense propoganda that stigmatises minorities, defames migration and mobility, and co-opts or coerces the local populations into acting as collaborators and administrators of the border regime.

But is there still a chance to take the promise of the net seriously and turn these misunderstandings to productivity? If so, how can we claim for all what us permitted to only the very few with the resources to travel and settle freely? Free access for all -- in REAL LIFE -- is our goal: open borders and freedom of movement for everybody. These are not questions of charity or compassion, but a matter of course and concern for all. This is no longer a naive dream but a reality for everyone:

globalization is not optional, its effects not for 'those other people.' These developments determine very directly the range and freedom of everyone's everyday practices.

Obviously, there is much more to do than praying and praising the new technologies or providing illusions about keeping them free from state control. Conceptually and practically, networks became battlefields for a regime in which life and its components are objects and targets, or, alternatively, as vehicles for autonomy, singularity, and the free flow of ideas, activities, and, most of all, for people as such. This latter vision involves new and unknown fields and possibilities, and with that, political, ethical, and aesthetic challenges:

- Researching and attacking the mechanisms of transnational collaboration and (post-)governmental networks for control and surveillance
- Exploring new 'border-crossing' subjectivities outside of the boredom of so-called 'nomadic' congress-hopping, which in almost every case requires undignified begging for visa and invitations
- Connecting artistic strategies and political interventions, tactical media activism, and 'real life; militance
- Testing and developing connections and connectivity between the new social movements and struggles, such as the sans papiers fighting for their right to stay, and the resistance in the countries of origin
- Debating a new abolitionism, fighting against any concept of border and apartheid inside and outside the perishing nation states

NO ONE IS ILLEGAL CAMPAIGN

In summer 1997 we -- three or four dozen political activists, media activists, radio practitioners, photographers, filmmakers, and artists -- published in Hybrid workspace at documenta X the manifesto 'no one is illegal' <http://www.contrast.org/borders/kein>. Some of us had know each other for years: from the eighties social movements, or from the early nineties, when new, non-functioning concepts of combining arts and politics were tried, such as the 'welfare- committees.' But some of were meeting for the very first time, having communicated only be email. The new meeting was made possible, of course, only by an unprejudiced or accepting use of new technologies. Nobody was really an expert, but we were very curious about how to enrich and expand classical political symbolism: setting up the first websites, emailing, net-based audio transmissions, videotape exchanges, videoconferencing with hundreds of participants, or even broadcasting entire demonstrations with mobile phones.

The appeal 'no one is illegal' was the starting point for a campaign based on the activity of dozens of local networks in every big city in Germany. But beside the appeal as a common ground, there is no apparatus or centralised structure. Connected by mailing lists and a postal mail circulars, the groups worked under specific circumstances to focus on very different points: hiding and supporting illegal migrants, squatting churches, organising public or semi-public debates about illegal border-crossing, and starting actions against deportations. Three times per year conferences are held, where the groups exchange experiences and talk about common goals, practices, and problems.

In 1998, two main Germany-wide events were arranged and supported by the 'no one is illegal' network: the Caravan for the rights of refugees and migrants, originally initiated by the Human Rights Association, Bremen. Some weeks before the German elections in September and under the slogan 'we have no vote, but a voice!,' the caravan moved through more than 40 cities in Germany. Several hundred groups, exile organisations, asylum-seekers or migrant self organisations, and supporters joined the various action. <http://www.humanrights.de/caravan> The other event was a camp on the German/Polish border (for an extensive report of this event, go to the nettime archive, contrast.org/borders or the n5m3 website).

CALL FOR 1999 CAMPS: AGAINST THE EUROPEAN AND US BORDER REGIME

For the freedom of movement and free access for all For a second time, the "No one is illegal" campaign will move to the EU frontier between Germany, Poland, and the Czech Republic. From August 7th till 15th, activists from many different countries will gather at a campsite some hundred meters from borderline. Several connections to simultaneous camps all over europe and in the US are being planned: internet, mobile phones, snail mail and personal exchange. The event's slogan is "Hacking the borderline" points up the central role that media task forces and "real-life" militants will play. We in-

vite all mobile radio- and camcorder-activists, tactical webmasters, communication guerilleros, soundsystems, dj's, musicians, artists, and anyone else to the camp and to contribute to it in any way possible.

Like the intervention in 1998, this one aims to disturb an atmosphere where comfortable denunciations of refugees and migrants are the norm; where high-tech armed border-police with mystified "state of emergency"-type powers prosper; and where racism is a mainstream trend in German society, encouraging the rise of neofascists who control the public spaces in many towns and cities in Eastern Germany. We will make concrete our opposition of business-as-usual chases of "illegals" along German as well as any or every EU border--chases that have caused the death of many people (about 90 since 1993 on Germany's eastern border and more than 1100 on all East-West borders). In particular, this event and the campaign of which it is a part will emphasise that the growing institutional apparatus supporting these things is unacceptable: the "foreigners administration," German legislation against asylum-seekers and migrants, the Schengen system, and any other such effort to keep out migrants and refugees or to freeze out those who are already here. But more than merely oppose these things, this campaign and this event encourage solidarity and widespread civil disobedience against anti-migrant laws and culture.

We want to publicise the very real possibility of a radically different way of treating people who enter Europe for whatever reason--for refuge from war or civil war; from persecution, social, or sexual harassment; or even simply to put their life in a new perspective. In this respect, we fundamentally disagree with liberal pretenders who would distinguish between "political" asylum-seekers, who they welcome, and "economic" refugees, who they reject. We believe that ALL people have the right to live wherever and however they please. Borders impede freedom of movement and unrestricted access to "Fortress Europe," and therefore should disappear.

Last year in Eastern Saxony we succeeded in getting commune officials, the state police, and the federal border police (the Bundesgrenzschutz) to question their policies, and even to change some of their positions. Our manifestations, demonstrations, and a 36-hour rave opened up some checkpoints on the German-Polish border from strict control.

Our efforts included free music and radio performances for those being deported in Goerlitzm a streetball event with a famous Berlin basketball player, the establishment of a camp radio, attacks on Nazi gathering sites, a big "Antiracist regatta" on the river Neisse, and "winning" a bicycle race in Goerlitz to promote a case involving a secret border crossing-- all of this in order to help people to cross and to live in dignity in Germany. Our distribution of a high-circulation camp newspaper sought to clarify our demands to the populations living along the border and to claim responsibility for our actions. On a sadder note, we contributed to a spontaneous demonstration in Freiberg (on the German-Czech border) in which 7 Kosovo-Albanians died and the remaining 21 were severely injured in a crash after being chased by the federal border police. The "1999 Antiracist Summer Camp" will be from August 7th till 15th , some hundred meters near the border triangle between Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic.We invite all interested groups and people to come, to participate, and to contribute to the camp. In particular, we will focus on discussing ways to flesh out this campaign. We sincerely hope that groups from other European countries--especially Eastern Europe--will offer reports, these about the rise of the border regime, and insights into various aspects of their regions' minorities, refugees, and migrants.

We're looking forward to a wide range of contributions, performances, lectures, panel discussions, concerts, and parties--and, of course, lots of public or clandestine actions. But none of this a "ticket": everyone is welcome in the camp, active contributor or silent presence alike. These gatherings and exchanges of information will promote an independent network of camps and castles organised around not borders and territories but, rather, ideals--freedom of movement and an access everywhere and always. These goals take many forms: grassroots anti-racist groups, migrant organisations, efforts to support any or every kinds of refugee, media and art activism, or any other intervention *for* human autonomy and *against* the rise of regimes, apparatuses, and cultures that maintain and entrench exclusionary borders.There will probably be some simultaneous, parallel camps at the at the militarised US-Mexico border, and perhaps in Belgium and Austria as well. We hope to exchange as much as possible between these efforts.

<http://www.contrast.org/borders>
phone: ++49/172/8910825

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DIVERSIFY THE CULTURE AND DISTRIBUTE POWER

who are we: Tao Communication is a regional federation comprised of local autonomous collectives and individuals. We organize networks as a means of defending and expanding public space, exercising the right to self-determination. We create knowledge through independent public interest research, and distribute it freely through participatory education. We actively promote the establishment of worker-owned and operated autonomous zones. Under the belief that information should be free, we operate against capital or market-regulated forms of political, economic and cultural organization, and towards socially just, ecologically sound, international liberation. We advocate democratic exercise of the means of production to help achieve these beliefs. We also create tactical arts intended for such practical and inspirational application, as to encourage other autonomous groups and individuals to join us in our struggle for democracy and equal rights.

SERVICES: tao has been known to offer the following services, either on a pay-what-you-can basis, or under contract. TAO workers are unionized with the IWW, section 560. (Industrial Workers of the World.)

NETWORK SERVICES:
* linux shell
* email addresses and lists
* web sites (design and/or hosting)
* database design and development
* irc meeting space
* general server admin
* training
* general consultation
* custom design

MEDIA SERVICES:
* tactical
* production
* publishing
* writing and editing
* general relations
* infiltration

COMPUTER SERVICES:
* linux (install & maintenance)
* training
* general consultation
* destruction

THEATRE:
* improv
* street
* script
* workshops

RESEARCH:
* (anti)corporate
* network
* media
* activist strategy

CHILD CARE:
* single or group
* camp or activity based
* from computers to theatre play

ORGANIZING:
* meetings (facilitation and planning workshops)
* conferences / fora
* workshops
* direct action
* vegan feasts
* therapy

URBAN RENEWAL:
* public art
* gardening
* agriculture
* landscaping

what can you do? in short, here are three immediate needs that tao communications needs to address:

1) HARDWARE:

have you any, or do you know of any, spare hardware lying around? we'd like to start stockpiling stuff (old and new) so as to start building tao boxes that we can either sink into the network, or distribute to those in need. please take the effort to look in your cellars, ask your neighbours, comrades, and friends, and really try to dig up what you can, and email us at tao@tao.ca so we can arrange collection. this will be a big plus in helping us distribute and stabilize the access we enable.

2) BANDWIDTH

if we're going to start building tao boxes, we need to find free, or at least extremely cheap, places to put them throughout the nets. again, ask your friends, co-workers, union buddies, techies, telecomnauts, and anyone who may have access to a LAN (local area network) which we could install a box in, adminster remotely, and then connect into our own emerging WAN (wide area network) that resides throughout the internet. we intend on organizing this on the email list matrix@tao.ca, although it has been quiet there of late. look for tao boxes to bloom with spring, and help create a secure and autonomous network for us to organize effectively.

3) FUNDRAISING

the simple reality is that we need money. we need to be able to pay labour, we need to establish work space in toronto (where much of the labour resides), and we need to be able to pay travel costs so that we humans can break out of the chains of email communication, and remind us who the humans are behind the moveable type. this is not simply a call for you to personally contribute funds, but rather a call for labour to help organize something locally, regionally, or wherever you feel comfortable, helping to raise financial support for tao.ca. if you know of any potential grants, funding opportunities, deluded capitalists willing to part with money, or any other leads, please let us know, but even better, please consider contributing the labour necessary to help us conduct this patchwork of a poor folks' fundraising campaign. contact tao@tao.ca with organising efforts, suggestions, and 'where can i send the cheque'-type messages.

USING THE MEDIA: THE CLEAN CLOTHES CAMPAIGN

A How-to-Guide for Fellow Activists

The existing use of media so far has been determined by the local, decentralised nature of the campaign. Local groups are adapting, editing and redesigning existing material like research results, lines of argumentation and logos, photos and slogans. The educational material, used by trade unions, schools and churches is very specific and "customised", and therefore cannot be used in campaigns which target the general public. Experience has shown that it is of no use to produce unified, centralised material for awareness-raising purposes. The campaign is active in 10 European countries, and aims to reach many different audiences. Language is a potential problem that can cause time-consuming delays to the dissemination of information. Local groups will for certain re-edit texts and a word-for-word translation from one language to the other can end up being meaningless. At the same time, research results, eyewitness reports of working conditions and urgent action appeals need to be circulated quickly. Bad English, which will then be freely interpreted, has a better chance of resulting in a clear statement than 1:1 translations. A statement in Bahasa given in may 1998 by an Indonesian woman about conditions in factories producing Levi Strauss clothes was translated by us into English. We found quotes excerpted from this translation in Austrian newspapers, a brochure of the Swiss CCC, a Flemish newsletter and in documentation used in the UK by groups negotiating with companies.

Short texts will, most likely, be more effective for awareness-raising purposes than extensive reports. By short we mean texts that fit on a poster or a postcard, urgent action appeals that only have a few paragraphs or brochures with equal amounts of pictures as texts. The essential information will be integrated into newsgroups or magazines of the specific target groups. with the right logo and font, people will recognise the information as their own. E-mail makes distribution easier, but now we're battling the subject line, trying to get attention in four words. Next to specific groups, there is the general press campaign. On a regular basis it seems necessary to have articles and photos in the mainstream press. National publicity provides the campaign with a legitimate face so that small, local groups can feel that their efforts on behalf of the campaign are legitimised. We do too. Reports in the mass media are indeed reaching large numbers of people, though for a very short time. People will thereby "store" tiny bits of information in their subconsciousness. Later on they vaguely might have heard of "bad working circumstances" or "C&A being bad".

There is a whole variety of classical methods to get into the newspapers and onto television: prepare a press release, organise a press conference, fly over some Asian specialists and witnesses, edit video material, and the obligatory "action" on the street, in front of a shop, department store or factory gates. Collecting old running shoes from concerned consumers and dumping them in front of the Adidas office was good for national coverage in Belgium. A portable shop window visualised production conditions and protests, and travelled from country to country. Acting in different countries at the same time helps. As part of the international Nike campaign a giant "Odor Eater" was made in Australia to try to get rid of the "stink" of bad labour conditions in the sports shoe industry. Among actions aimed at individuals was the Spanish CCC's postcard campaign targeting seven football players on the Spanish National team--the players were inundated with 50,000 cards from consumers concerned with working conditions.

The CCC focuses primarily on clothing to tell the story of multinational companies, working conditions and human

rights. The campaigns then tend to focus on a few specific firms. This concentrates resources, and is good publicity wise. (Another reason for this is that small firms also have less power for change.) Examples are C&A (the Netherlands), Hennes & Mauritz (Sweden) and Nike (everywhere). This approach has clearly had good results, but there is a negative side as well. People might think that only one firm is violating workers rights and in need of condemnation. As a result people are encouraged to overlook others who are equally in the wrong. Or, when the firm changes policy, as C&A and H&M both did, people think the problem has been solved. The danger exists also that stories of the workers are becoming stereotypes (Olga from Ukraine, age 20, paid a low wage, has two children, etc.).

It is fun to "hijack" the slogans and logos of big firms, and in most of the cases this does not have any legal consequences. Reusing and de-contextualizing "their" signs is useful to tamper with the image of the companies, the most valuable asset they have. It means taking into account the identity that the company tries to project, and using it. A company that uses a hyped, arrogant marketing campaign, which tries to shock its audience -- Benneton, for example with it's "true colour of money" is a prime target for "adbusters" (as in Canada, by a group of the same name) and also ensures that any information on their bad working conditions (the use of child labour at a Turkish subcontractor tin Benneton's case) is immediately news. The slogan "Just Do It!" worked well for a while, but then people got tired of Nike's "hipness" and brutal forms of appropriation of youth and underground culture. Their call for unity and attempts to mobilise the young consumer masses in the end turned against them. It is fairly simple and effective to turn the Nike logo upside down, drowned in blood.The international Nike campaign detourned the tagline, initiating a "Just Stop It" campaign, calling on the company to "do it just." In some cases the Adidas goal was altered to reflect reality, announcing the possibility to "work for a pittance to reinvent soccer."

At the same time, we have to be careful not to get stuck in the image-battle. Companies confronted with campaigns these days see themselves as only having a "communication problem," and try to come up with solutions in that sphere. Campaigns usually have a problem with the way production is organised, and the debate and action should focus on this.

This target-group oriented approach, making many different translations and versions of the same information, is to this day limited to the old media. The internet, most of all, is a storage medium, which can be used as an on-line archive. Access to all the available information and databases has to be created. Archives as such are chaotic and have to be put in order before they go on-line. What to do with unuseful piles of paper and computer files? The campaign, so far, has not yet managed to solve the question of the information architectures of its website. The question remains how to navigate through all the reports, e-mails, affiliated organisations, urls, databases, etc. the website is being looked at by many visitors so it would make sense to quickly act and come open with a new, open structure of for site. It can in theory enormously broaden the distribution of our info to a consumer audience in the same medium where corporate agents display there marketing, brand identity, annual reports, etc. normally, we are forced to operate in a different space, for example we can never compete with them on TV.

This is primarily a question of human resources. So far there is no capacity to do this job. Designers and programmers are hereby invited to contact the Clean Clothes Campaign. It would be ideal to have weekly, or even daily updates, constant inputs from outside and continuous maintainance. The internet still has to be discovered for its potential to do on-line updates and internet-specific campaigning. A nice example is a technical error somewere on the Nike site which causes consumer questions and suggestions to nike to somehow end up in our mailbox, which means we can answer them. People suggesting new product lines or advertising possibilities for Nike thus receive info on working conditions instead.

More and more, the internet is used these days not only to provide information but also to do research. It is a general tendency that data are being privitized, locked in corporate intranets or commercial databases. The disadvantage of buying information on-line is the lack of context. We can no longer browse through the hardcopy of a certain report. Instead, we only get the specific information we asked for (for example through a search engine). creating a database ourselves that does not have this same disadvantage presents a real challenge. How can we prevent in-

formation from getting "buried"? How do we deal with the obsession with "new" info, where people only read or access the latest bit of information about a certain company? Often disputes about a certain violation of workers' rights drag on, and it is precisely the older cases that do not get solved that in fact are the most urgent.

Another question we have to ask ourselves is to what extent information, which is being put on-line (on the web, or in a database), should be centralised and unified. Will groups in other cities and countries use the same standards? To what extent is it desirable to have workgroup software, with a shared interface and tools? So far, e-mail has proven to be a very effective and cheap medium for internal communication and coordination. But this seems obvious by now. The question really is about the architecture of our own database, archives and websites.

For the future we think about net.radio projects, a database that is easy to use and expand by the different campaign organisations, linking Clean Clothes communities to digital cities, creating action opportunities using the companies very own websites, targeting on-line shoppers, intercepting them in their virtual space just as we used to target consumers entering stores in city centers...

The Clean Clothes Campaign PO BOX 11584 1001 GN Amsterdam +31-20-4122785
+31-20-4122786 ccc@xs4all.nl http://www.cleanclothes.org

HOW TO MAKE A POINT - SUPERMARKET CLUBCARD AS POLITICAL ORGANISER
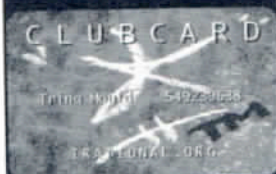
Rachel Baker

It has been a preoccupation of mine in imagining the supermarket as a locus for political assembly. Clearly, it has already overtaken religious assembly. In the UK the big brand Supermarkets like TESCO and SAINSBURY are principle organisers of daily life. The ritualised relationship between customer and supermarket have been carefully constructed and maintained to a degree that compares to the construction of religious faith. Church and Supermarket have long been rivals for share of sunday morning customer with the Church losing out considerably to the out-of-town Supermarket. The Church has conceded that Goods and God will be worshipped in the appropriate modern temple. Its a privatised relation between customer and supermarket with no mass communion as such. The introduction of loyalty cards facilitates a simple exchange - personal data for points. The indexical reference to individual shopping habits means that customers are now assembled next to each other on a database, highly categorised and searchable.

Since the BSE fiasco and wide criticism of the food industry, the UK public is losing its faith in the Supermarket but dependency is entrenched. The Supermarket is starting to emerge as a highly politicised force for social engineering, particularly as the UK Government is now collaborating with Supermarkets to analyse their loyalty card databases in tracking Genetically Modified food consumption. 'Information on GM foods would be made available "in a form that can be analysed on a product by product basis at postcode level." Using health databases the information would be used to find out whether eating GM foods is linked to illness.' (Friends Of The Earth Jan 99)

The Clubcard project (http://www.irational.org/tm/clubcard) raised the possibility of political incursions into the relationship with the supermarket as defined by the loyalty card and accompanying database. The next stage for the project lies in mobilising the integrated database/internet/postal strategy to synthesise communications about GM foods.

http://www.irational.org/cta
http://www.irational.org/tm
mailto:rachel@irational.org

A SKETCHY AND PERSONAL MAP OF THE TACTICAL MEDIA CONTEXT IN FRANCE

Nathalie Magnan

For many reasons, the 80's, the time of the Mitterand socialist government, were years in which grass roots movements got institutionalised and traditional activism was "out", neutralised. The universalism of the Republic (everybody is abstractly equal) allied with traditional individualism and clan behaviour ("la guerre des chapelles") prohibited the emergence of non-dominant/non-normalised subjectivities in the public debates. Those traditions are still alive today. The 68 generation didn't feel necessary to pass on their knowledge to younger generations. From their point of view, they created new ways to go about the world by themselves, so should the following generations. The notion of alternatives and activism became stigmatised. It wasn't very tactical in those years to position oneself in terms of an alternative. If the French intellectuals of the 60's and the 70's gave us tools for culture and media analysis, their work seems to have been confined to academic discussion which never leaked to a larger public, or to have gotten stuck in a form of theoretical Marxism excluding the uninitiated. As a result, by the early 90's, the most visible intellectuals and the grassroots movements seemed to have been labotomised. Yet emergencies do exist.

While there was a strong movement in favour of the liberation of the airwaves for free radios in the early 80's, commercial stations quickly and quite illegally took over those airwaves, and only a few free radios are still alive today. Yet nowadays their numbers are growing, and radios like "Fréquence Paris Plurielle" play their role. The disgraceful fate of independent radio in the early days is what is remembered, and it set a precedent. To this day, there aren't accessible means to broadcast television outside the mainstream media. The notion of public access, fairly common in most industrialised countries, is almost inconceivable in France. Public access isn't a magic solution, yet in a country where diffusion was so controlled, it seems to be an emergency. Free access meant free of all excess for the legislators. For the longest time those who regulate the airwaves suggested that the public wasn't mature enough for such a venture. It was only with the explosion of internet access in 95, and the uncontrollable flux of information going both ways in that medium, that the government had to find another logic. In June 98, the CSA

(French equivalent of the American FCC) was pushed by a group of media activists, and were forced to bend the law to allow Ondes Sans Frontières (http://bregantin.org/connexe/osf/) to broadcast for 6 weeks and then for 6 months as a temporary experiment. The permission to broadcast will come to a close by the end of March. Yet for the legislature the logic isn't quite in place since the legislators still confuse legal responsibility of the "content" producer with the information provider (see the post on nettime, Fri, 19 Feb 1999, From: Christine Treguier "Attack on free content-provider altern").

As for the establishment (government and medical institutions), they were busy contaminating part of the population with blood transfusions. AIDS wasn't a concern really since, from the viewpoint of the Universal Republic, it touched only Haitians and gays. In 1994, a newspaper like "Le Monde" could still title a short article reporting on the gay pride "le carnaval du sida" (the aids carnival). In fact Act Up started to wake up the natives at the beginning of the 90's. Their famous media strategies revealed the distance between political representation, medical moguls and the patients, and forced the government to take action. At this point, the former prime minister and officials down the power line are being judged by a special court for this major AIDS contamination through blood transfusions. The department of short programs at Canal+ decided to schedule an evening of gay and lesbian programs, the evening before the 95 gay pride. Far from dealing with the painful problem of homosexuality, it was an affirmation with multiple entries. Since the media works as we know, the press and TV, feeling more secure because of the air time given to queers, started to produce a different image of queerdom. This was certainly one of the multiple actions that permitted the debate to take place in the chamber, allowing gays and lesbians to have the same rights as others.

In spring 95 things seemed to change. Chirac was elected and decided to test nuclear bombs in the Pacific. That stirred up a few people. The mobilisation was strong and well connected to international activism, this was most evident in the demos which had high graphic visibility. Since the fall of 95, after the big public transport strikes, and with the involvement of intellectuals like Bourdieu in those strikes, we see a new consciousness emerging. The publication of Bourdieu's and Serge Halimi's pamphlets on the media gave younger generations the forgotten tools, while the steady rise of the neo-fascist Front National finally convinced a few people that politics can't be entirely left to the established parties.

Anti-racist movements were highly supported and largely controlled by the government during the 80's. The 2nd generation of immigrants finally had a new and fairly good visibility in the dominant media for a time. However, it was only a couple years ago, that the documentary "Mémoires d'emigrés" by Yamina Benguigui managed to find funding and its way onto the airwaves and into movie theaters. This documentary is so unique that many appropriated the document and positioned it as the only trace of an erased memory. Today, the movement is taking quite a different turn. For a detailed analysis see : "Ein Arbeitsplatz ist ein Recht! Ein Einkommen ist eine Pflicht! / Avec ou sans-papiers, "Un emploi c'est un droit, un revenu c'est un dû!" de Mogniss H. Abdallah (http://www.bok.net/pajol/sanspap/immedia/mogniss2.html). After a highly repressive legislation set by the right-wing government, and reinforced when the socialists came back to power, the movement of the "Sans Papiers" managed to gain visibility through multiple strategies of resistance, combining occupation of churches, which they were thrown out of by police force, a 2-minute film shown before all features in most movie theaters in Paris and during the Cannes film festival, a hunger strike with lots of coverage in the mainstream media, actions involving French nationals to adopt a person without papers and a growing international force. This movement is a strong mobilising force in the public debate and manages to work with another strong mobilising force, the movement of the unemployed.

Unemployed like AC! or the Apeis, or groups of squatters like Droits Devant, developed spectacular protest strategies which allowed them to name themselves instead of being named, hence to have stronger input to the public debate. At the same time graphic artists working in the field for a long time started to take a higher profile: Design Department, Nous travaillons ensemble, Graphistes Associés, Ne Pas Plier, or Casa Factory. Together with grassroots organisations, they managed to further this consciousness and render it visible. Ne Pas Plier, in particular, has

taken an uncompromising stance, creating large-scale graphic materials to identify causes in street demonstrations, developing tactics to occupy urban spaces both visually and physically, pushing slower-moving associations to more audacity, and upping the stakes of political content in collaborations with left-wing (mostly Communist) municipalities; the group is currently developing a newsletter with the Apeis, and maintains regular contacts with a network of supporters (contact: BP 3, 94201 Ivry Cedex, France; tel: 33 1 45 21 00 26, fax: 46 72 42 54).

Another bunch of activists has been the journal "Les Périphériques Vous Parlent", associated with the performance group Generation Chaos. They grew out of student movements at Saint-Denis university in 1993-94, linked up with other European student collectives through the "Université d'urgence" developed with Isabelle Stengers, have organised several large meetings on social and economic issues, and are now preparing protest events around the upcoming G7 summit this June (English website at http://www.globenet.org/periph/de/enhp.html). For a long time France hasn't been the place to look for tactical media; however, social resistance is re-emerging out of dire need and these days new and old media are being used and proving useful.

*Thanks to Brian Holmes for suggestions and precisions.

CHANCE 2000:
VOTE YOURSELF! JUST DO IT! -
A GERMAN ANTI-PARTY

Alex Karschnia

Germany 1998: 2 years before the New Millennium a new form of Political Party came into existence: CHANCE 2000 - The Party of the Last Chance. In the midst of an election that was one of the most important in post-fascist Germany an artist jumped into the political arena to "make politics more aesthetic and aesthetics more political". The film- and theatremaker and talk show host Christoph Schlingensief started the Campagne: "VOTE YOURSELF!" In Berlin he started the project with an "Election Circus". Together with a famous circus-family from former East Germany and with his crew of actors and his family of handicapped performers he founded "CHANCE 2000 - Party of the Last Chance" in a circus tent in Berlin/ Prenzlauer Berg. The message for the Republic was: "Vote Yourself, we know how to do it!" Every citizen was asked to become an independent candidate for the new Bundestag. Manuals were sent out how to become a direct candidate. And many different people realised their chance to "prove that they exist" by bringing their name on the ballot sheet: "Chance Meier", "Chance Mueller", "Chance Schmidt". If you managed to collect 200 signatures of support in your political region you were part of the game and you could vote yourself. Why not voting somebody you know by heart, you trust and love?

Parallell to these Directdemocrats CHANCE 2000 developed into a network of different party subgroups in many German regions. In every Bundesland the party had to collect 2000 support signatures in order to be accepted as a normal party. The main political demand was that unemployment must be accepted as a profession. To be unemployed means to have a heavy job! 6 Million unemployed are made invisible. They have to start making a picture of themselves again. The most important goal is to make them visible and activate them: "Doing, doing, doing!" Just do it. Don't hesitate, just do something with your life, no matter what, the most important thing is to start doing something, e.g. vote yourself. Go out and get your support from your neighbours and prove your existence. And we called

6 Million unemployed to come to the Wolfgangslake with us to visit our chancellor Kohl in his summer-residence in Austria. We calculated that if 6 Million people jumped into the water at once, the waterlevel of the lake would rise so much that it would flood the little house of Helmut Kohl.

Doing, doing, doing, because we want to help, help, help. And we wanted to help Helmut Kohl also. After Schlingensief had asked the unemployed masses to bring him the head of Helmut Kohl in his talk show "TALK 2000" at the end of 1997 and after he had called to kill Kohl at the documenta X in Kassel (hybrid work space) where he got arrested we changed our message: from KILL KOHL to HELP HELMUT! We said: everybody is our friend, friend, friend! The hymn of the party was a little song by Bertolt Brecht: "The view in the face/ of a human that is helped/ is the view into a beautiful landscape: friend! friend! friend!" This song was the leitmotif that accompanied our mission since 1997 when Schlingensief made his street-action "Train-Station-Mission: PASSION POSSIBLE - 48 hours survival for Germany" in Hamburg. For one week he left the temple of theatre and hit the streets with street activism, art demonstrations, processions, etc. At the Hamburg Hauptbahnhof (Central Station) a little container was built as an "angstfree room" where the junkies and homeless people found art & soup. They could express themselves through open mikes and Schlingensief collected money for them in a huge Gala. Many prominent people became supporter of this "post-caritative mobile theatre commando" (Carl Hegemann, Schlingensiefs dramaturg). Since then we demonstrated our good-will: "Poor People help the Rich". And our message to the Rich was: give away your money. And save the market economy. And the media started to call Schlingensief "Jesus of the unemployed".

We did not say: we want the communist market, we only said: this reality is occupied by parties, churches, labour unions, the media, etc. This is System I. We want into System II. Because. "the way persists, even if the goal explodes" (Heiner Müller). Because in a world, where money is the only value that makes orientation possible, humanity cannot survive- said Heiner Müller also. Money has a become a fetish, a modern times taboo. Rich people can only liberate themselves by giving away their money. Only the Poor can help them- by accepting that money. Modern management theories like Tom Peters suggest that in this world only those companies can survive that take values like human dignity very seriously. Not selling the customers stuff, but serving the people is the new orientation in the market place. CHANCE 2000 tried to connect "post-heroic management" (Dirk Baecker) with the epic theatre as envisioned by Bertolt Brecht and Heiner Müller. While in the economic sphere the difference between superior and employees has to be minimised in "flat hierarchies", in the room of theatre the difference between actors and audience has to be eliminated: "The 4th Wall has to fall!", as Brecht said.

Germany 1998: on Bertolt Brechts 100th Birthday we started the revolution, inspired from the coming of the New Millennium and the numerical mystics of dates: 1998 - 1989 - 1968 ... While in 1989 the Wall fell, we felt that in 1998 the 4th wall had to fall. The revolution has to take place in the theatre, at least in Germany, the country of the failing revolutions and the triumphant counterrevolutions: 1918, 1848 ... 150 years of "failure as chance" ... Back then the radical-democratic "We Are The People!" ("Wir sind das VOLK!") was changed into the volkish-nationalist "We Are One People!" ("Wir sind EIN Volk!"): after 1848 and in 1989. In 1998 we said: "You Are one Volk: 1 V!", meaning: everybody. WE THE PEOPLE.

While intellectuals in the tradition from Niklas Luhmann like Dirk Baecker show that we can never dissolve the differences between those opposites, Schlingensief proved in his work of theatre the opposite. His ensemble consists of friends: famous actors and Schlingensiefs little theatre-family of handicapped people who prove that they can express themselves more vivid and authentic than artists and actors. And in Hamburg it showed that the street people from the real world can be better performers by expressing themselves than the professional performers from the theatre-world. In this respect Brecht's vision of the epic theatre has become a reality. This goes far beyond humanitarian engagement of the theatre-left who give little shows for the excluded and mistreated. In this case, the real people themselves have -without knowing- revolutionised the theatre. It is not decided yet: is it art, is it politics? Have we made politics more aesthetic or aesthetics more political? CHANCE 2000 is an in-between and it's vitality lives from this ambivalence. Only Tom Peters' parole: "Failing as Chance" has come to honour. We failed gloriously with a result of 0,1% That was our chance...

"Failure as chance" also became true financially. Of course we have not got money back from the government and went bankrupt. And it showed, that "mass media is only interested in self-destruction, not in self- salvation", as Schlingensief always said. His critics called him the "most-media-horney media-hater" for he managed to stay in the media like no other

star before. Since his own talk show "TALK 2000" fall '97 and his spectacular arrest at the documenta he has been invited in all talk- shows there are on German TV and he succeeded in winning two of the most popular talk show hosts as mentors for CHANCE 2000: Harald Schmidt and Alfred Biolek supported us and spend money, as well as the prominent designer Joop. And -of course- a majority of the art and theatre world (Elfried Jelinek wrote in our internet-thinktank and send a plastic duck to the Wolfgangssee, Sepp Bierbichler spend his actors-price-money for Schlingensief, Schlingensiefs chief Frank Castorf featured the whole show, etc.). So CHANCE 2000 became the running gag of last year's election debacle, we were the filler for mass media's summer hole. At the Wolfgangssee- Spectacle beginning of August more camera teams appeared than unemployed: on the shores, on boats in the water, in the air with helicopters. Mass media filmed themselves, while 6 Million unemployed proved their autonomy by staying home and having their Wolfgangssee in their own bath room. After the Wolfgangssee-Spectacle only the message of our bankruptcy brought the media attention back on us, while we declared CHANCE 2000 International. We became a company. We sold art warrants: if we get profit, you get your shareholders' value, if not the warrant transforms automatically into art. We think that by this measure we are ahead of our times again, because soon all parties will admit that in reality they are companies.

Berlin, 27. September 1998: a little revolution has happened in the Federal Republic. For the first time the German "Volk" has elected a new chancellor and we enter the "Berlin Republic" with a red-green Bundesgovernment. King Kohl and the conservatives lost the elections by an earth-slide victory of the opposition. CHANCE 2000 celebrated the "Election Debacle" in the "Volksbühne" in former East Berlin: two minutes before the first results were broadcasted, Schlingensief cut the cables- we were liberated. This must be System II. As the logical next step we founded a State.

Berlin, 3. October 1998: FAREWELL FROM GERMANY. At the Congress 3000 Schlingensief declared the Chance State, dressed as a Rabbi. From the "Jesus of the unemployed" to the "Moses of the metaphysical homeless". If we get 3 normal nation-states to accept our statehood, we get a seat in the UN. Forget the Bundestag - forward to New York! Chance State, Church of Chance, Chance World... the rhizome lives and prospers. Schlingensief just returned from his mission in Africa and starts the State in 2 weeks. The State -as the party-intellectual Dr. Druff describes it- is an "ideal state of Israel", a protection zone for the mistreated masses and the metaphysical homeless. Embassies were opened in Basel, Johannesburg, Sarajevo (with artists from the art-state NSK).

Europe 1999: The Party is now in the hands of us, original chancists in Frankfurt/ Main. We want to take part in the European elections this year. >From today -1.1.1999- Frankfurt is the true capital of Europe as it has always been the secret capital of postwar Germany: Bankfurt/Mainhattan. Instead of the "Berlin Republic" we have declared a "Frankfurt Republic". After our Farewell from Germany we want to expand in Europe, to hack the "Brussel Republic" with our little sub-political Y2K-bug. Therefore we are looking for collaborators and co-workers. And therefore we have changed our label into: CHANGE 2000. Send your comments to: http://chance2000.com (thinktank, Kommentar). Or contact us in Frankfurt...

SMALL
FURRY MAMMALS

Franny Armstrong

LEGAL NOTE: THE USE OF THE WORDS 'I' AND 'WE' IN NO WAY IMPLIES THAT MS ARMSTRONG WAS PERSONALLY INVOLVED WITH ANYTHING DESCRIBED BELOW. APART FROM THE STUFF ABOUT THE FILM.

The McLibel media strategy arose from a simple premise: this story has to be told. Most people have been affected by McDonald's in one way or another - working in a store, being nagged by children, stumbling through litter, suffering ill-

health or enjoying their burgers - and the corporation's influence continues to increase as they relentlessly pursue their "global domination strategy" (to use their own words). Two people investing their lives to stand up to such a force has got to be a great story in anybody's book.

Not so the British media's flimsy paperback, it seemed. Five years ago, when I first got involved, the trial had been running for six months and was being pretty much ignored by the mainstream media. I initially assumed this was because they couldn't see a dynamite story if it went off in their psions, but I soon learned that the reality was much more sinister. Over the last 15 years McDonald's have employed a very successful censorship strategy. It works like this. Almost anyone who says anything critical about them gets a legal letter. For example, in 1984 the BBC suggested in a programme in their 'Nature' series that McDonald's is connected with the destruction of tropical rainforest. McDonald's legal letter demanded a retraction of the criticisms and an apology. Not wanting a court case or damages - which can potentially cost millions - the BBC backed down and apologised. Crucially, the allegations about rainforests were never tested in court. Around the same time Prince Philip as head of the World Wildlife Fund allegedly made a similar comment about McDonald's and the rainforests ("So you are the people who are tearing down the Brazilian rain forests and breeding cattle"). After 'reassurances' from McDonald's, he sidestepped the issue. However, various other organisations later apologised after getting letters stating that the BBC and Prince Philip had 'exonerated' the Corporation. And so, without ever having to prove whether they ARE actually involved in rainforest destruction, McDonald's successfully intimidated the media into avoiding the subject. The same tactic worked across a whole range of criticisms levelled at the company, as the company went about threatening more than 90 groups with legal action. Everyone from The Guardian, Daily Mirror and The Sun to the Scottish Trade Union, New Leaf Tea Shop and a children's theatre group received a legal letter. Not one of them defended their criticisms in court. Of course, we will never know how deliberate this strategy was on McDonald's behalf - whether they fully realised the long-term effects or whether they were just knee-jerking to each individual case as it arose. Either way, the effects have been extraordinary in silencing the media and creating a climate of self-censorship. I came across this attitude time and time again over the years. Several TV stations and newspapers pulled McLibel stories at the last minute and chat-show producers briefed me that I couldn't mention "the issues". (It feels fairly ridiculous talking about fighting a company that produces burgers without being allowed to explain why.)

McDonald's also use the power of their advertising dollars to stop negative stories being told. The Corporation allegedly threatened to remove 80,000 pounds worth of advertising from The Independent (ho ho) after the newspaper ran a front-page story about a secret settlement meeting. This was a particularly clever move on McDonald's behalf, as The Independent had been one of only two UK papers covering the trial in any depth. Not any more.

All of which meant that, in mid-1995, it was a small group of media lawyers who were deciding what the public could hear about McLibel. And there isn't much chance of a lawyer risking their job by recommending that their newspaper go ahead and print an article which could land them in court. As our own lawyer (ho ho 2) says, "One has the distinct feeling that if the (programme/article) were not about McDonald's but Joe's Cafe, the broadcasters' editorial courage might return." Luckily those good people at the US Military had invented us a solution. The internet. Fast, global, accessible, uncensorable. Over a six month period, about twenty core volunteers built 'McSpotlight', a website dedicated to 'McDonald's, McLibel, Multinationals'. This time was impossibly exciting for all sorts of reasons: we were in uncharted waters and had free rein over the new media; we were finally going to get the story out the way we wanted to tell it; there was nothing McDonald's could do; everyone was shagging each other. I guess that last part isn't crucial (or accurate) were the official story ever to be told. By great fortune, we bumped into the xs4all crew online and they swept us off our feet. Not only did they agree to host the site - which was crucial as it had to be based outside the reach of the UK's ridiculous libel laws - but they also quickly brought us up to speed on internet law. Fresh from their run-in with the Scientologists, they were full of ideas on how to prevent McDonald's from ever censoring the story again. In particular, they came up with the then unheard-of idea of using mirror sites - whereby exact copies of McSpotlight would be running from different servers in different countries. If McDonald's chopped off one head, another could grow somewhere else. Another key idea was 'the kit', which is a squashed version of the site available for anyone to download onto their own harddisc and keep safe. After a week or two there were a couple of hundred copies scattered around the world. This must have been pretty galling to

McD's, as their original motivation for suing Helen and Dave way back when was to stop the information in the leaflets getting to the public.

McSpotlight was previewed in January 1996 at the first Next Five Minutes conference. The response we got there gave us an inkling of what was to come when Helen and Dave officially launched the site in London that February. We now like to claim that we've had the most press coverage of any website in the world ever. Which might just be true. Time magazine, der Speigel, Sydney Morning Herald, Times of India, Tagezeitung, Wired, Daily Mail, New York Times, Chicago Tribune, The Australian, LA Times, Helsingen Snomat and so many others that we ran out of cardboard boxes to store them in. And then America's largest selling paper, USA Today, put McSpot on the front cover and the world's biggest documentary show, 60 Minutes', did a feature. The site has also been mentioned in quiz shows, studio debates, opinion pieces, legal text books, PhD thesis, court cases and parliament.

Web stats don't mean nuffink, of course, but hey. The main xs4all site has now had over 70 million hits - not including the US mirror, which has contributed at least the same again - and it's still getting 2 million hits a month. One particular regular visitor was "mcdonalds.com", which accessed McSpotlight over 2000 times in the first week. Many people cite the publication of the Starr Report as the day the internet came of age, but we prefer to think it was on the week of the McLibel verdict, when we had the result up within 10 minutes of the Judge's ruling - a good 20 minutes before any other media outlet - and when 2.2 million people dropped in.

There are many reasons for this success. Firstly, burgers. We couldn't really have picked a more high-profile opponent - everyone wants to hear the dirt on success stories of their calibre. Add that to the trial, which was fast becoming legendary, and we were guaranteed mega-hits. Secondly, content. Certainly at the time of the launch, most websites were happy to show off their gifs and <hr>s, but none seemed concerned about whether their existence had any point. With all the research from the trial - witness statements, legal documents, press cuttings, interviews - at our disposal, we soon had 10,000 pages online. (Actually that may not be true. Noone can remember how many it was.) After a year or so it jumped up to 200,000 when we added all 313 days of court transcripts - a first in many respects. Thirdly, wit. We didn't want to suffer a similar fate to many of the activist websites of the time, through which only the hardiest fanatic could wade. Our task was not difficult as the McDonald's ethos provides such rich pickings. Hopefully this attitude also translated into the design, which aimed to be confident, intuitive and impressive in its own right and which was generally being overlooked at this time. Fourthly, nerds. McSpotlight was groundbreaking in many ways and attracted a lot of publicity and traffic from the geek population. For example, the "Tour of McDonald's website", not only utilised the brand-new frames function, but also invented the technique of mixing two sites in one - we linked to pages from McDonald's own website on one side and displayed our commentary on the other. Wired called it "truly inspirational". We were also quick off the ground to incorporate a Debating Room into the site, which has proved immensely popular to this day. Fifthly, people. We were inundated with professionals offering to contribute corporate code/ designs/ skills/ enthusiasm to something with a bit of a point. But probably the largest reason for its success is censorship. Here was a genuine example of censored material finding a new audience via an uncontrollable new medium. And who doesn't want to see what it is that the Big Boys don't want us to know?

However, for me, McSpotlight was just a diversion from the real reason I got involved with McLibel: to make a TV documentary about the trial. Throughout the whole saga I was convinced that the mainstream TV would welcome such a film with open arms - especially given the dross that goes out day after day - as it has all the elements needed for a top documentary. From spies and secret recordings to global icons versus the underdogs, I felt there was no way the TV companies would reject our proposals. But reject them they did. So we decided to go ahead and make the film off our own backs, with no funding. (For selfish reasons, I was quite glad they wouldn't commission at this early stage as there's no way a first-time film maker would have been given the opportunity to handle such an important story for a major network.) The film was made over two and a half years, by a volunteer crew which included the acclaimed director Ken Loach. (Get yourself off to 'My Name is Joe' if you haven't seen it yet. It's truly staggering.) He directed the courtroom reconstructions for us, ashamedly admitting during filming that he had once made a McDonald's commercial. Towards the end of the trial, the BBC decided to buy our film for a slot directly after the verdict. We were delighted. But a few days before transmission it was pulled for legal reasons. Channel 4 picked it up but, again, the lawyers put a stop to the broadcast. The film had become

a victim of the very thing it portrayed: McDonald's censorship of the media.

So we turned to new forms of distribution: home video, cable & satellite, film festivals, mobile solar-powered cinemas and, of course, the internet. (Watch the whole film at www.spanner.org/mclibel/vdo). Last month we held a 'Global Screening' to celebrate the start of the defendants' appeal in the High Court. From just one email message, 104 screenings in 19 countries were held and we estimate that about 8 million people watched the film. Which kind of makes me think that there's a lot of untapped potential in email. As a result of the screening, we have also secured our first 'real' broadcast, although I won't tempt fate by mentioning which country.

Not that I believe our efforts are going to make any inroads into McDonald's runaway success. Only yesterday someone said to me that some friends of his had stumbled across McSpotlight and were so outraged that from now on they'll only go to Burger King. Oh dear. All we hoped to do was to provide easily-accessible information to anyone who wanted to make informed choices about whether to give their money to multinational corporations. We never forced anyone to visit McSpotlight or watch the film. Which contrasts nicely with McDonald's attitude of spending 2 billion dollars each year on ensuring that no-one can turn on a TV, walk down a street, participate in sports or go to school without a red-wigged clown barging into their consciousness. Mammals and dinosaurs.

One last point. Did you know that the concept of the Ronald McDonald Houses for sick children was invented by an advertising agency?

McSpotlight: http://www.mcspotlight.org
McSpot guided tour of McDonald's website: http://www.mcspotlight.org/tours/
McLibel documentary: http://www.spanner.org/mclibel/
Watch the film: http://www.spanner.org/mclibel/vdo
Screenings: http://www.spanner.org/mclibel/distribution/globalscreeninglist.html
The making: http://www.spanner.org/mclibel/reviews/press/guardian_jun98.html

Franny Armstrong is director of the McLibel documentary and obsessive McSpotlight fan.

RECLAIM THE STREETS THE FILM AND OTHER MEDIA TACTICS

Agustin de Quijano

THE DISORGANISATION

Reclaim the Streets (RtS) cannot be understood as a campaign, although some of its methods are very similar. There are now RtS groups in thirty cities organising illegal street parties. Most of these groups only exist for the event, and many of the activists are involved in local campaigns during the rest of the year. There is no membership or official line although many would like to see a wider global strategy. As a movement, RtS is only four years old, and it could grow in unpredictable ways.

ACTION

Beyond its immediate goals (creation, joy, immediate intervention against the enforced absurdity of our cities, pleasure, defiance, freedom, clean air, an open invitation to community...), the street party has worked as a focus to unleash diversity and spontaneity, a platform for further, more effective struggle. A tactical conference where the subject becomes the message, as perceived by each individual. RtS groups do not stage events for the media; they are very aware of its power for recuperation and the danger in having a relation of dependence. Too many important campaigns have become commodities.

BELIEF

The notion of 'empowerment' is more important than a social or artistic definition. Its brief texts reject ideology, celebrate RtS' contradictions and shout for collective, insurrectionary direct action, denouncing all human relations based on domination. They are firmly rooted in the culture of civil disobedience, but the emphasis is revolutionary, mistrusting short-lived concessions.

DIFFUSION

The most effective means for the propagation has been oral: people live an important experience and then tell others about it. It's never recreated or enacted; the inspiration for true, unregulated Carnival is older than the system that represses it. The message originates from a broad consensus achieved at meetings and through correspondence. A small, variable group of people who are supposed to be widely trusted deal with communications. As a result, the whole attempt at decentralisation is doomed, yet it appears indispensable when creating situations that are attached to a name. The origin authenticates the message.

The RtS web-sites haven't yet fulfiled much of their activist potential, such as their use as printing presses for the dissemination of texts and as comprehensive media archives (indispensable in the information war). However, they are useful for providing a global identity. Debate, libraries, screenings and free information centres are more necessary than any audio-visual presentation.

The sheer growth of dissident global activity, increasingly linked via the People's Global Action network, is creating unprecedented international collaboration. Globalisation produces common enemies. Until corporations like Shell or Monsanto are forced to hide under the names of numerous companies, they will continue to direct a focus of resistance. The dominant system increasingly relies on ephemeral, much publicised crises to reaffirm social control and to keep their operatives ready for the unforeseen. The activist strategy of marking dates for co-ordinated international actions could be reproducing these crises. Independent media networks are far from being in the position where they can match the speed of corporate media. These crises are short periods of time where the levels of propaganda and indoctrination seem indestructible. The increasing reliance on the Web for communications and fly posting could be very dangerous now that states and transnationals are massively increasing the resources for surveillance, disinformation and propaganda activities. They own the line that you use to spread your free information and it can easily be disrupted or shut down in times of crises. Decentralisation is not just a political position, but a tactical necessity.

THE FILM

The idea started taking shape as London RtS was preparing a large action in collaboration with a group of sacked Liverpool dock workers. It was a new alliance that went beyond the tactical, and one that made the state nervous. It ended with riot police putting siege to around 15000 people illegally partying in central London, two weeks before the general election. As the film partially shows, the event was a media disaster. RtS' own media was quickly defeated. 20000 newspapers were confiscated the day before, and a plan for a pirate radio did not take off. For weeks, the authorities had developed a fairly simple disinformation campaign, started within the group and then by placing articles in newspapers announcing a riot. It worked perfectly. With very few exceptions, all the reporting on the day -'riot', 'murder', and 'police now in control'- came from one, unmentioned source. It was said that whatever had happened, from now on 10 million people would associate, if

only in a distant memory, Reclaim the Streets with hooliganism or terrorism. RtS was in a difficult, unacknowledged paradox: to be able to effectively challenge a false testimony, one needs the truth, It can be more effective than propaganda, and it feels much better but it may also need to be as ubiquitous as the message that you are trying to counteract.

Not least, the illegality of the activities means that you cannot give the whole story. Months later, when interviewed for the film, most of the activists still refused to speak about the organisational failures or anything regarding planning, which are essential part in the diffusion of tactics. In that week, hundreds of reporters contacted the office, from Newsweek to local gazettes. They were mostly ignored, thus losing a chance to spread some information on a global scale. London RtS activists generally refused to give names or interviews, sign articles or have one person appear as a figure head. News media, just like the police or a historian, needs to attach a name to a statement. It authenticates it and qualifies its relevance to the subject. By then, most RtS activists had already been through their fifteen minutes, and no longer accepted to embody the message.

The film, which took 15 months to complete, set itself to be a vehicle for the emotions that could not be portrayed in any other media. By its very nature, film is probably the most subjective means of representation. The camera is never objective, yet documentary film has a formidable claim to reality. More importantly, it is the predominant tool for social control, and if successfully subverted, it can provide support to a movement facing an almost uniformly hostile media.

Sydney RTS: http://members.xoom.com/sydneyrts/
Berkeley RTS(US): http://www.xinet.com/bike/reclaimthestreets/
London RtS: http://www.gn.apc.org/rts/
Lancaster RTS (UK): http://www.geocities.com/RainForest/6096/index.html

THIS IS THE MILIEU OF TODAY'S
NET.ACTIVIST

Carl Guderian

Ten years ago, there were few online activists and they believed that "cyberspace" was all theirs, a territory from which to emerge anywhere, outflanking the lumbering second-wave dinosaurs responsible for the Cold War and its successor, the McWorld. In the future that actually unfolded, the dinosaurs learned to boot up computers, connect to the Internet and post Web pages, or pay someone to do all this for them. What was a poor online activist to do? Even the son of Slobodan Milosevic has a Web site, to promote his Belgrade dance club.

Online activists have lately been busy. The last 12 months saw a flurry of politically motivated online actions. Electronic Disturbance Theater, a New York group, staged "virtual sit-ins" at Web sites maintained by the Mexican government and the state of Pennsylvania. (The former oppresses sympathizers of the Zapatistas and the latter recently renewed its attempts to execute prison journalist and alleged cop-killer Mumia Abu-Jamal.) Someone else hacked the Great Firewall of China, hijacking a Web page and compromising proxy servers used to shield the Chinese people from pornography and sedition. Yet another group occupied a Shell office in London and posted a protest Web site from inside the building using a phone and a palmtop computer. And broadening the category of electronic activism allows inclusion of the LOphT and Peacefire, who make software that respectively opens humiliating holes in Microsoft server software and circumvents

censorware like Cyber Patrol.

But the underdogs took a few kicks as well. Hackers shut down Web sites supporting Croatia, East Timor, and the Basque separatists. Scientologists are suspected of sabotaging the usenet newsgroup alt.religion.scientology, a forum used by critics of the Church. More ominously, officials of the U.S. military and intelligence agencies, styling themselves "infowarriors," want to revive the Manichean (and lucrative) Cold War on the Internet.

THIS IS THE MILIEU OF TODAY'S NET.ACTIVIST.

Net.activists must decide what tactics best fit a medium whose users are quickly becoming identical to the general public and which seems to be turning computers into TV sets. Is there a place for blunt denial-of-service attacks, hijacking of official Web pages, or more serious havoc? It's easy to snarl Internet traffic; it happens often enough by accident. Hacktivism risks yielding only media titillation or provoking an official crackdown or both. Are some attack modes more profitable than others? Does hacktivism include providing technical support to dissident voices, as PressNow! did for Belgrade's Radio B92 when the Milosevic government forced it off the air in 1996?

And what does it mean to be on the receiving end of a campaign that spills off the Net and into an activist's personal life? Critics of McDonald's and Scientology have been harried by non-wired lawyers, while Radio B92's offline contingent has to deal with Milosevic's goons. Hit-and-run actions are very different from ongoing battles and the former is apt to turn into the latter.

The net.activism forum at Next 5 Minutes is a way for activists to share their experiences in some of the aforementioned arenas and learn new tricks. For example, the individuals who operate as Luther Blissett could use an anonymizer to cover their electronic tracks (if they don't already). Or hacktivists may learn not to do serious damage to the Internet in the course of an action. This forum is not an attempt to define a program for activists. It aims to avoid reinvention of the wheel, a problem that reoccurs as activists enter and leave the scene. If hacktivists learn from each other, they can more efficiently go about regaining the Internet that belongs to them, not to the dinosaurs.

ELECTRONIC CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
SIMULATION
AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Critical Art Ensemble

What counts in the long run is the use one makes of a theory....
We must start from existing practices in order to retrace the fundamental flaws.
--Felix Guattari, "Why Marx and Freud No Longer Disturb Anyone"

In 1994, when Critical Art Ensemble first introduced the idea and a possible model of electronic civil disobedience (ECD) as another option for digital resistance, the collective had no way of knowing what elements would be the most practical, nor did it know what elements would require additional explanation. After nearly five years of field testing of ECD by various groups and individuals, its information gaps have become a little more obvious and can finally be addressed. Of particular concern in this essay is the recent turn of events that has produced an ECD model that opts for public spectacle over clandestine policy subversion, and emphasizes simulated action over direct action. CAE contends that these are un-

fortunate currents in the general research on ECD. CAE still believes that ECD is an underground activity that should be kept out of the public/popular sphere (as is the hacker tradition) and the eye of the media, and that simulationist tactics as they are currently being used by resistant forces are only modestly effective if not counterproductive.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Those familiar with CAE's modeling of ECD* know that it was an inversion of the model of civil disobedience (CD). Rather than attempting to create a mass movement of public objectors, CAE suggested a decentralized flow of particularized micro-organizations (cells) that would produce multiple currents and trajectories to slow the velocity of capitalist political economy. This suggestion never sat well with more traditional activists, and recently even Mark Dery (in both _Mute_ and _World Art_) criticized the model because there would be conflicting goals and activities among the cells. To the contrary, CAE still holds that conflicts arising from the diversity of the cells would function as a strength rather than a weakness; this diversity would produce a dialogue between a variety of becomings that would resist bureaucratic structure as well as provide a space for happy accidents and breakthrough invention. If resistant culture has learned anything over the past 150 years, it~s that ~the people united~ is a falsehood that only constructs new exclusionist platforms by creating bu-reaucratic monoliths and semiotic regimes that cannot represent or act on behalf of the diverse desires and needs of indi-viduals within complex and hybridizing social segments.

The second key inversion of the model of CD was to aim directly for policy shift, rather than trying to accomplish this task indirectly through media manipulation. CAE~s position is still that the direct approach is the most effective. The indirect approach of media manipulation using a spectacle of disobedience designed to muster public sympathy and support is a losing proposition. The 1960s are over, and there is no corporate or government agency that is not fully prepared to do battle in the media. This is simply a practical matter of capital expenditure. Since mass media allegiance is skewed to-ward the status quo, since the airwaves and press are owned by corporate entities, and since capitalist structures have huge budgets allotted for public relations, there is no way that activist groups can outdo them. A soundbite here and there simply cannot subvert any policy making process or sway public opinion when all the rest of the mass media is sending the opposite message. Any subversive opinion is lost in the media barrage, if not turned to its opposition~s advantage through spin.

There was a time when CD and media manipulation combined were successful in disrupting and shifting authoritarian semiotic regimes. The civil rights movement is an excellent example. The movement~s participants understood that the Civil War was still being fought on an ideological level, and hence one social/political/geographic region could be turned against another. The northern and western regions of the U.S. had advanced not only in terms of industry, but also in their methods of public (and particularly minority) control. The Civil War had eliminated the retrograde political economy of the south, but had failed to shift its ideological structure (a far more difficult element to change), and hence had not altered its symbolic mechanisms of control. All the civil rights movement needed to do was to call attention to this failure, and the fully modern northern regions would force the south to comply with an ideological position that would be more compatible with the socioeconomic needs of advanced capital. The images produced through acts of civil disobedience suceeded in provoking outrage at the retro-ideology of the south and rekindled the state of war between the regions. Student volun-teers, community organizers, and eventually federal police agencies and the military (mobilized by the executive office) became allies and fought for the movement.

At the same time, the civil rights leaders were not naive about this matter. They knew that the only racist policies that would change were those not held by the north and that racism was not going to disappear; it would only be transformed into a more subtle form of endocolonization, as opposed to its then current status as an explicit set of segregationist norms. Indeed, the general understanding of African Americans--that there was a hard boundary beyond which policy would shift no further--was key in the rapid decline of the civil rights movement and in the high octane fueling of the black power movement. Unfortunately, the latter fared no better with its media campaign, because it lacked the infrastructure to support its own material needs.

As a means of media manipulation, CD worked in the case of the civil rights movement because the historical dynamic of capitalism acted as the foundation for its success. History was still heterogeneous and the normative manifestation of capitalist ideology was still a striated space at both national and international levels. But what do we do now, having reached the point where visible, diversified ideologies in the West no longer exist, and history is nothing more than a homogeneous construct that continuously replays capitalist victories? From where will public outrage originate? What army, government, corporation, or any other power base will support the disempowered when exploitive endocolonial relationships are precisely what allow these agencies to flourish? This is why CAE has argued for direct confrontation, by using financial leverage obtained through blocking privatized information (since this form of information is the gold of late capital). Appropriating media gains nothing in undermining an authoritarian semiotic regime because no power base benefits from listening to an alternative message; however, appropriating profit through blocking information sends a clear message to any chosen capitalist institutions--for them, it may be cheaper to change policy than to defend militarily a semiotic regime under pressure. Accomplishing this task is possible in the virtual realm, and it takes only the most modest of investments to act (compared to forming an army); however, for such resistance to endure requires clandestine activity.

Currently, the one weak exception to rejecting (E)CD as a means to manipulate mass media is in cases where history and ideology have not been homogenized. These tend to be situations in which a resistance movement is in conflict with a dominant power that is still viewed by pancapitalism as being in some form different from itself. For instance, the democracy movement in China used CD and media manipulation with a degree of success. Outrage was generated; however, rigid national boundaries kept it from manifesting in any way useful for the movement other than the granting of asylum by western countries for those who had to flee the Chinese authorities, and in generating a modest amount of diplomatic pressure on China. Even in this best case scenario (and in a way very similar manner to what occurred during the civil rights movement), while the ideological order of pancapitalism was offended, the western economic order perceived China to have more similarities than differences, and hence little was done by the ~outraged~ west to support the democracy movement or to materially undermine the Chinese infrastructure.

ECD AND SIMULATION**

Very early on in the development of electronic media, Orson Welles demonstrated (perhaps accidentally) that simulation has material effects. The simulation of a news broadcast reporting that aliens had invaded earth had the effect of causing a minor panic among those caught in the hall of mirrors that emerged out of the implosion of fiction and nonfiction created by the broadcast. Only varying degrees of plausibility existed as to the truth of the story. Simultaneously, all information was true and all information was false in that historic moment of an erupting hyperreal. We have seen a replay of this narrative in the 1990s with regard to resistant electronic culture, but with some
peculiar differences.

In an addendum written in 1995 for _ECD and Other Unpopular Ideas_, CAE noted that there was growing paranoia among U.S. security agencies about controlling the electronic resistance. Oddly enough, these agencies scared themselves with their own constructions of electronic criminality. It was much like Welles being scared of his own broadcast. In that comic moment, CAE ironically suggested that ECD was successful without ever having been tried, and that merely announcing that some form of digital resistance could occur could have the effect of creating a panic in security agencies to such a degree that their primary focus would become locked in the hyperreality of criminal constructions and virtual catastrophe. This is a comment that CAE wishes it had never made, as some activists have come to take it seriously and are trying to act on it, primarily by using the Web to produce hyperreal activist threats to fan the flames of corporate-state paranoia. Again, this is a media battle that will be lost. State panic and paranoia will be transformed through mass media into public paranoia, which in turn will only reinforce state power. In the U.S., the voting public consistently supports harsher sentencing for ~criminals,~ more jails, and more police, and it is this hyperreal paranoia that gets law-and-order politicians the votes needed to turn these directives into legislation or government order. How many times must we see this happen? From McCarthyism to Reagan~s fear of the Evil Empire to the War on Drugs, the result in each case has been more funds for military, security, and disciplinary agencies (fully mandated by an already fearful and paranoid voting public), and this

in turn tightens the endocolonial belt. Considering that the U.S. is currently involved in the rapid creation and expansion of security agencies devoted to policing electronic criminality (and since these agencies make no distinction between politically motivated action and criminality for profit), it seems misguided to give power vectors increased means for raising public support for this military growth as a well as a basis for increased national and international legislation regarding political management of new electronic media.

Whether simulationist tactics could be used in a more compelling way is difficult to say. Since the CIA and the FBI have been using these tactics for decades, it is easy to locate examples that could be inverted. One of the classics is the CIA~s toppling of the Arbenz government in Guatemala in order to support United Fruit, protect oil interests, and undermine a democracy with such leftist leanings that it legitimized the communist party within the U.S. sphere of influence! To be sure, the CIA built its operational infrastructure well by using economic sabotage to create unrest, but the final act was one of electronic subversion. The CIA simulated field radio broadcasts of antigovernment troop movements around the capital. Upon intercepting these broadcasts, the Guatemalan government became convinced that a large rebel army had been mustered and was preparing for an attack. To the contrary, the public was overwhelmingly supportive of the government, and only a modest rebel faction existed. Unfortunately, government officials panicked and the government fell in disarray.

The FBI used a similar means of subversion by employing hyperreal communications in its attack on the Black Panthers. Much like the CIA~s intervention in Guatemala, the FBI~s infowar had a strong infrastructure. The Bureau had infiltrated the Black Panther Party (BPP) and was close to the high command, so it knew the nature of (and the players in) the party~s internal struggles. It had also successfully used local law enforcement to harass chapters across the U.S. The party~s treasury was perpetually depleted due to the persistent arrests of members by police, who intentionally abused their power in order to drain party funds by forcing the membership to continually post bail for those detained. Given these conditions, paranoia was the order of the day for the Black Panthers, and when the schism between the San Francisco and the New York chapters erupted, the FBI saw a perfect opportunity to implode the party. As a result of a simple letter-writing campaign that fanned the flames of mistrust between east and west leadership, the party collapsed amid its own internal fighting. (The FBI~s campaign consisted of the creation and delivery of documents made to look as if they originated from internal party opposition that criticized specific leaders and their party policies.)

This method could be inverted and turned against authoritarian agencies. The infighting that already occurs within and between government and corporate institutions makes them self-subsidizing targets. The military and economic infrastructure that was necessary for the operations in the examples given here is not necessary for ECD operations, since the internal warfare is already occurring (given capital~s tendency toward predation, fear and paranoia are a part of everyday life experience for those deep within power vectors, and hence no expenditure is necessary to create them, as was necessary with the BPP). Certainly, carefully written and directed letter(s)/e-mail messages could have an implosive effect (although it~s doubtful that a full collapse would ensue); however, the lessons learned from these classic cases of simulationist tactics have to be understood and applied. First and most obvious, this form of resistance would be covert. Second, reliable insider intelligence would need to be acquired. This is the most problematic area in this kind of tactical maneuvering, although it is not impossible to find solutions. For simulationist tactics of resistance to be successfully employed, methods and means of research, intelligence gathering, and informant recruitment have to be developed. (CAE is willing to bet that the next breakthrough paper on resistance will address this very problem of amateur intelligence generation.) Until that occurs, subjective-subversive action will be pretty ineffectual. At present, those not involved in a fully developed covert approach can only act tactically in regard to the strategic principles of an institution rather than to specific situations and relationships. Obviously enough, a tactical response to a strategic initiative makes no sense. In all probability such action will not have the desired effect, and will only alert the agency being hit to prepare for potential external pressures.   We must also remember that simulationist infowar is only a destructive tactic--it is a way to cause institutional implosion, and has very little productive value in terms of policy reconstruction. To continue with the example of racism, agencies that have institutionalized racist policies (and that includes pretty much every institution in the pancapitalist regime) will not be changed by an infowar of institutional attrition. The semiotic regime of racist policies will

continue untouched in other institutions that are interrelated through the shared privilege acquired by maintaining such policies. CAE still insists that productively challenging institutions will not occur through nihilistic gestures, but instead through forcing changes in the semiotic regime on an institutional basis while leaving the material infrastructure intact for reinscription.

THE PROBLEM OF CONTAINMENT
Marshalling the materially destructive tendencies of hyperreality has other problematic consequences when these destruction codes are released into the spectacle. Most notable is the problem of containment. If an authoritarian agency believes itself to be under attack, or under the threat of attack (deferred virtual catastrophe), and it is in the public limelight because of this, it will lash out in a less than predictable way. It may act in a manner that is injurious to itself, but it is just as likely that it will act in a way that could endanger unsuspecting elements of the public sphere. Introducing the public into the formula forces the threatened agency to face one major consequence: In order to keep up with the speed of the infosphere, it must act quickly. Hesitation, even to allow time for reasonable analysis and reflection, is not an option. In the current marketplace of public relations, success and failure have imploded, and all actions, when represented well, reside in the sphere of hyperreal success and victory. The only useful distinction to be made is between action and inaction. Inaction is the sign of weakness and ineptitude. Caught in this high velocity vector, a threatened agency will take action that will be explosive (not implosive). Scapegoats will be designated, and action detrimental to these individuals or populations will follow (The perfect macrocosm of this sequence of events is U.S. foreign policy and the actions taken on its behalf). In other words, once this sequence of destruction was initiated by threat (whether virtual or actual), the often uncontrolled forces that would be released could not be contained or redirected by the resistant force. This inability to contain the explosion links this model (in effect only) to terrorism. Not that the activists are initiating terrorist practice, since no one dies in hyperreality, but the effect of this practice can have the same consequence as terrorism, in that state and corporate power vectors will haphazardly return fire with weapons that have destructive material (and even mortal) consequences.

What is odd is that such action would not be taken out of a concern for infrastructure, but for the semiotic regime and the entity~s public image in hyperreality. However, when the public is taken out of this formula, the sequence changes dramatically. The agency under pressure would not have to act quickly. It could have time to investigate and therefore be able to deliver a more surgical strike, because the sign of weakness (the public perception of inaction) would not be damaging its intended public representation. In this worst-case scenario for the activists, the response would be far more directed, and hence the consequences would tend to fall on those who actually took the risk of initiating the action. If the agency were unaware that it was under subversion and an implosion occurred, the public would not be notified or feel the direct consequences (although indirect ones such as unemployment are probable). In either case, there would be no violent explosive spinoff of shrapnel that could land anywhere in the landscape of resistance. In other words, containment would be actualized. What is of additional interest is that the agency under pressure would subsidize containment activity. No agency wants to publicize that it is in financial trouble, that its security has been breached, etc., and hence it would contain itself. However, if the public is introduced into the formula then the likelihood of containment evaporates and the consequences become less than civil. For this reason CAE continues to believe that all useful models of ECD (or for that matter, nearly all political as opposed to consciousness raising and pedagogical actions***) within the current political conditions have in common covert action and an abhorrence of mass media as a theater of action.

WRITING THE DISCOURSE ON ECD
Given the desire to keep the mass media out of the discourse on ECD, CAE thought it wise to close with a few suggestions on how to speak semipublicly about what should only be discussed among trusted companions. This is an old problem, so fortunately there are some precedents--most notably the Frankfurt School. Its strategy was to write in the most dense, arcane style imaginable so that only initiates into the fold could decipher it; in this way the discourse stayed out of the public sphere where it did not become a resource for market cooptation. Happily, we do not have to go to such lengths. The

writing can be clear and accessible, but it should be made to resist the eye of the media. Fortunately this is easy to do. All that is necessary is to make it 'bad copy'. This is why CAE speaks in terms of general models and hypotheticals (and never about specific actions). Not only would we not want to make specifics public for obvious reasons, but generalities (models) are not very interesting to the grand majority of the popular media audience. Models are bookish and slow, and in the fast-paced image barrage of popular spectacle, they are simply boring. CAE also suggests looking to historical analogues for examples of tactical actions, particularly ones that have been activated by authoritarian power vectors. None of the popular media is particularly interested in more talk about olden times, nor are they interested in past atrocities (except for those perpetrated by Nazis). Discussion of such topics leaves the media with nothing interesting to bring to the public. This strategy goes back to issues of constellations, detournment, appropriation, etc. Use what is already available, give the media vultures nothing, and the only option for cooptation left is cannibalism (hence the proliferation of retro). Now clearly it's too late to stop media cooptation of ECD. It has already been sold for 15 minutes of fame, and is fueling a new round of cyberhype, but e-activists can bring a halt to this current media event by supplying nothing more. We can also be thankful that ECD and other forms of electronic resistance that have now been dematerialized into the hyperreal buzz of 'hacktivism' are just more cyberfads that will rapidly fade on the technohorizon, leaving the committed to continue with business as usual.

*For more information: All CAE books, including _Electronic Civil Disobedience_, are available from Autonomedia (NYC) or they can be downloaded free of charge at <http://mailer.fsu.edu/~sbarnes>. German (Passagen Verlag), French (I~eclat), and Italian (Castelvecchi) translations are also available; unfortunately they are not available online, so contact CAE for more information. **CAE would like to thank Heath Bunting for his valuable contribution to CAE'sdevelopment of a simulationist model of subversion.

THE AVANT-GARDE NEVER GIVES UP--
THOUGHTS ON ART AND ACTIVISM

Alex Galloway

KEYWORDS: MEDIA ACTIVISM, RESISTANCE, TACTICAL, NET.ART, CONCEPTUAL, AVANT-GARDE

The avant-garde never gives up. And tactical media has produced (at least) three different theaters of operation to wage its struggle: media activism, pure tactical aesthetics, and net conceptualism. The first allows for "formal" net.art tactics (materialist, structural), the latter two allow for "real" net.art tactics (native presence, site-specificity).

1) "Media activism" is what N5M knows best. In the classic mode of leftist engagement it extends from access control issues like the "we want bandwidth" campaign to more blatantly confrontational projects like hacking in protest of Kevin Mitnick's imprisonment. Cyberfeminism, RTMARK, Mongrel's techno morphs, free servers like xs4all, and prosthetic networks like ZAMIR all fall under the rubric of media activism. In their very existence, the postmedia

venues (nettime, RHIZOME, etc.) and other temporary autonomous communities belong here too (although some-times these venues become more conceptual than activist).

2)   "Pure tactical aesthetics" is the label we use for new media's art-for-art's-sake. It designates new media art that is truly (web)site-specific. Jodi invented it. 7-11 perfected it. And today, hell.com (and its residents) have evolved it to a higher form. Pure tactical aesthetics are most often seen in a raising of the bar--a shock of the shock--whose eventual goal is to define a new aesthetic totally native to computers. This art stretches outward, past one's normal creative purview to chart new cultural ground. It is a grenade in the brain of the establishment. It is unsellable, un-exhibitable and uncritiquable.

3)   "Net conceptualism" is web sculpture. It is the spacialization of the web, a way of thinking new thoughts. To find net conceptualism look for places where the art object has been dissolved into the network (or rather, into *relational-ity* as such). "Refresh" was an early form. More advanced conceptual projects include FloodNet and the Web Stalker. Heath Bunting's "_readme" is pure net conceptualism, though he might deny it. Electronic civil disobedi-ence becomes conceptual when it sheds its offline pretense. Online media activism becomes conceptual when it discovers what is it when it cannot *be* anywhere else.

Intelligent systems (capitalism, Hollywood, language, internet) are amazingly powerful, yet always produce their own grave diggers. Alternate possibilities must necessarily emerge. For the internet our new virtues are interactivity, collabo-ration, artificial life--each with a correlative effect: anti-author, anti-hierarchy, and anti-fascism. Technology is inherently tactical. Material change is nothing without cultural innovation. You will fail who cannot do both. And finally we will re-alise that tactical net.art is not just technology, it is a just technology.
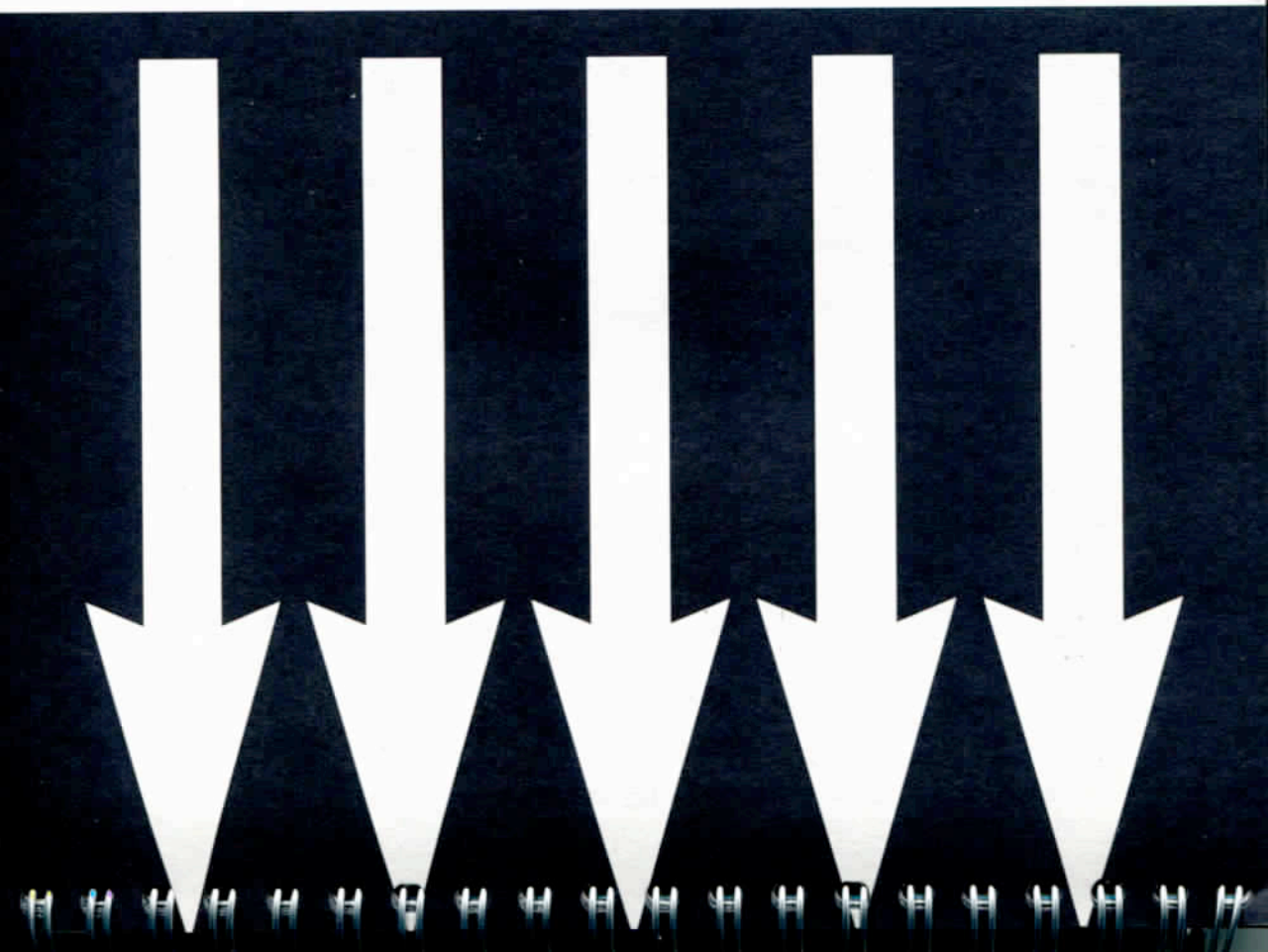
HOW TO SORT
A STREET PARTY

Get together with some like-minded people. Possibly your friends. Work on a plan of action. Sort out different roles, jobs and timescales. Imagine. What's possible?

Decide on a date. Give yourselves enough time. Not too much - a "deadline" is a great motivator - but enough to sort the practicals: materials, construction etc. You may need money.

Choose the location. Your street, the town centre, a busy road or roundabout, a motorway! A separate meeting place is good: people like a mystery, bureaucrats don't.

Publicise! Word of mouth, leaflets, posters, e-mail, carrier pigeon. Make sure everyone knows where and when to meet. Posters and paste go well on walls, billboards and phone boxes. Leaflet shops, clubs, pubs - everyone, and your mum.

Sort out your sound system. A party needs music - rave, plugged-in, acoustic, yodelling - go for diversity. Invite jugglers and clowns, poets, prophets and performers of all kinds. Ask campaign groups to come along and set up a stall in the middle of the road.

How will you transform the space? Huge banners with a message of your choice, colourful murals, bouncy castle, a ton of sand and a paddling pool for the kids, carpets, armchairs. The materials and money from earlier may come in useful here. Print up an explanation for this "collective daydream" to give to participants and passersby on the day.

RECLAIM THE STREETS!

Rescue some young trees from the road of your local "development" and have them ready for planting. You may need a pneumatic drill and safety goggles for the last bit.

For opening the street - or rather stopping it being re-closed by the traffic - ribbons and scissors are not enough. A large scaffold tripod structure with a person suspended from the top has been found useful. Practice in your Local park. Blocking the road with a car that can then be dismantled is nice. Even the traditional "barricade" will do.

Have a street party! Enjoy the clean air and colour full surroundings, the conversation and the community Bring out the free food, dance, laugh and set off the fire hydrants. Some boys in blue may get irate. Calm them down with clear instructions.

At least a couple of the boys in blue will fail to get the point and nick people - six is generally the minimum to convince their paymasters it was worth all that overtime. Of course you found a solicitor who understands about street protests and distributed a bust card with their number, a phone number to collect details of arrestees, and basic advice - the Release bust card is a good basis in the UK. Make sure someone stays awake, alert and near that phone to take messages, gather names, and organise a defendants' meeting a week or two later.

RECLAIM THE STREETS!

HOW TO SORT
A STREET PARTY
HTTP://WWW.GN.APE.ORG/RTS

COUNTER STRATEGIES

INTRODUCING THE PANEL ON COUNTER-STRATEGIES OF CORPORATIONS AGAINST CAMPAIGNS

FEATURING: WHAT ARE THE MODERN-TIMES STRATEGIES OF PRESENT DAY COMPANIES?

AND WHAT CAN WE DO AGAINST IT?

INTRODUCTION
COUNTER-STRATEGIES

Eveline Lubbers

This part of the introduction includes a short outline of the themes to be discussed at the forum. Being used are examples from the work of the panellists meaning cases they have been working on and some other related texts (references included below). Added are four further texts illuminating the main themes from different points of view.

"The greatest threat to the corporate world's reputation comes from the Internet, the pressure groups newest weapon. Their agile use of global tools such as the Internet reduces the advantage that corporate budgets once provided." Quoted is a PR-manager who is trying to teach multinationals how to deal with modern day pressure groups, creatively using the power of the media sound bite.

The loss of control over a situation as result of the activities from particular pressure groups has become the nightmare scenario for the modern multinational enterprise. Some of them learn fast, from their enemies - that is, from us. PR-companies are hired to change the worst scenario into a business opportunity.

What are the modern-times strategies of present day companies?
Three main strategies can be distinguished as follows:
1. Openness and co-optation
2. Monitoring and intelligence
3. Aggressive PR, using legal threats, front groups and greenwash tactics

WHAT THREAT DO THESE STRATEGIES POSE?

1. OPENNESS AND CO-OPTATION
One of the tenets of the new Shell strategy based on openness and honesty is their Internet site http://www.shell.com, launched early 1996, renewed late 1998). Dialogue is the core concept, and sensitive issues are not side-stepped. The Shell Internet site receives over 1,100 emails a month and a full-time staff member answers all these mails personally within forty-eight hours. There are links to the sites of Shell's competitors and detractors, and also to progressive social organisations (nothing there more radical than Friends of the Earth or Greenpeace, but this aside). At the site's discussion forums arranged by subject everybody is allowed to voice their opinion on Shell's practices. The question is of course whether this form of openness really yields results. The forums are not intended for people to question Shell; the email facility provides for that and is used quite intensively. The questions being asked and the answer being given, remain between only Shell and the emailers. All in all, one might conclude that this amounts to a fake openness, for show purposes only. After all, in public the public arena, true discussions are being eschewed. Shell denies that the forums are merely window-dressing, functioning mainly as barometer for what certain people think.

To co-opt the environmental debate is just one side of the coin, to demonise and marginalise the environmental movement is the other. One PR guru has outlined a three step divide and conquer strategy on how corporations can defeat public interest activists who apparently fall into four distinct categories: "radicals", "opportunists", "idealists" and "realists". The goal is to isolate the radicals, "cultivate" the idealists and "educate" them into becoming realists, then co-opt the realists into agreeing with industry'. The bottom line, says another PR-specialist, is that if you dialogue with people, then you win. If you meet a group that will not compromise then you have a problem. One recent classic example of this is the Uwa from

Colombia who refused to backtrack against oil development and even threatened suicide if Occidental and Shell drilled on their land. It was the companies who in the end backed down.

2. MONITORING AND INTELLIGENCE

Loosing control of a situation as result of the activities of pressure groups has become the nightmare scenario for modern multinational enterprises. Shell was taken by complete surprise when the Greenpeace campaign against sinking the Brent Spar former drill platform achieved its goals. A comprehensive review of what has become known as the PR disaster of the century indicates that Shell had it all wrong about its own influence on the media. There was a new factor in the game, which had been completely missed out: the role of the Internet. Since that miscalculation, Shell sports an Internet manager who is convinced that listening to the Internet community is an effective barometer of public opinion about your company. The Shell Headquarters in London are making a thorough job of it. Specialised, external consultants have been hired who scout the web daily, inventorying all the possible ways Shell is mentioned on the net and in which context. In combination with real life intelligence gathering, from open sources to covert actions like eaves dropping and infiltration (the tiny London Greenpeace campaign against McDonalds suffered from at least seven covert agents in their group). These tactics yield a great deal of information which can then be used for a variety of purposes. The least harmful -in a way- would be tackling the aim of campaigns with a carefully balanced PR-campaign. The surprise effect of a picket-line or a sit-in can be countered if the targeted corporation was aware of an action in advance. Winning time and photo-opportunities dealing with reluctant spokespeople and clumsy CEO's is always good for soundbites in the mainstream media. Without this surprise-effect, campaigners would loose half of their means, so to speak. Exchanging information with law enforcement and governmental intelligence services would give the authorities extra opportunities to take their own measurements to prevent people from doing potentially law breaking acts.

3. AGGRESSIVE PR, USING LEGAL THREATS, FRONT GROUPS AND GREENWASH TACTICS

The fear of legal threats made the printers of The Ecologist decide to withhold a special issue of the magazine on biotechnology and the Monsanto Corporation, during September of last year. The special issue of The Ecologist was a direct response to Monsanto's large-scale Europe-wide advertising campaign, in which the company claims, among other things, that "Food biotechnology is a matter of opinions. Monsanto believes you should hear all of them." The magazine highlights Monsanto's track record of social and ecological irresponsibility, and illustrates its readiness to intimidate and quash those ideas which conflict with its immediate interests. (The issue opens with an article by HRH the Prince of Wales on genetic engineering Seeds of Disaster. Charles gave his permission for republication -it first appeared in the Daily Telegraph- as a contextual introduction to this special issue). After 29 years of reliable and friendly partnership the editors of The Ecologist found out that the printers had pulped the entire edition, two days before it was due to appear - without notifying them. After the magazine had found another printer, the problems were not over yet. Two leading newsagents in the U.K., WH Smith and John Menzies, decided not to sell the issue, for fear of being sued. This incident demonstrates that Monsanto's reputation for aggression and intimidation alone makes it difficult for the public to be properly informed of the true nature of genetic engineering.

Green Wash is a special form of PR. The industry has for instance treated climate change as a PR-problem - it has funded so-called independent scientists and formed green-sounding front groups, such as the Global Climate Coalition. In the run up to the Kyoto meeting late 1997, the GCC spent $ 60 million dollars trying to persuade the public that they were not to blame and justify a business as usual future. In Germany they call this astroturf lobbying. Exposing the schemes of secret front groups has diminished the successfulness of this strategy. Though there still is a lobby group rallying grassroots support against wind energy sites. They operate along the same lines again and again, even buying houses at possible sites in order to pose as local citizens. Astroturf techniques are performed successfully either at the level of European decision making in Brussels, at an arena that is removed from everyday national or local debates. Usually, in these situations you get some village journalists, and the story never makes it out of the region. Next week you might be employing the same

methods at the other end of the country, but when things operate in this matter it is difficult to get a comprehensive picture. Unless serious research uncovers this type of strategies.

Aggressive PR-campaigns can create a climate for violent attacks. In the United States the constant promotion and use of the term ecoterrorist by anti-environmentals set up a fear dynamic. It makes the police and private security firms begin to worry. It sets the stage for counter-action and makes anti-environmental violence seem like an acceptable response. It is impossible to quantify the specific level of violence against environmental activists in America, because violence is designed to silence. There will be hundreds of acts of intimidation that will go unreported because they have succeeded their aim, simple intimidation to 'chill' the person concerned. It is mainly grassroots activists, miles from the safety of big cities who are suffering the most. The majority of these activists are women, who are involved in local environmental problems. Activists who live in remote areas or in blighted neighbourhoods are also singled out for attack. Furthermore, the support these 'front-line' activists are receiving from the mainstream environmental movement has been verging on non-existent. Not speaking out against violence isolates people making it safer to attack them.

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO DIMINISH THE EFFECTS OF THESE COUNTER-STRATEGIES?

Knowledge of corporate PR strategies may help activists and concerned citizens to recognise manipulative strategies and distinguish them from industry behaviour that is truly indicative of change. This kind of awareness places activists and citizens in a better position to counter such strategies. Action groups could set up public data banks on persons involved in 'two-step-communication' (the use of third parties) 'front organisations' and on corporate-instituted 'grass root organisations'. They could try to expose publicly the most influential or consciously-manipulative persons or organisations through their own publications and, if possible, through other media. They could institute an annual competition for the best 'corporate camouflage' of the year (similar to existing awards for the 'top polluter, for instance).

The Counter-strategies panel should try to develop a 'strategic' focus on corporate communication: what specific tools are being developed as a response to a changing society and to the particularities of new media? How has communication evolved to fit in with modern society and values?

For this purpose an insight into the Monsanto 1998 PR campaign will be presented, from a PR consultant's point of view. New strategic tools in bio-tech communication will be analysed: targeting children, the 'informed decision' and the use of invisible corporations. The aim should be fitting in with campaigners' experiences in order to stimulate debate on ideas on how communication may be used by activists both as a tool in itself (strategic information exchange) as well as means of better understanding and following corporate strategies.

Tactical research is a most important hidden weapon of activists. Not only should they investigate acts of violence and more serious attacks to expose the disinterest of the law enforcement authorities. The 'green private investigator' speaking at the N5M panel also teaches how to research corporations' practices by following the right leads.

Let's not forget that most corporations still see the use of new media as a threat to which they don't know how to respond. Online communities are developing as well as horizontal communications. Companies tend only to think about vertical communications - pushing out brand messages and treating consumers as if they exist in a vacuum. The lesson that brand owners are about to learn, is that the web is an increasingly powerful cultural phenomenon. As long as they have not yet all developed sophisticated communications tactics for their fiercest critics, there remains some room to play. Let's use it. Now!

The Counter-strategy panel: Helen Holder is working at the Monsanto Round Up campaign, a project of ASeed-Europe based in Amsterdam. As a former PR-consultant she is specialised in corporate strategies. Sheila O'Donnel, the 'green PI' investigates violence against environmentalists in the USA, and teaches activists in tactical research. Claudia Peter, author of Deckmantel Okologie, about astroturf strategies in Germany is researching lobbying strategies at a local level in Germany and at a high-level in Brussels. Andy Rowell, author of Green Backlash, Global Subversion of the Environmental Movement. He is specialised in corporate PR and the strategies being used by companies (Monsanto and Shell) against activists. Host: Eveline Lubbers has been monitoring police and secret services since the eighties, supporting activist

groups against authorities. Recently she specialised in corporate intelligence and PR-strategy of multinationals against their opponents - including net-activists.

THE DANGERS OF CO-OPTATION WITH CORPORATIONS CURRENT PR PRACTICES AGAINST CAMPAIGNERS

Andy Rowell

Over 2,000 Ogoni, including their leader, Ken Saro-Wiwa have died since they started their non-violent campaign against Shell. Many Ogoni are still imprisoned today. Their only crime was to campaign against the ecological destruction of their homeland by Shell and ask for a greater share of the oil wealth that had been drilled from under their land. What have the Ogoni got to do with corporate PR, you might ask? Right from the start of the Nigerian conflict, Shell was more interested in preserving its image than protecting the environment or listening to the grievances of the peoples of the Niger Delta. The company complained that it suffered from a communication problem, rather than a real one. In the weeks after Ken Saro-Wiwa was executed, Shell, which faced a public corporate crisis, tried to spin its way out of trouble, spending millions of dollars justifying its continuing operations in Nigeria. In the company's adverts and press releases, the Ogoni were portrayed as violent, as separatists, as sappateurs, while Shell systematically lied to the world over its links with the military regime. How the truth was manipulated in Nigeria is just one small example of corporate public relations industry that spends 35 billion dollars a year protecting business interests world-wide. What is PR? It is the secretive art of subtle manipulation, whose point, in the words of one Mobil executive "is getting people to behave the way you hope they will behave by persuading them that it is ultimately in their interest to do so".

We should not underestimate the power of corporate PR - Indeed some people argue that corporate propaganda threatens democracy itself. As Australian scholar Alex Carey said: "The twentieth century has been characterised by three developments of great political importance; the growth of democracy, the growth of corporate power and the growth of corporate propaganda as a means of protecting corporate power against democracy."Lets look at some specific examples of corporate PR at work, and what we can learn from them. In 1995, the year Saro-Wiwa was murdered, Shell received a prestigious Award from the then Chancellor, Ken Clarke for its range of corporate videos, one of which was on climate change. Being the largest global oil company in the world, Shell should be worried about climate change. It is now an established fact that we are changing the world's climate. The burning of fossil fuels is largely to blame. For the last forty years, Shell and the other fossil fuel companies have adopted a dinosaur mentality towards climate change. Instead of joining the debate constructively, they set out to destroy it. Essentially the oil industry responded with what we call the 3-D PR Strategy.

DENY, DELAY, DOMINATE.

Deny there is a problem with your product.

Delay effective action.

Dominate the international agenda and the marketplace in the search for alternatives.

The industry has treated climate change as a PR problem - it has funded so-called independent scientists and formed green-sounding front groups, such as the Global Climate Coalition. The GCC, which was set up in the late eighties, was formed to scupper the UN Climate negotiations. In the run up to the Kyoto meeting last December, the GCC spent $60 million dollars trying to persuade the public that they were not to blame and justify a business as usual future - even though that future jeopardises the long-term viability of life on earth. The use of climate front groups, such as the Global Climate Coalition is just one of the many PR techniques companies are using to counter the environmental movement.

The techniques are very simple: On the one hand to co-opt the environmental debate and on the other to demonise and marginalise the environmental movement. Co-option can take many forms; companies have spent billions adopting the language of the environmental movement, or greenwashing their products: Motor vehicles, the fastest growing source of pollution on the planet, have become "environmentally-friendly". Aerosols are "ozone friendly", washing powders are phosphate free, even when most had no phosphate in them anyway, aluminium cans and paper bags are not recycled but also recyclable. Sustainable development has become one of the most co-opted and corrupted corporate terms used today. As well as changing their language, companies have changed their tactics - We must understand that for business, establishing links with environmental, human rights, development and Indigenous groups and having dialogue with the opposition is a simple PR technique. I cannot stress this enough. Dialogue is the most important PR tactic that companies are using to overcome objections to their operations.

It is a typical divide and rule tactic. One PR guru has outlined a three step divide and conquer strategy on how corporations can defeat public interest activists who apparently fall into four distinct categories: "radicals", "opportunists", "idealists" and "realists". The goal is to isolate the radicals, "cultivate" the idealists and "educate" them into becoming realists, then co-opt the realists into agreeing with industry'.

To this end, Shell has pioneered a sophisticated "stakeholder" process, which it hopes will become a blueprint for industry to use elsewhere. Having learned from its operations in Nigeria and the Brent Spar fiasco, the company is trying a different tract in Peru, where it has been exploring for oil in some of the most culturally and ecologically sensitive rainforest left on the globe, but labels it "model sustainable development". In an unprecedented move, the company held a series of workshops in Lima, Washington and London in December 1997 and June 1998 to which some 90 interested groups or "stakeholders" in its Peruvian Camisea project were invited. Not up for discussion was whether the project should go ahead, but how it should go ahead. Meanwhile, the whole process has divided different groups on whether to take part in the Shell- initiative.

We can also learn from advice companies like Shell are receiving from security firms, such as Control Risks, based in London. In a lecture last autumn, John Bray, Head of Research at Control Risks, advised the oil industry how to counter pressure groups, recommending that:

* It is no longer acceptable practice purely to operate to national environmental and social laws.
* Companies must operate and be seen to be operating to the best practices worldwide, to a uniform set of international standards.
* Many local groups are linked to international pressure groups in the US and Europe. Companies must try to undermine those links by:
* Increasing dialogue with stakeholders

The bottom line, say Control Risks, is that if you dialogue with people, then you win. If you meet a group that will not compromise, then you have a problem. One recent classic example of this is the Uwa from Colombia who refused to backtrack against oil development and even threatened suicide if Occidental and Shell drilled on their land. It was the companies who backed down.

What is interesting about what Control Risks are saying is that by advocating companies operating to global best practice, they are putting forward the same argument that some mainstream environmental and development NGOs

are. This is exactly what the companies want - a harmonisation of standards and respectability world-wide, while they carry on their own operations, largely on a business as usual scenario.

The most dangerous document is Shell's "Profits and Principles: Does there have to be a Choice". "We care what you think about us, it says in hand-writing" on the inside cover, whilst also mentioning dialogue. Shell, by the way are also spending $30 million changing their image. Despite the great green rhetoric, fundamental differences exist between Shell's vision and our vision for the future. Take the issue of globalisation. It says in the Profits and Principles book that "Shell strongly supports globalisation for a way to ensure greater prosperity for all".

Many people now realise that the issue of globalisation is becoming the most important ecological, economic and social issue of our time. Globalisation represents a race to the bottom for the economy, for the environment and for equity. It represents the age of insecurity for the likes of you and me. To Shell it represents a business as usual future.

What is our vision for the future? We cannot just highlight the problems, we also have to start working on solutions. Do we accept Shell's and Monsanto's vision of a globalised world dominated by Microsoft and McDonalds and other unaccountable corporations, who see no limits to growth or limits on manipulation of life. In essence, do we believe that TNCs are part of the solution or problem? You should ask the Ogoni 19, who were arrested for campaigning against Shell, who were arrested by Shell's own Nigerian Police, and who have languished in jail for four years despite Shell's newly found commitment to human rights, what they think. You should ask the Ogoni 19 whether they believe Shell to be part of the problem or solution. I think you would find that they believe there is a difference between principle and profit.

Andrew Rowell is the author of Green Backlash, Global Subversion of the Environmental Movement, (Routledge, 1996) and will be speaking on the Counter-strategies panel. The main area of Green Backlash work that he has carried on undertaking has been corporate PR and the strategies being used by companies against activists. Quite a lot of this work has centred around the oil industry and biotech industry, with special emphasis on the PR initiatives by Monsanto and Shell. He is one of the very few people in the UK who tracks companies and their PR behaviour. He has been a leading dissident against the consensus that we should sit down and dialogue with TNCS, and he spoke out against this in a speech given to 100 leading environmental and development activists last year, which was co-ordinated by Oxfam.

ENGINEERING OF CONSENT
UNCOVERING CORPORATE PR

Judith Richter

EXCERPTS FROM A BRIEFING PAPER ON THE NESTLÈ COUNTER-STRATEGY AGAINST BABYMILK-CAMPAIGNERS, PUBLISHED BY THE CORNERHOUSE, MARCH 1998

One of the major challenges facing citizen groups campaigning to prevent, minimise, limit or regulate socially-irresponsible or environment-degrading practices of transnational corporations is how to deal with the corporations' increasing call for 'dialogue' and 'cooperation'. Many transnational corporations say they have seen the error of their ways and have rec-

tified their mistakes. Eager to do their best for 'our common future', they claim to be listen to their critics. Thus 'dialogues' with companies or industry organisations are frequently portrayed as the way ahead for citizen groups seeking corporate accountability, rather than 'confrontational' strategies such as boycotts. What are the dangers and limits of doing so? An answer requires exploring the ways in which calls for 'dialogue' of 'cooperation' have masked attempts to manipulate public debates; to silence or neutralise critics; and to create an image of socially-concerned business. Knowledge of corporate PR strategies may help activists and concerned citizens to recognise manipulative strategies and distinguish them from industry behaviour that is truly indicative of change, and thus be in a better position to counter such strategies.

To be in a better position to resist corporate attempts to manipulate public debate and engineer consent, corporate accountability activists need to learn how better to distinguish between marketing -selling a product- and corporate relations - selling industry views (although manipulation is key to both kinds of activities). 'PR literacy' can be increased by reading PR textbooks (in particular, glossaries and sections on issues management and sponsorship) and investigative work on corporate PR strategies. Spaces for democratic decision-making can be recovered in various ways:

Trying to limit opportunities for industry to gather information on activist plans. For instance, activists should ask journalists and others interviewing them about their funding sources and request to see copies of their publications before giving interviews. If they do enter into discussions with industry, they should try to avoid giving away strategic information about their financial and human resources and action plans; they should however, loudly and clearly voice their concerns about what they regard as the public issue.

UNVEILING HIDDEN PR PRACTICES

Action groups could set up public data banks on persons involved in 'two-step-communication' (the use of third parties) 'front organisations' and on corporate-instituted 'grass root organisations'. They could try to expose publicly the most influential or consciously-manipulative persons or organisations through their own publications and, if possible, through other media. They could institute an annual competition for the best 'corporate camouflage' of the year (similar to existing awards for the 'top polluter, for instance). Legislation requiring politicians, government officials and health professionals receiving industry funds to declare what they are doing so it could increase transparency in public debates. Given PR practitioners' vital role in of engineering consent towards anti-social business practices, action groups could attempt to expose PR practitioners' violations of the various voluntary codes of conduct instituted by major professional PR associations such as the Public Relations Society of America or the International Public Relation Association.

RESISTING SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC ISSUES

The culture of industry secrecy, mechanisms of censorship and silencing need to be seriously addressed. Health Action International, for example, is currently co-organising a campaign for public access to information underlying decisions giving market approval for new medicinal drugs in Europe. New coalitions are needed to work for national Freedom of Information Acts, and against structural censorship in the media. Groups should do all they can to expose and resist industry attempts to silence critics.

TRYING NOT TO BE USED TO ENHANCE THE IMAGE OF AN INDUSTRY

To prevent, or at least limit, being used to enhance a corporate image, professional associations and action groups should continue discussing all these issues among themselves and establish clear policies on funding. There is a need to explore the long-term structural consequences of NGO's and social and research institutions replacing dwindling public funds with industry sponsorships, which they are under pressure to do. Organisations with a high public standing, such as UN agencies and church organisations, should be particularly careful not to let themselves be used for image transfer or to enhance the legitimacy of a criticised company.

RESISTING CORPORATE ATTEMPTS TO MANIPULATE PUBLIC DEBATE

Ideally, this encompasses a dual strategy: publicly exposing attempts to silence, delay, divert or fudge, on the other hand:

while at the same time, developing and publicising other analyses and alternative visions, on the other. Given their limit-ed financial resources and human-power, however, action groups often have to decide between these two strategies. Yet greater exchange and new coalitions between industry critics from different movements - consumer, health, environmental, democratic media, social justice and women's movements, for instance - may conserve institutional resources. Engineering of Consent is focusing on the ongoing babymilk campaign and the Counter-strategies developed by NestlÈ since the seventies. The Cornerhouse briefing is dealing with: Corporate PR, The Art of Camouflage and Deception, Issues Management, Intelligence Gathering and Assessments, Image Management, Suppression of Public Issues, PR Laundering, Manipulating the Public Debate.

The Engineering of Consent, Uncovering Corporate PR can be ordered at The Cornerhouse by email: cornerhouse@gn.apc.org

THE GREEN PRIVATE INVESTIGATOR
- ON THE WAR AGAINST THE GREENS.

Five foot seven and solidly built, with shoulder-length salt-and-pepper hair, broad cheeks, and wide (but not inno-cent) eyes, forty-nine-year old Sheila O'Donnell is not your typical private investigator. She's non-violent, progres-sive, and lacks a law enforcement background, but this granddaughter of Irish immigrants still has all the hallmarks of a good detective: tenacity, toughness of character, and unflinching willingness to engage difficult problems head on. To environmental activist under siege from Maine to south Texas, Sheila has become known as the Green P.I. 'Right now I'd say about half my cases are environmental,' she explains over cappuccino on a warm spring day near her home in Mill Valley, California. 'I've got ten cases involving violent attacks on environmentalists. I've talked to activist in twenty-five or thirty similar cases. I turned copies of those cases over to the Center for Investigative Reporting [an award-winning journalism project based in San Francisco] and they've been able to develop another 120 examples and it's continuing to expand. I'm sure the real numbers are well into hundreds - thousands if you count vandalism, phone threats, and harassing letters. My worry is that there's really no place for people to go when they get a threatening call in the middle of the night or find their dog beheaded on their front steps. I mean they can call me but I'm only one person.'

On an 'Eye on America' news segment about the problem that aired March 3, 1993, CBS correspondent Eric Hayes re-ported, 'Most of these [cases] are not high-profile environmentalists; they're not out sabotaging industry. They're more likely to work within the system to protect environment. They're finding, though, that the system can't protect them.' 'Right now the FBI won't touch this,' says Linda Chase, a staff aide to Congressman George Miller, chairman of the House Committee on Natural Resources, who has looked into some of the incidents. 'They think ecoterrorism, tree spiking, attacks on logging equipment, that sort of thing, is a national problem, but reports of environmentalists being physically attacked they just want to pass on to the local sheriff. With neither the FBI nor local low enforce-ment agencies showing much interest, the investigative effort has fallen to a small group of reporters and activists around the country along with private detective Sheila O'Donnell.

The Green P.I. sees a well-thought strategy in the anti-environmentals' constant promotion and use of the term

ecoterrorist. 'I see that calling an environmentalist a terrorist sets up a fear dynamic. It makes the police and private security firms begin to worry,' she says. 'It sets the stage for counter-reaction and makes anti-environmental violence seem like an acceptable response.'

The FBI defines terrorism as 'the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.' Ongoing attempts to silence environmentalists through intimidation and violence would seem to fit this definition more readily than declining incidents of sand-in-the-crankcase vandalism against logging and mining equipment. However, federal law enforcement agencies continue to pursue 'ecoterrorists' and spin out low-grade intelligence date on 'Earth First! spinn-offs; while refusing to address more violent and potentially deadly attacks against green activists.

David Helvarg, in his The War against the Greens (Sierra Club books, 1994) devoted two whole chapters to violence and harassment against environmentalists; the book still remains the most detailed analysis of violence against US greens. It is impossible to quantify the specific level of violence against environmental activists in America, because violence is designed to silence. There will be hundreds of acts of intimidation that will go unreported because they have succeeded their aim, simple intimidation to 'chill' the person concerned. What we can tell is that is coming from companies, workers, the Right, the Wise Use movement, and increasingly the militia. The cross-over between these latter movements is increasingly becoming stronger. Moreover the government are also implicated. 'I think the interests that are threatened are corporate, and I see the federal government supporting those interests,' says Sheila O'Donnell. 'Given what we know, I can't imagine that the federal intelligence agencies are not involved at some level.' What we also know is that it is mainly grassroots activists, miles from the safety of big cities who are suffering the most. The majority of these activists are women, who are involved in local environmental problems. Activists who live in remote areas or in blighted neighbourhoods are also singled out for attack. Furthermore, the support these 'front-line' activists are receiving from the mainstream environmental movement has been verging on non-existent. 'I think we isolate people when we don't speak out against violence and we make it safer to attack them, says Sheila O'Donnell. 'I think denial plays a very big part of it. If an environmental organisation's office blew up in a city, everyone would jump, I think it would be quite clear that there was a major problem. It's the question that if a tree falls in a forest and no-one is there, does it make a sound.' This process of denial and the rural/urban split 'are very important in why it is not being solved,' alleges Sheila O'Donnell. 'I certainly do not think it is a bad heart or lack of interest, because if you ask any of the leadership of the major environmental organisations what they think about this, they would be horrified, but because it does not immediately threaten their self-interest, so to speak, they don't pay attention. Most of them would not be able to cite the kind of cases that are going on, if asked.'

ACTIVISTS ARE USING THE INTERNET TO FIGHT LARGE COMPANIES OVER ETHICAL ISSUES. YET MANY MAJOR BRAND-OWNERS LACK A CLEAR COUNTER-STRATEGY.

Matthew Reed

Earlier this month a group of environmental activists staged a sit-in at Shell's London offices. Although Shell turned the power off and cut the phone lines, activist Roddy Mansfield broadcast the protest live to the internet and e-mailed the press, using a digital camera, laptop computer and mobile phone. (http://www.kempton.org/shell/actions.html)

This is just one example of a growing trend, whereby protesters and activists are turning to the internet as quick, cheap and effective way of reaching millions of people. Many of the web sites are primitive, but their message is clear and, for some brands, dangerous. 'Boycott' and 'ban' are the two most common phrases used by many of theanti-brand sites. Whereas a few years ago these messages were confined to pamphlets or placards, the web has given millions access to the campaigns – and it seems that their corporate targets are unable or unwilling to act against them.

For almost three years, the McSpotlight site (http://www.mcspotlight.org) has carried material ruled in 1997 to libel McDonald's. Posted on the site is an exact copy of the leaflet, What's Wrong With McDonald's?, that provoked the fast-food giant to successfully sue Helen Steel and Dave Morris, of London Greenpeace, for libel. Yet, despite spending an estimated £10m on the long-running 'McLibel' case, McDonald's has taken no action against McSpotlight for publishing the same material on the internet, which can be downloaded and distributed. No one at the company was willing to outline its strategy for dealing with internet protest or to explain how it plans to protect its brand in the future from similar web onslaughts.

McDonald's and Shell are not alone in being attacked in this way. Many large multinationals, including Procter & Gamble, have had their names dragged through the online mud. But there are complex arguments about legal defenses and how brand owners can fight the web agitators. Many opt for the head-in-the-sand approach, hoping that if they ignore it, it will go away. But the sites are out there, and thousands of people see them every day. The internet has ceased to be a fringe environment: Market Tracking International estimates there were 78 million internet users worldwide in 1998 and this will grow to 180 million by 2002. In Europe, International Data Corporation estimates that 23 million people were using the internet in 1998 and that 83 million will do so in 2002. Datamonitor believes a third of European homes will have access to the internet by 2003. Setting up a web site is easy and cheap. With the information available worldwide at the click of a mouse, the impact can be huge – some protest sites receive a million visitors each month. Although it may not be the case for much longer, publishing online has not generally faced the restrictions placed on traditional media, such as reporting conventions, owners' fear of litigation and a dependence on advertisers. Henley Centre consultant Chad Wollen has monitored the rise of internet activism. He says: "Taking the US as the bellwether, it is something that's going to grow. "The emergence of companies such as eWatch in the US confirms the phenomenon. Located at http://www.ewatch.com, it tracks discussion taking place on the internet about major brands.

BA site takes off: Mikko Takala is webmaster of a site called no-way-ba.lochness.co.uk, set up to protest BA's year-old move to replace its Inverness-Heathrow route with a flight out of Gatwick, a change campaigners believe is damaging to the Highlands' economy. "Doing it this way we have a greater chance," he explains. "The secret to online campaigning is using a combination of the web and usenet [online discussion groups] to identify interested groups – in this case travel and Scottish interest groups. It's not passive; you have to tell people that it's there." The site has received a lot of feedback, including from people working within airlines and airports, says Takala.

The McSpotlight site, run by supporters of the McLibel Two, went online in February 1996. It is run by volunteers in 22 countries, with mirror sites in four countries. It contains 20,000 files – most relating to McDonald's and the trial – and claims more than a million visitors a month. In a 'Beyond McD's' section, it targets other corporations to focus on their business practices. These include Pfizer, Johnson & Johnson, Boots the Chemist, Philip Morris, BAT, Nestlé, Cow & Gate, Milupa, Unilever, Procter & Gamble, SmithKline Beecham, Colgate-Palmolive and Shell. The internet has added an extra dimension for activists, says Dan Mills, spokesman for the McLibel Support Campaign. "Generally in campaigning groups the internet and e-mail have become much more important. It's now standard, but when McSpotlight started it was new and an inspiration for others." Given the experience of Steel and Morris, McSpotlight's actions may seem foolhardy. According to Mills: "When McSpotlight went up, the idea was that if McDonald's was able to get the site closed down it would continue through mirror sites and a McSpotlight Kit. But as a result of the trial McDonald's was effectively stymied – it would have been a disaster to do anything more." Nor has BA taken steps against Takala's site. "They haven't taken action because I don't think we've done anything libellous," he says. As a campaigning tool, Wollen says the internet has "been most effective when the consumer has had a legitimate case and then the company can't use PR to get out of it".

Shell has taken a similar line. While it acknowledges it is targeted on the internet, a spokesman said it monitors the situ-

ation: "It's a medium in which we do come in for some criticism; we do take it seriously." Shell takes the power of the web seriously enough to give a large part of its web site (http://www.shell.com) over to information on company ethics, and in a shrewd move to wrong-foot its detractors has a 'forums' section which both encourages debate and criticism and includes hotlinks to the sites of Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and others. Similarly, McDonald's (http://www.mcdonalds.com) and Nike (http://www.nikebiz.com) dedicate parts of their web sites to messages on environmental and labour practices. In a medium where preventing activists from making allegations appears unviable, disarming them by issuing a counter message seems an attractive option.

Ethical and environmental issues are a big part of internet campaigning. The Boycott Nike site (http://www.saigon.com/nike) urges visitors to pressurise the firm over its employment practices in South East Asia. Visitors are also encouraged to sign letters to US President Bill Clinton and to Nike's chief executive officer. Project Underground (http://moles.org/projectunderground) encourages visitors to boycott Shell because of its alleged activities in Peru, Colombia and Nigeria. Visitors are also encouraged to write to Shell's CEO and to e-mail the oil corporation. There is also a Boycott Shell/Free Nigeria home page at http://www.essential.org/action/shell. The Free Burma Coalition, which aims to persuade investors to get out of Burma, set up a web site in September 1995. PepsiCo decided to withdraw from Burma in 1997 after the internet campaign. Texaco and Heineken are among others persuaded not to invest in, or buy from, the country.

So, will ethical and environmental issues move up the awareness agenda as a consequence? Wollen believes companies won't change overnight, "but it will become more of a battlefield". For brand owners, the key concern is protecting their brands and trademarks. Catrin Turner, head of intellectual property at law firm Davies Arnold Cooper, observes that: "Some brands shy from taking action – you don't want to become 'McLibel Mark Two'." For those that do take action, the starting point is libel, or trade libel. "But there are certain things about the internet that make it more difficult than print to sue. In particular, the difficulty of tracking down the operators of the site," says Cooper.

A law unto themselves Tim Hardy, head of litigation at law firm Cameron McKenna, has a number of clients, from pharmaceuticals, financial and other sectors, which have been targeted by protest sites. The problem for brand owners, Hardy says, is that: "Individuals and activists can put up highly defamatory material on their web site, much of which probably wouldn't be published otherwise. Worryingly, this material is readily accessible." Despite the difficulties, there are strategies that can be adopted to have material removed, and even to get web sites killed, Hardy explains. "You can pursue the internet service provider (ISP) because they can be held responsible for what they have allowed to be published. Under the Defamation Act 1996, they have the innocent dissemination defence, provided they don't know the material is there, but once you have put them on notice that's no longer valid. Many ISPs will remove material rather than risk legal action." In the US, ISPs are exempt from liability for material that originates from third parties, under the Communications Decency Act 1996. "This might embolden groups to put more stuff on US sites," Turner says. "But, if it's accessible from the UK it's potentially a libel." An increasingly litigious atmosphere could have far-reaching consequences. Owners have a right to protect their brands and trademarks, but do they have a right to close down debate that may be in the public interest? Turner says: "As the ISP market consolidates, the remaining ISPs will become more and more averse to risk. There will be less of a maverick attitude and possibly the throttling of free speech." Although recourse through the law may be appropriate in some circumstances, to focus purely on the legal dimension may obscure the meaning behind this rise in internet activism.

The Henley Centre's Wollen believes that companies are finding it difficult to deal with the cultural change that the internet represents. He suggests that when dealing with net activists, "it might be best to start by asking what the problem is, rather than a 'cease and desist' order. It would be more in keeping with the ethos of the net. "If the net is about anything it's about a shift of power away from the centre and to the individual. It's also about people organising themselves into communities of affinity," Wollen adds. "And companies find it difficult to deal with emotional responses of any kind, positive – such as fan and tribute sites – as well as negative." Henley Centre director Sian Davies thinks marketers should try to turn it around: "If people are going online to talk about brands then doesn't that tell us something about marketing? A lot of companies try to shut things down and that's quite short-sighted and naive."

"It's early days but online communities are developing, such as GeoCities, Tripod and SeniorNet, and lifestyle ones relating to music or brands such as Harley-Davidson," says Davies. "It's significant because horizontal communications, between consumers, is growing but companies tend only to think about vertical communications – pushing out brand messages and treating consumers as if they exist in a vacuum, whereas the net is a fluid environment." The lesson that brand owners must learn is that the web is an increasingly powerful cultural phenomenon, and the communications tactics they develop must be as sophisticated for their fiercest critics as they have been for their customers.

PGO
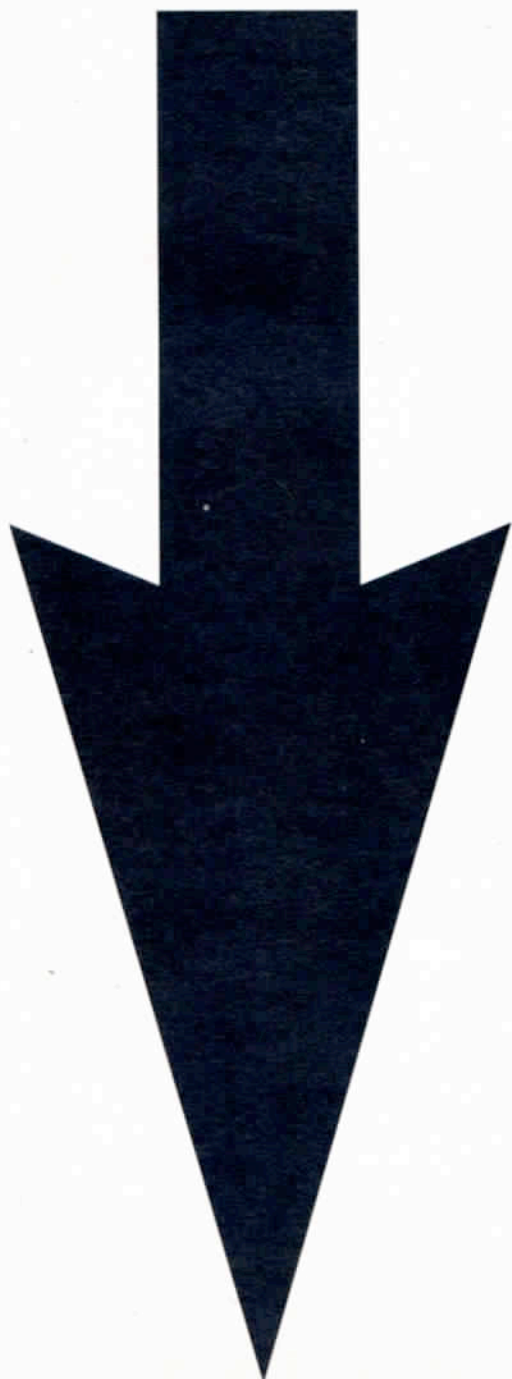
INTRODUCTION
PGO

Andreas Broekmann

The notion of the 'Post-Governmental Organisation' is obviously an ironic variation on the now well established concept of the NGO, the Non-Governmental Organisation. Over the past twenty or so years, NGO's have become important actors in the arena of national, international and global politics. The role of NGO's in the struggle for human rights, the ecology, debt relief, migrants' rights, humane working and living conditions, etc., is in creasingly recognised by official political bodies. As a result, NGO's are now regularly represented at global eco- summits, they advise different UN institutions and are used as experts in court cases. Thus, NGO's are taking over tasks that traditionally were the domain of nation states, whether democratic or not. They become part of what Saskia Sassen has referred to as a 'crisis of governance', in which political decision-making and co ntrol is shifting away from national governments towards private and public NGO's of all sorts and types.

NGO's which do not only survey, criticise and complement such governmental structures, but which take on an active role in replacing government functions, can be called PGO's. The PGO theme will focus specifically on new non-institutionalised ways in which people organise themselves around cultural, social, and political concerns that emerge in the internationally networked communication environments.

This implies that the PGO cannot be seen as generally good or bad. Rather, the hypothesis of the PGO suggests that for many independent initiatives and organisations, the question of responsibility and power is changing in a fundamental way. Whereas they used to be able to define themselves as the 'other' of given power structures, the erosion of hierarchical political structures has created a more heterogeneous political arena in which public agency is 'up for grabs'. Much of the political vacuum is created and filled by unholy alliances between political and private actors, who make sure that they benefit from the retreat of the nation state. But many well-meaning, morally sound, independent PGO are also finding themselves in a position where they have to switch from strategies of protest and campaigning, to strategies of political agency and the building of organisational structures.

The PGO theme at the N5M3 tries to straddle the double-sidedness of the theme. It tries to formulate a constructive critique of the PGO, pointing out its dangers and, at the same time, analysing the most creative and inspiring models for building PGOs. After all, there is a continuing need for new, critical and independent organisations that are able to challenge the debilitating and exploiting political structures that stifle large parts of the world. And why not learn from the successes and failures of Saatchi & Saatchi, Soros, the IMF, financial consulting companies and informal networks of independent radio producers?

Experience has shown that, in many ways, organisations like Greenpeace and Amnesty International are better equipped to deal with the conditions the new system of power create. This is partly due to the fact that they have always been organised as distributed, international entities, relying heavily on their communications infrastructures. They also seem to be more fit for the new environment because they are organised around spheres of interest rather than traditional geographic and socio- political structures. However, while the NGO's have become important actors in the arena of international and global politics, they have also become bureaucratic structures that often act as a 'state without the state', with little or no democratic accountability or legitimisation.

The PGO is neither East nor West, North or South, nor Post East/ West/Modern, it is rather an attempt at an answer to the contradictions and the syndromes of globalisation. Therefore, some people prefer to translate PGO as Post Global Organisation. For them, the crucial question at this stage is not so much the relation with governmental structures, but how we can get over the myths of globalisation, and what the necessary organisational structures for this era beyond the ideology of globalism would be.

A NEW GEOGRAPHY OF POWER?

Saskia Sassen

The formal political system today faces a new geography of power. Globalization and the new technologies have contributed to the shrinking of state authority and the explosion of a whole series of new actors engaged in governance activities. The current phase of the world economy is characterised by significant discontinuities with the preceding periods and radically new arrangements. This becomes particularly evident in the impact of globalization on the geography of economic activity and on the organisation of political power. There is an incipient unbundling of the exclusive authority over its territory we have long associated with the nation-state.

The most strategic instantiations of this unbundling are probably a) the global city, which operates as a partly de-nationalized zone for economic, political and cultural activities, and b) the Internet as a space for civil society that escapes all conventional jurisdictions and is also incipiently de-nationalized. At a lower order of complexity, the transnational corporation and global markets in finance can also be seen as such instantiations through their cross-border activities and the new semi-private transnational legal regimes which frame these activities. The privatizing of public power and the rise of new actors.

Briefly, the major dynamics leading to these new conditions are the following. Privatisation and deregulation --two key features of economic globalization-- have shifted power away from public bureaucracies and onto the world of private corporations and markets. Shrinking state functions linked to social welfare broadly understood have relocated a growing range of responsibilities in this domain onto civil society. The weakening of international public law and the strengthening of market forces in the international system have produced growing inequalities in the socio-economic situation of people worldwide and a diminished will and fewer resources in the formal political system to address these. A growing number of international and non governmental organisations have stepped in. Finally, the enormous growth of the Internet represents an expanding zone where most established jurisdictions (i.e. various state authorities) are neutralised.

In my reading, the impact of globalization on state authority or sovereignty has been significant in creating operational and conceptual openings for other actors and subjects (See Sassen 1997). At the limit this means that the state is no longer the only site for sovereignty and the normativity that comes with it, and further, that the state is no longer the exclusive subject for international law and the only actor in international relations. Other actors, from NGOs and minority populations to supranational organisations, are increasingly emerging as subjects of international law and actors in international relations. The growth of the Internet keeps strengthening the options of non-state actors (both good and bad!).

The ascendance of a large variety of non-state actors in the international arena signals the expansion of an international civil society. This is clearly a contested space, particularly when we consider the logic of the capital market --profitability at all costs-- against that of the human rights regime. But it does represent a space where other actors can gain visibility as individuals and as collective actors, and come out of the invisibility of aggregate membership in a nation-state exclusively represented by the sovereign.

A DE-NATIONALIZING OF POLITICS?

There are two strategic dynamics I am isolating here: a) the formation of conceptual (including rhetorical) and operational openings for actors other than the national state in cross-border political dynamics, particularly the new global corporate actors, NGOS, and those collectivities whose experience of membership has not been subsumed fully under nationhood in

its modern conception, e.g. minorities, immigrants, first-nation people, and many feminists. And b) the fact that this dynamic brings with it an incipient de-nationalizing of specific types of power that used to be embedded in the national state and have now been relocated, at least partially to global corporations and markets, NGOs, international organisations and sub-national structures, particularly global cities, and transnational spaces, particularly the Internet.

The large city of today emerges as a strategic site for these new types of operations. It is one of the nexi where the formation of new claims materializes and assumes concrete forms. The loss of power at the national level produces the possibility for new forms of power and politics at the subnational level. The national as container of social process and power is cracked. This cracked casing opens up possibilities for a geography of politics that links subnational spaces. Cities are foremost in this new geography.

One question this engenders is how and whether we are seeing the formation of a new type of transnational politics that localizes in these cities but is part of a transnational network of such localizations. The local is today part of cross-border networks rather than simply the bottom or smallest level in the conventional spatial hierarchies that have dominated formal political systems, i.e. local-national-international. The Internet plays a strategic role in this re-positioning of the local.

There is little doubt that the Internet is an enormously important tool and space for democratic participation at all levels, the strengthening of civil society, and the formation of a whole new world of transnational political and civic projects. Notably some of the struggles around the Bosnian-Serb conflict. But it has also become clear over the last few years that the Internet is no longer what it was in the 1970s or 1980s; it has become a contested space with considerable possibilities for segmentation and privatisation. We cannot take its democratic potential as a given simply because of its interconnectivity. We cannot take its "seamlessness" as a given simply because of its technical properties. And we cannot take its bandwidth availability as a given simply because of the putative exponential growth in network capacity with each added network.

This is a particular moment in the history of digital networks, one when powerful corporate actors and high performance networks are strenghtening the role of private digital space and altering the structure of public digital space. Digital space has emerged not simply as a means for communicating, but as a major new theater for capital accumulation and the operations of global capital. But civil society --in all its various incarnations-- is also an increasingly energetic presence in cyberspace. The greater the diversity of cultures and groups the better for this larger political and civic inhabitation of the Internet, the more effective the resistance to the risk that the corporate world might set the standards. From struggles around human rights, the environment and workers strikes around the world to genuinely trivial pursuits, the Internet has emerged as a powerful medium for non-elites to communicate, support each other's struggles and create the equivalent of insider groups at scales going from the local to the global.

The political and civic potential of these trends is enormous. It offers the possibility for interested citizens to act in concert across the globe. It signals the possibility of a new form of politics: local politics with a difference -- simultaneous action in multiple localities or local action with an awareness of many other localities struggling around similar issues. We are seeing the formation of a whole new world of transnational political and civic projects.

 These developments in the transnational networks that connect cities and in the digital space of the Internet bring with them a series of new interactions between what has been constituted as the private and the public, the domestic and the international. The public can now operate through the private and the private through the public (Aman, Jr. 1998). For instance, markets are taking over many of the functions that used to be in public bureaucracies and so are NGOs. On the other hand, market forces and corporations can now influence public agendas to a much larger extent than was the case twenty years ago (powerful corporations always did influence public policy, but what we are seeing today is on another scale). Similarly, NGOs have grown in number and in influence. The large international organisations such as the World Bank now are expected to consult with (the well-established) NGOs and large western funders now often prefer to fund NGOs in Africa to do development and public work rather than governments.

SOME NOTES ON NGOS.

NGOs have been around for a long time. What is different today? It is their diversity, breadth of coverage, and, perhaps

most interestingly, that they are forming transnational networks among each other--indeed many NGOs today are transnational networks. Further, the larger context within which NGOs are operating has changed significantly: there is today a whole discourse about NGOs which has exploded onto the scene and has given the notion of NGOs (often more so than the actual NGOs) much greater visibility. Further, there is today a massive interest by Western governments in NGOs and the large western private funders are putting enormous resources into some NGOs. In fact, some NGOs function as subcontractors to governments: for instance, the U.S. Wildlife Fund gets over half of its budget from USAID, to do work that a government could do. Finally, many governments are now "mandated" to consult with NGOs, and so are the World Bank and the IMF.

One issue that has emerged forcefully in recent years is that of NGO influence on states. In his research, Pter Uven has found that it is only a small minority of mostly the very large western NGOs that lobby states. Some of the lobbying has a global circuit: to get back to one's state a NGO may go through various organisations in different countries, e.g. influence international organisations so that these put pressure on the home state of an NGO. Further, we also see innovative strategies for influencing governments that go beyond western style lobbying. For instance, one large Indian NGO delegated part of its staff to the Indian gov't and tried to change the government position on specific issues from the inside. Finally, we are also seeing joint venturing with state agencies, which is another way of shaping a government's agenda on specific issues. These cases also represent the increasginly ambiguous distinction private/public discussed above.

The evidence does show that NGOs can effect power redistribution even though they do so slowly and often at micro scales: e.g. micro-credit extended to women has done more to empower them than government legislation and Bureaus of Women's Affairs. More generally, today NGOs often directly engage questions of democracy, empowerment and redistribution in a way that they did not in the past.

There is an emergent hyper-critique of NGOs today, focused particularly on the large western NGOs that are well financed, operate globally and have basically technocratic organizational standards. According to james Ron, they are basically depoliticising the motivations and objectives of NGO activists and, more broadly, depoliticizing international political movements. The large, well-funded NGOs have developed multiple standards that they implement in their work and expect compliance with on the part of workers and beneficiary communities all over the world --and embedded in specific cultures. They have the effect of westernizing what they get engaged with; they do so through the implementation of organizational standards and codes across borders and through imposition on people who may have a very different experience or perspective on an event or notion of politics. This leads to the formation of an elite stratum of NGOs that become the favorites of large Western funders and set the standards for other NGOs if they are to be funded. They then emerge as the "good NGOs."

Further this world of NGOs is seen as a part of the West's hegemonic project: by instituting standards and aiming at strengthening western style liberal democracy they have the effect of making places safe for western-style capitalism. These elite NGOs often by-pass national governments in developing countries arguing that they want to institute standards and western style democracy in places where the national and local governments are not oriented this way. James Ron finds this to be especially the case in Africa. At the same time, Peter Uven notes that many NGOs act the western, neutral role while dealing with funders --mostly from the west-- but when that phase is over and they have the funds they re-enter their society and can turn out to be very political.

A lot of NGOs may have started in opposition to the state, but have become mutually constitutive with it (Lipschutz 1996). Today they wind up augmenting the capacities of states, providing the equivalent of welfare services, generally subcontracting "state work." This is not always bad. On the contrary, as the case of ISO-14000 (the environmental protection series of standards in the International Satandards Organisation) illustrates. In the US, it deploys more inspectors going from factory to factory checking on compliance with standards than the EPA (the government's Environmental Protection Agency). But one question is whether there is capture of national environmental agendas by specific interests, notably corporate interests embedded in the state. By acting as enforcer of national law, ISO does not function as a critic, potentially in opposition to the state, but merely as an entity augmenting the inspection capacities of the state (Lipschutz 1996). In sum, some of the depoliticisation of NGOs evident in the above series of examples is emblematic of a broader pattern of

depoliticisation of power generally as discussed in the first part of this paper, e.g. the privatisation of public bureaucracy functions and relocation of these functions onto the world of corporate agendas.

But some of these developments may also be pointing to new forms of the political, forms which are not embedded in state forms or privatized forms. The distributed power made possible by the Internet and the types of NGOs that can benefit from this do represent, it seems to me a new world of the political. Securing distributed power, its reproduction, its diversification, its growth and multiplication will mean we need to invent new forms. There are crucial examples of this inventing that will be discussed in its conference, notably open-source operating systems and "insurgent technologies." This line of thinking does also raise a question about the need to find new ways of naming what it is that we are describing when we speak today of the world of NGOs, with their enormous diversity, resources and relations to the formal political apparatus. In this regard, the concept of Post-governmental Organisations is an intriguing one, which I hope we will be discussing at this meeting. It is clear that simply saying NGOs has become inadequate because we are grouping many different political projects, some related to existing power and others in opposition to it.

Saskia Sassen is Professor of Sociology at The University of Chicago. Her most recent book is Globalization and its Discontents (New York: New Press 1998) which will be published in Dutch by Van Genep (May 1999, Amsterdam). Her books are translated into ten languages. She directs the project "Cities and their Crossborder Networks" for the United Nations University (Tokyo).

NGO-TRANSNATIONALS, MCGREENPEACE AND THE NETWORK GUERRILLA

ON SOME RECENT TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY

Peter Wahl

The involvement of NGOs into international negotiations is reaching a new stage. On the background of an increasing hegemony crisis of the neo-liberal paradigm there are increasing attempts by international institutions and national governments to increase acceptance of their policies. Even institutions like the WTO the Commission of the European Union which were by now resistant towards participation of NGOs are now seeking a "dialogue with civil society." This constitutes new challenges for NGOs, as the "offensive of smile" is ambiguous. The question is whether such a dialogue ends up in co-option and instrumentalisation of NGOs or whether it could contribute to the development and strengthening of alternatives. Simplistic answers either in one, or in the other direction will not be possible. Probably a case by case approach will be necessary. However, there is a need for an analysis of the different actors - including the NGOs - in the context of the present historical conjuncture and an in-depth strategy discussion among NGOs. The following reflections want to contribute to such a discussion.

THE DEMOCRATIC AMBIVALENCE OF NGOS

Many sociological studies have been dedicated to the phenomenon: the rise of Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to be the new stars in the skies of international civil society. Against the background of the increasing erosion of democracy in the context of neoliberal globalisation, the majority of those studies focus on key question whether NGOs are able to help forming the emerging system of multilateral regulation according to democratic structures - and if they can, how?

In contrast to far-reaching expectations assigning NGOs the role of a "fifth pillar" (next to legislature, jurisdiction, executive and media) within a system of "global governance" (Messner,1998), the potential of NGOs to promote democratization seems to be restricted to create transparency, publicity and counter-publicity and to feed public debates with alternative expertise. As alternative elites NGOs could constitute one element next to others in an international system of "checks and balances" of different interests. Further expectations, however, are unrealistic - at least for now. (Wahl, 1996)

According to numerous authors, it is not even desirable to assign NGOs a more outstanding role because from a democratic point of view there is also a dark side to the NGO-phenomenon: the lack of democratic legitimacy compared to governments based on fair and free elections. There is a broad consensus that NGOs have restricted legitimacy and therefore operate in a vacuum of legitimization. (Messner, 1998). Elements of their restricted legitimacy are however: feedback by members, the potential to mobilise donors and supporters of political campaigns, roots in social movements and acceptance proofed by opinion polls. Nevertheless, it is obvious that this cannot substitute the legitimacy of parliaments and governments which are democratically elected by the sovereign.

On the other hand, the lack of legitimacy should not be overrated. Serious NGOs never claimed to substitute governments or change the system of a representative democracy simply into a partizipative democracy. Nevertheless, the participation of NGOs - and not only NGOs- could be a democratic element complementary to the mechanisms of a representative democracy. Besides, the argument of lacking legitimacy is often used to generally deny NGOs any right of participation. However, in reality the rules of representative democracy do not work in the ideal way as they are presented in the school-books neither, and they are challenged by vested interests - in particular powerful economic interests. Therefore NGOs, whether scarcely legitimised or not legitimised at all, are certainly not the predominant threat to democracy. NGOs needn't be defensive as long as for instance small group of business without any democratic legitimization whatsoever, are able to influence important political decisions and affects society far more effectively than all NGOs combined.

Another problematic aspect of NGOs with regard to democratic principles are the internal structures of NGOs. On one hand, the ties to members are an element of (restricted) legitimacy, on the other hand this kind of legitimacy is only given when the membership is very large. Most NGOs however, have no more than a few hundreds of members, many have less or no members at all.

THE GRASSROOTS PHASE

The preparatory meetings for the UN Conference on Environment and Development 1992 in Rio de Janeiro (UNCED) - there were four so-called PrepComs (preparatory committees), each of which being a conference with some hundred participants - and UNCED were the first time for NGOs to have a major appearance at a world conference.

The situation was new both for the governments and the NGOs. The NGO community was more or less unstructured at the time and underwent a long and difficult process of self-organisation trying to build a horizontal network based on grassroots elements. The idea was to enable as many NGOs to participate and to be heard.

All in all the process strongly resembled to similar processes of self-organisation in the early phase of the student movements in the late 60s. Evidently there was a strong need for a democratic regulation of the internal relations of the NGO community, as shown by the discussion about the draft of an NGO "Code of Conduct". (Roy, 1992) Even the problem of the different access to resources was taken into consideration (at least regarding the North-South-relation). For example, the treaty on NGO cooperation and division of resources, which is part of a package of around 30 alternative texts to the Agenda 21, intended to "share at least 1 % of our annual budget with other members of the NGO community"

GRASSROOTS DEMOCRACY IS FALLING APART

In the course of the Rio process this approach was more and more abandoned. Instead, a more pragmatic approach was pushed through, which did not reflect the NGO community's internal problems with democratic principles any

longer. The crucial point however was that the dynamics of political and cultural diversities were underestimated. In opposition to the slogan "diversity is our strength", diversity was perceived as weakness and as annoying. The contradicting interests, resulting from a variety of identities, could not be conciliated, for example according to a model of democratic parliaments on a national level, with an institutionalised majority and opposition.

CONTRADICTIONS EXIST BETWEEN:
- NGOs from the North and the South NGOs from the North and the South
- "moderate" and "radical" NGOs "moderate" and "radical" NGOs
- NGOs oriented towards lobbying or towards movement NGOs oriented towards lobbying or towards movement
- Anglo-Saxon and romanic political cultures Anglo-Saxon and romanic political cultures
- rich and poor NGOs rich and poor NGOs
- large and small NGOs

This is why numerous NGOs gave up international cooperation. Others continue to operate, but they have to do so in an unstructured sector, characterised by almost anarchical and/or market conditions concerning democratic procedures. In the absence of a democratic set of rules, informal hierarchies and asymmetric, competitive and hegemonial structures emerged comparable to an unregulated market.
As a result, some NGOs which continue to operate on an international level, focus on strengthening their own organisation and position. Political and/or thematic alliances continue to exist between NGOs or NGO networks, but they are pragmatic, temporary and restricted to single issues as well as restricted to a manageable number of partners, which are carefully selected.

THE NGO TRANSNATIONALS
After having failed to create an international network in accordance to grassroots principles, a number of large NGOs decided to transnationalize their structures or to speed up this process in cases where it had already started before and they began to operate as "global players" in order to be able to act in different places at the same time worldwide. A number of large environmental organisations in the U.S. have acted as the avant-garde of transnationalization. Above all, The Nature Conservancy (TNC) systematically founded branches in different Latin-American countries. (Gudynas, 1994). These branches are managed by a local staff while receiving funds and know-how from the headquarters in the U.S. Greenpeace International and World Wide Fund For Nature (WWF) from the very beginning were designed with the intention to establish a net of international branches. Especially Greenpeace operates very systematically in this respect and proofed to be strategically far-sighted by opening offices in Russia and China. Since the organisation does not depend on members, it is quite easy for Greenpeace to establish branches controlled by a central office that can provide the necessary financial means and build a homogenous "corporate identity" worldwide. Like no other NGO Greenpeace resembles an economic "global player". Greenpeace turns into "McGreenpeace".
The Third World Network (TWN) is another very special example of a transnational NGO. The TWN is the only real transnational NGO which was founded in a developing country (Malaysia), managed to establish itself in other developing countries, both in Latin America and Africa, and above all operates very successfully. The TWN strongly builds its expansion strategy on prominent figures from the relevant countries, often scientists. For example, the organisation of the Indian winner of the Alternative Nobel Prize, Vandana Shiva, is member of the TWN. The reputation and authority of these personalities in combination with qualified analyses - and not to forget the bonus of being from the South - enabled the TWN to play a leading role in the international NGO-community, many times winning conflicts with large transnational NGOs from the North.

THE NETWORK GUERRILLA
On April 30th 1998 the Financial Times published an article under the headline "The Network Guerrilla". The article

dealt with the international NGO campaign against the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI), which has been negotiated in the OECD for three years. The campaign against the MAI demonstrates the initial stages of a new development in the way NGOs operate, possibly turning out to be an alternative to the transnationalization of large NGOs which is quite problematic from a democratic point of view. Even if the failure of the negotiations on the MAI in the OECD is not only, not even primarily, due to NGO protests, the MAI represents a classical case of the potential of NGOs to create transparency and publicity around international negotiation processes.

The victory of the NGOs in the battle for public opine regarding the MAI - even if only preliminary, shows an interesting trend in the NGO community: The MAI does not - unlike international agreements on environmental or development issues - belong to the so-called soft issues on the international agenda, which were often pushed aside after Rio, but it belongs to the "hard" economic issues. The same is true for the institutional dimension. The OECD as an association of the industrialised countries is an exclusive "Club of the Wealthy", that follows a hard-line neo-liberal course. With the MAI the NGOs did not get caught in the trap of insignificance, like in the numerous politically marginal committees of the UN they have participated in since Rio.

The anti-MAI-campaign has been very interesting also for another reason. The success of the NGOs was not achieved by large, transnational NGOs, but by a lose network of both, small NGOs together with some large, transnational NGOs. The latter, however, did not play a leading role in the campaign. Against this background, the term "network guerrilla" is well chosen and more than adequate, as it reflects the efficiency of decentralised and flexible structures with a high rate of non-formalized communication and decision making. The success of the MAI campaign does not confirm those NGOs that regard centralization and a massive input of resources as important political tools to reach their goals..

Nevertheless, the success of the MAI campaign cannot be reduced to the organizational structure of the participating NGOs. Far more important was that the campaign did not aim at improving a project promoted by the government, but classified the agreement as part of the globalisation process and rejected it completely. Obviously it met a vague but growing uneasiness of the public with the globalisation process. This is the secret of its success. In France, Canada and the U.S. the mobilisation of the NGOs lead to mass protests against the MAI.

The reaction of the other side shows that the anti-MAI-campaign exceeded the usual single-issue character of NGO campaigns and met the core of the present historic situation. After suspending the negotiations on the MAI, the OECD presented a study in which it expressed concerns about the decreasing acceptance of the globalisation process among citizens. It came to the conclusion that the "benefits of globalisation" needed to be communicated more effectively.

Regarding the future strategy of NGOs the lessons to be learned from the anti-MAI campaign are:
- With the issues of neo-liberalism and globalisation, NGOs have picked out a fundamental social problem as a central campaign issue and have overcome their traditional single-issue projects.
- Refusing the MAI instead of "improving" it, did not harm the image of the campaign in the media and the public, at the contrary, the TUAC (Trade Union Advisory Committee at the OECD) and others which had taken a "moderate and constructive" position have to acknowledge that their strategy remained below the possibilities, acknowledge that their strategy remained below the possibilities,
- NGOs are politically successful when their issues move and mobilise the public.
- Lose networks turned out to be efficient; centralised and hierarchical structures were not necessary, and maybe even would have been counterproductive.
- Small and flexible NGOs played an important role

ELEMENTS OF AN EMANCIPATORY STRATEGY IN THE INTERNATIONAL NGO COMMUNITY

The trend towards a centralised and hierarchical organised transnationalization of NGOs on the one hand and the success of the MAI campaign under a complete different setting on the other hand, made evident that there are processes

of differentiation and formation taking place in the NGO community. At the same time these changes seem to take place against the background of a decreasing acceptance of the neoliberal project. This situation bears the chance for a participation of NGOs according to emancipatory interests. Prerequisite is a thorough debate on the strategy, taking the following aspects into consideration:

1. The economical determinants of the globalisation and their neoliberal orientation have to be put on the NGO agenda. This may sound trivial, but NGOs taking advantage of being single-issue oriented, have difficulties with thinking and acting on more complex issues. Since many of them emerged in the post cold war period of 1989/90, they are characterised by the ideological perspectives of this era. This includes a strong anti-ideological affect, which is highly suspicious of anything exceeding a single issue standpoint.

2. Nevertheless under the conditions of globalisation it is evident that "knowing only something about rainforests means to know nothing about rainforests."

3. Placing the process of globalisation on the political agenda requires economical expertise. What we need is a political economy of globalisation and NGOs need to participate in the necessary discussions.

4. NGOs have to overcome their blindness vis a vis of power which in combination with their ignorance of economic interests lead to the illusion that good arguments presented in lobby meetings could bring about decisive changes.

5 . It is important to focus on the most powerful institutions of international regulation. NGOs have to stop focusing on the UN-system and on participation in meaningless committees. Instead they need to turn to high politics and influential institutions such as IMF, World Bank, WTO, OECD etc.

6. Our political culture has to be more combative and controversial. All important historical changes were the result of controversy and battles, which later were consensually consolidated in historical compromises. In the future we have to work with both combative and consensual strategies.

7. Autonomy and independence, including financial independence, are indispensable, if NGOs with emancipatory strategies want to be successful in the future.

8. This means that NGOs need to develop effective strategies against the strategies of co-option. The attempt to lull the public as announced by WTO and OECD is going to be the next challenge.

9. The current success of NGOs should not lead to the misunderstanding that they are the spearhead of emancipatory change. In the long run NGOs won't achieve anything without allies. NGOs are the most overestimated actor of the nineties (WAHL 1996), but themselves, they should not take over this overestimation. Alliances with other actors are indispensable. This means above all to reactivate and intensify the ties to the social movements which have given birth to the NGOs. This is not about nostalgia and going "back to the roots" of the innocence of non-professionalism, but about shaping and strengthening a dialectic link between social movements and NGOs. NGOs should consider themselves as the infrastructure of social movements. Both, traditional social movements and their organisations, such as the trade unions, and new social movements together with parts of the academic sector should be included in the concept of alliances of emancipatory NGOs. In certain circumstances this can also include tactical alliances with a government or parts of it.

A PGO
UNDER ATTACK

Steve Cisler

I like the governments I have worked for. I believe in them. I have worked as a mail carrier, coast guard patrol officer, and Peace Corps teacher for the federal government, and I worked for many years as a librarian in a county government in California. I know many dedicated people who work long hours at relatively low pay in government jobs. Government agencies can be useful and efficient and entrepreneurial, but they can be a big drain on the citizens who support or tolerate their activities or their inaction. Some really represent the needs and desires of the governed. Now that I no longer work for any one kind of organization, life as a government employee seems somewhat alien. Friends who are retiring have 30 or 40 years left to live; security badges, rules and holidays that apply to no other kind of worker-- It seems so distant now.

What seem more grounded, more resiliant and adaptive are the organizations that set out to understand a situation such as an environmental problem, a new technology, a need to connect and share, They start as a group of people and may become more formal, more hierarchical, and much more organized than even the leaders had ever anticipated. They may use telecommunications that are advanced, or they may use mail and telephone because they worry about surveillance or about the structural overhead of LANs, servers, and web sites. Some are little more than temporary teams to work toward a goal and then dissolve and re-group or burn brightly in the electron sky and then flame out (the Technorealists in 1998, for instance).

The ones that I have been involved with are local groups, trying to make sense and take advantage of the new technologies seeping (or rushing) into their homes and offices, and schools. I helped form the Association For Community Networking <www.afcn.net> here in the United States. So much of our energy had to go into filing for tax status and other kinds of formal business, that some activists lost patience and pulled away. They wanted projects not procedures. We are not in the clear yet, but we are planning events and provide services to our members.

We are non-profit, for the most part, yet many community networks are taking on the role locally for what might be provided by the PTT, a company, or perhaps a local government in other service areas. In the late 1980's and early 1990's the strongest model was the community network as a server and modem pool for people who wanted to get online at no charge and later, reach the Internet. That has continued, and many of the U.S. and Canadian systems serve a good portion of the people in a community, but of course the explosion of small and large ISPs has made this role less important.

The most significant development is that a non-profit community network by selling access and then using the funds to help provide access to people without money, computers or modems has attracted the attention of the Internal Revenue Service--America's tax collectors. In a recent ruling the network in question, Oregon Public Networking, has to split into a for-profit ISP and a non-profit, thus making it more difficult to raise money for equitable public access projects. Here is a case where a PGO (though it would not know to even call itself that) is neutralized, or crippled, by a GO (the Internal Revenue Service) for helping to advance some of the stated goals of our own President and Vice-President.

RUMOR MONGER

Are you tired of relying on many sources for rumors? Wouldn't you like a single portal through which all rumors, fresh and vibrating and unreliable, could flow, and in the spirit of symmetric access, wouldn't you like to be able to add your own? Well, it's not just possible, it has happened and it could be a model for the whole world. What works for a hundred geeks and a few hundred marketroids could satisfy the whole coalition of media tacticians.

In 1990 a researcher at Apple named Harry Chesley (who later went on to do Shockwave and now works at a software firm in Redmond, Washington) ran across a technical paper from Xerox PARC* in which other researchers had published an algorithm for updating distributed databases. Chesley used the algorithm and crafted a small application for Appletalk networks. He dubbed it Rumor Monger and gave a few copies to friends in the lab. After several iterations, he released a rather stable and powerful free version that would not time out after X days or weeks. It worked and it would not stop working until the networks were shut down.

HERE'S WHAT IT DID:

Every Macintosh include a local area network, and you can easily hook two Macs together, and they will begin networking. What Chesley called Rumor Monger at work was known as Lightweight Asynchronous Conferencing System (LACS)in his technical article, partly because of the turmoil it caused in the company when the head of the Advance Technology Group, (who is now chief technology officer at ATT) got involved.

LACS or Rumor Monger runs in the background. It has a small window where messages of 255 characters or less can be composed, with an expiration date and then propagated around the network--anonymously. If you were looking for a ride home one evening, you would not keep sending the message for more than a few hours. The user had two other windows showing messages unread and those already seen. The algorithm tried to propagate hot rumors (new ones) and slowed down the spread of old rumors. The status window showed what machines were communicating, but this feature was added later, after the controversy (as I recall)over anonymity. Up until then it was anonymous, and messages could not be traced. The Xerox algorithm allowed the program, the system to keep tabs on all these rumors floating around the Apple research network.

Chesley's article goes into great technical detail, but he admitted the more interesting part was the way it was used, the reaction by the executives, and the surges and low traffic times for the program. Most people gave others a copy and never removed it unless they did a complete system upgrade or installation. At the early stages, everyone knew the people who had the program, and you could even guess the writing style of some mongers and try to imitate them--all in 256 characters. I remember standing outside a friend's office and laughing and reading rumors together. As the funny ones propagated, ripples of laughter would bounce around the large office as the rumor self-propagated. After a while, the use of it was not as amusing or interesting, but any time there was a pending coup d'etat in the executive ranks, or some company was trying to buy Apple, everyone turned to Rumor Monger to find out what the P.R. department (whose newsletter was known as "Pravda") would not tell us --if they even knew! During any period of anxiety or change, the rank and file would turn to Rumor Monger for comfort and amusement. It was incredibly useful, comforting, and full of half-truths. Unfortunately, only a few could tell which half was true.

The 170 kb program quickly spread around the company, and when it reached the sales and marketing arm, the users showed less restraint in the way it was used: ad hominem attacks, mean spirited lies, and even libelous rumors were spread about co-workers and upper level managers. In spite of the code being published by Chesley and the program available by ftp form ftp.apple.com (it's not there now), we never heard of any other Mac campus or business unleashing rumor monger on the social structures of a university or Fortune 500 company. Apple's social structure was relatively loose compared to some of the authoritarian regimes that were Apple's customers. What would have happened there? However, the code awaits the next decade of programmers who may wish to craft a tool for the rumor mongers of the 21st century to use and to see its effects on furthering Post Governmental Disorganization.

The full technical details and source code are in Harry Chesley's article in _develop_ Issue 2 1991. _develop_ was a print/CD-ROM technical publication that is no longer published.

...and the original algorithm: Alan Demers, Mark Gealy, Dan Greene, Carl Hauser, Wes Irish, John Larson, Sue Manning, Scott Shenker, Howard Sturgis, Dan Swinehart, Doug Terry, Don Woods: "Epidemic Algorithms for Replicated Database Maintenance", Xerox PARC Technical Report CSL-89-1, January 1989.

CULTURE BOARD
A BODY FOR CULTURES IN RUIN

Ever increasingly, we are witnessing the phenomena of ruined nation states, crashing financial markets and bankrupt governments. So far, this is only interpreted in the usual journalistic way of reporting the political and financial aspects of the crisis. But cultural workers should know better by now. The crisis is only perceived as 'news'. Arts and culture in this situation are the last to be considered contemporary, sensitive instruments that could express the 'signs of the times'. The financial sector has taken over the role of 'avant-garde'. Let us face it: culture is a prime target of budget cuts and this has become the only language in which officials can speak. Art, by definition, is always in a defensive role and is unable to make demands. So let us quit this culture of complaint. This is not the right time to dream up new utopias. We propose to radically face current global economic forces. We will intervene in their sphere. Culture should no longer be left out, condemned to compensate for and be at the receiving end of this trauma.

The proposal is to form, install and implement 'Culture Boards' which are modelled after the Currency Board - the main instrument of the International Monetary Fund to straighten out ruined economies. This supra-national body, unaccountable to the electorate, actually controls the government. It is the result of an agreement between the government and the IMF - its sole purpose being to control the issue of new bills and manage all foreign currency reserves. In reality, this body IS the government because it defines financial policy and steers legislative initiatives. Still, there is little awareness about the way these boards work. Knowledge about these mechanisms has not been transferred to the field of culture. It is about time to change this in a radical manner.

The situation is no longer as it was envisioned in 1989. We no longer speak or think of transformation, readjustment, restructuring, etc. In a situation of continuous implosions, mass poverty and popular depression it is of little use to come up with the dream of a 'normal' functioning 'civil society'. Instead, horizons are closing down. People do not expect a recovery anymore. We are now talking about survival. Now is a situation of ruin in which we have to contain, stabilise, and eventually - rebuild (or not). Take Bulgaria: as a typical example of a country in recent ruin, a Currency Board is already in place. If the first Culture Board can be instituted effectively, other countries could follow.

A Culture Board should work out priorities beyond everyday party politics and mediate between the global and national or regional levels. We do not perceive it merely as an advisory body. In that sense, we are playing for real. Think about NSK's Virtual State, after several embassy openings, performances, discussions, then years later... But this was still a parallel reality. Culture Boards could be more down to earth, dealing with harsh economic realities. Before 1989, culture was primarily managed as a state affair (and so was its funding). This logic changed overnight in the nineties and step by step Culture was being run as a business, including sponsorship, self-financing, post-Fordist working circumstances (freelancers, etc.). This is now the dominant ('neo-liberal') ideology. The Culture Board is both the ultimate expression of this, flipping into a radical critique. We can no longer speak in the melancholic terms of postmodernism. Nor do we need a self-imposed (cyber)optimism, selling a future which is actually fading away. We need concrete facts, reports on the actually existing poverty in museums, artistic circles, closed magazines and missed opportunities, encounters with the migrated Others and their remembered shadows.

Culture Board should function as a radical mirror, not as an image. It commissions reports on the existing situation, about complex coalitions, strategic alliances and tactical moves in order to establish new cultural, political and economic links in a situation where on one hand there is a vacuum, while on the other there is complete stagnation.

For instance, the Culture Board may decide that it's more feasible to close down an inadequately funded state-owned museum, rather then to keep it running for the benefit of its employees alone. Or that, instead of selling copies of ancient objects from the cultural heritage (see the example of the Thracian gold travelling shows), it would be better to go beyond Taschen Kultur, Disneyfication, simulation and cultural tourism, and sell the whole monastery to be reconstructed in another country. Or that an extremely valuable - in creative terms - artist should be re-settled in an affluent society rather than be wasted in the ruin. Is Culture anything more than the Spectacle, pretending to be 'contemporary' but in fact doing little more than preserving Heritage (by making a business out of it)?

The time has come to find post-managerial solutions which go beyond the logic of efficiency. We have reached the limits of budget cuts and the 'flexibility' of individuals to fit into this or that curator's taste, funding requirement or application form.

Culture Board is not only in charge of visual, performing, arts etc. but of the realm of media as well. Not only of all the bankrupt museums, but of all soon to be closed down magazines, theatres, never-existent performance-spaces, empty exhibition halls, rotten archives, forgotten projects and projects without a chance of realisation, all the corrupt creative unions with their vanished property and non-functional production facilities, etc.

Culture Board is based on a web-site where it can receive and evaluate information, issue decisions, disseminate information, accommodate requests for know-how and advice, etc. Culture Board monitors the existing web sites of the BG President, Government, various institutions, newspapers, etc. In order to evaluate the results of the implementation of its decisions it travels to the country for on-site evaluation, implementation and information gathering based on the need-to-know motivation of its members.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS:
DIGITAL WORK

Richard Barbrook

HOW DOES DIGITAL WORK DIFFER FROM ITS ANALOGUE FORMS?

Increasingly people would like to enjoy the dignity of artisan labour without losing the material benefits of Fordism. Over the past two centuries, industrialisation has slowly replaced skilled craft labour with repetitive factory and office work. In the Fordist factory, even the pace of working can be determined by the speed of the assembly lines. For most of this century, people have grudgingly accepted the boring nature of their jobs. In return, they have been given enough wages to buy large amounts of goods and services produced by Fordist industrialisation. However, once their living standards are sufficient, many people would also like to rediscover satisfaction in their work. In sectors such as the media, people can already combine skilled labour with high productivity. Because each extra copy can be reproduced at a very low price, the high costs of employing craft labour for making the first copy of a film, programme or recording are economically viable. With the advent of the Net, the potential productivity of creative work is even greater. Like the artisans of the proto-industrial epoch, digital workers have to use craft skills to produce quality artefacts. Like labourers in a Fordist factory, they can reproduce multiple copies of the same product. In the age of the Net, digital work could synthesise the best features of its analogue predecessors: the high skills of the artisans and the high productivity of the factory hands.

HOW CAN DIGITAL WORK BE CREATIVE?

In a capitalist society, paid work is performed to produce goods and services which can be sold in the marketplace or will be purchased by the state. Like other products, hypermedia products also have to be made to the specifications of others. For most of their clients, digital artisans use standardised software packages and mainstream graphic designs to get the job completed on time and within budget. Their creativity is restricted to producing a quality product which will satisfy the needs of its users. However, the constant changes in hypermedia software and design fashions have also opened up opportunities for more innovative and experimental types of work. With clients seeking products which realise the full potential of new technologies, skilled workers can push forward the technical and aesthetic limits of their craft. Instead of continually repeating what has already been done, digital artisans can demonstrate their creativity by producing wonderful artefacts which have never been seen before.

WHAT SKILLS ARE INVOLVED IN DIGITAL WORK?

In many sectors, the introduction of computer and Net technologies hasn't abolished Fordist methods of working. In financial institutions, much of the labour remains tedious data-processing. In call-centres, each moment of an individual's working-day is still closely supervised. Even within new media, many people primarily carry out routine coding and design for their jobs. Yet, despite these continuities with Fordism, the production of digital artefacts also encourages new methods of working. Because of the ease of reproduction, most of the costs of manufacture are no longer expended making multiple copies of the same product. Instead, investment is concentrated upon the design and building of the first copy of a digital artefact. Because such tasks are difficult to mechanise, this form of production must be carried out by craft labour. In order to make useful and beautiful products, digital artisans need both technical and aesthetic skills for their work. Because different people's abilities are often combined to complete a specific job, these workers must have social skills to collaborate easily with each other. Above all, digital artisans must possess the self-confidence to run their own working lives.

WHAT DISTINGUISHES DIGITAL ARTISANS FROM CYBER-ENTREPRENEURS?

According to neo-liberal cyber-gurus, the dissemination of computer and Net technologies will create a completely 'new paradigm' where everyone can become a cyber-entrepreneur. Yet, despite some important changes in the methods of working, the divisions between management and workers persist. Above all, the most important social question within capitalism remains: who controls economic institutions? Within many sectors, the 'new paradigm' is obviously just a trendy Californian buzzword. Although the personal relations between management and employees are less formal, the old Fordist techniques for supervising and controlling all aspects of production from above persist. Yet, the increased importance of craft labour within the digital economy has forced even long-established corporations to change their methods of management. Rather than directly supervising skilled workers, large companies increasingly prefer to sub-contract their tasks either to small companies or directly to artisans. Instead of bureaucrats directing people to perform tasks, market competition for short-term contracts instead controls workers who couldn't be disciplined by other means. Like their proto-industrial predecessors, self-employed digital artisans can earn high wages and control the pace of their work. Compared to those in traditional jobs, they are members of a new 'labour aristocracy'. However, most of these skilled workers still have little or no say in the companies which employ them. If they own a few shares, they usually have little influence over the strategy of the firm. Even those artisans who do control their own companies remain subordinate to market disciplines imposed by their corporate clients. Needing to ensure products are delivered on time and within budget, they are either forced either to become managers themselves or sell their companies to someone else so they can still engage in creative work. Despite the rhetoric of the 'new paradigm', the old class divisions of capitalism persist.

WHAT ARE THE COMMON INTERESTS OF DIGITAL WORKERS?

Whether working as an employee of a Fordist corporation or as an artisan carrying out a contract, all digital workers need good conditions to carry out their jobs. Their place of work should be safe, comfortable and healthy. The technologies

used in production should not harm their users over the long-term. Work patterns should not lead to people getting indus-trial illnesses. As in other industries, digital workers also need to advance their economic position as a group. Within cor-porations, they must jointly negotiate their terms and conditions of employment. Within contract work, they must establish industry agreements on rates for jobs and common business practices. Above all, data-processors and digital artisans must develop political solidarity between each other as workers. They all have a common interest in ensuring that the state advances the legal, welfare and other interests of employees rather than hinders them.

HOW CAN DIGITAL WORKERS ORGANISE TO ADVANCE THEIR COMMON INTERESTS?

For generations, workers formed trade unions to bargain with their employers and to campaign for political reforms. As in other industries, workers in the emerging digital economy also need to defend their common interests. However, most of the existing labour organisations are not responding quickly enough to the changes in people's working lives. Although formed to fight the employers, industrial trade unions were also created in the image of the Fordist factory: bureaucratic, centralised and nationalist. For those working within the digital economy, such labour organisations seem anachronistic. Instead, new forms of unionism need to be developed which can represent the interests of digital workers. As well as re-forming the structures of existing labour organisations, digital workers should start co-operating with each other using their own methods. As they're already on-line, people could organise to advance their common interests through the Net. Formed within the digital economy, a virtual trade union should emphasise new principles of labour organisation: arti-sanal, networked and global.

INTERFUND
CREATE YOUR OWN SOLUTIONS
REPORT OF THE INTERFUND MEETING @ XCHANGE UNLIMITED, RIGA NOVEMBER 29, 1998.

Eric Kluitenberg

DURING THE XCHANGE UNLIMITED BALTIC NEW MEDIA CULTURE FESTIVAL IN RIGA A MEETING WAS HELD TO DIS-CUSS THE CREATION OF THE INTERFUND. THE PARTICIPANTS WERE DIANA MCCARTY, RASA SMITE, MANU LUKSCH, PIT SCHULTZ, AND OTHERS.

WHAT IS THE INTERFUND?

The Interfund does not actually exist yet. The Interfund should be many things at the same time, a self funding pro-ject, a tool to create open spaces for sovereign experimentation in the digital networks, neither a network, nor a community, it should be a means for collaboration and exchange. The Interfund was envisioned in Riga as a co-op-erative, decentralised, non-located, virtual but real, self-support structure for small and independent initiatives in the field of culture and digital media. What follows is a summary of the ideas that were discussed and the problems raised in connection with the possible shape of the Interfund.

First of all the Interfund is an idea to create better ways to access funding and create funding possibilities of itself. The Interfund can also act as a redistributor of financial resources from the affluent enclaves to the impecunious. Funding and financing, however, is only one of the tools the Interfund will employ to achieve its aims. The Interfund should rather act as a "Resource Pool", shared by each of its members. These resources encompass a wide range of tools: knowledge & know-how, skills (a.o. translations in local languages), software, open source development, access to servers, especially for streaming media in the net, reserving bandwidth and protocols (for example the

registration for web multicasting, domain names, etc.), support in dealing with official structures, finding appropriate funding for projects, visa requirements, official letters of support, both in English and the local language, official invitations, official endorsements, access to surveys and information sources about activities in the field of culture and digital media.

One practical way in which actual funding might work is that the Interfund creates its own capital to give micro-funding to individual projects. The organiser can then claim that the project in question is supported financially by the Interfund (complete with a letter of acceptance by the "board" of the fund). Funding may be as little as US$ 10,- for a project, but can help to create interest from official institutions and structures. Moreover the actual amount of funding by the Interfund need not be specified in all cases. The possibilities for acquiring donations (not sponsorship) to extend the financial basis of the Interfund will be an area of attention. Important is that there should always be a variety of models which should be investigated to support individual projects, based on the local situation in which the project operates or is set up.

SOME GENERAL GOALS HAVE BEEN PROPOSED FOR THE INTERFUND:
- to enhance small independent cultural and new media initiatives,
- create a pool of shared resources,
- promote co-operation between small organisations in this field,
- offer support (practical, financial, legal and moral) to find means to produce art and culture projects in the field of new media,
- to educate policy and decision makers about the importance of supporting independent media culture.

The Interfund can also serve as a forum for the critique of (the inefficiency of) large institutions, particularly in the field of new media and culture, and large and overfunded ICT development programs. Though the Interfund will not have a fixed physical location, it should become a real virtual organisation (it is not a simulation). For this purpose a letterhead and design for the Interfund will be developed, as well as a web-site, e-mail address, a logo.... and... (a local Latvian speciality) an official Interfund stamp. All graphical elements will be made down-loadable from the Interfund site for its members (PDF files). The Interfund will be run as a strictly virtual office (a decentralised centre).

Possible legal forms and their implications for establishing the Interfund as an international state-less entity are currently investigated. Should it become a registered society, a charity, a foundation, or yet something else? *
Projects are prime.

The Interfund initiative also wants to address the need to create less bureaucratic structures. By dealing with official structures the Interfund is an attempt to prevent artists' run and independent initiatives from becoming institutionalised themselves. It should act as an effective bureaucracy protection shield.

The emphasis of the Interfund will lie on horizontal co-operation, which is anti-hierarchical and fundamentally decentralised. Nonetheless the question cannot be escaped who will take responsibility for making the structure work, co-ordinate activities, deal with requests, etc. (who is doing what?). This division of responsibilities should be worked out. The Interfund will have to be multi-nodal. To develop the Interfund as a democratic structure a voting system will have to be considered, for instance when accepting individuals to the "board" of the Interfund. The membership of this board would then be temporary and rotating between members.

The Interfund should always be open to new members. However, every new member has to commit him- or her-self to contributing to the shared pool of resources in some way, by donating skills, knowledge, non-propriety software, financial means if possible, and a willingness to multilateral co-operation. These issues of membership, representation and expertise have to be clarified.

ACTIONS:
- Contacts will be established to other cultural activists in the new media scene, via networks such as Xchange, Syndicate, Rhizome, <nettime>, etc.
- In the local Nordic/Baltic context, where this initiative was discussed, connections will be established to existing and emerging cultural networks in the region (BIN, PCC, Nordic Arts Council, etc.), and other parties who share similar or related interests (a.o. the EFF).

THE INTERFUND INITIATORS FINALLY WISH TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING CLAIMS:
- Work of artists and independent cultural initiatives in the field of digital media, including innovative technical experimentation, should be considered as valuable in and of itself. This work should not be supported solely if it fits within an established policy framework (like social innovation, employment, etc..).
- Technology should be seen as an integral part of contemporary culture.
- The Interfund demands less politicisation of culture. What independent new media culture needs is support, not political rhetorics or questionable historical narratives.
- No competitions.
- Create your own solutions.

Contact: Rasa Smite <rasa@parks.lv>, Diana McCarty <diana@mrf.hu>,Eric Kluitenberg <epk@xs4all.nl>
South / East Asia

ASIA

SOUTH / EAST

LANGUID, TROPICAL, MONSOONAL TIME:
NET-ACTIVISM AND HYPE IN THE CONTEXT OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN POLITICS

John Hutnyk and Anna Har

We have to agree that the relentless extension of electronic media across the webs of our lives is there to be used, enjoyed, captured, redeployed. But sometimes the speed-hype that is in fact a sales pitch blurs possibilities. Sometimes new media work may require different speeds - slower reading, longer planning, temporal depth... Some of us might argue that the most visible moments of media and net activism in South East Asia have been transparent power plays in geopolitics. The well-publicised 'secret' of Indonesian net-organising in the protest movement against Suharto, and the almost fable like stories of democracy activists in Hong Kong sending faxes into China during the Tiananmen crisis. Consider how that story of streaming faxes arriving on unnamed 'Chinese' fax machines correlated all too well with the widely transmitted scene of the CNN being forced to close transmission in those first days of June. The white noise stain on our screens which was CNN's interpretation of a transmission blockage replaced analysis and told the story just as the West wanted to see it. What was 'actually' going on was less 'the news' than the technological interruption.

An overdetermined image of net-activism, faxivism, and the like, has all too often been singled out for attention by the mass media in ways that furthered a conspicuous liberal cause. What was the underlying agenda? Of a continuity with the Californian Ideology, it seems no accident that faxivism so neatly fits the ongoing communications transition - the extension of a new mode of production to the entire social fabric. Everyone - even those who make it their business to resist - now needs to buy a computer, sign up for provider account, set up a website, and dedicate themselves to net time (time on the net, not just <nettime> the list).

We wanted to recognise these all too obvious complaints and list some of the ways activism came up against organizational constraints. Speculative observations which come out of compromised participation in the very net activism we'd want to interrogate. Some of the criticisms are simple, some intractable - all of them, at least to some degree, may need to be remembered before pressing the forward button on the web browser <click return now to spread the revolution to your friends>.

The most commonly recognised dilemma for activist groups who use new media in South East Asia has to do with cost. Given the 'third world' status of so many in the region (this applies far less to Japan, South Korea, Singapore of course) it is obvious that access to facilities remains the preserve of the elite classes. In activist circles cost determines decisions about priority and focus. In this context, celebrations for the internet as a 'public discussion' forum are somewhat hollow in the face of economic constraints. The question of 'access' is not simple, and never without convolutions. In many cases even the most media active NGOs are unable to participate in this discussion without considerable investment which simultaneously acts to limit activity. The investment is not only in terms of hardware, but also the software of person-hours required to read, and reply to, digest and regurgitate net correspondence (or editing time making documentary news for global media). It must be considered that it is also a 'cost' that time spent engaged with new media is also time disconnected from other activities of organising that may be of greater priority for the organisation (a fact far too often overlooked by the organs of well-meaning solidarity who request 'news from the front' reports from under-financed groupings). There needs to always be a dedicated person in an organisation who will feed information to the rest. Is this practical? What mechanisms might facilitate this work? Resource requirements for participation in net activism are sometimes beyond the capacity of a small 'third world' organisation. In addition there is the fluctuation cost of net access at levels ac-

cepted at an 'industry standard' which always seems on the move. Add to this the exponentially growing cost to the organ-isation in time and person hours to respond to requests for information in the ever increasing 'online world' and webifica-tion of the struggle seems a decreasingly appealing option. This applies to so many little areas of work - consider the fate of web page set ups: too often when the funding runs out the home page is necessarily left as out of date refuse at the curb-side of the superhighway. Resources that might better have been used generating other activity is drained.

It is of course the case that oftentimes information sent from a campaign group could provide the basis for application of outside pressure - there is reason to appeal for solidarity, and the established heritage of international solidarity action should never be ignored. But what would it mean to recognise that there are often limited gains for activists from South East Asia to continuously send information to (careerist?) 'activists' in the west? The media machine is not the only hungry monster here - anecdotal but common reportage notes that after going to a conference such as this the demand for 'con-tact' escalates and it soon becomes impossible to respond to all the requests from other conference goers - practical de-cisions must limit inter- and internet- communication, there are only a few things on which there can be time to co-oper-ate, the rest must sadly be treated as waste of time.

A second order of problem has to do with discursive reach. Whatever the level of 'crisis' which may be recognised from near and from afar, and whatever the solutions proclaimed or ordained by the lap-toppers and webucated elites, if the gen-eral population have no access, no time, no resources or no habit of making sense of the discourses of 'crisis', respons-es, or mobilisation, then net activism feeds only itself. It is clear that there are many opportunities afforded by the new media and communications, but we want to ask what does net activist talk about the economic crisis mean to those who have no respite from the immediacy of struggle, who are in the midst of reaction and the 'realities', what does it mean for those who are trying to get alternative information but who do not have ready resources and the luxury to stop, read and evaluate, before they must react?

We believe this has to do with the kind of forum envisioned for electronic media. Taking another tack, the idea of individ-ual lap-top activists rapidly exchanging information and ideas via unmediated cyberspace is well and good in theory. In practice perhaps there are questions to be asked about the kind of civic space this is, the quality of the exchanges and the direction in which this form may lead. Is the ease of communication always a good thing - by hitting return we can send everyone the latest rapidly assembled data on, say, the resettlement of villagers threatened by a hydro electrical scheme, or some grab of statistical information from a web site dedicated to econometric returns. However, what level of analysis, interpretation and application do we provide, or accept, when we participate in this kind of exchange? Is our participation in the flow of information across the channels of the information revolution adequate to contend with the agendas of its corporate advocates and the economic hegemony of which it is the means? This is not a call to stop these exchanges, but a plea to consider how much the tendency of rapid response mitigates analytical sophistication. Fulfilling the admonition to act globally while thinking locally has not always been simple.

The danger of the big hype of the new media and internet is that it is wide open to a tendency to distract attention from the immediacy of political and organizational practicality. The town hall cannot be replicated on the internet in any case, cer-tainly not in forms that readily open themselves to participation by the general population. For some, net activism suggests only a salon for the educated classes, whereas what is needed are mechanisms that prompt, provoke, agitate. Some say there are not clear ways that the internet can achieve this without it being carefully secured, and emphasized as useful but limited tool, only for wider organizational work. The co-option gambit of elite distraction is real, especially insofar as the new media become more and more specialized modes of communication among the already organised.

Let us not romanticize however. There may or may not be all sorts of alternative news and counter hegemonic communi-cations and reporting advocated by net activists and those who proclaim the need for a 'free media', but without a politi-cal base for developing a context for these claims, this can be nothing but hype. Some might say that the problem is that the emphasis of the internet is increasingly on the need to write, and the direction of that writing is outward bound - a feeding function in support of the liberal sensibilities of the West. Without a mass political struggle and a mass organisa-tion for which writers write 'for', there is no clear point. To fail to consider the question of adequacy valorizes only the in-

tellectual fantasy of some well-written critical forum, whereas the political necessities of struggle demand more material forms of organisation - people need finally to meet, people need to sit together and argue, plan joint action and mobilise. Maybe its not too late to still say the battle is also still out on the street? Not everything can be collapsed into the realm of representation and transmission. Some 'content' cannot be expressed, some will always be misrepresented because of inequalities and interpretation. The new media may offer opportunities to disrupt and transform the established channels of transmission, but if there is no civic or public discussion, the liberal romantic notion of a civil society in which polite 'town hall' discussion of pressing social concerns occurs, with all free speech amendments you like, can never replace an activism that organizes against powerful forces in the recognition that it is necessary to fight to win. All this comes as no surprise since the new media replicate already existing structures and there is nothing exceptional in the recognition that many of the same problems, and possibilities, apply. Time and again we are returned to the question of utility. We make decisions about net activism on the basis of its usefulness for getting the message out, for communicating with each other, for generating analysis, and for refining critique. Its potential for sector to sector communication, for collaboration across sectors, for co-operation across diversity and for interconnectivity cannot be ignored. Potential usefulness of the net - well, it would be stupid if these were denied, but utilities do need to be evaluated, subject to critique, prioritised and maintained.

It may be too easy to critique both the form and characteristic of the internet as dualistic. It is good for information provision, but sometimes information flow is such that it cannot be readily translated into local relevance for users and digested. The factors of cost, class and analytical depth limit participation in the global net-festival. It becomes a practical organizational question answered differently in different areas: does internet enhance unity and solidarity? Since the form of information transmission of the new media is on or off - you need to be an active searcher, you have a choice to listen or not - is this the most useful communications format for a campaigning organization's investment? As through the internet it is not possible to reach people who are not interested - its not invasive/aggressive enough as compared to the loudspeaker - perhaps the evaluation must recognise the net as too passive a propaganda tool? Consider how our liberal friends would feel the discomfort of that!

If these are the characteristics of the internet as media, some of the dangers flow directly from the ways the high skill level required of new media reproduces the class privilege of those already authorized by written literacy etc - the 'educated internationally aware people' become more educated and internationally aware. This is the development of an information technology mode of production based comprador class. At the same time as the wealth of information available on the globally hyped net announces and celebrates the informational density of modernity, the need for analysis is obscured, and the need for making the predicament of the global-political scene relevant to local conditions is forgotten. Here again information becomes tributary to the agendas of the Californian Ideology. The danger of excessive costs is not only that the purchase of computers and related skilling furthers the agenda of Mr Gates and CNN, but that resources most pressingly needed for campaigns etc are siphoned off into a spiralling international media drainage - servicing the information needs of well-meaning European forums and the careers of excellently sympathetic and all too comfortable 'internationalists'. The hardest task is to adequately name the conditions in which we find ourselves - the beast of capitalism takes such forms that require more than documentation. The danger would be if the internet encourages only an information rich, but analysis poor, edification. More education is more important than more information. Though of course the new media and the need to organise come together - it would be absurd to suggest that the information resources of new media are not to be embraced, but as with all technologies, the point is to utilize these to best effect. This discussion suggests only a breathing space in which to interrupt the flow and density to think, organise, analyse, and make some suggestions about how we might best do so.

ONLINE AND OFFLINE STRATEGIES IN INDIA

Shuddhabrata Sengupta

Working with new media in the part of South Asia that I come from is something like crossing a tightrope on a bicycle. The bicycle which could have helped me along were I on my way on flat ground makes the crossing that much more precarious. Consider the bicycle to be the single computer and the internet connection which I use along with at least seventeen other people, friends, colleagues, neighbours and complete strangers. An infinitesimal fraction of the South Asian population has access to internet, and this is likely to be the case in the future even at the most optimistic projection. Computers are few and when we get them, we tend to spread them thin by sharing them out. Computers, modems, internet accounts - these are expensive things and a lot of people sharing the costs, and the phone bill makes sense in a context where the rent, the absence of any form of social security, and the price of vegetables and the lack of work are important concerns. This means that not everyone gets the luxury of privacy, or unfettered usage. It makes for a crowded bicycle, but as we say often in other crowded situations, in trains, buses or even in living spaces : 'never mind, we'll adjust' The tightrope is made up of three intertwined strands : the failing electricity supply, the soggy and overloaded telephone line and the server that crashes every other day. I am never quite sure if the message that I typed and sent actually reached it's destination until I get a reply. The sent-mail box in my e mail may be full, but that doesn't really mean anything. I might have just got into my favourite anarchist archive on the net, but a little click sound will tell me that the system crashed again, for the twentieth time within half an hour. Surfing the web in New Delhi is a lot more like trying to climb up a slippery mountain face that never lets you get to the next foothold.

And yet India is amongst the highest exporters of software professionals in the world. Large multinational corporations in London, Brussels and Chicago tap into India's growing labour market of cheap, skilled, anglophone, software professionals via dedicated internet lines every working day. While they sleep each night, half the world away, in another timezone, somewhere in New Delhi, or Bangalore or Hyderabad, reports are typed, spreadsheets drawn up, software created, graphics designed in a virtual sweatshop by workers seated in assembly lines glued to keyboards and screens. Fifty people get laid off in one place, another five sweatshops open their virtual windows in another. The sweatshops have their own electricity generator, leased phone lines and dedicated internet connections that don't collapse every five minutes. The grease of the global digitized workplace makes sure that everything runs smoothly, that deadlines are stuck to, and that the modems hum in tune with the music of production schedules.

My fragile internet connection, riding on pirated software (the only kind I can afford, on an assembled computer that was made in an anonymous 'grey market' workshop) beeps and crackles along side the drone of a giant economic engine as it cavorts on a new virtual playground. Can my beep and crackle, and the beep and crackle of others like me challenge the digital drone of power?

My reasons for hope in this regard, few though they are are based partially on the fact that South Asian cultures have shown a remarkably high ability to absorb new expressive and communicative technologies and and transform them in keeping with local needs. If you look at the rapid ways in which the printing press, the cinema and photography spread in South Asia, giving rise to new and varied expressive forms, and new constellations of audiences and performers, then perhaps there is some hope for a yet-to-emerge internet and new media culture. But this new media culture will depend crucially on the way in which it's protagonists shape their space, and the content of their work, vis a vis existing communication structures, both hegemonic and otherwise.

But before we go on, I want to briefly examine what I consider to be a missed opportunity. A case of the forgotten 'old'

medium of the radio for which I have a certain affection, even though I am a filmmaker and it is television, not radio that pays for my bread. I am referring here to the mysterious lack of any interest in the creation of an alternative radio network. Radio has a long history in india, it is also the cheapest and most ubiquitous means of communication in india. Even the remotest hamlet in the interiors of India, will have radio sets, and the radio, like the bicycle is the one form of technology that everyone can afford and access because it is cheap. One would have thought that such a scenario would have prompted a widespread alternative radio culture based on low cost transmitters, initially set up as pirate stations and then battling for legitimacy through public actions. I find this even more surprising given a recent Supreme Court judgement that declared the airwaves to be public property, and situated them as a public resource independent of the control of the state and market. Thus the situation is in a sense ripe for the mushrooming of local radio stations run by anybody who pleases, that can flood the airwaves with any manner of subversive content. If the state wishes to crack down upon them, then the ground is ready for a protracted legal battle that bases itself on the right to freedom of expression and the fact of airwaves having been declared public property by judicial fiat, thus contravening existing laws that controls access to broadcasting, (the infamous and draconian Telegraph Act of 1885).

But unfortunately, this is precisely what does not happen. Debates on the autonomy of the media continue to rotate around the sterile question of corporate versus state ownership of the media. Few years ago, when a group of independent film makers and media practitioners to which I belong, the Forum for Independent Film & Video, attempted to initiate a debate on public access to broadcasting as a fundamental right they were either thoroughly ignored , or told off for stirring up trouble. On a number of occasions I personally have been told by respectable left-liberal intellectuals and NGO activists that free access to the media would only mean that fundamentalists would open radio and television stations and disseminate fascist and communal propaganda. The possibility of a libertarian culture on the airwaves is perhaps too threatening for the South Asian cultural elite, which is why the bugbear of 'opening the fascist floodgates' is such a handy and convenient excuse. Meanwhile the spectacle goes unchallenged except by exhausted and token protests. The spectacle lives and breathes in the hardsell of a new consumer culture on satellite television, in the cardboard mythological on state television, in the violent nationalism of commercial cinema, in the political circus of slick current affairs and news shows and in the proliferation of fundamentalist sermons and communal propaganda in the name of religious programming on cable channels.

In such a situation if any group of people anywhere in South Asia had tried to operate a free thinking, open radio station, with a small transmitter, and supposing that this radio station would have on the off chance also featured open debates about everyday life, reports from the workplace, from factories and schools, letters from prisons, features about the way in which the police was hounding Bangladeshi immigrants from cities or terrorising gay people in public parks, or played songs against nuclear weapons, they would have simply landed up in prison, for violating antiquated broadcasting rules. And frankly no one would even know, or have given a damn.

Until and unless free and equal access to the media becomes recognised as a political question, just as access to drinking water, or land, or housing, or a clean environment are recognised as a political questions, unless access to the media not just as recipients but as producers is not seen as a question that relates to the way in which power articulates itself in our society, this is bound to remain the case. And this recognition cannot come from those who work with the media alone, though they can help engender it.

In South Asian societies it will have to be demonstrated through practice that only a participatory media culture can bring back a lost vitality into our exhausted public spaces. In a cultural climate where all forms of political expression and social communication are rigidly controlled by a complex structure of mediators and representatives who negotiate the messages that are transmitted between people and power through the forms of representation (and here by forms of representation I mean both the political structures of representative democracy, as well as the 'representational' function of the dominant media - holding up an acceptable picture of the world) there may in fact be a great hidden social urge for unmediated, direct and spontaneous expression . For expressions that either ignore or confront power in new and surprising ways. That reject the older forms of spectacular protest for subtle, if low key acts of everyday resistance, that are hard to locate and identify, and thus impossible to punish or appropriate. Traditionally, the peoples of South Asia have had a a rich

subaltern history of popular poetry, forms of satire, and a repertoire of symbolic challenges to power. These traditions were founded on the basis of anonymity, or of the hidden and shifting claims of authorship which made them difficult to censor. New media practitioners in South Asia have a rich precedent before them in the very 'old ' media, should they choose to recognise such a lineage. This will imply a re-appraisal of what we consider to be political in our societies, which will involve rejecting the notion that the media, or work in them is at best an instrument for the projection of a political programme, and consider instead that the media and their usage in themselves are political questions.

Such a vision can imagine a new media and a new public culture that takes photography to the streets through large prints made as posters, that encourages the evolution of graffitti as an urban folk art form, that transforms public spaces through the projection of films made from within communities (as opposed to being about them) , that actively agitates for popular cafes and liberal licensing laws for inexpensive pubs where small newspapers can be read, where poets can read and new songs can be sung accompanied by cheap food and drink. For a series of movements to liberate the means of communications, especially radio from the stranglehold of the state and advertising. That demands that every school or college or housing estate be seen as a potential radio transmitter, and that this demand be considered as basic and as natural as the demand that each neighborhood have its own hand pump for clean drinking water.

It is in this context that the Internet and other new technologies of communication need to be looked at in South Asia. For the foreseeable future, they will remain technologies available only to very few people, and these will be the cultural and political elites. Those of us who are lucky to have some form of internet access can use the internet as a resource for information that is rapidly transformed into older 'media' to make it use friendly in a public context. Thus it is impossible for us to contemplate a universe contained within the web, and to see the new media as replacements for other, not necessarily only 'older' forms of communication. (there may be the need to think of other 'new' media that are not as dependent on technology as the Internet). We can creatively and imaginatively use the Internet as the one space in which national boundaries have ceased to matter, in which we can as of now travel form New Delhi to Lahore without the intelligence agencies of either state monitoring our every movement. This opens out the possibility of contemplating long term joint projects that explore common concerns, and engender new initiatives without having to fall into the trap of simply reacting with e mail petitions to each new political disaster that our rulers bestow upon us.

This can then gradually pave the way for the opening out of an 'offline' space, populated by real people, and real actions and exchanges, where the state that we evaded so sucessfully 'online' can be surprised by our refusal to act on the terms laid down by it. Where the free floating ambience of the web, where everything is up for grabs and nothing belongs ideally to no one can be translated on to a from taking over the streets and spaces of our cities. Where the net is only an online rehearsal for an offline celebration, in real space and time of our real lives.

I would like to end by talking about a group of friends, some of the growing family of people who share and enrich our internet account. They have over many years have brought out a newspaper for industrial workers. The newspaper, a black and white tabloid in Hindi with no illustrations is distributed free to workers in the industrial town of Faridabad, close to Delhi and has a readership of over ten thousand people. The people working on the paper correspond almost daily with other workers in different parts of the world, in Hong Kong, New Jersey, Tokyo, Johannesburg and Amsterdam, among other places. Their e mail exchanges feed into their newspaper and the reports of the newspaper make their way into the e mail correspondence. In this way workers in faridabad get to know about wildcat strikes in South Korea, or the way in which people resist work pressures in Amsterdam. And a conversation gets started between one form of resistance and another. Recently they have started putting publications on the web, one of which is called "A Ballad Against Work" . A collage of instances of resistance, and a string of arguments, this text grew out of the fusion of 'new' and 'old' forms of media, of street corner conversations while distributing the paper, and e mails that spanned continents. Today it circulates in turn, 'offline' and 'online', taking on new lives with every reader or surfer, living through every postcard and every e mail that confirms that we will always find new and old ways of saying we have had enough with this world and want another one instead.

Shuddhabrata Sengupta works with the Raqs Media Collective. New Delhi.

INFORMATION DEVOLUTION

Kunda Dixit

As new technologies make it possible to move more information faster than ever before, we are dazzled by the millions of gigabytes that move across the world in nanoseconds. We are infatuated by bandwidth, digital television by gadgets and gizmos. Yet we hardly ask questions about the quality of the information: What is it that we are communicating? Is it relevant? Will it make the world a better place? And does all this information add up to knowledge? The challenge is to get the information to where it is needed through the most cost-effective method possible. Only when information helps people communicate, participate and allows them and their rulers to make informed choices does that information become knowledge. The growing gap between the world's have and have-nots is today reflected in the gap between the know and the not-knows. If we want to turn information into knowledge and give the developing world a chance to take a shortcut to prosperity, the knowledge gap needs to be bridged urgently. Here we are not talking about the top-of-the-line computers in each classroom in India, we are talking about a teacher who is trained and motivated, a classroom that has a roof, schoolchildren who have enough to eat so that their brains are not stunted by low calorie intake.

The scriptures are right: "Knowledge is a sword, and wisdom is a shield." Perhaps nowhere is the raw power of knowledge as relevant today as it is for the two-thirds of the world's people who live in the countries of the South. And yet in the developing countries of the South, the holy trinity of the Information Age (television, telephone and computer) is present, if at all, only in its cable and satellite television incarnation. South Asia, where one fifth of the world's population lives, is today within the footprint of at least 50 broadcast satellites. In India, Pakistan and Bangladesh alone there are more than 70 million households with television, giving a viewership of 300 million. By the year 2007, there will be 550 million television viewers in these countries, and half of them will be hooked up to cable and able to watch 350 channels that will be available by then.

Advances in information technology are supposed to shrink distances, but they don't necessarily bring people together. Better communications through satellite may give people a wider array of programming to choose from, but it does not guarantee that they will be more tolerant of diversity. In fact, more information seems to mean more ignorance, and better communications initially at least tends to highlight the differences between peoples.

Knowledge may be a sword, but it double-edged. The delivery mechanisms for knowledge are today in the hands of fewer and fewer people. Globally, media ownership reflects the supranational ownership patterns and mega-mergers with other worldwide businesses. More and more of the message therefore propagates a global consumer monoculture that is wasteful, unjust and environmentally unsound. It is when this culture is put forward as the only one to aspire for that it helps perpetuate economic disparities and unsustainable lifestyles.

It also leaves more and more people out of the knowledge loop. They have lost the knowledge they had, and what has replaced it is no longer relevant or useful. Ultimately, this provokes an extremist backlash against an uncaring elite and a soulless global culture.

In a lot of ways, it is just like the loss of genetic diversity. High-yield hybrid seeds have replaced a rich variety of local cereals, improving harvests but also making the crops more susceptible to disease, and needing expensive inputs of agrochemicals to make them work. Globalisation of media subliminally spreads information that eats into traditional knowledge bases and indigenous processes best adapted to deal with local conditions. Internet may offer a chance for South Asian countries to leapfrog technology, to level the playing field, to democratise information by giving a voice to diverse groups so that a new age when better communications will spread useful knowledge will be ushered in. But going by past

examples, the chances of this happening are not good.

Before its November 1 launch, Iridium has launched a media blitz. The latest commercial beamed via satellite television to millions of homes across the world shows the Himalayas and Kathmandu, while the voice-over talks of how you can now wait for the dial tone at the ends of the earth. But who really grabs satellite phones first? It is the war correspondents, the Osma bin Ladens, the businessmen or dying mountaineers on the summit Mt Everest making their last call home. The poor will be the last to use them, or benefit from them.

How do we ensure that Information Technology will succeed where all earlier previous panaceas have failed? First, by knowing its limitations. Let us not recklessly promise that this will "level the playing field" or "democratise information" but do little do-able things with it which will add up to change. A lot of this already happening. It takes more than an hour to log on to the government-owned ISP in New Delhi because of dirty phone lines and although only India's information elite have private phone connections or can afford a computer and the ISP fees, but Internet in India has become a vigorous parallel information universe. Activists and media have found this to be an efficient and fast way to counter the mainstream agenda, especially in the dangerous age of nukes and religious jingoism.

In places where official information is controlled like in Indonesia, Malaysia and China the Internet has brought the only available means of spearheading the truth. Across the world, non-governmental organisations, human rights activists, trampled minorities, suppressed democracy supporters are bonding via email. The Internet's inherent anarchy, its decentralised nature and freedom from official control has ironically made a globalised Internet the most ideal medium to take on the ravages of a globalised economy.

If history has taught us anything, it is that technology by itself is never the answer. The corporate values that drive the Information Age are the same ones that drove the Industrial Age, and things will be no different with the Internet or Iridium. it still depends on who gets to control it, who gets to use it and how they use it. Unlike the computer's binary codes, it is not going to be either/or, plus/minus. The outcome of the Information Age is going to be a messy analogue mishmash. Parts of the world will be enslaved by Information transnationals, others will be liberated. Some will cash in on a commercialised Internet, others will do just as well without it. Some will be smothered in an avalanche of information overload, others who yearn for freedom will use it to bypass tyranny. The degree to which South Asia can benefit from the Internet's potential for democracy, bring about true decentralisation, or spread knowledge will on how much support the information-poor get to log on.

In the final analysis, Information Technology is like a tiger. You can either ride it or be eaten up by it. You may be eaten up anyway, but at least get to ride it for a while.

Kunda Dixit is director of Panos South Asia and co-publisher of Himal magazine. He is also author of the book, Dateline Earth: Journalism As If The Planet Mattered

THE SITUATION AND IDEA OF AN "INTER-EAST"

Toshiya Ueno

Terms like "pacific Asia" and "inter-Asia" are so popular key terms for projects in publishing and academic conferences all around the world. But the future imagination and new vision of Asia should not be restricted and projected onto the mere geographic (or geopolitical) perspective. Certainly, the term "Asia" is catchy and easy to understand; but there are other

views, some long established, some recent, which are not based on "Orientalist" discourses. The time has come to free ourselves from simplistic geographical hand-me-downs that perpetuate various forms of exoticism.

A good example of how deep this tendency reaches is the common use of terms such as "trance" throughout most of the Westernized world (notably including Eastern Europe) to describe certain new phenomena--types of techno music, rave cultures, and/or computer-generated animations. One sees not this term but this kind of gesture throughout much wider circles like cultural studies and leftists thinking. Now, the interrelations between Europe--again, certainly including Eastern Europe--and East Asia have a history that is long and varied, so this kind of linguistic appropriation doesn't take place in a vacuum. In fact, this history is complex enough to cast doubt even on the use of terms like "East Asia" or "Asia Pacific" in this context, because these relations have involved hegemonic competitions between nation-state formations in these regions.

I would like to suggest the term "inter-East," which conveys this broader awareness. In my view, the term includes not just "Asia" or the "Pacific regions" but also East and South Asia and even Eastern Europe. In the present context--that is, discussions on Tactical and Independent media and spaces--such an awareness is important. Unlike earlier terminology, it can refer both to the past relations but also the future ones as well.

Another interesting term might be "cyberdiaspora" or "digital diaspora"--not in the sense of human lives or bodies "disappearing" into or onto the net. Rather, I mean a diaspora through the net--within it, across it, by means of it. Historically speaking, diaspora cultures have travelled around the world; these travels were accompanied by--and not always from or to the same places--material circulations cultural circulations: ideas, lifestyles, food, art, music, and so on. Some theoreticians of this subject have used terms that sound very familiar to us in a "digital" or "cyber" context, for example, Paul Gilroy's idea of the "diaspora web."

Now, though, this kind of terminology is no longer a metaphor; rather, it is a sort of an allegory of reality itself. The rise of network technologies have presented us with "cyberspaces," and not merely through the use of computers radio and telephones, for example, have brought about kinds of "spaces" that alter the spaces we live in, in ways similar or analogous to the sea. My intent isn't to emphasise the power of the Internet; rather, I simply want to point out that there are refugee and diaspora groups that maintain cohesion and communication--culture--by means of video distribution, computer networks, and other electronic technologies. For example, there are the Croatian and Macednian communities in Perth, Australia, who rely heavily on videos to maintain connections to their origins; or the independent media in Amsterdam in support of people coming from former Yugoslavia. There's no question that information technologies and telecomunications have allowed diasporas to develop in new direction.

Of course, diaspora strictly speaking almost invariably involves migrations imposed by power relations, whether economic, political, religious, and so on. But there are also looser though no less real aspects of diasporas--dreadlocks, T-shirts, music, and so on--which we might refer to as "cultural diasporas," or at least think about these phenomena in those terms. Certainly, diaspora always means a sort of cultural travelling; but we should take care not to confuse these transmissions, disseminations, and circulations with the effects of globalization or with a generic "postmodern" pastiche-eclecticism based on an "anything goes" aesthetic. The boundary isn't a clear one, and it's becoming even less so: there are no easy way to distinguish between real refugees, illegal migrants, asylum-seekers, "suffering diasporas," and rave or "hooligan" travelers, various forms of tourism, and "cultural diasporas," between forced settlement and voluntary migrations.

To return to my initial remarks, terms such as "Pacific Asia," "Pacific rim," and "Asia" in general are especially significant for the purposes of thinking about "cyberdiaspora culture." These areas have long and rich histories of displacements, refugees, and diasporas. This, in part, accounts for the influence that Asian--or perhaps Inter-Asian cultures have on the imagination and the actuality of cultural diaspora through electronic technology and cyberspace. For example, musical styles such as "Bangra" and "Ragamuffin" as elaborated by blacks in the UK are connected to East Asian cultures, as is the so-called "psychedelic trance" style of techno music, born in Goa, India. These newer diffusions are hypermodernized "tribal" cultures--I use that word cautiously--in an effort to grasp "Oriental" phenomena in the information age. In film and animation, too--for example, Japanese Anime--Pacific Asian landscapes and cultural elements play an important and sometimes subtle role. But is is important to recognise that even the "originary" material being "appropriated" isn't single

or monolithic. Just as it may now derive from a combination of older traditions and newer technologies--many of them, of course, facilitated by electronics legendary for being "made in Japan," "made in China," "made in Korea," and so on--the older traditions themselves are combinations.

These combinations and recombinations can be a very clear expression of what I mean by "inter-East": one melody can be heard as something Indian, something Japanese, and something Bosnian, which in turn will have roots in Asia Minor, now "Turkey," and the rhythms may derive from somewhere else. These hybrids, with many meanings, are not merely "post-modern eclecticism" based on ethnic origins. They often have an entire other set of origins as well: raves, for example, are closely connected with green movements or other new social movements, movements resisting global capital. In this regard, we can think of these hybridizations as "tactical syncretism" and distinguish them from mere pastiche. The fact that these cultural hybridizations aren't limited to one aspect or register of a "trend" would support this, I think. Thus we see an "Asian" influence on record sleeve and flyer design as well. Some, of course, are simply fakes or simulations, arbitrary choices made within a "postmodern" visual superstore; but others are not.

I don't want to overemphasise the details of subcultures: "cultural studies" does not mean a theory of subculture or a critical discourse on cultural ephemera. But it is important to be aware of these strata, and to be open to what they might offer us as we think about the functions of subcultural diaspora in a translocal context. We cannot lose sight of the fact that refugees, travelers, and illegal or semi-legal migrants travel around the world from in rave parties and club circuits. A detail here or a person there may not be so significant; but the trajectories they trace--for example, a DJ playing in Taipei, then Tokyo, then Sydney--is not reducible to "globalization." In the wake of these movements, we may find new types of solidarity of urban tribes or alternative public sphere which happen to be elaborated through music.

In the context of cultural diasporas established or propagated through worldwide networks, dichotomies such as local/global begin to lose their original meaning--in other words, they change their meanings, maybe to the point of uselessness. Generally, "peripheries" (which I distinguish from liminalities) can appear at the "center" not only theoretically but also substantially; or they can become terminal, an end. Under the circumstances, we must reconsider the relationship between the universal (or the world) and the native (or the indigenous). For example, in thinking about the East as an orientation and an indication, Asia can mean "far east," "south east," "middle east," and so on--posited for or against the West but, at the same time, somehow inside Europe, since "former socialist regions" are represented politically as well as geographically as "the East." In this regard, the very idea of "globalism," or of a "global standpoint," becomes problematic as a way to form positions: it too is still deeply based on "civilizationalism in the West" and is not sufficient for understanding the workings of global tribalization and so on. Unless we adopt a newer, better-suited conceptual framework--for example, "translocal," which is neither global nor local--our positions will fall into the same transversal traps that ideas like "the East" do. "Translocal," on the other hand, no longer essentializes "the East" as "Asia" or "former communist areas"; it does not speak of any necessary direction. This, the orient(ation) itself becomes multiplied, hybridized, and divergent. It should come as no surprise, then, that I would prefer the term "Inter-east" over "Inter-Asia," because it can speak of the same phenomena without falling prey to programmatic or projected in geographical and geopolitical imaginations. Terms like "Pacific rim" and especially "Pacific era" are similarly problematic; the latter term is especially so, because it re-maps spatial projections onto temporal ones--since the alternative is, of course, an "Atlantic era."
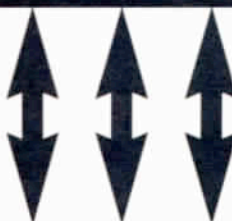
In the framework of globalization and transnationalism within Asia or Pacific, it seems strange or paradoxical--but undeniable an effect--that one nation or one country-state or one continent should always be considered a center for global capitalism and historical prestige. This is still a developing discourse. Notion such as "Asia" and " Pacific Rim" have served at various points as "strategic" imagery to help deconstruct the Western "core." These and other ideas allowed people to decenter and recenter the world--to Taiwan, say, or Australia or Japan. However, the troublesome gesture of establishing a center and a homogeneous field remains: "Asia" and "Pacific Rim" still very much impose ethnocentrisms or state-nationalisms on "Asian" countries.

For example, the term "Pacific rim" is not quite new; not surprisingly, this idea has a history. During the World War II, in particular, the idea of a "Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" ("Dai Toa Kyouei Ken") was promoted by the Japanese fascist-militarist regime as an imperialist vision in which a peaceful order among Asian areas would be led and enlightened
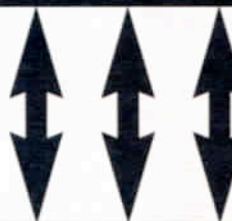
by Japan. And, of course, this idea too had a history as well; the alternative world that it assumes, in which Asian areas were not led or enlightened by Japan, speaks of a less stable or homogeneous image of these areas, divided by economy, culture, ideology, and so on. Thus wee see that it ideas about "Asia" and so on are not at all uniquely "American," "European," or "Orientalist" in their origin or effect.

More specifically, during the Edo period, Japan adhered to a policy of "isolation" and took account of the West in two primary ways: as an object of intellectual curiosity, and as a military threat. On the one hand, Japan have tried to detach itself from its immediately neighboring area and, on the other, it responded to Western world domination in political and diplomatic ways. In doing so, it destroyed the Chinese imperial order and brought a new order to East Asia. It was in this period that the previously mentioned "Asian" notion of "Asia" was developed as a way to counter the West's hegemony and to diminish any China-centric ideas of what a more native hegemony must be. In this sense and in others, Japan has served as a sort of "interface" between the Western civilizations and Asian ones.

This kind of classificatory complexity and depth is very much present in discourses about "Orientalism" in general. Historically speaking, for the West "the Orient" has most often meant the "middle east"; consequently, Orientalist discourses have tended to address ideologies involving those regions and areas. But as "Techno-Orientalism" has become a crucial factor for Western cultures--indeed, for all cultures--Orientalist discourses have shifted to include or even focus on Japan, India, Taiwan, Australia, and so on. Naoki Sakai highlights this point nicely:

> The Orient is neither a cultural, religious or linguistic unity.
> The principle of its identity lies outside itself: what endows it
> with some vague sense of unity is that Orient is that which is
> excluded and objectified by the West, in the service of its historical
> progress. From the outset the Orient is a shadow of the West.

It should be clear, then, why I am so sceptical about geographical definitions and distinctions: they obscure the tremendously complex and subtle histories that have led up to the "global" age. It's for these reasons that a more subtle and complex term--I advocate "inter-East"--seems much more fruitful. Such a term invites us to recognise without totalizing the oriental melodies in Trance-Techno-music as played by a Croatian DJ, and to discuss in a more nuanced way the many aspects of VCR network within the Macedonian and Croatian refugees and exiles in Australia (see, for example, Dona Kolar-Panov, "Video, War, and the Diasporic Imagination," Routledge, 1997). And, of course, it allows us to analyse the effects and influence of Japanese subculture throughout other Asian area's contexts or to research the active development of "Bollywood" film industry in Mumbai, India. Such a view invites us to think about Techno-Orientalism as both an ideology and a tool of critical thinking--not just about "Asia" or the "Orient" but also about the complex interrelations and interactions of many cultures. And surely what we should consider in an inter-East forum is not just cultural ephemera but also many kinds of media activisms and social movements and their articulations.

Needless to say, there are many cultural and political differences between East Asia and Eastern Europe; we cannot overlook or underestimate them. But each of these regions is similarly home to enormous cultural and political differences. These differences invite careful observation and regard for the variety of practice of making free space, using the net and radio, organising sociability, and so on. And in this regard, "inter-East" is very helpful too: not only does it free us from needless geographical assumptions, but it opens up into newer virtual "spaces," psychogeographic "spaces," and so on. And this, in turn, allows us to use concepts involving the "translocal" more fluidly, which sidesteps the obsolete dichotomy between "local" and "global."

Despite this promising vision, it will be difficult to move beyond regionally specific differences. It is har to "invent" translocal imaginations in many inter-Eastern areas. But there are histories and efforts that are related, some of them decades old: free radio movements, pirate and gay TV in Malaysia, free space and free media movements in Seoul, the free radio and anti-wiretap movements in Japan, independent Internet activities in other areas, and so on. These might be a good place to start as we try to elaborate new critical theories relevant and adequate to the inter-East and translocal phenomena.

CYBER FEMINISM

OLDBOYS
network

WHAT DOES OBN DO?

OBN is dedicated to Cyberfeminism. OBN's concern is to build spaces in which Cyberfeminists can search, experiment, communicate and act. For example the infrastructure which is being built by OBN: It consists of a Cyberfeminist Server (currently under construction), the OBN mailing list and the organisation of Real-Life meetings. All this activities have the purpose to give a contextualized presence to different artistic, theoretical and political formulations under the umbrella of Cyberfeminism. Furthermore OBN creates and uses different kinds of spaces, spaces which are more abstract. They grow out of the confusion which results through the interaction between virtual and real identities.

OBN ties together different approaches in Cyberfeminism and provides a base for critics and discussions.

OBN believes that i.e. the organisation of a non-academic, autonomous meeting with women who are keen on calling themselves Cyberfeminists and developing together new strategies of Feminism is a basically activist work. OBN does mostly conspiratorial work. OBN supports different and contradictory voices.

HOW AND WHEN DID IT START?

The Old Boys Network was founded in Berlin in spring 1997 by Susanne Ackers, Julianne Pierce, Valentina Djordjevic, Ellen Nonnenmacher and Cornelia Sollfrank. The idea for OBN grew out of the female artist groups VNS Matrix and -Innen. Members of these groups felt the need for a worldwide network for Cyberfeminist activities. The origins are difficult to trace. As usually a really revolving idea and invention seems to have been coming up simultaneously at different places and minds. (check for instance the invention of cinematography, television or telephone) But unlike these historical examples, OBN does not rival other Cyberfeminist efforts, but tries to build a general network. OBN, it's real, not historical. OBN, it's not real, but historical.

WHAT IS/WAS THE FIRST CYBERFEMINIST INTERNATIONAL?

In September 1997 the First Cyberfeminist International took place in the Hybrid Workspace at Documenta X, in Kassel, Germany. 37 women from 12 countries participated. It was the first big meeting of Cyberfeminists organised by the Old Boys Network (OBN). For further information please check: www.obn.org/kassel. The complete documentation of the First Cyberfeminist International has been published in a reader in August 1998, please have a look at: www.obn.org/reader It was a lie, because it was not the first one, only the biggest. Next time we won't repeat this mistake of a linear 'straight' counting procedure, but name it a queer theoretical approach to numbers as well, due to our hacking workshops. Are there any future meetings planned?

Yes, present and future, small and big ones. There is the NEXT CYBERFEMINIST INTERNATIONAL in early March 1999 (Rotterdam). For 2000 we are looking forward to invite Cyberfeminists from all over the world to Hamburg, Germany.

WHAT IS CYBERFEMINISM?

A feminism, of course--focussing on the digital medium. -- The First Cyberfeminist International agreed on not to define the term. The strategy of keeping the term as open as possible was consensual. As a substitute for a definition The First Cyberfeminist International formulated the "100 Anti-Theses": www.obn.org/cfundef/100antitheses.html Cyberfeminism is a vehicle for discussing certain methods in theory, art or politics. Cyberfeminism is an update of Feminism. Cyberfeminism is the updated version of Feminism dedicated to new political issues raised by global culture and media society. Cyberfeminism is much more than every other Feminism linked to aesthetic and ironic strategies as intrinsic tools within the growing importance of design and aesthetics in the new world order of flowing pancapitalism.

WHY CYBERFEMINISM?

Why not? Cyberfeminism is a powerful new term which functions very well as an entry point to the important discussion about "women and technology". Cyberfeminism offers many women--including those weary of same-old feminism--a new vantage point from which to formulate innovative theory and practice, and at the same time, to reflect upon traditional feminist theory and practice. Who else would do the work? Feminists need new vanishing lines. Its' a question of survival and power and fun.

The word Cyberfeminism originates from the discourse of academic media hype and advertisement. As this term is like a slap in the face of serious intellectual and political work, a destruction is necessary, which will provoke a fresh new start. And there it gets very serious again under different circumstances: The challenge to ask yourself, how a new feminism could formulate itself.

SINCE WHEN DOES CYBERFEMINISM EXIST?

Historically the term has been created in 1992 by Sadie Plant and VNS Matrix, without knowing from each other. But actually Cyberfeminism exists since women and zeros and ones exist. Difficult to say. We are still doing historic research. As much as this: Ada Countess of Lovelace has not been the first. While tracing our roots we realise that they are a fascinating monstrosity of a far reaching and widely extended net-structure. There are signs which point out Arachne to be the first Cyberfeminist, though without doubt was she the second. Since feminists realised that new technologies change their ways of sleeping, loving, fucking, eating, walking, talking and... Cyberfeminism emerged from high developed countries, where accessibility to high-end technology is quite easy and where the experience of body and mind altering influences of the used technologies is part of the everyday-life. In other words: Cyberfeminism is born in the heart of the privileged worlds and therefore actually it is one of its main issues to question these so-called "privileges".

WHAT DOES CYBERFEMINISM HAVE TO DO WITH FEMINISM?

The "feminism" in Cyberfeminism is obvious, it cannot be overlooked. And that's as it should be. Feminism's heritage is our life-blood, but its institutionalisation in public life and in the academies makes it inaccessible to most women today. In addition, the mass women's movement of former years has been fragmented into a bewildering variety of feminismS. Identifying oneself as a woman is no longer enough to serve as a productive connecting link. Cyberfeminism is looking for new strategies for political action.

Cyberfeminists do not longer ignore the influence of new technologies in the lifes of women, children and men all over the world, but they try to develop critical and joyful *technologies* of female survival. Cyberfeminists learned a lot through the criticism of postcolonial women and women of colour, and they are very aware of the fact that at the moment their issues, contents and strategies of Cyberfeminism are due to the "privileged" new global work division they live in.

WHAT IS THE CYBERFEMINIST' ATTITUDE TOWARDS TECHNOLOGY?

The new technologies have provided a powerful new imperative for the feminist discussion. On the one hand new technologies provoke a discussion, because they are historically male dominated, but on the other hand, they also contain new means and methods of fundamentally questioning received role models and power structures, of deconstructing concepts of subjectivity--as feminist theory has demanded already long before the raise of digital media. There is no attitude in Cyberfeminism. Cyberfeminists do not come together to share attitudes, but come together with the drive for realising the new medium and its overwhelming scientific, artistic and social consequences. There is nothing like THE Cyberfeminist attitude. Each Cyberfeminist has got a different one.

DO YOU NEED A COMPUTER TO BE A CYBERFEMINIST?

Not necessarily, but sooner or later every Cyberfeminist will feel the need to network. You don't have to use a computer, but you should acknowledge its existence.

WHO ARE INTERESTING CYBERFEMINSTS?

Every Cyberfeminist is interesting.

http://www/obn.org

RUSSIAN CYBER-JOUISSANCE: A SKETCH FOR A POLITICS OF PLEASURE

Irina Aristarkhova

In this work I am attempting to outline a politics of pleasure for/as Russian (cyber)feminist(s). Mainly I base my approach on Foucault's "ethics of the self" and Irigaray's "ethics of sexual difference", also influenced by works of Donna Haraway, Rosi Braidotti, Lou Andreas-Salome and cyberfeminists. My main argument is that cyberspace can be explored and created as a source of pleasure for and among women, as a means to share female genealogy based on embodied subjectivity, and that would imply an invention of new forms of politicization. Cyber-politics

Cyberspace is as much a web of power relations as other spaces, and it plays out existing gender politics. In his work on communicative action, Habermas applied democratic liberal principles to the realm of communication, suggesting that there can be a future with an "equal access to communication". Foucault is strongly against such utopian futures: "The idea that there could exist a state of communication that would allow games of truth to circulate freely, without any constrains or coercive effects, seems utopian to me. This is precisely a failure to see that power relations are not something that is bad in itself, that we have to break free of. I do not think that a society can exist without power relations, if by that one means strategies by which individuals try to direct and control the conduct of others. The problem, then, is not to try to dissolve them in the utopia of completely transparent communication, but to acquire the rules of law, the management techniques, and also the morality, the ethos, the practice of the self, that will allow us to play these games of power with as little domination as possible" (Foucault, 1996: 446-7).

I would like to stress a need for such new forms of feminist power games, and argue that cyberfeminism is in a special position here. Cyberspace as a political place which is new, still in the process of establishing itself and controlled differently from, say, Academia, is and can be effectively used for feminist politics. It is also necessary to stress here that politicization of cyberspace can benefit from already existing spaces of established relations by women and among women - arts and feminist political activity, for example. Now we must politicise cyberspace by creating possibilities for new relations of force, that change the face of power, "showing its potentialities no less than its dangers". To say that cyberspace is just a residue of the late capitalist economy, or that virtual reality is dangerous for feminism since it reproduces patriarchal imagery and full of male fantasies, would only mean that feminism is poorly conceived by such critics, and power is always evil for them. On the other hand, if we consider cyberspace as a flow of unrestrained desires or unconscious, where one can build a cyber-society without power and domination, we put ourselves into another trap: it implies that to "avoid reality of power" (which is bad and polluted) is to "get free" from it in virtual reality, which is good and innocent, that corresponds to libertarian utopia. Thus, sooner we understand that we cannot "avoid" power relations in cyberspace, sooner we start using it for our purposes.

Why politics? For Foucault 'the political' is not something external to what underlies elementary relations, which are "neutral" by nature. To say that "everything is political" is to acknowledge this presence of relations of force and their immanence to the political field. I argue here that the ground for such new forms of politicization in cyberspace most effectively can become an embodied female subjectivity. It has been suggested by many that the notion of an embodied subject and female identity is ultimately essentialising and totalizing, especially for cyberspace. It is, if we look for a solid ground and do not take into account sexual difference. However, we do not need definitions in order to "become", for these can restrict such inventions of ourselves. We need, rather, new practices to seek

new pleasures, based on the ethics of (sexual) difference. In this process we do not look for any kind of "true" identity based on our "sex", it is not an individual liberation of our desires or of some kind of inherent sexual energy. It is a political social choice, albeit a risky one, in balancing within a particular disposition of power relations, which are not stable or given, with an aim of modelling and inventing.

SUBJECTIVITY AND PLEASURE

Irigaray in "Je, tu, nous" (1990, 1993) shows that the topic of sexual difference can not be reduced to the issues of sex and sexual act, as it has been done so far. It is about subjectivity understood as an intersection of our embodiment and the world. In this sense virtual reality is not virtual as in non-real, it is a space for creation of very real links, origins of new relationships, range of new pleasures. Probably, cyberfeminists were the first openly political communities in cyberspace to play out their differences into new forms of cyber-organisations without programmes and restrictions, which invite other people for collective pleasure, which is not l'un(e). We are obviously "making it work" and "inventing new games" of power relations in cyberspace. In doing it, we move beyond our cultures of sexualisation, we "de-sexualise" pleasure, being fully aware that it is necessarily (though not exclusively) a political gesture: 'For thousands of years, we have been made to believe that the law of all pleasure is, secretly at least, sex. ... It was this codification of pleasure by the "laws" of sex that ultimately gave rise to the whole arrangement of sexuality. And this makes us think that we "liberating" ourselves when we "decode" all pleasure in terms of sex finally brought into the open. Whereas we should be striving, rather, toward a desexualisation, to a general economy of pleasure that would not be sexually normed' (Foucault, 1996: 212).

It is important when trying to relate to our "womanness" not to ask questions like "Who am I?" or "What is the secret of my desire?" We better ask "What relations, through femininity, can be established, invented, multiplied and modulated"? (Foucault, 1996: 308). Here femininity is not reduced to any kind of "truth in sex", but rather is seen as an opportunity to create multiplicity of relationships. We must use it not as "a form of desire", but as "something desirable". Here we recollect words of Irigaray on female genealogies and their cultural absence in misogynist and matricidal imagery that founds our societies. There is an urgent need for articulation of female relations, ties and friendships outside "allowed" spaces. What is the pleasure for women in 'being together'? Share our time, our ideas, our experiences? To share our grief, knowledge and confidences outside institutional relations that construct us in patriarchal cultures? These are not easy questions, and cannot be answered by utopian female essence. We have to be careful not to celebrate our 'being a woman' as there are many differences among women that have to be acknowledged while the common ideal of a 'fusion of liberated identities' implies a possible digestion of or a violence against the Other.

This "politics of pleasure" is not some irresponsible 'enjoying oneself'. In this sense it is a call for a responsible enjoyment and it is not an "operation of the superego", as Slavoj Zizek has argued. Of course, there is no 'jouissance' outside a 'political', however it cannot be reduced to an only political dimension and that is its strategic strength. Secondly, as Foucault has shown in his "History of sexuality" (Foucault, 1984a), in our societies there has been much more governmental investments and normalisations in the realm of desire and its embodied forms, than in the domain of pleasure, that makes pleasure more amenable for a political (feminist) intervention and strategic resistance. Invention of new pleasures is not 'safe', as nothing can be 'completely safe' and it is not an issue here at all, but rather seems more effective and promising for feminist politics and female subject inventions, especially in the. Russian context.

OUR BODY

There is not virtual reality prior to/without our bodies and those relations of force that our embodiment allows to pass through. To see cyberspace bodiless is as much a political choice as to see it embodied. Instead of seeing cyberspace as a place "free of a body" and its politics, where one can (at last!) take a relieve from that non-ideal (overweight, digesting or aging) materiality, we can give back this somatophobia to Western reason. We can politi-

cise cyberspace as a place where our bodies meet, not by extending themselves in our dreams into wires, but by typing, massaging our hands in-between, smiling in front of the screen, enjoying words and responses from each other, that embody our pains and pleasures, deriving from new encounters, relations, sensations, friendships. These intensities contribute to a creation of our female subjectivities, that are ours and corporeal. In this case this meeting that we are in today gives us another, new kinds of sensations, possibilities of new pleasures and developments, that are not a break from or extension of virtual reality we are working in, but another form of embodiment, that is full of potentiality of pleasure. We are pleased in being here due to various reasons and despite of so many more other reasons. We are pleased in being in cyberspace with women and as women, though it is not all unproblematic: Irigaray through her analysis of European philosophy and sexual order that it represents, shows that "women's relationships with their mothers and daughters and with each other" have been traditionally sacrificed to the patriarchal economy and that "all the norms of existing culture and society ...rest ... on the separation between women" (Whitford, 1991: 182-183). It makes clear why a shared sociality and joined symbolic work between women - as it is expressed in virtual space as one of new spaces - is highly political, since it creates pleasures of women and for women, also making visible female lines and genealogies of creation. For us our differences are becoming another source of mutual pleasure, that we are discovering, and not a matter to absorb.

RUSSIAN JOUISSANCE

I argue that "jouissance" is especially relevant and appropriate as a corrective to the Russian 'culture of suffering'. Orthodox Christianity and the following it "communist faith" as it has evolved in Russia traditionally stress the importance and goodness of suffering, especially for women, that has been expressed in various ways in Russian 'high' and 'popular' cultures. Thus, I see the idea of articulated and symbolised (collective) female jouissance as an even more appropriate "strategic operation" of the subject for Russian women that challenges ideals of "what a woman should be" in Russia. Do you think that our mothers, Mother-Russia and we, their daughters, have suffered enough? Or still it needs a bit more? Who needs? For whom? For what? Women in Russia seem to have fulfiled their lot of suffering. Last (?) time in Chechnya. We must be angels by now. And we are. We leave this world of suffering to "become". We are cyberangels. We use cyberspace to speak to each other "from afar", to embrace "Others". We carry out rites of passage between earth and sky, heaven and hell, and it is our pleasure.

There are other spaces where women are already finding possibilities for an embodied politics of pleasure: art groups, friendship clubs, etc. A limited scope of this paper does not allow us to elaborate on them and their relation to cyberspace. However, we can pose some questions for a future analysis: "What differentiates them from cyberspace? To what extent have the potential of a feminist politics of pleasure within / through cyberspace been prefigured by earlier spaces / practices / discourses of feminist pleasure? What are there continuities and contradictions if at all?" My experience of a participation in one of women's organisations - Committee of Soldier's Mothers (Moscow brunch) - suggests that there can be no easy answers to such questions, though it is obvious that women in the Committee use strategically their embodied stereotyped positions as "women/actual/potential mothers" to challenge the most (literally) phallocentric institution: an army, which Foucault considered as a heart of modern societies, together with prisons. Though it is not necessarily pleasure that is aimed at in these spaces that women create among themselves, they do feel "to-gether", they share everyday tears and humour and it gives them energy. It is that kind of "de-sexualized" pleasure that was discussed earlier. We are comfortable among ourselves, despite of many problems and cultural stereotypes and we use it for highly effective and productive resistances. Russian women share their lives with each other, and more often today - with other women on the earth. Their collective joissance from shared actions gives birth to / labours a new political situation. Moreover, covered with dust and forgotten joissance of our mothers, grandmothers and grand-grand... mothers enjoys its rebirth too, being newly articulated thus giving us an opportunity to discover and continue creations of our female geneology.

It is a political statement that celebrates power of pleasure. This positive energy of cyberfeminism in Russia in joined action with other feminist practices creates new forms of subjectivities for Russian women, establishing

women's genealogy in Russian-speaking culture, leaving the mentality of suffering and violent sacrifice to those who needs solids. It also creates new joyful faces of feminism, covering huge Russian distances without repressing our differences. With many women we 'keep in touch' only through cyberspace, establishing very much material contacts and embodied relations. More and more Russian women, different ethnically, generationally, socially, make steps towards each other - that is, towards themselves. One might live very far from another, and usually we have little chance to meet in a Levinas' relation "face-to-face" (Levinas, 1980). At the same time, post-Soviet women are said to be highly literate and educated and their lives taught them to think fast and have a kind of "fuzzy logic" so much celebrated today. What I am saying here is that for Russian women Internet and cyberspace provide an opportunity to start a relation among themselves "body-to-body" (Irigaray, 1987), that is multiplied in other spaces and that weaves a Russian thread into a rich colourful cloth of world feminism today.

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FLESH'N CHIPS:
SUGGESTIONS TOWARD AN EMBODIED CYBERFEMINIST POLITICS

Faith Wilding

What is it about women and chocolate, the scientists wondered? Why do women eat such quantities of the stuff while men seem much more interested in chomping down on hunks of rare steak. Women, they concluded, have been _socialized_ to crave chocolate; chocolate eating has become part of feminine construction. What a relief to know that this craving is not genetic and can't therefore be tampered with by genetic engineering.

What is it about women and machines, the cyberfeminists wondered? Why do women.....? Rumours of the death of feminism (and cyberfeminism) have been greatly exaggerated. Recently, feminist voices from all over have been calling for a new activism and vision in global feminisms today. In the U.S.A. bell hooks speaks about communities of concern, and also about "feminist movement" which implies constant mobility--thinking as action, movement, and flux. Avital Ronell calls for a "justice" feminism that is not simply reactive, but inventive, creative--and that presupposes a feminist embracing and use of technologies and new social models that can assist communication and promote ways of living and working that are more just, pleasurable, and autonomous. Donna Haraway calls for feminists to engage in "freedom projects" which thoroughly analyse the effects of technology on women and children in different countries, and underscores the importance of feminist organising and resistance. Nancy Lublin calls for a "praxis feminism" rooted in a materialist analysis of women's actual lives and situations.

Contemporary feminists are struggling to work out in lived practice how to live in a house of difference. This means engaging in the lived experience of affirmative work, sociality, and activism, with women from diverse backgrounds, ages, races, and classes without resorting to quotas, tokenism, political correctness, or "special" considerations. It is crucial for the development of contemporary global feminisms that women actively seek out and develop these experiences.

We live in a time of crass power consolidation through global pancapitalism. Information technologies are profoundly changing our public and private lives and the experience of what it is to live in a body in relation to other bodies. For those who would resist the relentless erasures of history and try to disturb the monumental reign of market ideology, it is necessary to muster all their knowledge and cunning to find ways of creating active nodes of subversion and resistance on however modest a scale. A new politicized cyberfeminism can develop strategies for such resistance and for new forms of activist networks. Collaborations between long-time feminist activists and younger net-savvy women eager to develop contemporary feminist practices are a strategy for creating bridges to past feminist histories, strategies, and tactics that are important resources for contemporary feminisms.

For example,the Cyberfeminist International, a group of artists, technicians, and theorists inspired by the Old Boys Network, are planning their second international symposium. "Strategies for A New Cyberfeminism" will focus on feminist critiques of technology; activism; biotechnology; connections between technology and difference; as well as down-and-dirty discussions of cyberfeminist theories, strategies and practices. Such international communication and collaboration is a crucial step toward understanding (and being able to act on) local and global differences that are affected by the ways that new technologies are reconstructing women's lives, bodies, and subjectivities.

I propose that new cyberfeminist strategies involve examining the connections between historical and contemporary sites of feminist struggle and resistance and the new technological developments which are having a profound impact on these sites. For example:

1. The interconnections of technology and difference: The every-day embodied conditions of womens lives are being profoundly altered by the new technologies. This is as true for highly educated professional (first world) women in the sciences, medical, and computer industries, as it is for clerical and factory workers in the just-in-time telecommunications home-work industry, and for rural village women working in chips factories and assembly sweat-shops. It is vital for women to consciously analyse their own immediate situations and conditions in order to understand how they are being reshaped by the new global technologies. At the root of such consciousness-raising lie questions of agency and power which women need to address.

2. The conditions of production (labour) and reproduction--historically always already linked for women--are changing in ways that are having drastic consequences for the lives of all women. Bodies and body processes--particularly those of women and fetuses-- are being re-engineered. Cyberfeminists need to interrogate the new flesh-, reproductive-, and gene technologies, and assess their particular political, economic, social and emotional impact

on different groups of women globally. Women constitute the major share of the increasingly feminized world labour pool, and changing working conditions are profoundly affecting their social, economic, and reproductive lives, as well as their family and intimate relationships. Cyberfeminists need to analyse and draw attention to the changed conditions of the entwinement of women's productive and reproductive functions in the global marketplace.

3. Increasingly medical and military technologies are closely connected. As Claudia Reiche and others have pointed out, much cutting edge medical technology is being developed and tested by the military. Civilian applications of this technology are already having far reaching effects on women, as for example in ultrasound pregnancy technologies and in imaging techniques. In affluent countries, the new eugenics of ReproTech and the mapping of the Human Genome posit that there is a code of codes which must be reinforced and replicated. Those who do not accede to the hegemony of the code become a new Other, the flesh Luddites, the contaminated and contaminating mutants forever exiled from the eugenic paradise. In the U.S.A. many feminist attitudes toward women's health have been institutionalised mostly in order to compete for women patients. As a result, women have largely been silenced again and discouraged from taking an active role in their own health care. The manufacture and control of fertility/infertility and the medicalization of women's body processes are vital subjects for cyberfeminist scrutiny, critique, and activism. Meanwhile in poorer countries traditional healing practices are being eroded as pharmaceutical companies and wester medical technologies penetrate everywhere in search of new markets. Cyberfeminists can lead a reactivation of a feminist politics of healthcare.

Our radical feminist foremothers struggled for far more than the vote and equal rights for women. Indeed, the fight for women's suffrage, bitterly as it was resisted at the time, in a way served to obscure the real threat of feminist demands which were nothing short of the complete tearing down and rethinking of the central institutions of the State, the Church, and the Family. A radical new cyberfeminism must move beyond discussions of women's technophilic/technophobic relations with technology to interrogate the "State","Church" and "Family" of digital technology itself. It must move beyond the problematic goal of "equal access", futuristic body/machine utopias, and making technology available to disenfranchised women. Historically, waves of feminism have always accompanied technological change and expansion, and feminists have often contested these technological changes in various ways.

Cyberfeminists have opened the contested territory of the Internet not only for feminist communication, interrogation, play, and pleasure, but just as importantly for new feminist campaigns, education, critique,tactical interventions, activist coalitions and all manner of collaborations. A new cyberfeminism can draw on a strategic knowledge of feminist history,theory and practice, to thoroughly scrutinize the effects of technology on many aspects of women's lives and to fashion a politics of presence, tactical embodiment, and full engagement with the discourses of technology and power, keeping prominently in mind that all women (all people) are affected by technology in different ways depending on race, class, economic and social factors.

Currently there is much confusion and doubt about the effectiveness of various resistant strategies on the Internet. My hope is that we can use the face to face meetings of the Second Cyberfeminist International and the Next Five Minutes for radical and energetic discussions with many different women (and men) to inspire new strategies for an engaged and activist embodied cyberfeminist politics.

STREAMING MEDIA

INTRODUCTION STREAMING MEDIA

Josephine Bosma
and Nina Meilof

Streaming media have exploded since the last Next 5 Minutes. Three years ago the prediction was that the amount of livestreams which are available now would collapse the net. But it did not. Interestingly enough the net seems to adapt time and time again to new demands, no matter how much it is burdened by them. How this happens, nobody really knows. It is the subject of much speculation. Every now and then we receive rumours that organisations which are crucial players in the shaping and maintaining of the internet want to initialise taxes or fees for heavy traffic. Until now there is no clear indication of if, when and how this would happen. Furthermore, the internet and with it the streaming media, is opening itself up to larger parts of the world. Despite the fact that internet access is still a privilege, cheaper and better technology offers attractive solutions for example projects in third world countries. Think of the project we hope to present in our forum, in which the Panos Institute has helped the production of a website which is used to exchange in-depth radio programs from nine French speaking African countries. All programs are entirely available online, with background information.

The obscurity concerning the decision making and who ultimately has the real power on the internet leaves us with a large vacuum in which a lot is happening and has happened the last three years. Especially audio has manifested itself in all kinds of shapes, but we expect video, (or motion pictures, or television,) will catch up in the same numbers soon. WebTV developments are currently accelerating, and like net radio, WebTV is most often a part of a cluster of activities on the computer screen or within a project. The texts of Raul Marroquin, Drazen Pantic, Menno Grootveld and Derrick de Kerckhove all refer to this, next to their individual emphasis on aspects of organisation and legislation in the field of webcasting and traditional broadcasting media.

It is impossible to speak of radio and television on the internet separately from the same media outside of it, the 'traditional media'. Even though for instance a lot of alternative net.radio projects are about small circle communication and experiment, 'traditional media' have caught on to the idea of audience feedback, and are using the input of audiences to shape programs. Also larger alternative net.radio projects like Interface (pirateradio.co.uk) offer far more than pleasurable music: its website has involved its audience closely from the beginning, thus acting as a kind of meeting place.

What ultimately is most interesting about streaming media is not so much their features as such, but their content. This is what the streaming media forum will mostly try to focus on, and this is what Micz Flor, Tetsuo Kogawa and also Drazen Pantic write so passionately about. From different backgrounds and with perhaps different but nonetheless overlapping goals (political, artistic, social), the issue of tactical media is mostly one of content, or: what are we doing it all for?

In the N5M3 streaming media forum Freespeech TV will also present its work involving a large number of activities, including an online activist video archive. Drazen Pantic, former head of the internet department of B92 from Belgrade, started to put his energy into disclosing remote and politically suppressed communities (like B92 has done for the opposition in Serbia), using all media available, from radio to video to satellite and internet. His work involves a critical examination of the entire media-landscape. Veran Matic gives a view into the present actual situation of B92 and Serbian media politics. Tetsuo Kogawa and Micz Flor could both, regardless of their differences, be called art-activists, as they are occupied

with art embedded in a context of political and media niches. Focusing on the media as a tool, they refine and explore this tool from a background of social and art-criticism. Helen Thoringtons' text is the most art and software centred, and shows us a tiny fragment of the world of streaming media outside of RealMedia and MP3. Older or less used software like CUSeeme or VRML are used for interesting projects, that can serve as experimental examples, of which Adrift is one. Another beautiful example of streaming text is from Convex TV, who sent us a description of their first text only real-time broadcasts on the internet, simultaneous to their local ether broadcasts. In Nina Meilofs text we then can read some important points on what it actually might take to preserve the possibility for alternative streaming media content in the networks.

As Micz Flor wrote: Stop pushing or I'll stream... We hope the reasons for research and exchange in the field of alternative streaming media will somehow crystallise and reveal themselves, in between the lines maybe, like with Tetsuo Kogawa's text, which can be read in many different ways or edits. The ever-growing presence of broadcasting media which serve only one interest, which is making money (commercial radio and television), might ask for a statement from us. In the Netherlands the broadcasting company VPRO had to find a solution to the problem of 'horizontal programming' inside the public media, which left no room for alternative music programming. For the moment this solution is the internet. Do we simply use the escape route while it is still there or do we get involved in its preservation? There are many different answers. There are many different solutions, temporary and definite. Any which way, our immersion into the 'megamedium' (a combination of all media with computer networks, Robert Adrian) is nearly completed.

EVERYBODY WILL BE TV

Drazen Pantic

TRANSNATIONAL TV NETWORK VERSUS WEB PORTAL

Programming produced by any big transnational TV network (CNN, BBC, etc.) is, from the standpoint of an Internet user, similar to an AGGREGATOR SITE distributing video material. It may also function as a portal providing a variety of material of interest to the viewer. Similarities abound - sections of a transnational TV network correspond to parts of an aggregate site: a program schedule is analogous to a web site index, news programs function as general information about the portal's community, shows represent particular web pages or sections on the portal. Most importantly, both TV network and a Web portal try to fulfil the basic media mission: to define its own reality and broadcast it that reality to potential followers - TV viewers or Internet users.

That is what is similar, strikingly similar. What is dissimilar is the nature of the different media. Classical TV and radio are linear and give an observer just two choices: to participate passively in a broadcast as is, or switch it off. Internet is more flexible and offers more choices, at least in the basic premises of the media. It is also interactive allowing the viewer to actively participate.

TV and radio networks are also much more expensive in terms of distribution and production, and by there nature as one way media, closed systems. A single corporation abdicate production costs of world-wide video or radio coverage. This immediately implies that discourse, basic ideological standpoint and focus of coverage are fixed and at the discretion of the producer. Every transnational, national and local radio or TV station covers the drama in Kosovo. This certainly propels some more or less peaceful solution. On the other side, wars, genocide and turmoil in Africa (Rwanda for example) is almost not focused upon, allowing events to take their course far from the eye or interest of the public. The New York Times

Africa correspondent covers six or seven countries with populations as big as Europe, and half of dozen active wars in progress. The obvious question is whether better coverage or persistent Web casts could stop or minimise human casualties there. Can a camcorder attached to a satellite phone indirectly save thousands of lives?

The article "A Vision of Electronic Gear in a Journalist's Future" that appeared in the Business section of NY Times on 18th of February reflect the enormous interest and hopes journalism has in this new technology. The school of Journalism of Columbia University is experimenting with satellite technology, Internet and light equipment for field journalists. Similar experiments are being performed by B92 reporting from Kosovo. Satellite phones are still out of reach, but small light DVD cameras and Internet transmission of the material to the web is a significant advantage and available now. The results of such reportage are available at http://rex.opennet.org/cyberex/kosovo/klecka.htm. The plan is to use this practice as much as possible, in Kosovo and world-wide.

ELECTRONIC MEDIA STREAMING ON THE NET

Internet has embedded classical media through a digital multimedia gateway. Internet users are exposed by to huge offerings of so-called multimedia products. The general intention is integration of classical media into the Net framework. One can listen to the radio or watch television or read newspapers sitting in front of the computer screen. The Net's similarities with its classical counterparts are limited in scale due to the nature of classical media and bandwidth limitations of the Internet network. Clicking on a Web page icon can expose one to audio and video STREAMING. from a quality standpoint audio streaming is parallel or better to current "on air" traditional transmissions. This opens the possibility for tactical use of Internet as a carrier of radio signals. Radio broadcast and experimentation with audio is in full bloom on the Net. Things have developed so far in fact that the free exchange of audio material had begun to jeopardised the CD industry. The relaxed copyright practice so usual to the Net will force the CD industry to rethink its own basics. This is not unlike what text on the internet did to the information services when information became easily available free of charge. Is full video that far behind on the Net?

Classical electronic media is still much more influential then Internet due to the lesser financial and intellectual involvement required of an end user, and the limited proliferation of the Net thus far. While one hundred million people have access to it and the growth rate is exponential, this statistic still represents a small fraction of the world's population. On the production side, all around the world radio and TV frequencies are subjected to some procedure of licensing. In less undemocratic countries, the procedure is easier; in totalitarian regimes it is an impossible nightmare. And that is another striking parallel; The difficulties for a media organisation to get a broadcasting license and opportunity of an individual to get access to Internet are in direct correlation in any society.

The technology offers endless possibilities; at least it looks like that to an optimistically inclined observer. One does not have to go through a legislative procedure to start a radio station. Just a computer on the Net and a will to broadcast is enough. TV on the Net is still out of actual reach, unless we call TV any stream of moving pictures accompanied by sound whatever the quality or resolution. The key elements for activists using the Internet is the ability to immediately disseminate information world-wide. And when streamed multimedia content is disseminated over the Internet, the message is even more powerful. The very moment the government jammed the signal of Radio B92 in 1996, the international community was alerted and radio newscasts put on the Net. The Radio came back on the air soon. But the full potential of the new technology was demonstrated when it was combined with classical media and networking of radio stations within the ANEM network. ANEM's example and its experience is well known to many organisations, NGOs and governments throughout the world. Their daily presence on the Internet and their sharing of strategies with other organisations through the Internet has made B92 and ANEM (Association of Independent Electronic Media in Serbia) a recognised source of expertise in the field of new media. There are similar examples of success with other new media. Thus the Internet has become a repository for strategies in new and classical media practice. One of the most recent results is expansion of web radio coverage on the Kosovo crisis. There are three radio stations operating exclusively on the Internet. The daily newspaper Koha sends its news as radio clips via Internet to London. From there the program is converted into a classical radio broadcast for retransmission via satellite.

FROM TV FOR EVERYBODY TO EVERYBODY IS TV

Technology is almost ready to offer relatively cheap and portable equipment that will enable people to send video reportage in sufficient quality from any spot in the world to the Net as well as to classical TV. Big computer manufactures like IBM, Apple and similar vendors are competing with each other as they announce ever more powerful and sophisticated laptops capable of coping with editing and compressing digital video. Satellite companies make data terminals faster and more portable every day. So soon, at least in theory, every Internet user will be move about with highly portable equipment, sending video to the Net. At that moment web portals could actually replace transnational TV networks. Structural repression embedded into legislative procedures for frequency licenses for TV broadcasting could become a thing of the forgotten past. Unless of course the TV industry stands against, and stops the development. What TV, what industry?

MINIMA MEMORANDA

Tetsuo Kogawa

Walter Benjamin's idea of "philosophical salvage of scraps" gives us a basis to strategically utilize the prevailing technology toward a different way to deconstruct the power system that the technology supports.

Today's electronic devices consist of modules that soon become inexpensive junks. Given the hybrid potentiality, even such junks can be redeemed as totally new modules that could be brought into different contexts and functions. This really happened in the Mini-FM micro transmitter.

Mini-FM starting as a Japanese counterpart of the Italian and French free radio in the late 70s was also an analogue counterpart of the fashionable 'new media' in the 80s in Japan, which were unable to bring its digital ability into full play yet.

The free radio was free from the exiting state-controlled or mass-oriented radios in the 70s. However, they started absorbing the element of free radio into themselves. In the 90s, the Internet has ended the authentic function of the free radio.

Advertising techniques such as "market segmentation" had preceded the method of narrowcasting and multi-channels.

When Mini-FM found that nobody listened to it, Mini-FM learned its really radical potential of "micro revolution".

Radio is also an invisible architecture of airwaves and creates a 'public' art in the post-public age.

The paradox of technology is that it erases *bodiness* and at the same time revives it. This difference refers to the difference between "hi-tech" and "low-tech".

The meaning of 'low' of 'low-tech' must be inexpensive. It shouldn't have nothing to do with inferiority of the technology.

Inexpensiveness will ultimately refer to non-profit system-- a post capitalist society where profit as "excess of returns over outlay" alternates itself to an "eternal circulation" of information. The Informational Capitalism today is the beginning of such a stage and the end form of Capitalism.

Hi-tech is not "high-touch" but wants to exist without human body.

Bodiness does not consist of organs but exits "without organs". It is invisible just as air and airwaves while body and organ are visible.

The re-interpreted body from the perspective of the invisible *bodiness* should be heard rather than seen.

To hear this *bodiness* needs not voice. *Bodiness's* 'voice' is silence. Gesture and 'gestus' are more intimate with the *bodiness* rather than voice. Voice is mere a representation of the *bodiness*.

Each bodies can communicate in the resonance. Resonance does not exchange information but synchronizes between bodies.

The resonance media will not exchange anything. It will create a new emotion, that is change the prevailing emotional space.

Every person has his/her feeling. Emotion is a resonance of various feelings. But too many feelings cannot create themselves into a good resonance. Be careful of a 'powerful' resonance because it should be fabricated by integrating variety of feelings of numerous persons into a monotonous feeling, 'resentiment'.

Mass media is a device to fabricate 'resenmtiment'.

The resonance cannot take place in too large radius of feelings. If communicative community does matter, the resonance must decide the size of community.

As "global" media have developed, local media have had to become more local.

In the age of satellite and internet, every local medium has to be potentially global. That is why it is called *translocal*.

"Sender"-"medium"-"receiver", the popular model of communication has become obsolete as late as the Internet has started. The medium is not a "tube". As Humberto R. Maturana and Francisco J. Varela wrote, there is no "transmitted information" in communication. Communication is a "structural coupling".

Sender and receiver can be separated only in a theoretical abstraction and a forced operation in the power system. Sender and receiver should get together. The separation between transmitter and receiver is mere a political operation. Technologically, there is no separation in them.

"Message' is also problematic. Media don't transport message but do refer here to there.

Airwaves relate to casting and resonating. As a casting medium, airwaves spread information upon the audience. As a resonating medium, however, airwaves create various enclaves of emotions in the audience.

The Internet and cable media depend on lines. Lines relate to binding, weaving, and streaming. They can bind audience up into a tightly integrated "network", a marionette-like circuit. However, lines are not always tight but loose. Loose lines weave webs. In the weaving-weaved web, the signal does not cast itself but streams by itself. Casting is an one-way process while streaming is interactive: streaming in and back.

Collaboration between airwaves and lines will create *polymorphous space*, the space that consists of *poly* (many and diverse) + *morph* (form and shape). Given that the concrete model of polymorphous space is our body, electronic media can only re-find and rethink the authentic character of our body.

STOP STREAMING AND LISTEN: FIGHT POST-GOVERNMENTAL-CONTENT-CONTROL STREAMING MEDIA BREAKS UK LAW - FIND OUT WHY NOBODY WANTS TO CARE...

Micz Flor

Streaming media deliver video or audio content over the web. But streaming media are very different from the web. In the UK such formats force BT to breach the Broadcasting and Telecommunications Act. To the grass-roots activist web-critics, this might be the right (and most likely only) time to pull the plug and prune the web. Alternatively we could happily stream on and witness how independent media production will be pushed to the periphery of the new order. Here is one of many scenarios...

THIS TOOL IS NOT A REBEL TOOL! OR: WHAT IS TODAY'S WEB POTENTIAL?

We are still crouching in the eye of the storm. The first momentum of web history has passed, crashing through the myth-making machines of popular cultural theory. Today, some members of the old-time hacker scene are pulling out of the internet - dismissing its currency as a tool for radical change since the increasing commercialisation has allegedly blunted the tool. Those one-track net activists have moved their battle grounds, yet their natural opponent - the state - only perceives a possible danger in the not-so-far-away-future, not today... and certainly not in the mythological mid 1990s... This is the eye of the storm. It is quiet.

Naturally, this is the time where everyone is tweaking strategies and tools. The government is struggling with issues of content regulation, legislation and copyright issues; software developers achieve *real* good qualities of compression; the independent media scene establishes waterproof networks of information exchange (for free); big corps beef up their websites, ready to go, but not quite going yet. Everyone talks about merging: platforms, corporations, software, equipment, distribution, strategies, power, media. On-line initiatives are overvalued on the stock market. Nevertheless, all search engines have been sold... When we re-enter the tornado (turnover, spin, carousel, this time it will be real!) one tool will be at the centre of the new, flash web-reality: streaming media. What is the first case of the worst-case scenario? Correct me if I am wrong, please!

PUSH PUSSYCAT: KILL, KILL! - OR: HOW STREAMING MEDIA BREAKS UK LAW

After the revolution hype calmed down, an increasing number of sceptics appeared on the horizon, holding many convincing arguments about surveillance, neo-liberalism and consumer society up their sleeves. However, none so far has actually pondered the possibility of diverting or even stopping the internet avalanche. It seems like a ridiculous thought, but let's just stick to it for a few of paragraphs...

Shall we stop it now? Want to pull the plug on the web? To those who had enough and have long been looking for ways to shut the whole *thing* down: thank the inevitable invention of streaming media (audio and video) and go to your nearest court today! Better do it today, because the thing about outdated telecommunications legislation is that they are in urgent need of change. Next year it might be over (it most probably is!). So it's now or never...

Here is a little hint for UK residents: the Telecommunications Act 1984 and the Broadcasting Act 1990 prevent public telecommunications operators from conveying or providing entertainment services nationally to homes. In other words: BT is theoretically in breach of the 'broadcast ban' when more than one viewer watches the same broadcast over the Internet. A website providing scheduled programmes or simply streaming their radio or TV channel online creates a situation in which this is the case, almost by default. An awkward wormhole in the telecommunications and broadcasting legislation, deriving from parameters which were not predictable at the time.

This is commonly known. This is the law. These are regulations put in place by the government to keep BT on a leash: committed to nation-wide connection, but distant from private cable TV providers. If it had not been for streaming media, the government never had manoeuvred itself into this catch 22. What's next? (contd.) To those publicly minded readers who have a tendency for paranoia (as I do, see below) and some extra time at hand: why not team up with your favourite ambitious local media and take on the biggies? Chew more than you can bite off.

I KNOW WHAT YOU DID LAST SUMMER: STREAM! - OR: WHAT HAPPENED?

"One of my students" wrote to me: "the internet will be like radio". Hm... And continues: "over in the corner on a shelf". Certainly scoring some points. Yes, radios sit on shelves. Yes, TV licensing fees pay for BBC websites. And yes, the internet will be something different. However, it seems unlikely the internet will sit quietly on the shelf in the corner.

Radio keeps pushing out content, blurbing away in the corner. As you listen to radio, it disappears in real-time. It's gone, with no place to retrieve the passing packages of information from. The best you can do is keep listening, or even better: go out and buy a paper. Or go online and search for text or hope to find a sound archive which will replay on demand. With the development of streaming media formats (the most commonly used format - real media - allowing audio and video transmission), a number of independent media initiatives went online, working on experimental audio networks which might best be described as mixed media formats of live and archive in text, image and sound. As often with web developments, the new tool with comparably poor quality initially attracted a number of small media practitioners and activists, leaving the big media corporations behind.

To those small initiatives, the archive became crucial. Web-broadcasting turned out to be most successful when having somebody to talk to, whereas the archives became more frequently visited by content enthusiasts and those who missed the event. Additionally, the limited number of simultaneous listeners technically able to connect to real-servers also provides a glass ceiling above the audience.

More and more big media corporations moved into the web, lacking the innovative spirit, they simply blasted their material through the phone lines and with the necessary money behind them, provided a potent number of simultaneous connection points. Online media archive became a work intensive luxury of the media peripheries.

To some there seems little difference between broadcasts and archives on the receiving end of the user. But this is certainly wrong. Firstly, if it wasn't for scheduled web broadcasts, the BT and the UK government would not be in the legislative telecommunications Bermuda triangle. Secondly, pushing out content requires massive access for the content provider with many simultaneous connections to reach a big audience. In contrast, an archive where users pull their media on demand can work on a less bombastic scale and still reach many people.

I STREAM, YOU STREAM, WE ALL STREAM FOR ICE CREAM - OR: WHAT DO WE GET IN RETURN?

Using streaming media for projects was the thing to do. And so we did. Projects and links of various degrees of experimentation were established. For nothing. Then through arts funding and eventually the skills required to do that *streaming thing* were valuable skills to the media industries.

Having the necessary financial backing to invest in many (not to) many connection points, big media corps overcame the technical restrictions by throwing money at the problem of simultaneous connectivity. The same restrictive problem (on the other end of the spectrum) initialised some of the most interesting, decentralised network strategies in the so-called underground (for example linking up a number of small real servers and by doing so multiplying the number of access channels, or creating streaming loops between various servers which would allow a series of entry points into a decentralised audio space).

With an increase in streaming activities of the central mainstream channels, mass media might soon be a streaming centre in the web. Synchronised broadcasting phenomena - as typified by international TV events like the world cup - have already entered the internet. The judge's announcement in the Louise Woodward trial was firstly published online and gave the service providers a real shock through the creation of a precedent - millions of users simultaneously knocking on their door and instantly requiring their package of HTTP information. This is not dissimilar to the effect when the boiling of kettles at

half time of a televised world cup match forces atomic power plants to buffer the dramatic surge in electricity demand.

5. KILL JINGLE FM WITH LOGO TV OR: HOW MUCH IS THE SCREEN?

In comparison to the ordinary pull media website, streaming media products are expensive (especially when broadcasted). The costs of servers and bandwidth are still considerable financial restrictions. But more importantly, with an increase in the quality provided by the available formats, the aesthetics of streaming media will change - which in turn will up the costs of production.

So far streaming media have mainly been utilised by audio based initiatives. Few web TV projects established themselves. This is undergoing an expected change. More and more video initiatives enter the agenda, and subsequently more and more TV-like programmes become part of the aesthetic form of the web. This was the case for inline graphics first provided by browsers such as Mosaic and Mozilla. The same will soon be the case with video on demand services and live streams. Making TV is more expensive than making radio is more expensive than making ordinary websites is more expensive than making text (FTP, Gopher, ...). The increase in production costs for state-of-the-consumer-art websites modelled on broadcasting TV will possibly not directly effect the tactical media fringe (and on the way even allow a lot of clever media hacks). But as it will change the surface of the web, the distance between expensively produced websites and the *rest* will come closer to the distance between glossy magazines and photocopied fanzines.

The aesthetic standard of streaming video combined with the primed behaviour of well-trained TV users and the existing structures of big media corps seem to point towards a new structure of the web. With online TV (or whatever it will be called eventually) we will see a new centre on the web, a mighty tech-park with big bandwidth and glossy content. This centre will be inhabited by very few corporations, precisely those who already own most of the media space. More merging on a screen near you.

OVERCOMING NOTIONS OF DEALING WITH ISSUES - OR: POST-GOVERNMENTAL-CONTENT-CONTROL: CONTROL BEYOND THE LAW

Given the transnational reality of the web, content regulation on a national basis presents a legislative deadlock for governments. Content can be moved anywhere and still remain accessible from locations where it is *illegal*. Alternatively to legislation and law enforcement, the UK government might have different strategies, and therefore a good reason to accept the spreading of the internet instead of crashing down on BT and other network providers which are in breach of the Telecommunications Act 1984 and the Broadcasting Act 1990 (see above).

In the worst case scenario, three to five media mergers will provide almost all of the content available online. In this case, the government would not need to bother about legislative content regulations, instead it could spend more energy on lobbying with the biggies in order to avoid controversial material from entering the digital realms of the web. Content regulation will be decided upon over dinner, this way the public will overcome notions of dealing with issues.

The feeble attitude of UK government against its own laws might indicate the first case of the worst case scenario. This has nothing to do with the emerging structures and bottom-up decision making of online users. This is the inevitable possibility of a real history.

THE LAW OF WEB TV

Derrick de Kerckhove

Internet policy is hard to enforce, but there is no harm in thinking it through. On the other hand, whatever order there is in the Net is generally the result of focused self-organisation: namely that the elements that constitute the medium, technology, market, infrastructure, policy and consumers, fall into place rather quickly and often better than expected. The focus comes from recognising and applying best practice rather than on imposing "law and order".

That being said, there may be a kind of "natural law of TV" which is rewritten by the predictable development of "Web-TV":
1. TV is a collective form of consciousness, one of the best the world has ever known;
2. TV is not meant to be interactive (however, it can handle interactivity, albeit rather clumsily);
3. " Everybody a broadcaster" has become a truism. Posting anything on line combines the merits of broadcasting with the targeted pertinence of a private conversation;
4. TV creates its own large-scale communities not by encouraging interpersonal dialogues but by providing common references and common values (even speciality channels suggest a trend to refining and specifying common values for "critical communities");
5. TV is necessary to local as well as global cohesion so the medium needs protection.

WebTV (or whatever name the genre will eventually go by) bears much more evidence of TV's maturation as a medium than either HDTV or digital TV. Indeed, digitisation affects all media to homogenise their substance and allow convergence. TV is no exception. Digitisation swallows all contents and supports today, the way literacy and the press did before. High Definition is not TV's, but cinema's destiny. HD is slow in coming to TV precisely because definition is not the quality people require of TV first. Like the Internet, what TV wants and gets is ubiquity. WebTV has the merit of combining the advantages of both dominant media of our time: the connectivity of the Internet and the collectivity of television. Both are also screen-based media which displace the locus of information-processing from the head to the screen. The mind is emigrating from the privacy of the head to engage into new forms of association and behaviours. Beyond the technological paradigm shift lies a fundamental psychological restructuring, as has always been the case when a major new medium reached a critical mass of human processors. As we move on-line en masse and individually, as we rely more and more on organised networked data for instant quality information and knowledge, as we connect more and more with like-minded people in just-in-time associations, we are going soon to recognise that we all belong to one or many more network supported "mental" communities. This is much more than the "virtual" ones we have been told to expect because mind communities are based on human relationships rather than on technology. So we will use WebTV to carve our own networks in the collective offerings of larger psychological communities of mind.

SO WHAT KIND OF POLICY CAN WE CONSIDER FOR THAT NEW PSYCHOLOGICAL REALITY ?
1. There should be no restriction about webcasting other than those which are covered by the local laws of decency and good neighbourly conduct (on the Net, the whole world is your neighbour) in any civilised country.
2. Likewise, the local legal provisions preventing the criminal spreading of false rumours or warmongering should suffice to allow for a measure of control of wilfully untrue declarations or pronouncements on-line.

3.   The word "broadcasting" should be replaced by "posting" when people refer to "publishing" (another wrong concept) for on-line distribution. This linguistically sanitary measure would automatically render inoperative most legislation covering radio and TV when applied to the Internet.

4.   If national and local government are to survive the radical fragmentation of all human associations down to the in-dividual body-unit and the irrepressible transborder data flow of all communication, they would be well advised to protect its public media, e.g. public radio and public TV. The development and protection of new public venues on and off-line, within and without linguistic boundaries will replace the army and military investment as defence mechanisms for large bodies of human associations.

5.   The very notion of boundary should give way to networks. Political organisations and policy will reflect networked associations based on local and global interests with direct participation rather than representation; Internet poli-cy should attempt to support that.

6.   The conditions of successful human interactions in a WebTV environment are:
   -   open access (i.e., affordable and reliable)
   -   early adoption (i.e, educable)
   -   fluid navigation (ubiquitously available)
   -   targeted connectivity
   -   security

The paradox of the Internet is that while it is addressed to the individual user wherever he or she is, what it provides has no boundary, and thus is global. So whatever legislation is being considered has to be inclusive and global. The main is-sues hence are to identify what is "public" as opposed to private domain in global terms (in that respect the question of "domain name" debated in the DNS.com discussion group is of the highest relevance if not always of the highest congru-ence). Just as western society at large eventually developed a charter of human rights a little over 50 years ago, we should now consider what would be the items and contents of an international charter of information rights. And world govern-ments should agree on providing a global or many global public consulting venues and also offering global public services to that effect.

Another global concern affecting the immediate and the future state of connected communications is the issue of software patents and copyright. As the system becomes a seamless unified environment, world agreements must be considered to balance the individual rights to intellectual property with fair use and distribution. In software as in medical, pharmaceu-tical and engineering innovation and practice, local patenting practices often put a stranglehold on individual talent. Another issue, more controversial perhaps, goes under the general notion of the "bit-tax". The bit-tax is much resisted in the US generally, but supported in Canada and the Netherlands by many, and particularly by Dutch economist Luc Soete from the university of Maastricht. Soete suggested in the recent economic Forum in Davos where the emphasis was on big business becoming "responsible" that as the bulk of the earning power of the economy moves from hardware to software and from off to on-line, the bulk of public revenue should also take its source there. At the very least, it was suggested that a modest bit-tax be levied for the support of infrastructural and economically viable access to networked communications in underprivileged countries.

One marketing temptation that might affect Web TV adversely would be for big media concerns to put a proprietary stamp or conditional relationships of use on portals and access within specific channels. Legislation should ensure that "vertical integration" is not allowed to any single TV and Internet access provider. In other words, I would not want to be in a situ-ation where because I am tuned to one TV channel, this limits my navigation abilities to a preselected sequence or num-ber of sites Local governments should do everything they can to avoid granting exclusive rights of occupancy to a handful of access providers the way they have tended to legislate cable and TV channels. The Chinese model of controlling web access by licensing agreements is a dangerous precedent in that direction.

Nor do I feel more confident about the American way that seems to say: "Let the market forces do the self-regulation". That's ok for you when you control the whole show, as the US communication empire does, but it leaves all the others in

the lurch. Today, practically all Internet communication transits via the US (including messages sent from Ottawa to Montreal or Vancouver, for example). That is not a comforting thought, even less so for Europeans.

In the end, we may continue to trust that the focused self-organising principles that have governed Internet evolution so far will prevail for the better, but focus here is the operative word. The Internet works and has successfully resisted vortical biases in its information control flows but mainly because people with brains and hearts have kept paying attention. The N5M invites just that kind of attention.

A FOOTNOTE ON THE NEXT FIVE MINUTES:

The time span indicated by the ironic title N5M is put in perspective by the project announced at the Doors of Perception Conference on Speed in November 1997 and now in process of realisation by Danny Hillis, a century clock which beats a second a year. I was reminded of this important art and technology concept by a curious fact of astronomy which is given evidence by the accuracy of the records kept by Babylonians of full solar eclipses. The computer-assisted calculations of waves of eclipse frequency over the last millennia first show that the ancient records were accurate down to less than a degree in space and than a second in time, but even more than that, it is the very precision of such records that allow scientists today to estimate that there has been an imperceptible but verifiable slow-down of the Earth's rotation speed. Such a huge throwback in relevant data charted by people even if they may not have had our problems in mind heralds a formidable change of scale in time which is commensurate with the change of scale satellites and instant networked access is now bringing to space. The idea of the N5M suddenly feels like eternity..

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MEDIA IN NATIONAL CONFLICTS HOW TO GUARANTEE THE FUTURE ROLE OF INDEPENDENT MEDIA

Veran Matic

The rapid development of telecommunications and media technologies has changed the very nature of the media. In both space and time they are becoming an integral part of events taking place. Live coverage itself has been transformed into a new event. Examples of this are the landing of US marines in Somalia and Haiti and the assault on the Beli dom and the Ostankino television station in Moscow.

Politicians have a powerful and crucial influence on the media in non-democratic regimes and unconsolidated democracies. In democratic societies politicians endeavour to influence the media as much as possible by spin-doctoring. On the other hand the media themselves are able to exert an increasingly decisive influence on the behaviour and decisions of politicians. My argument is that the media have no power of their own, but that their influence stems from modern methods of implementing specific policies: above all through the media, to a lesser extent in the parliament and in other arenas for political activities.

Commercialisation suppresses the diversity of programming, as well as programs related to minorities, alternative culture, and subcultures. The pursuit of higher audience ratings is reflected in news and current affairs reporting. News presentation, that selection of excerpts from reality presented by media to their audience is now characterised by the trivial, the bizarre and the scandalous. As a consequence of this hard news now occupies less space in the media. There is less willingness to cover the expenses of public service broadcasters which are now being forced into commercialisation. In the process, the public has the most to lose - it loses its sources of information.

THE INTERNAL CONTEXT OF PSEUDO-DEMOCRACY

Every single word has a life of its own in Yugoslavia:- responsibility is non-existent: there is an absolute monopoly of a single family;

- inequality of the media: state-run media and pro-government media have much greater technical and financial capacity; independent media are subject to a repressive law and unequal treatment in the exercise of their basic rights;
- national conflicts have been a regular occurrence for most of the past decade, the authorities simply resolving one national conflict by generating another;
- guarantees of any sort are virtually impossible as there is no legality and everything is reduced to autocracy and the willfulness of the narrow circle of people in power;
- the independent media have no choice but to cling to survival without the possibility of developing and establishing serious and strong alternatives to the state-controlled media'
- democracy and democratisation: these terms have been completely discredited by constant media manipulation and the false promotion of anti-democratic values as democratic.
- the regime uses the media as an army whose task is to thoroughly prepare the ground and then instigate and brutalise national conflicts;
- the isolation brought about by sanctions doubles their effect on the independent media: the flow of information decreases.

COMMON ELEMENTS OF THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CONTEXT

Because of the limitations imposed by commercialisation (Infotainment), worldwide information networks report superficially by creating stereotypes without seeking insights into conflict.

I believe that the public has no autonomy; public opinion on conflicts in remote countries is shaped largely according to the suggestions of political and other elites. Such opinion in turn influences politicians and governments to behave similarly, thus exacerbating the conflict or contributing to the emergence of new conflicts for which the most powerful partner is responsible, regardless of whether he is a tyrant or a criminal or takes a pro-democracy stance.

Commercialisation is a function of the regime's self-promotion and anti-cultural trends towards light entertainment and kitsch. Through a monopoly these impose themselves as the dominant cultural and social form.

Foreign commercial programs are most easily available to state-run media, as the state has substantial financial resources at its disposal. Consequently these programs are available to those who use the context of these shows to promote vilification, violence and intolerance.

Telecommunications are also firmly controlled by the repressive authorities. International telecommunications corporations cooperate with the regime through joint ventures. This represents direct assistance to the undemocratic regime (as seen in the purchase of 49 per cent of the state telecommunications company by Greek and Italian corporations immediately before the election, when the regime most needed money). This leads to restrictions in licensing resources to independent media, NGOs and so on.

The distribution of frequency licenses is basically politically manipulated, which is tolerated despite international standards and regulations dealing with this issue. Access to satellite distribution is also limited.

The Internet is frequently censored and the infrastructure which would allow a more serious commercial approach to the offering of Internet services is inaccessible.

CONSEQUENCES OF THESE PROCESSES:

The core program content of state-run and pro-government media is the promotion and endorsement of the interests of the oligarchy. This, of course, has nothing to do with the communal role of public media.

In contrast to the public state-run media, the independent professional media design their program content by taking the public interest into account.

THE EXAMPLE OF RADIO B92

B92 will celebrate its tenth anniversary this year - as will the authoritarian regime of Slobodan Milosevic. The basic concept of B92 was formulated through an analysis of past experience and in consideration of the needs of a society which is yet to enter the process of democratisation. Thus B92's programming is based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: simultaneously various freedoms and rights were exercised and there has been a constant struggle to ensure that these principles are observed and honoured. Because of this a number of similar projects have been initiated both in the media sphere and in the non-governmental sector. Avoiding the creation of its own monopolistic position, B92 has encouraged the development of local media and established a radio and television network presently consisting of 33 radio and 17 television stations. The use of modern technologies, primarily the Internet, has enabled us to bypass government censorship and bans (as in the case of B92 in 1996). Under the circumstances B92 was unable to function properly by operating only as a broadcaster. Thus various departments have been developed, radio programming, video production, music production and a cultural centre. B92 also established the first ISP (Internet Service Provider) in Yugoslavia, preventing a state monopoly and providing Internet access for the independent media and NGOs. Thus it is necessary to produce authentic programming and then to establish the infrastructure through the media highway (see the tables attached). In order to ensure the success of this concept, it is necessary to implement the following projects.

- The establishment of the media network within the country through professional and technical cooperation, solidarity and self-defence activity (the struggle for general principles).
- The creation of a coalition of donors to systematically draw up independent media development projects and plans for the long term, and to monitor and support their development.
- The creation of coalitions of international NGOs engaged in protecting the freedom of expression. (B92 has established an international committee - Free 2000 - which is active in international defence campaigns, exerting pressure on governments and international organisations.)
- The establishment of a coalition of international organisations (the conference held in December 1998 under the auspices of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe and was decided to remain in continuous session).

MEDIA AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The media do not generate political, national or other conflicts: they are able to intensify them or to attempt to contribute to their resolution, but journalists themselves have no decisive impact on either the deterioration or amelioration of such situations. Radio B92, in addition to its professional practice, is also engaged in working on the theoretical foundations of this issue. In collaboration with the European Institute for the Media, B92 has published a study, Writing Death - The Media in Times of Conflict (Pisanje smrti - mediji u vremenima sukoba) by Dusan Reljic.

The first lesson in an international media intervention in the conflict-plagued regions says: support must be provided from the beginning and in continuance. Dangerous tendencies like the "hate speech" and the authorities' interference in the activities of the independent print media must be taken as ominous signs of impending conflict" . There are no simple formulae which could be applied to determine the potential of the media to actively engage in conflict resolution and the democratisation process. This must consist of a combination of activities:

- the above support should be provided from the very beginning, and continuously (not intermittently and too late - the European Union needed almost two years to act, which sometimes render the assistance itself counter-productive);
- support for the independent media cannot properly be implemented without broader assistance to civil sector development and to democratic institutions. (So that, for instance, the European Union cannot conduct a program of supporting independent media while at the same time excluding Yugoslavia from the PHARE program for the development of democracy);
- freedom of information must be a constituent part of every foreign affairs activity and cannot be relegated to the position of a minor issue
- continuous and intensive training and development courses for editors, managers, journalists and technicians are

of vital importance: professional training, conflict resolution programs, reporting on minorities, effective advertising activities...

- multiple education programs must be coordinated so that time and energy are no wasted through the redundant repetition of activities (ANEM has established strong coordination among various media initiatives in the field and preparations are under way to establish the European Media School with the assistance of the BBC, Deutsche Welle and Radio Hilversum).
- the development of local media guarantees the affirmation of distinctive regional features;
- support for new technologies - the Internet and satellite systems - is extremely important in the establishment of networks of local and regional activities; the Internet and satellite have removed boundaries and rendered censorship obsolete and ineffective, which is why they should be at the disposal of the independent media, enabling them to compete with state-controlled media and overcome government censorship.
- external media intervention through programs produced by VOA, BBC, RFE/RL, RFI and Deutsche Welle in various languages cannot be sufficiently effective as listeners always seek to detect the political interest of the country in which the broadcaster is based, however by collaborating in the development of the local media which would rebroadcast these programs it becomes possible to increase the flow of formation and to develop a local infrastructure.
- the technical capacities of these international broadcasters must be at the disposal of local media to assist them in resisting government censorship (as in the cooperation of B92 and VOA in 1996) or a network should be established (as in the collaboration of B92 and BBC which assisted in the establishment of a network of 33 radio stations in Yugoslavia).
- other technical capacities must be identified for use in the process of conflict resolution (ANEM is currently negotiating with EbS for the use of their satellite channels to broadcast programming intended for Kosovo where at present there are no independent electronic media) - thus a system of "humanitarian frequencies" for assistance in conflict resolution and the development of independent media could be managed by organisations such as the OSCE;
- apart from financial aid, the economic effectiveness of independent media structures must also be enhanced in undemocratic countries which are plagued by national conflicts - this may be achieved by granting loans (which is already being done by the Media Development Loan Fund in New York); thus the economic independence of media organisations could be gradually achieved, integrating these in a natural way into the international economic system and rules of conduct.
- it is necessary to constantly monitor the operations of the media at a thorough analysis of reporting may provide serious warnings of impending conflict, at the same time professional guidance should be provided for the successful development of local independent media;
- it is also necessary to implement projects for raising awareness among all political bodies of the importance of journalism in the political process of democratisation (often the opposition does not understand the concept of independent media, seeing them instead as opposition media);
- encouragement for interlinking and networking media initiatives with progressive initiatives by civil movements, the non-governmental sector, educational institutions, minority organisations and so on, thus advancing and affirming universal principles.

The combination of all these activities, adjusted to a situation burdened with conflicts, may also correspond to the suggestion of Jamie Metzl in Foreign Affairs for the creation of "information and intervention units" which would engage in monitoring the information available in war-plagued regions, broadcasting pacifist programs and, "in extreme cases", jamming other broadcasts in order to suppress the hate propaganda and conflict provocation. Some of these initiatives have already been examined and implemented during the first ten years of Radio B92 and the Association of Independent Electronic Media (ANEM) - which is now being held up as a possible model for other conflict-plagued regions.

Only those initiatives which have taken root and become an integral part of the social fabric of area in conflict stand a

chance of yielding satisfactory results: initiatives from outside would surely fail as they can never do more than mimic local cultural patterns, this mimicry is obvious to the local community and the information it carries is disregarded. The only thing the international community should do is to closely cooperate with those individuals and organisations which are implementing local political, cultural and media initiatives in order to help the civil structures in the society to win power.

HTML DEEJAYING
Y/OUR FAVOURITE LO-TEKST MYTH

http://www.art-bag.net/convextv

the editors of convex TV

william gibson had this nice definition of cyberspace being the space between telephone connections. ironically this space was unfolded to transport text-only messages from some remote server to your computer on the channels which were originally made for carrying the human voice.

in the beginning there was ascii. and writing e-mails meant to explore a strange new media tool; you just couldn't decide if it was the text based version of an answering machine or a product of the telephonization of the good old letter. in one sense the early ascii based internet (do you remember *lynx*?) already showed the dialectics of current audio-streaming technologies: there was information that waited for your request, texts stored on ftp-servers or web-pages, the classic pull media. but there also was the possibility to sort of push information through cyberspace: e-mail spams for example, or a mailinglist.

today many people, groups and companies use audio-information in this two-fold way. there are archives providing sounds, pieces of music or entire programmes on retrieval and demand. on the other hand there is an increasing amount of live streaming going on, some of the streams coming in occasionally, some are installed on a 24/24 h basis.

there is a historical gap between the two formats of text and sound, it seems. but there was a tiny moment in history, when the gap was bridged by a unique technique...

...when, in the beginning of 1997, convex tv. started its one-hour-per-month-on-air-programme in berlin. for the very first months the collective didn't have the tools, the knowledge and the connections to Radio Internationale Stadt to broadcast audio on the net. it was then that the collective thought about a genuine form of broadcasting on the internet parallel to its on air transmissions, to tear down the borders of formerly discrete media. the invention was simple: HTML deejaying.

while broadcasting on air (which wasn't quite broad actually, only covering the berlin area) the transcribed texts of the on air radio programmes were cut up in digestible chucks and pushed onto the server through an open ftp-connection, synchronized in real-time with the ongoing broadcast. the HTML deejay in duty permanently *reloaded* the page with new content when it was time to do so.

listeners who only had access to a radio receiver listened, listeners with an additional net-account listened and read, and listeners who couldn't listen, because they were in, say, budapest, had a strange read-only experience. the page would constantly *refresh* with permanently new information on it. maybe it was the first text transmission on the net that behaved like an audio-visual medium, maybe it was the last. as a simultaneous translation from spoken words into text, it was somehow dirty: of course the text version was never the latest version, the version of the actually spoken words. so they were gaps, errors, short moments of dissonance between the sound on the radio and the gifs and text on the web. to transform all this into a true form of deejaying, it had to be performed in *public*. so, you could visit convex tv. and see it be done live on a kitchen table! yeah, it was smart. HTML DEEJAYING. (then announced in the typical tech-speak as a *plug-in* and in general a good thing when anybody asked why convex tv. called itself tv. ...)

the atavistic remains of it can be found on the convex tv. homepage: in the archive you can access transcriptions additional to the audio files. by chance, convex tv.'s shift from HTML deejaying to using RealAudio coincided with WIREDs *push media manifesto*. the corresponding *pull media manifesto* (http://art-bag.net/convextv/pull.html) was published as a reaction in march '97:

- -

We interrupt this real time downloading for a special bulletin -PULL! Kiss your convex-plug in goodbye:

The radical future of radio beyond the Web.
By the editors of convex tv.

Remember the war between stereo and mono? Well, forget it, the frequency itself is about to croak. And good riddance. In its place broader and deeper new interfaces for tactical media are being born. Left Channel and Right Channel, propelled by hot young Mitte start-ups. Levelling and Balance, spawned in the engineering labs of the broadcast kings. And from the content companies, prototypes powered by underlying new technologies - Real Audio and real Audio.

What they share are ways to move seamlessly between media you steer (passive) and media that steer you (interactive). They promote media that merrily slip across channels, guiding human attention as it skips from tuning device to phonetop speaker to a car stereo. These new interfaces work with existing media, such as voice, yet they also work on language. But most important, they work in the emerging universe of self-referential media that are spreading across the audiocosm.

As everything gets wireless, media of all kind are moving to the centralised matrix known as the Ether. While the traditional forms -internet, multimedia - show many signs of vanishing, the Ether is being invaded by even older media species. convex tv. is one. Yet with each additional transmitting station, each new antenna, the media the Ether can support become richer, more complex, more nuanced. The Ether has begun offering things you simply can't hear.

PULL HERE!
- -

if you now start to wonder how paradoxical this sounds, first re-read WIRED's manifesto (http://www.wired.com/wired /archive/5.03/ff_push.html) for comparison. the pull media manifesto also refers to convex tv.'s first experiment with stereo-broadcasting. in order to double precious on-air time, this stereo-show used the two stereo channels for transmitting two different programmes, thus importing the idea of *interactivity* into radiospace. in victimizing mono-freaks and annoying radio-users it happily abused the utopia of interactivity at the same time: listeners had to switch between channels, otherwise there was audio mayhem in the living room. the *pull here* command of the manifesto opened the first link to convex tv.'s new born audio archive, then starting with the april '97 show.
necronauts, pull here!

STREAMING TEXT
THE ADRIFT EXPERIENCE

Helen Thorington

The following is a description of my experience with streaming text. It took place in an artistic context that was designed to engage with and test the potential of the networked system and its narrative space. It made use of sound, images, text and movement in the hope of combining them in a way that is not possible in other mediums. The project was called Adrift. An evolving Internet performance event Adrift premiered at the Ars Electronica Festival in Linz, Austria in '97, and was performed thereafter on a monthly basis through April '98.

Adrift was developed by a core group of three artists -- myself, architect Marek Walczak, who created the vrml (virtual reality modelling language) or 3-D graphics; and composer and multi-instrumentalist Jesse Gilbert, an expert in RealAudio technology. Jesse worked with an ensemble of instrumentalists and with pre-recorded sound to create the sound score. We worked from different locations. Initially I was in Linz, Austria; Walczak in the East Village, NYC and Gilbert in the West Village. The idea at this early stage was that I, in my role as writer, would send texts to my collaborators in America. They would respond -- Walczak with vrml; Gilbert with sound -- and our individual contributions would come together and be made available for Internet users and local audiences. In Linz I had a small room, a projector, screen and audio system (and, as an unofficial performance project, a small audience). It worked.

That was September 1997, and Real Audio had yet to complete development of its streaming technologies for text and video. Adrift worked because our team included three excellent programmers -- Mark James, who worked with us through the Ars Electronica Festival and Jonathan Feinberg and Martin Wattenburg, who joined us thereafter.

My part, inputting text to the work, was accomplished with a java application developed by James, and later entirely reworked by Wattenberg. Initially it included text files that could be edited prior to the performance and a writing space where new texts could be written. Special tags allowed me to colour code words, which were used as signals to my colleagues: a red word indicated that I wanted a response from Walczak (vrml), yellow, a response from Gilbert (sound). They were of course free to disregard my requests.

Later, when Wattenberg redesigned my application, I was able to do a number of additional things: I could colour paragraphs and vary the colors within paragraphs. I could position texts: left, right, center. And I could determine the method of transition, whether the text would fade in, scroll in, or appear abruptly. I could prepare all this in advance of the performance or on the fly. With the redesign also came a place for audience input -- anyone with a computer could input text and send it to me for inclusion -- and a button that alerted Gilbert to the fact that I wanted to speak into his soundscore. As with the earlier application, there was a button to call up pre-existing texts, a place to write new texts, a preview button so that I could see what my texts looked like before sending them, and a send button that streamed them off to our Boston server, where they became available to Walczak and Gilbert.

My application was a little marvel.

Another little marvel -- a java applet on the Boston server -- merged Walczak's vrml (3- D) data with my text , making both available to users on a single browser page. When the performance began, the same applet, responding to a signal from

Gilbert, initiated the Real Audio..

But I'm getting ahead of myself.

Fiction -- story telling -- has been a lifelong interest. My own fiction -- stories for print and radio -- is generally comedic and progresses more by association, i.e., by associative links between texts, than by the more familiar linear progression. Adrift took a step beyond the association of texts. It dealt not just with unrelated subject matters but with unrelated and only partially developed stories. Its idea of story, in other words, included the idea of many stories, any one of which might be developed. Or not.

The texts I contributed centered around a harbor and its city. There was no sustained action, no central character, no plot. The performance watcher was, in a sense, set adrift in a medium whose text content was fragments or pieces of potential stories... each of which could be perceived differently by differently disposed observers. Or, given the demands placed on the other senses by the work as a whole, ignored altogether.

In "Street Dreams That the Eye Can Cherish" (NYT 1/8/99), Herbert Muschamp speaks of looking as an architectural act. "A city ," he writes, "is constructed daily by the glancing perception of its parts."

I intended something similar in Adrift. Situated as the texts were, in a sensory context where visuals and sound rivalled for attention, they were to be assembled like Mr. Muschamp's city, by the glancing perception of parts that caught or focused the attention of the viewer, however briefly.

There were associations, shared language and shared sentiments in the Adrift texts. And if focused on, they could give rise to meaning. To my meaning. In the initial performances, for instance, there were numerous head references: decapitated heads, heads suspended in liquid nitrogen, heads to be filled with memories and new systems.

At the same time movement was stalled. The ferry boat, which was at the center of the early versions, drifted, "making no headway against the soft white billows..." The story didn't get ahead. It didn't have a head -- It was without a hierarchy, without structure, without continuity.

Now and again a phrase or paragraph, properly placed, did suggest that the fragments were parts of a larger, more inclusive story . The phrase: "The circumstances are unexceptional", for instance, appeared in early versions of Adrift. When used at the end of the performance, it suggested some modest form of closure, a kind of summing up for all the fragments that preceded. A way of saying: There's nothing exceptional in what you've read. All of this happens all the time; i.e., it 's a part of the stream of potential stories here to be perceived (or not), and to be differently perceived by differently motivated observers.

When the same phrase, "The circumstances are unexceptional" was used elsewhere, it failed to carry the same weight and implied closure only to what preceded it..

Still the fragments were never entirely distinct. The associative links were there. And it was my hope that the reader would feel that they belonged together, although in what way was left to him/her to determine.

What happened?

The client or viewing page was a divided page, with Walczak's streaming vrml filling the upper part of the page while my streaming text appeared in the lower half. At that time, and I believe even now, streaming text into vrml is a complicated affair, and the technology not fully developed to accomplish it. It was and remained one of the many goals toward which we aspired.

Still there were things that we could do. When we reviewed our first performances I was struck with two things: first, that many of my texts were too long. It was almost impossible, given the transformation the whole work was constantly undergoing, to focus on and understand a long paragraph. Second, too often, the texts did not appear to integrate or even relate to Walczak's vrml.

It was the latter that initiated changes in my java application.

Henceforth my texts would relate by colour , placement and movement -- to Walczak's VRML. They would become parts of the setting/landscape as well as conveyors of content.

At the same time Walczak, prior to performance, placed some of my texts in his vrml creating yet another link between our disparate contributions, and defining yet another relationship between Adrift texts.

For instance, the partial text: "always ask why" appeared in Walczak's vrml in one of our later performances. Sometimes it appeared at the same time that my text "The day began with a question mark" appeared. At other times with another text such as "excuse me, excuse me" or "pictures enter my mind..." establishing each time a new relationship between texts and between our otherwise disparate contributions.

At the same time Gilbert revised his contribution, moving away from the partially scored instrumental work with which he began, toward an increasingly environmental and immersive work, one that would surround and help bind all of our work together. To this he added a scanner and the partial stories it tells in sound ... thus permeating a fictional account of a harbor and city with fragments of actual stories in progress.

The idea of story grew.

The programmers made it possible for me to talk into the sound. Wherever I was, I could tell stories or partial stories as well as write texts. They also made it possible for the audience to participate by writing their own texts, which were sent to me for colour coding, and placement before inclusion.

Later we took yet another step in the direction of interpenetration. We tested and began to stream video into the vrml space, thus introducing scenes from actual life into the fictional spaces created by the vrml.

Sadly, due to the considerable commitment of time and the absence of financial support for the project, Adrift was put on hold in April 1998.

Still it has something to say about the use of streaming text in an artistic context today.

While my conclusions may differ from those of others viewing the Adrift works, they are enclosed for your consideration:

FIRST:

It's as if the speed of the new medium requires a different talent from the writer working in an artistic and multi-media context like Adrift, namely that he/she be able to compress into a few words what a novelist would take pages to develop. Shorter sentences, shorter paragraphs work better.

I suspect that this is the exact opposite of what will happen as more and more people worldwide make use of streaming text. But it is what I learned to do. And it is what I think will make for the most successful use of text in the new narrative space. We compress our gifs so that they can appear quickly on the browser page; we compress shockwave files and sound files for faster delivery. Compression technologies are an understood must for successful participation in the medium. For the writer, they are techniques to be developed.

SECOND:

In the same context, texts become more interesting when they function as components of the visual environment and as well as carriers of messages. Colour, size, placement, movement enhance the expressiveness of text and make it more interesting to viewers. (Check the words we use to describe users. "Viewer", "audience", "user" are preferred. I seldom if ever see "reader".)

THIRD:

Process and speed seem to require some form of linear development for text to be "intelligible" to viewers. My experiment in the delivery of bits of many stories was modified over time by an increasingly felt need to provide some modest form of linear development for the benefit of Adrift audiences.

FOURTH:

I admit to a feeling that had we been able to continue, streaming text would have played a diminishing role in what I have called the exploration and development of a new narrative space. That it would soon have been replaced by the more immediate, more expressive and more easily apprehended use of speech and other forms of vocal utterance. And not just my own voice or vocal sound but that of multiple participants.

Yet inspite of all the above, I do believe that a new method of delivery such as streaming text, when opened to widespread use, will give rise to the unexpected and profoundly interesting. This inspite of a dread that it will also result in an end-less, nauseating flow of single and not well thought out points of view. Let's wait and see. For those who are interested, seven Adrift performances are archived on the Turbulence website (http://turbulence.org/adrift/index.html). To view them you need a PC and CosmoPlayer2. MAC users will have to settle for slides shows, of which there are seven on site.

STREAMING NETWORKS

Nina Meilof

We've had the camcorder revolution. It made making video programs cheaper. Audio equipment is affordable, so radio-making is possible for a large amount of people too. So for a long time already the masses are potential media producers. There were only minor successes in accessing the broadcast channels both legally and illegally. But the efficient one-to-many distribution system (radio and tv) are choked, regulated, hard to get access to. The Internet having the capacity for streaming media seems to promise new possibilities. Boundless access, for anyone making radio, and maybe in the near future TV. Some are pessimistic, and see these channels soon closed and regulated as well. What will this streaming media look like and who will be streaming?

So far audio on the net is booming. Many local radio stations literally transmit their radio programs through the internet, potentially reaching a worldwide audience. New radio stations are started, purely as web-based radio programs, working around the restrictions of radioaccess. These are instances of first use: translate radio literally onto the web. Just as the first motorised vehicles were modelled after the horse carriage. However, more web-suitable uses for streaming media do emerge. Using the web as a way to store resources is one of them. Audio fragments can be taken from the web, down-loaded and re-edited, by different radio-makers around the globe. Working together with editors from different countries, sharing resources is the network way of working. It opens up interesting perspectives, like being able to team up with like-minded spirits and organise alternatives for the big news networks like CNN. In order to get such alternative news services rolling, no hierarchical structures are needed, just good mailinglists, and a clear editorial databases as tools.

BE HYBRID
This way of working points to another important principle: As long as the net is not universally accessible, it will stay im-portant to keep a link between the web and real radio and tv stations, broadcasting locally. The radio and tv are simple de-vises to which much more people have access than to the web. Storing radio programs on the net in order for other radio stations to stream it onto the "old" radio channels is a very good use. Actually, the "old" media -radio and tv-, will always be more suitable, and certainly more economic, for mass communication, from one to many. Radio and tv programmes are sent once, and are received by many, while webstreaming must be carried to everyone personally.

FROM TELLING TO LISTENING
However the strong point of the web: interactivity, and networking, will lead to still other approaches of program-making.

Tv and radio are push media, where the producer has his/her story to tell, but the streaming media on the web allow for a very different dramaturgy. This seems the strong point of the net: networking, adding your brainpower to a fruitful environment, thereby becoming a powerful channel, just by combining intelligence. This is just what streaming media program-makers should specialise in: Not so much making finished programs as making contexts of information and entertainment where others are inspired to add their expertise and creativity. This concept can only really become normal practice after a great psychological revolution in the minds of program-makers. Some of their basic principles will be overthrown. You will have to accept that the programs you make are not under your control totally: others will influence the product your are making. Your program might never be finished, it can grow by people adding information.

TEAM-UP TACTICS

Some pessimists fear loss of freedom, by regulations and the closing of access to producers of tactical streaming media programs. Surely there are dangers if no effort on our part is taken. However, the dynamics of the net indicate there are changes for tactical media-channels to keep visible in a world of big corporations.

First of all the software to stream is of great importance. Some people expect the freedom of today to perish when big companies join their powers and form mega-channels, using the available bandwidth, and high quality standards, which will stay out of (financial) reach of smaller organisations. But until now the developments on software on the net has been an interesting cat-and-mouse game between the old model of having power through exclusive and expensive production tools, and the newer model of power within a network, sharing software in an open source-type environment. Somehow the brainpower of the (alternative) open source movement seems to overpower time and again the old power model. Tools for all should be an important theme the coming years, and it stands a change in an open source environment. Streaming video for lynux, MP3 and other encoding software will surely become more important.

Secondly; access to servers with good internet connection and bandwidth and room on servers to save media files is of crucial importance. In order to keep a "public space" where multimedia programs can be stored, there must be a fight for diskspace and connectivity.

It is important that cultural backbones, free-nets and digital public spaces maintain momentum, in order to keep room for public streaming media channels next to the few big strongholds on the net. Maybe the non-for-profit servers connected to the Internet, should team up to form a new PGO in order to secure public media channels on the Internet. These internet spaces will also encourage commercial servers to keep their webspace open for individual users to produce their own streaming media files at reasonable costs.

Last but not least: information exists if it is known and visible. There are worries that big media corporations might take over all the attention of the audience once they team up and get rolling. Even in this regard I'm optimistic, if independent media-makers find ways to team up on the web.

The mail to mail -hearing from others what are good website-, and hyperlinking are still strong ways to get your site known.

However the role of search engines to find information is very important. With most of the successful search engines sold to big corporations, biased searching will be a fact. It's of great importance to build a public search engine, owned by no one, giving priority to unique and high quality websites, both for websites and for streaming engines. It's no time to profess who will be streaming, nor yet clear what and how streaming media will change the media practice and products. The way we deal with the issues of importance to the future development will have an important impact on the future media-landscape.

IT IS NOT THE CHANGES THAT MIGHT TAKE PLACE, BUT THE CHANGES THAT ARE ALREADY OCCURRING AND HOW TO MAKE THE MOST OUT OF IT

Raul Marroquin and Daniela Salvemini

More than talking about changes that can be expected in the media landscape because of the developments and the influence of on-line streaming media, it is more consequent and important to consider (and act up on) the influence that these facilities already have in this particular area and the way in which information and communications as a whole have changed and will continue to change because on-line streaming media.

Like with many other areas where digital communication technology is involved, at first it is impossible to detect changes because situations are generally reviewed from the stand point of the sharply defined changes characteristic in "industrialist communications" and not as an organic transformation that is hardly noticeable but that is there changing rules and protocols permanently. In practical terms, on-line streaming data supplies more in depth information that can be permanently refreshed and a lot faster than with any other communication tool ever before; these are big assets for publishers and broadcasters alike and because of this on-line streaming data is pushing communications to change and to change fast because they also are developing a new different language that is becoming part of the standard vocabulary used to communicate in the world of converging media. It is, to a great deal, because of digital communications technology (and on-line streaming media) that it is hardly possible today to talk about "traditional broadcasting" any longer, this is simply because at present there are many sorts of "traditional broadcasting": National Broadcasting in the shape of "American Network (national) television:" ABC, CBS, NBC; Public and Private Commercial National Stations all over Europe and the rest of the world; Regional and Local Stations that have become part of main stream, traditional broadcasting and the Transnational Stations that telecast for the entire world: CNN (Cable News Network) Sky Channel, BBC World, National Geographic, Discovery, etc. As far as television is concerned, it is important to remember that the image on the screen has radically changed since the introduction of digital, automated, on-line data displays: Weather, Financial Information, Breaking News, etc. are other permanent sources that form part of the image on the screen. Live, full motion, television is only one of the many sources that form part of the package received by the viewer at home. An other common denominator in terms of digital on-line media is that broadcasting companies, as well as news papers and magazines can no longer exist without e-mail and web pages; these features have since long passed the point of been "audio visual aids" for public relations and marketing proposes and have become an integral part of the operation. Readers listeners and viewers alike visit and consult more and more such sites for cross references, background information, etc. The webcasting of real audio and real video is an integral part of radio and television programming and while networks "publish" information on the net, newspapers and magazines generate radio and television through the webcasting of real audio and real video. There is a merge between these two particular disciplines and Time Wagner is probably one of the best examples that can be used to illustrate the situation. It is not important whether real video is full motion or not because, in the first place, that is only a temporal, it won't be long before real video becomes full motion but what is more interesting is the challenge that real video presents to "communicators" by not been full motion; What some consider a limitation can be turned into an advantage, a distinctive trade mark of the medium.

Globalization is probably one of the most radical elements incorporated by on-line streaming media in publishing and broadcasting; it places those in charge in front a "no limit option" in geographical terms as well as in terms of time and

space, because in the net there are not such limitations characteristic of conventional media. On-line streaming media, globalizes both publishing and programming everybody can be global and everybody has no choice but to be global and this is one of the main challenges: redefining goals and priorities according to the available options, and the consequences of such decisions might have in terms of local, regional and even national scenarios.

E-mail has also a great influence in newspapers and magazine publishing as well as in radio and television programming. This simple facility has forced the information establishment to become interactive. Publishers, editors and producers alike receive more and more comments from readers, viewers, listeners and users; their views have to be taken into account and they have more and more influence in editorial policies. The communications establishment understands the implications of such developments and now days they have no choice but to encourage citizen, editorial participation, not only in the ways in which information is disseminated, but also what the information is about. As far live radio and t.v. are concerned e-mail, IRC and moderated news groups have become an integral part of every day programming.

Information and communications have obviously been radically changed by digital technology, so it is not a question about the way in which "main stream communications" will be changing because of the influence of streaming media, it is more a question of how to deal and profit from these changes.

Instead of considering the ways citizens can influence the information and communications industries it is more important to think about what communications can do for them. Instead of wasting time and energy trying to find ways in which readers, listeners viewers and users can penetrate networks and publishing empires, it is more logical to concentrate on what citizens can achieve independently with on-line distribution of information. Broadcasters, publishers and ordinary citizens operate with the same basic tools office equipment and electric appliances: a computer, a scanner, a camera, a microphone and a telephone line, so it is no longer necessary for citizens to aim for editorial power within industrialist communications, the same results, or even better than those achieved by the conventional media, can be achieved by ordinary citizens with a simple web page, e-mail and moderated news groups and this is what many describe as the emancipatory role of Citizen Communications. Direct involvement and users participation in on-line streaming media opens the doors to the user direct participation in the development of the hardware and the technology that is required to continue in the future. By not accepting these changes that are already taking place and instead thinking of what to do about what might occur in the media landscape because of steaming on-line media "one might miss the bus" that is already taking us into the new information era. It is up to the user, the citizen, to decide the way in which information and communications will go in the years to come.

THE TACTICAL AND THE TECHNICAL

Most media, and certainly common media, heavily depend on technology. "Media", actually is a term which is very hard to define; in many meanings of the word "media", technology is already implied. The choice of media that we use, and the way we use these media is not completely self-evident or coincidental. Nor is it fully our own conscious decision. The construction of media technology instead is deeply political and political-economical.

HTTP://WWW.MONGREL.ORG.UK

THE MOUTHS OF THE THAMES

AN INTERVIEW WITH MONGREL AND SOME OF THEIR COLLABORATORS

Matthew Fuller

Matthew Fuller: The Natural Selection project at http://www.mongrel.org.uk is an internet search engine that works in exactly the same way as any other one of these vast pieces of software that find data on the web, but that adds its own twists. It is clear that search engines have acquired immense positional importance in the network, acting as a gateway (both in the sense of allowing and blocking access) to material on the web. As a technical and media context it is one that is riven with the most inexplicable density of political and cultural machination. Can you tell us something about the project?

Harwood: Well basically, it's the same as any other search engine. The user types in a series of characters that they wish to have searched for. The engine goes off and does this and then returns the results. If you're looking for sites on monocycles, that's what you get. If you're looking for sites on elephants, that's what you get. As soon as you start typing in words like 'nigger' or 'paki' or 'white' you start getting dropped into a network of content that we have produced in collaboration with a vast network of demented maniacs strung out at the end of telephone wires all over the place. The idea is to pull the rug from underneath racist material on the net, and also to start eroding the perceived neutrality of information science type systems. If people can start to imagining that a good proportion of the net is faked then we might start getting somewhere. And as a search engine, from Europe it runs faster than most US based search engines. Enlightenment and a cheaper phone bill - you can't loose.

Richard Pierre Davis: Natural Selection started off as part of the project National Heritage and was conceived as a response to all the hype surrounding the internet and in particular far right activity on the net. It snowballed into it's own identity with input from various artists collaborating on the project with Mongrel steering the ship into a one finger salute to the PC clones and all them fronting fakers worldwide.

Mervin Jarman: Natural Selection offers an added value to critical work on the internet which is unequivocal in that it allows practitioners to plug their work into arenas that would otherwise be inaccessible. This is particularly because of its constructural texture and its ability to redefine and redirect search strings to specified locations, commonly termed aiding and abating - luring the unaware into a spate of awareness that they may not have voluntarily wanted to realise.

H: One of the hidden things about the project is that it's based on a harmless hack on one of the mainstream internet's most popular sites. We corroborate our searches with other search engines. They don't necessarily like us doing this. So we are engaged in a running battle with the site managers of various engines who keep trying to lock us out, trying to stop us reverse engineering their workings and using it to our advantage. Presumably they think we're some kind of commercial competitors. If only...

MF: That's an example of a technical conflict going on in the work, which is obviously a very live one since it messes so heavily with control of proprietary culture masquerading as social resource. (Something extended in the cracked software projects in Natural Selection such as HeritageGold: http://www.mongrel.org.uk/HeritageGold)
Echoing this, like most of Mongrel's work, Natural Selection doesn't shrink away from difficulty. If people are going to check it out, they need to be looking for more than a punchline, or a nice neat 'anti-racist' or 'multicultural' solution. The nineties has seen a near complete homogenisation of language around race. A *fait accompli* which trivialises the deep texture of language, culture and racialisation.

We seem to have entered an era of a miserablised 'politics of semantics' represented by arguments over phrases such as Bill Clinton's, "It depends on what the meaning of 'is' is" and London's Metropolitan Police Commissioner Paul Condon's nervous wordplay in trying to avoid the acknowledgement of the institutionalised racism of the police.

At the same time, Natural Selection very much delves into this politics of semantics as it is constructed through software conventions and the protocols built into the World Wide Web. Perhaps we can develop this - Matsuko, you worked very much in the image construction and design of the paper edition - Colour Separation. Could you say what the shifting masks and racial stereotypes relate to in the paper? What relationship might the ultra-gridded structure of the edition have to a database? It almost reminds me of a cellular structure in a spread-sheet...

Matsuko Yokokoji: Colour Separation is an element of the National heritage 'Campaign'. It functions as a poster and also as a free distribution paper. We made eight stereotypes and four masks. That's the system. It makes a chart of the non-sense of racial categorisation.

We could see the myth of racial classifications. In Japan when I was growing up in the 60's and 70's, we knew about it through the media. We knew that black people look like Stevie Wonder, we knew that white people look like Marilyn Monroe. So we actually tried to build these stereotypes out of the photographs of faces of real people. And what we found, in trying to make these stereotypes of the four colours, but mixing in the ideas of the stereotypes from other people in Mongrel too - a real mix - was that these stereotypes were completely unattainable. What we ended up with then was completely untypical stereotypes. Anti-stereotypes. No glamour at all! The kind of people you'd see walking the streets in London.

The masks perform operations on the faces. They stitch them up. They are roles that move across the entire spectrum of classification that we represent, across all the untypical-stereotypes. You have White Masks on Black Skin, but you also have Black Masks on Black Skin, Yellow, Brown, whatever... It produces a more complex tangle of interrelationships and conflicts.

MF: Mervin, your site for Natural Selection, (http://www.mongrel.org.uk/BAA) seems to be an extraordinarily sprawling mess that almost matches the complexity of the web itself in its wrecking havoc on the stupidity and cruelty of the British immigration system. It jumps in and out of different types of English, different styles of web design, stolen data, data originated by you and by the Migrant Media video collective and others. It generates confusion, but never lets up on the political pressure. What do you think people who end up on the site from the Natural Selection front end are going to.think?

MJ: An immediate response to your observation would be 'that's the yard in me' you see growing up in Jamaica it is endemic that you learn to improvise, in other words 'tun yuh hand an mek fashion' seen.

Now the BAA thing goes out to a primary group of yardies mentionable those who are thinking that the grass is greener on the other side, and the overall analogy of that is not necessarily. the language thing is or has become a form of cultural identity so no longer am I just a English speaking person but to express one self in this kind of broken English dubbed patois (patwa) contemporary it adds flava and undermine bureaucracy.

I believe though that it is important for you to understand the fundamentals of my implications and method of construction; to answer the question on the style and chaotic method that seem to be the underline composition you have to imagine things from behind my mask where unstructured and chaotic deranged behaviour is the most intelligent and effective means of communication without being detected specially when dealing with various authority and institutional organisations. this is how the lie becomes the truth vice versa. BAA is consequently absolve from the fact that this policy of abuse and brutality has been perpetrated at against me and others whose only crime is to want to travel the world like Columbus, Marco and the great Admiral Penn and General Venables, with the only difference being their is no 'design' to it as was with The Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell.

And the opposite is true if you were to visit Jamaica.

RPD: The BAA site shines a spotlight on the blatant injustice of anyone attempting to enter Britain with the misfortune to be born with a suntan and no British passport but coming from an ex-British colony it actually works against you it gives a in-sight into how problematic it is to gain entry once you make contact with the immigration system if your status don't fit the bill and you just happen to fall into the category of a yardie [Jamaican gangster]. How convenient it is that the so called authorities can make a decision based on their stereotyped media hype when just a little while ago the British government used to recruit West Indian labour to help build and service Britain.

MF: Richard, BlackLash (http://www.mongrel.org.uk/BlackLash) is one of the most sickest, violent anti-police games avail-able on the planet, but the four black stereotypes that players have to choose from are also taking the piss out of 'the com-munity'. What's going on? - and who's the game aimed at - Blonde kids from Surrey who want to play Tottenham rough-necks for a day?   •

RPD: BlackLash is based on a combination of stereotypical half truths and hardcore reality coming from the point of view of a young black male trying to survive inner city life in the nineties hence the name BlackLash. You choose one of the stereohyped characters after which you then proceed to battle the forces of evil that plot to convict or eliminate you from the streets. It also aims to encourage the black community through game culture that it is possible to break into different areas apart from music, and create games that have got some thing to say. Yah heard

MJ: I believe BlackLash speaks in volume to the black community, I believe the innovation is a brilliant wake up call for young black people it may look like a classic notorious shoot em up game but my interpretation of the characteristic of black lash is that is a serious wake 'em up call. its all about 'REPRESENT' who is representing whom:

9 questions I ask? who are you bout yuh want test bad man crew, little punk its best if yuh calm before mi <underline>ma-chine</underline> (gun) tun onn. <bold>Black Lash</bold> a ask who are you how yuh want test wicked man crew, little punk its best if yuh calm before mi <underline>machine</underline> (computer) tun onn 9.

My analysis of this is yesterday - BlackLash. And tomorrow? Seems ironic, but the people will get the message - Peace

MF: It seems clear that the variety of competing art systems in the UK are largely designed to exclude work that is social-ly, technically and aesthetically conflictual, whilst at the same time relying on the retrospective absorption of many such currents in order to validate their position as liberal/open/laboratories of subjectivity/ (delete as applicable). Has Mongrel come up with any ways of dealing with this? Are you ready to be dug up as a particularly noxious but sedated time capsule in twenty years time?

H: I think its time we decided to take on the media by mounting it from the rear. I feel more and more that there is no place for us in the usual art/education environment and that we have to make our own. I think we need to design projects that carve out a place in the media and manipulate it < a kind of popular independent media > somewhere between under-ground music clubs and class war. No one else will realise we make good stuff unless we tell the bastards in a way that takes the piss out of them. I feel confident that if we take on the media now we have the skills to deal with it without loos-ing touch with who we are. Bollocks to the "sedated time capsule" take it while we are alive.

MJ: If the question is as a mongrel am I waiting for something better (a buy/sell out) offer so that we (I) will conveniently shut the fuck up and live a quiet conservative life......Mr Jarman may be but mervin@mongrel no fucking way not on their tiny little willie - the driving force behind my motivation comes from far further than consumerism and giving credibility to or validate any position as liberal/open or otherwise suggested - life is one big road with a lot of signs on both side as a mongrel these signs can either be objective, subjective and/or rejective and my endeavour is to speak when I am not spo-ken to and that is to speak my truth.

MF: In National Heritage and Colour Separation there is a repeated motif of the mask - stereotyped racial features that it seems are literally sewn onto people's heads...

MJ: I believe the mask to be one of the most defining aspect of the whole project in more ways than one; the mask represent the mask that I always have to wear at the point of entry into Britain, it represent the mask that I wear repeatedly as I go about my everyday activities in this lovely multicultural state.

...And then it also represent the mask that mongrel has to wear in sourcing resources for the project. So you see the whole National Heritage project is a constitution of the mask.

MF: Another mask Mongrel uses is a reversioned copy of the government Department of National Heritage crest on most of its projects. Why? A recuperation of the state?

H: When we started the project the government department that handed out the cash for the arts was called the department of national heritage. This department gave 76% of it's money to class A and B as defined by another government department. We decided we wanted to make this Government department complicit with the making of the images. What's important about this point is the relation between the British State's Cultural Elitism and who is paying for it. The top two collections of art in the UK are bought from slavery money, the Tate and the National Gallery. Not only this but the site that the Tate gallery is on was a prison for transporting white slaves or bondsman to Australia and the Southern states of America. If we have to articulate these images then the arts industry should acknowledge their own complicity with them also.

MJ: I believe the crest to be a celebration of the diverse British ethnicity after all who are the Brits if not a group of fucking mongrels. You need not go further than Byju's Aryan nation construction (http://wwww.mongrel.org.uk/Byju) for what is 'truly' British, though much undetected by most.

Matthew Fuller worked with Harwood to produce the Natural Selection project for Mongrel and also worked on the Colour Separation paper with them. Along with Mervin Jarman of Ianlmedia and several others he is a regular collaborator with the core Mongrel group: Harwood, Richard Pierre-Davis and Matsuko Yokokoji. This interview was put together via email over a week in early February.

INSULAR TECHNOLOGIES A CIVIL TACTICAL RESPONSE TO SIGNIT COMMUNITIES

Marko Peljhan

In the past four years we have been accustomed to receive information on the extent of global signit work that has actually been going on without the knowledge of civil populations, communications infrastructure users and developers and in many cases even governments. A very quiet debate has started around issues arising from the knowledge about the ECHELON system, which has now spread also into mainstream politics, and we should be very careful observers of this processes. One should also be aware of the fact, that possible "sister" systems exist in the EU countries, Russia, France and China, although not much is known about them, except what can be gathered from each countries encryption regulations, which

in this respect can be taken as an information on each of the countries civil rights and signit polices. We can also assume that Israel possesses strong signit mideast oriented capabilities. To understand what this kind of system does, I will quote a simple definition of ECHELON:

ECHELON consists of a global network of computers that automatically search through millions of intercepted messages and data packets for pre-programmed keywords or fax, telex and e-mail addresses. Every word of every message in the frequencies and channels selected at a station is automatically searched. The processors in the network are known as the ECHELON dictionaries. ECHELON connects all these computers and allows the individual stations to function as distributed elements in an integrated system. An ECHELON station's dictionary contains not only its parent agency's chosen keywords, but also lists for each of the other four agencies in the UKUSA system (NSA, GCHQ, DSD, GCSB and CSE). Allegedly ECHELON is concentrated on the comsat traffic, although one could suppose that signit work is done also on terrestrial HF and microwave networks.

So, with the dawn of knowledge about this signit systems, the civil community of the world should think twice before it uses the communications infrastructure for tactical, socio-evolutionary work. The systems are of course in place to protect the national security of each of the signatories to the UKUSA agreement, and other respective countries operating their own signit processors. The problem being, that national security is a highly broad and specifically expandable definition, that can in specific circumstances lead to prosecution of completely innocent individuals with a slightly different political view than that of the current governments.

In this respect it is maybe time to redefine national security as the right to security of the nation and all its citizens and other individuals, before the nation, its social and especially economical and corporate structures and within it, and in front of all other nations and their respective national security definitions. Such a definition and its enforcement would of course complicate the work of any signit agency or its corporate partners, trying to indiscriminately process communications of its own citizens and individuals, and the individuals and citizens of other nations.

Privacy laws, law-enforcement information sharing and encryption laws and regulations are also being used, all for the protection of respective national securities in a very broad sense. One thing must be clear: the board of this game has been set long ago, and the rules redefined thereafter in continuity. That's why the civil tactical sector of society has to engage in the development and implementation of its own systems to actively and consciously take part in this global system of information sharing and especially protection. And since the internet is the main communication vehicle for the sector, together with phone and fax, one must be aware that internet is of course also very vulnerable to any kind of privacy and information abuse, as are the phone and fax networks. Internet is also not so redundant as it was enthusiastically thought when the community started using it, but can be virtually shut down, channelled and single user disconnected. The other problem with the internet is of course the restriction of privacy through encryption control and key recovery policies and export and import controls. 40-56 bit DES keys which are exportable can be nowadays cracked very effectively, and there are strong export limitations for RSA, RC5 and triple DES or DES RSA key combinations and similar protocols, which ensure higher protection. Of course there are ways for companies to actually export some of this encryption protocols, either through the release and sale of source code printouts, or export through friendly nations. One remembers the PGP source code release through a printout for the HIP 97 meeting. So, some of the doors remain open and corporations, private individuals and states are still engaged in a battle of words and legislation concerning internet encryption policies, and the very interesting case in this respect is, that the legislation concerning encryption differs from country to country and that in many of those it is completely non transparent and each individual case subject to approval by the security agencies or even the military and p.e. in the case of France of a lot of political lobbying and shouldering. One exception that many restrictive states implement is for the use of higher encryption for the banks and financial services, again, with the exception of France. So, the battle for encryption rights in the internet is ongoing, but internet should not be the final communications frontier of the tactical civil sector. The reasons are mainly its reliance on global telecom infrastructure and its vulnerability that arises from it. The other reasons are the no point to point availability and the extensive use of satellite technology by global telecoms. This are all points of weakness, in respect to signit work, and privacy protection, that's why an alternative insulator strategy must be used.

The proposal here is the implementation and construction of a High Frequency (HF) radio, point to point secure analog-digital network first within Europe and its tactical media centers and further around the globe in the range of 1.6-30 MHz. The system would consist of base HF stations, portable units and gateways to connect it to the global data network. We can gather from military analysis and amateur radio experience over the last 50 years, that HF technology has unique characteristics that make it ideal for long haul communications. The broad operational range of HF permits both line of sight surface or groundwave communications and over the horizon skywave connections, using the reflecting properties of the ionosphere. Further, the costs of HF use during one year of operations are in connection to certain calculations, 15 times lower that the costs of satellite based communications. Another issue that is important is the possibility of mobility using HF communications, with its non-directional antenna systems, and with proper selection of equipment, HF can overcome blockage from trees, buildings and mountainous terrain.

The system we are proposing is called INSULAR TECHNOLOGIES (IT) and it is a product of PACT SYSTEMS (Projekt Atol Communication Technologies), with the first two station prototype being currently developed. The open architecture of the different parts that make up the base station, will enable the users to implement their own changes and work on parallel networking solutions with their IT partners. The system will come as a finished product or as a development kit, or source code and plans only package.

EACH IT STATION CONSISTS OF THE FOLLOWING:
- PC based computing module
- HF transceiver
- HF modem
- CRYPTO module
- Key management hardware and software
- Amplifier (for specific solutions)
- Antenna system

At the present time, high quality off the shelf commercial equipment is being used for the first two prototypes. The security of the IT system for voice and data will be ensured through the use of the GOST 28147-89 encryption standard, using 256 bit private keys with key information stored on smart card modules. For each communication session, a new key is generated. As you can see, key management and security is the primary point of weakness of this system, so a policy of strict security standards for the users and key management operators will have to be implemented within the IT users community. The system will have at first a simple selective call solution, for the desired connection of two stations in the network and will enable over the internet network status reports. It will basically function as a telephone or radio station for voice, and as a rtty, arq, fec an packet station for data. The most suitable mode for data transmission has not been set yet, but data rates from 60-1200 bps are expected. When the internet is down, the system switches to lower data rate secure channels on HF for network status reporting, which is otherwise done via the internet, using RSA compatible encryption. Automatic link establishment (ALE) will be implemented and developed after the number of users in the system is high enough, to make such development viable. In an Automatic link establishment system, the processor performs link quality analysis in real time, storing a measurement of the signal quality for each frequency in memory. Then it automatically establishes communications with the other radio on the best available channel. ALE automates addressing of individual radios, or groups of radios, as well as selects frequency. These traditionally have been the most labour intensive operations of radio operation, requiring experienced operators. The system will have two main modes of operations, which will also enlarge the community of users at each IT point. These will be Amateur and IT-CRYPTO operations. The amateur operations will enable radio amateurs in the community to use the system as a complex HF transceiver for non-secure voice and data communications, whereas the IT-CRYPTO operations will be dedicated to tactical media issues and policy discussion, when data protection and security is needed. Technology transfer in the developmental phases of future projects will also be IT-CRPYTO designated. ITU land service allocated frequencies will be used for the IT-CRYPTO services, with up to 60 channels chosen for the operations.

HOW WILL THE IT NETWORK SYSTEM LOOK LIKE?

At first, a web of base HF station with or without internet access will be established. Targeted are former Yugoslavia and Albania, together with partner organisations in the EU and other wireless encryption friendly states. An IT consortium has to be established for this purpose, with a research & development pool and a financial pool for the production of units and further software development and a legal pool for legal issues connected with the establishment of these stations. PACT SYSTEMS will provide on site training and set-up of the hardware.

Each station will have a 7 unit alpha numerical id designator, p.e. GA452L7, which will be used for ID purposes and sel-cal operations. The designator will also be the stations e-mail address and crypto key ID. There will be a central crypto key management office, which will manage the production of keys on smart card modules, but won't have the actual con-trol of them and will serve as a service to the IT community. A web of trust would have to be established to ensure the total security of the system for all its users, and key management procedures would have to be implemented.

As it is clear from the above, the IT system has the main security flaw in the web of trust, as all advanced encryption based systems. If a key is passed along to a third party outside the IT network, the network is compromised.

In the future, the system could include frequency hopping, frequency offset and burst data transmission for enhanced pre-vention of interception, jamming, direction finding and spoofing.

Any of these new developments would of course need a new series of research work and in this respect new funds. With IT, the civil tactical community will get access to relatively cheap and reliable secure point to point voice and data com-munication, together with possibilities of audioconferencing, electronic message store and forwarding service and bul-letin dissemination. Each of the stations will also be a valuable research tool for the telecommunications in the communi-ty where it will be used, with the possibility of serving as an r&d platform for future development and the furthering of knowledge and know how in the field of digital communications as well as serving as a temporary platform for tactical broadcasting. Mobile IT units will bring access to the global digital networks to communities, which need this kind of em-powerment in hostile environments. The IT consortium will also take a proactive role in policy issues concerning the use of the HF spectrum for civil tactical purposes.

TECHNICAL INFORMATION FOR THE PROTOTYPE IT SYSTEM UNIT:
- FREQUENCY RANGE 1.6-30 MHZ TX
- FREQUENCY RANGE .5-30 MHZ RX
- 100 PROGRAMMABLE CHANNELS
- 60 SCAN CHANNELS
- POWER OUTPUT: FROM 150W TO 1 KW, DEPENDING ON SOLUTION
- FREQUENCY STABILITY: +/- 10 HZ
- OPERATING MODES: J3E, H3E, R3E, J2B, CW, SSB, RTTY, PACKET, ARQ, FEC
- POWER: 12VDC
- PROCESSOR: PENTIUM II.
- ADSP OPEN ARCHITECTURE MODEM
- 60-1200 BPS DATA RATES AT 3KHZ TRANSMISSION BANDWIDTH LIMITATIONS
- MICROPROCESSOR CONTROLLED ANTENNA COUPLER
- MULTI-BAND BASE STATION ANTENNA
- COOLING FAN FOR CONTINUOUS TRANSMIT OPERATIONS (TACTICAL BROADCAST RADIO IMPLEMENTATION)
- HARDWARE 256 BIT GOST 28147-89 ENCRYPTION MODULE WITH SESSION KEY GENERATION
- SMART CARD PRIVATE KEY STORAGE
- ETHERNET INTERNET GATEWAY
- SOFTWARE RSA 56-128 BIT ENCRYPTED IP SUPPORT
- VOICE CONFERENCING
- SELECTIVE CALL AVAILABILITY (SELCAL 7 UNITS)
- OPEN ARCHITECTURE

TARGET COUNTRIES FOR THE IT HF SYSTEM:
EF (WIRELESS ENCRYPTION FRIENDLY), EH (WIRELESS ENCRYPTION HOSTILE)

AUSTRIA	EH
BELGIUM	EH (4 WEEKS NOTICE)
BULGARIA	EF
CZECH REPUBLIC	EF
DENMARK	EF
FINLAND	EF
FRANCE	EH
GERMANY	EF

GREECE	EF
HUNGARY	EH (LICENSE FOR IMPORT)
IRELAND	EF
ISRAEL	EH
ITALY	EF
NETHERLANDS	EH (KEYS MUST BE GIVEN TO LAW ENFORCEMENT ON DEMAND)
NORWAY	EF
POLAND	EH (LICENSE FOR IMPORT)
PORTUGAL	EF
ROMANIA	EF
RUSSIA	EH (LICENSES REQUIRED BUT PROBABLY NOT GIVEN)
SLOVAKIA	EF
SLOVENIA	EF
SPAIN	EH
SWEDEN	EF
SWITZERLAND	EH (LICENSE FOR USE REQUIRED)
TURKEY	EH (LICENSE FOR USE REQUIRED)
UKRAINE	EF
UK	EF
USA	EH (EXPORT PROHIBITED, IMPORT RESTRICTED)

NOTE: THE ABOVE INFORMATION IS PUBLISHED WITHOUT THOROUGH RESEARCH FROM PACT SYSTEMS AND WAS FIRST PRINTED IN DATA COMMUNICATIONS INTERNATIONAL, JULY 1998

SHADOW PLAY:
A DANCE THROUGH THE SHADOW WORLD OF FIVE MILLENNIA OF MEDIA WITH GOD AS A PUPPET PLAYER

Tjebbe van Tijen

A CROSS CULTURAL PERFORMANCE EXPLAINING WHY WE STILL MISTAKE THE SHADOW FOR THE SUBSTANCE

Light and dark, good and evil, from cave theaters casting shadow by the controlled use of daylight, as used in ancient India, to the flickering lights of coconut oil fire, wax candles, kerosene lamps, chalk light and finally electric bulbs, projecting moving shadows on paper screens. Hands and other movements of the human corps, things taken from nature, banana leafs, branches of trees, bamboo sticks, drawings on animal skin, cut out, stenciled, in ever more refined ways. Representations first of gods, half gods, demons, dragons, fire birds, kings, princes and princesses, later also more worldly figures becoming part of the cast, casting their shadows in the dancing light of the flames.

Performances slowly starting after sunset, calling for the gods with reciting mantras, singing songs, beating the drum skin, hitting pieces of wood, metal, gongs, gamelan, blowing air in oboes, flutes, plucking of strings, resonating of sound in calabash, wooden trunk, earthen jar, carrying music to the assembled crowds till the moment that microphone and electric amplifier did take over.

But still in Indonesia you can see and hear Wajang Kulit (shadows of leather) on radio and television and the art has survived from one and a half millennium before Christ till the end of the twentieth century. Interpretations might differ depending on opinions if such cultural; phenomena like shadow play has been spreading from one source or came to existence independently in different places, but certain routes can be observed: India, Malaysia, Java, Bali, Thailand, with another source in China and Arabic pirates, from the 7th to the 10th century becoming merchants, taking it into the Middle East. Some see a clear Mesopotamian and Egyptian origin, other see a link between the converted Arab merchants spreading Islam into the Indonesian archipel and the Maghreb and using the shadow play as a popularizing and propaganda tool

for spreading their religion.

The shadow play became more than a carrier of mythological knowledge, it became an instrument of priests and kings to establish and further their power. As always this power function is two sided, as shadow play could be made with very simple means, it was a also tactical tool to comment on power misuse, it could stir the flame of revolt as well.

There is migration of the idea through Jesuit priests from China into Europe as Ombres Chinoises in the 16th and 17th century. There is the name of a 15th century Turkish Sultan and conqueror, Selim, who was ransacking Egypt and was impressed by a shadow play he saw there and ordered a new shadow play glorifying his victories. Wajang became Karagoez, from the Turkish word of black/shadow and with the expansion of the Turkish empire Kargoez was spreading around the Mediterranean sea into North Africa and even in the 19th century into Greece, where this form of folk theater took the Turkish name Karagkiozes. The Turkish empire was a neighbor of Italy for centuries, so the art of shadow play also found its way into Italy. In the same time there is a renewed interest for projection of images (in those times often called shadows) by lanterns, and different kinds of optics: the Laterna Magica. We know about Egyptian priest and the biblical magicians Endor who had a lantern that could cast white shadows, there are the magic mirrors that could reflect images of Buddha on the temples walls in ancient China and Japan, but it is only with the controlled production of mirrors and lenses in the 17th century that such projection systems further develop. The catholic priest of Austrian origin Thanasasius Kircher in Rome and the Dutch inventor Cortnelis Drebbel with his Phantascoop are only two examples. In 18th century Europe traveling lantern men develop a mix of shadow play and projection of hand painted images on glass. In Amsterdam there is a whole group of these people, who have their center in what was called the Duivelshoek/devils corner, at a spot were in the thirties of this century a big new movie theater, Tuschinski, was build.

Just before movie film was taking over, at the end of the 19th century, there were some spectacular mixed forms, like the bohemian hang out in Paris Le Chat Noir were an ever more complex system of projection literary foreshadowing movie film was developed. Over a hundred of gas flames and many different layers of gauze projection screens were used together with moving shadow devices to create artistic moving light effects with many layers of gray values, something maybe reminiscent to the recent installations of the video artist Bill Viola who also uses gauze projection screens.

The performance 'a dance through the shadow world of media' is proposed for the coming Next 5 Minutes tactical media conference in Amsterdam 1999. It should start just after sunset. The best place would be Paradiso. The size can vary, though I am tempted by the screen size used in the Nang-Yai (big leather puppets) of Thailand which can go up to 6 by 16 meters, though something like 4 by 8 meters would very nice fit the Paradiso hall.. Do not ask me detailing now, that can be next week as I have just written this text from scratch in two hours on this very day, the 30th of November 1998.

Media to be used: from candles and oil lamps to lcd and laser projection

Subject: the media and their functioning both suppressive and liberating over the last 300 years... using quotes and copies of original figures from different cultures and times mixed with nowadays newly improvised shadow objects and figures.

The shadow play could very well also function to comment and summarize the content of the conference, or as an opening and closing performance...
http//people.a2000.nl/ttijen/n5mshadow.html
Tjebbe van Tijen/Imaginary Museum Projects t.tijen@cable.a2000.nl

HTTP//PEOPLE.A2000.NL/TTIJEN/N5MSHADOW.HTML

TACTICAL MEDIA: CRASH 💥 RESTART

PUBLIC ACCESS AND THE AMSTERDAM UTOPIA
ON INEXPERIENCED MANAGEMENT AND INCOMPETENT POLITICIANS

Idzarda Lindenbergh & Raul Marroquin

It is a fact that the Netherlands, and Amsterdam in particular, have played a very important role in the development of public access and local media; this is primarily because the Netherlands was the first country in Europe to be wired up with cable in the early 70s and since those days local media and public access have played a very important role in the daily life of many Dutch communities. The Amsterdam Situation Amsterdam local radio and television are an integral part of the day to day live of its citizens and the developments that have taken place in the past twenty years have set an example for the rest of the world. From self-taught, individual and collective "neighbourhood" type of initiatives in the early 70s. the Amsterdam local media developed through the years into a basic, but yet complex, flexible and sophisticated set up that ended up in what is known as Salto (Amsterdam Foundation for Local Television) founded in 1985 and responsible for the programming of: -A public access: station: "Open Kanaal" (Open Channel, the oldest of all, operating since 1984) -A commercial, local/regional television station: "AT5" (since 1992) -A special interest station "A1" (Amsterdam One, that was inaugurated with the opening of the N5M in 1996) and the production and programming of 5 radio stations that cater for the wide variety of inhabitants living in Amsterdam's metropolitan area.

LOCAL TELEVISION

As far as television is concerned, there are two particular interest groups that played a major role in the developments that brought things to the present situation: the pirates / squatters / activists and the visual artists working with media: Staats T.V./ Rabotnic 1985, Time Base Arts Television 1987, De Hoeksteen Live! and later Park T.V., Myster Media and many others.

Rabotnik, and artist initiative, operated since 1982 as a pirate, Staats T.V. cablecasts since 1985 and artists work for local television dates back to the mid seventies when De Appel Foundation organised events for live television from the LOB, the first cable network in the outskirts of Amsterdam.

Artists and activists were latter joined by others segments of the community that are part of the colourful and multi-faceted conformation of Amsterdam: Ethnic Minorities, High School and University Students, Senior Citizens, Religious Sects, Homosexual and Lesbian Activists, etc. are among the local programmers.

By the time that Salto had become a decade old, it was already a unique and exceptional place that generated mature, as well as, very innovative political, financial and cultural programming that, for the first time in the history of local media, had not only local influence but also regional, national and international.

Some of the components that made Salto's programming so unique were content, editorial quality and plenty of time available to ventilate issues. Participants were not longer limited to sound bytes that are supposed to be spit out in 8 minute segments, but in stead, had hours for debate. In several cases interviews went for as long as two hours, those interested in the subject could followed them at ease, those not interested, could switch to other channels, no pressures from the ratings. One of the secrets for the success of Amsterdam's live, tactical television programming is that it was produced with consumer equipment, in other words, electric appliances combined with outdated, discarded office and industrial equipment. By limiting themselves to the bare minimum, local programmers were never tempted by state of the art technology and because of that, never had to confront the pressures of fund raising and investment in hardware or deals and concessions with sponsors. It is also a fact that when using consumer, second hand technology, there is no training is required for those operating the equipment. Any one can use a camcorder.

Breaking Away from Linear Programming Flexibility and support from Salto through most of the 90s encouraged program-
mers to break a way from linear programming. Live television was generated permanently at any available time slot.
Thousands and thousands of extra hours were produced during the local and national elections in 1994 and 1998 as well
as for local referenda. Live local television was there at all times, day and night so viewers, of all hours, became used to
(their own) local programming. One of the most interesting developments about non linear, programming is that "Prime
Time" in Amsterdam slowly but steadily moved from the conventional, nuclear family, time slot of 20.00 hours to 02.00
hours, the time when thousands of viewers get back home from bars and clubs and when confronted with a very limited
choice at that hour, tune into their "favourite" local station.

CITIZEN TELEVISION

An other important development of this period, is the appearance of a new television format: "Citizen Television" program-
ming that was no longer realised by professionals, nor amateurs, but by concerned citizens with opinions, people wanting
to play an active role in the developments of their community. This element brought along the demystification of the medi-
um; in the same way that professional, telephone switch board (patch panel) operators were no longer needed for people
to phone one an other with the introduction of automatic dialling in the 30s, professionals were no longer needed for tele-
vision making.

VIEWERS PARTICIPATION.

Viewers direct participation became a standard feature of Amsterdam's live programming. An all night program could eas-
ily receive up to 300 phone calls and roughly the same amount of faxes. IRC and moderated news groups were also incor-
porated to the cablecasting combining a wide variety of conveying sources into a final mix.Point to point and multi-point-
point video conferencing was regularly used to create links with other locations with in the city, nationally and interna-
tionally.

THE ESTABLISHMENT REACTION TO THE EVENTS

National, public and private, networks (as well as the advertisement industry) were fast in noticing and catching up the de-
velopments taking place with Amsterdam local television and the new, emerging audio visual vocabulary created in this
no-budget situation. They were fast and efficient in re-adapting these developments to the requirements of their very com-
petitive markets and advertisement people and net work executives were often seen monitoring Salto's live cablecastings
behind the scenes. The so called "Late Night (cheap to produce and profitable) Television Format" that includes viewers
participation was first developed into its present form by the local programmers in Amsterdam and then commercialised by
the national networks.

There are many that say that it is partly because of the developments in local, tactical television in Amsterdam, that many
networks decided to have studios in the Dutch capital, and in some cases to fully operate from there, instead of Hilversum
the city where the Dutch national networks are concentrated, in order to be close to the radically innovative programming
generated at that period. After all, a century earlier, it was the initiatives of pioneer radio amateurs that developed radio
as the first electronic mass medium

THE END OF THE 90S

Right after the 1998 local elections, programmers in Salto were confronted with radical changes imposed by the new man-
agement. "The Nest" (a conference room) the place used for live cablecasting was no longer available (so that technicians
could have more space) a discussion taken without any prior consultation with the many programmers that cablecasted
live from there, and insensitively disregarding the history written from this particular room. Cablecasting from any other lo-
cation in the city makes a live program much more expensive. The only alternative available was a "semi-professional"
studio (semi-professional = semi-pregnant one is or one is no. There are no in between) that was of no interest to those in-
volved in "Citizen Television" and lot more expensive.

"Studio" rental doubled and to the new basic price, a lot of extra costs were added. The perfect example: Costs for one hour of live television from the Nest until the spring of 1998:

Transmission costs:	Fl. 50 (± Euro 22),
rental of the Nest:	Fl 7.50 (± Euro 3):
a total of aprox.	Fl. 60 (± Euro 28).

Costs after the summer 1998 from the "semi-professional" studio.

Transmission costs:	Fl. 50 (± Euro 22),
semi-professional studio costs	Fl. 30 (± Euro 13),
Lights & Air Co. (mandatory?!)	Fl. 300 (± Euro 130)

Still very cheap for international standards, but a big difference for those operating on a no-budget basis, and all of this for the sake of semi-profesionalisation (?) something that nobody among programmers was asking for in the first place.

THE LETHAL INJECTION

Inexperienced, uninnovative management combined with decisions taken by incompetent politicians and implemented by of the local bureaucracy, are the main components for the "Fatal Injection" that will terminate tactical television programming in Amsterdam.

Salto's approach to programming for the new millennium is the typical reaction of Dutch non profit organisations to political and bureaucratic pressure: in order to get more subsidy, or... worst, to keep the subsidy, they have to pretend to be -to look- very "professional" (19th Century Industrialist professionalism) enlarging infrastructure and hiring more -unqualified- personnel to push more paper and to desperately pretend to be important and efficient. This new developments were combined by Salto's clumsy marketing and public relations schemes trying to look neo-liberal an open to private initiative. Puerile schemes that are totally unnecessary in a non profit and heavily subsidised organisation. Advertisement departments and in stead of an active web page and webcasting radio and t.v. programming via real audio and real video, Salto invests precious time, energy and resources in the publication of a (hard copy) radio and t.v. guide distributed among programmers (that nobody reads) and that recently patronises tv makers by featuring text about how to make better television in the language and the attitude used to address primary school students. All of this is also partly due to the fact that all responsibilities rest on the management shoulders; The board of directors of Salto plays no active role and operates more like an Honorary Committee that sanctions administrators initiatives.

Salto's imposition of "semi-professionalism" up on programmers has suffocated all tactical approaches to television making and has frustrated the development of a new, and very much needed, vocabulary that incorporate all of the many sources that conform television programming in the information era.

Pressure from Above.

Part of the problem is due to the pressure put up on Salto by civil servants that most implement blindly polices devised by elected officials that in many cases are only interested in delivering the sound bytes that their respective parties instruct them to deliver, no matter when, no matter where, no matter how. The identity crisis faced by Western politics and politicians at the moment also reflects in the Amsterdam's local media. Events suddenly take place and unexpected changes are rapidly implemented simply because generalists in decision making positions think that things should be that way. Generalists that are only interested in their own success no matter doing what a no matter how. Culture and communications are vulnerable fields for this sort of attacks and it is unavoidable for people experimenting in these areas to have to confront these situations at some point.

INSTITUTIONALISATION

This is probably the case with very well organised societies like the Netherlands where the institutionalisation terminates the spontaneous existence of activities such as tactical, local programming. they get strangled by bureaucratic straight jackets. The short lived leading role played by Dutch artists in video art during the early 70s is the best example to illus-

trate the situation. As soon as the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, took interest in this particular discipline the Dutch role and influence diminished to the lowest possible level.

Because of radical changes in subsidy policies, local television makers are now forced to invest time energy and re-sources -that should be put into generating better programming- into peddling bill boards in the title role, in exchange for charitable donations from coffee shops and other local business to pay for their programming. All of this only because "everything should be privatised." All in the name of privatisation the latest trend, the latest craze (for the kick of privati-sation) and all of this in the land of plenty. A lot of the austerity measures imposed by the government are also partly due to the negligence of some of the bigger local programmers that been profiting from the situation for too long and concen-trate in generating a minimum of programs, of a minimum quality, that are rerun time after time for hours and hours while operating as organisations with gigantic bureaucratic infrastructures.

THE BIGGER PICTURE

Salto on the other hand has outstretched too much and has run out of time without outlining a clear idea about the differ-ences between "Public Access" and "Special Interest" and, in fact, managing two half empty channels that are either pub-lic access nor special interest, at a very dangerous moment, in a very competitive market where television frequencies are a precious commodity. It is logical that it was in Salto's interest to take that extra channel when the opportunity arrived and they should be commended for that but it is really a shame that they were not prepared for it and programmers were arbitrarily divide among public access (meaning amateurs) and special interest (meaning semi- professionals) Since the introduction of A1 it is like those that cablecast in that channel are of a better sort than the rest and nobody knows why except fact that the A1ers receive a lot more subsidy than the others.

THE PLAYERS

There are already noises about A2000 (Amsterdam cable operator) wanting to reclaim one of Salto's channels, politicians (many of them enjoyed hours and hours of free, local air time throughout the 90s) are talking about centralising all local programming in one channel. Some of them even think that now is time to privatise all local initiatives to "put them in the market and get the investment back" so Salto will soon be confronting considerable contenders. MTV first and than CNN where no match for A2000 during negotiations on transmission fees. They both are out of the A2000 only package for Amsterdam cable subscribers (and there are no other options no other cable operators) so Amsterdam, one of the European media capitals, does not have any of these two important networks. In a year of negotiations, the local government has not managed to reach and agreement with A2000 to get these two networks back in the package. When the time comes Salto will be an easy prey for the cable operator.

A2000 is not the one to be blamed for any of this, on the contrary, until now they have behaved properly and mildly; after all, they are a commercial operation offering a variety of services: cable radio & television & special packages and PPV, cable modem for internet and other on-line services, fibber optics, telephone, etc. They operates in an open, aggressive and competitive market. The ones that are to blame are those that decided to privatize the Amsterdam cable operator.

WHY PRIVATISATION

KTA (Cable Television Amsterdam) the city owned cable operator was put in the market in 1995 and shortly after sold for aprox. Fl 700000000 (± ^e 320000000) Bill Gates, Philips, Bell Telephone and other powerful multinationals are mayor share holders. After been sold KTA became A2000. KTA was originally sold to pay for Ijburg, a new development in the out-skirts of Amsterdam, an initiative challenged by many local, pressure groups that resulted in a referendum. Whatever deal was made was the wrong deal (and who knows, may be there was no good deal because as old guard, true socialists have always maintained: "public services are not for sale") In any case, the deal was closed by Frank de Graaf than the Economics City Commissioner (Alderman) in the Amsterdam City Council and now a days the Dutch Minister of Defence. The hope of many is that if there is a war he wont deal with it in the way that he dealt with A2000. Today cable television, a public service is run as an efficient, commercial operation and "Amsterdamers" have no choice but to leave with it.

THE NEXT STEP

It is probably too late to change the course of things but at least local programmers can now a days operate with other tools and in other environments. The net for one thing offers a wide variety of possibilities and it might not be full motion video but who cares after all it is not about the medium, it is about the message and there is still room for citizen participation in civic communications.
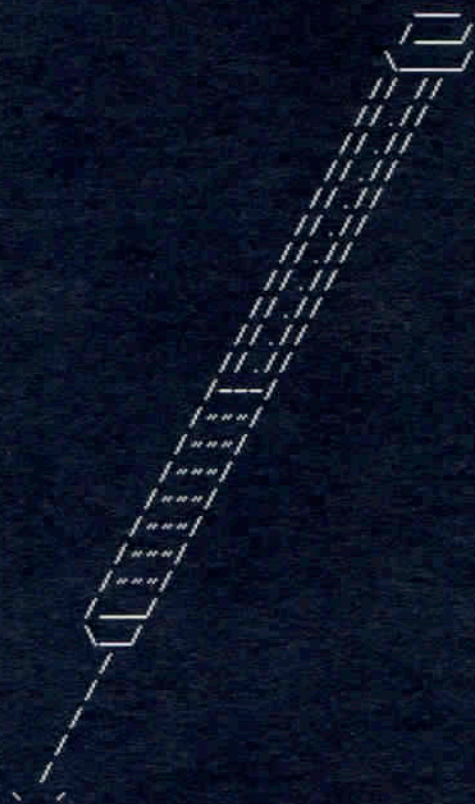
THE DECLINE
OF THE LOCAL MEDIA IN AMSTERDAM

Menno Grootveld

Amsterdam has always been a model for tactical media makers all over the world, ever since the heyday of the cable pirates in the early eighties. The story of the gradual decline of this Utopia is unfortunately less well known. In my view the onset to this decline had already begun when the city council decided to close down the cable network for illegal transmissions. I have always wondered about the ease with which they got away with it, claiming that some of the pirates broadcaster feature films from Hollywood, which had not even been released in the Netherlands yet and so damaging the interests of the movie theaters. I didn't believe a word of it then and I still don't. The real reason of course was a political one. There were two pirate stations operating on a non-commercial basis, the Vrije Keyser (which as a radio station exists to the present day) and PKP-TV, later Rabotnik TV, of which I was one of the founders. The Vrije Keyser was the television station of the squatters movement and as such it was probably a nuisance, if not more, in the eyes of the authorities. Rabotnik TV was a conglomerate of young media-activists and art school students, which was much more related to the cultural underground of Amsterdam at the time, although we also actively supported one of the parties in the municipal election of 1982. Both the party and the television station were part of an acceleration of cultural activities in the early eighties, which had been heavily influenced by punk. We called ourselves 'ether-dissidents', not only to distinguish ourselves from our pirate colleagues, but also to make it clear that we did not want to belong to the famous Dutch consensus-culture.

For a while we were pretty successful. We even got letters from people in retirement homes, who said that they were happy to be witnessing what the youth were into. But suddenly it was all over. Out of the blue (it seemed) access the cable network was shut off. Somewhere someone had pulled a plug or turned a switch. Then we noticed to our surprise that we were actually the only ones who could not broadcast. All the other stations (except the Vrije Keyser, but this was not their night) were still there. The next day we discovered that we were excluded on the basis of a special order by the mayor himself. He was fearing riots in the streets because of the immanent eviction of one of the bigger squats in town and therefore he had decided that he would curb us. Only one week later the other pirates followed, and only then the story of the unreleased films was given as an excuse (we never transmitted films). All this serves to illustrate my conviction that local media can make a difference, provided that they are really free.

After the pirate episode it took the city council two years to establish a body, called SALTO, to govern the 'open' channels for local radio and television in Amsterdam. Formally an independent foundation, in reality SALTO operates under strict supervision of the city council. Although the Dutch constitution prohibits preliminary censorship, they can refuse anything beforehand on the basis of pretty vague rules. And now they have decided to give the once-flourishing local media-culture a final blow by inventing a so-called 'horizontal' programming structure, which has effectively fragmented the solid blocks of broadcasting time that some of the local stations used to have. At the same time one of the most vital and inspiring live programs on local television, De Hoeksteen, was killed by an 'organisational readjustment' (see the story by Raul Marroquin). I cannot help but see all this as the final chapter of a very effective strategy of gradual annihilation of the thriving counterculture that existed in Amsterdam through a large part of the eighties, of which Rabotnik TV and the Vrije Keyser were exponents. Where the city center used to bustle with energy and autonomous art-spaces, concert halls and cafes were found on almost every corner, nowadays you have to go beyond the fringes of Amsterdam to glimpse even a tiny spark of it. So much for the much vaunted tolerance of our consensus-model. It is just a very clever system which has effectively marginalized whole chunks of society and culture without encountering any real opposition.

THINK:
POSSIBILITY... NOT: LICENCE
THE LEGITIMACY OF ILLEGALITY

Josephine Bosma

Webcasting often is seen as an alternative for experiments which would not be able to get a licence for ethertransmissions. The difficulty projects and broadcasting initiatives encounter when trying to get legal airspace has caused a limited view of the possibilities of working within the ether as such. It is already clear that connections between networks like the internet and the ether can be most interesting, but this is of course not the only reason to have a look at the possibilities of broadcasting more closely. The ether is still the easiest way to reach large numbers of people fast. We should always be aware it is there when we need it. Illegal broadcasting is not approached the same by police everywhere. When you listen to the FM-band in Berlin you witness the remains of a strict military regime of this particular area. In Amsterdam or London free -or pirate- radiostations are all over the waveband, be it that each station individually is not always there for a longer period of time. To control the ether, one needs a vast controlling apparatus, like the military with all its technology and disciplinary working methods, plus one needs the desire to do so. This desire can come from habit, like in Berlin, or it can come from a dictatorship, like in Serbia.

Not everywhere both necessities for controlling the ether can be found, and these are the places where illegal stations live longest. A long life on the air is not the most important reason to start transmitting though. The basis of every medium is the need to communicate. A steady position as a broadcasting station, or of any medium if you like, only adds a sideproduct: More Power. Addictive as this might be, one should not underestimate the power and beauty of short and single transmissions (and the relative ease with which they can be realised).

I would like to talk about the content of transmissions, the real reason to be on the air. The ether is a very wide concept. All wireless 'communications' happen in 'the ether': FM-, AM-, SW-radio, HighFrequency transmissions like portophone, mobile phone and satellite, but also infrared, radar and sonar. None of these are impossible to 'use' without a licence, some are even quite easy to use. It depends on the kind of project whether transmitting, receiving, or both are applied. It is wrong to think in terms of what is and what is not allowed when contemplating the possibilities of a medium. This happens too often when people discuss mass media like radio.

Though of course radio transmissions were military technology in the very early beginnings, traditionally frequencies have been allocated to representatives of powerful groups within society. In the twentieth century we have witnessed a change as to what is the basic drive or reason to communicate. The basis of influence on media has moved from the realm of church (religion) and nobility (family) to the realm of money (which is without direct connection to any traditional values). This shift did not start this century, but it certainly was very influential. This meant for the allocation of etherspace: an increasing number of radio and television stations whose existence is mostly legitimised by the money they generate. In other words: there are more and more purely commercial stations, transmitting towards a specific audience, with 'low risk content' to reduce loss of listeners and advertisement.

What is an interesting broadcast and does culture need to be protected? All I can say now is that the policy to sell frequencies and airspace to the highest bidder (and on the basis of marketing research like here in Holland) is damaging not just variety in representation of cultures, but it damages the very basis of development of variety. It harms diversity in cultural practice, thus leading us towards monocultures, with all their disadvantages: cultural inbreeds, mainstream thinking, consumerism, fascism, policies against differences. We should demand a stop of the sale of the ether. Until that is realised, there is no reason to obey broadcasting laws when we need airspace. The inflexibility of governments and bureaucracy will probably always ask for creativity on our part.

Soon digital broadcasting will make more space in the ether to sell. Politics are already prepared for this. We need to step in now and make sure our ether does not end up as one big muzak hall. Showing the need for variety with illegal broadcasting is one way to achieve this. Illegal transmissions could also help in the case of a project like Insular Technologies, to test the possibilities of an alternative computer network which depends on packet radio. Occasional rings of transmissions could be made on different wavebands and frequencies.

To close of this plea for illegality: in Kroatia a pirate-station was active that used a metal garden fence as its antenna. It would also drive around with a small transmitter and use the car antenna to broadcast. Small and un-effective in the sense of spanning large area's, but so much fun. A great display of knowledge too.

THE DEF OF TACTICAL MEDIA

David Garcia and Geert Lovink

[or part two of the ABC of Tactical Media, posted to nettime in the spring of 1997, http://www.nettime.org and the zkp4 reader, http://www.desk.nl/~nettime]

CAMPAIGNS AND MOVEMENTS

Although a global conference, the first Next 5 Minutes, held six years ago (1993), was dominated by the first large scale encounter between two distinctive cultural communities. On the one hand, Western European and North American campaigning media artists and activists and on the other hand their equivalent from the former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, dissident artists and samizdat activists, still basking in the after glow of the role they played in bringing down the communist dictatorships. In the excitement of discovering each other, these two communities tended to gloss over their ideological differences, understandably emphasising only the shared practice of exploiting consumer electronics (in those days mostly the video camcorder) as a means of organisation and social mobilisation. We referred to these practices, and the distinctive aesthetic to which it gave rise, as tactical media a term other activists, artists, hacktivists, video makers etc. are continually circumscribing and redefining the perimeters of just what that term might mean. Although the differences between these two groups were under-played at the time, they were nevertheless profound and illuminating. In the United States and Western Europe, tactical media, both then and now, are overwhelmingly the media of campaigns rather than of broadly based social movements. They are not a megaphone representing the voice of the oppressed or resistance as such. Once upon a time in the West, there were movements without one specific campaign. They were into questioning every single aspect of life, with 'the most radical gesture.' "We don't want a piece of the cake, we want the whole bloody bakery." But now there are a plethora of campaigns detached from any broadly based emancipatory movement. In contrast, central and eastern European media tacticians, or the "samizdat media", had been very much part of broad social movement. A movement that resulted in the dismantling the Soviet Empire. They tended, in the early days, still to be if not exactly starry eyed, then uncritical, about their future under a market economy. Six years later, the consequences of unaccountable global capital flows have bitten deep. And although less utopian about the emancipatory potential of new media there is a general convergence of many tactical groups around the principal of learning the lessons of global capitalism. While refusing to leave globalism to the investment houses and multinationals,

these groups combated global capital with global campaigns. And present in these strategies is the faint hope that if a campaign generates enough velocity and resonates with enough people, it might just take on some of the qualities of a movement.

SIMULATION VS REAL ACTION

For many, the urgency of some of the questions we are facing generate an angry scepticism around any practice that raises art or media questions. For real actionists the equation is simple, discourse = spectacle. They insist on a distinction between real action and the merely symbolic. From this perspective media tacticians are accused of merely talking not doing anything. By focusing on the media question we are accused of just creating more empty signs. And there is much in the current European political reality to support this critique. After all the expansion of the media realm has not automatically resulted in an equivalent growth in emancipatory movements and critical practice. It has merely resulted in an accumulation of self-referential topics. Media these days are accused of fragmenting rather than unifying and mobilising. Paradoxically, that is partly because of their discursive power to elaborate on differences and to question rather than just voice propaganda.

Although our favourite topic remains the end of media, the era of a total implosion of the whole spectacular media circus. This however remains the utopian option (which should not mistaken for abandonment or surrender). Meanwhile at least for the Next 5 Minutes, we continue to languish in a world in which many struggles appear to have left the street and the factory floor and migrated into an ideological space of representation, constructed by and through the media. This is often characterised as a shift from public space towards virtuality or a shift from social action towards the mediated. In a time where we can see such growth in media channels where there is a tremendous expansion of various cyberspaces it is a nonsense to talk about "a return to the real". In fact one might even ask whether any meaningful politics can exist outside of the media sphere. The current debate about "net activism" is the focus of the "merely" symbolic Vs the "real action" discussion, with critics voicing scepticism about whether you really can provoke a campaign by just sending out hostile commands via the internet or whether on your own, you can construct a movement via technical means or through mediation only.

Another level of critique addresses the problematique nature of self referential campaigns, that is campaigns that do not go beyond the media, such as the open source movement or the "WE WANT BANDWIDTH" campaign (http://www.waag.org/bandwidth). Although we believe that there can be no effective campaign if you have not tackled the media issue we are aware that this is just our assumption, perhaps our arrogance. We know how easy it is to lose oneself, to dive into an attractive and fatal media trap. Attractive because it is so vast, there is always more information, more channels, more software and the political issues within that sphere of contestation, the severe struggles within the media industry is a universe in and of itself. So yes we must be wary of the self-referential campaigns that are friction free, appropriating the glamour of activism without the sweat and tears... It is true we are vulnerable to the accusation of being trapped in the same old safe assumption that all power struggles are being fought out in the media space. However to believe this would be to believe that the campaigns to damage Shell, Nike or McDonalds have just been fought on the level of pure semiotics. It is a too easy and luxurious position to disdain the media question altogether. The point is to ask the right questions about what has more effect and what brings us nearer our goals? These questions imply analysis and in the end a judgement.

In part the trick is to emphasise topics which lie outside of the media realm whilst at the same time retaining sophisticated media tactics. The Maclibel campaign is a classic example of a campaign which would like to construct itself into a movement. Like every group it depends of the willingness of local groups to identify itself with it. The Macspotlight site is a collection of links to sites, bringing together this variety of local groups. The whole project makes a dialectical move whereby a single a campaign organised from Oxford is translated into a translocal movement with broad appeal addressing billions of people.

TEMPORARY ALLIANCES AND HYBRIDISATION

Although a shared agenda may be emerging we should also be realistic about the differences. We have no unique over-

riding identity around which to organise. We create no positive models for anyone to identify with, let alone follow. Our alliances are still relatively loose with a tendency to fragment into an infinite number of gangs and subcultures. This why we still do not have this "world federation of tactical media practitioners". Perhaps we are just a diverse collection of weirdoes both men and women, who are off-topic by nature. Of course there is an element of pleasure in knowing that you are with your 20 dearest friends on your own "real audio" channel but this is swiftly accompanied by the realisation that it will be indefinitely confined to these twenty friends and what seemed like an opportunity has become a ghetto. We are then faced with the question of how to leave the safety of our own self created biosphere.

So we begin again, looking for new coalitions while trying to avoid falling into the traps and limits of institutionalised politics. Unfortunately, the Internet has not freed us from the necessity or perils of having to deal with institutional politics. Indeed there is no Internet without power, cable policy, money and access rights.

Beyond analysis and judgement the tactical is also about reclaiming imagination and fantasy. The classical rituals of resistance are no longer reaching large parts of the population, this is the crisis of direct action, which is in part a failure of imagination. An exception is the epidemic of pie throwing. The ritualised humiliation of power with a pie in the face. A highly mediatised practice, the pie does not exist without the image, its only meaning is as a media event. We could see it as a primal way of attacking power. You identify a locus of power and you pie him (http://www.gloup.gloup.com) A leap into perfect simulacra, creating the perfect sign, or rather the poisonous countersign. The pie is the perfect poisonous countersign. The secret wisdom of the tactics of radical alienation, in which the further you go, the more likely you are to implode into reality. Its time to intensify our semiotic guerrilla wars on corporate images.

Tactical media in the context of The Next 5 Minutes is a deliberately slippery term, a tool for creating "temporary consensus zones" based on unexpected alliances with people whom you might normally never meet based on a desire to be released from the tiredness of self satisfied groups and communities. But at the same retaining the right, when the time has come, to disconnect. Our aim is to retain our mobility, and our velocity, to avoid the paralysis induced by the essentialistic questioning of everything, in which everyone is an object of suspicion and nothing is any longer possible.

One of the most well trodden of tactical routes remains hybridisation, connecting old with new, the street and the virtual. We should be clear that hybridity is neither our ideology or our goal it is more like our dirty realism. Hybridisation is often seen as per se good, generative of infinite possibilities to switch between channels, mix up the signals, intentions and disciplines, naturally operating in accordance with the economic and technological shift towards synergy. Let us be clear, in our case hybridisation is about survival, it is not really our choice. For those who make the mistake of treating it as an ideology, there is simply no way back, there is no place for negativism. Taking this route we inevitably arrive at the dialectic free zone of Europe's new politics. Hybridity in this world is about connectivity in the sense of promiscuously connecting everything with everything, the neo-liberal idea of anything goes as long as its connects. In this world the critic is seen as a destructive trouble-maker, failing in their sacred duty to connect. This is where tactics end and choices will have to be made. Is this the end of the roaring media age? Not for the time being... But for sure a reconsideration what we are actually intending to transmit on all these channels.

NAMES AND E-MAIL ADDRESSES:

Irina Aristarkhova	aristarkhova@glasnet.ru	Moscow
Franny Armstrong	franny@spanner.org	London
Rachel Baker	rachel@irational.org	London
Richard Barbrook	richard@hrc.wmin.ac.uk	London
Andreas Broeckmann	abroeck@v2.nl	Berlin
Ted Byfield	tbyfield@panix.com	New York
Steve Cisler	cisler@pobox.com	San Francisco
Clean Clothes Campaign	ccc@xs4all.nl	Worldwide
Critical Art Ensemble <	72722.3157@compuserve.com	USA
Culture Board	luchezb@cblink.net	Worldwide
Josephine Bosma	jesis@xs4all.nl	Amsterdam
Convex TV	ses@art-bag.net	Berlin
Kunda Dixit	panoskd@mos.com.np	Kathmandu
Sheila O'Donnell	sodonnel@igc.org	San Francisco
Micz Flor	flor@yourserver.co.uk	Vienna
Matthew Fuller	matt@axia.demon.co.uk	London
Alex Galloway	alex@rhizome.org	New York
David Garcia	davidg@xs4all.nl	Amsterdam
Stichting de Geuzen	geuzen@xs4all.nl	Amsterdam
Carl Guderian	carlg@pop.net	Amsterdam
DeeDee Halleck	dhalleck@weber.ucsd.edu	San Diego
Anna Har	an801amh@gold.ac.uk	London
Helen Holder	helen@aseed.antenna.nl	Amsterdam
John Hutnyk	john.hutnyk@gold.ac.uk	London
Interfund	rasa@parks.lv	Worldwide
Alex Karschnia	alextext@navigate.org	Frankfurt
Derrick de Kerckhove	derrick@epas.utoronto.ca	Toronto
Tetsuo Kogawa	tetsuo@goethe.orjp	Tokyo
Nina Meilof	meilof@dds.nl	Amsterdam
Kein Mensch ist Illegal	grenze@ibu.de	Germany
Geert Lovink	geert@xs4all.nl	Amsterdam
Eveline Lubbers	evel@xs4all.nl	Amsterdam
Nathalie Magnan	volt@cybercable.fr	Paris
Raul Marroquin	hksteen@desk.nl	Amsterdam
Old Boys Network	boys@obn.org	Worldwide
Veran Matic	matic@b92.opennet.org	Belgrade

Drazen Pantic	drazen@opennet.org	Belgrade
Marko Peljhan	marxx@ljudmila.org	Ljubljana
Claudia Peter	claudiapeter@compuserve.com	Munich
Judith Richter	judith.richter@student.uni-tuebingen.de	Tübingen
Andy Rowell	andyrowell@dirtrack.demon.co.uk	Birmingham
Daniela Salvemini	dsalvemini@hotmail.com	Amsterdam
Saskia Sassen	ssassen@midway.uchicago.edu	New York
Agustin de Quijano	rtsfilm@hotmail.com	London
Florian Schneider	fls@ibu.de	Munich
Shuddhabrata Sengupta	raqs@giasdl01@vsnl.net.in	New Delhi
Helen Thorington	newradio@interport.net	New York
Renee Turner	geuzen@xs4all.nl	Amsterdam
Tjebbe van Tijen	tijen@cable.A2000.nl	Amsterdam
Toshiya Ueno	VYC04344@niftyserve.or.jp	Tokyo
Peter Wahl	weed@bonn.comlink.apc.org	Bonn
Faith Wilding	fwild@abdrew.cmu.edu	Pittsburgh