

# ØYES

border=Ø location=YES

## content

- 2 A Virtual World is Possible: From Tactical Media to Digital Multitudes (Geert Lovink/Florian Schneider)
- 3 Touching an Elephant (McKenzie Wark)
- 4 Wu-ming: 54 Re:inter:view (Snafu)
- 5 Porto Alegre - Today's Bandung? (Michael Hardt)
- 6 Wandering between two worlds. (selection of posts from generation-online list after Porto Alegre, Genova, Strasbourg 2002)
- 9 The European Social Forum: Sovereign and Multitude (Jamie King)
- 10 Fences of Enclosure, Windows of Possibility (Naomi Klein)
- 11 Brief history of the noborder network (Hagen Kopp/Florian Schneider)
- 13 The march on the left (Franco Barchiesi)
- 14 Is it a Yes Man Satire? Yes, it is Yes Men, but it's not a satire (A virtual interview)
- 15 Anti-Capitalism with a smiley face (Erik Empson)
- 16 Yomango: Sabotaging capital while having fun
- 17 Virtuosity and Revolution. The Political Theory of Exodus (Paolo Virno)
- 20 Social entropy and recombination (Franco Bifo Berardi)
- 20 The Dark Side of the Multitude (Arianna Bove/Erik Empson)
- 21 What is to be Thought? What is to be Done? (Alain Badiou, Natasha Michel, Sylvian Lazarus)
- 22 Homo Politicus Pim Fortuyn: A case study (Herman Asselberghs/ Dieter Lesage)
- 23 A Visit to the Sarai New Media Initiative Delhi (Geert Lovink)
- 25 Dark Fiber (Franco Bifo Berardi)
- 27 noborder Camp 02 (Various contributors)
- 28 The Dark side of Camping - A Critical Perspective (Susanne Lang/ Florian Schneider)
- 29 Border: Waking Across, as opposed to Flying Above (Shuddhabrata Sengupta)
- 30 Are we in a war? Do we have an enemy? (Slavoj Žižek)
- 31 The clash in the western mind (Antonio Negri)
- 32 The Transformation of Security (Michael Renner)

## people

This paper has been compiled and edited by: Arianna Bove, Erik Empson, Susanne Lang, Geert Lovink, Florian Schneider, Soenke Zehle. Thanks to: Franziska Frielinghaus, Suzanne Helden, Paul Keller, Shuddhabrata Sengupta, Joanne Richardson, Pit Schultz and all the contributors.

## make world paper#2



The World Social Forum, organized twice in Porto Alegre 2001 and 2002, not only prompted a flurry of autonomous self-organization, crossborder organization, and creative media interventions. It also initiated an intense process of analysis and reflection on the tricky question of a 'global' dynamic of self-organization.

Across continents and movement traditions, a few key terms continue to re-emerge as focal points for reflection - above all the status of sovereignty and the limitations of a sovereign logic of organization, as well as the frustration with the various traditions of leftist representationalism. Activists have long ceased to simply march on the corporate and institutional bad guys of globalisation-as-usual. They have also begun to articulate alternative logics of organization and mercilessly sort through the archive of political pieties, challenging the dominance of an older leftist expertocracy at every juncture.

The words of Franco Barchiesi of Indymedia South Africa might well serve as a summary of this shared sentiment: "it was time for the new social movements to express the qualitatively new "biopolitical" nature of their struggle in terms of refusal not only of the identity and mystique of "national liberation", but also of the leadership practices of a left that has historically tended to reproduce subordination and discursive expropriation of the movements' grass-roots subjectivity."

In this issue we have brought together many different perspectives on the increasingly pressing questions of the 'movement' - its theory, its politics, its media and modes of organisation. The texts reproduced here add vibrancy, background and analysis to these ongoing debates, and irrespective of the diversity reflect that none of these issues can be treated in separation.

The first edition of this free newspaper appeared in October 2001, as a part of the Munich 'Make World' festival and exhibition that brought together activists, new media artists and theorists. The first paper dealt with responses to 911, migration, immaterial labour, free software and featured a number of art projects. The free paper format already has a certain tradition. Within our context it started with the nettime ZKP4 paper, produced for the nettime meeting in Ljubljana, May 1997. Another one appeared in Zagreb, August 1999. In the global edition of 'Bastard' a group of editors brought together critical texts related to the Kosovo conflict.

Within this 'tradition' the Make World paper#2 also works with the concept of collaborative text filtering. The amount of key texts and strategic debates on the Internet is overwhelming. There are so many interesting lists and weblogs. It is a potlatch of content. This abundance of material could drive one mad. Yet, it also makes selecting and editing much easier. There is less of a feel of censorship and exclusion. All the texts, in their full length, including responses, are available online.

The context of this issue is the summer and fall of 2002, defined by the growing threat of an US-led Iraq invasion. The texts for this issue were selected alongside some significant events of the last few months such as the noborder camp in Strasbourg, where between 2000 and 3000 activists met for discussions, actions and media interventions. But it may also be seen as a direct or indirect output from the work on the films and the online-platform "What's to be done?" <http://wastun.org> or the dark markets conference <http://darkmarkets.t0.or.at> in the beginning of October in Vienna. Last but not least the make-world paper#2 will be accompanied by live-streaming and mobile screening events during the European Social Forum in Florence.

## website

<http://paper.make-world.org>

## distribution

Paper#2 will be distributed for free at:

European Social Forum  
6-10 november, 2002  
Florence, IT  
<http://www.fse-esf.org/>

Futuresonic  
6-10 november, 2002  
Manchester, UK  
<http://www.futuresonic.com/>

World-Information.org  
15 november-15 december, 2002  
Amsterdam, NL  
<http://www.world-information.org/>

## what is to be done

A Documentary Series  
Eikon-Sued Productions 2002

At the 2001 G8 summit in Genova, discontent with globalization-as-usual once again burst into the open as activists alerted the general public to a multiplicity of new types of political, economic, social, and cultural conflict.

The documentary series „What's to be done?“ explores a new dynamic of democratic involvement and political intervention, searches for contemporary forms of solidarity and self-organization, and features innovative examples of linking the local and the global from across the world.

Each documentary returns to the question of perspective, strategy, and the organizational logic of the movement. Four thinkers - Michael Hardt, Toni Negri, Saskia Sassen, and Franco 'Bifo' Berardi - reflect on the question at the heart of the series: "What is to be Done?"

### A WORLD TO INVENT

Documentary by Florian Schneider  
Germany 2002, 40 minutes

Four leading thinkers reflect on the (so-called) anti-globalization movement.

### ALL IN WHITE - TUTE BIANCHE

Documentary by Adonella Marena  
Italy 2002, 30 minutes

Two influential Tute Bianche-activists analyze possibilities for political intervention in Italy today.

### DEPORTATION CLASS

Documentary by Kirsten Esch  
Germany 2002, 30 minutes

A network of human-rights activists organizes an anti-deportation campaign against a major airline.

### THE UNORGANIZEABLES

Documentary by Florian Schneider  
Germany 2002, 35 minutes

Three examples of creative workplace struggle in California, where a new wave of migrant activism is revitalizing union culture.

### HTTP://WASTUN.ORG

Online-Film Project  
[to be continued]

First version of an online platform, which aims to continue the current debate on activism and democracy in different media formats and to interconnect the various theoretical and practical approaches across borders: from text and images, to links and background material, as well as the presentation of all four films, complemented with out-takes and updates.

## order a tape

Tape orders of the **WHAT'S TO BE DONE** films should be sent by electronic mail to [info@wastun.org](mailto:info@wastun.org) or by snail mail to: EIKON-Sued GmbH, Birkerstr. 22, 80636 München/Germany. The tape with all four films costs 20 Euros.





























































