

TACTICS OF PROTEST NOW

Performing Arts Lab
1st Floor
Stevens Building
Royal College of Art

2.30 pm, Wednesday
1st February

David Garcia
Ken Garland
The Occupied Times
Gavin Grindon

redtape.rca.ac.uk

RED TAPE

2012 #1

CHAIR PERSON & SPEAKERS

David Garcia, Chair Person

His work(research) is on tactical media – the impact of the rise of small-scale DIY media, tools and networks in art, social and political activism, and the rise of new social movements.

Ken Garland, Speaker

He is a British graphic designer, author, and lecturer. Garland established Ken Garland Associates in 1962. In 1963 he authored the First Things First manifesto. His work is mainly concerned with social and political causes.

Gavin Grindon, Speaker

His research focuses on the connections between art and social movements, particularly in attempts to synthesise Surrealist and Marxist thought in the notion of “revolution-as-festival.”

The Occupied Times, Speaker

Steven Maclean (Editor) and Tzortzis Rallis (Designer). The Occupied Times of London is the independent newspaper of and for the London occupations. Of, because the paper was born on the St Paul’s site and is still folded at the Finsbury Square site by occupiers. For, because we aim to entertain, inform and provoke debate amongst people taking part in the London occupations.

We Demand The Impossible: An Interview with John Jordan and Gavin Grindon.

By Marc Garrett - 19/07/2011

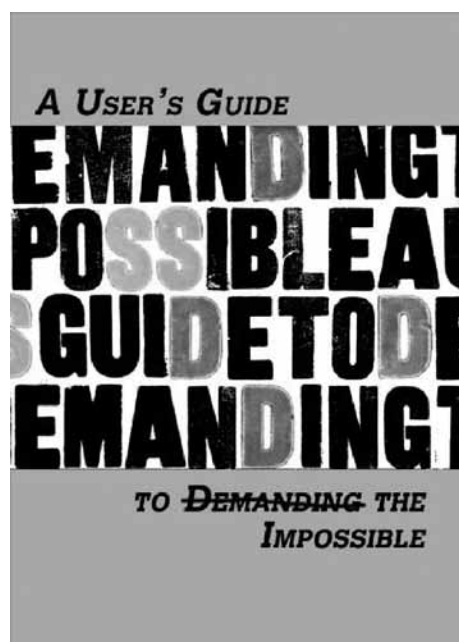
Marc Garrett interviews John Jordan and Gavin Grindon about their collaborative publication, *A Users Guide to (Demanding) the Impossible*.

Published by Minor Compositions

“This guide is not a road map or instruction manual. It’s a match struck in the dark, a homemade multi-tool to help you carve out your own path through the ruins of the present, warmed by the stories and strategies of those who took Bertolt Brecht’s words to heart: “Art is not a mirror held up to reality, but a hammer with which to shape it.”

<http://www.minorcompositions.info/?p=53>

<http://www.furtherfield.org/features/interviews/we-demand-impossible-interview-john-jordan-and-gavin-grindon>



Marc Garrett

In the introduction of your publication it says that it, “was written in a whirlwind of three days in December 2010, between the first and second days of action by UK students against the government cuts, and intended to reflect on the possibility of new creative forms of action in the current movements. It was distributed initially at the Long Weekend, an event in London to bring artists and activists together to plan and plot actions for the following days, including the teach-in disruption of the Turner Prize at Tate Britain, the collective manifesto write-in at the National Gallery and the UK’s version of the book bloc.”

I think readers would be interested to know how the ‘teach-in disruption’ and the ‘collective manifesto write-ins’ went?

John Jordan

I was not at the first Turner teach-in so can’t give first hand account. From what I’ve heard it was a wonderful moment where the sound of the action penetrated into the room where the Turner Prize were being held, as the backdrop of the channel 4 live link up. Kind of perfect, because it was a sound artist who got the award.

As for the National Gallery event - this was held during the evening after one of the big days of student action. Having spent the day being trampled on by her majesties police horses, a load of us went up to the National Gallery and mingled in front of Manet’s Execution of Emperor Maximillian, opposite a corridor that held a Courbet painting. It was a perfect placement as Courbet of all the 19th artists was really the one who understood the role of art within an insurrection, putting down his paintbrushes to apply his creativity directly to the organising of the Paris Commune of 1871 just as the impressionists fled the city to the quiet of the countryside. Only to return a few years later when Impressionism was launched, as a kind of artistic white wash over the massacres of the Commune, a return to normal bourgeois representation. Courbet had used the rebel city, a “paradise without police” as he put it, as a canvas to create new forms of social relationships and new ways of public celebration, including the destruction of the monument to Empire and Hierarchy, the Vendome column.

Several hundred artists and art students at a given moment sat down and occupied room 43, telling the staff that we would leave once a collective manifesto had been written. Which is what happened. Small groups of 10

RED TAPE
#1

TACTICS
OF
PROTEST
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1

or so were formed as the guards and director of the gallery paced up and down unsure of how to react, each group worked on points for the manifesto which were then read out and merged in 'The Nomadic Hive Manifesto' – <http://www.criticallegalthinking.com/?p=998> – it was an extraordinary moment of collective, emergent intelligence, a reclaiming of a public cultural space from the realm of musefication and representation.

Marc Garrett

'A Users Guide to (Demanding) the Impossible' features quotes by individuals and groups, who have inspired many of us in the networked, Furtherfield community. But, I am also aware that you may be part of a younger generation, presently experiencing the brunt of education cuts imposed by the current government coalition. Could you explain how these cuts are effecting you and your peers?

John Jordan

Well I wish I was a younger generation !!! I'm 46 years old, it was written for the youth !! You should talk to some arts against cuts folk, I can put you in touch if you need to?

Gavin Grindon

I'm not exactly 'the younger generation' either, but I guess I'm in a strange position between. I recently finished my PhD, so a lot of my friends

are either students or just becoming teachers. There aren't many jobs about, academic or otherwise, and most of them are doing multiple part-time, short-term jobs to make ends meet, without the assumed security or career progression of a generation before, and the cuts are only going to exacerbate that situation. I guess what's new is a recession on top of these kind of precarious work conditions, which extend far beyond the University. With part-time, hourly-paid and non fixed positions, replacing real jobs.

Of course it's damaging, but it's also been inspiring to see students responding to turning over lessons to discuss the cuts and seeing them on the streets. It's politicised a lot of young people, and there's an opportunity there. At one of the University's I work at, it was great to see the art students working together to make protest banners, not in their studios but in the foyer, where other people could see and join in. And when I started talking with them, we began to realise that with all the technical resources of an art school at their disposal, it was possible to be much more ambitious and imaginative than just making banners or placards, the standard objects of protest. But the history of a lot of art-activist groups who had these kind of ambitions isn't taught, never mind the more popular history of the arts of social movements itself. And it's not just about knowing and being inspired by some

great utopian tales of adventure, or understanding yourself as part of a historical legacy – it leaves you strategically disadvantaged about

Marc Garrett

There are various other creative protest groups such as UK Uncut (<http://www.ukuncut.org.uk/>) and the University for Strategic Optimism (<http://universityforstrategicoptimism.wordpress.com/>), whom I interviewed live on Resonance FM, December last year (<http://www.furtherfield.org/radio/8122010-university-strategic-optimism-and-genetic-moo>). Are you connected to any of these creative activist groups, and are there any others in the UK you would like us to be more aware of?

John Jordan

Yes – I've worked with UK Uncut, and was unfortunately arrested in Fortnum and Mason, whilst recording the BBC 4 afternoon play, but that's another story! There are lots of interesting groups that work on the edge of art and activism, right now a space to keep an eye out for and to visit is THE HAIRCUT BEFORE THE PARTY – <http://www.thehaircutbeforetheparty.net/> – set up by two radical young art activists who have opened a hair dressers that offers free hair cuts and political discussion about organising and friendship, rebellion and the material needs to engage in it. The salon is in 26 Toynbee Street, near Petticoat Lane and open till November. It's an interesting example of a medium to long term, art activist project that attempts to create new forms of relationship and affinity, and sees itself as building radical movement and not simply representing them.

Gavin Grindon

Yeah, again the idea of the text was to build on the connections that are already there, which THBTP does too in a more informal, social way. And for sure, you shouldn't be seen at the June 30th strikes or UK Uncut's support actions without a flash new haircut. I should also get a plug in for Catalyst Radio – <http://www.catalystradio.org/a-new-24-7> DIY UK-wide activist radio station, which started up the other week and is still growing, and brings together a lot of radical radio projects from around the country.

Marc Garrett

Do you share a mutual empathy and respect for other protesters elsewhere such as those in Spain and in Greece, and in the Middle East?

John Jordan

Of course. Although it feels like the camp protests are lacking a conflictual approach and without the mixture of conflict and creativity, protest can easily be ignored, which is a

Gavin Grindon

Yeah, though I think there's a tension between the symbolic solidarity of occupying city squares and the strategic differences between activist practices in different countries. I think solidarity between these struggles is massively important, though I'm personally not sure how it's best to manifest that here right now.

Marc Garrett

In the User's guide, it mentions the workshops in art and activism at the Tate Modern, held by the Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination (Labofii), entitled it 'Disobedience makes history'. And that Labofii "was told, in an email, by the curators that no interventions could be made against the museum's sponsors (which happen to be British Petroleum) [...] decided to use the email as the material for the workshop. Projecting it onto the wall they asked the participants whether the workshop should obey or disobey the curator's orders."

What I find interesting regarding this episode is both that a big institution would take the risk of inviting in art and activist culture to their usually, protected environment whilst being sponsored by British Petroleum; and the different forms of controversies reaching the public from such situations. I am surprised that Labofii would even consider doing such a project in the Tate Modern in the first place, but also pleased, because of the dialogue that has come out of the clash of different political contexts. So, isn't it the case that we need to explore issues of corporate corruption further within these big institutions so that those who would not usually consider such things are suddenly faced with the issues?

Gavin Grindon

I'm sure JJ has plenty to say about this. But more generally, it depends *how* they function as a platform. An art gallery or a university can be a great discursive space to explore issues, but the bounds of that debate are also strictly limited in lots of ways. This is a problem with the idea of a bourgeois public sphere. Most often, that boundary is that you can debate whatever you like but questioning the basic systemic assumptions on which such



Art students staging an anti-cuts protest on the night of the prize giving ceremony. Photo: Andrew Winning. From FREE ART LONDON LIST. December 8, 2010.



5 minute clip excerpt from a longer documentary in January 2010. During 2 week workshop at London's Tate Modern entitled 'Disobedience Makes History' (labofii). View Video here – <http://vimeo.com/12664991>

spaces rest isn't possible, at least not in a practical way. The lab's workshop at the Tate tried to question exactly that kind of assumption about what culture is for, and who it benefits. But for many activists from social movements, who have less faith in the public sphere and its institutions to resolve issues by discussion, that neutered debate is more of a problem than a benevolent gift to the public, and they have to take a different approach. Its not necessarily opposed to those institutions as a whole, but just asks them to make good on what they claim to be.

John Jordan

It's a long story, but the key is to be able to put one foot inside these institutions and to be not frightened to KICK. But not to KICK symbolically, to really kick, to really shake them up and to be able to let go of one's cultural capital. The Labofii will NEVER be re-invited to do anything at the TATE, bang goes all our chances of a retrospective in the fashionable art activism world !!! ;) But, what we gain is that we were free ! When the curators told us that we could not do anything, could not take action against BP and we refused to obey them, we were free, we could do what we wanted because they could not give us anything in return. The Zapatistas say, "we are already dead so we are free" - when power can give you nothing you want, you can do anything.. this is a very powerful moment. To see the faces of the curators, the head of public, the head of security etc during the meeting where they tried to censor the lab, was priceless - they had always had power over artists, because artists will normally do ANYTHING to get their work in the Tate, but we did not care, we cared about the politics, about the actions, about climate change and social injustice - we were more powerful than the institution in that moment because we were no longer dependent on them.. it was one of the most beautiful moments... and now the movement against oil sponsorship is spreading everywhere. The message is simple, give up your cultural capital throw away your dependence on these institutions and be free...

Marc Garrett

I come from a background of hacking, social hacking and D.I.Y culture, and instead of going to University I chose to be self-educated, creating alternative groups for self discovery and art with dedication to social change. And even though, many are fighting the education

cuts right now, what are your own ideas around self-education, do students really need to go to college now that there are so many different forms of information and ways in creating one's own place in the world 'with others'?

Gavin Grindon

A lot of experiments with autonomous self-education have sprung up recently which ask just this question, like the Really Free School (<http://reallyfreeschool.org/>), there are even some more institutional business-model experiments online with peer-to-peer education. But at the same time the catchment of both of these is relatively narrow at the moment, so I think there's still a place for these kind of education institutions, and there are interesting radical experiments going on all over, either by individuals or whole departments, although the cuts to institutional funding for education by the government changes the playing field again, so there's an opportunity for something like this to become less marginal, both inside and outside the university.

Marc Garrett

JJ, In 2005 you wrote, Notes Whilst Walking on "How to Break the Heart of Empire", in it you write "Radicals are often vulnerable souls. Most of us become politically active because we felt something profoundly such as injustice or ecological devastation. It is this emotion that triggers a change in our behaviour and gets us politicised. It is our ability to transform our feelings about the world into actions that propels us to radical struggle. But what seems to often happen, is that the more we learn about the issues that concern us, the more images of war we see, the more we experience climate chaos, poverty and the every day violence of capitalism, the more we seem to have to harden ourselves from feeling too much, because although feeling can lead to action we also know that feeling too much can lead to depression and paralysis..." How the hell do you remain positive when you know how many horrible and disgusting things are being done to decent folks and the planet all of the time?

John Jordan

Unfortunately there are no magic recipes that can protect us from such feelings, a lot depends on context on our particular situations etc. But here are a few tips that have helped me keep the despair of capitalism at bay:

1. Resist the spell of individualism that capitalism tries to weave around us, a spell that chains us to the fantasy of autonomy and keep us in a state of sadness and paralysis. Break this spell and its toxic chains by realising that you are part of a greater whole, that working with others gives us strength, that seven minutes making real friendships (face to face) is more political than seven days glued to a computer browsing social networks in a trance, that inevitably fails to shake the loneliness of modern life.

2. Build a gang, a group, a collective, a crew - remember the joy of plotting things together, the power and possibilities when work and imagination is shared. In fact, imagination finds it's insurrectionary potential when we share it, when it's freed from the privatised ego, escapes from shackles of copyright and the prison's of the art world.

3. Learn the skills to work together with others, consensus decision making, group facilitation, conflict resolution etc. We need to relearn collective working methods, capitalism has destroyed all our tools of conviviality and we need to reclaim them back, recreate new forms of being together.

4. Redefine Hope. Not as something that will come and save us, like a saviour, but as something that comes from not knowing what will happen next, something that takes place when we act in the immediate moment and don't know what will happen and trust that history is made from acts of disobedience that did not necessarily have any idea of what the next step was...

5. Remember that victory is not always what happens, but what did not happen. Social movements tend to forget this. Look at all the nuclear power stations that WERE not built, all the wars that did not happen, the laws that were never passed, the free trade agreements that were never agreed on, the repressions that the state could not get away with, the gmo's that were never planted. One of my favourite books, what I call prozac on paper, is Rebecca Solnit's HOPE IN THE DARK (http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/28048.Hope_in_the_Dark) - it's a lovely little book

which redefines hope in the most beautifully optimistic way, recommended reading when capitalism seems irresistible.

6. When everything appears useless, try to change your conception of time... think deep time, not shallow modern now time, but think about the generations that went before you and those that will come after you. Try to imagine what the generations of the future will think about your actions, imagine those from the past that fought for the emancipation of slaves and yet never saw the results of their actions, those who died for the eight hour day, for the right to build a union, the right to vote or publish an independent magazine. Spend time imagining how those alive in 50, 100 years will view your life and work...

Marc Garrett

In the publication, you mention Marx and Debord. "We can all be engineers of the imagination"...that our "general intellect", all the collective knowledge and skills we use in making things, are taken away from us and embodied instead in the machines of our work. What would happen if we somehow re-engineered these machines if we did what Guy Debord argued and started, "producing ourselves... not the things that enslave us." Do you see the recent cuts across the board as an example of how the powers that be are actively dis-empowering the working classes?

Gavin Grindon

Definitely. The cuts aren't just about an experience of 'austerity,' however long term, but constitute a historical attack on poor and working people. They're an attempt to technically recompose the material of the institutions, structures, ideas and habits people live through, in order to limit their ability to resist and remake them for themselves. In factory production, that involved the local restructuring of machine-labour, but later at a wider level Keynesian economic restructuring. This neoliberal restructuring of education is an extension of capitalist discipline into a new area, an attack on a social space which has historically been a base for social change. The government has made this pretty clear by, for example, David Willetts's dictate amidst these massive cuts, to the Arts and Humanities Research Council, that the Tory party's vacuous advertising slogan "the big society" become a core research area, replacing the less ideologically narrow area of 'communities and

civic values'; and the Department for Business and Innovation's concomitant rewriting of the 1918 Haldane principle, that research directions are best decided by researchers through peer review.

The optimistic take on this is not that it's an inevitable recuperation of resistance, which was the position Debord tended towards in the end, but that capital is always on the back foot - that its own developments are driven by and a response to social movements. That it's an open dialectic (or if you prefer, not a dialectic at all). There's a kind of neurosis to it, although rather than excluding the other to maintain its ego, the state is including everything to stave off other possibilities - you can see this in the language. The whole discourse of 'participation' and networks in business (and since the 1990s, also in art), is as Boltanski and Chiapello observed in their book the New Spirit of Capitalism, a recuperation of the language and terms of 1960s social movements - movements which first properly gave birth on a mass scale to the kinds of self-consciously autonomous and creative politics, or art-activism, which we talk about in the guide. Likewise, the big society is focused on mutuality, and there's a strange recuperation of libertarian and radical thought by the thinkers behind it like Phillip Blonde. In this case, you're left with a stunted vision of the anarchist idea of mutual aid, without any institutional aid, and structurally limited mutuality. But rather than simply critique this, I'm interested to look at how we might otherwise structurally and materially embody other kinds of social relation. Obviously this starts on a much smaller scale, and is often more directly materially embodied. University departments' attempts to support radical philosophy within existing institutions and setting up new autonomous radical art institutions are two possible, but not mutually exclusive, directions here. As, of course, at the most local, accessible level, are the art-activist practices and objects we discuss in the guide.

Our new book-film is out "Les Sentiers de L'utopie"

Free online (in french)

<http://www.editions-zones.fr/>

Our blog

<http://lessentiersdelutopie.wordpress.com/>

Our twitter

@nowtopia

Some info for A Users Guide to (Demanding) the Impossible.

3 different links to download the publication:
<http://www.minorcompositions.info/users-guide.html>

<http://artsagaincuts.wordpress.com/2010/12/06/a-users-guide-to-demanding-the-impossible>

<http://www.brokencitylab.org/notes/required-reading-a-users-guide-to-demanding-the-impossible>

The Font used was Calvert is by Margaret Calvert, designer of our road signs.
Words: Gavin Grindon & John Jordan Design:
FLF Illustration: Richard Hougueuz Original
Cover: The Drawing Shed Produced by the Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, London, December 2010. www.labofii.net
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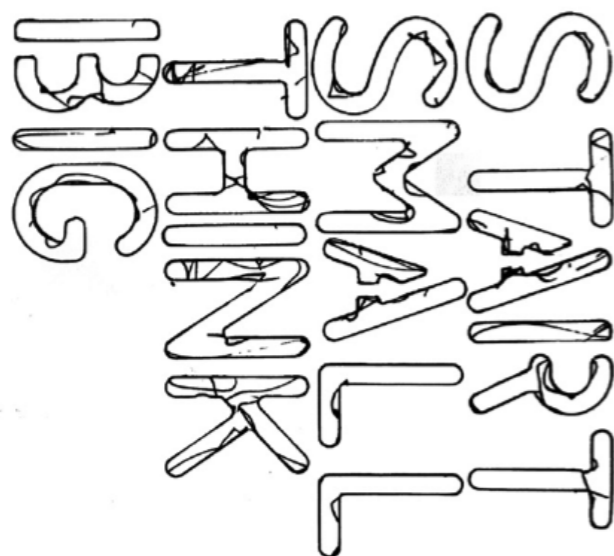
More about Minor Compositions - a series of interventions & provocations drawing from autonomous politics, avant-garde aesthetics, and the revolutions of everyday life.
<http://www.minorcompositions.info/>

Other Information

Crude awakening: BP and the Tate. The Tate is under fire for taking BP sponsorship money. Does corporate cash damage the arts — or is it a necessary compromise? We asked leading cultural figures their view. Interviews by Emine Saner and Homa Khaleeli. [guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk), Wednesday 30 June 2010. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2010/jun/30/bp-tate-protests>



44



45

THE ABC OF TACTICAL MEDIA

David Garcia & Geert Lovink

Tactical Media are what happens when the cheap 'do it yourself' media, made possible by the revolution in consumer electronics and expanded forms of distribution (from public access cable to the internet) are exploited by groups and individuals who feel aggrieved by or excluded from the wider culture. Tactical media do not just report events, as they are never impartial they always participate and it is this that more than anything separates them from mainstream media.

A distinctive tactical ethic and aesthetic that has emerged, which is culturally influential from MTV through to recent video work made by artists. It began as a quick and dirty aesthetic although it is just another style it (at least in its camcorder form) has come to symbolize a verite for the 90's.

Tactical media are media of crisis, criticism and opposition. This is both the source their power, ("anger is an energy" : John Lydon), and also their limitation. their typical heroes are; the activist, Nomadic media warriors, the praxter, the hacker, the street rapper, the camcorder kamikaze, they are the happy negatives, always in search of an enemy. But once the enemy has been named and vanquished it is the tactical practitioner whose turn it is to fall into crisis. Then (despite their achievements) its easy to mock them, with catch phrases of the right, "politically correct" "Victim culture" etc. More theoretically the identity politics, media critiques and theories of representation, that became the foundation of much western tactical media are themselves in crisis. These ways of thinking are widely seen as, carping and repressive remnants of an outmoded humanism.

To believe that issues of representation are now irrelevant is to believe that the very real life chances of groups and individuals are not still crucially affected by the available images circulating in any given society. And the fact that we no longer see the mass media as the sole and centralized source of our self definitions might

make these issues more slippery but that does not make them redundant.

Tactical media a qualified form of humanism.

A useful antidote to both, what Peter Lamborn Wilson described, as "the unopposed rule of money over human beings". But also as an antidote to newly emerging forms of technocratic scientism which under the banner of post-humanism tend to restrict discussions of human use and social reception.

What makes Our Media Tactical? In 'The Practice of Every Day Life' De Certueau analyzed popular culture not as a 'domain of texts or artifacts but rather as a set of practices or operations performed on textual or text like structures'. He shifted the emphasis from representations in their own right to the 'uses' of representations. In other words how do we as consumers use the texts and artifacts that surround us. And the answer, he suggested, was 'tactically'. That is in far more creative and rebellious ways than had previously been imagined. He described the process of consumption as a set of tactics by which the weak make use of the strong. He characterized the rebellious user (a term he preferred to consumer) as tactical and the presumptuous producer (in which he included authors, educators, curators and revolutionaries) as strategic. Setting up this dichotomy allowed him to produce a vocabulary of tactics rich and complex enough to amount to a distinctive and recognizable aesthetic. An existential aesthetic. An aesthetic of Poaching, tricking, reading, speaking, strolling, shopping, desiring. Clever tricks, the hunter's cunning, maneuvers, polymorphic situations, joyful discoveries, poetic as well as warlike.

Awareness of this tactical/strategic dichotomy helped us to name a class of producers of who seem uniquely aware of the value of these temporary reversals in the flow of power. And rather than resisting these rebellions do everything in their power to amplify them. And indeed make the creation of spaces, channels and platforms for these reversals central to their practice. We dubbed their (our) work tactical media.

Tactical Media are never perfect, always in becoming, performative and pragmatic, involved in a continual process of questioning

the premises of the channels they work with. This requires the confidence that the content can survive intact as it travels from interface to interface. But we must never forget that hybrid media has its opposite its nemesis, the Medien Gesamtkunstwerk. The final program for the electronic Bauhaus.

Of course it is much safer to stick to the classic rituals of the underground and alternative scene. But tactical media are based on a principle of flexible response, of working with different coalitions, being able to move between the different entities in the vast media landscape without betraying their original motivations. Tactical Media may be hedonistic, or zealously euphoric. Even fashion hype has its uses. But it is above all mobility that most characterizes the tactical practitioner. The desire and capability to combine or jump from one media to another creating a continuous supply of mutants and hybrids. To cross borders, connecting and re-wiring a variety of disciplines and always taking full advantage of the free spaces in the media that are continually appearing because of the pace of technological change and regulatory uncertainty.

Although tactical media include alternative media, we are not restricted to that category. In fact we introduced the term tactical to disrupt and take us beyond the rigid dichotomies that have restricted thinking in this area, for so long, dichotomies such as amateur Vs professional, alternative Vs mainstream. Even private Vs public.

Our hybrid forms are always provisional. What counts are the temporary connections you are able to make. Here and now, Not some vaporware promised for the future. But what we can do on the spot with the media we have access to. Here in Amsterdam we have access to local TV, digital cities and fortresses of new and old media. In other places they might have theater, street demonstrations, experimental film, literature, photography.

Tactical media's mobility connects it to a wider movement of migrant culture. Espoused by the proponents of what Nie Ascherson described as the stimulating pseudo science of Nomadism. 'The human race say its exponents are entering a new epoch of movement and migration. The subjects of history once the settled farmers and citizens, have become the migrants, the refugees the gastarbeiters, the asylum seekers, the urban homeless.'

An exemplary example of the tactical can be seen in the work of the Polish artist Krzysztof Wodiczko who 'perceives how the hordes of the displaced that now occupy the public space of cities squares, parks or railway station concourses which were once designed by a triumphant middle class to celebrate the conquest of its new political rights and economic liberties. Wodiczko thinks that these occupied spaces form new agoras. which should be used for statements. 'The artist', he says, 'needs to learn how to operate as a nomadic sophist in a migrant polis.'

Like other migrant media tactics Wodiczko has studied the techniques by which the weak become stronger than the oppressors by scattering, by becoming centreless, by moving fast across the physical or media and virtual landscapes. 'The hunted must discover the ways become the hunter.'

But capital is also radically deterritorialized. This is why we like being based in a building like De Waag, an old fortress in the center of Amsterdam. We happily accept the paradox of 'centers' of tactical media. As well as castles in the air, we need fortresses of bricks and mortar, to resist a world of unconstrained nomadic capital. Spaces to plan not just improvise and the possibility of capitalizing on acquired advantages, has always been the preserve of 'strategic' media. As flexible media tacticians, who are not afraid of power, we are happy to adopt this approach ourselves.

Every few years we do a Next 5 Minutes conference on tactical media from around the world. Finally we have a base (De Waag) from which we hope to consolidate and build for the longer term. We see this building as a place to plan regular events and meetings, including coming The Next 5 Minutes. We see the coming The Next 5 Minutes (in January 1999), and discussions leading up to it, as part of a movement to create an antidote to what Peter Lamborn Wilson described, as 'the unopposed rule of money over human beings.'

This manifest was written for the opening of the web site of the Tactical Media Network, hosted by the Waag, the Society for Old and New Media (www.waag.org/tmn). First distributed via Nettime in 1997.

http://subsol.c3.hu/subsol_2/contributors2/garcia-lovinktext.html



The First Things First Manifesto

Written in 1963 and published in 1964 by Ken Garland along with 20 other designers, photographers and students, the manifesto was a reaction to the staunch society of 1960s Britain and called for a return to a humanist aspect of design. It lashed out against the fast-paced and often trivial productions of mainstream advertising, calling them trivial and time-consuming. Its solution was to focus efforts of design on education and public service tasks that promoted the betterment of society.

Ken Garland's challenge to designers shifted the way that the design community approached many aspects of their profession.

The Occupied Times

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12



ONE YEAR ON STUDENTS MARCH AGAIN

RORY MACKINNON

CITY ISSUES ULTIMATUM

STACEY KNOTT

From occupation to an army on the march — Occupy London's student activists are to take to the streets again today over the Con-Dems' education cuts.

Up to 15,000 students, schoolchildren, parents and educators are expected to storm the Square Mile today, rallying outside the University of London in Malet St before marching through Trafalgar Square and up the Strand to Occupy London Stock Exchange in St Paul's Square — eventually arriving at London Metropolitan University in Moorgate Junction — the heart of London's financial district.

Organisers National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts said in a statement the march was an attempt to "derail" the government's higher

education agenda — "a chaotic and regressive attempt to introduce markets and private providers into education, effectively ending it as a public service."

The controversial policy includes plugging private universities, scrapping the education maintenance allowance for would-be school leavers and plans to cut university teaching budgets by a staggering 80 percent over the next three years — pushing administrators to drive up tuition fees and eke out new sources of revenue.

Today's march comes as the occupation movement appears to have returned to Britain's universities, with students at Birmingham University bedding down in its campus conference centre last week to protest staff cuts, increased fees and course closures.

Meanwhile students at St Andrew's in Scotland seized the university quadrangle to highlight its new £9000 fees and living costs, making it the most expensive place to study in all of Europe.

Camp residents told The Occupied Times last Saturday they hoped to see a turnout as big as last year's march on Tory headquarters in Millbank over the tripling of tuition fees.

Goldsmiths University student Reni told the Times she was still worried about how her younger sister would cope with fewer options and rising graduate debt.

But the second-year finance student said she also feared the changes would create a "two-tier system" of education, with working-class families and ethnic minorities missing out. >>

Last week both St Paul's and the City of London Corporation suspended their plans to evict the OccupyLSX camp, and the City called for a meeting with representatives from the occupation.

At the time of print, nominated members of OccupyLSX had attended one meeting with the City, which laid out three options; leave now, scale back the tents and leave within two months, or don't do anything but expect an eviction.

The City said it did not have a problem with protest, but the tents were blocking access of their "public highway" and it considered the tents "permanent erected structures".

Occupier James Albury, who attended the meeting, said the intention was just to listen to what the City wanted, and only respond if there was consensus at a later General Assembly.

Though there was no set plan on how to proceed after last week's meeting, James said "it's likely we will get about five recurring themes of what people want, then put those proposals to the General Assembly."

He said they will "respond (to the City) in the fashion the GA wants."

The City's requests were discussed at two different General Assemblies last week, and were branded an "ultimatum" by those present. >>

#1 TACTICS OF PROTEST NOW

This discussion explores tactical media in contemporary culture and social movements. In response to a deep economic, political, and cultural crisis, new social movements are challenging the dominant political and economic order. Tactical media, David Garcia says, has emerged through, 'the impact of the rise of small-scale DIY media, tools and networks in art, social and political activism, and the rise of new social movements.' How can tactical media connect with and re-contextualise the traditional methods of propaganda and create new alternative forms of action for the future?

RED TAPE

2012