

rumour that we had 24 hours to leave the country, but was never told that directly. The deportation papers actually said (as translated by the American consul) that we had been taken to the border and were to leave the country immediately from there. This was not true, but we would not have been able to prove to the police, if we had been stopped, that we were left at an airport in Milan with no money, not at the border. None of us had any money, and some had no passports. Two volunteers from a human rights group offered to take us to a safe house to sleep and to try to make arrangements to leave the country. We went to the safe house for the night. Sherman and I were reunited with our parents at the American Consulate the following day, and I flew home with my parents on 28 July.

Although I am grateful for the large amount of media attention the beatings have received in Italy and the rest of Europe, because I am sure the attention hastened our release, I also realize that the focus has been drawn away from the overarching issues and reasons for our presence in Genoa in the first place. I sincerely regret this.

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the south of the country to a standstill. The workers protest plans to cut the work force, one of the largest in the country, by half under a World Bank restructuring program. In the third week, strikers fire their union leaders and set up an independent negotiating team. The few trains that continue operating do so under armed guard.

>> **August 7** >> Frustrated by failed attempts to

persuade the government to give subsidies and to end food imports, Colombian farmers join rural communities in setting up roadblocks across the country. Two protesters are killed by police. Meanwhile, labour unions in Bogota go on solidarity strike in support of bus and taxi drivers, who are protesting increased taxes. Hector Fajardo, Secretary-General of the United Workers Federation says: "We [are out in] the streets to support

## Will A Death in the Family Breathe Life Into the Movement?

by Richard K. Moore

Seattle may have been some sort of watershed, but Carlo's killing in Genoa is a turning point for the anticapitalist movement (if we can call it that). How we play it from here will have repercussions far beyond the blood-stained streets of Northern Italy. It was no freak cub-cop overreaction that left one mother mourning and several others preparing to, as the sun hit the sea on Friday night, but a deliberate act of terror, in the most basic sense of the word.

The snowball that's been gaining weight and speed as it rolled through Geneva, Prague, and Gothenburg has become far too jagged a spike in the side of those steering the planetary carve-up. So bullets meet brains, and young people are shot dead for daring to think there can be another way.

The message from the world's authorities is clear: go back to your homes, do not meddle in what doesn't concern

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Bogota's drivers and protest against the neoliberal program emerging in Colombia." Meanwhile, in Sydney, Australia, a group of 25 Colombians take over the Colombian consulate, demanding an end to US influence over Bogota.

>> **August 13** >> Strikes and protests gather momentum in Argentina with a nationwide mobilization of *piqueteros*, the militant unemployed movement, which

you, return to your televisions, to smoking dope and stealing traffic cones, and leave the intricacies of global economics alone – because if you don't we will kill you. The same way we killed Carlo Giuliani.

For decades, the poorest of the planet's families from Asia, Africa, and Latin America have been burying the fathers, the sisters, and the first born sons who have dared to confront the forces of global capitalism. But Carlo's death spells something different. For the first time the global elite has begun to kill the children of its own people. Dissent will no longer be tolerated. The whip of economic dictatorship is finally cracking at home.

But where we go from here is still up for grabs. The globalizers would dearly love to see us run scared, or split our ranks with paranoid accusations of "whose side are you on?" Tactical difference should not be confused with police-collusion and counter-revolutionary activity ... or vice-versa.

True enough, there were cops in ski-masks leading the more excitable and naive among Genoa's young bloods on attacks on corner shops, bus stops, and post offices. But the agitators can be addressed. If everyone who takes any action knows why they are taking it, and knows what sort of action they think is necessary to achieve their goal, then the police will not be able to steer the crowds, the meetings, the discussion groups, or the movement as a whole. The problem is less one of infiltration, more one of focus.

The more liberal elements of groups (such as the Genoa Social Forum – GSF – or Prague's INPEG) need to understand that just because they have the ear of the

newspapers doesn't mean they speak with the voice of the people. The reformist agenda of these groups – who call for more legislation, more institutions, and stronger government control over the runaway capitalist train – is an entire philosophy away from the genuine participatory democracy sought by many.

Instead of calling for the deployment of "nonviolent methods of restraining and defusing violent behaviour" for those who fail to adhere to "the political and ethical parameters of our mass actions" (Walden Bello, I expected so much more from you), perhaps the up-in-arms brigade should be questioning their own attempted coup of the global resistance movement. Both INPEG and the GSF produced documents laying down "rules" for "participation" in what were illegal blockades of international meetings. The GSF tactical manifesto was insulting to the resistance history of many of its signatory groups. The anarchists were perhaps the only people (police included) who took to the streets with honest intentions, both about their goals and what they were prepared to do to achieve them. The anarchists have long been aware that power (be it economic or governmental) is the problem – not who holds it – and needs, therefore, to be removed altogether. The Black Bloc do not detract from 'the message' – they have a different message. And unlike the liberals and the hierarchical groups of the organized left who would, at best, replace those in power with their own institutions manned by their own people, and at worst, settle for a seat at the G8 table, the anarchist's message is not a lunge for the throne shrouded

in the smoke screen language of 'justice' and 'liberty'. The anarchists recognize that a power-wielding state is no better than a power-wielding corporation, and they are well aware that the police are the front-line defence for both.

This is not to dispel organization. Organization is imperative. Co-operation and communication between the disparate groups involved in the resistance is key. But an insurrectionary pseudo-government (complete with pseudo-police if Walden gets his way)? Hmmm ... it's two legs good, four legs bad time already.

The strength of this movement/loose-amalgamation-of-people-who-ain't-taking-any-more-shit has always been its leaderless fluidity, its constantly changing strategy, its unpredictable tactics and targets. This is why the authorities (until now) have found it so hard to get a handle on what we were up to – we weren't following patterns or playing by any discernible rules. Now, as we witnessed in Genoa, the Man has caught up. Infiltration is the price of protesting-by-numbers. Though Italy was an ideal venue for us to mobilize an unprecedented number of insurrectionaries, it was also a touch for the global

authorities who could mobilize one of the West's most corrupt, right wing, and violent state security forces. Recent history has shown the Italian security services are prepared to stoop to anything in order to undermine subversive movements. Genoa proved they haven't lost their touch.

The point has been made that if the nonviolent protesters came up with something that worked, maybe more people would adopt their tactics. However, nonviolence should not be confused with not rocking the boat – as often appears to be the case. Those who feel the 'violent anarchists' are curbing their successes should maybe look at how successful their own tactics are. It is no coincidence that Tony Blair 'welcomes' peaceful calls for debt reform – the communiqués are duly issued, the lip service paid, and then ... nothing changes, and the global carve-up getting mapped in the Oval Office doesn't miss a step.

Maybe the movement's time would be better spent skipping the anarchist witch-hunt and focusing on our common enemies. One of the more eye opening moments in Genoa came when the nonviolent protesters and the Black Bloc crossed paths. At around three o'clock on 20 July, a

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shuts down over 300 highways across the country. Over 100,000 unemployed workers participate and the economy is effectively paralyzed. Thousands are arrested and five killed, but the movement continues building momentum and support.

>> **August 15** >> Activists in Mauvezin, France tear up three plots of land where genetically engineered corn trials are growing. It is the third action since June when

the Agriculture Ministry was forced to publish the list of GMO test sites.

>> **August 16-20** >> The Dignity in Resistance Congress in Toez, Columbia sees 20,000 indigenous people gather to approve by consensus their position and plan of action for peace.

>> **August 16** >> The Yes Men send their WTO 'representative' to deliver the keynote address at the

'Textiles of the Future' conference in Tampere, Finland, where he models the Management Leisure Suit, with its gilded Employee Visualization Appendage.

>> **August 28** >> Angolan teachers defy a ban on their three day strike and take to the streets, demanding that the Education Ministry adhere to the agreed wage package negotiated by their union.

>> **August 28** >> Teachers in Blantyre, Malawi

Black Bloc tried to cross the Piazza Manin en route to the red zone. The nonviolent white-handed pacifists in the square refused to let them pass. Discussions between the two groups were interrupted by a vicious police attack during which the white hand protesters sat down, hands aloft, and took a severe beating without fighting back (as is their prerogative). However, an hour later when three masked youth walked back through the square, the (understandably upset) pacifists threw first a stick, then a bottle, then a rock at them. They saw the Black Bloc as the cause for their pain. No violence had been directed at the police wielding the boots, the clubs, and the tear gas, but strict pacifist adherence could be suspended in order to attack anyone without authority who had not stuck to 'their' tactical code. Perhaps this pacifist submission to authority says more about the authoritarian nature of the society they seek, than about their abhorrence of the Black Bloc's tactics.

The more reasoned voices of Italy's *Ya Basta* collective are already admitting the error of attacking the brick throwers (there is something twisted about an elite *Tute Bianche* hit squad in Subcomandante Marcos t-shirts beating people with crash helmets for wearing bandanas over their faces). However, the security services will no doubt be fuelling the fire of division and will embrace the 'peace-policers' (as they did during the anti-war protests of the 1960s) who, they hope in turn, will return the anticapitalist front-line to the letters pages of the *Washington Post*.

The rats inside the global red zone want us to crawl back to our workplaces, to the fear of unemployment, and to the

gratitude for an irregular playtime. But we can say no. We can say: we do not care how well protected you are with your armies, your police, your banks, or your brands, because we have had enough and we will not run from your guns.

These would-be leaders can scuttle off to Qatar, or cruise ships, or Rocky Mountain retreats, but we know their meetings have little impact on the real decisions made elsewhere. Perhaps we in the West should follow the example of India's farmers who removed Monsanto's headquarters brick by brick and took it away. If we don't like Bush's missile defence plans, we could go to Flyingdales and take it away... brick by brick, bullet by bullet. We have the ability to take capitalism out piece by piece, pound by pound. We could pick a company, say Balfour Beatty [construction conglomerate which builds dams, among other things] and put them out of business. A thousand actions at a thousand sites, dismantling every facet of their insidious business – would their shareholders bail them out? Unlikely. Then we could move on and up. When we can coordinate our actions as millions of people, then maybe we can dismantle the oil industry, the arms industry, the jail industry, the government industry...

The mass street actions we have been able to mount, and the dedication, planning, and application of those on the streets has shown us that we have the wherewithal to make decisions and carry them out regardless of what the state may think or threaten. If we put this dynamic to work away from the mega-summits we can become a threat again. But we need to be imaginative and we need to stay ahead of the

beast. Where we choose to go from here is crucial to whether we are in the process of sparking serious global change or whether we are merely in the death throes of another cycle of resistance.

If we don't want corporate activity in our neighbourhoods, let's chuck the corporations out. If we don't want the police or the government flexing their muscle in our neighbourhoods, let's stop recognizing their bogus authority and encourage others to do the same. Let's link our communities together – not through state or business initiatives – but through people who share a common struggle. If we believe in making changes and creating something better, and if we are prepared to take the risks and put in the time, then let's do it. Let's not let Carlo's death be in vain. Because when one of us catches a bullet, a club, or a jail sentence, a little bit of all of us dies. But together we are alive, and together we can, and we will, win.

## Protecting the Movement and its Unity: a realistic approach

by El Viejo (excerpt from an email)

Genoa showed that antiglobalization has become a vast social movement: 300,000 people demonstrated, despite the most intense criminalization campaign conducted since Prague and Gothenberg. And opinion polls in countries as different as Greece, Switzerland, France, and Italy indicate that a large majority is in favour of the movement.

To this massive popular pressure, our rulers (right and 'left') have not made even the slightest, the most reformist concession over the past three years. They have only one answer: police violence. Their plan is simple: frighten as many as possible so that they stay home and condemn the radical part of the movement; radicalize and criminalize the rest.

We must all abandon (at least in the short run) our self-important illusions that we can persuade or impose a single perspective on the whole movement. Debate must continue of course, but whatever our particular position within the

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demonstrate, demanding payment of back salaries, and the reinstatement of benefits, cut as part of austerity measures. Police respond with tear gas.

>> **August 29** >> Farmers in South Cotabato, Philippines join with local Earth First! activists to destroy genetically engineered corn. Tearing down fences and tearing up fields, the activists destroy the test site in five minutes. Police leave the scene when

confronted by the media, while Monsanto employees photograph the protesters, all of whom escape successfully.

>> **August 30-31** >> All major South African towns and cities are nearly shut down as nearly four million people participate in a two day strike against privatization and lay-offs. A union spokesperson says: "We want to broaden the public sphere and limit the

space in our society that is dominated by unelected, undemocratic, profit-driven forces."

>> **August 31** >> Over 20,000 people march against the UN World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa, saying that racial apartheid has been replaced by economic apartheid.

>> **September 2-7** >> A massive grassroots campaign, the Cry of the Excluded, organizes a