

Appendix 1

Interviewees

Altikriti, Anas	British Muslim Initiative and formerly Muslim Association of Britain, London
Anonymous	Federation of Muslim Organizations Leicestershire and Friends of Al-Aqsa, Web developer, Leicester
Anonymous	Stop the War Coalition, member with Internet responsibilities
Asad	Stop the War Coalition, former member, London
Ashraf, Nahella	Manchester Stop the War, Chair, Manchester
Azaim, Naazish	University of Leicester Islamic Society, member, Leicester
Benn, Tony	Stop the War Coalition, President, London
Bere, Jemma	Yorkshire Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, volunteer, Bradford
Bukhari, Zulfi	Muslim Public Affairs Committee UK, CEO, London
Cartin, Sarah	Yorkshire Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Development Officer, Bradford
Conway, Adam	Faslane 365, steering group member and website designer, Helensburgh
Craghill, Denise	Yorkshire Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Fundraising Officer, Bradford
Dadhiwala, Yaqub	University of Leicester Islamic Society, President, Leicester
Dadson, Nik	Society of Friends, Website Manager, London
Dalenius, Tove	Independent Muslim peace activist, Leicester
Evans, Maya	Justice Not Vengeance, activist, Hastings
Fisher, Peter	Society of Friends, Leicester Meeting House member, Leicester

Gee, David	Society of Friends, Joint Manager of Peace and Disarmament Programme and originator of Peace Exchange Portal, London
Gerard, Michael	Secular Society, Leicester
German, Lindsey	Stop the War Coalition, Convenor, London
Girdlestone, Miranda	Society of Friends, Information Officer of Quaker Peace and Social Witness, London
Goodwin, Chris	Leicester Campaign to Stop the War, co-ordinator, Leicester
Grant, Korin	Leicester Campaign to Stop the War, ex-Chair, Leicester
Heiden, Linda	Wandsworth Stop the War Coalition, member, London
Hodkinson, Stuart	Stop the War Coalition, former member, Leeds
Hudson, Kate	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Chair and Stop the War Coalition, officer, London
Hussain, Asaf	Academic and writer, Leicester
Ippy	Peace News (former) editor and Aldermaston Women's Peace Camp(aign) member, London
Jabeen, Sadia	Socialist Workers Party, District Organizer, Leicester
Jackson, Claire	Just Peace Leicester, member
Johnson, Richard	Leicester Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Treasurer, Leicester
Kent, Bruce	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Vice-President, London
Kirkwood, Graham	Lewisham Stop the War, London
Liddle, Anna	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Education Officer, Bradford
Lucas, Caroline	MEP, Green Party and Stop the War Coalition Vice-President, London
Marqusee, Mike	Stop the War Coalition, founding (former) member and writer and activist, London
McMillan, Isobel	Wandsworth Stop the War Coalition, Chair, London
Moghal, Manzoor	Muslim Forum, Chairman, Leicester
Nagdi, Suleman	Federation of Muslim Organizations, Press Officer, Leicester
Naima	Stop Political Terror, activist, London
Patel, Ismail	Friends of Al-Aqsa Chairman and British Muslim Initiative spokesperson, Leicester
Pearson, Helen	Just Peace Leicester, member

Qureshi, Asim	Cage Prisoner, volunteer, London
Rai, Milan	JNV, activist and writer, Hastings
Ridley, Yvonne	Stop the War Coalition, Respect and Islam Channel, London
Rundberg, Anna-Linnéa	Faslane 365, steering committee member, Helensburgh
Sayeed, Arif	Respect and Treasurer of University of Leicester Islamic Society, Leicester
Schust, Jesse	Voices in the Wilderness UK, Fairford Coaches, World Naked Bike Ride, participant, London
Scott	LCSTW, e-group moderator, Leicester
Shelton, Tom	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, London
Soulsby, Peter	MP, Labour MP, Leicester
Talbot, Chris	Respect, Leicester
Tallents, Jane	Faslane 365, member, Faslane
Tejabwala, Farida	University of Leicester Islamic Society, Chair of Justice Campaign, Leicester
Webb, David	Yorkshire Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Convenor, Leeds
Weitsch, Martina	Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA), Brussels
Whiting, Steve	Society of Friends, Peace Campaigning and Non-Violence Manager, London
Zelter, Angie	Faslane 365, steering committee member, Helensburgh
Zina	Independent peace campaigner, Leicester

Appendix 2

Anti-War and Peace Groups

A.N.S.W.E.R. Coalition (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism) is a Marxist-led American protest organization prominently involved in the post-9/11 anti-war movement. It was formed on 14 September 2001 with a national steering committee that sought to incorporate a broad range of organizations that campaigned against US intervention worldwide and for social and economic justice within the US. <http://answer.pephost.org>

Act Together: Women Against Sanctions on Iraq is a group of UK-based Iraqi and non-Iraqi women working against war on Iraq. They formed in 2000 to campaign against the economic sanctions on Iraq and the subsequent US invasion. Since then they have focused on the occupation and seek to support independent grassroots women's initiatives in Iraq. <http://www.acttogether.org>

ARROW (Active Resistance Against the Roots of War) is a non-violent direct action affinity group set up in September 1990 to oppose the Gulf War (called Gulf War Resisters at the time). From July 1991 until May 2003, ARROW kept a weekly vigil going every Monday evening outside the Foreign Office opposing economic sanctions and war on Iraq. ARROW has also taken action on other issues, including Hawks to Indonesia, National Missile Defence and Northern Ireland, but its main focus has been US/UK military intervention in the Third World.

Bare Witness is a small, artistically oriented group that works to communicate messages of peace by, for instance, holding nude protests that spell out protest messages. <http://www.barewitness.org>

British Muslim Initiative (BMI) was formed in February 2006 from members once involved in MAB, BMI seeks to fight Islamophobia and racism, encourage the integration of Muslim concerns and politics into British society and improve relations between the West and the Muslim world. It has consistently been involved in anti-war campaigns and co-sponsored a number of London marches with StWC. <http://www.bminitiative.net>

Cage Prisoners is a human rights organization which campaigns for the release of detainees from Guantánamo Bay. They are predominantly a Muslim group, though

have a number of non-Muslim supporters. They are based in the UK, though do not have a central office, rather they are a virtual network of volunteers. Their key aims are to educate the public about detainees, campaign for their repatriation, support detainees families, motivate others to take political and legal actions and prevent similar treatment of other communities in the future. <http://www.cageprisoners.com>

Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT) was founded in London in 1974 and works to limit the arms trade through information briefing and some involvement in direct actions. Their aim is for the reduction and ultimate abolition of the international arms trade. It was created by a broad coalition of groups and individuals in the UK and is funded primarily by individual supporters. Its specific aims are to end government support for arms exports, end exports to oppressive regimes and end exports to countries whose social welfare is threatened by military spending. <http://www.caat.org.uk>

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was founded in 1958 with the aim of convincing the British government to support unilateral nuclear disarmament, and utilizing mass demonstrations as one means to do so. In both its first and second waves of popularity – early 1960s and early 1980s – CND's strategy was to win the Labour Party to its cause, and through the Labour Party, the government. <http://www.cnduk.org>

Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases is a campaign which raises public awareness, scrutiny and accountability of American bases in the UK and opposes weapons of mass destruction. It evolved out of the long campaign of protest at Menwith Hill, North Yorkshire. <http://www.caab.org.uk/>

Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army is a performance-based anarchist-orientated network of activists who use clown costumes to transgress the seriousness of protest while also providing anonymity to those involved during actions. They have been involved in a number of anti-war protests in the UK. <http://www.clownarmy.org>

Code Pink is a predominantly American and female peace and social justice anti-war network, founded late in 2002, that is characterized by often extrovert protests such as wearing flamboyant clothing and parodying symbols. <http://www.codepink4peace.org>

Faslane 365 was a campaign aiming to mount continuous protests, in groups of 100 or so activists, over a whole year (1 October 2006 to 30 September 2007), outside the Faslane Naval base in Scotland. The campaign stems from the Faslane Peace camp which was established in 1982 to protest nuclear facilities at Faslane. <http://www.faslane365.org>

Friends of Al-Aqsa is a small Muslim voluntary organization based in the UK which supports Palestinians, and in particular stands for the protection and safety of Al-Aqsa Haram Sharif (The First Qibla) in Al Quds (Jerusalem). <http://www.aqsa.org.uk>

Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp lasted from 1981 to 2000 as an all-women protest against nuclear facilities at RAF Greenham Common in Berkshire. <http://www.greenhamwpc.org.uk>

Helping Households Under Great Stress (HHUGS) was set up in September 2004 in response to the increasing number of 'anti-terror' arrests across the country. HHUGS provides practical support and advice to households devastated by the arrest of a family member. <http://www.hhugs.org.uk>

International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) is an NGO based in London working to prevent the spread of small arms and weapons. It is recognized by the United Nations and has several hundred affiliations worldwide. <http://www.iansa.org>

Just Peace (Leicester) calls for peace and justice for all people in Israel/Palestine. It is a group of mainly, but not exclusively, Jewish people based in Leicester and Loughborough. They aim to promote awareness of a Jewish voice which speaks out against human rights abuses and racism in Israel/Palestine. They are opposed to the unlawful occupation of the West Bank and to the building of the separation wall. Just Peace Leicester was launched in June 2003. <http://beehive.thisisleicestershire.co.uk/default.asp?WCI=SiteHome&ID=11983>

Just Peace was a London-based Muslim group who campaigned against the Iraq war. It was specifically aimed at promoting Muslim participation in the anti-war movement, articulating a shared concern for freedom from oppression and injustice.

Justice Not Vengeance (JNV) is an anti-war group that developed out of ARROW (Active Resistance to the Roots of War) in 2003. JNV opposes the US-UK 'War on Terror' and campaigns for a peaceful resolution of international conflicts based on justice and equality. It provides a number of anti-war briefings and analysis and instigated a number of protests, often in London. <http://www.j-n-v.org>

Labour Action for Peace was founded during World War II (in 1940) and is a lobby group of members, trade unionists and socialists working for peace, though it is not pacifist, seeking to influence the Labour Party. <http://www.labour-peace-action.org.uk>

Labour Against the War is a group in the Labour Party campaigning against the war in Afghanistan and Iraq especially. <http://www.labouragainstthewar.org.uk>

Leicester Campaign to Stop the War is an autonomous non-party group loosely affiliated to the national StWC. It served as the main coordinating body for anti-war protests in Leicester and was formed in 2001 in response to the US-led attacks on Afghanistan.

Military Families Against the War (MFAW) was founded in the UK, some time after similar organizations in the US (e.g. Military Families for Peace, Military Families Speak Out), campaigning for troop withdrawal in the name of participants (partners and relatives) in the Iraq War. They are opposed to the continuing involvement of UK soldiers in the Iraq war. <http://www.mfaw.org.uk>

Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) was established in 1997 to advance Islamic causes and promote Muslim interaction within British society. It called demonstrations to support Palestine and worked with StWC to co-organize anti-war

demonstrations against the Iraq invasions. It aims to represent Muslim interests politically (through lobbying and involvement in protests) and to the media. <http://www.mabonline.net>

Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) was formed in 1997 to raise Muslim concerns with the wider society. It was favoured by Labour as a key Muslim ally until October 2006. It is a national body with over 500 affiliated national, regional and local organizations, mosques, charities and schools. Its key aims are to promote cooperation on Muslim affairs in the UK, be an advocate for Muslim communities and Islam, and to eradicate discrimination experienced by Muslims. <http://www.mcb.org.uk>

Muslim Network was a network established with the support of StWC in 2006 to help strengthen anti-war organization in Muslim communities and the coordination between Muslims and non-Muslims in the movement.

Muslim Public Affairs Committee UK (MPACUK) is a civil liberties group that began with a focus on the distorted media presentation of Muslims, but has since widened to broader political lobbying and grassroots community action, much of it a response to the 'War on Terror'. <http://www.mpacuk.org>

Network for Peace is a contact point for queries about peace organizations and activities. It is a network set up to continue the work of the National Peace Council, one of the oldest peace organizations in the UK. <http://www.networkforpeace.org.uk>

Nukewatch is not a membership organization, but a network of individuals that monitors and tracks weapons of mass destruction being moved in Britain between Aldermaston in Berkshire to Coulport on the West coast of Scotland. <http://www.nukewatch.org.uk>

Peace Pledge Union was formed in 1933, asking men to pledge not to engage in war. It is the oldest secular pacifist organization in Britain. <http://www.ppu.org.uk/>

Reclaim the Bases organizes protests, direct action and civil disobedience against military bases across the UK. <http://www.reclaimthebases.org.uk>

Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) is a pacifist denomination of Christianity, established in England in the 17th century. Quakers are notable throughout the history of British peace movements and the various Friends' Meeting Houses across the country are often familiar spaces of peace organizing. <http://www.quaker.org.uk>

Respect Party was founded in 2004 as a left-wing socialist party. It has associations with StWC and the Socialist Workers Party as well as with such notables as Harold Pinter and Ken Loach. Its best-known member is George Galloway, who has been Respect's MP for Bethnal Green and Bow since the 2005 election. <http://www.respectcoalition.org>

Rhythms of Resistance (ROR) is an anti-capitalist activist samba band network, established around 2000, of carnivalesque musicians often appearing on anti-war

demonstrations. There are groups in several European cities. <http://www.rhythmsofresistance.co.uk>

School Students Against the War (SSAW) is a self-organized group of young people, based all around the UK, campaigning against the 'War on Terror' and for peace. They joined national anti-war demonstrations, held benefit gigs and sought to mobilize school students against war. <http://www.ssaaw.co.uk>

Stop Political Terror was established in December 2003 to campaign against the criminalization of the Muslim community under the anti-terror laws and for the release of Muslim detainees from Guantánamo Bay. It did not officially have a religious affiliation, but was Muslim orientated.

Stop the War Coalition UK (StWC) is the dominant umbrella organization in the UK movement opposing the 'War on Terror'. StWC was created in late 2001, days after the September 11 attacks, with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) taking a lead in bringing together a range of campaigners and creating a durable working relationship with both CND and the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB). <http://www.stopwar.org.uk>

StopWarOnIran.Org is a New York-based group encouraging people to sign an online petition and to lobby politicians against a US-led attack on Iran. <http://stopwaroniran.org>

Students against the War is a site of first-hand reports from student and school pupil protests, and calendar of forthcoming actions. <http://www.studentstopwar.org.uk/>

Trident Ploughshares is an anti-nuclear weapons campaigning group formed in 1998 specifically to oppose the Trident nuclear weapons system. It is known for its acts of civil disobedience which are non-violent, open and accountable. <http://www.tridentploughshares.org>

Turning the Tide is a non-violent activist group within the Society of Friends which seeks to help Quakers translate their faith into action. They promote the use of active non-violence as a strategy for enacting social change. <http://www.turning-the-tide.org>

United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ), established late in 2002, is the leading US coalition opposed to the Iraq War and US involvement in war more generally. More than 1400 local and national groups are affiliated. <http://www.unitedforpeace.org/>

Voices in the Wilderness UK is an organization concerned with the humanitarian crises in Iraq. It has broken economic sanctions by hand-delivering medical supplies to children's hospitals. <http://www.voices.netuxo.co.uk>

War on Want is a group asking people to sign up to a campaign saying that 'the only war worth fighting is the war on poverty'. <http://www.waronwant.org/>

WOMBLES (White Overalls Movement Building Libertarian Effective Struggles) are a small anarchistic group centred in London who once dressed in white overalls

with padding and helmets at protests. They are chiefly anti-capitalist, but involved in some anti-war activities. <http://www.wombles.org.uk>

Women in Black is a loose-knit international network of (predominately middle-aged and educated) women who are anti-war. Its groups have a high degree of autonomy, but characteristically hold peace vigils in locations such as Jerusalem, New York and London and maintain regular contact through email and the Internet. <http://www.womeninblack.org.uk>

Women Praying for Peace is a loose organization of women linked by the Internet, all praying for peace at the same time of day.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is the oldest women's peace organization in the world, headquartered in Geneva and established in 1915. <http://www.wilpf.org>

Yorkshire CND is part of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament network, fighting for the abolition of nuclear weapons. It plays a major role in campaigns against Menwith Hill and they have organized major demonstrations, conferences and events in Yorkshire and the UK. They use lobbying, public speaking, organizing demonstrations and stunts, leafleting, letter writing and non-violent direct action. <http://www.yorkshirecnd.org.uk>

Notes

1 Post 9/11

1. Socialist Alliance brought together radical socialist groups operating on the far left from around 1992. A significant element, encouraged by the SWP, joined together to form the Respect Party in 2004 and fought the 2005 General Election. Respect's only MP is George Galloway, who represents Bethnal Green in the East End of London.
2. The Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) was established in 1997 to advance Islamic causes. The British Muslim Initiative (BMI) was formed in February 2006 from members once involved in MAB who wanted more assertive leadership. Neither group should be confused with the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), formed in 1997 to raise Muslim concerns with the wider society, and regarded in policy circles as the moderate voice of Islam in the UK, although its moderation has since been challenged.
3. See, for instance, BBC News 2006a, 2007a, 2007b.
4. We are conscious that 'terrorism' is a contested term, conceptually and substantively, just as there are different degrees of terrorist activity. Here we use the term to designate non-state violence directed against non-combatants and civilians that aims at generating fear and intimidation in order to advance a cause (Schmid and Jongman 1988; Townsend 2002).
5. We acknowledge that the label 'anti-globalization movement' is somewhat misleading, since many involved celebrate a different vision of increasingly global interconnectedness. However, all alternative labels are also loaded with additional political meaning that makes them more applicable to some groups than others (see Gillan 2006, pp. 78–82). Throughout we simply use the most instantly recognizable moniker for the period of activity to which we are referring.
6. Such is the superiority of the US in the military domain that Mohammed Ayoob and Matthew Zierler suggest that most other nations have been 'overawed' to such an extent that some seek Weapons of Mass Destruction, notably nuclear missiles, as 'the only equalizers against the precision-guided conventional weaponry that can be unleashed by the United States' (2005, pp. 38–39).
7. The coexistence of these policies sometimes results in rival impulses, so that at any time one or other is dominant. In this regard it is noteworthy that in specific areas the US has retreated from a fully liberal economic agenda, which is usefully captured by Mary Kaldor et al.'s (2003) characterization of 'regressive globalization' as the most recent phase of this policy.

2 Changing Information Environment

1. These figures were garnered from several sources, including Kiss (2007) and two websites that offer Internet activity statistics: ABC Electronics (www.abce.org.uk) and Alexa (www.alexa.com).

2. Adoption of the Internet does not mean that campaigners neglect mainstream media, as our informant reminded us, 'That said, despite all the problems involved, StWC works hard every day to catch the attention of both the broadcast and print media. It's a tribute to the tireless efforts of its press officers (one paid part-time, the others volunteers) that StWC still gets its voice heard occasionally in the mainstream media. Rarely a day goes by without some request for a radio or TV interview from somewhere around the world and StWC certainly cares when a request arrives – albeit rare – for a spokesperson to appear on *Newsnight* or *Question Time*'.
3. Hutton refers to a judicial inquiry conducted during 2003–4 at the behest of the British government. It examines the circumstances of the death of Dr David Kelly, a scientist employed by the Ministry of Defence, who apparently took his own life after being named as a source for a BBC news report alleging that the Blair government 'sexed up' information about the threat of weapons of mass destruction prior to the invasion of Iraq. Lord Hutton's report exonerated the government and criticized the BBC, leading to the resignation of its Director General, Greg Dyke.
4. Justice Not Vengeance (JNV) is an anti-war group that developed out of ARROW (Active Resistance to the Roots of War) in 2003. JNV opposes the US–UK 'War on Terror' and campaigns for a peaceful resolution of international conflicts based on justice and equality.

3 Representation, Beliefs and Identities

1. Much work has been carried out to identify a range of processes by which the frames activists present are aligned with more generally available cultural understandings (for reviews see Benford 1997; Johnston and Noakes 2005). This influential body of literature has not, of course, been without its critics, both conceptually and methodologically (Steinberg 1998; Gillan forthcoming b). The framing approach is certainly conducive to understanding claims made by social movement organizations that have readily identifiable boundaries, constituents and adherents. The variegated character of the present subject of study, however, is not amenable to that form of analysis. In any case what we investigate in this chapter is, on the one hand, relationships between movement claims and the forms of representation through which they are made and, on the other, relationships between representations and deeper structures of values attached to identities. For these reasons we do not enter into the crowded territory of theoretical debate on frame analysis.
2. ARROW (Active Resistance Against the Roots of War) grew from a group called Gulf War Resisters, set up in 1990 to oppose the first US-led invasion of Iraq. They use a variety of strategies for action and included enough committed members to have kept a weekly vigil outside the Foreign Office from 1991 to 2003. Their choice of prioritizing activity away from the Web is clearly, therefore, not a matter of lack of resources, but rather a political and strategic decision about what kinds of action are likely to be most effective.
3. For this reason, hyperlink structures have an impact on the way people may come to an understanding of the anti-war movement as a (more or less coherent) whole; we examine these structures in detail in Chapter 5.

4. Reasons adduced for this include increased lawlessness, violent crimes, violations of international humanitarian law, mass imprisonment, unemployment, oppression and migrations of professional classes, chronic malnutrition and preventable diseases from the dearth of drinking water, electricity and effective sewage disposal.
5. Yorkshire CND's MySpace profile is available at <http://www.myspace.com/yorkshirecnd>.
6. MPACUK began as a group aiming to counter negative portrayals of Muslims in the mainstream media. Suspicion of Muslims after the series of Al Qaeda attacks heightened the importance of their chosen task, and they broadened their role to focus on the 'War on Terror' and its attendant impacts on civil liberties.
7. Naturally, this affects integration within anti-war activism: 'I wouldn't say they're isolationist but I would say they . . . HT [Hizb ut-Tahrir] are elitist. And so they will attach themselves to the Anti-War Movement marches, but they won't mix, you know, they'll be very much a separate identity' (Yvonne Ridley, StWC and Respect).
8. Bruce Kent has been an active member of CND through most of its history; he was General Secretary of CND from 1980 to 1998 and Chair from 1987 to 1990.

4 Alliances and Fractures

1. The Communist Party of Great Britain (Provisional Central Committee) formed in 1991 (taking its name from an older, disbanded group) and is Marxist Leninist in orientation, producing the *Weekly Worker* newspaper.
2. Stop Political Terror was established in 2003 to campaign for the release of prisoners in Guantanamo Bay. As a Muslim-oriented group they have also confronted the impact on Muslim communities of new anti-terror legislation.
3. Friends of Al Aqsa is a human rights organization focused on Palestine. It also works to protect the Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, which is considered one of the three most holy mosques in Islam.
4. Turning the Tide are an activist group within the Quakers, translating elements of their faith into action for social and political change. They carry out training open to a wide variety of campaigners for social justice. Their website explains that they 'promote the understanding and use of active nonviolence . . . a way of confronting injustice – not responding violently, not doing nothing, but creatively engaging to transform the situation'.

5 Power and Borders

1. This is not *necessarily* the case. For instance, analyses of political parties with structured criteria for linking to organizations from their own websites can make larger assumptions about underlying motivations that structure hyperlink networks (Ackland and Gibson 2006). However, our interviews with anti-war website authors suggested much greater variability in motivations to create particular links and the absence of any consistent structure for deciding to create links, even within single organizations.

2. The software is available at <http://www.issuecrawler.net>; for discussion and examples of use, see Gillan forthcoming a; Rogers 2002; Rogers and Marres 2000.
3. Issue Crawler creates its own index, rather than relying on that of a major search engine such as Google. Thus all link data refer to the hyperlinks present while the software runs the analysis (typically less than 24 hours), rather than the index period for Google of approximately one month.
4. A website is defined here by domain name, thus 'internal hyperlinks' refer to pages with the same domain (e.g. stopwar.org.uk) and 'external hyperlinks' refer to pages with different domain names.
5. CAAT was set up in 1974 in response to growing concerns about the arms trade following the Arab–Israeli war the previous year. They focus attention particularly on the role of governments in facilitating the arms trade to oppressive regimes or countries involved in conflict.
6. People's Global Action (PGA) is a loose federation of anti-globalization activists that began in 1996 from a meeting called by the Zapatista Army of Liberation in Mexico. A launch conference was held in Geneva in early 1998. Its website is <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agnp>.
7. Anti-Taliban sanctions were provided by UN Security Council Resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1333 (2000).
8. The records of a meeting of senior government and defence officials (including Prime Minister Blair) held on 23 July 2002 in Downing Street appeared to confirm that the decision to invade was made months before the Security Council debates. The Head of British Foreign Intelligence (MI6), Richard Dearlove, reported there, on the basis of his recent visit to Washington, that 'Military action was now seen as inevitable. Bush wanted to remove Saddam, through military action, justified by the conjunction of terrorism and WMD. But the intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy'. The then Foreign Secretary Jack Straw was recorded as saying that it 'seemed clear that Bush had made up his mind to take military action', though the case was weak. The 'Downing Street memo', later leaked to the *Sunday Times* newspaper on 1 May 2005, is available at <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,2087-1593607,00.html>.
9. As always, obtaining accurate counts of participants is difficult. An approximate guide for March 2003 has been compiled by Doug Nesbitt and is available at <http://www3.sympatico.ca/djnesbitt/> (consulted 20 December 2007).
10. These figures are adapted from Walgrave and Verhulst 2003, pp. 11–12. Their analysis begins with eight countries, including Switzerland and the Netherlands, in the measurement of mobilization level. However, these governments' positions on the war (against and supportive, respectively) were far less vocal than the others in the groups. The authors therefore removed those countries for subsequent analyses.
11. The descriptors 'horizontal' and 'vertical' have been used by activists within the European Social Forums to indicate different organizational styles. These differences were a source of great tension in the period leading up to the 2005 edition of the European Social Forum held in London (Gillan 2006, pp. 276–84). Our use of the terms here maps only imprecisely onto activists usage, since we apply it particularly to groups' transnational relationships and understandings, rather their internal methods of working. We do not

intend to imply that groups working in these different ways are necessarily in tension.

12. Voices in the Wilderness UK were inspired by a US group of the same name. They have campaigned against international sanctions on Iraq since the early 1990s, taking sanctions-busting actions such as transporting medical supplies into the country.

6 Coping with Activism

1. Trident Ploughshares is an anti-nuclear weapons campaigning group formed in 1998 specifically to oppose the Trident nuclear weapons system.

Make Poverty History was an international campaign against absolute poverty that ran during 2005 involving a coalition of pressure groups, charities, trade unions, celebrities and religious groups. The campaign involved hundreds of organizations, including CND, though StWC applied for membership and was refused.

Nukewatch is not a membership organization, but a network of individuals that monitors and tracks weapons of mass destruction being moved in Britain.

2. Between January 2005 and April 2006 the total cost of rent was £3600 (around £200 per month), an extremely cheap rate for office space in central London.
3. At StWC's 5th Annual National Conference held in June 2006 at Friends House in Euston Road, a Financial Report was distributed (covering 1 January 2005 to 30 April 2006). This reported that £6810 in income came from membership. Since individual membership is £24 per year (£12 concession) this suggests there were then about 300 paying members of StWC. The reported annual income was in excess of £160,000 (with income from donations – at £32,000 – much more than from membership). In terms of expenditure wages accounted for £23,000, design and printing £34,000 and office costs (supplies, computers, postage, phone etc.) about £20,000.
4. Founded in 1994 as an outlet for left-wing journalism, Counterpunch is located in the US and associated strongly with the efforts of journalists such as Alexander Cockburn and Robert Fisk.

Founded in 1995, ZNet is a website, focused on journalism, which is updated daily to provide information to the left and progressive causes.

5. That bluntly tied the issue to Israeli treatment of Palestinians and presented the invasion as wholly without warrant on the part of Israel, thereby ignoring Hezbollah's deep-seated hostility towards Israel, Hezbollah's ambition to eliminate that nation from the region and establish an Islamic state in Lebanon and its paramilitary campaign of launching katyusha rockets and mortars at Israeli border villages from the Lebanese side of the border.
6. The article, by Geov Parrish, appeared in a US outlet, *Working for Change*, at <http://www.workingforchange.com/printitem.cfm?itemid=21261>.
7. Characteristic name-calling of politicians of whom it disapproves in its Newsletters includes 'Blair's war mongering' that is 'nauseatingly hypocritical' (22 February 2007). Similar language is exemplified in 'scurrilous politicians trying to divert attention from their war crimes' (30 November 2006), the Iraq invasion and occupation is routinely described as an 'illegal and

unnecessary war' (27 February 2007) while 'the scale of death and destruction reaches new levels of horror' (11 February 2007), and 'insurgents' are presented as acting legitimately.

8 Conclusions

1. Numbers are disputed for the London march, estimates ranging from 15,000 (from the police) to 100,000 (from the organizers) (BBC News 2006d).
2. Polls across Europe in February 2003 showed majorities opposed to invasion (BBC News 2003). As time went on this opposition increased, as clearly demonstrated by YouGov poll data (YouGov 2007, c.f. Travis 2004).
3. The 'suicide bombers' example comes from a protest against cartoons published in a Danish magazine that caricatured the prophet Muhammad in London on 3 February 2006. The protest was called by the banned Islamist group Al Ghurabaa in. See Cowan 2006, *Guardian Unlimited*, 2006.
4. A view shared by influential commentator Tom Friedman (2007), who writes that 'Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy didn't change the world by asking people to join their Facebook crusades or to download their platforms. Activism can only be uploaded the old-fashioned way – by young voters speaking truth to power, face to face, in big numbers, on campuses or the Washington Mall. Virtual politics is just that – virtual'.
5. Though most of us have little difficulty in distinguishing, for instance, between the Christian Socialism of George Lansbury and R. H. Tawney that had and continues to have an enormous influence on the Labour Party in Britain and the right-wing Christian Fundamentalism of the likes of Jerry Falwell and America's Moral Majority.
6. Sarfraz Manzoor reminds us that such an idea may also be found within Muslim groups. Reared in Luton by Muslim parents who came from Pakistan, the writer insists that Islam remains important to his identity, but he ran away from it when young because 'I wanted to be a Muslim like Philip Roth was a Jew or Bruce Springsteen was Catholic' (2007, p. 263), but he was told repeatedly that 'there was only one way to be a Muslim'.

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