

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 1973** Coup d'état in Chile which ended the legitimate government of Salvador Allende. Establishment of the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, which experimented with a 'free market' regime.
- 1979** Election of Margaret Thatcher as prime minister of the United Kingdom. Her government privatized public services and 'liberalized' the markets.
- 1981** Election of Ronald Reagan as president of the USA. His economic policies were similar to those of Pinochet and Thatcher. Greenham Common Peace Camp set up in the United Kingdom. Movement of peace camps against Reagan's militarism.
- 1983** First camp of the EZLN in the Lacandon jungle of Chiapas (Mexico).
- 1988** Protests against the IMF and the WB in Berlin.
- 1989** Election of George Herbert Walter Bush as president of the USA. Fall of the Berlin Wall.
- 1990** End of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, after a 'No' vote in a referendum (held on 5 October 1988) on extending his rule for another eight years.
Beginning of the work to demolish the Berlin Wall.
Riots against the Poll Tax in the UK.
Resignation of Margaret Thatcher and her succession as UK prime minister by John Major.

- 1991** Dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
Withdrawal of nuclear missiles from the Greenham Common military base.
- 1992** First protest camp of a new phase of the UK anti-roads movement at Twyford Down.
Creation in London of the Reclaim the Streets group.
Small Reclaim the Streets party in London.
- 1993** Protests against the M11 motorway in east London.
First battles between the EZLN and the federal army in Mexico.
- 1994** EZLN uprising, coinciding with the implementation of the NAFTA.
Declaration of the district of Wanstead as the independent zone of 'Wanstonia', in the area of the M11 motorway in London.
Protests in the UK against the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994.
Claremont Road leads the campaign against the M11. Eviction at the end of the year.
Formation of the autonomous activist group Tute Bianche in Italy.
Nexus collective costumes by the artist Lucy Orta.
Creation of the Luther Blissett pseudonym.
- 1995** Reclaim the Streets meet again in London. First parties.
Independent parties staged by British collectives across the United Kingdom.
Creation of the WTO.
International call by the EZLN and formation of support groups across the world.
- 1996** First Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism in Chiapas (27 July–2 August), called by the EZLN.
Growth of Reclaim the Streets parties.
- 1997** Reclaim the Streets-style parties outside the UK.
Second *zapatista* Encounter held in several places in Spain.
Emergence of Kein Mensch ist illegal [Nobody is illegal] at *Documenta* in Kassel, the origin of an international anti-racist network which defends the rights of migrants.
- 1998** Creation of PGA, a transnational coordinator of social movements.
Organization of the first days of global action, coinciding with the meeting of the G7+1 in Geneva (May). First global street party.

- 1999** Start of the strike at the Universidad Autónoma de México to prevent an increase in university fees.
Celebration of a Global Carnival Against Capital, coinciding with the G8 meeting in Cologne.
Protests against the WTO in Seattle.
- 2000** Successful end of the strike at the Universidad Autónoma de México.
Public appearance of the *Tute Bianche* in demonstrations.
Last event convened by the London group Reclaim the Streets: a huge act of guerrilla gardening on May Day (1 May).
Various No Border Camps established in different frontier zones.
First big European ‘counter-summit’, against the IMF and the WB, in Prague.
Workshop *De la acción directa como una de las bellas artes* [Of direct action as one of the fine arts] at the MACBA, organized by La Fiambrera Obrera collective.
End of the peace camp at Greenham Common.
- 2001** First World Social Forum held at Porto Alegre in Brazil (January).
Las Agencias project in the MACBA, Barcelona (May).
Disbanding of the *Tute Bianche*, which became the *Disobbedienti* [the Disobedient Ones].
Protests against the G8 meeting in Genoa (18–22 July). Death of activist Carlo Giuliani at the hands of the police (20 July) and police raid on the Diaz Pertini school (21 July).
Attack on the Twin Towers in New York (11 September).
- 2002** Creation of CIRCA (Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army).
Creation of YOMANGO [I STEAL].
- 2003** Global mobilization against the war in Iraq. The biggest demonstrations in history took place on 15 and 16 February.
- 2008** Collapse of the Lehman Brothers bank, which marked the beginning of a global economic crisis.
- 2010** Start of a wave of insurrection in various countries which became known as the ‘Arab Spring’.
- 2011** Continuation of uprisings in the Arab world. Fall of governments in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya. Protest camp in Tahrir Square, Cairo, Egypt.
Acampadasol, Puerta del Sol protest camp in Madrid (May–June).
Protest camps spread across the world.
- 2012** Occupy Wall Street camp in Zuccotti Park, New York (September).

Rodea el Congreso protest [Surround the Congress] in Madrid (September).

In Spain: 15M social movement, violent protests by miners, one-day general strike.

In Greece, rise of Syriza [Coalition of the Radical Left].

2014 Creation of Podemos [We Can] in Spain in January. The party achieves 8 per cent of the votes in the European Elections in May. In Greece, Syriza receives the most votes in the European Elections.

Creation of municipal electoral groups, such as Municipalia in Madrid, later called Ganemos [Let's Win], and Guanyem in Barcelona.

2015 General Elections in Greece: Syriza becomes the main political force.

Municipal elections in Spain: Podemos allies with municipal assembly groups (such as Ganemos and Guanyem). These coalitions win in major cities including Madrid, Barcelona, Cádiz, and La Coruña. In Barcelona, Ada Colau, a former squatter, becomes mayor.

General Elections: Podemos enters into pacts with regional groups, and wins 20.66 per cent of the votes, gaining sixty-nine members in the 350-member parliament.

GLOSSARY

There are concepts that bring people out onto the streets. Seeking to avoid unnecessary terminological barriers, this brief glossary includes definitions of some terms that are relevant to the text. There is a collective character to the authorship of this section, carried out by artists, activists, theoreticians The writers are in one way or another part of a ‘community of resistance’: the voices are those of *buah! fanzine* (bf), Esteban Pujals (EP), Jordi Claramonte (JC), John Jordan (JJ), Julia Ramírez Blanco (JRB), Leticia Fernández-Fontecha (LFF), Miguel Ángel Martínez (MAM), Olivia Nieto Yusta (ONY), Stephen Duncombe (SD), Stephen Lambert (SL), and Sole Parody (SP).

Activists Those who develop an activity of invention, dissemination, and coordination in relation to initiatives geared towards changing society and the political system which regulates it (EP).

Anarchism A political ideology in which all authority over the free will of individuals and groups is rejected. In particular, social organization in the form of the State is rejected. But in its place, faith is placed not in market forces, where buying and selling take place according to the wealth of each person, but in cooperation between free and equal people both in terms of rights and wealth, through the self-management of collective resources. In any case, throughout history there have been many tendencies that have been claimed as anarchist, so the nuances between them are important (MAM).

Artistic Activism A hybrid practice combining the aesthetic process-based approach of the arts with the instrumental, outcome focus of activism. It recognizes that in order to shift power you need also to shift perspectives, and in order to shift perspectives you need also to shift power. Artistic Activism blends the affective and the effective (SD and SL).

Assembly A way of taking decisions in which all implicated parties intervene, preferably by consensus; that is to say, without carrying out votes which leave one part of the group in the position of losers (EP).

A form of self-organization, coming from the libertarian tradition and based on the radical equality of all people, which seeks collective responses to the issues that affect the community. If there is not active listening and respect, it is not an assembly (*bf*).

Autonomy The capacity to provide one's own laws. It is always specific and for that reason it is limited or dependent. Dependency and autonomy go together like inhalation and exhalation. To deny the former would be folly, to deny the latter bad faith (JC).

Civil Disobedience Everything we take for granted—the weekend, gay rights, contraception, women wearing trousers, the right to strike, to form a union, to print an independent 'zine—everything was won by civil disobedience, by people breaking laws that they felt were unjust. In his essay envisioning a future world without government where everyone was free to become the artist of their own life, Oscar Wilde suggested that 'Disobedience, in the eyes of anyone who has read history, is man's [*sic*] original virtue. It is through disobedience and rebellion that progress has been made.' He knew that only by acting out his greatest desires, even if they could land him temporarily in jail, was he going to be really free (JJ).

Counterculture Starting out from the assumption that cultural institutions constitute an extension of the political system of privileges, dedicated to the indoctrination of citizens, this expression designates an alternative culture developed outside of institutions and often inverting their values (EP).

Since the 1960s, there has been a project of underground youth culture opposing the consumerist hegemony. This should not be understood as a pure space separated from the world, but if we think of it as a network of practices, memories, and experiments in autonomy, it continues to make more beautiful lives possible (*bf*).

- Direct Action** Direct action enables us to take control of our own lives, refusing to accept the authority of bureaucrats or politicians, ‘leaders’, or ‘experts’ to act on our behalf. It sets itself apart from the dangers and betrayals of representation and puts affairs into our own hands, allowing us to act collectively to confront our own concerns (JJ).
- DIY** In a world run by ‘experts’, ‘specialists’, ‘pundits’, ‘doctors’, and ‘professionals’, DIY (do-it-yourself) is presented as the empowering imperative which breaks the barriers of exclusive qualification. ‘You want to do it? Well, do it!’ And, one can add, ‘if you don’t know, you can always learn’. This is at the basis of the concept of self-management (SP).
- Empowerment** A process of self-recognition and self-affirmation by people belonging to marginalized social groups. This process involves making visible, giving dignity to, and recovering qualities and rights attacked or denied by dominant social groups. The becoming aware of one’s own power is accompanied by the consequent use of this to enact social change: action added to liberation. It is an individual transformation which affects the group, and vice versa. The personal is political (SP).
- Free Culture** The concept of culture as an exchange of work (software, music, literature, etc.) that takes into account that, for its very existence, creator and recipient are equally important. Free culture returns to authors the power of decision over the forms of production and publication of their works and implicates the recipient as an active subject responsible for the work received. It seeks new forms of distributing and commercializing works, understanding artistic creations not as products at risk that should be protected from their consumers, but as goods that should be shared and cared for by the community (SP).
- Horizontality** While hierarchical systems configure ‘vertical’ structures where some people are placed above others, egalitarian modes of organization form horizontal structures where all individuals are on the same level. Horizontality, therefore, refers to collaboration without hierarchies (JRB).
- Imagination** The faculty of representing imagined or real images. In imagining, we manipulate information from memory, converting elements already perceived into a new reality. Imagination gives rise to experience. Imagination gives form to new realities, other possible worlds. Imagination does not understand limits or impossibilities. Utopia takes form, first of all, in the imagination. To imagine is not to evade. To imagine is not to run away. To imagine is to resist. Imagination as resistance (LFF).

Liberated space A term used to describe those plots and buildings that are appropriated by a collective, *liberating* them from the exclusivity given to them by private ownership at the same time as allowing their new users to develop there *in liberty*. The ‘liberation’, then, consists in a recovery and return to society of a spatial resource, which is typically urban (MAM).

Self-Management In relation to activities and/or spaces, the term ‘self-management’ refers to the practices of administration, action, and development carried out by a group of people acting in an autonomous way. Autonomy, applied in these cases, results in models of horizontal management, not dependent on sponsors or external support, in which more importance tends to be given to the process than the achievement of objectives. The polar opposite of capitalist models of profitability and alienation, self-management seeks the empowerment of people and the development of sustainable projects (SP).

Self-Organization A term which emerges from the study of biological models and refers to the process by which the pattern of a global system emerges through the interaction between the individual elements of that previously disorganized system. Applied to political and social movements, it concerns models of coordination that come from interaction between like-minded people. It is related to self-management, assembly processes, and working in networks (SP).

Social Movements Refers to methods of supporting causes or initiatives, not organized around political leaders or parties (EP).

Throughout history, social movements are understood as collective phenomena with a certain degree of consolidation, in which some organized groups mobilize the population around them in order to question political decisions, legislation, or problematic situations (MAM).

Social Sculpture A term invented by the German artist Joseph Beuys, social sculpture refers to what he called an ‘expanded concept of art’. For Beuys, the role of the artist consisted in creating situations in which everybody recognized his or her own potential to be an artist and to transform society. The material of art was society itself, instead of traditional materials such as wood, metal, or painting. Social sculpture included remodelling the social fabric. For Beuys, this included implicating oneself directly and also conducting politics in the real world. Beuys was one of the founders of the German green party and promoted forms of direct democracy through his extensive work as a teacher (JJ).

Squatters People who occupy all or part of a building without being granted any right to do so by its owners. Above all, it is a way of claiming the right to use a house or another type of property given the impossibility of doing so with one's own resources, and it is also a form of protest at the unequal distribution of wealth in this matter. Because of their political demands and the experiences of collective self-management of many of the squatted spaces, squatters can be considered as members of a social movement, although they are not always recognized as such and there are few formal structures of coordination between different squatters (MAM).

Perroflautas [lit. 'dog flutes'] The meaning of the expression (originally used by certain right-wing Spanish politicians) is to discredit social movements by identifying them with a common urban image of the last three decades: that of a young heterosexual *neo-clochard* couple who beg money playing the tin whistle and who tend to be accompanied by a dog. In the United Kingdom, the term 'dog-on-a-string' is often used in a similarly disparaging way to describe these people (EP).

Prefigurative Politics Prefigurative politics are actions and events that say YES: this is the world we imagine, dream of, and desire, rather than simply NO—no war, no sexism, no banks, no climate change—no, no, no, no, etc. ... Examples of this vary from the large spectacular street parties of Reclaim the Streets where motorways filled with cars were replaced with dancing, partying people, or the huge 15M camps and direct democratic assemblies, to the much smaller scale, such as paying a parking-metre space for a day and turning the parking space into a picnic or a garden. People who practice prefigurative politics realize that giving others a taste of a better future world in the present can serve to change the horrors of today (JJ).

Ravers A term used to describe those individuals who organize or participate in improvised clandestine parties in the open air, in natural environments, or abandoned buildings, which can last for anything from a single night to several days, and which are accompanied by music, generally electronic (techno, house, electro, dance, etc., along with their variants). The number of participants fluctuates, and can involve large gatherings of people (ONY).

T.A.Z. (Temporary Autonomous Zone) Invented in 1990 by Hakim Bey, the T.A.Z aims to keep the creativity, energy, and enthusiasm of uprisings without replicating the inevitable betrayal and violence that has been the reaction to most revolutions throughout history. The

answer lies in refusing to wait for a revolutionary moment but creating spaces of freedom in the immediate present whilst avoiding direct confrontation with the state. A T.A.Z is a liberated area ('of land, time or imagination', says Bey, while insisting on its being in a physical somewhere!), where one can be *for* something, not just against, and where new ways of being human together are explored and experimented with (JJ).

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