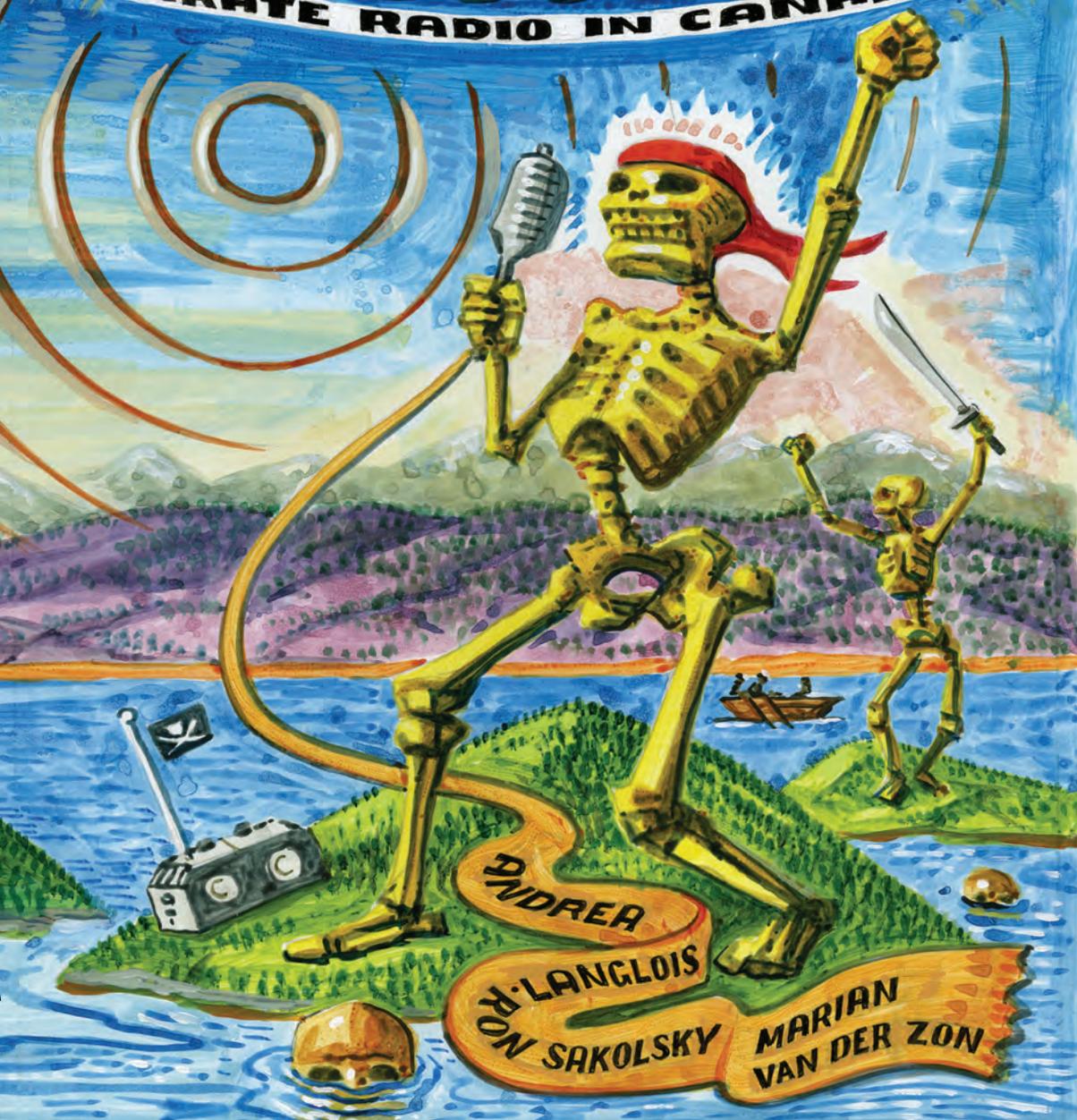


# islands of resistance

PIRATE RADIO IN CANADA



DVDREA

RON LANGLOIS

RON SAKOLSKY

MARIAN  
VAN DER ZON



*Free Radio Tent City banner*

# Amplifying Resistance

## *Pirate Radio as Protest Tactic*

Andrea Langlois and Gretchen King

GRIPPED TIGHTLY IN THE HANDS OF ACTIVISTS, A BANNER reading “Free Radio Tent City” was marched into Montréal’s Lafontaine Park on July 3, 2003, announcing the Radio Taktic pirate station to the world. Or, if not to the world, at least to a park full of activists in the process of pitching tents and preparing to squat a part of the 40-hectare park in Montréal’s inner city. Radio Taktic activists sought to bring together voices denouncing the city’s housing policies and the plight of the homeless. Unlike the subtext of the protest slogan, “The whole world is watching,” the action of taking over the airwaves during the tent city was not intended to launch the action into the sphere of corporate media for the whole world to see. Instead Radio Taktic, at 104.9 on the FM dial, played an important role in the protest — supporting it strategically and amplifying the voices of those typically silenced in our society.<sup>1</sup> Radio Taktic’s equipment was used in three broadcasts during political protests that summer. For Montréal, a city with many media activists, the creation of Radio Taktic was embedded in a community committed to using media tools to support the struggle. For these activists, access to the media is a central element of social justice work. Unlicensed radio is intrinsically a contestation over private property and the power concentrated in media institutions; it is about the creation of autonomous zones in which alternative forms of culture can be created and diffused.

Autonomous media,<sup>2</sup> ranging from pamphlets to zines, pirate radio, and websites, have long been essential elements of the activist toolkit. By creating their own media, individuals and groups involved in social justice struggles take the representation of social movements into their own hands. These media become spaces within which symbolic power is contested — the power to communicate diverse realities. In the case of Radio Tactic's broadcast at Tent City, this meant airing the unmediated, live voices of those impacted by homelessness and poverty — voices often marginalized, excluded or stereotyped in the mainstream. The temporary station was set up under a tree in full view of those taking part in the tent city, with the antenna up amongst its branches, in order to encourage participation.

Accessibility was the key to encouraging participation and bypassing mainstream representations of the action (i.e. those within the corporate news), which was seen as a way to communicate directly to neighbours about Tent City.<sup>3</sup> By airing political analysis and amplifying the voices of those affected by the tent city, the activists were hoping to politicize both residents of the tent city and its neighbours. In a climate where media portrayals of activists encourage mainstream audiences to be intimidated by protest actions, this radio broadcast provided a way for the neighbours to learn about the protest from a distance. The goal was to engender support and to encourage dialogue and participation through the use of a call-in number, breaking down the barrier between Tent City residents and those of the neighbourhood, therefore strengthening the action.

As a form of autonomous media, pirate radio can work in realtime to present information and analysis about social issues and to air reports about the status of protest actions as they unfold. When used as a tactic in protest situations, pirate radio pushes the medium of radio beyond the confines of mere representation. Not only is the broadcast used to communicate a particular view or representation of events, it also becomes a manoeuvre or device for accomplishing the task of protest itself — for example, it may be used to communicate the movements of the police, or to keep supporters engaged with the play-by-play of a protest, indicating what areas need support or what direction the protesters are heading. With the help of eye-witness call-ins, police scanners, or a variety of other information collection mechanisms, pirate radio can become a valuable communications tool.

In the case of the July 2003 Tent City in Montréal, it is hard to assess

whether the goals of the pirate radio broadcast would have been fully achieved, because the tent city, which was intended to be a week-long action, was shut down before the first night was over. Police hovered around the edge of the park for the entire day — as people set up their tents, cooked meals, held workshops and broadcast illegally across the airwaves. Late in the evening, police backed a large sound truck into the park and announced that city bylaws empowered them to clear the area at midnight. At this point the broadcast equipment was moved to a nearby house and the broadcast continued throughout the night via web-streaming.

The broadcast itself was limited from the beginning — broadcasting from a tree meant the antenna signal reached only the park and not much beyond. The goal of narrowing the gap between neighbours and Tent City residents was difficult to achieve, partially due to the large size of the park and the fact that the signal did not end up reaching beyond it. Yet, some neighbours did come by to see what Tent City was about and to offer support. (Whether they heard the radio broadcast is impossible to know.) The technological challenges faced by the micro-station were compounded by the threats of police violence, the risk of having the broadcasting equipment confiscated and the pre-emptive end to the action. At midnight, the police moved in to crush the tents and homes that had been installed by the people experiencing poverty and their allies. They were met with resistance by the protestors, but within a few hours of their initial orders to vacate the park, the police moved further in and the people drew back. Eventually the police took over the whole of the park, but not before several arrests of Tent City residents and injuries on both sides.

Radio Tactic carried this news — reported via cell phone — streaming resistance music and audio from the day's action over the internet into the night. Although the public space of the park was cleared out, Radio Tactic's resistance continued, albeit from another location. It is important to note that while the police were enforcing city bylaws around camping in parks, they never challenged (or perhaps did not notice) the occupation of the airwaves by Radio Tactic. The right to occupy the public property of the park was apparently under negotiation, but the airwaves remained for the taking.

The act of occupying the airwaves has roots in resistance movements around the world. Radio Alice, set up in Italy during the 1970s to support social movements, was used for many community purposes,

from the creation of art to informing activists of the movements of the police during street protests. This tradition continues in many European countries, such as in France.<sup>4</sup> Since the late 1990s, pirate radio has been regularly used in North American protest actions and by social justice movements, such as Y2WTKO Radio run by media activists in Seattle, Washington. As documented on line:

While throngs of protestors liberated the streets of downtown Seattle during the World Trade Organization convention, several small, independent pirate radio cells liberated the airwaves on Seattle's FM dial to report on the protest and rouse the rabble with incendiary rhetoric and riotous mood music. . . . Y2WTKO, broadcast into Seattle for five days from a tree on the Olympic Peninsula with music, updates on the demonstration, and relayed news programs from shortwave radio, Olympia's KAOS [a licensed community station], and the local television audio frequencies.<sup>5</sup>

Pirate radio also has strong roots in Mexico, with Radio Insurgente<sup>6</sup> operated by the Zapatistas in Chiapas, and was used in 2006 to support a popular uprising in Oaxaca. In this uprising, radio was an integral component of resistance as a mass movement occupied 14 licensed radio stations and a television station, using the media to mobilise people and fight back against state and federal repression. Since that time, indigenous communities across Oaxaca have started pirate radio stations as part of their political and cultural resistance.<sup>7</sup>

The use of pirate radio within protest movements is a unique form of autonomous media in that the very act of transmitting over the airwaves constitutes an illicit, transgressive action, whatever the content. Other forms of autonomous media, such as open publishing websites like Indymedia.org, push forms of communication into more participatory realms, but are not implicitly transgressive in the same way as pirate radio. When a media tool enables the action of activists, it becomes more than a means of dissemination. It becomes a means of disrupting the social order and transgressing the boundaries of the law. Tactics of transgression are radical, pushing the hegemonic system to its limits, demanding change, and thus heightening the intensity and the immediacy of certain issues. Transgression through pirate radio pushes for the creation of a different world, not by seeking new legislation governing radio waves, but through the creation of a different way of communicating.

Those who use pirate radio as a protest tactic push the boundaries of

how we participate in discourse, change how we communicate ideas and information, and question the legitimacy of regulating the air waves as a form of private property. Pirate radio is therefore a form of direct action — a refusal to engage in a politics of appeal to governments, preferring instead the crossing of boundaries, interfering with the state's power and challenging the commercialization of communications. Withdrawing consent by purposefully transgressing the state's laws, pirate radio practitioners engage in a politics of imagining — a politics of creation.

As activist and anthropologist David Graeber suggests, this anarchist practice of challenging authority is what is hopeful about the new social movements engaged in criticizing capitalism.<sup>8</sup> Radical activists seek to dismantle what they see as an illegitimate system, a challenge which is evidenced in their choices of tactics — from organizing unsanctioned marches to occupying the airwaves. Just as asking for a permit from the municipal government to protest in the streets would be seen as giving legitimacy to that institution, an unlawful march challenges the notion that the streets can belong to anyone. As protesters march through the streets crying out the slogan, “Whose streets? Our streets!” they verbalize the fact that whatever the issue at hand, the march itself becomes an act of revolt. An act based in a refusal to consent to the rules and regulations of dominant institutions. As Francis Depuis-Déri, a Montréal based activist and academic, describes in his book about the black bloc:

Direct actions are also conceived as skirmishes that permit those who participate to send a message onto the public stage and to feel stronger, freer, to deviate from passive citizenship, which encourages liberalism, and to become political agents. These skirmishes are as much micro-revolutions through which activists free themselves (at the risk of their bodies), the space (the street), and the time (a few hours) necessary to live, even for a moment, an intense political experience outside of the norms established by the State.<sup>9</sup>

Depuis-Déri's description of direct action within this context echoes definitions of the Temporary Autonomous Zone (TAZ). The TAZ, a concept developed by Hakim Bey,<sup>10</sup> is defined as a place or endeavour where people can engage in activities and ideas as though capitalist ideologies and state legislation does not apply. TAZs present the possibility of revolution through the creation of spaces in which to live out or to propose and develop alternatives. To borrow the words of David

Graeber, "It's one thing to say, 'Another world is possible.' It's another to experience it, however momentarily."<sup>11</sup>

This comparison sheds light on a common theme in pirate radio practice — that of prioritizing communication over dissemination.<sup>12</sup> With pirate radio there is not as much focus on dissemination in the mass media sense, with a fixation on the numbers of people listening and ratings — but instead on the act of communication. The feeling of freedom and autonomy that transpires by participating in a pirate radio broadcast is one that feeds the desire to communicate and to create alternatives. The goal is not to transpose power from one group to another, but to bypass or confront dominant power structures with an alternative model. And it is within this creation of TAZs that the possibilities for pirate radio lie.

Contesting access to public spaces through squats, protests and the occupation of the airwaves is central to insurrectionist resistance. While tactics are often the centre of debate and controversy within social movements — whether to stage a sit in, carry out an act of civil disobedience, destroy property or write petitions — there is less disagreement around the use of media tools in tactical ways to support and report on activism. Perhaps the lack of controversy can be explained by the highly mediated lives of younger generations who have been influenced by new media, do-it-yourself (DIY) culture, participatory alternative news websites and, more recently, social media. It is quite interesting that in Canadian activist circles the question of whether the airwaves should be free for the using is not a problematic one. The larger and more heated debates centre on whether to engage with mainstream corporate media, which are criticized for their (mis)representation of radical social movements.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, while pirate radio is seldom used in Canadian protest movements, it does not seem to be neglected because taking over the airwaves is controversial or rejected by activists, but simply because the technology or skills may not be readily available. Transmitter building workshops held at Montréal's anarchist bookfair, for example, have always attracted many participants, demonstrating that there are numerous people who want to learn how to build and use radio transmitters. However, there is often not enough experience or equipment to go around.

In the summer of 2003, this was not the case. A transmitter was available, there were activists skilled in setting up and running a pirate radio station and there were several protests planned. Free Tent City

Radio ended up being a trial run for Radio Taktic; a testing ground for what was to be a much larger mobilisation. The World Trade Organization's mini-ministerial meetings were going to be held in Montréal in late July 2003, and FM pirates would be ready. Media activists from across Canada converged on Montréal for the five days of protests, helping to set up an Indymedia Centre (which incorporated print, video and online media), participating in established shows on licensed community radio programs and helping to run the Rock the WTO Radio pirate station.

Large protests at events in other Canadian cities, such as the Summit of the Americas in Québec City in 2001, had illustrated the importance of independent media in mobilisations against neoliberal globalization. At those protests, Indymedia websites, video documentation and other forms of autonomous media served to keep activists informed of what was happening within the protests and to deepen their analysis of the issues at hand. These media were, in short, necessary elements in putting representation back into the hands of those involved, and bringing news and information to those not involved with the mobilisation. The intention behind Rock the WTO Radio was to create a soapbox for the average person to respond to the WTO meetings. The broadcast included live phone calls from the streets and audio recorded from throughout the convergence of resistance. This type of round-the-clock coverage would not have been possible to air within the conventional format of community radio stations. In Montréal there are five community radio stations (CIBL, CINQ, CISM, CKUT all on FM, and CJLO on AM, which was a web station in 2003), all of which have very specific mandates to fulfill with regard to the licences issued to them. Thus, it was agreed that those involved would set up a dedicated FM feed to amplify the resistance to the WTO on the streets, as well as to link up with local community stations to provide reports and to make them available for rebroadcast by posting them on Indymedia websites and that of Rock the WTO Radio.

A location for the broadcast studio was found in the storefront of Montréal's alternative bookstore — then known as Le Librairie Alternative, and now called Insoumise (Dissenter) — and an internet broadcast (i.e. streaming) was set up using open source software. The online element was of tactical importance.<sup>14</sup> Anyone hosting a pirate studio has to consider keeping the location and activity secret, and therefore may face difficulties in recruiting the community to par-

ticipate, especially potential programmers from marginalized groups already threatened by the law. Over the years, web radio has aided pirate broadcasters in their efforts to create loopholes in the criminalization of their activities by distancing the transmitter from the actual radio station. Although a pirate broadcasting studio can face threats from the police and other authorities, a webcasting studio is a legally legitimate space. In the case of Rock the WTO, the studio at the alternative bookstore was used to stream the station over the internet. A transmitter was then set up at a different location, connected to the internet and the signal from the webcast was broadcast onto the FM dial.

The alternative bookstore was the ideal site for the webcasting studio of Radio Taktic. The volunteers of the bookstore supported the mandate of the radio station and were enthusiastic to help with the work, providing access to the store's internet connection and phone line. Radio Taktic also had a passionate group of activists collaborating to bring the station together. Several people helped to build up the studio, others donated or built equipment and still others focused on programming and publicity for the proposed broadcast. The organization of the studio happened quickly. Others gathered the equipment needed to put the internet feed on the FM dial throughout the WTO meetings. The pirates also worked around the clock choosing a location for the transmitter and antenna, gathering equipment for the FM broadcast, building and installing an antenna and testing the signal. Once all was set up, Rock the WTO Radio was on the air 24 hours a day at 104.5 FM.

The studio setup was simple, with instructions carefully taped up in visible areas. The ease of use was geared towards first-time radio programmers and journalists. The studio table was small, holding a tiny mixer, telephone and the equipment needed for running audio through the board (such as a mini-disc player, CD player and computer). One participant constructed microphone stands out of wood. All of this was set up in the storefront window, allowing the broadcast to be visible from the street, and making it accessible to the public.

Before and during the five days of demonstrations, organized by the convergence of groups that called themselves the Popular Mobilisation Against the WTO, the Radio Taktic group held several meetings to discuss programming. The plan was for producers to record presentations at the teach-ins and speak-outs before the WTO meetings,

while others took on the role of calling in reports from the streets. A list of cell phone numbers was on hand in the studio for producers to solicit information and people could email news tips to the studio computer. Independent journalists also worked to collaborate on short daily documentaries that would present an audio representation of the days' events. These reports were available to radio stations through internet distribution (on websites such as Indymedia Montréal and CMAQ.net) and also aired on local community radio stations.

Because the street protests were an important element of the mobilisation, with over 500 people taking to the street for two major marches, Rock the WTO Radio served as an important tool in closing the communication gap between protestors at the march and those elsewhere. Several independent journalists called in or emailed reports regularly, plus the phone list at the studio provided a continuous supply of live voices. The phone number was also posted online, generating calls from supporters in other cities many of whom expressed their criticisms of the WTO and shared alternative visions for a world without corporate rule. Some callers were seeking information about friends who might have been arrested. The storefront space also allowed for engagement with passers-by. At one point the microphone was taken out onto the street and people were interviewed about the WTO and the protests. The result was broader community awareness of the reasons that people were protesting.

The demonstrations were a major presence in the city, blocking downtown traffic and ensuring that business was not "as usual." Temporary autonomous zones (TAZs) other than the pirate radio station spontaneously appeared throughout the city. One such TAZ, the "Green Zone," was set up just outside of the alternative bookstore as a place to hold impromptu meetings, connect with friends, or to take time to eat, rest and recuperate. As activists gathered in the empty lot after a snake march, police in riot gear massed nearby. Reports of the police hiding on side streets came in on the studio phone and Radio Taktic activists rushed to tell the crowd. Simultaneously, the cops moved forward and the demonstrators tried to disperse, but many of them were encircled.

The police action was broadcast live on air. No warning was issued prior to the police charging at the hundreds of people gathered in the lot. Mass confusion ensued, with people running north and south on the street. Many protesters were separated from their friends and

affinity groups. Some people in the immobilised crowd had cell phones and called in to Rock the WTO Radio from behind police lines. A microphone was set up on the street for independent reporters to air the voices of those outside of the bookstore. Many people expressed outrage at police actions.

As police officers processed the 240 arrested protesters, which took hours, Radio Taktic activists set up speakers outside so that the crowd gathered on the street could hear the updates and calls coming in from those detained by the cops. Programmers also aired many songs that spoke to police brutality, further highlighting the feelings of rage felt by those on both sides of the police line. Several journalists with Radio Taktic approached the police line to garner more information on what was happening to those being arrested. The police said nothing, but those watching the miscarriage of justice had much to say on Rock the WTO Radio. The programmers in the studio also continued to take calls from listeners, who expressed their solidarity with demonstrators and their outrage at the tactics deployed by the police. Although it was pure chance that the police encirclement of the protestors happened right beside the studio, the swiftness of the media activists in using pirate radio as a tool to expose the police brutality was not. The strategies set in place (call-ins, roaming reporters, etc.), were ideally suited for quick adaptation and broadcasting of up-to-the-minute details of the street actions. They served to create cohesion between what was happening within the encirclement and outside of it, as well as a way of documenting the police repression.

The recording of the broadcasts and their availability online enabled the transmissions to be archived for future purposes. The broadcast hosted by Rock the WTO Radio was carried by web-casters in the United States and Australia. The audio was also rebroadcast by CKLN, a community radio station broadcasting at 88.1 FM in Toronto and archived online, where numerous radio stations downloaded the audio for local rebroadcast. It served to document the events as they occurred, as well as helping to mitigate police repression. In this way, Rock the WTO Radio had an impact on what happened during the protests and it is very likely that the protests would have been less coordinated if the station had not been there to report minute-to-minute news and to inform activists and their allies on what was going on in the street. Furthermore, the station served as a training zone for many activists who did not have any previous experience in broadcasting

and who went on to continue their participation in media activism. There is nothing like participation in a relevant, high activity pirate protest to engender a passion for the potential of radio. Lastly, Radio Taktic literally rocked the WTO with countless in-depth discussions and information about the negative consequences of neoliberal globalization. At the end of the protests, some of those involved in the project were so inspired that they planned to keep the station running into the future. These aspirations were not fully realized, but Radio Taktic continued throughout that summer.

The last major mobilisation for Radio Taktic was a live broadcast from a simulated Palestinian refugee camp set up in the empty lot next to the alternative bookstore. This creative display was made up of several tents. One displayed profiles of two refugee brothers — one accepted by Canada, the other rejected — a second displayed audio/video productions of the stories of Palestinian refugees, including interviews with Palestinian refugees living in Montréal who were threatened with deportation back to camps, and another had a map of Palestine. The radio programming highlighted the goals of protestors who set up the interactive display featuring life in refugee tents. The emphasis of Radio Taktic during this symbolic protest was to focus on content about Palestinian refugees, encourage listeners to come to the “camp,” and interview the organizers on site.

Although Radio Taktic was a temporary pirate radio project, the lessons it has to teach activists are many. Free radio can be used to disseminate information about protest actions to a whole community, be a part of creative resistance, and, simultaneously, serve the needs of those participating in the protests. Radio Taktic’s reach was impressive, not only broadcasting locally, but also bringing the news of the mobilisation to other cities in Canada and other parts of the world via the internet. The decision to use web streaming during the anti-WTO protests is an important lesson of how to occupy the airwaves while maintaining a safe space and an accessible studio. Even if the station was not targeted by police in Montréal, taking steps to ensure that activists would not be directly linked to the illegal action of occupying the airwaves was an important precaution.

In other cities where there have been mass protests against the WTO, Republican National Convention or the Group of Eight (G8), such as in Genoa, London or New York, media centres supporting the actions have been targeted by police. In the case of Radio Alice, operating in

the late 1970s in Italy, the station's actions to support street protests resulted in it being shut down by police, and some activists involved in the station were charged with inciting a riot. The station, nevertheless, kept popping up in new locations.<sup>15</sup> In light of the repression that unlicensed stations sometimes experience, the fact that Radio Taktic's occupation of the airwaves was left uncontested by police is significant, especially considering the police repression faced by street protestors. It was, it seemed, literally "off the radar." In Canada most pirate stations do not face legal problems, unless there is a complaint made to the Canadian Radio-television Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), the federal government regulatory body that oversees telecommunication carriers. The threat of legal measures can, nonetheless, be seen as a barrier to people's involvement in setting up pirate radio stations. This is one aspect of pirate radio that sets it apart from other media tools and strategies.

Despite this difference, pirate radio is similar to other media in that it both presents barriers to participation and removes them. Although a small transmitter can be purchased cheaply through the internet and/or built with minimal tools, this can present a barrier to people without funds or the skills needed to solder the transmitter together or set up the antenna and studio. While the skill of hosting radio programming can be learnt and although pirate radio broadcasts have no set rules, other than those agreed upon by those collectively determining the project, being on air does require a certain amount of confidence and skill. Having more experienced radio broadcasters mentor people interested in hosting and deejaying is a great way to open spaces for involvement. Running the control panels in the studio equally requires skills that can be shared. Increasingly, activists with these aptitudes are creating spaces within which to share them and community radio stations are admittedly the training ground for many pirate radio broadcasters. Yet, the benefit of learning within pirate studios is that there is often no lengthy application or volunteer process, as with community radio (see Chapter 4 for more on this). And, because pirate stations do not have to be licensed, they are free from the guidelines that govern licensed stations. Furthermore, pirate radio enables media activists to bring the medium into the streets, thereby meeting the community where they are at.

A later use of pirate radio in Montréal, known as *Sonique Resistance* (Sonic Resistance), was an interesting example of bringing radio to the

streets. Sonique Resistance was an effort to build a portable sound system from recycled speaker parts. Activists constructed two homemade speaker boxes that rolled on plastic wheels so that they could be pulled by bicycles. The plan was to use a 1-watt transmitter to broadcast the sound to anyone carrying a boom box, thus amplifying the sound over a larger area. Unfortunately tests of the system were unsuccessful because the commercial radio stations' broadcasts overwhelmed the transmitter. Yet, if Sonique Resistance had been able to afford a higher watt transmitter — which would have required a \$100 instead of \$20 — their mobile sound system would have had the potential to bring the sounds of resistance to the streets, broadcasting from within protests and marches.

With the combination of technical and volunteer resources, pirate radio can effectively amplify protest action. In activist movements where mutual aid and the sharing of skills, knowledge and resources prevail, pirate radio is an excellent way to engage people in the creation of media content. Bringing a multitude of voices together creates a culture of knowledge in which those affected by oppression and marginalization are valued, abolishing the hierarchy of power so often reproduced in corporate media. By creating new spaces for freedom and autonomy, while also supporting resistance and dissent, pirate radio represents a tactic well suited to activist movements. This chapter outlines just a few examples of the use of pirate radio stations in protest — the future holds many more possibilities.

Shortly before this book went to press, activists converged on Vancouver to protest against the 2010 Olympic Games and the related issues of the criminalization of poverty and Olympic development on unceded indigenous land. Media activists in particular set up a few independent media projects. One was the Vancouver Media Coop,<sup>16</sup> which became the hub of video activism and also had a web radio presence. The second was an artist-run project called “VIVO 2010: Safe Assembly,” which included an unlicensed radio transmission with the “goal of facilitating cultural expressions that arise from the community in a lineage of solidarity.”<sup>17</sup> The latter station was shut down within 24 hours by Industry Canada officers (wearing Olympic-branded garb) who threatened VIVO as an organization with a fine of \$25,000 a day and with fines of \$5,000 per day for each individual involved in the broadcasts. The station went off air, yet continued to stream over the internet. Although internet radio is increasingly becoming a force

in autonomous media around protests, the Vancouver convergence illustrates that activists, and particularly artists in this case, continue to explore the possible uses of pirate stations in the context of direct action.

As this recent example illustrates, the tactical use of pirate radio no doubt maintains its place in the medley of tools used to amplify resistance and dissent, and, in the words of Felix Guatarri, to create “new space of freedom, self-management, and the fulfillment of the singularities of desire.”<sup>8</sup>

## NOTES

1. To see a video of the July 2003 Tent City, visit <http://vodpod.com/watch/1138340-100-riot-police-evict-tent-city-Montréal-2003?pod=feralvision>

2. Autonomous media are a particular kind of alternative media and are directly linked to social movements. They are defined by their openness — in terms of content and membership — and their objective of amplifying the voices of people and groups that normally do not have access to the media. Autonomous media are intended to provide people and communities with information that is alternative to that within the corporate mass media, and audiences are encouraged to participate directly in the production of content. Andrea Langlois and Frederic Dubois, *Autonomous Media: Activating Resistance & Dissent* (Montréal, Canada: Cumulus Press, 2005), <http://www.cumuluspress.com/autonomousmedia.html> (accessed September 11, 2009).

3. Park Lafontaine, located in the Plateau-Montréal neighbourhood, is over 40 hectares in size and was chosen because of its location and amenities, such as bathrooms.

4. Radio Libertaire has been operating since 1981, <http://federation-anarchiste.org/rl/index.html> (accessed May 10, 2009).

5. Miskreant, “Aural Assault! Free Radio vs. Free Trade in the Battle of Seattle,” [www.efn.org/~radio985/AuralA.html](http://www.efn.org/~radio985/AuralA.html) (accessed September 11, 2009).

6. See [www.radioinsurgente.org](http://www.radioinsurgente.org) (accessed May 10, 2009). According to their website, Radio Insurgente is a FM project which transmits from various places in Chiapas directed to the Zapatista bases, the insurgents and activists, commanders and local people in general. This program is broadcast not only in Spanish, but also in indigenous languages. The program mixes local, national and international news with music, educational and political messages, short stories and radio-novels. Radio Insurgente the media through which the Zapatista communities spread their own music, words and thoughts.

7. Charles Mostoller, “Oaxaca’s Media Wars,” *Znet*, <http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/17490> (accessed May 10, 2009). Also the film *Un Poquito de Tanta Verdad* (A Little Bit of So Much Truth), produced and directed by Jill Irene Freidberg, Corrugated Films 2008. See also Chapter 2 in this volume.

8. David Graeber, "The New Anarchists," *The New Left Review* 13 (2002), 61-73.
9. My translation. Francis Depuis-Déri, *Les black-blocs: La liberté et l'égalité se manifestent*, (Montréal, Québec: Lux 2003), 39.
10. Temporary Autonomous Zones are described in more detail in Chapter 9. See also the original text: Hakim Bey, *The Temporary Autonomous Zone: Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (New York: Autonomedia, 1991).
11. David Graeber, "The New Anarchists," *The New Left Review* 13 (2002), 70.
12. Anna Friz, Chapter 13 in this volume.
13. For more on the challenges activists face with the mainstream media, see: Andrea M. Langlois, *Mediating Transgressions: The Global Justice Movement and Canadian News Media* (Unpublished Master's thesis: Concordia University, 2004).
14. Web streaming is becoming more common in protest situations. For the September 2009 protests against the G20 summit in Pittsburgh, USA, media activists were planning a "G-Infinity" media centre. The plans for G-Infinity included a strong web radio component. <http://pittsburgh.indymedia.org/news/2009/08/31184.php> (accessed September 11, 2009).
15. The transcripts of a Radio Alice broadcast from 1977 when leftist and rightist student clashed in an angry but non-violent confrontation on the university campus in Bologna, which turned into a several day battle with police, are available online as part of an article printed in the Toronto publication *Red Menace* in 1978: [www.connexions.org/RedMenace/Docs/RM3-RadioAlice.htm](http://www.connexions.org/RedMenace/Docs/RM3-RadioAlice.htm).
16. <http://www.vancouver.mediacoop.ca>.
17. <http://videoinstudios.com>.
18. Félix Guattari, *Soft Subversions*, ed. Sylvere Lotringer (New York: Semiotext(e), 1996), 73.