

French scandals on the Web, and on the streets: A small experiment in stretching the limits of reported reality

Richard Rogers and Noortje Marres

Methodological Dictum

If it's not on the streets, it may be on the Web

But if it's not on the Web, and it's not on the streets...

Case closed?

Farmers are on the streets, but who are these farmers?

Better check the Web!

-academic graffiti, 2000-2001

Introduction

Using the above dictum as a methodological guideline, this short piece is an exercise in establishing telling relationships between the real and the virtual, within the context of the sociological study of the Web. We approach the question of relationships between the real and the virtual with some trepidation. The fact that this path of study appears well-worn has led us to consider, from the beginning, what we *do not* wish to accomplish in our discussion of relationships between the street presence and Web presence of French protests (and what that implies for French street romance).

Firstly, our analysis of relationships between the real and the virtual does not intend to make a contribution to the "war of the worlds," as S. Turkle phrased the desperate attempts to defend, or to resist, 'the virtual life'.¹ Indeed, our concern does not lie with interpreting individual emailers, and asking, for example, whether their virtual collective behaviour constitutes real community activity, or exhibits real clinical depression.

Secondly, and relatedly, we do not wish to enter into the "ketchup or mustard" discussion

¹ Sherry Turkle, "Commodity and Community in Personal Computing," in Donal Schön et al., eds., *High Technology and Low-Income Communities*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 341. The two 'worlds' may be found, respectively, in Allucquere Rosanne Stone Stone, *The War of Desire and Technology at the Close of the Mechanical Age*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995); and Albert Borgman, *Holding on to Reality: The Nature of Information at the Turn of the Millennium*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

of whether interactions via the Internet “complement” or “substitute” for their off-line manifestations, in extrapolating from the “real virtuality” theme.² Thirdly, we also do not wish to play with the idea that the Internet may hold up mirrors; in so tinkering, we will not juxtapose the word “web” for “art” in a variation on Woody Allen’s often repeated discussions about life and its imitators. (We are not that concerned about whether life imitates the Web, or the Web imitates life. That is better treated in the movies.) Whilst one may infer positions on the above points from our analysis, our intention is actually to find out whether the Web may provide a reality check about the romanticism and media mysticism of the streets. Thus the aim of our small experiment of “checking the Web” is to test its explanatory power - to see if and how the Web can come to our aid in filling in the picture of the streets (with protesting French either present or absent). Finally, the experimentation is not predictive; it is not an exercise in projecting “Web worlds” onto “real worlds,” so as to show which actors will hit the streets and which will not, with security implications. We are acutely aware of certain normative consequences of claiming to reveal at any given time, and without much effort, the most organised and “relevant” network of protest groups, often with names and addresses attached. (We are, however, not so naive to think that this knowledge is ours alone.)

The indispensability of “webbified”³ mass media

It is with these and other trepidations that we broach the question, can the Web be made to explain why “the French,” as romantics might have expected, have not hit the streets after the Crédit Lyonnais scandal? The initial suspicion handed to us by a proverbial romantic (if no offense is taken) was that “the French” may, if truth be told, instead have “hit the Web”. This is a delicate subject. The absorption, or supercedure, of the French streets by the Web in itself would be a French scandal.

It is important to point out that we know little of the Crédit Lyonnais scandal from our respective vantage points in Budapest and Amsterdam, and from our respective wired sources of knowledge and information. (We were told that the French did not hit the streets because of the Crédit Lyonnais scandal, and we were asked whether ‘the Net’ may have had anything to do with that.) “All we know” in terms of the French hitting the streets, recently, concerns not bankers but “French farmers”. (One of us saw “French

² The phrase is Manuel Castells’s.

³ It is our observation that mass media, though online, maintain their editorial independence by making sure not to ‘webbify’ journalistic pieces; that is, they rarely link within stories. The URLs of the actors mentioned are easily found, however, by means of a search engine.

farmers” hit the streets on TV, and then the other read about them in the newspaper.) While not wishing to make too much of our semi-ignorance, we consider the circumstance favourable in light of our question, i.e., what *the Web* (and not merely TV and the newspapers) can tell us about of French protests and scandals on the streets.

In asking whether the French hit the Web (instead of the streets), we are of the impression that an affirmative answer would imply a radical transformation of the rules of mobilization as they are set by mass media. The problem with the Crédit Lyonnais scandal, as we speculated among friendly analysts, was likely to be a problem of iconisation. The scandal's focal points - the “faux bilans” published by Crédit Lyonnais and the “substantial costs per French taxpayer” - assumed the form of numbers. Was it the scandal's resistance to exportation from this numerical realm into the more colourful, more material realm of media icons, that kept the French off the streets? If so, a solid presence of protesting “French” on the Web (and not on the streets) would mean that this medium in some way evaded the golden rule set by mass media: iconisation as indispensable for mobilization.

When boarding the Web, it is precisely the hope to short-cut the mass media and their golden rule of iconisation that has to be stowed. We mean this in two ways. Firstly, in order for the uninitiated (in this case, foreign, ill-informed researchers) to find protesting “French” on the Web, a familiar starting point is required; this can be none other than a mass “moteur de recherche” like altavista.fr or a mass “journal” like tout.lemonde.fr. Secondly, the meagre, dispersed presence of the Crédit Lyonnais scandal on the Web forced us to conclude that “the French who failed to hit the streets, didn't hit the Web either”.

Altavista.fr and tout.lemonde.fr provide the uninitiated with starting points. A story from ‘le Monde’ yields the names of the main actors involved in the scandal, among which is a number of potentially “http-ed” institutions (Crédit Lyonnais, MGM, Commission des Opérations de Bourse, la Cour des comptes, l’Inspection des Finances, le Trésor). With the aid of the search engine, their URL's can be found, as can additional actors in the .org and .asso.fr domains (where “Frenchmen” are most likely to hit the Web in their capacity as protesting Frenchmen).⁴ But these actors, even if they make mention of the scandal, do not link to each other. A webby network of organisations involved in or mobilizing around the scandal cannot be located. In the absence of any direct acknowledgment of other parties

⁴ See for example <http://www.mygale.org/corruptn/05-31.htm>

involved among our actors, we must conclude that the Web shows no sign of collective engagement with the issue. Thus we partially fill in the dictum:

There are Frenchmen not in the streets and not on the Web (Crédit Lyonnais)
There are farmers in the streets.

The question whether the Web allows for mobilization in the absence of media iconisation had to be, at least for this case and this moment, answered in the negative. In such an instance, we must admit we are not able to harness the explanatory power of the Web. The only way the lack of Crédit Lyonnais issue presence on the Web could serve as an explanation for the empty streets would be to say that the French haven't hit the streets, *because* they failed to hit the Web. We certainly wouldn't want to go that far. Secondly, we must admit that from the standpoint of the uninitiated, an unfulfilled romanticism of the streets cannot be replaced by a romanticism of the Web. (The streets are empty, but so is the Web.) In the case of empty streets, the hope that mobilization may be effectuated through the Web must be abandoned. Thirdly, we gladly admit that, at least for the moment, there is no need to start grappling with the issue of the absorption of the French streets by the Web. Instead we return to the romanticism of the streets.

De-iconisation of the French streets?

While one of us had a television encounter with French farmers on the streets which looked like proper street protest, the other read newspaper articles that presented a less straightforward story. *Tout.lemonde* makes allusions to the "phoniness" of the farmers (perhaps because an undigested Baudrillardian influence dismisses the romanticism of the streets whilst holding on to a romanticism of the streets); Dutch newspaper subsequently referred to a "bunch of disorganised anarchists, joyfully hopping on the protest train," whose act of 'activist tourism' thereby compromises the original cause of the farmers.⁵ The involvement of an impressive range of international entities in the trial following the farmer attack on a "Macdo" (we learn in the newspapers), seems to compromise a romanticism of the streets. It is hard to believe the international entities just dropped in out of the air, as the romanticist perspective that treats street protest as a spontaneously and righteously erupting phenomenon might have had it. We further fill in the dictum:

There are Frenchmen not in the streets and not on the Web (Crédit Lyonnais)

⁵ *De Volkskrant*, 30 June 2000.

There are farmers in the streets; but who are these farmers? (Better check the Web!)

With romanticisms of the streets seemingly compromised, the question becomes how else these “farmers hitting the streets” can be categorized. Because it is not just the romanticism of streets, but the romanticism of the French streets that seems shaken, the question as to the identity of the protesters becomes vital. Indeed, we seem to have stumbled upon the delicate subject of the French streets potentially being invaded, perhaps even taken over, by international entities. How do you find out? Better check the Web! Whilst it is the case that, for the uninitiated, protest on the Web cannot be seen as distinct from protest on the streets, from real wordly icons, the Web may nevertheless provide us with the means to stretch the limits of iconisation and gain a clear view of what the farmers are besides farmers.

Web Findings: Who are these farmers? Whose are these streets?

Following the same procedure as with the previous scandal, involved actors are distilled from an article at tout.lemonde.fr, and their URLs easily found (see the list in the appendix). Interestingly, even though the fact cannot be perfectly squared with allusions to ‘phoney farmers’ made elsewhere on tout.lemonde.fr (is this acceptable in the age of the media?), our article yields French-only starting points.⁶ (See figure one.) Whether or not le Monde should be dubbed romantic, our list of starting points is in keeping with the historicised French street romance of a spontaneous alliance of students and workers. The impression is only reinforced by that fact that few of the Web sites of the syndicates, political party branches and associations mentioned by the newspaper do make mention of the farmers' trial. Was the gathering in the town of Milau after all predominantly French, and maybe even ad hoc?

⁶ The NGO Attac was founded in France, but has been internationalised. See <http://www.attac.org>

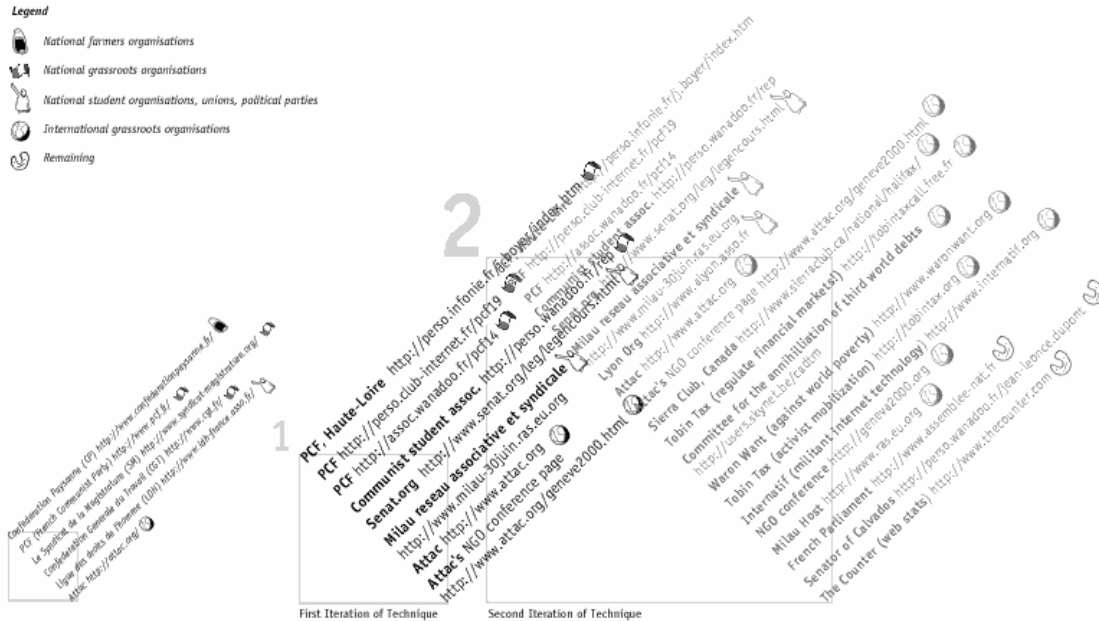


We turn to our home-made netlocator (a piece of software) to find out whether an authoritative network is disclosed by these starting points. If it locates such a network, the netlocator would give us an indication of the degree to which the streets are still romantic, still French. With the netlocator serving as our medium, the Web is asked to either re-make or unmake the various spectacles brought to us by CNN, BBC World, *de Volkskrant* and tout.lemonde.

Actors from the newspaper article that a) have a Web site, b) make mention of the farmers' trial and c) link to other domains are entered into the netlocator. It crawls the links from the URL's of the French farmers, French left wing political parties and syndicates, and French NGO's, and a Webwork is returned. (See appendix for lists of inputted actors, a description of the method, the working of the netlocator and the outputted actor networks.)

This network contains mainly French political parties, syndicates and NGO's. The farmers are absent. The brief analysis yields the view that, according to the Web, the farmers are not farmers, but mainly French "politico's". (Without the farmers, we have only a portion of the ingredients for the romantic streets recipe.) Taking these French "politico's" and the initial starting points, and inputting them into the netlocator, however, brings back not only French politico's, but also a significant number of international, issue-based, activist organisations, many of which are dedicated to global economy issues. (There are still no farmers.) Thus the Web tells us that the farmers are not farmers, but an organisational figuration that moves from the national to the global and from the political-ideological to the issue-activist. It is quite an organised picture, whereby neither farmers, nor "phoney

farmers”, nor “a bunch of disorganised anarchists” make up the protests, but a professional national-international network.



"From the Web to the streets: French Farmers as Russian Dolls"

It is important to stress that merely querying the Web does not allow the uninitiated to locate the protest network. We are not able to evade the media's narrow definition of what counts as real protest. These are our initial starting points. But the Web enables us to put the media's rehearsals of the events as well as our friendly analyst's romanticism of the streets in their proper places, as it shows us that organised professionals are inside the iconised and perhaps romanticised farmers, like Russian dolls (in hypermedia). (See figure three.) By means of the Web, the limits of iconisation and street romanticism can be stretched. Here, we would like to make clear (to our proverbial French romantic) that the Web does not remedy (by way of embodiment) the dying romanticism of the streets. Rather, the streets are alive with webby networks.



Actors in "French Farmers Protest" Network on the Web.

We wish to conclude with the idea that the main virtue of the virtual (here: Web analysis) is to open up the question of the real.⁷ There are four steps in this position. Firstly, one could be tempted, from the outset, to believe in the purity of French farmer protest and the streets (especially from abroad). Secondly, upon examination in the media, however, the reality of the event of French farmer street protest is compromised; it's cynically mystified as "a bunch of disorganised anarchists," engaged in a novel form of conflict tourism. (Such a rendering also unfortuitously blurs journalism with cultural studies.) Thirdly, "checking the Web" becomes a "reality check" in the sense that it allows one to fill in the integrity of the streets that were sullied and compromised by reporting. Of course, one could travel to Milau, and by observing and/or participating also capture some of the complexity of the French streets in the age of the Web. But the streets tend to have no names (so to speak). Indeed, reports from Seattle often lacked any semblance of knowledge about the actual networks of groups involved and their positions. Sound bites on TV and one-liners in the newspaper articles often strip "a group calling itself..." of a (networked) past and a (networked) future. Only an overall anti-message from the bunches, plus TV spectacle now, becomes communicated. Fourthly, and finally, it could be argued that the Web (and Web analysis) ultimately enriches the streets. Without it, the "coded" Web site for "swimmers" announcing team "meets" (in Milau on the 30th of June) would remain opaque.⁸

Appendix: Surfer's Log and Netlocator Analysis

⁷ Cf. Steven Jones, "The Bias of theWeb," in Andrew Herman and Thomas Swiss, eds., *The World Wide Web and Contemporary Cultural Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 171-182.

⁸ For a short period of time just prior to the protest event, the Canadian <http://www.tobintax.org>, which is now a site under construction with pictures of smiling couples, listed "swim" leaders and "meet" times and places. The covered references are to demonstration logistics.

We ask, who are these farmers? Or, how are we able to find (or be sure not to find) French farmers on the Web, and determine whether *they* are hitting the streets? If they are on the Web, who are these really farmers (we repeat)? To make some determination, one first finds the 'issue network' - those (1) discussing and debating the 'issue' and (2) mobilising other actors to action. In order to find an issue network among the swells of sites whose issue somehow revolves around protesting French farmers, one is in need of fixed starting points. Previously we have identified and discussed the outcomes of at least five distinct starting points for locating issue networks on the Web - search engines, associative reasoning, media stories, public actors and/or discussion lists.⁹ In isolation or in combination, these means for identifying starting points are aimed at finding those organisations whose sites reveal the debate (whatever it may be) most extensively by virtue of their respective link lists. This is the first step in locating an issue network. We then deploy a simple, home-made machine ("the netlocator," aka "the depluralising engine") to "rub" the network and chart the most relevant sites. By "rubbing" we mean that the netlocator mines each starting point three levels deep, follows links and identifies candidate sources; those sources linked by at least two actors (in the "medium inclusiveness" setting) are brought back by the locator. The netlocator currently supports up to seven starting points. Normally a minimum of three suffices.

As for the different means for locating the starting points, with search engines, it is assumed the key words are known by the surfer, and the logics are robust for relevance. One uses the top returns as starting points, and rubs for a network with the machine. Associative reasoning relies on intelligent guesswork; either the issue or the presumed relevant organisation is simply typed into the browser, with .org, .com or another suffix attached. (In a previous case study, we began with milk.org, grains.org and corn.org.) One follows links from the associatively reasoned site(s), until one finds sites displaying the debate extensively. These sites are rubbed. The third technique allows a leading media story to be the guide; those organisations mentioned are then located either through a search engine, or by associative reasoning. The URLs are then rubbed. Public actors are similarly located; one presumes well-known public actors (e.g., Greenpeace for climate change) will display the debate around an issue extensively, and they are located through a search engine or by associative reasoning. One also could subscribe to a discussion list about the topic in question, and chart the links "recommended" by the discussants in their

⁹ The various sampling methods are described in some detail in Richard Rogers and Andrés Zelman, "Surfing for Knowledge in the Information Society," in Greg Elmer, ed., *Critical Perspectives on the Internet*, Rowman, MD: Littlefield and Rowman, 2001, forthcoming.

ongoing postings (over a particular period in time). It is important to note that each means relies on distinctly different “expertises” or “recommenders,” with varying epistemological and “info-societal” consequences for each of the subsequent networks located.¹⁰

We present the case study with the aid of the “diary of a crawler.” The kept log explains how the network is located; it also details the most significant finding touched upon above, that is, *the de-iconisation of the romantic French streets by organised, internetted global civil society*. We present the case in steps.

1. Knowing nothing of the issue concerning French farmers, we turned to tout.lemonde.fr. There was no need to take recourse to their moteur de recherche; the first headline on their homepage stages our farmers. The issue according to [le toutlemonde](http://le.toutlemonde):¹¹

“Événement planétaire à Millau, Aveyron : 30 000 à 50 000 manifestants venus du monde entier sont attendus pour le procès, le 30 juin, de José Bové. Figure emblématique de la résistance à la mondialisation, il sera jugé pour avoir attaqué, en août 1999, le McDonald’s en construction dans cette ville. La chaîne américaine CNN a installé ses caméras dans plusieurs appartements face au tribunal.”

And then some background:

“Le 12 août 1999, un groupe de trois cents éleveurs du Syndicat des producteurs de lait de brebis et de la Confédération paysanne « démontent » virilement le restaurant McDonald’s en construction dans la ville. Avec M. Bové à leur tête, ils entendent protester contre la surtaxation américaine du fromage de roquefort après que l’Union européenne eut décidé de ne plus importer de viande aux hormones des Etats-Unis.”

2. The article yields a long list of potentially webby (http-ed) actors:

CNN (present on the scene)

Jose Bove (leader of the resistance)

le Syndicat des producteurs de lait de brebis (farmers)

la Confederation paysanne (farmers)

¹⁰ For an argument concerning the preferred starting points and authority thresholds chosen, see Noortje Marres and Richard Rogers, “Depluralising the Web, Repluralising Public Debate. The Case of the GM Food Debate on the Web,” in Richard Rogers, ed., *Preferred Placement - Knowledge Politics on the Web*, (Maastricht: Jan van Eyck Editions, 2000), 113-136.

¹¹ <http://www.lemonde.fr/article/0,2320,seq-2030-74010-QUO,00.html>

Lori Wallace of Public Citizen ("expert" witness in the trial)
Confédération paysanne (the farmers)
CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail)
les SUD (solidaire, unitaire et démocratique, a syndicat)
CNT (confederation nationale de travail)
PS (socialist party)
PCF (communist party)
Verts (green party)
LCR (ligue communiste revolutionnaire)
Ligue des droits de l'homme (human rights org)
DAL (droit au logement)
Attac (association of citizens, newspapers and syndicats)
Droits devant! (human rights organisation, linked to DAL)
Le Syndicat de la Magistrature (syndicat)

And, how could we forget (where's our .com?): McDonalds (target)

3. Most of these actors are easily found by surfing from search engine returns (altavista.fr and link-following). That is to say, we are on familiar ground where the behaviour of civil society actors is concerned; we have linking org's that disclose their cohorts. A selection of these actors (those that have a Web site, discuss the issue, and link to other actors) is ready to be fed into the network locator; judging from the intensity of linking, a demarcated sample will probably emerge, and we will have the makings of an issue network map.

4. As is often the case with freshly erupted events, two actors presented as central players by the newspaper, the "Syndicat des producteurs de lait de brebis" and the French McDonalds, have a very thin presence on the Web.¹² Altavista.fr returns only five entries when queried for the syndicat: three on-line newspaper articles (midilibre), the confederation paysanne, and milau-clic, a local portal for the town that is our scene of action. (For reasons that are easy to guess that site is almost impossible to reach on 30

¹² During the Kyoto Conference on Climate Change (1998), the Web site of Shell, a main target of the Co₂ emission reduction lobby, initially remained more or less silent on the issue. When British eco-terrorists destroyed GM crops in the summer of 1999, the Monsanto Web site initially showed no sign of awareness of the protests against its business. While McDonalds is certainly less central to the farmers protest, and the fact that its site is under construction is most probably due to other reasons, it is surprising to notice how actors that are at the center of the action according to the mass media, remain in the background on the Web, at least initially.

June 2000 - a protest day). The syndicat does not own its own domain on the Web. And Macdonalds.fr is "under construction."

5. Judging from its "links in from the issue-network" the following site has a solid presence: <http://www.millau-30juin.ras.eu.org>. It is a practical information site set up by, well, some of the people involved. Self-evidently this site does not figure in the newspaper article. Newspapers only go so far in contributing to mobilization.

6. As to the question whether "they" are really farmers, the answer seems to depend on the centrality of the confederation paysanne (farmers federation) in the network. In any case, it is clear, that there are many people in Millau dressed up as farmers. Or more accurately, the farmers are serving as dress for a many other players. Not surprisingly, it turns out that for .org's it is more of a question of going to where the action is, then whether one is already tied to the issue. The organisations involved range from "against homelessness" to "the workers" to "the environment". That is to say, they don't exactly have careers in farming. They are civil society swarmers.

As a final note, it should be mentioned that two domains that appeared in the credit lyonnais scandal also figure here: www.verts.imagnet.fr and wanadoo.fr.

Actors in "French Farmers Protest" Media Story Network.

Confederation Paysanne (CP)	http://www.confederationpaysanne.fr/
Ligue des droits de l'homme, (LDH)	http://www.ldh-france.asso.fr/
Attac	http://attac.org/
CNT energie (CNT)	http://assoc.wanadoo.fr/energie/
PCF (French Communist Party)	http://www.pcf.fr/
Les Verts	http://www.verts.imagnet.fr/
Le Syndicat de la Magistrature (SM)	http://www.syndicat-magistrature.org/
Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT)	http://www.cgt.fr/
LCR	http://www.lcr-rouge.org/
DAL	http://www.easynet.fr/appelsan/dal.html
Droits Devant (DD)	http://www.easynet.fr/appelsan/mani.html

Having found these linking actors with so little effort, the presence of an issue-network may be expected. Thus the network locator is called in to crawl and cull the network.

The link lists of CP, CNT, PCF, verts and CGT above are inputted as starting points. Hit and crawl from CP, CNT, PCF, verts, CGT brings up the following actors. (By hit and crawl is meant that the locator crawls the site three levels deep and follows the outward links to sites other than its own; those sites linked by at least two actors in the sample are brought back by the locator.)

PCF, Haute-Loire	http://perso.infonie.fr/j.boyer/index.htm
PCF	http://perso.club-internet.fr/pcf19
PCF	http://assoc.wanadoo.fr/pcf14
Communist student assoc.	http://perso.wanadoo.fr/rep
Attac, Toulon	http://perso.infonie.fr/lvaise/
CGT	http://www.multimania.com/cgtforclum
CGT	http://assoc.wanadoo.fr/ufcmpx

It is clear that these starting points disclose a national kinship network of allied org's. Perhaps interestingly, confederation paysanne - the organisation presented as central by the newspapers and which one would regard as such on the basis of its site - is not in the webby issue network. Also note the frequency of the perso (personal) domain. This brings to the surface that there are people (identifiable people no less) behind this protest event! In the Crédit lyonnais scandal people were not self-evident. The former crawl being a try-out, now six starting points are entered: CP, LDH, Attac, PCF, SM, CGT (leaving out those public actors that do not discuss the issue). Hit and crawl brings us the following:

Attac's NGO conference page	http://www.attac.org/geneve2000.html
Le Monde Diplomatique	http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/md/1997/12/ramonet/9665.html
PCF, Haute-Loire	http://perso.infonie.fr/j.boyer/index.htm
PCF	http://perso.club-internet.fr/pcf19
PCF	http://assoc.wanadoo.fr/pcf14
Communist student assoc.	http://perso.wanadoo.fr/rep
Senat.org	http://www.senat.org/leg/legencours.html
Milau reseau associative et syndicale	http://www.milau-30juin.ras.eu.org

Now we input this actor network and the original starting points. This rub will affirm the presence of an issue-network if the sites returned here overlap with original starting points, and these actors themselves. The second rub, with medium treshhold yields:

Attac's NGO conference page	http://www.attac.org/geneve2000.html
Attac Netherlands	http://www.attac.nl
Le Monde Diplomatique	http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/md/1997/12/ramonet/9665.html
PCF, Haute-Loire	http://perso.infonie.fr/j.boyer/index.htm
PCF	http://perso.club-internet.fr/pcf19
PCF	http://assoc.wanadoo.fr/pcf14
Communist student assoc.	http://perso.wanadoo.fr/rep
Senat.org	http://www.senat.org/leg/legencours.html
Milau reseau associative et syndicale	http://www.milau-30juin.ras.eu.org
French Parliament	http://www.assemblee-nat.fr
Senator of Calvados	http://perso.wanadoo.fr/jean-leonce.dupont
Sierra Club, Canada	http://www.sierraclub.ca/national/halifax/
The Counter (web stats)	http://www.thecounter.com
Tobin Tax (regulate financial markets!)	http://tobintaxcall.free.fr
Committee on annihilation of 3d world debt	http://users.skynet.be/cadtm
Waron Want (against world poverty)	http://www.waronwant.org
Tobin Tax (activist mobilization)	http://tobintax.org
Internatif (militant internet technology)	http://www.internatif.org
Lyon org	http://www.alyon.asso.fr
NGO conference	http://geneva2000.org
Milau host	http://www.ras.eu.org

We notice the globalising tendencies of issue-networking. In the second rub many more international org's are returned, and again the confederation paysanne is absent. What is more, the de-localized issue of the regulation of markets re-emerges at the second rub, where it seemed to have been absorbed by French revolutionary politics after the first rub.

Autobiographical notes:

Dr. Richard Rogers (rogers@chem.uva.nl) is currently visiting professor in the philosophy of science and social study of science at the University of Vienna. He is also assistant professor in new media at the University of Amsterdam. He may be reached at New Media, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16, 1012 CP Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Drs. Noortje Marres (marres @dds.nl) is lecturer in philosophy of science and technology at the University of Amsterdam. She may be reached at Afdeling Wijsbegeerte, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Nieuwe Doelenstraat 15, 1012 CP Amsterdam, the Netherlands.