

REARTIKULACIJA

UMETNIŠKO–POLITIČNA–TEORETIČNA–DISKURZIVNA PLATFORMA ARTISTIC–POLITICAL–THEORETICAL–DISCURSIVE PLATFORM 04
POLETJE/SUMMER 2008 WWW.REARTIKULACIJA.ORG REARTIKULACIJA@GMAIL.COM



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KOT TVOJA ZRCALNA PODOBA NAJ GOVORIM ALI MOLČIM?

AM I SUPPOSED TO TALK OR JUST REMAIN SILENT, BEING YOUR MIRROR?

ALI ME VIDIŠ?
ALI VIDIŠ LE SEBE V ZRCALU NA MOJEM TELESU?

CAN YOU SEE ME?
OR DO YOU ONLY SEE YOURSELF IN THE MIRROR ON MY BODY?

POGLEJ ME!
TO ZRCALO NI MOJE.
PRIPADA VALIE EXPORT.
TO ZRCALO JE OBRAVNAVALO MEDIJ IN DRUŽBENI SPOL.
TO ZRCALO JE POMENILO MEJNIK.
ALI ME VIDIŠ?
ALI VIDIŠ KVADRAT V MOJEM MEDNOŽJU?
TA KVADRAT NI MOJ.
PRIPADA TANJI OSTOJČ.
TA KVADRAT JE OBRAVNAVAL ZGODOVINO IN PONAVLJANJE.
TA KVADRAT JE POMENIL MEJNIK.

LOOK AT ME!
THIS MIRROR DOESN'T BELONG TO ME.
THIS MIRROR BELONGS TO VALIE EXPORT.
THIS MIRROR USED TO BE ABOUT MEDIA AND GENDER.
THIS MIRROR USED TO BE THE LIMIT.
CAN YOU SEE ME?
CAN YOU SEE THE SQUARE BETWEEN MY LEGS?
THIS SQUARE IS NOT MINE.
IT BELONGS TO TANJA OSTOJČ.
THIS SQUARE USED TO BE ABOUT HISTORY AND REPETITION.
THIS SQUARE USED TO BE THE LIMIT.

POGLEJ ME!
KRADLJIVKA SEM; PERVERZNICA, QUEER, KI JE TI DVE ŽENSKI ZDRUŽILA NA SVOJEM TELESU.
IZRODEK SEM.
SEM REZULTAT MIGRACIJ.
JA SAM PERVERZNA ČERKA JEDNE MIGRANTKINJE KOJA JE OSTAVILA JUGOSLAVIJU IZA SEBE.
KRADEM UMETNOST, KI NI BILA NAREJENA ZAME.
MOJE MATERE NISO USTVARJALE, PAČ PA NA OBROBJU VELIKIH MEST ČISTILE IN OBČEVALE IN VZGAJALE IZRODKE, KOT SEM JAZ.
MOJA NALOGA JE MOLČATI.
JA SAM ONA KOJA JE TREBALA DA ČUTI.
SEM GOREČE MESO ANTAGONIZMOV.
SEM UTELEŠENA DRUGAČNOST. SEM MEJNIK.

LOOK AT ME!
I AM A THIEF; I AM A PERVERT, A QUEER, MAKING THESE TWO WOMEN COME TOGETHER ON MY BODY.
I AM A BASTARD.
I AM THE OUTCOME OF MIGRATION.
JA SAM PERVERZNA ČERKA JEDNE MIGRANTKINJE KOJA JE OSTAVILA JUGOSLAVIJU IZA SEBE.
I AM STEALING ART THAT WAS NOT MADE FOR ME.
MY MOTHERS WERE NOT MAKING ART, MY MOTHERS WERE CLEANING AND FUCKING AND RAISING BASTARDS LIKE ME IN THE SUBURBS OF BIG CITIES.
I AM THE ONE WHO WAS SUPPOSED TO REMAIN SILENT.
JA SAM ONA KOJA JE TREBALA DA ČUTI.
I AM THE BURNING FLESH OF ANTAGONISM.
I AM PURE DIFFERENCE. I AM THE LIMIT.

POGLEJ MENE IN POGLEJ SEBE;
TUDI TI SI VPLETEN IN NIKAKOR NE NEDOLŽEN!
POGLEJ SE V ZRCALU MOJEGA TELESA IN POVEJ:
KDO POSEDUJE UMETNOST?
KDO POSEDUJE TELESA?
KDO POSEDUJE LASTNINO?
KDO SME GOVORITI IN KDO MORA MOLČATI?

LOOK AT ME AND LOOK AT YOURSELF, AS YOU ARE INVOLVED, AND YOU ARE NOT INNOCENT!
LOOK AT YOURSELF IN THE MIRROR OF MY BODY AND TELL ME:
WHO OWNS ART?
WHO OWNS BODIES?
WHO OWNS PROPERTY?
WHO CAN TALK, AND WHO REMAINS SILENT?

Ana Hoffner, *Panic: Perverted*, performans/performance, Dunaj/Vienna 2007.

REARTIKULACIJA umetniško-politična-teoretična-diskurzivna platforma.
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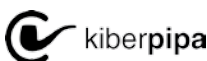


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KNJIŽNE NOVOSTI/ NEW RELEASES

Tatjana Greif: »Arheologija in spol: Podobe spolov v interpretaciji prazgodovinskih kultur v Sloveniji« (ŠKUC-Vizibilija, Ljubljana, 2007)

Študija je poskus odpiranja v slovenski arheologiji zapostavljenega raziskovalnega polja – spola in spolnih razmerij. Arheologija spolov je kritika arheološkega diskurza o vlogi spolov v preteklosti, v razlagah kulture, delitve dela, umetnosti in družbe. Njen prodor se pod vplivom feministične kritike znanosti že v 70. letih začne v Skandinaviji ter nadaljuje v Veliki Britaniji in ZDA. Arheologija ustvarja korpus univerzalnega, globalnega znanja o preteklosti človeštva. Kakšno sporočilo prenaša jezik arheologije? Kje in kako spol vstopi v razlage, katere vloge so pripisane moškim in katere ženskam in nenazadnje, kaj pomeni odsotnost, nevidnost spolov?

Avtorica s pomočjo diskurzivne analize klasificira vzorce arheoloških razlag starejše prazgodovine. Ugotovljen je spolno diferenciran režim, znotraj katerega človek ali moški funkcionira v vseh kontekstih in sicer vedno aktivno, ženska pa v večini kontekstov manjka ali pa nastopa v pasivni vlogi. Moški, človek-prednik in človek-lovec, je edini nosilec aktivne vloge, v besedilih nastopa izključno ali skoraj izključno. Uresničuje poslanstvo iniciatorja, tvorca in nosilca kulture, poselitve, gospodarstva, umetnosti, izdelovalca orodij, izkoriščevalca surovinskih virov in snovalca umetniških izdelkov. Moški je evolucijsko »razvitejši«, ženska je »primitivnejša«. Ženski spol je fiksiran analogno sodobni zahodni mentaliteti. Ženska se pozicionira kot omejen, funkcionalno biološki spol, aktualen v precizno zamejenih kontekstih: v modelih reprodukcije, nabiralništva, hišnih opravil (tkanje, šivanje, kuhanje) ter kot erotični stimulans prazgodovinskega lovca in prazgodovinske umetnosti.

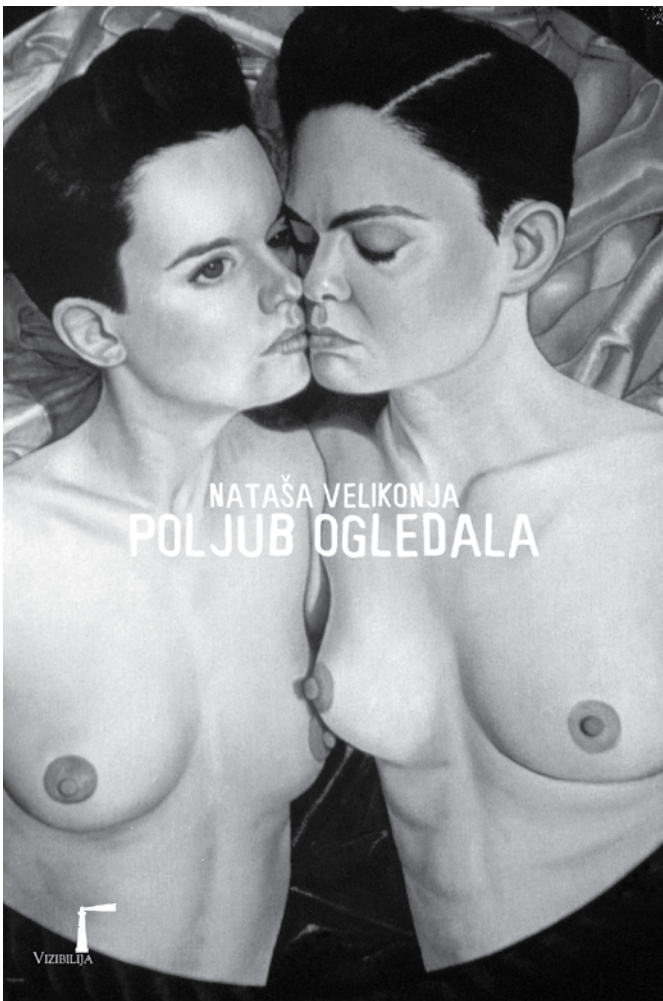
Nataša Velikonja: »Poljub ogledala« (ŠKUC-Vizibilija, Ljubljana, 2007)

»Poljub ogledala« je četrta pesniška zbirka pesnice Nataše Velikonja, sicer tudi dolgoletne lezbične aktivistke, esejistke in prevajalke del s področja lezbične in gejevske teorije. Nataša Velikonja sicer velja za prvo lezbično pesnico na Slovenskem: njen prvenec »Abonma« iz leta 1994 je označen kot prva knjiga z lezbično liriko.

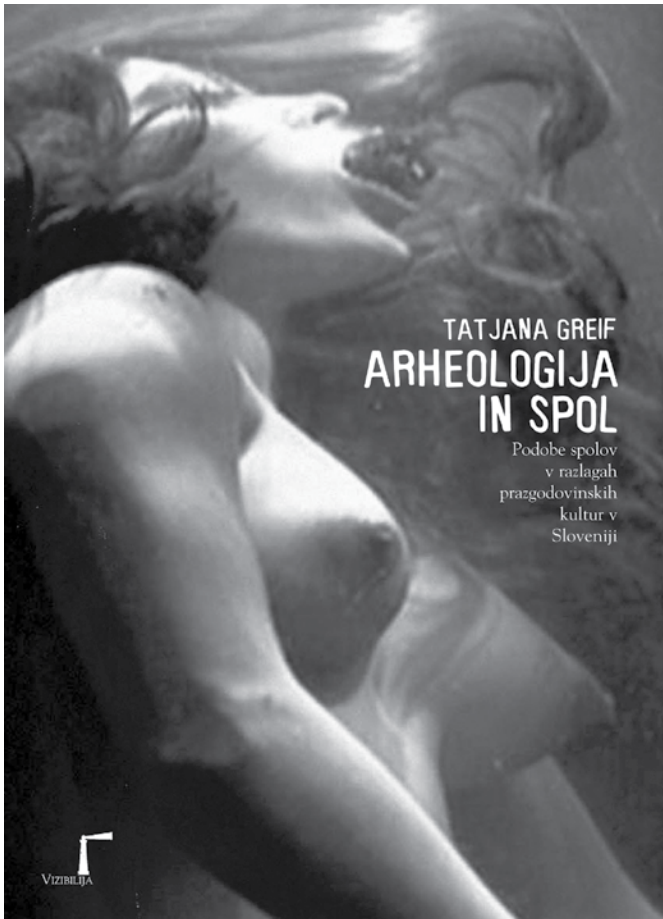
Pesniška oseba v »Poljubu ogledala« je urbana, moderna, svobodomiseln, družabna in samotna obenem, živi mestno življenje, uporablja mesto, gre v kino, gre na sceno, hodi po ulicah, hodi v kavarno in lokale, pije, kadi, drka, seksa, se zadeva, se zaljublja, posluša glasbo, bere, se pogovarja, družijo, reflektira se tako v svojih zasebnih kot javnih momentih. Oblikuje se v kontrastu in odboju z okoljem in konteksti, v katerih se nahaja. Hetero, nuklearno življenje, družinska normalizacija, vklop v sistem rednih služb in bivanj ji enostavno niso všeč, zdijo se ji avtomatizirani in monotoni. A venomer reflektira tudi lezbično seksualno in socialno identiteto skozi različne momente: skozi lezbištvo kot erotiko, kot stil življenja, kot intelektualno pozicijo in nenazadnje kot poetsko možnost. Venomer preizprašuje tudi samo lezbištvo, ali ni morebiti tudi le-to postalo le nov, drug, vse bolj normativni seksualni, socialni, intelektualni in literarni kalup. Zbirka se izteče v začasni azil: v naključnost in prostost, ki ju nudi mestna dinamika, željo po ljubimkah, ki bi zmogle utesitev prav teh elementov urbanosti.

Nataša Sukić Vegan

Nataša Sukić Vegan je publicistka in aktivistka, Ljubljana.



Naslovnica / cover: Narcisi I / Narcissuses I, Sadie Lee.



Naslovnica / cover: Fantom / Phantom, Ema Kugler.

Tatjana Greif: Archeology and Gender: The Images of Gender in the Interpretation of Pre-historic Cultures in Slovenia (ŠKUC-Vizibilija, Ljubljana, 2007)

This research is an attempt to open, in the field of archaeology in Slovenia, neglected topics of gender and gender relations. The archaeology of gender is a critique of the archaeological discourse on the role of gender in the past that was developed in the course of the interpretation of culture, labor divisions, art and society. The breakthrough of this critique was influenced by the feminist critique of science, which started in the 1970s in Scandinavia, and spread to Great Britain and the USA. Archaeology constructs a corpus of universal, global knowledge on the history of humanity. What message does the language of archaeology convey? Where and how does gender become a subject of interpretation? Which roles are attributed to men and which to women, and last but not least, what does the absence and/or the visibility of gender mean?

By way of discursive analysis, Greif classifies the paradigms of archaeological interpretations of early prehistory. What has been ascertained is a gender-differentiated regime within which man or the male functions within all contexts, and is always active, whereas the woman is missing or has a passive role in the majority of the cases. The man, the human-predecessor and the human-hunter, is the only bearer of an active role; he is exclusively or almost exclusively present in all of the texts. He realizes the mission of the originator, creator and bearer of culture, settler, economizer, artisan, toolmaker, excavator of raw materials and the maker of artifacts. The man is evolutionarily "more developed", while the woman is "more primitive." The female sex is conceived in such a way that it mirrors contemporary Western mentality. The woman is positioned as a limited, functional biological sex, useful only when active in limited contexts of reproduction, gathering, housework (weaving, sewing, cooking) and as an erotic stimulant of the pre-historic hunter and pre-historic art.

Nataša Velikonja: The Kiss of a Mirror (ŠKUC-Vizibilija, Ljubljana, 2007)

The Kiss of a Mirror is the fourth collection of poems by Nataša Velikonja, who is a long-standing lesbian activist, essayist and translator of lesbian and gay theoretical texts. She is the first Slovenian lesbian poetess: her 1994 debut book of poems, Abonma, is the first lesbian lyric in Slovenia.

The poetic figure in her collection of poems The Kiss of a Mirror is an urban, modern, open-minded, sociable, and simultaneously lonely woman, living a city life, enjoying it, going to the cinema, present in the local scene, wandering around the streets, hanging out in coffeehouses and bars, drinking, smoking, jerking off, fucking, getting high, falling in love, listening to music, reading, talking, socializing, reflecting upon her own life, whether she is alone or in company. She is formed within her own environment and context by contrasting or reflecting them. A hetero-, nuclear life, a family normalization, integration into the system of regular jobs and such ways of living are simply not to her liking. She finds them automated and monotonous. Nevertheless, she never stops reflecting on lesbian sexual and social identity from different standpoints: being a lesbian as eroticism, as a lifestyle, as an intellectual position, and last but not least, as the possibility of a poetess. She never stops questioning lesbianism; whether it becomes just a new, other, increasingly normative sexual, social, intellectual and literary pattern. The collection ends in a temporarily asylum: in the contingency and freedom offered by the urban dynamics, in her desire for lovers who are able to embody precisely these elements of urbanity.

Nataša Sukić Vegan

Nataša Sukić Vegan is a publicist and activist from Ljubljana.

Translated from Slovenian by Tanja Passoni.

REARTIKULACIJA

Sebastjan Leban, PASIVNA DRUŽBA: PROIZVODNJA KRITIČNEGA DISKURZA V EKSTREMNIH POGOJIH

Eno izmed poglavitnih vprašanj produkcije kritičnega diskurza v umetnosti, teoriji, kritiki itd. je, do kakšne mere lahko proizvajamo ekstremni diskurz, ali bolje rečeno, kje je tista nevidna meja dovoljenega, ki še dopušča radikalnokritično interventnost, kje se ta meja konča in kje stopi v veljavo (s strani vladajočega sistema) režim uničenja, ukinitve in brisanja. Da je sodobnost pogojena z neoliberalizmom in kapitalom kot orodjem, prek katerega se neoliberalizem vedno znova izumlja, trži in prodaja, je jasno že skoraj vsakemu. Nejasno pa je, ali bomo v zvezi s tem kaj ukrenili ali zgolj nemo, pasivno opazovali in si dopovedovali, da je to normalno, običajno, da je to del našega vsakdana, posledica razvoja in da tukaj pravzaprav nima mo kaj storiti. Namen kapitala je *per definitionem* obvladovanje vseh družbenih segmentov, izničevanje vseh oblik socialnega in ustvarjanje privilegiranega sloja, ki ima simbolno in realno moč odločanja o tem, kakšen bo razplet zgodbe, ki ji pravimo postopek civiliziranja. A za kakšno ceno? Vsekakor za ceno, ki je ne plačujemo prebivalci prvega sveta, pač pa tisti, ki so iz te zgodbe o navideznem uspehu izključeni in katerih življenja so pod pretvezo trajnostnega in globalnega razvoja podrejena moči smrti – to so prebivalci že tako izčrpanega tretjega sveta. Ob tem ne moremo mimo oznake *tretji svet*, s katero se označuje geografsko območje onkraj meja prvega kapitalističnega sveta, ki ga neoliberalizem definira kot nerazvito območje, ali z drugimi besedami, dežele v razvoju. A realnost izven tega gledišča je popolnoma drugačna. Gre namreč za to, da se ta območja prekomerno izkorišča in namenoma drži v podrejenem položaju. Oznaka *tretji svet* pa nosi v sebi tudi značilno konotacijo, saj hkrati označuje nekaj drugorazrednega, nepomembnega in manjvrednega.

Skozi propagandne spote, slogane in dikcije, ki jih sistem konstantno (re)producira, se proizvajajo strategije pasivizacije, katerih namen je tudi prek medijev dnevno vnašati manjše, a konstantne odmerke vizualno-tekstualnih »inputov«, ki v subjektu ne sprožajo uporniških teženj in protireakcij, pač pa ga počasi pasivizirajo in vodijo k neza-interesiranosti in brezbržnosti. Ko govorimo o procesih pasivizacije, ne moremo mimo dejstva, da je sistem razvil strategije, ki prek proizvajanja navidezno radikalnega, navidezno kritičnega, navidezno konceptualnega, navidezno političnega in navidezno teoretičnega omogočajo ustvarjanje procesov depolitizacije, deteorizacije, deradikalizacije itd., s katerimi se ne samo brišejo meje med realno kritičnostjo in njeno »ilustracijo«, ampak se postopoma izničuje moč diskurza, ki ga proizvaja prav radikalnokritična analiza. Ena izmed takih strategij je strategija kontaminacije, ki se širi prek institucionalnih diskurzov (Gržinič). Ta strategija je najpogostejša prav v umetniškem sistemu, kjer se radikalnost nekih praks, teorij in kritik ukinja tako, da jih institucije sprva začnejo uporabljati za proizvajanje navidezne kritičnosti/sodobnosti, jih nato prek organizacije navidezno progresivnih kritičnih/sodobnih dogodkov apropiirajo in v tretji, zaključni fazi, kjer pride do zabrisa meje med navidezno kritičnostjo/sodobnostjo in realno kritičnostjo/sodobnostjo, ukinejo. Kontaminacijo bi tako povezal s še eno strategijo, in sicer s procesom proizvajanja *navideznosti*, ki prevzema radikalnokritične termine in definicije, ki si jih prilasti in jih izprazni prvotnega pomena.

Zakaj sistem uvaja *navideznost* in ne izpostavlja realnosti neoliberalnih procesov?

Cilj je proizvesti pasivnega gledalca/potrošnika/državljana, ki bo konec tedna zvesto rinil v nakupovalne centre, se ne menil za zaostrovanje socialnih razmer, za sodobni kolonializem, okoljevarstveno problematiko itd. Gre za produkcijo pasivizacije prek produkcije spektakla, ki ga Debord označi za »družbeni« odnos med ljudmi, ki so posredovani s podobami (Debord, 1967). Ta mediacija pa še zdaleč ni nedolžna, saj se prek nje proizvaja pasivnost, ki sistemu, kapitalu in njegovim podstrukturam omogoča nemoteno prosperiranje. Dejstvo je, da je 21. stoletje zaznamovano z mediacijo, ki vpliva na družbene, politične in kulturne razmere v sodobni družbi in jih obenem korenito spreminja. Vzrok temu je, da je subjekt postal ključna in cilj na tarča celotne mašinerije sveta, kjer je najpomembnejšo pozicijo zavzela potrošnja in kjer ustvarjanje umetno sproduciranih potreb predstavlja naš vsakdan. Namen umetno ustvarjenih potreb, ki jih diktirajo multikorporacije, globalizacija in svetovni trg, ni izboljšati kakovosti življenja, ampak krepiti odvisnost subjekta od sistema.

Kakšni so potemtakem možni izhodi iz zgoraj omenjene proizvodnje pasivnosti in kako se lahko aktivno poseže v samo strukturo pasivizacije?

Ena od oblik je samoorganizacija, ki omogoča zoperstavljanje sistema in razvijanje avtonomnih mrež in struktur, sposobnih proizvajati *realni* ekstremni diskurz, ne oziraje se na kakršnekoli kompromise v zvezi z delovanjem v že tako ekstremnih pogojih, v katerih so prisiljeni delovati vsi, ki ne ilustrirajo, ugajajo, proizvajajo predmetov ugodja, skratka, ne propagirajo neoliberalnih vrednot in tržne ekonomije. Voditi radikalnokritični diskurz danes pomeni zavzeti kritično pozicijo, ki vključuje zavestno odločitev delovanja znotraj ekstremnih pogojev. Vprašanje, ki se zastavlja, je, koliko so ti ekstremni pogoji delovanja sploh oddaljeni od realnosti sodobnega vsakdana in v kolikšni meri se ekstremnost, ki jo povzroča sistem, spreminja v nepredušno zaprto strukturo, ki privilegira peščico posameznikov, izničuje vsako obliko kritičnosti in proizvaja pasivno naravnano družbo. Da je na delu ekstremizacija življenjskih razmer, nam priča jo vedno večje socialne razlike, drastično poslabšanje življenjskega standarda in pogojev za življenje, kršenje in omejevanje človekovih pravic, strogi nadzorni režimi, socialna diskriminacija (neenake možnosti) in še bi lahko naštevali. V Sloveniji je ta ekstremizacija posledica neoliberalne ekspanzionistične logike in se kaže na vseh ravneh družbenega življenja, od šolstva do zdravstva, kulture itd., kjer smo soočeni s primeri načrtne pavperizacije. Če za primer vzamemo strategijo pavperizacije na področju kulture, ugotovimo, da so na delu načrtni klientelizem, nepotizem in korupcija, ki ekstremne razmere ustvarjajo zato, da omogočajo nemoteno delovanje elite/privilegiranega razreda, na drugi strani pa izničenje vseh neželenih umetniških,

političnih, teoretičnih in kritičnih praks/diskurzov. Primer tovrstnih strategij iztrebljanja lahko zasledimo v različnih javnih razpisih, ki se prek Ministrstva za kulturo RS , Filmskega sklada RS in drugih državnih institucij v realnosti tudi udejanjajo.

Naj na kratko razgrnem nekaj takih primerov, ki so se v zadnjem letu zgodili v Sloveniji. Prvi je Javni razpis za zbiranje predlogov za promocijo slovenske kulture v tujini v letu 2008, kjer se je večji del sredstev, ki so bila na razpolago, dodelilo posameznim izbranim subjektom, medtem ko je večina ostala brez potrebnih sredstev za že v naprej dogovorjene prireditve. Drugi je Razpis za sofinanciranje programskih vsebin medijev v letu 2008, v katerega je z letom 2008 vstavljena nova klavzula, ki *izdajateljem tiskanih medijev, katerih število natisov znaša manj kot dvanajst edicij na leto (obvezna mesečna periodika)*, onemogoča prijavo na razpis, kar neizogibno izključuje skoraj vse strokovne publikacije, ki razvijajo radikalnokritično pozicijo v odnosu do specifičnih kulturnih in umetniških praks (Reartikulacija, Borec, Maska itd.), saj le-te ne morejo zaprositi za potrebna sredstva, ker izhajajo le trikrat do štirikrat letno. Tretji primer pa je Kino Otok, ki mu je Filmski sklad Republike Slovenije najprej odobril financiranje, ampak dodelil prenizka sredstva. Po pritožbi prijavitelja je Sklad uvedel novo komisijo, ki je namesto da bi odločala o poslani pritožbi, ponovno obravnavala prijavljeni projekt in ga ocenila za neprimernega. Vsi ti primeri nazorno prikazujejo institucionalno strategijo procesov pavperizacije, selekcije in uvajanja ekstremnih razmer.

Pri pasivizaciji družbe so na delu paralelne strategije, ki jih sistem neopazno vpeljuje in izvaja znotraj/zunaj prvega kapitalističnega sveta. Z njimi kapitalu omogoča nemoteno upravljanje z našimi življenji. V prvem kapitalističnem svetu suverena oblast prek biopolitike nadzira in obvladuje življenje, zunaj prvega kapitalističnega sveta pa je realnost povsem drugačna; tu gre za nadziranje in obvladovanje življenja prek nekropolitike, ki vključuje razlastitev in podrejanje življenja moči smrti (Banerjee). Iz tega sledi, da je prvi kapitalistični svet razvil dve strategiji obvladovanja življenja, ki se uporabljata v specifičnih geografskih območjih: biopolitiko v prvem kapitalističnem svetu in nekropolitiko zunaj njega. Če potegnemo vzporednico med tema definicijama – obvladovanje življenja in podrejanje življenja moči smrti –, postane slika jasnejša; da se omogoči življenje s stilom v prvem kapitalističnem svetu, dve tretjini svetovne populacije zunaj prvega kapitalističnega sveta umira. A zadeve so se tako poostrile danes, da so se začeli vodilni hegemoni posluževati nekropolitike tudi »doma«. Prvi kapitalistični svet je znotraj svojih meja začel vpeljevati nekroprocese (nekropolitiko in nekroekonomijo), s katerimi nadgrajuje dosedanje biopolitiko in jo glede na vzpostavljena izredna stanja mestoma nadomešča.

Da se vse to resnično dogaja in da ne gre le za teoretsko hipotezo, lahko vidimo in analiziramo na primeru uporov, ki so se zgodili leta 2005 v Franciji. Kot navaja Rada Iveković v svojem tekstu French Suburbia 2005: The Return of the Politically Unrecognized, je francoska suverena oblast uvedla izredno stanje tako, da je ponovno aktivirala kolonialni zakon, ki ga je sprejela/izvajala med alžirsko vojno leta 1955. To je zakon, ki ga Francija do leta 2005 nikoli ni izvajala znotraj teritorija prvega sveta, pač pa samo zunaj njega, v svojih kolonijah (Iveković, 2008: 173). Ta primer ne dokazuje le dejstva, da se kolonializem nikoli ni realno zaključil, ampak da so zakoni in strategije, s katerimi so zahodni kolonialisti vladali svetu v preteklosti, ključni del strategij sistemov moči, ki vladajo v sedanjosti in bodo vladali v prihodnosti. Iz tega lahko tudi sklepamo, da procesi pasivizacije niso samoumevna posledica časa, v katerem živimo, ampak strategija sistema, ki ustvarja družbeno in politično apatičnost. Skratka, nahajamo se v ekstremnih razmerah, ki zahtevajo ekstremno delovanje!

Viri:
http://www.marx.org/reference/archive/debord/society.htm.
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Sebastjan Leban PASSIVE SOCIETY: THE PRODUCTION OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE IN EXTREME CONDITIONS

One of the principal questions of the production of critical discourse within art, theory, criticism etc. is how far an extreme discourse can be brought, or to put it otherwise, what the invisible line is of the acceptable that still allows for a radical-critical intervention. Where does this line end and where does the regime of destruction, abolishment and obliteration (implemented by the ruling system) come into being? It is clear to almost everyone today that neoliberalism and capital condition contemporaneity to such a degree that they ask of it to constantly reinvent neoliberalism in order for it to always be traded and sold, again and again. What remains unclear, however, is whether we are going to do something about it or just contemplate silently and passively, convincing ourselves that this is a normal, usual, part of our daily routine, a consequence of development, and that we can basically do nothing in this regard. The aim of capital is *per definitionem* the control of all social segments, abolishment of all social forms, and creation of a privileged class in possession of symbolic and real power for deciding on how the story – known as the process of civilization – is going to unfold. But for what price? By all means, for the price which is not to be paid by the population of the First World, but rather by the population of the already extremely exploited Third World; by those who are excluded from the apparent success story (of capital) and whose lives are under the trademark of sustainable and global development subject to the power of death. What cannot be ignored though, is the denotation “Third World” that corresponds to the geographic area beyond the borders of the First Capitalist World and is defined by neoliberalism as the under-developed area, or in other words, as developing countries. However, if viewed in another light, the reality turns out to be completely different. These areas are over-exploited and deliberately kept in a position of dependency. Moreover, the denotation “Third World” has a disdainful connotation, since it denotes something of second-class, both insignificant and inferior.

Commercials, slogans and verbal and linguistic expressions are constantly (re)produced by the system in order to implement strategies of subjugation to passivity, strategies for transforming into a condition of passiveness. This is also implemented through mass media smaller but regular daily-administered doses of visual-textual *inputs*, which prevent resistance and counter-reactions in subjects, transforming them into passive, indifferent and careless ones. When talking about processes of passiveness, we cannot ignore the fact that the system has also developed strategies which, by producing seemingly radical, seemingly critical, seemingly conceptual, seemingly political and seemingly theoretical discourses, make possible the realization of the processes of depolitization, de-theorization, de-radicalization etc., as a result of which not only borders between real criticism and its “mere illustration” are blurred, but also the discursive power produced by radical and critical analysis becomes abolished gradually. One such strategy is the strategy of contamination spread through institutional discourses (Gržinič). It is most common within the art system, where the radicalness of some praxes, theories and critiques are suppressed as follows: in a first stage, they are used by institutions for the production of seeming criticism/contemporaneity; in a second stage, through the organization of seemingly progressive critical/contemporary discourses, they are appropriated by those same institutions; in a third stage these discourses are suppressed with processes of blurring the borders between the seeming and real criticism/contemporaneity. Contamination could therefore be connected to another strategy that involves the process of production of discourses, which *appear* to be critical, appropriating and stripping the radical critical discourses of their original criticality and radicalness.

Why is it that the system introduces these processes of production of seeming discourses, carefully withdrawing from displaying the reality of neoliberal processes?

The objective is to create a passive viewer/consumer/citizen that will devote entire weekends to shopping, showing no concern for the escalation of disturbing antagonistic social conditions, contemporary formats of colonialism, devastating environmental policy etc. This strategy involves the production of passivity through the production of spectacle, which Debord defines as “a social relation between people that is mediated by images” (Debord, 1967). This mediation is far from being innocent, since it is the very cause of passivity, allowing the system, capital and its substructures undisturbed prosperity. The fact is that the 21st Century is marked by mediation, which affects the social, political and cultural conditions of contemporary society and changes them thoroughly at the same time. This is because the subject has become the key target of a whole world machinery, at which core lies consumerism and the creation of artificially produced needs for our daily lives. These needs, dictated by multinational corporations, globalization and the global market are not here to improve the quality of life, but to strengthen the dependence of the subject upon the system.

What are the possible ways out of the aforementioned process of production of passivity, and how are we to actively intervene in the structure of such a process?

One possibility might be self-organization, which allows the challenging of the system and development of autonomous networks and structures capable of producing a *real* extreme discourse, without having to worry about making a compromise with regard to functioning in the already extreme conditions in which all those who wish not to illustrate operate, please or simply produce commodities. In short, they do not spread neoliberal values and the market economy. Leading a radical-critical discourse today means occupying a critical position that involves a willful decision of functioning under the extreme conditions. The question is how far these extreme conditions are from contemporary reality, and when does extremity provoked by the system, change into a suffocatingly closed structure where only a handful of individuals are privileged, and where any form of criticism is abolished in order for passiveness to be produced? What we are witnessing here is a situation of ever more extreme living conditions, accompanied by ever greater social differences; we have to add the drastically worsened standards and conditions of life, violation and restriction of human rights, regimes of severe control, the favoring of social discrimination (with perpetuating inequality) and so on to this condition. In Slovenia, this situation of extreme living conditions, is a consequence of the present neoliberal expansionist logic and is manifest at all levels of social life, from education to health care, culture etc., where we are confronted with examples of systematic pauperization. If we take the strategy of pauperization in the area of culture as an example, we realize that what is at work here, on the one hand, are carefully planned clientelism, nepotism and corruption, which create extreme conditions in order to allow the elite/privileged class to operate undisturbed, and on the other hand, the abolishing of all unwanted artistic, political, theoretical and critical praxes/discourses. An example of such exterminatory strategies could be traced in various open calls by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia and different other Slovenian state institutions such as the Film Fund of the Republic of Slovenia, etc.; through these calls, such strategies are *de facto* being implemented.

Let me briefly unveil some such examples that have occurred in Slovenia within the last year. Namely, the Open Call for the Promotion of Slovenian Culture in the International Arena for the Year 2008, where the major part of the available funds were allocated to specific chosen subjects while the majority remained without the necessary financial resources for the presentation of their pre-arranged events. The Open Call for Co-financing the Media Program in 2008 has introduced a new article which determines that publishers of printed media are not eligible to apply for the funds if they publish less than 12 issues per year (monthly issues are compulsory). Thus, almost all publications that are developing radical critical stances within specific artistic and cultural practices such as *Reartikulacija*, *Borec*, *Maska* etc., being quarterly published magazines, are prevented from applying for funds from the very beginning. The third such example is the case of Kino Otok (Isola Cinema), which is an international independent film festival situated in a small city on the Slovenian coast. The festival was granted too little financial resources by the Film Fund of the Republic of Slovenia during the first stage, and at a later stage, following the complaint of the applicant, this same institution, instead of resolving it, established another commission which re-evaluated the program of the Isola Cinema festival and rejected the program as being supposedly totally inappropriate. All examples clearly show the institutional strategy of the processes of pauperization, selection and the implementation of extreme conditions.

The process of introducing passiveness as the regulator of society (producing a passive society) involves analogous strategies, which are introduced in an unobservable way and implemented by the system inside/outside the First capitalist World. In such a way, capital smoothly governs our lives. In the First capitalist World, the sovereign power controls and governs life through biopolitics, whereas outside the First capitalist World, the reality is completely different; here, life is controlled and governed by necropolitics, through the dispossession and subjugation of life to the power of death (Banerjee). Therefore, the First capitalist World has developed two strategies of governance of life that are used in specific geographical areas: biopolitics within the First capitalist World and necropolitics elsewhere. If we draw a parallel line between these two definitions – the governing of life and the subjugation of life to the power of death – the picture becomes clearer; in order to allow life with style in the First capitalist World, two thirds of population outside of the First capitalist World must die. The situation is becoming so intensified today that the ruling hegemonic power has been introducing necropolitics “at home” as well. The First capitalist World has started to

incorporate necroprocesses (necropolitics and necroeconomics) within its borders; with necroprocesses, it upgrades the existent biopolitics, and from time to time in relation to established states of exception, even replaces it.

This really being the case and not just a theoretical speculation, can be seen through an analysis of the riots, which occurred in France in 2005. As stated by Rada Iveković, in her text “French Suburbia 2005: The Return of the Politically Unrecognized,” the French sovereign power has introduced a state of exception by reactivating the colonial legislation, which was adopted/implemented during the Algerian War of 1955. Until 2005, France had never implemented this legislation within the proper territory of the First capitalist World, but only outside its borders, in the French colonies (Iveković, 2008: 173). This example, not only offers evidence that colonialism has never really ended, but that laws and strategies by way of which the Western colonialists governed the world in the past, are a constitutive part of strategies of systems of power that are governing the world in the present, and will continue doing so in

the future. We can conclude that processes of passivity are not a natural consequence of the time we live in, but rather a strategy of the system of producing social and political apathy. In short, we find ourselves in extreme conditions that call for extreme action!

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Translated from Slovenian by Tanja Passoni.

BEOGRAJSKA (DRUGA) SCENA/ BELGRADE (OTHER) SCENE

Ana Vujanović in Marijana Cvetković v
sodelovanju z Zampa di Leone
ODPRTI GLOSAR – PRISPEVEK št. 03/08

Družba – politika: kontekst – TEORIJOFOBIA (Ana Vujanović)
Ena od specifičnosti našega družbenega konteksta je antiintelektualizem. »Teorijofobija«, ki označuje nerazumski in neustavljiv strah pred teorijo, je le del tega. To pomeni, da se gremo žargona in preišljenih truizmov, namesto konceptov, artikuliranih pojmov in pojasnljivih odnosov. Vse to podpira določeno mentalno lenobo, ki vodi v opiranje na prepričanja, namesto k razmišljanju in učenju, in nas tako spreminja v lahek plen manipulacij z resnicami, ki nam jih vsiljujejo tisti, v katere verjamemo: profesorji, množični mediji, politiki, avtoritete vseh vrst... To posploševanje razkriva kanček logike, ki daje prednost teorijofobiji pred teorijo, ki obstaja na različnih ravneh

lokalne družbene prakse, od vsakodnevnega življenja do umetnosti, pa vse do univerz. V našem lokalnem jeziku poznamo jasno reklo »Ne filozofiraj!« ali »Ne teoretiziraj!«, kar pomeni »Ne zapravljaj časa, raje kako ukrepaj.« Znotraj polja kulturnih in družbenih gibanj je kljub zapuščini skupine *Praxis* nastala vrzel med aktivisti in teoretiki, ki diskurzom in delovanju drug drugega ne zaupajo. Aktivisti obtožujejo teoretike, da z zapletanjem v dolgotrajne procese razmišljanja in preišljevanja o tem, kako ukrepati, preprečujejo neposredno akcijo, medtem ko teoretiki obtožujejo aktiviste naivnega obnašanja, ki da temelji na nepremišljenem in kratkovidnem razmišljanju.

Med umetnostjo, umetniško vzgojo in univerzo poteka bitka o tem, da je teorija nasprotje (umetniške) prakse in obratno. A ta opozicija temelji na nevednosti. Sodobna umetniška teorija se je že usmerila v to nevednost in si zastavila vprašanje: Ali je odnos »umetniško delo – diskurz« tako jasen, kot je bilo to sprva zastavljeno? Kje je meja, ki ločuje umetniško delo od teoretiziranja? Ali lahko govorimo o nekem pojavu, ne da bi ga pojmovno opredelili in kontekstualizirali?

...Kadar pa je razdalja med teorijo in prakso povsem relativizirana, se v teoriji začnejo zastavljati vprašanja: Kako lahko nekdo zahteva pozitivizem in nevtralnost, kot je to zahtevala tradicionalna znanost, če ne deluje z nekega transdružbenega prostora? Če je družbena determiniranost sestavni del teorije, potemtaka je ta determiniranost prav tako vključena v odnos teorije do objekta. Kaj je torej predmet teorije: objekt ali učinek ali celo investicija v dojeti objekt in izmišljeni učinek? ...Kljub vsem tem starim prepričanjem, teorija še vedno velja za nekaj, kar zaduši umetnost in zanemarija njeno neizrekljivo razsežnost, saj zahteva diskurzivnost, medtem ko umetnost velja za predmet teorije, za zadevo, ki jo je treba artikulirati in prevesti v diskurz.

Če navedem osebni primer: leta 2003 sem kot podiplomska študentka na Fakulteti za dramske umetnosti v Beogradu napisala esej na temo »Težave pri režiji sodobnih gledaliških del«. Bil je akademski napisan esej o produkciji »praznih znakov« znotraj gledališča, ki jih je Robert Wilson proizvedel na osnovi montaže atrakcij sovjetskega filmskega režiserja Sergeja Eisensteina; šlo je za teoretski esej s pripisanimi viri in argumenti. Profesor ga je zavrnil, rekoč: »To ni nič. To nima nobene zveze z umetnostjo. To je 'abrakadabra'« (»abrakadabra« se pri nas uporablja kot magična beseda v negativnem smislu, ki pomeni nekaj neuporabnega) In mislil je resno. Izpit sem padla šestkrat, zato sem diplomirala veliko pozneje, kot sem načrtovala.

V sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja se je Charles Harrison vprašal: »Kako je mogoče študirati umetnost, ne da bi poznali njenih teoretskih osnov? Predstavljajte si študenta fizike, ki študira fiziko, ne da bi poznal njeno teoretsko podlago!« Če kdo misli, da sta bila odnos med umetnostjo in teorijo in njuno neločljivo sobivanje razrešena dolgo tega, je navedeni primer dokaz, da ni vedno tako. Nova generacija teoretikov, umetnikov in kulturnih aktivistov razmišlja drugače. Po mojem mnenju je ena pglavitnih nalog Druge scene kot platforme oblikovati prostor, da lahko vsaj slišimo druge glasove, ki lahko podprejo pretekle posamezne poskuse presejanja lokalne teorijofobije. Teoretična praksa je tisto, kar jaz vidim kot alternativo prej opisani binarni opoziciji. Ustvarja kontekst in je hkrati konstitutivni element umetniškega ali kulturnega dela, njegovega teoretskega objekta. Na drugi strani pa sta umetnost in kultura tudi diskurza, ki teoriji zastavljata vprašanja. V pogovoru z Rosalindo Krauss je Hubert Damisch dejal: »[teoretski objekt] je zastavljen na teoretski način; proizvaja teorijo in zahteva premislek o njej«. Ta vzajemna prepoznavanja in odnosi ne govorijo le o »atmosfera« Arthura Danta, pač pa prispevajo k oblikovanju platforme, ki omogoča materialno intervencijo v svet umetnosti in kulture. Sicer pa lahko gledate tudi TV; predvolilne kampanje so zelo sproščujoče in obljubljajo boljše prihodnost in to brez teorije.

Umetnost – kultura: neodvisna scena – NOMADSKA PLESNA AKADEMIJA: regionalna platforma (Marijana Cvetković)

Leta 2005 je skupina plesalcev (Balkan Dance Network) kot regionalno iniciativo za razvoj in promocijo sodobnega plesa. Iniciativa se je začela spletati znotraj podobnih družbenih in kulturnih okvirov vseh balkanskih držav zaradi pomanjkanja infrastrukture za sodobni ples, stalnih podpornih sredstev od države, ki po večini zanemarija kulturno politiko, omejevalnih izobraževalnih možnosti, omejenosti trga in »odtekanja sposobnih umetnikov« v sodobni umetnosti. Že vzpostavljene zveze in sodelovanje med umetniki iz te regije so pokazali, da usklajeno in usmerjeno skupno delovanje lahko močno izboljša neugodne pogoje in celotno sodobno plesno družbeno-kulturno sfero pripelje korak naprej. Balkan Dance Network je samorganizacija posameznih umetnikov in organizacij, ki jih zanimata dolgotrajno sodelovanje in vzajemna podpora za okrepitev področja sodobnega plesa na Balkanu. Partnerske organizacije, s katerimi sodelujemo, so Fićo Balet, Ljubljana, the Brain Store Project, Sofija, plesni center Tala, Zagreb, Lokomotiva – center za nove pobude v umetnosti in kulturi, Skopje, STATION, služba za sodobni ples, Beograd, in Tanzelarija, Sarajevo.

Glavni projekt Balkan Dance Network je izobraževalni in raziskovalni program Nomadske plesne akademije, ki zbira vse razpoložljive potencialne in vire za sodobni ples tako na lokalni kot regionalni ravni s ciljem prispevati k izboljšanju in profesionalizaciji tega področja na Balkanu. NOMAD je proces, ki se začne od spodaj navzgor in nudi rešitve na področju raziskav, umetniškega raziskovanja in produkcije kot njegovih treh glavnih programskih usmeritev. NOMAD nudi izobraževalni program kot alternativo, ki naj bi premostila vrzel v izobraževalnem sistemu na Balkanu in izboljšala izobraževalne možnosti za mlade plesalce in koreografe kakor tudi raziskovalne pogoje za že uveljavljene ustvarjalce. S svojo široko razvito strukturo in mrežo želi promovirati ples kot družbeno pomembno in umetniško področje, ki lahko vključuje druge sfere. Skupek proaktivnih možnosti, ki jih ta program ponuja, je zanesljiv »prispevek« lokalni kulturni sceni pri nadaljnjem razvijanju platform v Jugovzhodni Evropi, ki bodo omogočale sodelovanje z drugimi.



PREVOD V SLOVENŠČINO:

1 Zampa di Leone, 23/2007, *Najboljše presenečenje je Zampa presenečenje*

2 Super...!! Po velikem uspehu na ciprski Manifesti, je med nami veliki umetnik in še boljši kurator Anton Vidokle!

3 V šolskih klopih je res lepo... Da postaneš kurator, moraš imeti vsaj univerzitetno diplomo.

4 KW (Institut za sodobno umetnost Kust-werke (op. p.)) predstavlja: RAF (RAF (German Rote Armee Fraktion)/Frakcija rdeče armade (op. p.)) Zares lepo. Božansko.

5 ...Inke Arns pa: Eine karte

Namen izobraževalnega programa NOMAD je izboljšati in spodbudi-ti izmenjavo, izobraževanje in ustvarjanje sodobne umetnosti na Bal-kanu, in sicer prek delavnic, predavanj, študijskih obiskov in srečanj z umetniki in teoretiki iz Evrope in drugih držav. Ob tem nudi tudi vsakodnevna javna predavanja, delavnice in predavanja iz sodob-ne plesne prakse in teorije, prostore za individualno raziskovanje in kontakte z lokalnimi in mednarodnimi umetniki in institucijami. Pro-gram se je začel marca 2008 v Skopju, od koder se je skupina trinaj-stih izbranih mladih plesalcev in koreografov podala na štirimesečno potovanje po Balkanu. Skupaj so živeli, se učili, delali in potovali iz Skopja v Sofijo, Beograd, Zagreb in Ljubljano vse do junija 2008. Po koncu potovanja imajo udeleženci možnost dobiti rezidenco v enem od evropskih mest. Raziskovalni program je usmerjen v razvoj pro-grama NOMAD glede na različne potrebe, ki jih določijo strokovnjaki s področja sodobnega plesa na Balkanu. Produkcijski program pod-pira velike produkcije, ki so rezultat raziskav in umetniškega razvoja in programu NOMAD ali manjše koprodukcije članov NOMAD-a in k sodelovanju povabljenih umetnikov. Program omogoča predstavi-tve in performanse v partnerskih državah in drugod. Kompleksnost Nomadske plesne akademije in želja po okrepitvi platforme za izme-njavo in sodelovanje v državah Balkana sta prinesla prve rezultate, kar zadeva izboljšanje pogojev za razvoj sodobnega plesa v neka-terih državah (kot so Srbija, Makedonija ter Bosna in Hercegovina). Naslednja preizkušnja organizacije Balkan Dance Network in progra-ma NOMAD bodo po končanem prvem celoletnem izobraževalnem programu odzivi kulturnih in izobraževalnih avtoritet ter tudi plesnih skupin v vsaki posamezni državi.

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• **Dr. Ana Vujanović je samostojna delavka (teoretičarka, organi-zatorka, urednica, dramaturginja, predavateljica) na področju so-dobnih scenskih umetnosti in kulture. Poleg tega je glavna uredni-ca *TkH*, časopisa za teorijo sodobnih scenskih umetnosti, Beograd.**
• **Mag. Marijana Cvetković je umetnostna zgodovinarka, umetni-ška menedžerka in kulturna delavka. Zaposlena je na Akademiji za likovno umetnost v Beogradu in je vodja Servisa za sodobni ples v Beogradu ter plesne akademije NOMAD. Trenutno pripravlja dok-torat iz muzejskega menedžmenta.**
• **Zampa di Leone je skupina aktivistov, ki deluje na področju kulture na Balkanu. Zampin prvi fanzin *In the Arse of the Balkans* parodira vsesplošno balkanizacijo umetniških praks. To je poskus estetske reformulacije Balkana, da bi ustvarili njegovo protiz-godovino.**

Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

Ana Vujanović and Marijana Cvetković in collaboration with Zampa di Leone OPEN GLOSSARY – ENTRY No. 03/08

Society – politics: context – THEORYPHOBIA (Ana Vujanović)
One of the specificities of our social context is anti-intellectualism. "The-oryphobia," as the irrational and persistent fear of theory, is only a part of the atmosphere. It means that you have the jargon and common sense truisms, instead of the concepts, articulated notions and explainable relations. This implies a certain laziness of mind, which further implies grasping beliefs instead of thinking and learning, and thus a vulner-ability to being manipulated by the truths offered to us by those we believe in: professors, mass media, politicians, authority of any kind... This simplifying line reveals a bit of the logic that gives the primacy to theoryphobia over the theory that is present on various levels of the lo-cal social practice, from daily life to art, through to the university. In our local languages, you can find the indicative curse: Don't philosophize! Or don't theorize! Meaning: Don't waste our time, do something. Within the fields of cultural and social movements, in spite of the heritage of the *Praxis* group, there is a gap between activists and theorists, and no one has confidence in each other's discourse and action. Activists ac-

(HARD) CORE

Gal Kirn »POZORI! PRIHAJA REZIDENČNI UMETNIK!«¹

V zadnjih desetletjih se na področju umetnosti dogaja korenita »rekonstrukcija«². Mnogi vidijo umetnost kot polje, ki je ločeno od stvarnega življenja in ki omogoča avtentičnost ter svobodo izraža-nja, medtem ko bi drugi umetnost radi videli kot »deklo« nacionalne kulture, še več, glavni namen umetnosti vidijo v reproduciranju na-cionalne kulture. Na prvi pogled se ti dve ideološki poziciji zdita kot dve povsem izključujoči poziciji. A vendar – in to bom v nadaljevanju poskušal orisati – tvorita idealen par, ki je sestavni del prevladujoče umetniške ideologije. V nasprotju s temi notranjimi »idealističnimi« pojmovanji umetnosti se na dnevni red vračajo tudi alternitivna poj-movanja o resnici umetniškega postopka (Badioujev *Mali priročnik o inestetiki* / *Handbook of Inaesthetics*, 2004) oziroma mišljenje ume-tniškega dela kot prekinitve obstoječe »logike porazdelitve čutnega« (glej Rancièrovo knjigo *Politika estetike/Politics of aesthetics*, 2004). Četudi je smiselno slediti temu inherentno estetskemu pristopu,³ ne smemo pozabiti na še eno razsežnost, ki je danes v umetnosti ključ-

cuse theorists of blocking direct action by deferring it into long pro-cesses of thinking and re-thinking it, while theorists accuse activists for naïve behavior based on reductive and short-term thoughts.

There is even a fight within the fields of art, art education, and the uni-versity. Theory is what is opposed to (art) practice, and vice versa. The opposition is based on ignorance. Contemporary art theory itself already turned (into) it, asking: Is the relationship “artwork – discourse” as clear as it has traditionally been set? Where is the boundary that segregates the artwork from theorization? Or can we talk about the phenomenon without its conceptualization and contextualization at all? ...When the distance between theory and practice is so relativized, questions from theory itself follow: How can theory ask for positivism and neutrality, as traditional science did, when it does not act from a trans-social space? If social determination is constitutive of theory, the it is also imbedded in its relationship towards the object. What is then theorized: object or effect, or an investment of grasped object and constructed effect? ...In spite of these old thoughts, theory is still considered here as that which stiffens art and neglects its ineffable dimension under the request for discursivity, and art is seen as the object of theory, a matter that should be articulated and translated into discourse.

One personal example: when I was a post-graduate student at the Faculty of Dramatic Arts in Belgrade in 2003, I wrote an essay on the subject, “The problems of contemporary theater directing.” It was a scholarly written essay about Robert Wilson’s production of “empty signs” within theatre by means of the montage of attraction developed by the soviet film director Sergei Eisenstein; it was a theoretical essay with references and argumentations. My old professor rejected the text saying: “It’s nothing. It’s not about art. It’s ‘abracadabra’” (“abracadabra” is used here as a magical word in a negative sense, i.e. as a useless word), and he was serious. I failed to pass this exam six times; this postponed my graduation by several months.

In the 1970s, Charles Harrison asked: “How is it possible to study art without knowing its theoretical presuppositions? Imagine a student of physics, who studies physics and is not familiar with its theoretical grounds!” If you might think that the relationship between art and the-ory and their inextricable co-existence was resolved long ago, now you have an example that it’s not like that everywhere. However, the new-est generations of theorists, artists, and cultural activists have started to think differently. In my opinion, it’s one of the main tasks of the Other Scene, as a platform, to make a space for at least hearing others’ voices, which can empower previous particular attempts at surpassing the lo-cal theoryphobia. The new tool that I stand for as an alternative to the binary opposition is: “theoretical practice.” It creates *context* and even becomes a *constitutive element* of art or cultural work as its theoretical object. On the other hand, art and culture are also set as discourses that pose questions to theory. In a conversation with Rosalind Krauss, Hu-bert Damisch said: “[the theoretical object] is posed in theoretical terms; it produces theory; and it necessitates a reflection on theory.” These mu-tual recognitions and relations are not only about Arthur Danto’s “at-mosphere,” but also about making a platform for material interventions into the Artworld or the Cultureworld. Otherwise, you can watch TV; the pre-election campaigns are so relaxing, and promise you a better future without any theory indeed.

Art – culture: independent scene – NOMAD DANCE ACADEMY: a regional platform (Marijana Cvetković)

In 2005, a group of dancers and choreographers created the Balkan Dance Network as a regional initiative for the development and promo-tion of contemporary dance. The initiative originated within the similar social and cultural frames of all the Balkan countries, such as a lack of in-frastructure for contemporary dance, a lack of regular supporting funds from the state, mostly neglecting cultural policy, restricted educational opportunities, limited markets and “brain drain” in contemporary dance. Already established links and cooperation amongst artists from the re-gion indicated that significant capabilities of influencing those unfavor-able conditions, and a coordinated and focused joint action, could take the entire contemporary dance social-cultural cycle a few steps for-ward. The Balkan Dance Network is based on the self-organization of in-

na, in sicer na materialnost umetnosti, umetniškega dela in umetni-ške prakse. Skratka, v nadaljevanju bom analiziral materialne pogo-je, v katerih delujejo umetniki danes. Z drugimi besedami, besedilo predstavlja skromen prispevek h konkretni analizi umetniške prakse v postfordističnem kontekstu, torej k praksi umetnikov v rezidencah.

Umetnost in postfordizem

Danes so prekerni delovni pogoji nekaj povsem naravnega. Vse sku-paj se je začelo v zgodnjih sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja, ko so bila uvedena svobodna in fleksibilna pogodbena razmerja. Ta družbena razmerja so menedžerski postfordistični odgovor na kri-tiko poznih šestdesetih let (spomnimo se maja 1968), ko so si novi načini proizvodnje presežne vrednosti, ki so s seboj prinesli nove oblike izkoriščanja, na novo prilastili družbeno in kulturno kritiko⁴. Radikalne zahteve gibanj za spremembo družbenih odnosov so utonile v pozabo, medtem ko so bile na delovnem mestu zagoto-vljene osebna izbira in individualne svoboščine. Vsakdo se je lahko izkazal na svoj način, posameznik mora kakopak dati vse od sebe, saj gre za lastno samouresničitev. Namesto odtujenih delovnih po-gojev znotraj tovarn imamo danes fleksibilna pogodbena razmerja in lahko delamo doma na svojih računalnikih. Sami torej sodelujemo pri izboljšanju delovnih pogojev in prav to »sodelovanje« je eden glavnih proizvodnih momentov eksploatacije. Če sta v fordizmu pre-vladovali stroga hierarhija in brezosebna moč tovarniškega vodstva, so danes naši nadrejeni postali naši prijatelji, čeprav vsi vemo, da so njihove zahteve po opravljenem delu še bolj neizprosne. Namesto hierarhičnih odnosov imamo horizontalno zastavljene odnose, ki so specifična oblika osebne odvisnosti. Taka menedžerska reorganiza-cija proizvodnje je doletela tudi umetnost,⁵ spremenila je osnovne

⁴ Za vpogled v novi režim produkcije je priročna knjiga *Slovnica množta (Grammar of Multitude*, 2004) avtorja Paola Virna.

⁵ Mnogi umetniki si morajo priskrbeti druge vire dohodkov za preživetje. Vse več je takih, ki kot svobodni delavci delajo na enkratnih projektih, kar jim ne omogoča velike pogajalske svobode na umetniškem trgu.

dividual artists and organizations interested in long-term collaboration and mutual support for strengthening the contemporary dance field in the Balkan region. The partner organizations are Fičo Balet, Ljubljana, the Brain Store Project, Sofia, the Tala Dance Center, Zagreb, Lokomotiva – the Center for New Initiatives in the Arts and Culture, Skopje, STATION Service for contemporary dance, Belgrade, and Tanzelarija, Sarajevo.

The main project of the Balkan Dance Network is the NOMAD Dance Academy, an educational and research program that gathers all avail-able potentials and resources for contemporary dance on both the lo-cal and regional levels with the aim of contributing to improvement and professionalization of this field within the Balkans. NOMAD is made as a bottom-up process, offering solutions to the common problems within education, artistic research and production as the three main program lines of NOMAD. Its educational program is an alternative that should fill a gap in the educational system in the Balkans and improve educational opportunities for young dancers and choreographers as well as research conditions for experienced ones. With its largely de-veloped structure and network, NOMAD aspires to promote dance as a socially relevant and inclusive artistic field. The entire set of proactive devices offered by this program is a certain “supplement” for local cul-tural scenes, and a further development of platforms for cooperation emerging within South East Europe.

The NOMAD educational program is made to improve and encourage the exchange, education and creation of contemporary dance within the Balkans through a set of workshops, lectures, study visits and en-counters with artists and theorists from Europe and all other related countries. It provides daily professional open classes, workshops and lectures from contemporary dance practice and theory, space for in-dividual research and contacts with local and international artists and institutions. It started in March of 2008 in Skopje, where a group of 13 selected young dancers and choreographers began their four-month travel through the Balkans. They lived, learned, worked and moved to-gether from Skopje to Sofia, Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana until June, 2008. After the completion of this phase, they will have the opportunity to get a residency in one of the European centers. The research program is focused on the development of the NOMAD program, depending on the different needs recognized by contemporary dance professionals from the Balkans. The production program supports large productions as results of NOMAD research and artistic development or smaller co-productions of NOMAD members and invited artists. This program will foster touring and performing in partner countries and elsewhere. The complexity of the NOMAD Dance Academy and the ambitions towards strengthening a platform for exchange and cooperation in the Balkan countries has given the first results of the improvement of conditions for contemporary dance development in some countries (such as Ser-bia, Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). The next test for the Bal-kan Dance Network and the NOMAD program will be the reactions of cultural and educational authorities, as well as dance communities in each country after the end of the educational program's first year.

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• **Ana Vujanović, PhD, is a freelance theoretician, organizer, editor, dramaturge, lecturer in the field of contemporary performative arts and culture. She is also editor-in-chief of *TkH, Journal for Per-forming Arts Theory*, Belgrade.**
• **Marijana Cvetković, MA, is art historian, art manager and cultural worker. She works at the University of Arts in Belgrade. She is a Manager of Station Service for contemporary dance, Belgrade, and NOMAD Dance Academy. Currently she is working on her PhD on museum management.**
• **Zampa di Leone works within the parameters of cultural activ-ism in the Balkan region. Zampa first fanzine is *In the Arse of the Balkans* and parodies the entire movement of balkanization of art practices. Zampa’s experiment that is a sort of aesthetic reformu-lation of the Balkan creates its anti-history.**

pogoje umetniške produkcije in eno od njenih glavnih kategorij – prostor. Prostor umetniške produkcije ni bil nikdar nekaj samou-mevnega, še zlasti potem, ko so bili s *Situacionistično internacionalo* maja 68' postavljeni temelji najvplivnejše kritike in analiz prostora. Dela Henrija Lefebvreja so materialistični teoriji prispevala impresiv-no in kompleksno pojmovanje prostora, ki je s tem postal ključen za zgodovinsko analizo in umetniško prakso. Prostor po letu 1968 ne moremo razumeti več zgolj kot normativno kategorijo ali kot nekaj samo po sebi danega. Po sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja so se kot zelo specifičen odgovor na zahteve umetnikov po prostoru pojavile umetniške rezidence. Eksistencialne težave s prostorom so bile delno rešene s fleksibilnimi pogodbami, *umetniška rezidenca* pa se zdi prava rešitev tega problema. Narobe je seveda trditi, da se je »umetniška rezidenca« pojavila v sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega sto-letja, saj jo poznamo že iz začetka 20. stoletja, medtem ko se je drugi val zgodil v sedemdesetih in se razcepil na dve povsem nasprotni si smeri: prva je vodila v umik iz družbe in s tem v oblikovanje lokalne umetniške utopije; druga pa je bila veliko bolj družbeno angažirana in usmerjena v prakticiranje umetniške politike in aktiven stik z druž-bo/občinstvom. V svoji kritiki se ne bom dotaknil starejših vzorcev, čeprav bi prvega lahko označil kot eskapizem (iskanje avtentičnega življenja), pač pa se bom osredotočil na trenutno popularnost ume-tniške rezidence kot globalnega vzorca, ki ga promovirajo države, korporacije, akademije in ne nazadnje umetniki sami.⁶

Umetniška rezidenca

Oglejmo si pobliže ta pojav: umetniška rezidenca je prostor, ki ume-tnikom omogoča bivanje za določen čas. Nekateri rezidenčni ume-tniški centri imajo posebna pravila, ki jih morajo umetniki upošte-vati, včasih morajo po zaključenem obdobju bivanja v teh prostorih narediti umetniško delo ali organizirati razstavo, zelo redko pa smejo

⁶ To bi lahko označili kot neke vrste »pripravištvu« za umetnike, ki postaja vse bolj neizogibna izkušnja (in omogoča dopolnitev umetniškega CV-ja).

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rezidenco uporabiti za svoje namene, brez da bi pri tem imeli kakršne koli obveznosti do gostitelja. Ti umetniški centri se financirajo iz državnega proračuna ali z mednarodnimi fundacijami, in čeprav lahko umetniki živijo tam bolj ali manj zastojni, morajo včasih del stroškov kriti sami. Obdobje gostovanja lahko traja nekaj tednov do leta dni, običajno pa so bivanja krajša (približno 3 mesece), tako da se med bivanjem gostujoči umetnik ne more povsem vključiti v lokalno skupnost. Prvotna ideja umetniške rezidence je bila prav izmenjava kulturnih in umetniških izkušenj ter znanja. Zares vprašljivo je, ali v treh mesecih lahko vzpostavimo trden odnos z lokalnim okoljem...

Trenutno živim na Nizozemskem, kjer je ta pogodbena praksa z umetniki zelo popularna. Poleg odličnih rezidenc v sklopu akademij⁷ obstajajo še bolj simptomatični primeri. Stanovanjski problem (od bivalnega do delovnega prostora) na Nizozemskem je namreč velik problem, zato se zdijo nekatere rešitve toliko bolj nenavadne in ultra-liberalne kot na primer antikvot (*antikraak*).⁸ Poleg tega ukrepa so na voljo še posebni prostori zgolj za umetnike. Tako od časa do časa na nasipih nastajajo nova naselja, kjer središče zavzamejo modre stavbe, namenjene umetnikom. To pomeni, da prek procesa normalizacije in dodelitve umetniških prostorov občina umetnikom zagotovi umetniško rezidenco, ti pa bi seveda morali biti za to hvaležni; od njih se celo pričakuje, da lokalni skupnosti pokažejo svoja dela. Ali ne zajema namestitev umetnika v točno določen prostor bistvo ideje o tovarniškem delu? Najprej ti dodelijo prostor, kjer moraš ustvarjati, nato pa ti še zapovejo, kaj in koliko moraš ustvariti v času rezidenčnega bivanja? Pravzaprav, kakor se je pokazalo v tej razpravi, ta domneva niti ni tako daleč od stvarnosti. Če je bilo konec šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja z nastankom *Situacionistične internacionale* vprašanje prostora eno *ključnih vprašanj*, imamo danes na to vprašanje tudi odgovor: umetniki se soočajo z rigidnostjo pri dodeljevanju prostorov, četudi pod fleksibilnimi pogoji in samo za začasno uporabo, a vendar so jim bili ti dodeljeni v času in prostoru. Debord in Lefebvre se obračata v grobu. Sam bi popularizacijo in normalizacijo rezidenčnega umetniškega bivanja označil za negativno utopijo. Lahko bi jo poimenovali tudi menedžerska komuna, kjer se prostor upravlja do optimalne učinkovitosti: to pomeni začasno gostiti umetnike z vsega sveta in od njih iztržiti čim več. Seveda so umetniki na varnem v svojem raju, kjer lahko razvijajo svoje sposobnosti, hkrati pa so na teh malih paralelnih rezidenčnih otočkih izolirani od družbe.⁹ A vedeti je treba, da so ti paralelni otočki tesno povezani z globalno mrežo umetniških rezidenc. *Nomadstvo* prekernih kulturnih delavcev je postalo imperativ in ne več »svobodna« izbira posameznika in kot tako je lahko prav toliko omejevalno, kot če je umetnik vse življenje obsojen na razstavljanje v eni sami galeriji. A izbira je bila za umetnike že narejena in pri njej zagotovo niso sodelovali.

Uvodoma sem izpostavil prevladujočo ideologijo, *etatistično* nacionalno kulturno perspektivo, ki jo spremlja *avtentična* romantična perspektiva. Ali ni ta sveta aliansa utelešena prav v popularizaciji umetniške rezidence? Menedžerski odgovor je prav sinteza obeh perspektiv. Umetniški centri s pomočjo fundacij/občin/držav (*etatistov*) zagotavljajo prostor in finančna sredstva umetnikom, ki lahko na teh samotnih otočkih prakticirajo (avtentično) individualno svobodo izražanja. Ali niso prav umetniki tisti, ki bi morali prvi podvomiti v take delovne pogoje? Ali ni odnos med umetniki in prostorom, v katerem ustvarjajo, primarnega pomena za razumevanje odnosa do družbe na eni strani in njihovega odnosa do umetniškega dela na drugi strani? Skratka, prostor je zelo pomemben del umetniškega procesa. Če je res, da je lahko vsak umetniški prostor »naključni« ali nenaključen, mora umetnik nujno preizprašati pogoje, v katerih deluje, da odpre možnosti novega »čutnega«. Z drugimi besedami, umetnost postane umetnost šele tedaj, ko znova artikulira nekaj, kar je zunaj polja, ki ji je »dodeljen«. Treba je poudariti, da prava umetnost nastane tedaj, ko ni pričakovana, torej v neki stavbi ali *prostoru*, ki ni bil zgrajen, mišljen ali uporabljen kot umetniški prostor. Seveda pa se »naključni« prostor lahko zgodi tudi v že vnaprej določenem prostoru, npr. galeriji ali muzeju, kakor je pokazal Duchamp s svojimi deli (glej Wojcmanovo knjigo *Objet du siecle*, 2006), ali v umetniški rezidenци. Potemtakem prava umetniška dela ne nastanejo samo v »osvobojenih« oziroma avtonomnih prostorih umetniške produkcije. To nas pripelje do bolj političnega zaključka o problematiki, ki tare umetnost. Vsekakor dejstvo, da primanjkuje prostora (kar je *simptom* fleksibilnih, prekernih pojgov), lahko združi umetnike v iskanju organizacijske rešitve, ki stoji nasproti prostorski problematiki. Zaključil bom z dvema možnima odgovoroma, ki odpirata prostor za nadaljnjo razpravo: na eni strani je potrebno nadaljevati s praksami skvotiranja ter načrtovati začasna območja/prostore uporabe, po drugi pa artikulirati zahteve, da občina/lokalna skupnost umetnikom zagotovi osnovno infrastrukturo in prostorske kapacitete; vse to pod pogojem, da bodo lahko umetniki sami odločali o notranji organizaciji teh prostorov in o programu v njih. Kakorkoli že, ali se oba odgovora ne sklicujeta na neko maksimo, vodilo, ki je zunanje umetnosti in se zavzema za *de-segregacijo (neločevanje) umetniških prostorov*?

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Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

⁷ *Rijkskademie* je odličen primer institucije, ki je namenjena rezidenčnim umetnikom. Zaradi velike konkurence je vstop vanjo zelo težek, ko pa umetnik enkrat pridobi članstvo znotraj take institucije, se to pozna tudi na njegovi rastoči vrednosti na umetniškem trgu. Glavna vloga *Rijkskademie* je izstrelitev umetniških del na umetniški trg. ⁸ Najemnine so zelo visoke (mnogi si jih ne morejo privoščiti), čakalne dobe za socialna stanovanja trajajo tudi leto ali več, tako da se mladi, med njimi tudi umetniki, pogostokrat odločajo za skvoterstvo, ki je trenutno še zakonito. Protiskvotiranje je postala izredno zanimiva praksa. Prazne stavbe ali stare pisarne varuje varnostnik, ki lahko v njih živi brezplačno. Protiskvoterska organizacija nato oddaja v najem te prostore po zelo nizkih cenah. Novi stanovalci lahko tam srečno živijo, a pod pogojem, da niso preglasni in da prostore v nekaj tednih po prejetju obvestila zapustijo. Organizacija naj bi tem ljudem priskrbela nov prostor. Za priseljenca (socialno ogrožene skupine) je rešitev, ki jo ponuja protiskvoterski ukrep, težje dostopna ali pa sploh ne pride v poštev, saj je treba poznati nekoga, ki že biva v teh prostorih, prav tako pa morajo imeti urejene papirje. Ta rešitev je med umetniki zelo popularna, a predstavlja dvorezni meč. Na eni strani se s takšno zaščito zasebne in javne lastnine zagotavlja kontinuirano in neustavljivo investiranje, na drugi pa predstavlja takšna zaščita boj proti skvoterstvu. ⁹ Čakam na trenutek, ko bo Albanija vstopila v EU – vse tamkajšnje bunkerje bi namreč lahko uporabili za umetniške rezidence in s tem ponovno oživili turizem ter rešili prostorski problem.

Gal Kirn “ARTIST IN RESIDENCE COMING, MAKE SOME SPACE!”¹

Over the last few decades, the sphere of art has been under thorough “re-construction.”² Many would like to see art as a sphere detached from the real conditions of life, a sphere of authenticity and free expression, whereas others would like to see art as a servant of national culture or simply see the main purpose of art in the reproduction of national culture. At first sight, these two ideological positions seem to be a universe apart, as positions that exclude each other. However, I will try to sketch out that in fact, they form an idealist doublet constitutive to the dominant artistic ideology. In contradistinction to these internally “idealist” notions of art, the return to the truth of the art procedure (Badiou’s *Handbook of Inaesthetics*, 2004) or the emancipatory possibilities of the artwork to break up with the existing “logic of the sensible” (Rancière’s *Politics of aesthetics*, 2004) seem to have become the agenda of art (theory). Even if this inherently aesthetic³ approach is worth following, we must not omit another dimension that is central to art today, namely, thinking about the materiality of art, artwork and artistic practice. More specifically, I want to analyze the material conditions of artists today, in other words, this can be seen as a small contribution to the concrete analysis of artistic practices within the post-Fordist context: the artist in residence.

Art and post-Fordism

Nowadays, the precarity of working conditions has become the natural order of things. It came into existence at the beginning of the 70s. Free and flexible contractual relationships have become dominant ever since. These social relations are the post-Fordist managerial answer to the critique of late 60s (remember May ’68?), when social and cultural critique was re-appropriated and re-articulated with new ways of production of surplus value that brought about new forms of exploitation.⁴ The radical claims of the movements for the transformation of social relations were forgotten, however, personal choice and individual freedoms were granted at the work place. Everyone could realize immense possibilities in the world: individuals just need to do their best in the quest for self-realization. Instead of the alienated working conditions of factories, we have flexible contracts and we can work from our homes on computers. We cooperate in the improvement of our working conditions, where precisely this “cooperation” constitutes one of the basic moments in the exploitation. If in Fordism, one witnessed rigid hierarchies and the im-personal power of factory management, today our bosses have become our friends, but as we all know too well, the imperative to get our job done is even fiercer. Thus, instead of hierarchical relations, we have horizontal relationships, which are a specific form of personal dependence. This managerial reorganization of the production process has hit art⁵ as well, and more specifically, it has also changed the basic conditions of art production and one of its central categories, the category of space. The space of artistic production was never self-evident, especially once the most influential critique and analysis of space was posited in May ’68 with the *Situationist International*. Henri Lefebvre’s works contributed a very impressive and complex concept of space to materialist theory, and ever since, have become extremely important for historical analysis as well as for artistic practice. Space, after ’68, cannot be seen as a simple normative category or a self-evident given. What came after the 70s, as one very specific answer to the artists’ need for space, was precisely the artist residency. Existential troubles with space were resolved partly by flexible contracts and the *artist in residence* seems the perfect solution to the problem. It is not correct to say that “art-in-residence” appeared in the 70s. This phenomenon appeared at the beginning of 20th century, where its second wave struck in the 70s and it underwent two quite opposite directions: the first was an exodus from society, forming a local artistic utopia, whereas the second was much more socially engaged and wanted to promote certain artistic politics and contact with the public. My axis of critique will not touch these older models, although the first can easily be labelled as escapism (the search for authentic life), nevertheless, I will look at the recent popularization of the art residency as it definitively became a global model, promoted by states, corporations, academies and artists themselves.⁶

The artist in residence

Let us look closer at this phenomenon: art residency is a space, where artists can stay for a certain period of time. Some residential art centers have specific terms that the guest artist has to comply with, sometimes artists are commissioned to do some works or organize an exhibition at the end of the period, rarely are artists free to use the residency for their own purposes, without any obligation towards the host. Art centers are mostly financed by governments or international foundations, artists still have to pay part of the costs sometimes, but sometimes they can live there for free. The period of hosting can last from a couple of weeks up to one year or even longer. Most residencies are shorter (approx. 3 months) and during the stay, one cannot really become very engaged in the local community. One of the initial ideas behind the art residency is precisely cultural exchange, sharing of knowledge and artworks. It is extremely questionable, if one can establish a solid relation with the local environment in 3 months time. . . . At the moment, I live in the Netherlands, where this artistic contractual practice is extremely popular. Apart from well-established academy-based residencies,⁷ you

¹ This is an elaboration of one part of my presentation *La loi, l’économie et l’état: d’Althusser à Agamben* held at the conference *Economie 0* in Paris, 16. 2. 2008 (http://incident.net/theupgrade/economie0/).

² This “reconstruction” is nothing new, because art – since its modern foundation – has always been embedded in different social domains, ranging from ideology, law, politics and economy. The novelty can be found in the intensification of the discourse on creativity and capital inside art itself.

³ With the inherently aesthetic, I am referring only to Rancière and not to Badiou. Even though they share a similar stakes in thinking novelty in art (“event”, disruption of the “distribution of the sensible”), they strongly differ in their point of departure. If Rancière sticks to “aesthetics”, even though transforming its basic concepts and using a very different method, thinking of relations towards politics, Badiou remains loyal to his basic tenet that art is its own procedure where one must not intervene with some other discourse (politics, aesthetics, philosophy).

⁴ For more insights about the new regime of production, see: Paolo Virno’s *Grammar of Multitude* (2004).

⁵ Many artists have to do other jobs in order to guarantee their own survival. More and more artists are becoming freelancers with only one-time projects that give them far weaker positions for negotiation within the art-market.

⁶ It can be labelled as some kind of “internship” for artists, and experiencing it after the academic formation (to put it in your CV) is becoming an imperative.

⁷ *Rijkskademie* is a paramount example of an institution consecrated only for art residency. It is highly competitive to enter this prestigious institution, but once artists become

have a spookier phenomenon. Even though the housing problem (from your living space to your workshop) is a big issue in the Netherlands, the consequences of certain solutions remain highly ambiguous, if not completely reactionary, as exemplified by the anti-squat movement or “solution” (antikraak)⁸. But apart from it, specific spaces, designed for artists only, are being set up. So, from time to time, new settlements or villages are built. In the middle of the settlement, one usually comes across a blue house and the purpose of this blue house is to host artists. That means that artists receive a residence through the process of normalization and the prescription of the art space by the municipality. Of course, artists should be thankful that the municipal authorities gave them this opportunity; maybe they can even show their artwork to the local community. But doesn’t this idea of being able to locate someone in the specified area rest on a specific idea of factory or craft? First, they assign you the space, where you have to create, and then they might also say what and how much you are supposed to produce during your residency? Actually, as already shown in our argument, this presupposition is not far from reality. But if at the end of the 60s, with the event of the *Situationist International*, the question of space was one of the most crucial ones, today we have the answer: artists receive a rigidity of assigned space, maybe in flexible terms and for temporary use, but already assigned in time and space. Debord and Lefebvre are turning in their graves. For me, this popularization and normalization of residence seems rather as a negative utopia – a dystopia. One could name it as a managerial commune, where you manage the space to an optimum efficacy: to have various artists coming from everywhere for certain periods of time and to get the most out of them. Certainly, for the time being, artists are safe in their paradise. They can realize their potentials, but at the same time, they become isolated from society on the little parallel islands of residence.⁹ But this parallel island is neatly connected to a global network of art residencies, *nomadism* of precarious cultural workers becomes an imperative rather than a “free” choice for everyone, and it can be as repressive as staying in one gallery one’s whole life. The choice was already made and certainly not by them.

At the beginning of this essay, I exposed certain dominant ideologies, the *etatist* national cultural perspective, accompanied by the *authentic* romantic perspective. Isn’t this holy alliance embodied precisely in the popularization of the artist in residence? Management’s answer is the synthesis of both perspectives. The art centers, with the noble help of foundations/municipalities/the state (*etatist*), guarantee the space and finances for artists that can then, inside these islands, practice individual freedom of expression (*authentic*). Should artists not be the first to question this type of condition of work? Isn’t the relationship between artists and their spaces of production of vital importance to understanding their relationship towards society, on the one hand, and their relation to the artwork, on other? Therefore, space is a very important part of the artistic process. If it is true that any site of art can be “eventual” or non-eventual, it definitely has to question its own conditions in order to open a possibility for the new “sensible.” In other words, art frequently becomes art, only at the moment when it re-articulates something that is outside its “assigned” field. What needs to be stressed is the fact that real art happens precisely *where* it is not expected, in some object or in some *space* that had not been designed, thought or treated as artistic before. To be sure, the “eventual” site can take place in the already assigned site, like the gallery or museum, as exemplified by Duchamp’s works (see Wojcman’s *Objet du siecle*, 2006, or, even in the art residency. Thus, this conclusion does not imply that true artworks are produced only in the “liberated” or autonomous spaces of art production. This brings us to a more political conclusion of the artistic problematic. Certainly, recognition of the lack of space (as a *symptom* of flexible, precarious conditions) can bring artists towards a collective search for organization vis-à-vis a spatial problematic. I can conclude with two possible directions of answer for further debate: on the one hand, a need for the continuation of squatting or opening/planning of temporary zones/spaces or on the other hand, the articulation of demands to municipalities/local communities that need to guarantee the basic infrastructure and spatial facilities for artists, on the condition of course that artists themselves decide about the internal organization and future programs. Nevertheless, don’t both answers call upon one external maxim to art, the one of the *de-segregation of artistic spaces*?

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¹ members of it, their “value” on the market is set. *Rijkskademie*’s central role is to launch artworks onto the art-market.

⁸ The price of rent is extremely high (many people cannot afford it), the waiting lists for normal or socially sponsored apartments are sometimes a couple of years, so many young people, also artists, decide for squatting, which is still legal at the moment. However, recently, the anti-squat “solution” (antikraak) has taken place. The empty buildings or old offices are protected by the guard who can live there for free. The Antikraak organization then sublets these places quite cheaply. Newcomers can live there very happily, but on the condition they do not make noise and with awareness that they can get kicked out with only a couple of weeks notice. Antikraak is supposedly finding to them a new place. Moreover, the system to enter the “anti-squat system” is more difficult or unimaginable for immigrants (socially endangered groups): one needs to know someone that is already inside, who guarantees them, and also one needs to have a social security number. This option is popular amongst artists. This solution is twofold. On the one hand, it protects private and public property, in order to ensure continuous and unstoppable financial investments. On the other hand, it launched an attack against squatting.

⁹ I am just waiting for the moment when Albania enters the EU – maybe all its bunkers can be used for artist-in-residencies in the light of the revival of tourism and resolution of spatial problems.

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GLOBOKO GRLO/ DEEP THROAT

Katja Praznik KLERIKALIZEM IN ŽENSKOST

Kaj imajo skupnega naga rit Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986), objavljena na naslovnici revije Nouvel Observateur ob stoletnici njenega rojstva, in ponovno izražena zahteva klera, da se v slovenske šole uvede verouk? Navidezno ne prav dosti, a če na oba fenomena pogledamo skozi prizmo tez in ugotovitev italijanske zgodovinarke Luise Accati v knjigi *Pošast in lepotica. Oče in mati v katoliški vzgoji čustev*¹, ju lahko dojamemo skozi neko globoko potlačeno dejstvo, ki vzpostavlja njuno skupno ozadje. Knjiga namreč govori o preoblikovanju vloge matere in očeta skozi vpliv simbolov iz preteklosti na realnost. Osredotoča se na spremembo v pojmovanju podobe matere in ideje spočetja v krščanstvu, natančneje katolištvu, ter analizira, kako to vpliva na spremembo zasebnega odnosa med sinom in materjo.

Najprej poglejmo, katere so tiste teze, ki jih zastavi Accati in zaradi katerih lahko njeno knjigo glede na aktualno tendenco perfidnega vzpenjanja klerikalizma v Sloveniji postavimo na listo obveznega čtiva. Accati z izjemno natančno analizo posredniške vloge ženske v katoliškem obredu poroke pojasni temeljne postulate katoliške ideologije. Postulate, ki ne zadevajo zgolj boja za enakopravno pozicijo ženske izkušnje v svetu, temveč govorijo bistveno širše o sprevrčanju družbenih hierarhij in njihovih tisočletnih posledicah. Accati namreč z analizo poročnega obreda ter preučevanjem razvoja vloge in pomena device Marije v katolicizmu vzpostavi osrednjo tezo knjige, tj. da katoliško poudarjanje vloge in funkcije Marije v svojem bistvu nosi in udejjanja marginalizacijo odnosa med materjo in očetom, ki ga zamenja odnos mati – sin. »Poročni obred, ki se rodi s protireformacijo, odseva predvsem občutke zavrnitve skupine moških, tj. duhovnikov, ki zavračajo svojo spolno vlogo in projicirajo na ženske like bojazni pred lastno zanikano seksualnostjo.«² Posledično postaja življenjska izbira celibata vedno večja vrednost in zgled, s tem pa se tesnoba moške seksualnosti, poistovetena z nasiljem, vedno bolj spreminja in vedenjske norme in simbole. Krščanstvo je potemtakem »religija nasilne in hkrati nerazrešene nestrpnosti do očeta«, ki je predstavljena kot »nestrpnost matere do očeta«.³ »Večno Marijino devišтво je večna nestrpnost sinov do očeta, ki se zakrinka pod ženskimi podobami«, ki poleg spodkopavanja očetove avtoritete, spodkopava tudi možnost etike.⁴ Temeljni mit krščanstva je materino nesprejetje očeta.⁵ Naslednja težava, kot pojasnjuje Accati, je ženska sposobnost rojevanja, ki je moški nimajo. Kler hoče ta privilegij ženskam odvzeti s tem, ko avtorizira brezmadežno spočetje, kjer seksualnost in poželjivost nista vključeni, niti ni vključen oče. Zdržitev je pomembna le zato, da se rodi sin. Samski sinovi pa potem s cerkveno ideologijo nadzorujejo seksualnost in rojevanje, s čimer odvzemajo ženskam moč, ko regulirajo to področje. Za tem leži problem sinov, ki se ne morejo soočiti s tem, da niso eno z materjo (temveč je tu še oče). Ker hočejo odvzeti avtoriteto očetu, preusmerijo fokus na mater in ji dodelijo posredniško funkcijo.⁶ Simbolična nevesta (devica Marija) je namreč osamljena, pri realni pa gre za izničenje njene individualnosti, ki postane kolektivni subjekt, torej predstavlja vse ženske in tudi lastno mater. To pa implicira sinovo nepopolno odpoved in željo, da bi prevzel očetovo mesto. Še več, zgodi se izenačevanje med identiteto sina in identiteto matere. Duhovniki pa svojo moč pridobijo tako, da »trdijo, da poznajo mehanizme ženske seksualnosti«,⁷ in prevzemanje njene značilnosti s tem, ko si prilastčajo žensko simboliko. »Posnemanje ženskega je specifični način, s katerim krščanski duhovniki izvajajo nalogo nadzora nad ženskami. Na območju svetega ni žensk, saj so na njihovem mestu duhovniki. Tako kot je na simbolični ravni Kristus resnično meso in resnična mati, je v družbeni organizaciji duhovnik resnična noseča ženska.«⁸ In če Accati pravi, da je vsemogočnost krščanske ideologije dedna bolezen zahodne kulture, se zdi, da je dedna bolezen ženske njena danost, da rojeva. »Spočetje tako postane središče družbenega neravnovesja med moškimi in ženskami, njegova analogna protivrednost – ritualni obred – pa postane priložnost, da se vzpostavijo norme oškodovanja, povračila in nadzora. /.../ Duhovniki privzamejo moč žensk, jo spremenijo v duhovno moč in jo spremenijo v dejavnik, ki jim zagotavlja večvrednost nad ženskami in laiki.«⁹ Obenem kleriki povečujejo tudi vlogo čistosti, se pravi, da se hkrati z odstranitvijo moškega kot očeta zgodi tudi sankcioniranje spolnega odnosa oziroma telesne zveze očeta in matere, ki postane nečista in znamenje greha. Krščanstvo tako z odstranjevanjem spolnega gona želi preseči incestuozno prepoved. »Ker hoče spolni gon poduhoviti, dojema vsak spolni odnos kot nekako incestuoznega«, s čimer zaprejo prehodnost med naravo in kulturo oziroma je nujna njuna ločitev.¹⁰ Neizogibna posledica je hkrati tudi degradacija telesnosti in reduciranje ženske na meso, ki rojeva otroke. In če je do 16. stoletja ženska svojo poželjivost prilagajala glede na moške kot očete in moške kot sinove, kleriki in laiki pa so se borili za oblast nad materjo (Marijino devišтво je del mita in nečloveškega), pa se v času protestantske reformacije želi prevrednotiti lik očeta in omejiti lik matere. Očetu podelijo despotско avtoriteto, materi pa odvzamejo privoljenje in posredništvo (zakonska spolnost je mučna dolžnost). Protireformacijski katolicizem očetu odvzame še več avtoritete, medtem ko se »ženska poželjivost, ki je bila prej nujna šibkost in privolitev /.../ spremeni v prenašanje moževe poželjivosti, da se lahko rodijo otroci.«¹¹ Vzpostavi se koncept čistosti, ki žensko privolitev tretira kot nepomembno in tako za legitimno vzpostavi tudi nasilje nad žensko. Se pravi, da simbol čiste (device) Marije postane perfidni maneuver, s katerim si krščanstvo na račun poduhovljenosti pridobi večvrednost kot religija, ki poveljuje um nad telesom in si izbojuje pravico nad vlogo in pomenom ženske in njene telesnosti. Implikacije koncepta čistosti torej dopuščajo nasilje nad ženskim telesom, saj je ta le neodzivni stroj za rojevanje, zato Accati poudarja, da je ključni problem žensk v tem, da »morajo telesnosti povrniti meje, moralno dostojanstvo, družbeno vrednost in razmišljanje«, pri čemer se morajo opreti prav na sposobnost materinega telesa, da razlikuje med nasilnim spočetjem in tistim, ki temelji na ženskem privoljenju.¹² Regulacija telesnosti, ki ukinja žensko privolitev v rojevanje otrok, je »moč, ki ne dopušča vzajemnosti in za katero je značilna neomejljiva infantilna volja po uničevanju, ki ne more odrasti in se neskončno množiti«, še več, » ne priznava drugačnosti in meja«. ¹³ Krščanstvo torej temelji na »fantaziji vsemogočnosti, v kateri se rodimo iz samih sebe, pri tem pa ukinemo očeta in doje-

mamo mater kot del sebe.«¹⁴ Žensko telo je torej kot lonček za enkratno uporabo, ki nima druge razsežnosti kot rojevanja, za kar ga žrtvujejo že pri poroki in mu zapovejo še paradoks čistosti. Vse to nasilje je za posledica težav pri ločevanju od matere in hkrati oblika prepovedi incesta, ki s konstruiranjem protislovne identitete žensk rešuje problem moških, ali bolje boje med očeti in sinovi. Na tem mestu pa se lahko torej vrnem k svojemu uvodnemu vprašanju, o tem, kaj je skupna poteza degradirajoče geste francoskega časopisa Nouvel Observateur, ki je na naslovnici ob stoletnici rojstva Simone de Beauvoir objavil njeno golo fotografijo in vztrajanju slovenske katoliške cerkve, da se verouk uvede v kurikulum javnega šolstva. Če je slednje posledica kompleksa vsemogočnosti in večvrednosti krščanske ideologije, ki se z vsemi sredstvi bori za čim zgodnejšo indoktrinacijo mladeži s svojimi sprevrženimi in za duhovnost skritimi patološkimi simboli in normami, pa potezo francoskega časopisa lahko preberemo kot posledico nerefektirane instrumentalizacije ženskega telesa, kjer katoliški izvor ni tako očiten, a vendarle prisoten. Pri tem ne mislim na čistunstvo v smislu prepovedi razkazovanja golega ženskega telesa, pač pa je problematična pozaba konteksta in položaja ženske v sodobni družbi. Objava golega telesa Simone de Bauvoir ni niti malo radikalna, prej se zdi banalna v pozabi dejstva, da s to potezo instrumentalizira žensko telo (sicer za kapitalistične namene), kar pa je v določenem pogledu identično s katoliško ideologijo. Problem trdoživosti simbolnega kapitala katolištva je potemtakem vsebovan v »katolištvu kot dolgotrajni antropološki situaciji«, ki s simboli, odrešenimi svojega ozadja, še vedno vpliva na čustveno vzgojo posameznika in s tem posledično na družbeni kolektiv. »Ker ni drugih načinov predelave čustev, so še vedno veljavni krščanski simboli, ki so v nejasni, dvoumni in zakulisni obliki« povezani z normativno zmožnostjo simbolov in njihovim učinkovanjem kot družbeni konformizem, saj se »širi prek čustvenih izkušenj po kanalih kulturne vzgoje sinov, hčera, mož, žen, ljubimcev, ljubimk, samskih žensk itd. Ta čustveni konformizem je neviden, torej nedolžen, vendar prav zato nevaren.«¹⁵ Argumente za ta vpliv pa lahko vidimo tudi v scela nespoštljivi redukciji oziroma objektivizaciji Simone de Beauvoir, s katero so Francozi »počastili« njeno stoletnico rojstva. Klíše »dobre riti«, ki je de Beauvoir »krasila« tudi v njenih srednjih letih, pa v tem primeru postane instrumentalizacija ženskega telesa za namene neke nič manj perfidne ideologije – kapitalistične poblagovljenosti in dobička (vredna nadaljnje primerjave s teorijami Maxa Webera). Kljub strogi ločenosti države in Cerkve, ki je značilna za Francijo, pa so tovrstne poteze, če nanje pogledamo z očali Luise Accati, zgovorna priča o trdovratnosti ideoloških predpostavk krščanstva in posredniške vloge ženske kot ene od njenih osrednjih družbenih funkcij. Še bolj paradoksalno pa je dejstvo, da o tem lahko govorimo skozi primer nasilja nad de Beauvoir, ki je prav v svojem delu *Drugi spol* sistematično skušala artikulirati empirično izkušnjo ženske in s tem artikulirati samodefincijo ženske. Zanikanje normativne vrednosti žensk in njihove izkušnje, kot jo zastavi katoliška ideologija, »izpodkopava ravnovesje med intelektualnimi in moralnimi sposobnostmi posameznikov obeh spolov, saj z odpravljanjem razlike med materjo in sinom izpodkopava razliko med subjektom in objektom, med subjektivnostjo in drugačnostjo.«¹⁶ Pri tem pa v mislih nimam zagovarjanja biološkega determinizma, temveč mi gre za konstruktivno obravnavo biološke in zgodovinske razlike med moškim in žensko. Zanikanje specifičnosti ženske in moške izkušnje nas namreč vodi v novi krog nediferenciranosti, ki pa je posledica vsemogočnosti oziroma manipulacije religije, ki onemogoča preseganje nadvlade in podrejenosti religije z recipročnimi odnosi in (ne)prevzemanjem odgovornosti.

Viri:

 1 Luisa Accati, *Pošast in lepotica: oče in mati v katoliški vzgoji čustev*, [prevedla Irena Prosenč; spremna beseda Marta Verginella], Studia humanitatis, Ljubljana 2001, str. 322 (v originalu *Il mostro e la bella. Padre e madre nell'educazione cattolica dei sentimenti*, Cortina, Milano 1998).

 2 *Ibid.*, str. 80./3 *Ibid.*, str. 82./4 *Ibid.*/5 *Ibid.*/6 *Ibid.*, str. 23./7 *Ibid.*, str. 138./8 *Ibid.*, str.139./9 *Ibid.*, str.140./10 *Ibid.*, str. 202./11 *Ibid.*, str. 205./12 *Ibid.*, str. 225./13 *Ibid.*, str. 226./14 *Ibid.*/15 *Ibid.* str. 207./16 *Ibid.*, str. 10.

Katja Praznik, magistrica sociologije kulture, deluje kot neodvisna kritičarka, teoretičarka in dramaturginja v polju sodobnih scen-skih umetnosti. Od leta 2007 je odgovorna urednica revije *Maska*, Ljubljana.

Katja Praznik CLERICALISM AND WOMANHOOD

What do the bare buttocks of Simone de Beavoir (1908-1986), published on the front cover of *Nouvel Observateur* to mark the hundredth anniversary of her birth, and the renewed demands by the clergy to introduce religious education in Slovenian schools have in common? Apparently not much, but if both phenomena are considered through the prism of the thesis and findings of the Italian historian Luisa Accati, presented in 2006 in her book *Beauty And the Monster. Discursive and Figurative Representations of the Parental Couple from Giotto to Tiepolo*,¹ they can be seen as an outcome of a process of deep suppression that is at the core of them both. The book deals with the transformation of the role of the Parental Couple through the way symbols from the past influence reality. It focuses on the change of representation of the mother figure and of the symbol of conception in Christianity, or more precisely in Catholic culture, and offers an analysis of how this has influenced the change in the relationship between mother and son.

Let us first consider Accati’s thesis due to which her book, considering the current trend of a rise in clericalism in Slovenia, can be added to the list of mandatory literature. With an extremely accurate analysis of the role of the woman as a mediator in the Catholic ritual of marriage, Accati explains the fundamental postulates of Catholic ideology. Postulates which do not concern the struggle for an equal position of female experience in the world but speak more broadly about overturning social hierarchies and their millenary consequences. By analysing the ritual of marriage and the development of the role and significance of the Virgin Mary in Catholicism, the author postulates the central thesis of the book, i.e. that the Catholic accentuation of the role and function of the Virgin Mary basically holds and reinforces the marginalization of the relationship between the mother and the father which is superseded by the mother-son relationship. “The ritual of marriage that originates in the Counter-Reformation reflects above all the feelings of rejection of a group of men, i.e. clergymen, who deny their sexual role and project

their own denied sexuality on women.”² Subsequently, the life choice for celibacy gains value and is taken as an example, thus the anxiety of men’s sexuality that is identified with violence converges more and more in behavioural norms and symbols. In this respect, Christianity is “a religion of violent and at the same time unsolved intolerance towards the father,” which is presented as “intolerance of the mother towards the father.”³ “The eternal Mary’s virginity is the eternal intolerance of sons towards the father who is disguised under female images,” which besides undermining the father’s authority also undermines the possibility of ethics.⁴ The fundamental myth of Christianity is the mother’s rejection of the father.⁵ Another problem, as Accati argues, is woman’s possibility of giving birth, which is denied to men. By authorising the Immaculate Conception, from which sexuality and desire are excluded, as well as the father, the clergy wants to deprive women of this privilege. The union of man and woman is important only in order that a son is born. Through the ecclesiastical ideology, these celibate sons then control sexuality and giving birth, depriving women of their power. Herein lies the problem of sons who cannot face the fact that they do not form a unity with the mother (as there is also the father figure). In trying to disavow the authority of the father, they redirect the focus on the mother, giving her the role of mediator.⁶ The symbolic bride (the Marian cult) is secluded, while the individuality of the real one is annulled so that she turns into a collective subject that represents all women, including her own mother. This implies the son’s incomplete renouncement and desire to take the father’s role. Moreover, what occurs is the evening out of the identities of the son and the mother, while clergymen attain their power by “claiming to know the mechanisms of female sexuality,”⁷ and by appropriating female symbolism they assume female characteristics. “Imitating womanhood is a specific way in which Christian clergymen execute the task of control over women. In the sphere of the sacred there are no women, since clergymen occupy their place.” Just as on the symbolic level Jesus Christ is real flesh and real mother, likewise in the social organization the clergyman is a real pregnant woman.”⁸ If, according to Accati, the almightiness of Christian ideology is a hereditary disease of western culture, then, as it seems, the hereditary disease of the woman is her capacity to give birth. “Thus, the conception is placed centre-stage on the social imbalance between men and women, while its analogous counter-value – the ritual – becomes the opportunity to establish the norms of indemnification, retribution and control. /.../ Clergymen thus assume the power of women, transforming it into spiritual power, into an agent that ensures their superiority over women and lay people.”⁹ At the same time, clerics intensify the role of purity, that is to say, that not only the male as the father is removed, but also the sanctioning of the sexual act or bodily union of the father and the mother takes place causing the latter to be regarded as impure and a sign of sin. By removing sexual drive, Christianity wants to overcome incestuous prohibition. “As it aims to spiritualize sexual drive, it understands sexual intercourse as something incestuous,” thus obstructing the passage between nature and culture or else their separation is unavoidable.¹⁰ Just as unavoidable is the degradation of corporeality and reducing a woman to flesh, which gives birth to children. If until the 16th century women were adjusting their desires for men as fathers, and for men as sons, while clerics and lay people had been fighting for power over the mother (the Marian cult is part of the myth and of the inhuman), at the time of the Protestant Reformation the figure of the father was re-evaluated and the figure of the mother circumscribed. The father was given a despotic authority while the mother was deprived of acquiescence and the role of mediator (conjugal sexuality becomes an unpleasant duty). Counter-Reformation Catholicism took away even more authority from the father, while the “desire of the woman which was a necessary weakness and acquiescence /.../ was transformed into supporting the husband’s sexual desire in order that children are born.”¹¹ Thus the concept of purity was established, according to which woman’s acquiescence to have sex is regarded as irrelevant and therefore violence can be exerted over women. This means that the symbol of a pure (virgin) Mary becomes a perfidious manoeuvre with which Christianity on account of spirituality gains superiority as a religion which praises reason over the body and obtains the right over the role and significance of the woman and her corporeality. The implications of the concept of purity therefore allow violence to be exerted over a woman’s body, since women are only unresponsive machines for giving birth. Therefore, Accati points out that the key problem of women is that they “need to re-establish borders, moral dignity, social value and reflection over their corporeality.” They can fulfil these demands precisely by insisting on the capacity of the mother’s body to distinguish between violent conception and that which is based on woman’s acquiescence.¹² Regulation of corporeality which abolishes women’s acquiescence to give birth to children is the “power that permits no reciprocity and is characterised by the endless infantile will to destroy, power that is not capable of maturing and multiplies infinitely.” What is more, this power “acknowledges no difference and limits.”¹³ Christianity therefore rests on “the fantasy of almightiness in which we are born out of ourselves, and in doing so we abolish the father and perceive the mother as part of ourselves.”¹⁴ A woman’s body is like a disposable little pot for giving birth; it is sacrificed already at marriage and it is subject to the paradox of purity. All this violence is a result of problems that arise in the process of separation from the mother, and at the same time a form of prohibition of incest that by constructing the contradictory identity of women solves the problem of men, or better the fight between fathers and sons. At this point I can return to the introductory question about the common feature of the degrading gesture of the French newspaper Nouvel Observateur, where Simone de Beauvoir’s naked photograph was published, and the insistence of the Slovenian Catholic Church that religious education be introduced into the curriculum of state schools. If the latter phenomenon stems from the complex of almightiness and superiority of Christian ideology which fights tooth and nail for the earliest possible indoctrination of the young with their pathological symbols and norms, the gesture of the French newspaper can be understood as a consequence of the unreflected instrumentalisation of the woman’s body, where the Catholic origin is not so manifest, but still present. What I have in mind here is not purity in terms of prohibition of showing a woman’s naked body. What is problematic is neglecting the context and women’s condition in contemporary society. The publication of Simone de Beauvoir naked is not radical at all, but rather it is banal because it lets out the fact that this gesture involves the instrumentalisation of the female body (for capitalist purposes) which in some respects is identical to Catholic ideology. The problem of the persistence of symbolic capital of Catholicism is not so much then in the religion and institution, but in “Catholicism as a long-lasting anthropological situation,” which through symbols cut off from their background still affects the emotional education

of the individual and, consequently, the social collective. “As there are no other ways of reshaping emotions, Christian symbols are still valid since they are in an unclear, ambiguous and behind-the-scenes form” and as such connected to the normative possibility of symbols and to their effect as social conformism, for they are “spread through emotional experiences, through channels of cultural education of sons, daughters, husbands, wives, men and female lovers, single women etc.; this emotional conformism is latent, therefore innocent, but as such dangerous.”¹⁵ Such influential arguments can be seen in the wholly disrespectful reduction or objectivisation of Simone de Beauvoir, with which the French “pay homage” to her hundredth anniversary. The cliché of “nice buttocks” that “beautified” de Beauvoir even in her middle age in this case can be seen as the instrumentalisation of the female body for the purpose of some no less perfidious ideology – capitalist commodification and profit (which should be further compared to the theories of Max Weber). Notwithstanding the rigid seclusion of the state and Church, so typical for France, such features, if considered through the lens of Luisa Accati, bear witness eloquently to the obstinacy of ideological suppositions of

References

QUEER

Tatjana Greif CLOKOVEKE PRAVICE MED POLITIKO, CERKVIJO IN KAPITALOM

Evropska komisija je aprila 2008 iz letnega programa nenadoma črtala sprejem horizontalne direktive, ki bi uzakonila splošno prepoved diskriminacije na osnovi starosti, invalidnosti, spolne usmerjenosti in vere, kot določa 13. člen *Amsterdamske pogodbe*. Namesto tega naj bi z direktivo zaščitili le invalide, ostale kategorije pa bi uredili zgolj z nezavezujočimi priporočili. *[Amsterdamsko pogodbo so podpisali 2. oktobra 1997, a začela je veljati 1. maja 1999. Amsterdamska pogodba je korenito posegla v osnovo EU pogodbe, ki so jo podpisali leta 1992 v Maastrichtu.]* Trenutno velja splošna prepoved diskriminacije v EU samo na podlagi rase in etnične pripadnosti, diskriminacija na podlagi spola je prepovedana v okviru zaposlovanja ter dostopa do blaga in storitev, medtem ko so ostale kategorije – spolna usmerjenost, starost, invalidnost in vera – prepovedane zgolj v zaposlovanju. Hierarhija pravic v *Evropski uniji* je očitna.

Umik dolgo pričakovane protidiskriminacijske direktive – *Evropski parlament* je pred tem kar sedemkrat pozval k prepovedi diskriminacije na osnovi spolne usmerjenosti – pomeni velik korak nazaj. *Evropska komisija* opravičuje svoj strah pred uspešnim sprejetjem direktive z negativnimi signali, ki jih je prejela od nekaterih držav članic, na primer Nemčije in Češke, ki skupni zaščitni direktivi močno nasprotujejo. Države, ki, nasprotno, horizontalno direktivo močno podpirajo, na primer Švedska, Finska, Španija in Velika Britanija, pa gladko spregleda. Britanska poslanka *Evropskega parlamenta* Liz Lynne je zato lansirala peticijo, s katero poziva *Komisijo*, naj vendar spoštuje lastne programske določbe in drži besedo.

Koga se boji *Evropska komisija*? Lobistični koluarji pravijo, da se evropski delodajalci – poleg odškodnin zaradi diskriminacije – bojijo tudi novih stroškov zaradi dodatnih socialnih dajatev za tiste zaposlene, za katere doslej niso bili dolžni skrbeti. Univerzalni polnopravni dostop do enakih pravic za vse je grožnja dosedanjemu selektivnemu principu. Ali pa gre morda preprosto za prenovljeni reakcionarni trend goreče obrambe javne morale v navezi evropskih neoliberalnih kapitalistov in rimskokatoliške cerkve? Na stičišču kapitalskih in ideoloških interesov se najbolj lomijo kopja človekovih pravic. Je dandanašnja Evropa res tako zelo prežeta s ksenofobijo, rasizmom, homofobijo in mizoginijo, da jo utegne zamajati vsaka napoved uzakonitve sankcij na tem področju? *Evropska komisija* je očitno ocenila, da bi bilo dregniti v osje gnezdo brbotajoče evropske nestrpnosti – leto dni pred volitvami v *Evropski parlament* in nominacijami komisarjev – sila nepopularna poteza. Zatorej naj diskriminacija ostane tam, kjer je, živi naj še naprej, uporabna kot ventil, boksarska vreča in katarza ljudskega besa. Besa, ki ga v resnici povzročajo recesija, ekonomska in socialna neenakost, razredne razlike, nepravilna distribucija eksistenčnih dobrin, ne pa karavana izključenih. Morda je evropske komisarje zmotilo tudi dejstvo, da sta v zadnjem času *Evropsko sodišče* v Luksemburgu in *Evropsko sodišče za človekove pravice* v Strasburgu kar dvakrat presodila v prid pravicam gejev in lezbijk – proti Nemčiji (pravica do pokojnine po partnerju) in Franciji (pravica do posvojitve otrok). Če bo šlo tako naprej, bodo moteče manjšine začele odžirati profit in privilegije večine. Vsak dobro stoječi kapitalist razume to kot motnjo v sistemu in razlog za alarm. Izpad profita je treba preprečiti, dokler je še čas. Poteza *Evropske komisije* vehementno odkriva vse razsežnosti hierarhije v polju človekovih pravic v *Uniji*; daleč smo od načela univerzalnosti, nedeljivosti in enakosti človekovih pravic. Vsi državljani in državljanke so sicer enaki in enakopravni, vendar so v stari orwelovski maniri določene kategorije brcnjene ven. Pa čeprav je evropski slovar poln boja proti multipli diskriminaciji in ostalih horizontalnih prioritet. Neprijetne, za evropski prebavni trakt moteče vidike diskriminacije je mogoče preprosto črtati z urnika ali letnega programa, izključiti, cenzurirati. Zanimivo je, da med cenzuriranimi temami nikoli in nikdar ne manjka homoseksualnost. Homoseksualnost in lezbilstvo sta paradna konja vsake cezure. Geji in lezbijke so po pravilu vedno okrnjeni, sekundarni državljani. Če sploh. Cenzuro homoseksualnosti in seksualnosti na sploh pospešeno izvajajo tudi balkanske države s področja bivše Jugoslavije, ki čakajo na vstop ali vsaj na povabilo v klub elitnih industrialcev in megakapitalistov, imenovan EU. Moralno neoporečnost, kljub zdravi prehrani zamaščenih podbradkov, je treba ubraniti za vsako ceno, čistunstvo – pod krinko obrambe ekonomskih interesov – je najboljša poteza za brezhiben nadzor in kontrolirano uravnavanje vox populi.

Srbija. V *Evropski hiši* v Nišu so konec leta 2007 prepovedali fotografsko razstavo *Queerology*, ki bi morala biti del prireditve, posvečene *Evropskemu letu enakih možnosti za vse*. Postavitev razstave je na dan otvoritve prepovedala glavna organizatorka Irena Veljković, sicer članica *Demokratske stranke*. Razlog za prepoved razstave so, po njenih besedah, seksualno eksplicitni prizori na fotografijah, ki bi utegnili zmotiti obiskovalce razstave, ter poskus promocije LGBTQ populaci-

Christianity and the meditative role of women as one of her principal social functions. Even more paradoxical is the fact that we can talk about this through the exertion of violence over de Beauvoir who in her book *The Second Sex* systematically tries to articulate the empirical female experience and thus female self-definition. The disavowing of the normative value of women and their experience – as it is postulated by Catholic ideology – “undermines the balance between intellectuals, and moral aptitudes of individuals pertaining to both sexes, since through the abolishment of difference between the mother and the son, the difference between subject and object, between subjectivity and otherness is undermined.”¹⁶ What I have in mind is not advocating biological determinism, but I rather opt for a constructive reflection on the biological and historical difference between man and woman. Denying the specificity of the female and male experiences leads us towards a new circle of non-differentiation, as a result of the almightiness or manipulation of religion which prevents the surpassing of hegemony and the subjugation of religion with reciprocal relations and the (non)-assumption of responsibility.

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je. Umetniška fotografija naj bi bila v »*sado-mazo fazonu*« in »*morbidna*«. Najnovejša raziskava »*Gej-Strejt Alians*« [GSA združenje povezuje mladinske aktiviste v boju proti homofobiji in transfobiji v šolah] je pokazala, da je 70 % Srbov prepričanih, da je homoseksualnost bolezen. Srbska ortodoksna klero-fašistična organizacija »*Obraz*« pa je uradno zagrozila z nasiljem nad homo udeleženci *Evrovizijskega festivala*.

Hrvaška. Lezbične aktivistke na Hrvaškem so se, prav tako leta 2007, znašle v sodnem postopku, ker so se – porednice! – preveč približale zgradbi Sabora na Markovem trgu v Zagrebu. Pred zgradbo so v okviru kampanje »*Nismo homofobični, ampak...*« delile letake sabsorskim poslancem in poslankam, ko jih je policija opozorila, naj se nemudoma odstranijo. Zakonodaja namreč prepoveduje zadrževanje v bližini do sto metrov od hrvaškega Sabora, predsedstva in vlade Republike Hrvaške ali Ustavnega sodišča. Če ne gre drugače, je treba lezbijke odstraniti fizično. Na drugi strani mavrice je Dinko Kalinić, prvi deklarirani gejevski politik na Hrvaškem, kandidiral za hrvaški Sabor – v tretji volilni enoti, Varaždinsko, Međimurski in Krapinsko-zagorski županiji. V svojem programu je zapisal, da je »*obitelj vrela života*«, in prisegal na »*branitelje domovinskog rata*«. Kalinić je prepričan, da so levičarji in desničarji, partizani, ustaši in četniki eno in isto. Homokonzervativizem torej pustoši tudi pri sosedih.

Makedonija. Eden redkih, če ne kar edini protest proti lanskoletni vse-makedonski kampanji za prepoved splava, je bil protest *Makedonskega združenja za svobodno spolno usmerjenost* MASSO. Kampanja je s plakati, letaki, sovražnim govorom do žensk in drugo propagando pozivala k zakonski prepovedi in ukinitvi temeljne človekove pravice do svobodnega odločanja o rojstvu otrok. V tem kontekstu sploh ni čudno, da je *Svet Evrope* aprila 2008 sprejel *Resolucijo o pravici do varnega in legalnega abortusa* v Evropi, ki jo je podprlo 102, hkrati pa je ni podprlo 83 poslancev.

Ko se na politični sceni pojavijo politiki in seksualnost v objemu cerkve, se vse pogosteje sprašujem, v katerem stoletju in na katerem kontinentu živim. Ljubljanski nadškof Alojz Uran je predsedniku *Evropskega parlamenta* Hansu-Gertu Pötteringu v okviru uradnega obiska januarja 2008 razkazal stolnico. »*Pöttering je ob tej priložnosti Sloveniji čestital ob predsedovanju EU in izrazil veselje, da je Slovenija svobodna država. Ob tem je poudaril, da katoliška Cerkev na Slovenskem predstavlja vitalni sestavni del civilne družbe in si zato zasluži vso podporo za svobodno izvrševanje poslanstva na področju evangelizacije*«.¹ Nekoliko kasneje sta *Urad za verske skupnosti Republike Slovenije* in *Mariborska škofija* ovadila erotični umetniški tandem *Eclipse*, češ, da njuna umetniška instalacija matere božje iz Ptujске gore žali verska čustva. Če naj bi pred nekaj leti rock skupina *Strelnikoff* žalila verska čustva, ker je Marija Devica namesto deteta držala podgano, je zdaj sporno to, da je *mati* gola. Zelo gola in zelo lepa. Na podoben način je dunajski kardinal Christoph Schönborn – ki je več let po sodiščih preganjal homo aktivista Kurta Kricklerja, ker je ta javno povedal, da je Schönborn gej – močno obsodil homoerotično *Zadnjo večerjo*, umetniško retrospektivo Alfreda Hrdlicke, ki je bila pomladi 2008 na ogled v dunajski katedrali. Označil jo je za blasfemično pornografsko delo in homoseksualno orgijo apostolov.

Higienizacija družbe brez temeljitega čiščenja seksualne sfere ni mogoča. Tudi za aids ni prostora. Sredstva za preventivo aids/hiv po novem prejemajo organizacije, ki kot zaščitne metode razglašajo monogamijo, poroko in abstinenco. Medtem je nek *Center za preventivo Aids* – za katerega nisem še nikoli slišala, čeprav prihajam iz društva *ŠKUC*, organizacije, ki je sploh prva v Sloveniji začela z metodami varnega seksa in preprečevanja aidsa – organiziral dobrodelno zabavo s pomenljivim naslovom »*Jagode, čokolada in šampanjec*«, kar v ljubljanskem zabavljškem »*vodnem mestu*« *Atlantis*. Na drugi strani nevladnega sektorja je konzorcij elitnih slovenskih NVO, med njimi tudi ena jezuitska in ena kripto-strankarska, izdelal predlog novega zakona o azilu. *Mednarodna zveza za človekove pravice gejev in lezbijk (IGLHRC)* je podelila nagrado za izjemne dosežke. Dobitnika sta nadškof Desmond Tutu in podjetje IBM. Razkošna prireditve je ovekovečila predstavnika krščanstva, institucije, ki že dva tisoč let zatira homoseksualce, ženske in človekove pravice nasploh, ter globalno mega-korporacijo, ki pooseblja vso bedo eksploatacijske neokolonialistične prakse zahodnega sveta. Pa smo spet pri popkovini med človekovimi pravicami, cerkveno ideologijo in posvetnim kapitalom.

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1 Dnevnik Večer, Maribor, 8. 1. 2008.

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1 Cf. the original version of the book Luisa Accati, *Il mostro e la bella. Padre e madre nell'educazione cattolica dei sentimenti*, Cortina, Milano 1998. See the edited English version *Beauty and the Monster. Discursive and Figurative Representations of the Parental Couple from Giotto to Tiepolo*, European Press Academic Publishing, 2006. All references are from the Slovenian translation *Pošast in lepota: oče in mati v katoliški vzgoji čustev*, Studia humanitatis, Ljubljana 2001. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 80./3 *Ibid.*, p. 82./4 *Ibid./5 Ibid./6 Ibid.*, p. 23./7 *Ibid.*, p. 138./8 *Ibid.*, p.139./9 *Ibid./* p.140./10 *Ibid.*, p. 202./11 *Ibid.*, p. 205./12 *Ibid.*, p. 225./13 *Ibid.*, p. 226./14 *Ibid./15 Ibid.* p. 207./16 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

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Tatjana Greif HUMAN RIGHTS BETWEEN POLITICS, THE CHURCH AND CAPITAL

In April 2008, the *European Commission* suddenly dropped the horizontal directive from its annual program – a legislative policy against discrimination on the grounds of age, disability, sexual orientation and religion, as stated in Article 13 of the *Amsterdam Treaty*. Instead, it is supposed to protect the disabled only, whereas other categories are to be regulated with the help of non-binding recommendations. [The *Amsterdam Treaty* was signed on October 2nd, 1997, and entered into force on May 1st, 1999. The *Amsterdam Treaty* made substantial changes to the Treaty on European Union, which had been signed at Maastricht in 1992.] At the moment, the only valid general prohibition of discrimination within the EU, is that on the basis of racial or ethnic grounds; sex discrimination is forbidden within the employment market and when accessing goods and services, whereas other categories – sexual orientation, age, disability and religion – are forbidden solely within the employment market. The hierarchy of rights within the *European Union*, therefore, becomes obvious.

The withdrawal of the highly anticipated anti-discrimination directive – the *European Parliament* was forced, for the seventh time, to publicly call for the prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation – signifies a large step backwards. The *European Commission* justifies its dropping of the horizontal directive, fearing the negative signals, which came from some Member States, e.g. Germany and the Czech Republic, which strongly oppose the comprehensive directive. On the other hand, it simply overlooks Member States which support the horizontal directive, e.g. Sweden, Finland, Spain and the United Kingdom. The UK representative of the *European Parliament*, Liz Lynne, has thus launched a petition, which calls on the European Commission to honor its proper program’s articles and keep its word.

References

Who is the *European Commission* afraid of? Off-the-record information from the lobbies in the EU mention – beside the possible filling of future court papers asking to be repaid for discriminatory damages – the fear exists that the European employers will suddenly have to pay additional social contributions for employees who have not been entitled to them thus far. The proposed universal full access to equal rights for everyone is a threat to the existing selective principle. Or, is it perhaps, simply the case of a renovated reactionary trend of the enthusiastic public morality defense supported by European neoliberal capitalists and their connections to the Roman Catholic Church? At a crossroads between capitalist and ideological interests, human rights are at stake and ready to be sacrificed easily. Is present-day Europe really so imbued with xenophobia, racism, homophobia and misogyny that every announcement of the possible legislation that would straightforwardly penalize discrimination could shake it from within? The *European Commission* has obviously estimated that stirring up the hornet’s nest of the buzzing European intolerance, a year before the elections to the *European Parliament* and Commissioner nominations, would be a highly unpopular move. So let us leave discrimination be, let it live on for people to let off steam, as a punching bag and catharsis of human rage. The rage which is in reality caused by recession, economic and social inequality, social class differences, unjust distribution of basic goods, and not by a caravan of the excluded. Maybe the European Commissioners were disturbed by the fact that the *European Court of Justice* (ECJ) in Luxembourg and the *European Court of Human Rights* in Strasbourg had recently ruled twice in favor of gay and lesbian rights – against Germany (the right to a deceased partner’s pension) and France (the right to adopt children). If this goes on, the disturbing minorities will start eating into the profit and privileges of the majority. Each well-off capitalist takes this as an obstruction in the system and reason for alert. Losing profit must be stopped, while there is still time. The *European Commission’s* move vehemently reveals the full extent of hierarchy in the field of human rights in the European Union; we are so far from the principle of universality, equality and indivisibility of human rights. All citizens are equal, but certain categories have been thrown out in an old Orwellian manner. And yet the European dictionary is full of words denoting the fight against multiple discrimination and other horizontal priorities. Disconcerting aspects of discrimination, upsetting the European stomach, can easily be crossed out from the annual program, excluded or censored. It is interesting how homosexuality is always included in the list of censored topics. Homosexuality and lesbianism are in the forefront of all censorship. Gays and lesbians are, as a rule, mutilated, second-rate citizens; or simply non-citizens. Censorship of homosexuality, and sexuality in general, has also been successfully performed by Balkan countries or ex-Yugoslav Republics waiting to be accepted or at least invited to join the club of the elite industrialists and mega-capitalists, called the European Union. Moral blamelessness, despite the healthy diet of the fattened double-chinned, has to be defended at all costs; purism disguised by the defense of economic interests is the best move for the perfect control of the vox populi.

Serbia: At the end of 2007, at the European House in Niš, the photography exhibition *Queerology* was prohibited. It was supposed to be part of a program dedicated to the *European Year of Equal Opportunities for All*. Head organizer of events Irena Veljković, a member of the *Democratic Party*, did not allow the exhibition to be put up. Grounds for the prohibition were, according to Veljković, sexually explicit images, which could disturb the visitors, and the attempt to advertise the LGBTQ population. Artistic photography was said to be sadomasochistic and morbid. GSA’s [Gay-straight Alliance empowers youth activists to fight homophobia and transphobia in schools] latest research shows that 70 % of Serbians believe that homosexuality is a disease. The Serbian Orthodox clerofascist organization “Obraz” has officially threatened the use of violence against homosexual participants of the Eurovision Song Contest.

Croatia: Also in 2007, Croatian lesbian activists were on trial for being “naughty,” as they came too close to the Croatian Parliament (Sabor) building at Markov square, in Zagreb. They were handing out leaflets to the members of the Croatian Parliament as a part of the “We are not homophobic, however...” campaign. Police came and warned them to leave the premises immediately. The Croatian legislation forbids citizens from standing near the building of the Parliament, Constitutional Court or the building of the Government of the Republic of Croatia (they have to keep a distance of a range of 100m!). Lesbians have to be removed using force, if there is no other way. On the other side of the rainbow, there is Dinko Kalinić, the first declared openly-gay politician in Croatia, who decided to enter the elections for the Parliament – in the so-called third constituency, which comprises the Varaždin, Međimurje and Krapina-Zagorje counties in Croatia. He stated in his program that “the family is the source of life,” and that he swears upon “homeland war veterans.” For Kalinić, the left and the right-wing political parties, the Partisans, Ustasha and Chetniks (the latter, both collaborators of the Nazis in the WWII) are the same. So our neighboring country is also being ravaged by homo-conservatism.

LEZBIČNI BAR/ LESBIAN BAR

Nataša Velikonja NA ROBOVIH SPEKTAKLA

Delavskim demonstracijam v Ljubljani se, znotraj *Avtonomnega bloka*, kolektiva, znotraj katerega so združeni *metelkovski* anarhisti, *Rogovi* socialni aktivisti, različne skupine za pravično globalizacijo in peščica univerzitetnih intelektualcev, vselej pridruži majhna lezbična skupina (in en gej). Ne gre zgolj za izraz lezbične solidarnosti z delavstvom, temveč tudi za identifikacijo z razrednim bojem, kajti odkrita homoseksualnost še vedno potegne za seboj razredni moment. Nasploh je vsa javna sfera v Sloveniji prežeta s homofobijo: v njej, razen aktivistov in aktivistk ter iz homo aktivizma izhajajočih poklicnih derivatov – pisateljev ali pesnikov – ni niti ene lezbijke ali geja. Kakšne definitivne posledice ima to za preživetje homoseksualcev, verjetno ni potrebno dolgo ugibati: *klozet* ali revščina. Kakorkoli, na letošnje aprilске delavske demonstracije sem, pesnica, lezbična aktivistka in obsesivna bralka, s seboj vzela dve ravnokar izšli knjigi, *Zbornik postkolonialnih študij*, ki jo je uredil Nikolai Jeffs, intelektuallec brez službe, in zbirko kratkih zgodb *Česa nisem nikoli razumela na vlaku* Suzane Tratnik, lezbične pisateljice brez stanovanja – če bi se slučajno v tem demonstracijskem vrvežu, ki mu skorajda nihče več, ne politika, ne delodajalci, vse bolj tudi delavstvo, ne pripisuje realne moči spreminjanja razmer, kje zaustavili. Oziroma – če bi nas, kot že tolikokrat poprej, zaustavila policija. In resnično nas je zaustavila tudi tokrat. Na križišču med ljubljansko Robbovo ulico in Linhartovo cesto, na nekakšnem slepem rokavu vidnosti, nekaj sto metrov stran od novinarskih fotoaparátov in kamer, ki so takrat na Dunajski cesti že snemali internacionalni delavski marš, le nekaj minut, preden bi se tudi mi, približno dvajset *metelkovcev* s tremi anarhističnimi zastavami, pridružili sindikalnim skupinam, nas je obkrožila skupina specialnih policistov, okrog nas z vso silovitostjo parkirala tri policijske marice in nas večino popisala. Zakaj? »*Boste že videli*«, je najprej bleknil eden od policajev, drugi, očitno še neusklajen z ukazi, je siknil, »*Ker ste neprijavljena skupina*«, nakar je vskočil tretji z dokončnim odgovorom: »*Ker obstaja sum kaznivega dejanja*.«

Tedaj je mimo prišel bukét v rdeč najlon zavitih sindikalistov, zrlí so k nam, v ta prizor, ki so ga menda nekje že videli - z masivno specialno policijsko enoto obkoljeno drobno skupinico »*antiglobalistov*« – prizor, ki pa se jim je očitno zdel nekaj povsem nepovezanega z njimi, z delavskimi demonstracijami, z bojem za dostojno in dostojanstveno življenje, z bojem za družbeno solidarnost in pravičnost, kajti niti eden od njih se ni ustavil, pristopil ali povprašal, kaj se vendarle dogaja. Morda niso prepoznali anarhističnih barv, morda so mediji uspešno vgradili v njihove glave predstavo o huliganskih anarhistih, kakorkoli, solidarnosti ali identifikacije nobene, kar sem sicer, kot lezbijka, že tisočkrat umorjena, že tisočkrat doživela, v tisoč drugih kontekstih in situacijah. Zrlí so torej k nam z nekakšno ne prav poglobljeno zvedavostjo in brez postanka korakali dalje. Najbrž se jim je mudilo, ura je bila tik pred drugo popoldansko, zadnji čas za postrojitev v parado. Medtem je tudi premier, nosilec radikalne vladne neoliberalne politike, že obljubil delavskim predstavnikom, da se s sindikalnimi zahtevami strinja, plače jim bo dvignil čez tri leta za, recimo, pol centa, če seveda inflacija ne bo višja od tridesetih odstotkov, protokol se je odvrtel, spektaklu razrednega boja je bilo zadoščeno. Realna represija se je, kot vedno, kotila tam nekje, za niti ne tako oddaljenim ovinkom. Kdor bi jo hotel videti, bi jo videl.

Kako naj torej me, rdeče lezbijke, anarhisti, komunisti in radikalni levičarji pokažemo, da je delavski boj tudi naš boj? V sindikatu pomorščakov? Morda so delavci imeli našo anarhistično zastavo za emblema kakšnega malega podjetja pred stečajem? Policija gotovo ne. Nasprotno. Policija je natančno vedela, koga se loteva: da ustrahuje majceno, drobno skupinico, ki zahteva brezkompromisno enakost, da jo bo skušala zaustaviti, preden bi se njene ideje razširile v družbi, ki se o samoumevnosti razrednih hierarhij skorajda ne sprašuje več. Zaenkrat nas je zaustavila stran od pogledov javnosti. A tudi ti jo

POLETJE/SUMMER 2008

Macedonia: One of the few, if not the only, protest against the last year’s all-Macedonian campaign to ban abortion, was the protest organized by MASSO (the Macedonian Association for Free Sexual Orientation). The abortion ban campaign called for outlawing and prohibiting the basic human right to free reproductive choice. It is not unusual, given the context that the Council of Europe adopted the resolution of access to a safe and legal abortion in April 2008 by 102 votes, with 83 against it.

When politics and sexuality, embraced by the Church, appear within the political scene, I keep asking myself: “Which century am I living in and on which continent?” Archbishop of Ljubljana, Alojz Uran, showed the St. Nicholas Cathedral of Ljubljana to Hans-Gert Pöttering, the President of the European Parliament, as part of an official visit in January 2008: *“Pöttering took the opportunity to congratulate Slovenia for the EU Presidency and expressed his joy that Slovenia is a free country. He emphasized the vital role of the Catholic Church in Slovenian civil society and that it thus deserves full support to freely carry out its mission of evangelization.”* Some time later, *The Office for Religious Communities and The Archdiocese of Maribor* denounced the erotic artistic duo *Eclipse, Ljubljana*, claiming that an artistic installation of the Holy Mother of Ptujska gora (mountain) offended religious feelings. If it was stated, several years ago, that the rock band Strelnikoff (Slovenia) offended religious feelings, because the Holy Mother held a rat in her hands, instead of baby Jesus. Now the case with Eclipse’s offense, is that the Holy Mother is nude; very nude and very beautiful. Christoph Schönborn, Archbishop of Vienna, who took the gay activist Kurt Krickler to court several times, because of Krickler’s public statement concerning the Archbishop’s homosexuality, condemned the homoerotic *Last Supper* in a similar way – an artistic retrospective by Alfred Hrdlicka – as a part of his exhibition in St. Stephen’s Cathedral of Vienna. He characterized the work as blasphemous pornography and a homosexual orgy of the apostles.

1 Daily *Večer*, Maribor, Slovenia, 8 Jan 2008.

v prihodnje ne bodo več dolgo ovirali, kajti v absurdnih razlogih za naše zadržanje – ki pa že obstajajo kot zakonska dejstva – je že razkrila, kakšna bi lahko bila naša bližnja prihodnost, prihodnost kritičnosti in protestništva: kako nasilno, a z zakonskim pokritjem, namerava poseči v vsak poskus radikalizacije razrednega boja oziroma v vsak skok iz območja spektakla. Kriminalizacija anarhistične skupine oziroma celotnega *Avtonomnega bloka*, ki se identificira z razrednim bojem in namerava v njem sodelovati, namreč kaže, kako zelo si oblast želi definirati, kaj razredni boj sploh je, in iz njega izločiti vse, kar bi zmotilo to definicijo. Vsebinsko kanalizirane delavske demonstracije, kot so sedaj dopuščene, bolj ko ne podaljšujejo spektakel delavske moči. In policija se je tudi tokrat pokazala kot gospodar te ceremonije, stražnik definicije, oborožena sila kapitalistične ideologije. Ena od možnih oblik upora je nesodelovanje v spektaklu. Enostavno ostaneš v svojem zasebnem, mikro spektakelčku. A iz mrež spektakla se je mogoče izviti tudi tako, da najdeš njegove robove, robove vseh naših, vaših in njihovih spektaklov, in se postaviš točno nanje. Morda so delavske demonstracije le farsa, ampak njene meje varuje specialna policija. Ste besni zaradi zaprtja *Kinodvora*? Ali pa vas morda prav tako zanima, kako bodo preživelí vsi tisti, ki so jih odpustili – in, najpomembneje, ki so jih brez odpora in medijskih žarometov odpuščali v več zaporednih valovih? Kajti to je prav tako velik problem od tega, da odtlej ne boste mogli več gledati umetniških filmov o tem, kako sta ljubimca prespala revolucijo ’68, in se pri tem počutiti dobro. Se še spominjate, da so – že davno, preden so v zadnjih letih onemogočili vaše časopise – do dna zjebali tudi *Revolver*, *Lesbo*, *Sektor*, močne, udarne revije z geji in lezbijkami v uredništvu? Le kaj se dogaja z ljudmi, ki so nekoč delali in pisali zanje? Vas zanima, kako živijo? Slabo!

Policija ne pride kamorkoli. Policija ne pride v jedno družino. Tudi v homoseksualno jedrno družino ne bo prišla. Pa vendarle redno nekam prihaja. Redno prihaja na *Metelkovo* in popisuje ljudi, ki delajo kulturni program, ki delajo na šankih, ki kadijo, ki na *Trgu brez zgodovinskega spomina* stojijo s prijatelji in klepetajo. Redno prihaja v *Socialni center Rog* in tam išče postelje, odeje, štedilnike, umetnike in brezdomce. Prihaja v *Monokel*, edini lezbični bar v državi. Nezakonit. Ker v *Lezbični knjižnici* nimamo dovolj denarja za plačilo avtorskih pravic, ne smemo izposojati lezbičnih in gejevskih filmov iz naše mogočne zbirke, četudi se jih nikjer drugje v Sloveniji ne da dobiti, ljubljanski *Festival gejevskega in lezbičnega filma* pa bo zaradi zaprtja *Kinodvora*, njegovega gostitelja, verjetno mrknil. Če izposodim ljudem R.W. Fassbinderja, Brucea LaBrucea, Barbaro Hammer ali Monico Treut, pride policija. Policija ne pride na univerzo, razen tedaj, ko jo zasedejo protestniki, ki zahtevajo njeno avtonomijo. Zato si Mattilda a.k.a. Matt Bernstein Sycamore, odlična ameriška *queer* aktivistka, pobudnica *Gejevske sramote*, pisateljica in urednica več teoretskih zbornikov s proti-asimilacijsko ostjo, denar za preživetje služi kot seksualna delavka. Tam, kamor prihaja policija, je meja spektakla. Če vas v zadnjih dneh tam, kjer ste, in pri tem, kar počnete, ni pograbila policija, če ste brez kaznovanja dopuščeni v družbi, ki sicer še kako srdito kaznuje – z radikalno revščino, nelegalnostjo vaše kulture in ostalimi oblikami državnega nasilja – potemtakem je odgovornost za persistentnost spektakla tudi vaša.

Jeffsa in Tratnikove nisem prebrala na delavskih demonstracijah. Bra-la sem ju ponoči, nespečna od skrbi, kako naj plačam položnice za naslednji mesec, pred jutrom, v katerem sem se namenila napisati nehonoriranih sedem tisoč znakov brez presledkov za *Reartikulacijo*, nov družbeno-kritični časopis, v katerem imamo lezbijke svoj prostor. V honorirane časopise pišejo o homoseksualnosti od katoliškega boga navdihnjene *strejt* profesorice in integracionistični homoseksualci. Nagrajevani pišejo o krivdi, psihiatriji in odpuščanju. Me, brez honorarjev, pišemo o njihovi odgovornosti, o vaši odgovornosti, o naši jezi, o našem spominu, mirno pišemo stavke, ki jih ne morete kupiti.

Nataša Velikonja je sociologinja, pesnica in lezbična aktivistka, Ljubljana.

Society-cleansing (making it hygienic) is not possible without a thorough purification of the sexual sphere. There is also no room for AIDS. HIV prevention is now in the domain of organizations for promoting monogamy, marriage and abstinence. Meanwhile an AIDS prevention center (that is its full name as well!) – an organization I had never heard of before, even though I am a member of ŠKUC (the Student Culture and Art Center), Ljubljana, the first Slovenian organization ever to start promoting safe sex and AIDS prevention methods – organized a charity event with a meaningful title “Strawberries, chocolate and champagne” in the entertaining waterpark Atlantis in Ljubljana. On the other side of the non-governmental sector, lies a consortium of elite Slovenian NGO’s (a consortium that includes a Jesuit organization and a crypto-party one) that drew up a proposal for the new asylum law.

The International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (*IGLHRC*) presented the award for special achievements. The award winners were Archbishop Desmond Tutu and IBM. The luxurious event immortalized a representative of Christianity, the “institution,” which has been oppressing homosexuals for two thousand years, and a multinational corporation, which embodies all the misery of the neocolonial exploitation by the Western World. Here we are again, back at the umbilical cord connecting human rights, Church ideology and worldly capital.

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Translated from Slovenian by Aida Lončarević.

Nataša Velikonja ON THE EDGES OF SPECTACLE

A small group of lesbians (and one gay man), along with members of the *Autonomous Bloc*, the collective of *Metelkova* anarchists, social activists from *Rog*, various groups for rightful globalization and a handful of university intellectuals, always join the workers’ demonstrations in Ljubljana. This is not only a display of lesbian solidarity with the workers, but also an identification with the class conflict as open homosexuality always highlights the issue of class. As a rule, the Slovenian public sphere is imbued with homophobia; with the exception of activists, and the resulting professional derivatives of homoactivism – writers or poets – there is not a single lesbian or gay in it. What definitive consequence this has for the survival of homosexuals is needless to speculate: *the closet* or poverty. Anyway, to the April workers’ demonstrations (Ljubljana 2008), I, a poet, a lesbian activist and a voracious reader, brought with me two recently published books *Zbornik postkolonialnih študij* (*The Miscellany of Postcolonial Studies*) edited by Nikolai Jeffs, an unemployed intellectual from Ljubljana, and a collection of short-stories *Česa nisem nikoli razumela na vlaku* (*What I Never Understood on the Train*) by the homeless lesbian writer, Suzana Tratnik. I took the books along if we would, by any chance, stop in the hustle and bustle to which no one, neither politicians, employers nor workers, ascribed much importance to changing the workers’ conditions. Or – if we were to be, like so many times before – stopped by the police. And so it was: The police stopped us at the crossroads of two Ljubljana streets in the center of the city, Robbova and Linhartova, that form a kind of blind meander of visibility, and was a spot so conveniently chosen for the police, as it was a blind spot only a few hundred meters away from the journalists and the cameras (that were documenting the international workers’ march on the main Ljubljana center street know as Dunajska). We, a group of about twenty from *Metelkova*, carrying three anarchist flags, were only a few minutes away from joining them, when surrounded by the riot police, who parked three vehicles to vigorously cordon us off and take down all of our names. Why? *“You’ll see why,”* uttered one of the policemen, *“because you didn’t register”* hissed one of his colleagues, evidently not familiar with the orders after which a third one jumped in with the ultimate answer: *“On suspicion of a criminal offense.”*

At that moment, a bouquet of unionists wrapped in red nylon passed by. They were staring at us, a scene they had probably seen before – a massive riot police squad surrounding a tiny group of “anti-globalists” – a scene they obviously felt had nothing to do with them, with the workers’ demonstrations, with the struggle for a decent and a dignified life, the struggle for social solidarity and justice. Not one of them stopped to inquire what was going on. Perhaps they did not recognize the anarchist colors, perhaps the media successfully implanted the image of hooligan anarchists in their heads. Whatever the reason, there was no solidarity and no identification. Being a lesbian, murdered a thousand times over, I had experienced this before – a thousand times over in thousands of other contexts and situations. They were looking at us with unabsorbed curiosity and paced forth without halting. They must have been in a hurry, as it was nearly two o’clock, just about time to line up for the parade. Meanwhile, the prime minister, the bearer of the radical neoliberal politics, already made a promise to the unionists showing agreement with their demands. The salaries would rise in three years time for, say, half a cent if inflation does not exceed thirty percent, of course. The protocol rolled through to the satisfaction of the spectacle of class struggle. As always, the true repression was whelping somewhere else, not too far away, just around the corner. If anyone wanted to see it, they could.

How then, are we, the red lesbians, anarchists, communists and radical leftists supposed to show that the class struggle is our struggle as well? By joining the union of seafarers? Perhaps the workers passing by thought our anarchist flag symbolized a small enterprise about to go bankrupt? The police most certainly did not. On the contrary, the police

knew exactly who they were dealing with: they knew they were intimidating a tiny group demanding uncompromising equality, they knew they would try to stop the group before their ideas spread through a society that hardly ever questions the self-evident class hierarchy. This time, we were stopped, away from the eyes of the public. But those eyes will not be an obstacle in the future. The absurd reasons for our detainment – which already exist as legal facts – namely, reveal what the near future holds for us, the future of criticism and protests: in a violent way, but protected by law, the police intend to intervene with each attempt of radicalization of class struggle, in other words, each jump out of the sphere of the spectacle. Criminalization of an anarchist group and the entire *Autonomous Bloc* that identifies itself with class struggle, and wants to participate in it, reflects the authorities’ desire to define the notion of class struggle and exclude from it everything that would interfere in their definition. The content curtailment of the workers’ demonstrations, as seen at this time, more or less extends the spectacle of the workers’ power. And the police force, once again, showed itself as the master of this ceremony, the guardian of the definition, the armed force of capitalist ideology. One of the ways to rebel is by not participating in the spectacle. One simply sticks to one’s private micro-spectacle. But the webs of the spectacle may be avoided, by way of finding its edges, the edges of our, your and their spectacles, and positioning oneself onto them. The workers’ demonstrations may be a farce, but their borders are protected by the riot police. Are you angry about the closing-down of the experimental and art cinema *Kinodvor* in Ljubljana? Or perhaps you would like to know how those who lost their jobs, due to this sudden act of closure will survive – and more importantly, how had they been given the sack without public resistance and media attention in several

SVOBODNI MEDIJI/ FREE MEDIA

Agnese Trocchi NE PASIVNI UPORABNIKI, AMPAK PASIVNI PRODUCENTI!

Ta prispevek je rezultat elektronskega pogovora med menoj in Reni Hofmueller, ki me je povabila, da se oktobra 2007 udeležim tretje edicije simpozija [Prologue] v galeriji ESC (Gradec). Predlagala je, naj spregovorim o problemu pisanja zgodovine. Takole je dejala: »V mislim imam natanko to ponovitev situacije, če ti le uspe biti tam, kjer se neka tematika odpre. Sprva si nadvse odločen in poln moči, vendar nikakor ne moreš vedeti, kje se to dogaja in kako. Pravzaprav sploh ni jezika, s katerim opisati te zgodbe, ali si preprosto ne vzamemo dovolj časa ali celo – kar dobro vem – preprosto ni sredstev, tako da na nek način...znova izginemo.« Domnevam, da je Reni želela, da se osredotočim na problematiko »pisanja svoje lastne zgodovine«, saj sem na področju medijev, umetnosti in aktivizma delovala v več kolektivih. Od leta 1995 sem elektronsko »navzoča« na elektronski oglasni deski (BBS), od leta 1999 pa sem članica skupine video in performativnih umetnikov *Candida TV*. Če se ozrem na zgodovino *Candida TV*, lahko rečem, da je problem, kako se lotiti svoje lastne zgodovine, povezan s problemom, da smo se lotevali preveč problematik hkrati. Želeli smo ustanoviti »svoj lasten TV«, in sicer zase in za vse tiste, ki so z različnimi posnetki delovali na različnih lokacijah. Zanimale so nas predvsem naslednje tematike:

- ekonomske: kako ustvariti lastno ekonomijo;
- družbene: kako sprožiti družbene in kulturne spremembe;
- estetske: kako ustvariti svoj lastni jezik.

Odraščali smo pred televizorjem in zato je povsem samoumevno, da s televizijo tudi manipuliramo. Aktivno delujemo že od leta 1999; v teh skoraj desetih letih smo eksperimentalirali s snemanjem v živo v projektu *Household TV*, realizirali delavnice, snemali demonstracije in organizirali akcije na ulici. Hkrati se je pojavila potreba po novih orodjih za *šeranje* in produciranje. Tako se je leta 2001 skupina aktivistov po strahovitih protestih G8 v Genovi odločila, da bo ustanovila internetno platformo za arhiviranje in brezplačno *izmenjavo* neodvisne video produkcije ngvision.org. Projekt ni bil namenjen samo medijskim aktivistom, ampak vsem, ki so hoteli *skupno upobjlati* svoje video posnetke, od dokumentarcev do igranih filmov. Od takrat so se zadeve izredno hitro spreminjale; leta 2001 ni bilo mogoče naložiti svojih video posnetkov v splet kakor tudi ne gledati posnetkov drugih, še manj pa smo si predstavljali kaj takega, kot je danes *YouTube*. *Ngvision.org* je pionirski projekt brezplačne izmenjave in uporabe video posnetkov. Nastal je iz potreb in vizije ljudi, ki se niso več zadovoljili s pasivnim gledanjem TV, ampak so želeli postati njeni aktivni uporabniki in producenti.

Leta 1997 internet še ni bil vsem dostopen, tudi digitalne video tehnologije niso bile tako razširjene, ampak kot je bilo videti na protestih G8 v Seattlu leta 1999, so se stvari začele vendarle spreminjati; vse več ljudi je na cesti snemalo z digitalno kamero. V Italiji smo se povezali z ljudskim gibanjem, s katerim smo delili isto vizijo o televiziji, ki jo delajo ljudje za ljudi. Leta 2002 je bilo v Italiji ustanovljeno gibanje *Telestreet*, skupaj s katerim se borimo za izgradnjo virtualne povezave med internetom, satelitom in televizijo. Težko je reči, ali nam je uspelo ali ne, saj tisto, za kar smo se borili, je zdaj pravzaprav tu. Vse od ustanovitve spletne platforme *YouTube* decembra 2005 vse več ljudi uveljavlja pravico do komunikacije. Danes na tisoče ljudi z minimalnim poznavanjem video tehnologije pokaže svoj video posnetek na spletu; tako si lahko vsakdo izbere svoj lasten večerni program. Kot se zdi, se je zamisel »naredi si svoj TV« uresničila. Manjša gibanja subjektov, kot so bila naša (npr. *Candida TV*, *Telestreet*, *ngvision*), so nas v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja že vpisala v zgodovino, ki je promovirala to, kar je danes uresničljivo. Kljub temu je še vedno treba utrjevati zavest: če smo nekoč bili pasivni uporabniki medijskega prostora, nam sedaj preti nevarnost, da postanemo *pasivni producenti*. Deluje smešno in paradoksalno, vendar ko vidiš, kaj ljudje producirajo in si izmenjujejo z drugimi, se zaveš, da se prav to dogaja. Ogromno število videov je v spletu samo zato, da se gledajo. Ne želim zapasti v estetiziranje, saj zagovarjam, da ima vsak pravico izraziti svoje mnenje vselej in povsod, a se je kljub temu vendarle treba vprašati, kaj je v ozadju dejanja produkcije in potem predstavitve videa v

consecutive waves? This is a major issue, as is the fact that from now on, you will not be able to watch art films (in Kinodvor), for example, the one about lovers who slept through the revolution of 1968 and felt good about it. Can you remember how they – long ago, before they restricted your newspapers – fucked up by totally striking gay and lesbian magazines we had been reading in the past like *Revolver*, *Lesbo*, and *Sektor*? What happened to the people who used to work and write for them? Would you like to know how they live? Dreadfully badly!

The police do not intervene just anywhere. They do not enter the nuclear family. They also would not enter the homosexual nuclear family, but there are places that they visit regularly. That place is *Metelkova*, in Ljubljana (in the 1990s, the squatted, empty ex-Yugoslavian military barack complex in the city center). The police take down the names of people who create cultural events, work at the bar, smoke or chat with friends at the Square of No Historical Memory within *Metelkova “city,”* in the city of Ljubljana. Police pay regular visits to the *Rog Social Center* in Ljubljana (an abandoned factory complex in the center of Ljubljana that started to be temporarily used for social and cultural projects by activists in 2006) looking for beds, blankets, stoves, artists and the homeless. They come to *Monokel*, the country’s only lesbian bar, situated in *Metelkova*. *Monokel* is illegal. As our *lesbian library* (situated in *Metelkova* as well) lacks funds for copyright payments, we are not able to issue loans from our extensive collection of lesbian and gay films, even though they are not available anywhere else in Slovenia. Furthermore, *the Ljubljana Gay and Lesbian Film Festival* is bound to eclipse due to the closure of its host *Kinodvor*. If the library loans out R.W. Fassbinder, Bruce LaBruce, Barbara Hammer or Monica Treut, the police turn up. The police do not

spletu? Ali gre za izbiro ali zgolj za prisilno dejanje, ki ga narekujejo mediji in podobe same?

Moramo se soočiti s prihodnostjo in vizijo o njej oblikovati na podlagi naše zgodovine.

Zelo pomembno je pisati svojo lastno zgodovino, si deliti znanje in raziskovati, od kod potreba po tem, da si svoje videe izmenjujemo in jih skupaj gledamo v spletu. V želji, da bi se prakse iz preteklosti ohranile tudi danes, sem bila večkrat povabljena, da spregovorim o *Candida TV*. Velik izziv zame je bil napisati esej za *Coding Cultures Handbook* (Priročnik o kodiranju kultur) po naročilu Francesce da Rimini in d/Lux/MediaArts. (Brezplačna publikacija je na voljo na http://www.dlux.org.au/codingcultures/).

V eseju obravnavam digitalni način pripovedovanja zgodb znotraj urbanih in regionalnih skupnosti. Raziskujem namreč, kako lahko nove medijske tehnologije skupnostim omogočijo, da na inovativen in domiseln način izrazijo svoje zgodbe in izkušnje ter jih delijo z drugimi. Urednica knjige me je prosila, naj jasno opišem vse, v kar sem vpletena od leta 1990 naprej, da pišem o realnosti, v katero sem vpeta od začetka devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, od mreže elektronske oglasne deske *BBS* do nelegalnih rave partijev in *telestreet*a (poulične televizije). Morala sem si zamišljati, da se pogovarjam z ljudmi, ki sta jim tuji tako tehnologija kot umetnost. Moja naloga pri pisanju eseja za *Coding Cultures Handbook* je bila ta, da pustim ob strani svoja čustva. Spoznala sem, da je to, kar počneš, najtežje pojasniti ljudem, ki so ti blizu, zlasti, če ne doživljajo tvojega sveta in ne poznajo istega jezika tehnologije kot ti; če tega ne moreš pojasniti njim, kako lahko pojasniš sebi. Šele ko pišeš (o svoji) zgodovini, vidiš, kaj smo iz preteklosti prenesli v sedanjost, in sicer tako na osebni kot družbeni ravni. Za kar si moramo še naprej prizadevati, je to, da ne utonemo v morju medijskih svetov.

Agnese Trocchi je umetnica in aktivistka, ki živi v Rimu. Je soustanoviteljica video projekta *Candida TV*, ki interferira z nacionalnimi in komercialnimi televizijskimi kanali v Italiji in si jih prilašča.

Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

Agnese Trocchi NO PASSIVE CONSUMERS, BUT PASSIVE PRODUCERS!

This paper started as an e-mail dialogue between Reni Hofmueller and me. She invited me to take part in the third edition of [Prologue] at ESC (Graz) in October 2007. She suggested that I skould speak about the difficulties of writing history. She said: *“What I mean is precisely this repeating of a situation when it happens to be where a certain topic is developed. First I am in a very energetic and empowering situation, but then there is no way to know where this happens and how, and there is nearly no language for telling these stories, or there is not enough time taken for that, or – as I know it – there are simply no resources to that as well, so in a way...we disappear again.”* I reckon that Reni asked me to work on the topic of “writing about your own history” because I have been part of many different collective experiences in media, art and activist fields. Since 1995 I have been “present” as an electronic presence in the world of the BBS (bulletin board system), and since 1999, I have been part of Candida TV, a group of video makers and performers. When I look back at the years of Candida TV, I realize that the problem of how to speak about our own history is that we were trying to tackle too many issues at the same time. We had the vision of the “Make you own TV” and we have been trying to achieve this goal for us and for everyone working in different places and on different tracks. The issues that we faced were:

- economic: how to create our own economy,
- social: how to produce a social and cultural change,
- aesthetical: how to discover our own language.

We have been growing up with a TV screen in front of our eyes and it has been natural for us to manipulate with television. Since 1999, we have gone through almost ten years of frenzy activities, from the experiments on-air with the “Household TV,” to the realization of workshops; from the filming of demonstrations to the organizations of actions on

show up at the Ljubljana University, except when it is occupied by protesters who demand its autonomy. That is why Mattilda, also known as Matt Bernstein Sycamore, America’s prime queer activist, the initiator of *Gay Shame*, writer and editor of several theoretical miscellanies with a counter-assimilative perspective, earns her wages as a sexual worker. When the police acts, then a border is set up around the spectacle. If, wherever you have been for the last few days, doing whatever it is you do, the police have not taken hold of you, if you are not punished in a society which punishes vigorously – with radical poverty, illegal status of your culture and other forms of violence of governmentality – then you are also responsible for the persistence of spectacle.

I was not able to read Jeffs and Tratnik at the demonstrations. I read them at night, worried to the point of insomnia about how to pay my bills for the coming month, before the morning came, and I sat down to write an unpaid article of 7,000 characters for *Reartikulacija*, a new magazine for social criticism, in which lesbians have their space. Paid newspaper articles about homosexuality are written by *straight* lecturers and integrationist homosexuals inspired by the Catholic God. They write about guilt, psychiatry and forgiveness. We, the unpaid lesbians, write about their responsibility, your responsibility, our anger, our memory. We calmly write sentences that you cannot buy.

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Translated from Slovenian by Jernej Možic.

the streets. At the same time, we felt the need to build new tools for sharing and producing. For this reason a group of media activists created *ngvision.org*, an internet platform for archiving and sharing independent video productions in 2001, after the terrible days of the G8 in Genoa. The project was not only designed for media activists but for whoever wanted to share her/his own video productions, from documentary to fiction. Things changed rapidly since then; in 2001 a social habit of uploading or searching videos online was not possible, neither it was imaginable the *YouTube* of today. Ngvision.org, a pioneer project in video sharing, was born from the needs and the visions of people whose aims were to be not just passive TV viewers, but active consumers and producers.

In 1997 Internet was not available for everyone, digital video technologies were not so diffused as well, but as we saw with the battle of Seattle during the G8 in 1999, things started to change and more and more people were on the street handling digital cameras. In Italy, we engaged in grassroots movements that shared with us the vision of a television made by people and for the people. In 2002, the Italian Telestreet movement came to life and we have been fighting together for the creation of a virtual convergence between internet, satellite and TV. It is hard to say if we failed or not when you see that what you have been fighting for is now apparently here. Since the launching of the online platform *YouTube* in December 2005, the claim for rights to communicate for everyone has seemed to be getting real. In the present moment thousands of people with nearly no knowledge about video technologies have a chance to put their videos online, and thousands of people can choose which videos to watch each evening. The idea of “Make your own TV” seems to be realized. Small movements of the 1990s made of subjects like us (Candida TV, Telestreet, ngvision) part of this history that has been promoting consciousness for what is possible today. However, there is still the need for rising awareness: if once we were passive consumers of the mediascape, now we risk to become *passive producers*. It is funny and it seems a paradox, but it is exactly what is happening, when you see what people choose to produce and share. There are enormous quantities of videos just for the sake of being there, being seen. I do not want to fall into aesthetic categories as I reckon that everyone has the right to express her/him by any means and everywhere, but the question we should ask is: what is behind the gesture of producing and uploading a video online? Is there a choice or it is just a compulsive action, forced by the dictatorship of the media and image?

We should face the future and shape the vision of it while feeling the past on our shoulders.

To write about our/your own history is useful; to keep sharing our knowledge and to investigate what has been feeding the necessity of sharing your own videos online. In the attempt to keep the practice of the past alive in the present, I have been asked to talk and to write about Candida TV in different occasions. A great challenge has been to write an essay for the *Coding Cultures Handbook*, commissioned by Francesca da Rimini and d/Lux/MediaArts. (A free publication, which can be downloaded here http://www.dlux.org.au/codingcultures/)

The handbook focuses specifically on digital storytelling within urban and regional communities. It explores how new media technologies enable communities to express and share their stories and experiences in innovative and imaginative ways. I was asked by the editor to write in an intelligible way about the realities in which I have been involved from the 1990s – from the *BBS* (bulletin board system network) to illegal rave parties and *telestreet*. I had to imagine talking to people who are not familiar with technology neither with art practices. My task in writing the essay for *Coding Cultures Handbook* was to move from my closest beliefs. I realized that the most difficult thing is to explain what you are doing to the people you love if they are not part of your world and they do not share your technical language; if you cannot explain it to them maybe you cannot explain it either to yourself. When you write (about) your own history, you can see what from the past has been launched into the future, both on a personal and on a social level. What still needs to be shared is not to drown in the sea of media worlds.

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REARTIKULACIJA

Staš Kleindienst PRODUKCIJA VEDNOSTI IN LOGIKA ODPORA V NEOLIBERALNEM KAPITALIZMU

»Znanje je naše največje bogastvo«, se glasi nek populističen slogan, s katerim se otroke prepričuje, kako pomembno je hoditi v šolo in se učiti. Če ta slogan podrobneje pogledamo in ga poskušamo umestiti v širši kontekst družbenega diskurza, se v njem dokaj jasno izrišejo nekateri splošno sprejeti in ponotranjeni družbeni pogledi na problematiko pridobivanja znanja, se pravi izobraževanja. Kot prvo je seveda jasno razvidno, da znanje (izobraževanje) zaseda mesto centralizirane avtoritete, nedotakljive materije z absolutnim pozitivnim nabojem, ki ima sposobnost spreminjati svet na bolje, preprečevati vojne itd. Tako prikazano znanje (vednost) je povzdignjeno nad ideološke razprtije družbe in zgodovinske konflikte, saj naj bi jih bilo sposobno racionalno secirati, analizirati na podlagi preizkušenih znanstvenih metodologij ter nadnje postaviti optiko, ki je sposobna univerzalne moralne razsodbe. Tako optika seveda zamegli ideološko konotacijo produkcije vednosti, saj jo postavi v nek privilegiran prostor, v katerem je humanistični univerzalizem popolnoma naturaliziran. Skratka, zabrisane so sledi konstrukta. Dejansko imamo opravka z umetno ustvarjenim mehanizmom, ki produkcijo vednosti ovija v simbolne pomene samoumevnosti.

Nadalje lahko v zgoraj omenjenem sloganu zasledimo čiste biopolitične konotacije. Politika reprezentacije, ki predpostavlja izobraževanje kot ideološko neproblematično in predvsem kot nekaj nujnega, namreč omogoča reprodukcijo ideologije preko produkcije vednosti. Izobraževanje tako funkcioni­ra kot matrica za usposabljanje sistemu kompatibilnih subjektov, saj vsebino vednosti zamenja nujnost pridobitve določene stopnje izobrazbe – ne zaradi širjenja osebnih horizontov, pač pa predvsem zaradi večje konkurenčnosti na trgu delovne sile. Tako pridobljena vednost je seveda nekaj samoumevnega, saj je predpogoj za normalno funkcioniranje v družbi, vsebine in metodologije pridobivanja vednosti pa postanejo instrumentalizirane do te mere, da se vanje zlahka skrije ideološki naboj. To, da je izobraževanje ideološko pogojeno in da je pomembno pri reprodukciji ideologije vladajočega razreda kapitalistov, sta seveda bistveni predpostavki izobraževanja. Vsaka vednost je selektivna in služi (tudi) temu, da prikrije ali izključi določene dogodke, prakse, itd., ki niso kompatibilni s strategijami oblasti. Vendar pa prikrivanje, marginalizacija in izključevanje niso edina orodja, s katerimi današnji neoliberalni kapitalizem kontrolira »odpadniške« diskurze. Ključno orodje v neoliberalnem kapitalizmu je tisto, prek katerega si je tudi sam neoliberalni kapitalizem uspel priboriti splošno družbeno priznanje; ti orodji sta apropiacija in njena ekstremnejša oblika, ugrabitev.

David Harvey v Kratki zgodovini neoliberalizma (*A Brief History of Neoliberalism*) izpostavi dva ključna momenta, ki sta predvsem v družbenem smislu pripomogla k naturalizaciji neoliberalne ideologije. Prvi se nanaša na sam ekonomsko-ideološki izvor neoliberalizma. Kot vemo, se je ideja o neoliberalni ekonomiji začela razvijati v t. i. »možganskih trustih« (ang. *think tank*) v ZDA in se je institucionalno materializirala v krogih Univerze v Chicagu, od koder se je potem začela njena aplikacija na realne ekonomske sisteme. Skorajda paradoksalno je (paradoksalno zato, ker družbeni diskurz neoliberalizma temelji na osebnih svoboščinah), da so prvi tak ekonomski eksperiment izvedli čilski ekonomisti, izobraženi na Univerzi v Chicagu (od tod tudi njihov naziv »*Chicago boys*«) v času Pinochetovega državnega udara v Čilu (ki so ga zaradi možnosti privatiziranja čilske industrije podpirale tudi ZDA). V kontekstu tega mojega teksta je pomembno izpostaviti ravno vlogo institucije, ki proizvaja in distribuira vednost (Univerza v Chicagu) kot centralno gonilno silo, ki je proizvedla »know how« za materializacijo ideje o neoliberalni ekonomiji. O instantni naturalizaciji diskurza neoliberalne ekonomije pa priča število Nobelovih nagrad za področje ekonomije, ki so romale prav v roke raziskovalcev taiste Univerze v Chicagu (znanih tudi pod imenom Čikaška ekonomska šola). Drugi ključni moment nam odpira natančen vpogled v sam kontekst apropiacije ali prisvojitve kot izjemno pomembnega aspekta neoliberalnega preobrata, saj se prek postopkov apropiacije neoliberalni kapitalizem predstavlja kot najbolj naravna sistemska opcija demokratičnih držav. Harvey piše, da mora vsaka miselnost, če hoče postati dominantna, tako globoko vtisniti svoje vrednote v splošno prepričanje ljudstva, da postanejo samoumevne in niso podvržene skepticizmu,¹ in nadaljuje, da so »snovalci neoliberalne miselnosti politične ideale človeškega dostojanstva in individualne svobode sprejeli za fundamentalne, 'osrednje vrednote civilizacije'«.² Zanimivo je, da si je neoliberalizem retoriko o osebnih svobodi sposodil od temeljnih zahtev gibanja iz leta 1968, kjer sta bili osnovni vodili osebna svoboda ter socialna pravičnost združeni v celoto, ki je klicala po spremembah. Harvey ugotavlja tudi, da ima »neoliberalna retorika s svojim fundamentalnim poudarkom na individualnih svoboščinah moč, da zagovorništvo svobodnega mišljenja, politike identitet, multikulturalizem in navsezadnje narcistični konzumerizem odcepi od družbenih sil, ki iščejo socialne pravice prek državnih oblasti«.³ Neoliberalizem je dejansko ugrabil diskurz iz leta 1968, ga razcepil in si prisvojil ideje o osebnih svoboščinah v sebi koristno retoriko o svobodnem odločanju, ki temelji na logiki akumulacije kapitala, proste prodaje in potrošništva. Če smo malo zlobni, bi lahko rekli, da sta dve realno pomembni vrednosti uporov iz leta 1968, ki se jih moramo danes zavedati, ravno ugrabljeni diskurz o osebnih svoboščinah in estetizacija samih uporov (prek retrospektivnih fotografskih razstav in podobnega), ki pripomore k vzdrževanju apolitičnega stanja prek ustvarjanja kolektivnega spomina na razburkano preteklost.

Današnja logika izobraževalnih inštituciji daje prednost instrumentaliziranemu izobraževanju, ki temelji na učinkoviti in pospešeni produkciji kadrov, kjer sta v okviru vse bolj privatiziranega sistema šolstva študent in profesor preoblikovana v klienta in ponudnika storitev. Britanska raziskovalno-umetniška skupina Critical Practice (skupina umetnikov, raziskovalcev, akademikov in drugih, ki jih podpira ustanova Chelsea College of Art & Design iz Londona), ki se ukvarja tudi z analizo sprememb v izobraževalnih sistemih, ugotavlja, da so

socialne spremembe zadnjih desetletij zaradi ponotranjenja korporativnih vrednot, metod in modelov prinesle predvsem instrumentalizacijo umetniškega sistema. To se kaže v vseh segmentih umetnosti: v muzejih in galerijah, v študijih, umetniških praksah, predvsem pa v britanskih umetniških šolah.⁴ Problem instrumentaliziranega izobraževalnega procesa pa je, da tak sistem onemogoča produkcijo vsakršne kritične analize ali refleksije samega sebe, saj je sposoben kritiko proizvajati od znotraj, in sicer tako, da ugrabi terminologijo kritičnosti ter ustvari lastno prizorišče, na katerem odigrava fiktiven proces demokratizacije, ki pa služi predvsem in samo dodatnemu afirmiranju ter utrjevanju obstoječega stanja. Zanimiv primer v tem kontekstu se je zgodil letos na ekonomskem forumu v Davosu, kamor so med drugim povabili tudi nekaj mladostnikov iz različnih delov sveta, ki so potem na televizijski postaji CNN pod imenom »mladi aktivisti« govorili, kakšno moč bo imela globalna komunikacija pri premoščanju kulturnih razlik in konfliktov v prihodnosti.

Prišli smo do treh vzvodov, ki združeni tvorijo hermetično zaprto institucionalno formo produkcije vednosti v neoliberalnem kapitalizmu, in sicer:

- ideološko ozadje, ki selektivno organizira polje produkcije vednosti (in s tem ustvarja afirmativni odnos do oblasti);
- politika reprezentacije, ki ideološki diskurz naturalizira v naravno stanje in ga naredi samoumevnega, ter
- apropiacijski moment, ki diskurze odpora preoblikuje v sistemu primerne (potrošniške) forme, obenem pa ustvarja navidezni prostor pluralne družbe. Lahko se torej vprašamo, na kakšen način se lahko postavimo po robu instrumentalizirani institucionalni produkciji vednosti. Najkrajši odgovor bi se lahko glasil: z lastno produkcijo vednosti. Vendar mora imeti ta produkcija vednosti v sebi vključeno relacijo do strukture institucionalne matrice. Se pravi, zavedati se mora treh zgoraj omenjenih predpostavk in upoštevati njihove metode ter učinke. Najprej se mora materializirati in preživeti apropiacijo, za kar potrebuje vzpostavitev infrastrukture, ki je sposobna to vednost širiti, ter si pisati lastno zgodovino. Nadalje mora dekodirati politiko reprezentacije institucionalne produkcije znanja preko dekodiranja jezikov, ki jih le-ta uporablja za lastno vzpostavitev v simbolnem redu družbe, kajti prav skozi dekodiranje jezikov reprezentacije je mogoče videti ideološko podstat organiziranja institucionalne produkcije vednosti in njene realne mehanizme marginalizacije, brisanja in apropiacije. Samo prek jasno vidnih notranjih mehanizmov in strategij institucij moči je mogoča neinstitucionalna produkcija vednosti, ki je sposobna dekolonizirati marginalizirane diskurze z druge strani.

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4 "Critical Practices", in: *Zehar*, št. 60 in 61, 2007, http://arteleku.net/4.1/zehar/6061/Criticalpractice_en.pdf.

Staš Kleindienst PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE LOGIC OF RESISTANCE IN NEOLIBERAL CAPITALISM

“Knowledge is our biggest wealth” is a populist slogan intended for convincing children of the importance of going to school and learning. If we take a closer look at the slogan and try to locate it within a wider context of social discourse, what emerges is a fairly clear outline of generally accepted and internalized societal views on the issue of gaining knowledge, that is, education. In the first place, it is obvious that knowledge (education) occupies the position of centralized authority, the untouchable matter with an absolute positive charge, which has the ability to change the world for the better, stop warfare etc. Knowledge, presented that way, is elevated beyond society's ideological discords and historical conflicts, since it should be able to dissect in a rational way, to analyze on the grounds of proven scientific methods, and to establish a lens capable of universal moral judgment. Such a lens would obviously blur the ideological connotation of the production of knowledge by setting it into a kind of privileged space in which humanistic universalism is completely neutralized. In short, the traces of a construct are obliterated. We are, in fact, dealing with an artificially developed mechanism, which is wrapping the production of knowledge up in symbolic meanings of obviousness.

The slogan also displays pure biopolitical connotations. The politics of representation, which presupposes education as ideologically unproblematic, and above all indispensable, namely enables a reproduction of ideology by producing knowledge. Education, thus functions as a matrix for developing subjects compatible to the system as the content of knowledge is substituted by the necessity to acquire a certain degree of education, not for the purposes of widening personal horizons, but rather for greater competition on the labor market. Knowledge acquired in such a manner is self-evident, as it is a precondition for the normal functioning of society while content and methodology of knowledge acquisition become instrumentalized to the extent of easily concealing the ideological charge. The two essential presumptions of education are that it is ideologically conditioned and that it is important in the reproduction of the ideology of the ruling capitalist class. Knowledge is selective and (may) serve to hide or exclude certain events, practices etc., which are not compatible with the authority's strategies. Concealment, marginalization and exclusion, however, are not the only tools used by modern-day neoliberal capitalism to control “heretic” discourses. The most significant tool of neoliberal capitalism, and one that was used to obtain its social recognition, is appropriation in its extreme form, kidnapping.

In *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, David Harvey outlines two key features that have attributed to the naturalization of neoliberal ideology in the societal sense. The first relates to the economic and ideological origin of neoliberalism. The idea of neoliberal economy, as we know it, evolved from the so-called *think tanks* in the US and was institutionally materialized at the University of Chicago before it was applied to real economic systems. It is somewhat paradoxical (for the reason that social discourse of neoliberalism is based on civil rights) that the first experiment of this type was carried out by Chilean economists, educated at the University of Chicago (hence the name Chicago Boys) at the time of Pinochet's coup d'état (which the US supported, due to the possibility of the priva-

tization of Chilean industry). In the context of this article, it is important to note the role of the institution, which produced and distributed knowledge (University of Chicago) as a central force in constructing the know-how for the realization of the idea of the neoliberal economy. What attests to the instant naturalization of the discourse of neoliberal economy is the number of Nobel Prizes in Economics received by the researchers at the University of Chicago (also known as the Chicago School of Economics). The second feature enables an accurate insight into the context of appropriation as an immensely important aspect of the neoliberal turnabout; through processes of appropriation, neoliberal capitalism displays itself as the most natural system for democratic governments. Harvey suggests that any ideology, if it wishes to dominate, must root its values in the general beliefs of the public so deeply that they become self-evident and allow for no skepticism.¹ Harvey goes on to say that “the founding figures of neoliberal thought took political ideals of human dignity and individual freedom as fundamental, as the central values of civilization.”² It is noteworthy to point out that neoliberalism's rhetoric on individual freedom was borrowed from the demands of the movement of 1968 where the two main paradigms, individual freedom and social justice, were combined together in a call for change. Harvey claims that “[n]eoliberal rhetoric, with its foundational emphasis upon individual freedoms, has the power to split off libertarianism, identity politics, multiculturalism, and eventually narcissistic consumerism from the social forces ranged in pursuit of social justice through the conquest of state power.”³ Neoliberalism literally kidnapped the discourse of 1968, cleft it, and appropriated ideas of individual freedom by tailoring them to its own rhetoric of freedom of choice, which was based on the logic of accumulation of capital, free trade and consumerism. We could propose, with a hint of malice, that there are two truly important consequences of the 1968 revolt we nowadays need to be aware of, the kidnapped discourse of individual freedom and the aesthetic treatment of the uprising (by means of retrospective photographic exhibitions and the like...), which contributes to the maintaining of the apolitical condition by creating a collective memory of the tempestuous past.

Educational institutions nowadays follow the logic which favors instrumentalized education and founds on an efficient and accelerated production of graduates. In this increasingly privatized system of education, the student/lecturer relationship is transformed into customer/customer service relationship. The British research/artist group Critical Practice, which analyzes the changes in educational systems, has ascertained that the social changes within the last few decades, due to the internalization of corporate values, methods and models have brought about an instrumentalization in the arts. This has been identified in all segments of art: museums and galleries, studios, artistic practices, and above all in British art schools.⁴ The problem with the instrumentalized educational processes is that the system prevents the production of any kind of critical analysis or self-reflection. It is only able to produce criticism from within, by kidnapping the terminology of criticism and creating its own venue in which it acts out the fictive process of democratization that really only serve the additional affirmation and strengthening of the current state of affairs. In this context, it is worth mentioning what happened at this year's World Economic Forum in Davos. Invited to the Forum, among others, were young people from different parts of the world who were then broadcast on CNN as *young activists* and spoke of the power of global communication in overcoming cultural differences and future conflicts.

This brings us to three levers, which create a hermetically sealed institutional form of the production of knowledge within neoliberal capitalism together. They are:

- *an ideological background*, which selectively organizes the field of knowledge production (and thus creates an affirmative relation to the authorities);
- *the politics of representation*, which naturalizes the ideological discourse into a natural state and renders it self-evident; and
- *the appropriative tendency* which transforms the discourse of uprising within a system of suitable (consumerist) forms, and simultaneously creates a fictive space of pluralistic society.

We may therefore pose the following question: how can we take a stand against the instrumentalized institutional production of knowledge? The shortest answer to that could be with our own production of knowledge. This production, however, requires a relation to the structure of the institutional matrix. In other words, it needs to be aware of the three above-mentioned presumptions and acknowledge the respective methods and effects. It must first materialize and survive the process of appropriation, for which it requires the establishment of infrastructure that would be able to spread the knowledge and write its own history. It must then decode the politics of representation of institutional knowledge production by means of decoding languages being used for situating it within the symbolic order of society; as through the decoding of languages of representation, it is possible to identify the ideological basis of organizing institutional knowledge production, its real mechanisms of marginalization, blurring, and appropriation. Only clearly visible internal mechanisms and strategies of institutions of power can enable the non-institutional production of knowledge, which is able to decolonize marginalized discourses from the other side.

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Translated from Slovenian by Jernej Možic.

1 David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005, p. 5.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
4 “Critical Practice,” in: *Zehar* no. 60 and 61, 2007, http://arteleku.net/4.1/zehar/6061/Criticalpractice_en.pdf

HARD (CORE)

Michael Backmund POROČANJE O G8 V ROSTOCKU

O prizorišču pisanja nemških medijev pri poročanju o G8 – aspekti medijskopoliitične analize DJU' ali o zavajajočem novinarskem poročanju in dezinformacijah

Dramaturški uvod citata se je od članka do članka zelo razlikoval; enkrat je na govorniškem odru demonstracij »govornik podpihoval militantno sceno«. Drugič je »po navajanju policije« zlezel na oder »le eden od 3000 militantov«, spet drugje so morali »militanti« oder najprej osvojiti, da je lahko končno prišlo do novinarskega *showdowna*. Nekateri novinarji so želeli le »enega moškega z megafonom« ali »z zvočnikom«, zopet drugi so bili za avtorja citata preprosto nenadno kričoči »neodvisneži« ali enostavno »militanti«. Domišljija novinarjev tega dne 2. junija 2007 očitno ni poznala mej. Ne glede na to, kje je bil citat objavljen, bodisi v *Bild* ali *Ostsee Zeitung*, *Spiegel-Online* ali *Stern*, *Münchner Abendzeitung* ali *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, se je vedno glasil enako: »V te demonstracije moramo vnesti vojno«. Citat je v besedilih mnogih novinarjev veljal za ultimativni dokaz o pripravljenosti neodvisnežev »črnega bloka« za nasilje, za »doslej nepoznano brutalnost« ali enostavno za »bitko v Rostocku«, kakor so časopisi z velikimi črkami nadnaslavljali svoje članke o mednarodnih veledemonstracijah proti bližajočemu se vrhu G8 v Heiligendammu. Citat so novinarji v takšni obliki uporabljali v svojih reportažah in osebno zaznamovanih in obdelanih temah kakor tudi v svojih javljanjih in poročilih. Ta oprijemljiv citat je bil informativno vgrajen v poročanje in objavljen kot rezultat novinarskega raziskovanja, ne da bi bila pri tem navedena kakšna kratica, agencija ali vir. Po prvih uporabah se je ta izjava razširila po celem svetu v milijonskih tiražah, velikokrat s pristavkom: »Z miroljubnimi sredstvi ne bomo dosegli ničesar«. Podatek o viru teh dveh citatov je bil bralcu seveda zamočlan. Prav tako niso vsi novinarji, ki so uporabili dobesedni navedek, osebno preverili zanesljivost vira, da bi tako občinstvu sugerirali njihovo avtorsko bližino dogajanju kakor tudi največjo možno avtentičnost in verodostojnost njihovega dela. Gre namreč za že skoraj ustaljeno prakso dnevnega poročanja. Tega citata niso mogli slišati ne novinarji ne poročevalci z mesta dogajanja kakor tudi ne avtorji poročil in posebnih tem v redakcijah široga sveta.

Zakaj? Citat ima namreč odločilno novinarsko napako: je izmišljen. Le tisti, ki jih je stigmatizacija tega dejansko zavajajočega poročila prizadela, so posegli v stvar. In to ni edini primer poraza profesionalnih medijev v Rostocku in Heiligendammu. Novinarji v Rostocku bi potrebovali le malo časa in napora, da bi še v istem večeru ugotovili, da ta citat ni bil nikoli izgovorjen. Tudi vprašanje, kateremu govorniku je bil ta izmišljeni citat položen v usta in kaj je ta pravzaprav na zaključnem zborovanju v rostoški mestni luki sploh rekel, ne bi zahtevalo nikakršne zapletene poizvedbe. To bi pravzaprav lahko storili celo tisti novinarji oziroma uredniki, ki niso bili prisotni na kraju dogajanja. Še istega sobotnega večera si je bilo na internetu mogoče ogledati amaterske videe in poročila o zaključnem zborovanju, ki so domnevni citat pogнала v kraljestvo domišljije njegovih avtorjev – ali bolje rečeno – »njegovega« avtorja. Nemška tiskovna agencija DPA je znanega filipinskega profesorja sociologije Waldena Bello v soboto ob 18.41 uri v svojem javljanju citirala takole: »Ob 17.30 so bili zažgani prvi avtomobili, medtem ko je nedaleč od kraja zločina na govorniškem odru zborovanja neki govorec podpihoval nasilno sceno z jasnimi besedami: 'V te demonstracije moramo vnesti vojno. Z miroljubnimi sredstvi ne bomo dosegli ničesar.'«

Kdor je v trenutku, ko naj bi ta vzkliz eskaliral situacijo, stal na trgu in poslušal govor Waldena Belle, mednarodno priznanega kritika globalizacije in dobitnika Nobelove nagrade za mir, je lahko jasno in razločno slišal njegove besede. V svojem govoru o iraški vojni in političnem diskurzu ob vrhu G8 2005 v škotskem Glean eagles je Bello dejal (prevod iz angleščine): »Pred dvema letoma so govorili: Ne vnašajte vojne v diskusije. Osredotočite se raje na boj proti revščini.« Mi pa pravimo: V to srečanje moramo vnesti vojno, saj brez miru pravičnost ni mogoča. Kako so lahko iz predvsem v angleščini že več let splošno znanega stavka »without peace there can be no justice« nastale nemške besede »z miroljubnimi sredstvi ne bomo dosegli ničesar«, ostaja do danes DPA-jina skrivnost. Še istega večera je bilo mogoče slišati še eno poročilo dopisnika agencije DPA iz Rostocka, ki se je glasilo takole: »Eden od govorcev je po mikrofону pozival k 'vojni' proti policiji.« V reportažah, on-line kronikah in poročilih o stopenjavanju nasilja so bile zavajajoče vesti DPA pogosto še dodatno okrašene. Primer iz časopisne reportaže v *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*: »V te proteste moramo vnesti vojno!«, je neki mladi moški vpil v megafon, spredaj na odru pa so še vedno stali levičarji vseh usmeritev, ki so prisegali na neki 'drugi svet' in govorili o nekakšni 'lepi prireditvi'.« Poročevalci za *Ostsee Zeitung* so sceno opisali še bolj dramatično: »Militanti so očitno že osvojili oder. 'Spomnimo se Genove (...)', je odzvanjalo sovražno v bojnem kaosu«, da dopolnimo dobesedno obe povedi zavajajoče vesti DPA.

Vse skupaj je trajalo tri dolge dneve in vsemu so dodali sicer popravljene, kajpak z novimi trditvami obogatene vesti, ki so poskušale obe izmišljeni povedi predstaviti kot prevajalsko napako organizatorja, da bi se DPA končno izjasnila o svojem lastnem citatu: »Ta formulacija ni (...) bila izrečena niti v angleškem originalnem prispevku niti v njegovem nemškem prevodu.« Popravek ali opravičilo je bilo mogoče prebrati le v izjemnih primerih v vseh tistih medijih, ki so verjeli verodostojnosti DPA in ki so z neupoštevanjem jasnih novinarskih pravil prosto uporabljali citat. Toda namesto da bi se ta zavajajoča vest in struktura njene milijonske reprodukcije uporabili kot priložnost za politično razpravo o posledicah takšnega početja, se DPA kot avtorica te zavajajoče vesti še danes upira sodelovanju v razjasnitvi. Nasprotno, agencija je sklenila o (strukturnem) vzroku svojega lastnega pomanjkljivega dela ne obvestiti niti svoje lastne odjemalce novic. Udeležbo pri diskusiji o kakovosti poročanja ob vrhu G8, ki jo je priredilo zvezno predsedstvo dju, je glavni urednik DPA zavrnil. Po koncu diskusije je eden izmed vodilnih dopisnikov DPA, ki se je udeležil prireditve, jasno povedal, da agencija ni javno

predstavila izsledkov interne analize o vzrokih in napakah. Vendar to še ni dovolj: agencija še danes odklanja Visoki šoli za uporabno znanost v Bremnu uporabo objavljenih poročil DPA ob vrhu G-8 za njeno medijskopolitično raziskovalno delo. Zavajajoča vest DPA na žalost ne more biti ocenjena le kot obžalovanja vredna in enkratna smola ob vrhu G8. Nasprotno, napake in pomanjkljivo delovanje medijev so izraz strukturnega problema: ta se tiče realnih delovnih pogojev v večini založniških in medijskih hiš, ki so posledica znatnega krčenja delovnih mest, kakor tudi razkroja samorazumevanja profesionalnega novinarstva oziroma odnosa do informacij državnih organov ali ravnanja z njimi. Tako je v Rostocku in Heiligendammu prišlo do nadaljnjih napak agencij in novinarjev; avtor mnogih zavajajočih vesti pa je bil tudi oddelek za informiranje posebnega policijskega intervencijskega štaba *Kavala* v Rostocku, čigar delo je bilo pravkar analizirano v publikaciji društva republikanskih odvetnic in odvetnikov – Republikanische Anwältinnen- und Anwältevereins (RAV), ki je predstavljene »Sovražne slike demonstrantov« označila kot del načrtovane politike navajanja napačnih informacij.²

Zavajajoče policijsko poročanje, ki mimogrede predstavlja hud prekršek zavezanosti državnih izvršilnih organov strogemu stvarnemu in resničnemu informiranju, pa je lahko na pomembnosti pridobilo vsekakor šele s tem, da je bilo prevzeto brez dodatnega lastnega raziskovanja tiskovnih agencij, kot je DPA, in mnogih drugih novinarjev. Tako je večina časopisov, revij, radijskih in televizijskih postaj brez navedbe vira objavila podatek o najmanj 25 domnevno težko poškodovanih in vsega skupaj 433 poškodovanih policistih.

Po konfliktih ob zaključni manifestaciji demonstrantov v rostoški mestni luki je v nekaj urah število poškodovanih predstavnikov oblasti v »newstickerju« urada za informiranje štaba *Kavala* (v množično medijskem, ponavadi televizijskem prostoru na zaslonu, kjer se predstavljajo nenehno ažurirane najbolj vroče kratke novice tistega trenutka v svetu) poskočilo s 100 in več na kar 433. Pri tem je *Kavala* med težko poškodovane štela vse policiste, ki so se za več kot en dan prijavili kot nezmožni za delo. Notranji minister Caffier je moral nekaj tednov pozneje, 28. junija 2007 v svoji izjavi za medije ministrstva za notranje zadeve priznati, da je bilo popis poškodovanih zaradi sile razmer in počitka, ki so ga bili ti deležni, težko opraviti in da je bilo zatem podatek o številu poškodovanih policistov potrebno korigirati. V izjavah za tisk z 2. in 3. junija 2007 o teh težavah seveda ni bilo govora. Napačne podatke o številu poškodovanih pa so povzeli skoraj vsi mediji in deloma jih je še danes najti na spletnih straneh uglednih založniških hiš. Šele po povpraševanju nekega novinarja z *junge Welt* se je po nekaj dneh izkazalo, da sta se morala bolnišnično zdraviti le dva policista. Bila sta torej le dva primera, ki ustrezata siceršnjim karakteristikam označbe »težko poškodovan«. Tako je bila zaradi razširjanja istih (napačnih) dejstev konzumentom različnih medijskih produktov posredovana enaka slika dogodkov na Baltiku. Predvsem visoko število ranjenih je v kombinaciji z ekstremno visokimi ocenami škode in nezadostnim novinarskim raziskovanjem pomembnih informacij prispevalo k razumevanju zapletene situacije le kot medijsko posredovanega scenarija »nemirov v Rostocku«. Kdor je v Münchnu, Bernu ali Wanne-Eickelu v nedeljo ali ponedeljek razgrnil časopis, je moral sklepati, da je Rostock porušen. Tudi o pustošenju je bilo govora, kot da bi šlo za državljanski vojni podobnim razmeram. Temu se je dan kasneje pridružil še podatek o domnevno ogromni škodi preko milijon evrov samo na ustanovah mesta Rostock, v kateri naj ne bi bila všteta škoda na osebni lastnini posameznikov in podjetij. Naposled je bila realna škoda po uradnih podatkih ocenjena le na nekaj deset tisoč evrov.

Medijsko poenotenje v poročanju o 2. juniju 2007 je še posebej posledica krčenja števila virov. Izmišljeni citat, napačni podatki o številu težko poškodovanih policistov in druga potvorjena dejstva so podpirala medijsko predstavitev »bitke v Rostocku«. Tako sta se v prvih dneh po veliki demonstraciji v svetovnih medijih trdno ustalila skoraj povsem poenotena razlaga in ovrednotenje dogodkov. Pri tem bi že s topografsko umestitvijo situacije dobili mnogo stvarnejšo oceno. Spopadi med demonstranti in policijo so se namreč odvijali na sorazmerno majhnem območju mestne luke, na samem robu kraja demonstracij, točneje na križišču in 250 metrov dolgem odseku ceste. Zaradi obilne uporabe vodnih topov proti vsem demonstrantom so se spopadi za krajši čas preselili na osrednji prostor zborovanja. Kljub temu so le redki ustvarjalci medijskih vsebin odgovorili na novinarsko vprašanje o kraju dogajanja. Tako je lahko na svetovni ravni pri številnih medijskih porabnikih, ki sicer niso imeli dostopa do primarnih virov, nastal vtis, da je pol Rostocka v plamenih, saj je bilo na posnetkih poročil v glavnem videti goreče »avtomobile«, število dva pa je bilo praviloma izpuščeno. Ob reproduciranju zavajajočega poročanja najdemo le malo izjem, ko so poročevalci na podlagi dobre novinarske raziskave in raznolikosti virov napisali med seboj različne reportaže in članke. Ključno za to je bilo pomanjkanje raziskovanja v povezavi z nekritičnim povzemanjem podatkov in mnenj državnih organov. Mimogrede, kot »kronske priče« številnih napačnih informacij se pogosto pojavljajo anonimni pripadniki policije – tudi to je skrb zbujajoče.

Resnična praznina pa zeva v poročilih o obsežni uporabi različnih plinov in sprejev policijskih specialnih enot: plina CN (ki se spušča prek vodnih topov), poprovega razpršilca, narejenega na osnovi izvlečkov pekoče paprike (ki se uporablja pri aretacijah) ter živčnega plina/solzivca CS (ki je na voljo v kartušah in se uporablja za obstreljevanje tarč). Plin CS je živčni bojni plin, ki je zlasti za alergike smrtonosen, saj hitro povzroči anafilaktični šok. Uporaba tega živčnega plina je po mednarodnem pravu prepovedana, kljub temu pa ga policisti v mnogih državah uporabljajo v boju proti notranjepoličnim nasprotnikom. Tako sta npr. leta 1986 zaradi uporabe plina CS v protestu proti izgradnji obrata za predelavo jedrskih snovi v Wackersdorfu umrla dva prebivalca Oberpfälzerna. Več sto pacientov pa se je še tedne in mesece javljalo s težavami, kot so kožni lišaji, težave z dihanjem, vrtoglavica in težave z živčevjem. Do sedaj ni bilo moč najti članka, ki bi denimo problematiziral vprašanje uporabe solzivca in plina CS proti deset-tisočim v Rostocku. Če bi raziskali dejansko stanje stvari in njegove politične implikacije, bi najverjetneje pravilno ocenili tudi vzrok za zelo visoko število poškodovanih med policisti. Po besedah sanitetnih delavcev naj bi bila večina policistov poško-

^[1] Republikanischer Anwältinnen- und Anwälteverein/Legal Team »Feindbild Demonstrant - Polizeigewalt, Militäreinsatz, Medienmanipulation. Der 8-Gipfel aus Sicht des Anwaltlichen Notdienstes« ISBN 78-33-935936-668-22 (Verlag Assoziation A, Dezember 2007)

dovanih zaradi »prijateljskega ognja«, ki sta ga povzročila solzivec ali plin CS. V sredo, 6. junija 2007, ko so se začele dolgo načrtovane blokade »Block G8«, so se v uradnem tiskovnem središču v Kühlungsbornu razširila policijska sporočila, da naj bi se v blokadni nahajale maskirane in oborožene osebe, ki mečejo kamenje. To novico so razširili tiskovni predstavniki *Kavale* preko kratkih poročil ob 18.16 uri. Sporočilo za javnost PM 80 z dne 6. junija se je glasilo: »Udeleženci prepovedanega shoda na kontrolni točki Galopprennbahn se oborožujejo. Posebna policijska enota BAO *Kavala* iz Rostocka je ravnokar ugotovila, da udeleženci iz skupine, ki trenutno blokira kontrolno točko 'Galopprennbahn', menjajo oblačila, se maskirajo in oblačijo varovalne obleke, se oborožujejo z molotovkami in kamenjem.« In dalje: »Vodja policije Knut Abramowski pozval vse tiste, ki se nahajajo pri kontrolni točki Galopprennbahn, da se nemudoma umaknejo od storilcev kaznivih dejanj. 'Ne branite ali varujte kriminalcev', je še dejal Abramowski.«

Kakšne politične zaključke lahko potegnemo iz teh novinarskih napak? Kako je lahko prišlo do takšnega masovnega potvarjanja informacij in zakaj mediji ne izpolnjujejo svoje vloge neodvisnega opazovalca. Zakaj se v veliko primerih niso kritično odzvali na kontrolo državne oblasti z lastnim raziskovanjem? Pri tem je pomemben vidik oportunistično obnašanje medijev pri vprašanju nasilja, kajti prav arbitrarna uvrstitev in ločitev na »nasilneže« in »miroljubne demonstrante« je veljala kot prevladujoča mnjenjska os medijev ob vrednotenju protestov. Nekritično povzemanje določenih stereotipov s strani velikega števila medijev že v času pred vrhom ter zaznamovanje nasprotnikov se je še intenziviralo z racijami v maju na podlagi člena 129a³ proti protestnemu gibanju. Vse to je še bolj spodbudilo novinarje, da so tudi v času foruma poročali nekritično in povzemali nezanesljive podatke policije. Poleg tega je vodja *Kavale* že mesece pred vrhom v številnih intervjujih, brošurah in na prireditvah v regiji Rostock opozarjal na »nasilneže« in razlagal, da cestne zapore ne bodo dovoljene, pri tem pa je tovrstne zapore enačil z nasiljem. V času priprav na proteste ob vrhu je policija blokade poti do vrha G-8 v Heiligendammu, ki jih je zveza političnih skupin in organizacij javno napovedala kot legitimno obliko civilne nepokorščine, označila za »kazniva dejanja«, ki jih je treba z vsemi sredstvi zatreti. Ko pa prepoved zborovanja v sklopu rdeče cone okoli varnostne ograje kljub velikemu številu policijskih intervencij proti deset tisoč demonstrantom le ni mogla biti vzpostavljena in blokad ni bilo več mogoče preprečiti »s pravnimi sredstvi«, kot je na zaključni tiskovni konferenci povedal vodja *Kavale* Abramowski, so se policisti in mediji nenadoma oprijeli izraza »miroljubne slike«. A nova medijska interpretacija dogodkov ne ustreza dejstvu, saj je prišlo do večine težkih poškodb med pro-



Plakat za proteste proti srečanju G8.

Poster for protests against G8 summit.

Demonstracija v Rostocku, 2007.

testniki v četrtek ob deblokiranju zahodnih vrat varnostne ograje. Sicer pa so policisti že dan prej med pohodom tisočih protestnikov v prepovedano rdečo cono uporabili pline, vodne topove, papiricirane spreje in gumijevke in pri tem poškodovali mnogo protestnikov. O teh »nemiroljubnih slikah« pa ni nihče poročal.

Novinarskemu delu, ki spoštuje tako profesionalne kriterije raziskave kot tudi jasno ločnico med poročanjem in komentiranjem, naj bi ravno z vidika pojasnjevanja šlo za predstavljanje dejstev, ki se na prvi pogled zdijo protislovna. Za nemške medije vse od nacionalsocializma dalje v nasprotju z anglosaksonsko novinarsko tradicijo ni značilna kultura poročanja, ki brez olepšav preslikava realnost in od nje – za bralca jasno razločno – loči lastno vrednotenje, politično pričranje in komentarje. Tudi trend novinarstva v smeri škandalov in zabavljaštva, ki za kvote in naklade zelo individualizira in okrajšano ter iztrgano poroča iz konteksta, pripomore k nadaljnjemu mešanju poročanja in komentiranja. Zaradi poslušnosti državnih organov nemški mediji oseb ali skupin, ki (domnevno) kršijo državna pravila demokratičnega diskurza, ne obravnavajo več v skladu z objektivnimi in nepristranskimi novinarskimi kriteriji raziskovanja in poročanja o nekem dogodku. Ravno dejstvo, kako hitro lahko »nasilneži« postanejo »miroljubneži na blokadah« in obratno, bi moralo novinarje opomniti, da vprašanja kazenskega prava niso pravo merilo posplošenega izključevanja oseb ali stigmatizacije družbenih nasprotij. To še toliko bolj velja glede na to, da so v Rostocku in Heiligendammu ključno vlogo pri razširjanju zavajajočih vesti in s tem izhodišče za faktično dezinformiranje večjega dela javnosti odigrali državni organi sami. Do danes pa se o ustanovitvi *Kavale* kot začasnega centra za intervencijo, ki je še zlasti namenjen vrhu G8, ni veliko poročalo. Še pred tem se je govorilo, da se je v sivi coni zgradila neka posebna struktura oz. center moči, ki ni pod parlamentarnim nadzorom in kjer razlike med policijo, vojsko in tajnimi obveščevalnimi službami, kakor je določeno z ustavo, ne obstajajo. Zakon o ločevanju teh treh organov je ena glavnih posledic nacionalsocializma in je v trenutno aktualnem vprašanju o varnosti ena od najobčutljivejših medijsko-političnih diskusij, ki zadevajo svobodo medijev in državni nadzor. Tako je bila npr. uporaba vojske že vnaprej napovedana, še pred uradnim začetkom vrha pa so lahko vsi videli oklepna vozila, vojakе in tornadoe.⁴ Kljub temu so šele raziskave, ki so jih opravili nekomercialni mediji, in preiskave članov parlamenta sprožile vprašanje o ustavno

^[2] Sporni člen 129a, imenovan tudi »snovanje terorističnih združenj«, je bil v Nemčiji uzakonjen leta 1976; s tem členom se sankcionira ustanavljanje terorističnih organizacij in članstvo v njih. Mnogi mu očitajo nejasnost v definiciji terorizma in zlorabo v druge namene. (op.p.)

^[3] Bojna letala nemške vojske. (op.p.)

sporni uporabi tornadov in lahkih tankov proti protestnikom ter bolj zavzeta poročanja o tem. Dosedanja analiza poročanja opozarja tudi na pomen nekomercialnih medijskih centrov in blogerjev protestnih gibanj. Ti mediji še zdaleč niso neodvisni, a vendarle so bili edini, ki so med samim vrhom posredovali dobro raziskana in preverljiva dejstva ter tako razkrili številne napačne informacije komercialnih medijev.

Zaradi zavajajočih poročanj z vrha G8 bi se bilo treba vprašati tudi o kakovosti novinarske izobrazbe. Kajti danes večinoma uveljavlje-na pravila kakovosti na priznanih medijskih študijskih programih na univerzah in novinarskih šolah v izobraževanju novinarjev mnogih medijskih hiš, kakor tudi v njihovi lastni izobraževalni in delovni praksi ne igrajo skoraj nobene vloge. Spodletelo poročanje nemških medijev lahko s stališča novinarskih kriterijev raziskovanja kakor tudi s stališča neodvisnega in kritičnega poročanja razumemo kot odraz strukturnih problemov trenutnega stanja v novinarstvu ter ga kot ta-kega tudi analiziramo. S tem povezana so tudi množična odpuščanja novinarskega kadra, drastično poslabšanje delovnih pogojev v večini založb in medijskih hiš kakor tudi samoumevnost profesionalnega novinarstva.

Michael Backmund, novinar, urednik in pisec. Živi in dela v Münchnu.

Iz nemščine prevedli Katja Kobolt in Tina Smrekar.

Michael Backmund

ROSTOCK REALITY REPORTS

German media performance in reporting on the G8 summit. Aspects of the political analysis of the DJU (German Journalist Union)' concerning journalistic misrepresentation of facts and misinformation

The dramaturgical introduction of the quotation differed greatly from article to article. In one instance a “speaker incited a militant scene” on the assembly stage. In another interpretation according to the police “only one of the 3,000 militants” climbed the stage, while elsewhere “militants” had to first conquer the stage before a journalistic showdown finally occurred. Some reporters simply wanted “a man talking over a megaphone” or “through the speakers,” while the others were seen by the author of the quotation as the simple abrupt shout of an “autonomist” or simply “militants.” The journalists’ imagination obviously showed no limits that day, 2 July 2007. Whether quoted in the *Bild*, *Ostsee Zeitung*, *Spiegel-Online*, *Stern*, *Münchner Abendzeitung* or *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, the following quote was identical: “We must bring the war into our demonstrations.” This sentence was in the words of many journalists regarded as the ultimate proof of the Black Bloc autonomists’ readiness for violence, of a so far unknown brutality or simply for the “battle of Rostock” – such article titles were written in big letters above articles about international demonstrations against the approaching G-8 summit in Heiligendamm. Journalists used the quotation in this form in their news items and in specially marked features and covered topics as well as in their own stories and reports. This sensitive quotation was informatively incorporated into reporting and published as journalistic research without adding any agency abbreviations or references. Following the first few uses, the quotation was reproduced worldwide in millions of copies, often with the additional remark: “We will achieve nothing by peaceful means.” Information from which the two cited sentences arose was of course, concealed to the reader. Not all the journalists who used the quotation did prior research into the quality of the source so as to suggest closeness when covering an event and the greatest possible authenticity and credibility of their work – a common practice in many cases of daily reporting. Not one journalist could have heard the quotation themselves, neither the reporter on the spot nor report and feature writers in editorial offices worldwide.

Why? The quotation contains a crucial journalistic mistake: it was made up. Only those connected to the stigma attached to this in fact false reporting, refused to let the matter rest. This is not the only example of professional media failure in Rostock and Heiligendamm. Only a minimal expenditure of time would have been required for the Rostock journalists to find out that same evening that the quotation had never existed. Also the question of whose mouth the invented sentence was placed in and what the person at the closing manifestation said in reality would have needed no complex investigative research. This could have also been verified by all those journalists or editors who were not present at the event – and should actually be a requirement in reporting anyway. On Saturday evening within a matter of hours, amateur videos and reports covering the closing manifestation had been placed on the Internet, launching the dubious quotation into the realms of the imaginations of its authors, or better said “its author.” The German news agency (DPA) quoted the eminent Philippine sociologist and university professor Walden Bello on Saturday at 6.41 p.m. during the report as follows: “Around 5.30 p.m. the first cars were set on fire, meanwhile near the crime scene on the manifestation stage a speaker incited the militants with clear words: ‘We must bring the war into the demonstrations. We will achieve nothing by peaceful means.’”

Those standing in the square at the precise time the situation escalated listening to Walter Bello, Alternative Nobel prizewinner and famous globalization critic could hear his words loud and clear. In his speech, in which he dealt with the war in Iraq and the political discourse of the Gleneagles G8 Summit in 2005, Bello said “Two years ago they said: Do not bring war into this discussion. Concentrate on fighting poverty. But we say: We have to bring war into this meeting – because without peace there can be no justice.” How this sentence (which has been known in the English language for years): “Without peace there can be no justice” was transformed into the German sentence: “We will achieve nothing by peaceful means,” has to this day remained a secret of the German press agency (DPA). In the same evening, a further correspondence report by the German press agency (DPA) from Rostock said: “One of the speakers called for ‘war’ against the police over a loudspeaker.” In reports, online chronicles and coverage of the escalation of violence, DPA’s misinformation was often embellished even more. An example from the *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*: “We must bring the war into this demonstration!” a young man shouts into a megaphone, but at the front there are still colourful characters of the left wing on the stage,

swearing on the *other world* and speaking of *a lovely event*.” Reporters from the *Ostsee Zeitung* described the scene in an even more dramatic way: “Militants have apparently already conquered the stage. ‘Let’s remember Genoa ...’, the words sound full of hate,” so as to literally supplement both sentences regarding false coverage of the German press agency (DPA).

The event lasted three long days and quite a few more reports were presented, adjusted and enriched with yet new statements, attempting to present the invented sentences as a translation error made by the organizers, allowing the German press agency (DPA) to finally clarify its own quotation: “This formulation was neither expressed in the English original contribution nor in its German translation.” Any correction or apology from all those media, which had not doubted the credibility of the German press agency (DPA) source and without implying clear journalistic guidelines had freely used the quote, was merely an exception. Instead of using the misinterpretation and the structure of its millionfold copy as an opportunity to have a political discussion about the consequences of such acts, the DPA as the author even today refuses to take an active part in clarifying the matter. The agency in fact decided not to inform its clients of the structural grounds of why its work had been defective. The DPA editor in chief declined to participate in a state committee discussion organized by dju about the quality of G-8 media coverage in Heiligendamm. At the end of the event, one of the leading DPA correspondents who had attended the event stated that DPA does not make its internal analysis of the causes and errors public. And that was not all – the German press agency (DPA) has to this day denied the University of Applied Sciences in Bremen the use of the agency’s media coverage of the G-8 summit for their research work on media in politics. The misleading information given by the DPA can regrettably not be evaluated as an unfortunate and one-time mishap at a G-8 summit. The errors and the media’s failure in reality reflect a structural problem: this regards real working conditions in publishing houses and news offices because of significant staff reductions as well as the erosion of the self-image of professional journalism when dealing with or managing sources of information from the authorities. In Rostock and Heiligen-damm, this resulted in subsequent slips by agencies and journalists. An author of numerous false facts was also the press office of the “Kavala” police special intervention forces in Rostock; its work was analyzed in the recently printed publication of the Association of Republican Lawyers – Republikanische Anwältinnen- und Anwältevereins (RAV) – which labelled the presented “Hateful picture of demonstrators” as an intentional misinformation policy.²

Misleading police reports, which incidentally present a serious violation of the obligation of executive administrative bodies to distribute truthful and real information, can acquire significance when taken at face value by news agencies such as DPA and the like without further research. In this way most television and radio broadcasts, and newspapers and magazines spoke of at least 25 alleged seriously injured individuals and a total of 433 injured police officers without any listing of sources.

Shortly after the conflicts at the end of the manifestation in the Rostock port, the numbers of seriously injured officers in the *Kavala* press office news ticker (used in numerous media, usually presented on the television screen, providing continuous updates of the hottest short news stories of the moment throughout the world) shot up within a few hours from over 100 to 433. The *Kavala* press office included all officers who had called in unfit for duty for more than a day. Interior Minister Caffier had to admit in the ministry’s statement weeks later on June 28, 2007, that the registration of seriously injured individuals proved to be difficult due to the events and the necessary resting phase, and that the number of injured officers had to be corrected in the period that followed. In press statements on June 2 and 3, 2007, these difficulties were of course not mentioned. False numbers appeared again in almost all media reports and have remained present until today on the web sites of eminent publishing houses. Only after the inquiry of a *junge Welt* journalist was it proven after a few days that only two officers had been treated at hospitals. Thus, only two cases could be characterized as involving “severely injured” persons. This led to the expansion of identical (erroneous) facts about the events at the Baltic Sea to the consumers of various media products. The especially large numbers of injured individuals in combination with the extent of damage and non-existence of journalistic research of more important information proved the complex situation to be merely a media created scenario of the “Rostock riots.” Everyone who opened a newspaper on Sunday or Monday in Munich, Bern or Wanne-Eickel had to assume that Rostock was in ruins. The trail of destruction was discussed as if it were a warlike situation. The next day, large material damage was described with over a million euros of damage on Rostock city facilities alone, with private properties and companies not yet included. Ultimately, the actual damage was officially declared to be only several ten thousands of euros.

Medial unification in the media coverage from June 2, 2007, was especially a consequence of the reduction of sources. An invented quotation, false data on severely injured police officers and other false facts reinforced the media’s representation of “the battle of Rostock.” A few days after the demonstration, a nearly uniform explanation and evaluation of the events took root in the media worldwide. Topographic classification of the situation could have thereby provided a considerably more realistic evaluation. The conflicts between the demonstrators and the police took place within a relatively small area of the port on the edge of the manifestation spot, at a junction and a road section, about 250m in length. Because of the massive water cannon intervention used to disperse the demonstrators, the dispute spread to the main manifestation area for a short time. Nevertheless, only a small number of media representatives could answer the journalistic question concerning the location of the event. Many media consumers worldwide, who otherwise had no other sources at their disposal, were thus left with the impression that half of Rostock was in flames, especially because in most news reports “cars” burned and the number “two” was generally omitted. Only a few exceptions regarding the reproduction of the misleading information can be found in which reporters wrote refined articles based on good journalistic research and a variety of sources. Lack of research combined with a non-critical acceptance of presented facts and opinions of state authorities were decisive for the situation. Anonymous representatives of the police department were reported as being “key witnesses” in many cases of false information – which also gives rise to concern.

² Republican Lawyers Association/ Legal Team “Feindbild Demonstrant – Polizeigewalt, Militäreinsatz, Medienmanipulation. Der 8-Gipfel aus Sicht des Anwaltlichen Notdienstes” ISBN 78-33-935936-668-22 (Publisher Assoziation A, December 2007).

A real gap exists in reports regarding the massive use of various gases and sprays by special police units: CN gas (in water from the water can-nons), pepper spray (made from chilli extracts, with spray cans often used in arrests) and CS nerve/tear gas (stored in cartridges and aimed at targets). CS gas is a nerve/tear gas, which is fatal especially for allergic people or it quickly leads to anaphylactic shock. Use of this nerve gas is prohibited by international law, however it is still being used by police officers against domestic political opponents in many countries. For example, two citizens of the Upper Palatinate region were killed this way during a 1986 Wackersdorf protest against a planned nuclear re-processing plant. Hundreds of patients complained of discomfort such as rash, breathing difficulties, vertigo and nervous disorders weeks and months later. Not a single article has been found so far, which for example presents a critical view of tear gas and CS gas use against thousands of people in Rostock. If this situation and its political implications were investigated, the reason for the large number of injured people among officers and demonstrators would probably be properly assessed. The majority of officers were injured as a consequence of “friendly fire” by tear gas and CS gas according to the statements of paramedics. On Wednesday, June 6, 2007, when the long-planned “Block G8” blockage began, police reports circulating in the official press centre in Kühlungs-born reported that there were armed disguised individuals throwing stones in the midst of the blockade. This news was broadcasted by the Kavala press office and presented in a news ticker around 6.16 p.m. Under the headline, the broadcasted press release PM 80 from 6 June literally stated: “Participants of the forbidden event are arming themselves at the ‘Galopprennbahn’ checkpoint: the Rostock police department’s Special Structural Organization (BAO) Kavala reported that participants of the group at the ‘Galopprennbahn’ checkpoint are changing their clothes, disguising themselves and are wearing protective clothing, arming themselves with Molotov cocktails and stones.” The report goes on: “Police Chief Knut Abramowski appealed urgently to all individuals at the “Galopprennbahn” checkpoint to isolate themselves from the offenders. ‘Do not protect or guard the offenders’, said Abramowski.”

What political conclusions should we draw from these journalistic mistakes? How could it come to such a mass reproduction of false reports and why didn’t the media pursue their role of independent control over state power and use their own research methods in a critical way? An important aspect is the media’s opportunism in dealing with the question of violence; the media arbitrarily used classification and separation of “perpetrators of violence” and “peaceful demonstrators,” with this remaining the predominant media pivot in estimating the protest. Non-critical adoption of stereotypes by a large majority of the media already before the summit in June and labelling of the summit’s opponents intensified even more through raids against the protest movement pursuant to Article 129a³ of the German Criminal Code in May. This significantly elevated the journalists’ readiness to report uncritically, also during the days of the summit, and to utilize unverified information from the police. In the course of this, the head of Kavala warned against “perpetrators of violence” months before the summit in numerous inter-views, meetings in the Rostock region and in brochures, explaining that blockades would not be tolerated. He always identified blockades with violence. During preparations for the summit protests, the blockades of the access path to the Heiligendamm G8 summit, which were publicly announced as legitimate forms of civil disobedience, were characterized by the police as a “criminal offence,” and would be prohibited by all possible means. When the demonstration ban inside the red zone at the security fence could not be enforced despite massive police intervention against around ten thousand demonstrators and the blockades could not be eliminated “by constitutional means,” as Police Chief Abramowski put it in his speech at the closing press conference, the concept of “peaceful images” prevailed within the police and media. This new media interpretation of the events does not match the facts: most severe injuries among the demonstrators occurred on Thursday during the removal of blockades at the west gate of the security fence. Already on Wednesday during the demonstrator march into the forbidden red zone, massive police interventions with gas, water cannons, pepper sprays and bats were carried out, which lead to numerous injuries among demonstrators. However, almost nobody reported on these “non-peaceful images.”

Journalistic work, which observes both professional criteria for research as well as a clear distinction between reporting and commentary, precisely from the view of presenting facts, should present facts which may initially appear to be contradictory. Since the days of National Socialist Germany in contrast to the Anglo-Saxon journalistic tradition, the culture of reporting, which depicts reality bluntly, and separates from it its own evaluation and political position determination as well as comments making it comprehensible to the reader, has been non-existent in German media. The trend of event, scandal or entertainment journalism makes complex situations personal in order to get high circulation figures and ratings, cuts them out and takes them out of context, also helping to make mixture of reporting and comments even more dominant. In preemptive obedience to state authorities, there is an increasing tendency of the German media to not treat certain persons or groups, who allegedly break democratic discourse rules made by the government, as serious dialog partners according to objective and impartial journalistic research and reporting criteria. Precisely the fact of how quickly “perpetrators of violence” can become “peaceful blockaders” and the other way round, should urge journalists not to use the question of criminal law as a rule for the general exclusion of persons or stigmatization of social contradictions. This is all the more true, because state authorities themselves played a key role in propagating false information and with state authorities themselves creating the starting point for factual disinformation to the large share of Rostock and Heiligendamm public. Construction of the temporary intervention centre Kavala, made especially for the summit, was not until today the subject of intensive coverage. It was indicated beforehand that a special structure was created or better, a centre of power in the grey area, which escaped parliament control and (still) imperative separation - according to the constitution - of the police, armed forces and intelligence service. The separation order was one of the crucial consequences of National Socialism and represents in the current issues on security, one of the most sensitive media political discussions between freedom of press and state supervision. Thus for example, the German armed forces intervention was already announced in the run-up to the summit and

³ Section 129a of the German Criminal Code was introduced in the German law in 1976. On it is based the prohibition of “founding of, membership in or support of a terrorist organization” Section 129a investigations are typically used by the federal police to gather information about activists and protesters, as well as to intimidate them.

¹ See additional information about political analysis of the dju at www.dju-bayern.de

visible to everyone in the days before the official commencement with the presence of armoured vehicles, soldiers and tornados.⁴Nevertheless, only non-commercial media research and parliamentary investigation led to the problematic constitutional question of the dubious use of tornados and armoured scout vehicles against demonstrators and more intensive coverage thereof. Previous analysis of reporting also refers to the meaning of the existence of the non-commercial media centres and protest movement bloggers. These projects are not bound to independence, and yet precisely these projects were able to pub-

4 German fighting military aircrafts.

HIPERKOMODIFIKACIJA/ HYPERCOMMODIFICATION

Jasmina Založnik KO BI SODOBNA UMETNOST ŽE ENKRAT ODVRGLA TANČICO. PA JE NE...

Delo z naslovom SODOBNA UMETNOST: ZELO KRATEK UVOD Julia-na Stallabrassa (v originalu *Contemporary Art: A Very short Introduc-tion*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 2006) je za bralca Reartikulacije ponovitev in obnova že predelanih razprav o sodobni umetnosti, za širšo javnost pa predstavlja vpogled v polje sodobne umetnosti in njeno mesto znotraj neoliberalizma. Julian Stallabrass (pisec, fotograf in predavatelj na Courtauld Institute of Art, London) se tako za razliko od opredelitve sodobne umetnosti in posveča-nju raznolikim umetniškim praksam loti strukture sistema sodobne umetnosti in njegove neposredne vpetosti v svet ekonomije in po-litike. Stallabrass pokaže, da svet umetnosti ni tako nedolžen, kot se morda zdi na prvi pogled. Nasprotno, tako kot drugi sistemi je tudi ta vpet v nenasičen kapitalistični stroj. Temelji njegovih analiz slonijo na Marxu, Adornu, Hardtu in Negriju, Guattariju ... za katere meni, da razkrivajo sistemsko raven delovanja družbenega ustroja, v katerem živimo.

Julian Stallabrass detektira in analizira spremembe znotraj umetni-škega sistema in se neposredno navezuje na zgodovinske spremem-be. Odločilno vlogo v strukturnih spremembah sodobne umetnosti pripisuje nastanku neoliberalizma v 70. letih in njegovim razponom v 80. letih 20. stoletja, ki so vezani na proces globalizacije. S precizno kritičnostjo napada vpliv Amerike na globalni umetniški sistem in poudarja občasno neloგიčne povezave, ki jih svet umetnosti sproža in prikriva. Avtor meni, da se sodobna umetnost še vedno opisuje z visokoletečimi frazami; poudarjeno mističnostjo in svobodo kot svet, ki je zunaj birokratskega, instrumentalnega življenja in komplemen-tarne množične kulture (Stallabrass, 2007: 10). Na ta način poskuša ubežati dejanskemu stanju stvari; svoji suženjski odvisnosti od poli-tične volje (moči) nosilcev oblasti in zakonitosti trga.

Po Stallabrassovem mnenju je umetnost zaslepljena z idealistično predstavo o sebi oziroma o tem, kar bi rada bila. Premalo kritična je, da bi opazila, da je tudi polje umetnosti vselej odvisno od širšega družbenega in socialnega okolja, v katerem nastaja. Umetnost se tako kot druga področja transformira glede na podobe in usmeritve sveta. Danes nastopa kot nova sila v propagiranju vrednot neolibera-lizma (denarja, moči, navidezne svobode). Za razliko od nekdanjega kozmopolitizma je danes poudarek na njeni hibridnosti in raznoli-kosti, občasno celo na njeni uporniški gesti, ki niso več istorodne z načeli in principi, ki naj bi jim deklarirano sledili. Maskiranje stanja z navidezno odprtostjo, medkulturnostjo, iskanjem inovativnosti je postalo splošno stanje, ki skozi rožnata očala blaži dejansko stanje novih oblik totalitarizma (denimo regulacije pretoka imigrantov ali povečanega nadzora pretoka ljudi nasploh). Zelo hitro postane jas-no, da je uveljavljena sodobna umetnost prej nasprotna oznakam, ki jih ji pripisujemo, oziroma so načela in pravila, ki smo jih sodob-ni umetnosti pripisovali, samo navidezna; umetnost je postala le »brand« (znamka), zaradi česar njeno sporočilo nima več možnosti, da pride do uporabnika. Namesto »svobode«, »ustvarjalnosti«, kritič-nosti in samokritičnosti v njej prepoznavamo preračunljivost, vojno za prevlado in moč ter še en model za ustvarjanje presežne vredno-sti. Ostale »frazе« o umetnosti pa so, kot rečeno, paralizirane in kot take vsebovane v temeljnih vrednotah sodobnih družb. Vsak sodob-ni posameznik je potemtakem že umetnik, kot namiguje Baudrillard (zapovedane so mu svoboda, ustvarjalnost in samoaktualizacija), vendar zgolj navidezno, le da se s tem onemogočijo oblike upora. Juliana Stallabrassa zato prebiram tudi skozi Baudrillardovo knjigo *Simulaker in simulacija* (1999).

Stallabrass se loti analize (strukture) sodobne umetnosti skozi šest poglavij oziroma šest tematskih sklopov, ki se medsebojno oplajajo in nadgrajujejo. S kritičnim vpogledom razkriva in se opredeljuje do problemskih sklopov, ki se jim sodobna umetnost izmika. To so: vprašanje svobode, novega svetovnega reda, potrošnje kulture, rabe in cene umetnosti, pravil, ki določajo sodobno umetnost, in protislovij v polju sodobne umetnosti. Znotraj le-teh *odpira in problematizira pojav bienalov, umetniških trendov, približevanja sodobne umetnosti množični kulturi, ločenosti umetnosti od političnih procesov, razvoja zvezdnštva in blagovnih znamk, značilnosti umetnosti in pisanja o njej, probleme financiranja in odvisnosti od privatnih podjetij in lobijev, ki podpirajo in vzpostavljajo sistem vizualne umetnosti*. Sodobna ume-tnost se pokaže kot zapleteno in pogosto kontradiktorno področje, ki v sebi združuje nasprotja, saj si na eni strani prizadeva za svobodo, na drugi strani pa klone pod pritiskom lobijev. Vendar ali ni takšen ves svet? Baudrillard pravi, da je navidezno protislovje temeljna zna-čilnost sodobne družbe. Nadzor in svoboda sta neke prepletena in medsebojno povezana. Svoboda je zapovedana, a nadzor ostaja. In nadzor je absoluten, še dodaja Baudrillard. Nadzor se preseli v po-sameznikovo notranjost. Gospodarja je sodobni posameznik vsrkal vase in pri tem smo postali (samo)hlapci oziroma (samo)sušnji. In to večji kot smo bili v preteklosti. Sodobni posameznik je podrejen si-mulirani Volji, volji vladajoče Ideologije. Posamezniku je zapovedana svoboda, samoaktualizacija in samouresničevanje, saj prav to potre-buje neoliberalna ekonomija, v kateri korporacije ponujajo potrošni-ku vse. Svoboden svet se namreč pokaže danes za najbolj učinko-

lish well-researched and verifiable facts in the time of the summit and thereby unmask false information given by the commercial media.

Particularly the variable quality of journalistic education should also be discussed as a consequence resulting from mistakes of G-8 reporting. Nowadays, the established practice of quality in eminent journalism schools and colleges plays barely any role in the education of many publishing houses and their own work methods. From the point of view of journalistic research criteria as well as independent and critical re-ported, the concrete failure of the German media can by all means be discussed and analyzed as an expression of the structural problems of

vitega, saj je v njem mogoče realizirati, izdelati, prodati in potrošiti prav vse. In prav na tej predpostavki o posameznikovi svobodi sloni pogled, ki pravi, da se skozi svobodo skuša onemogočati prav upor proti sistemu (Rutar, 2007: 109). Skozi Baudrillardovo pesimistično napoved lahko pojasnimo Stallabrassov dvom o možnosti obstoja »dobre«, radikalne, etične in »nepotrošniške« umetnosti. Stallab-rasove teze o pomanjkanju stališč znotraj umetniških projektov, samo-cenzuri piscev (kritikov) in »neučinkovitosti« sodobne umetnosti, ki se ne glede na svoj namen vse prehitro akumulira v kapitalistični ustroj, so vredne premisleka.

Drug problem, ki ga nakaže avtor, je vezan na ločenost umetnosti od drugih družbenih sistemov, predvsem političnih procesov, za-radi česar svojih idealov (v kolikor jih ima oz. v kolikor govorimo o aktivističnih umetniških delih) ni sposobna uresničiti (Stallabrass, 2007: 22). Povedano drugače, »umetnost kot ločena sfera (avtono-mija umetnosti), preprosto pomeni obdržati umetnost ločeno od moči odpora ter jo omejiti na to, da je zgolj vir (presežne) vrednosti, s katerim se zvodnik – kapital – zlahka preživlja« (Gržinič, 2005: 116) Še več, neoliberalizem kanibalistično požira tudi svoje lastne kritike in jih etablira na sebi všečen način. Herbert Marcuse označi polje neoliberalizma kot »trg, ki enako dobro vsrka umetnost, protiume-tnost in neumetnost, vse možne, nasprotujoče si sloge, šole in oblike, nudi 'udobno posodo, prijazno brezno', ki pogoltne radikalni impulz umetnosti, njen protest proti etablirani dejanskosti« (Marcuse, 1964: 101). V tem kontekstu se naslonimo na Michaela Hardta in Antonija Negrija in njuno delo *Imperij*. »Ideologija svetovnega trga je bila ve-dno protiumeteljiteni in protiesencialističen diskurz *par excellence*. Kroženje, mobilnost, raznolikost in mešanje so pogoji njene možno-sti. Trgovina povezuje razlike in več kot jih je, bolj veselo je! Zdi se, da se razlike (blaga, populacij, kultur in tako naprej) na svetovnem trgu, ki ničesar ne napada tako nasilno kot utrjene meje, neskončno množijo. S svojimi neskončnimi mnogoterostmi uniči vsako binarno delitev« (Hardt in Negri, 2003: 130).

»Ko se je postmoderna teorija spremenila iz opisa potencialne uto-pije ali distopije v suhoparni opis obstoječe realnosti, je izgubila svojo etično in kritično moč. V njenem okrnjenem stanju postane vpliv kupca osrednjega pomena za postmodernistične študije« (Stal-labrass, 2007: 130). Stallabrass pokaže, da je vzrok za takšen preobrat materialne narave (spremembe v produkcijskem sistemu), ki mu bo-dri trg proste trgovine, tehnološki napredek skupaj z razvojem infor-macijske tehnologije in pojav različnih oblik množične komunikacije. Globalizacija vzpostavi novo ideologijo, ki navidezno odpira, a hkrati še bolj zapira in primitivizira svoje poglede.

Knjiga Stallabrassa vsebuje ob strukturni analizi polja sodobne ume-tnosti slikovno gradivo in opise umetniških projektov, ki potrjujejo avtorjeva spoznanja ter napotke za nadaljnje branje in razumevanje sodobne umetnosti. Delo z impresivno karakterizacijo sodobne ume-tnosti in njene kontekstualizacije znotraj neoliberalističnih terminov ekonomske neenakosti, politika deregulacije in divje privatizacije ter potrošništva bralca spreminja v kritičnega potrošnika, ki prepozna-va značilnosti, stereotipne podobe in vzpostavlja kritičen odnos do umetniških stvaritev.

»Radikalna umetnost mora storiti več, kot samo govoriti o politiki; spremeniti mora lastni način produkcije, distribucije in predstavitev«, sodobna umetnost se mora odrešiti reprezentacije, 'kajti reprezenta-cija je dojeta kot tehnika nadzora', postopek, ki preči različne načine in modele, povezane z državnimi sistemi. Reprezentacija zagotavlja postopke kapitalistične akumulacije,' presežno vrednost za kapital« (Gržinič, 2005: 131). Kakšnemu cilju torej služi umetnost, etiki ali este-tiki? Skrajni čas je, da estetiko zamenja jasna etika, ki ne bo vključena samo v vsebino, temveč tudi v njeno formo.

Viri: Jean Baudrillard, *Simulaker in simulacija*, Študentska založba, Ljubljana 1999. Marina Gržinič Mauhler, »O repolitizaciji umetnosti skozi kontaminacijo«, v: *Filozofski vestnik*, letnik XXVI, št. 3, FI ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana 2005. Michael Hardt in Antonio Negri, *Imperij*, Študentska založba, Ljubljana 2003. Dušan Rutar, »Osvoboditev od osvobojenosti«, v: *EMZIN*, letnik XVII, št. 1-2, Ljubljana 2007. Julian Stallabrass, *Sodobna umetnost: zelo kratek uvod*, Krtina, Ljubljana 2007.

topical journalism. This concerns massive staff reductions and with it, a drastic decrease in working conditions in many publishing houses and news offices as well as the self-conception of professional journalism.

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Translated from German by Aida Lončarević.

Jasmina Založnik IF ONLY CONTEMPORARY ART LIFTED THE VEIL ONCE AND FOR ALL. BUT IT DOESN'T...

For the reader of the journal *Reartikulacija*, Julian Stallabrass's book *Con-temporary Art: A Very Short Introduction* (originally published in 2006 and the Slovenian translation in 2007) is a mere repetition and summary of an already extensive discussion on contemporary art. For the general public, meanwhile, it provides an insight into the field of contemporary art and the position it occupies within neoliberalism. Instead of defin-ing contemporary art and focusing on different art practices, Julian Stallabrass (writer, photographer and Senior Lecturer at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London) analyses the structure of the contemporary art system and its position in the sphere of politics and the economy. The author demonstrates that the art world is not as innocent as it might seem at first glance. On the contrary, like other systems, it is also an in-tegral part of a greedy capitalist structure. His analysis is based on Marx, Adorno, Hardt, Negri and Guattari who, in his opinion, lay bare the sys-tematic elements of the operation of the social structure we inhabit.

Julian Stallabrass detects and analyzes the changes occurring inside the art system, making direct connections with historical changes. Accord-ing to the author, the structural changes of contemporary art are due to the advent of neoliberalism in the 1970s and its spreading through-out the 1980s which can be linked to the process of globalisation. With precise criticism, the author attacks the US influence on the global art system and draws attention to connections triggered and veiled by the art world which are at times illogical. According to Stallabrass, contem-porary art is still described with high-flown phrases. Through accentu-ated mystification and freedom, the art world is seen as excluded from bureaucratic, instrumentalised life and mass culture (Stallabrass, 2007: 10) in order to avoid the real state of things, while being slavishly sub-ordinated to the political will of the authorities and to the laws of the market.

Stallabrass argues that art is blinded by an idealistic notion of what it is or what it would like to be. It is not critical enough to be able to notice that it is intrinsically dependent on the wider social environment in which it originates. Like other spheres of activity, art too is subject to changes in the forms and orientations of the general world. Today, art represents a new force in spreading the values of neoliberalism (money, power, apparent freedom). In contrast to the old cosmopolitanism, nowadays the stress lies in art's hybrid nature and diversity, at times even in its at-titude of resistance; the elements being no longer identifiable with the principles of art to which we were to adhere faithfully. The masking of the situation with apparent openness, interculturality and the search for innovation has become the general situation which is seen through rose-tinted spectacles to soften the reality of new forms of totalitarian-ism (e.g. regulation of the movement of migrants or a rigid control of the movement of people in general). It soon becomes clear that the contemporary art we have become used to is as likely as not the oppo-site of what it is declared to be, in other words the principles and norms that have been ascribed to art are only a façade; art has become a *brand*, which is why its message has no possibility of reaching the user. Instead of "freedom,""creativity," critical values and self-criticism, art has come to denote self-interest, war for hegemony and power, and to represent yet another model for producing surplus value. Other "phrases" relating to art are paralysed and as such are embedded in the fundamental values of contemporary society. As a result, each contemporary individual can be regarded as an artist, as Baudrillard alludes (an individual is obliged to be free, creative and achieve self-actualisation), however only seem-ingly, in order to prevent any form of resistance. Therefore, I also read Julian Stallabrass, with Baudrillard's book *Simulacra and Simulation* in mind (translated into English in 1994).

Stallabrass tackles the analysis of contemporary art (and its structure) through six chapters or six thematic groups which complement and upgrade each other. With critical insight, he expresses his view on prob-lematic issues, which are being avoided by contemporary art. Namely, the question of freedom, new world order, the consumption of culture, the uses and value of art, rules defining contemporary art and contradic-tions arising within the field of contemporary art. It is from within these contexts and notions that he *opens up and discusses the phenomenon of biennials, art trends, the merging of contemporary art and mass culture, seclusion of art from political processes, the development of star culture and trademarks, characteristics of art and literature on art, problems of financ-ing and dependence on private enterprises and lobbies that support and establish the system of visual arts*. Thus contemporary art reveals itself as a complex and often contradictory field which is full of contrasts: on the one hand it strives for freedom, and on the other it submits itself to the pressure of lobbies. But is not the whole world like that? According to Baudrillard, apparent contradiction is the fundamental characteristic of contemporary society. Control and freedom are somehow intertwined and interconnected. Freedom is compulsory yet control remains. And this control is absolute, argues Baudrillard. Control is interiorised by the individual. The master has been absorbed by the contemporary indi-vidual and we have become our own slaves – and to a greater extent than in the past. The contemporary individual is subordinated to the

simulated Will, to the will of the ruling Ideology. The individual must be free, must achieve self-actualisation and self-realisation, as this is precisely what is required by the neoliberal economy, in which business corporations provide all the consumer needs. Today, the free world displays itself as being the most effective, since it allows everything to be realised, produced, sold and consumed. It is upon this supposition of the individual's freedom (are we not living in a free world already, so why fight for it?) that resistance to the system is prevented (Rutar, 2007: 109). Stallabrass's doubt regarding the possibilities of "good", radical, ethical and "non-consumerist" art is based on Baudrillard's pessimistic announcement. Stallabrass's ideas about the lack of opinion within art projects, the self-censorship of writers (critics) and the "ineffectiveness" of contemporary art, which irrespective of its aim becomes too rapidly an object of the capitalistic system, are worthy of being discussed further.

Another problem to which the author draws attention are the concerns regarding the seclusion of art from other social systems, above all from political processes, the result of which is that art is not able to realise its own ideals (if it has any at all or if we speak about activist works of art) (Stallabrass, 2007: 22). To put it differently, "art as a separate sphere (the so-called autonomy of art) simply means keeping art separate from resistance powers, limiting it to a role as a mere source of (surplus) value, with which the pimp – capital – easily reproduces itself" (Gržinić, 2005: 116). Moreover, neoliberalism cannibalistically devours even its own critics and sets them up so they can suit the system best. Herbert Marcuse describes the sphere of neoliberalism as being "the market which absorbs equally well art, anti-art and non-art, all possible conflicting styles, schools, forms, provides 'a comfortable receptacle, a friendly abyss,' which swallows up the radical impact of art, its protest

against the established reality" (Marcuse, 1964: 101). I can quote what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri say in their book *Empire*: "The ideology of the world market has always been the anti-foundational and anti-essentialist discourse *par excellence*. Circulation, mobility, diversity, and mixture are its very conditions of possibility. Trade brings differences together and the more the merrier! Differences (of commodities, populations, cultures, and so forth) seem to multiply infinitely in the world market, which attacks nothing more violently than fixed boundaries: it overwhelms any binary divisions with its infinite multiplicity" (Hardt and Negri, English original: 150).

"Postmodern theory itself, as it moved from an account of a potential utopia or dystopia to a flat description of an existing reality, lost its critical and ethical force. In its reduced state, consumerism and the supposed empowerment of the shopper were central to postmodernism's disquisitions" (Stallabrass, 2007: 130). Stallabrass shows that the cause of such an about-turn is of a material nature (changes in the production system) and is fostered by the free market, technological development alongside the development of information technology as well as the incidence of different forms of mass communication. Globalisation involves the establishment of a new ideology that seemingly opens up, and at the same time further restricts and primitivises its own views.

Besides a structural analysis of contemporary art, Stallabrass's book also includes photographs and descriptions of art projects, which confirm the author's findings and instructions for further reading and understanding of contemporary art. With an impressive characterization of contemporary art and its contextualisation within neoliberalist terms of economic inequalities, the politics of deregulation, wild privatisation and consumerism, the book changes the viewer into a critical consum-

TEORIJA IN PRAKSA/ THEORY AND PRACTICE

Maja Delak DRAGE DRAGE – REVIZIJA (ZAPIS PROCESA NASTAJANJA PREDSTAVE)

V pričujočem zapisu bom govorila o nastanku predstave *Drage drage*, ki je bila premierno uprizorjena na Festivalu Mesto žensk oktobra 2007. Predstavila bom glavne motivatorje in materiale, ki so vzpostavili proces. Izpostavila bom vprašanja, ki so se zastavila na pričetku procesa, kaj je sam proces stimuliralo in obračalo v nove smeri in kako so se posamični vnosi realizirali v predstavi. Zame se je proces pričel na eni strani z željo, da v letu 2007 pripravim skupinski projekt, na drugi strani pa s povabilom takratne programske in organizacijske vodje Festivala Mesto Žensk Sabine Potočki, da premiero uprizorim na festivalu, ki je bil tematsko opredeljen. Predlagana tema – humor, mi je izziv, saj sem vedno menila, da so moje predstave humorne, a moram priznati, da se je večkrat zgodilo, da so bile bolj humorne meni kot drugim. Situacija je sovpadla z mojim branjem knjige avtorice Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick *Dotik čustev: afekt, pedagogika, performativnost*. Avtorica v enem od esejev interpretira pisanja psihologa Silvana S. Tomkinsa, katerega življenjsko delo je bilo posvečeno raziskovanju afektov. Njene interpretacije so mojo pozornost usmerile na branje Tomkinsovega dela *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, predvsem dela o negativnih afektih. Ob Tomkinsovem primeru »Usta, ki sesajo, ne morejo jokati« sem pričela razmišljati o tem, da si v predstavi želim govoriti o položaju sodobnega plesa v Sloveniji. To razmišljanje je povezano tudi z mojo osebno zgodovino koreografije. Na kratko jo bom orisala.

Moje prvo samostojno koreografsko delo je nastalo leta 1995 in do leta 2005 so bila vsa moja dela producirana v Zavodu EN-KNAP. Poleg tega sem najprej sama, kasneje pa v sodelovanju z Malo Kline vzpostavljala pedagoške in založniške aktivnosti tega zavoda. V letu 2005 se je programska politika Zavoda EN-KNAP spremenila in v njej ni bilo več prostora za več avtorjev samostojnih poti. Tako sem bila potisnjena v iskanje drugačne rešitve in posledično v vzpostavitev ter delovanje v novem zavodu. Prevzela sem obstoječi, vendar nedelujoči zavod, ga preimenovala v Zavod Emanat in s pogodbo prenesla svoje aktivnosti v ta zavod. Izkazalo se je, da se zavod zato, ker več let ni bil financiran s strani Mestne občine Ljubljana (takšen pogoj je bil prvič v razpisne pogoje vključen lani, letos pa je tudi na projektnem razpisu Ministrstva za kulturo RS, in sicer na različnih razpisnih področjih), ne more prijavljati na programski razpis. Torej sem se kot ustvarjalka po desetletni karieri znašla v nezavidljivi produk-

cijski situaciji. Srečujem se z vsemi problemi, s katerimi se ustvarjalec na področju sodobnega plesa srečuje: s kroničnim pomanjkanjem vadbenih prostorov, z neustreznim mestom v nacionalni kulturni politiki, s problemom financiranja, ki se drobi med vedno več avtorjev, z delom na področju, ki je tudi v okviru umetnosti postavljeno kot manjvredno. Poleg tega način kriterijev izbire zavodov dopušča vedno manj sprememb. V zadnjih letih se pojavljajo očitki, da so plesalci sodobnega plesa produkt zahodnih izobraževalnih institucij in zato niso del vzhodnoevropske tradicije. Pri tem se pozabi ločiti obrtno znanje tehnike od avtorske estetike in stališča. To zadnje je gotovo del tradicije. Poleg tega, da je pri nas skoraj onemogočeno kontinuirano delovanje, je hkrati napadena tudi tradicija sodobnega plesa v nemogoči želji, da se jo konceptualizira v skladu z zahodnoevropsko in ameriško plesno zgodovino, pri čemer se ne upošteva revizije, ki jo je zgodovina sodobnega plesa že doživela. Verjamem, da mora konsistenten zapis zgodovine sodobnega plesa nastati pod drobnogledom zgodovinskih dejstev in iz neposrednih virov. Z lastnim vnaprej določenim pogledom zgodovinenja, ki se udejanji v hitrih zaključkih in primerjavah, se lahko zgodi ponovna potlačitev plesne umetnosti.

Tako je predstava *Drage drage* pričela nastajati na stičišču med orisano zgodovino produkcije lastnih predstav in povabila Mesta žensk za prikaz premierne predstave na temo humor. Povezava teh dveh ravni me je pripeljala v naslednje zaključke:

- o teh temah je nemogoče govoriti drugače kot skozi humor, saj je to edini način, s katerim se lahko spoprimem z žalostnim stanjem;
- želim si zavzeti vlogo otroka iz *Cesarjevih novih oblačil* in povedati dejstvo, da je »cesar gol«;
- želim delati s sodelavci, ki jih podobna tema zanima in to želijo raziskati.

V nadaljevanju revizije se bom posvetila besedilom, ki smo jih v procesu nastanka predstave *Drage drage* uporabile. Preden jih navedem, bi želela poudariti, da so imela besedila v procesu različne funkcije in različna branja: določena besedila so odpirala terminologijo za postopke, ki smo jih vzpostavljale, nekatera besedila so bila inspirativna ravno zaradi artikulacije določenega pojma in s tem polja, ki nas je zanimalo v drugem mediju, nekatera besedila so nosila vsebinsko in pomensko strukturo za samo predstavo. Termin POLJE je zame z različnimi besedili in predhodno izbranimi motivacijami zamejen mentalni prostor, v katerem se odvija proces. Zavestno smo se izogibale ukvarjanju in preizpraševanju stališč avtorjev, saj smo jih komentirale v drugačnem jeziku – jeziku odra. Navajam prvo besedilo Katje Praznik za zbornik *Sodobne scenske umetnosti* (2006), v katerem je vzpostavila zanimivo tezo, da so na področju slovenskega

er who is able to identify characteristics and stereotypical images, and to assume a critical attitude to works of art.

"Radical art must transcend merely talking about politics; it must change its own way of production, distribution and presentation." Contemporary art must free itself from representation, for 'representation is understood to be the means of control,' a process that traverses different methods and models associated with state systems. Representation provides 'procedures of capitalist accumulation' and surplus value for capital" (Gržinić; 2005: 131). What goals does art serve? It is high time for aesthetics to be replaced by a clear ethics, not appertaining only to its content, but also to its form.

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sodobnega plesa večinoma dejavne avtorice in da je tudi položaj slovenskega sodobnega plesa v Sloveniji možno primerjati s položajem ženske v patriarhalni družbi. Drugo besedilo, ki me je močno inspiriralo, je bilo branje Baudrillardovega teksta »*Ekliptika spola*«. Njegove precizne artikulacije sem obrnila v teme, ki me zanimajo znotraj sodobnega plesa. S Baudrillardovimi pojmi, ki sem jih uporabila kot v kemijskem eksperimentu, sem dobila definicije s področja plesa in njegovega stanja pri nas. Navajam dva primera te diverzije:

- Nevarnost za sodobni ples v Sloveniji (namesto: Nevarnost spolne revolucije za ženskost... (Baudrillard, 1990: 130)) je v tem, da se ga skuša zapreti v edino strukturo (in dodam: nevladne organizacije), v kateri je obsojen bodisi na negativno diskriminacijo, kadar je struktura močna, ali na nepomemben uspeh, kadar je struktura šibka (*Ibid.*). - Kaj sodobni ples (namesto ženske) v svojem gibanju za pravice postavlja nasproti falokratični strukturi? Avtonomijo, razliko, specifičnost želje in užitka, neko drugo rabo svojega telesa, besedo, pisavo – nikoli zapeljevanja. Sramujejo se ga (ustvarjalci sodobnega plesa), kot da bi šlo za nekakšno izumetničeno režijo njihovega telesa, za usodo vazalstva in prostitucije (*Ibid.*).

Nadalje so me zanimali naslednji izrazi, ki jih Baudrillard izpostavi v »*Ekliptiki spola*«: igra, izzivi, dualni odnosi in strategije videzov (*Ibid.*).

K sodelovanju sem kot dramaturginjo povabila Katjo Praznik in že spomladi 2007 sva na osnovi zgornjih predpostavk pričeli vzpostavljati ključne teme, ki smo jih želele odpreti skozi proces. Naj naštejemo teme: prostori (tematizacija samega prostora uprizoritve PTL, tudi mentalni prostori ustvarjanja), zgodovina (osveščenost zgodovine lastnega področja), hierarhije ustvarjalnosti (tako znotraj procesa kot znotraj sodobnega plesa in njegovega financiranja, trženja, pojavljanja), užitek v plesu/gibu (vezano na Tomkinsovo artikulacijo kontinuuma sram-užitek), sodobno plesno telo (kakšno mora biti telo), izobraževanje in oblike plesa. Na osnovi teh predpostavk sem se odločila, da bom k projektu povabila zgolj ustvarjalke, ki pretežno delujejo v slovenskem prostoru (Natašo Živkovič, Urško Vohar, Barbaro Krajnc, Jeleno Rusjan, Vlasto Veselko). Vedno znova rada delam z ustvarjalkami in ustvarjalci, s katerimi sem že sodelovala, saj nas povezujejo skupne izkušnje, osebne zgodovine in izkušnja lastnega kulturnega prostora. Z njimi sem pričela raziskovati tri ravni:

- metodološko, ki jo natančno opredeli naslednji citat: »Art is concerned with HOW and not with WHAT, not with literal content, but with the performance of the factual content. The performance – how it is done – that is the content of the art.« (Josef in Anni Albers); vsebinsko, kjer sem se v prvem delu procesa navezala na Tomkinsovo delo, vezano na SRAM. Tomkins (1963) pravi, da je sram afekt žalitve, ponižanja, sramotenja, poraza, transgresije prestopka in alienacije. Pravi, da teror govori o smrti in življenju, stiska naredi svet dolino solz. Teror in stiska sta povzročena od zunaj in prodreta v človekov ego. Zato sram udari najgloblje v človekovo srce in je kot tak notranje mučenje, bolezen duše. Ne glede na način ponižanja se osramočeni počuti gol, poražen, odtujen, s pomanjkanjem dostojanstva in vrednosti, odzivi pa se udejanjajo s spuščanjem glave, oči, zgornjega dela telesa, s pokrivanjem obraza in nenazadnje v sramu pred lastnim telesom in posledično v pokrivanju telesa pred pogledom drugega. Vse skupaj lahko dopolnim še z eno avtorjevo trditvijo: sram deluje šele, ko sta užitek in veselje vzpostavljena in nanju deluje kot inhibitor; formalno vprašanje forme se je oblikovalo postopoma, v procesu. Predpostavka je bila, da bo struktura predstave solo in ker je bilo na odru sedem performerk, sva se s Katjo Praznik odločili za soobstoj sedmih tako izrazitih solov, da bi lahko obstajali tudi sami. V predstavi iščemo način, kako narediti ta soobstoj mogoč. Kot je Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (2007) utemeljila predlog ZRAVEN: »Zraven je zanimiv predlog tudi zato, ker ni nič kaj prida dualistčen; številni elementi so lahko razvrščeni drug ob drugem, vendar ne v neskončnem obsegu. Zraven obsega širok razpon želja, istovetenja, predstavljanja, odklanjanja, vzporejanja, razločevanja, rivalstva, naslanjanja, obračanja, posnemanja, umikanja, privlačevanja, napadanja, izkrivljanja ter drugih širokih odnosov« (Sedgwick, 2003: 8).

Po dobrih treh tednih raziskovanja načina uprizoritve vsebin smo pripravile veliko materiala, tako gibalnega kot igralskega. Razvile smo nove in zanimive postopke strukturiranja individualnega materiala kot scene, vtisa/odtisa, feedback sistema, kombiniranja taktik, manipulacij videnegea ... Hkrati je Katja Praznik intervjuvala izvajalke gle-



Maja Delak, *Drage drage*, 2007, produkcija: Zavod EMANAT, foto: Tone Stojko.

Maja Delak, *Expensive Darlings*, 2007, production: Institute EMANAT, foto: Tone Stojko.

de zgoraj opisanih tem. Vse smo morale opredeliti svoje poznavanje zgodovine sodobnega plesa, svoj položaj ustvarjalke v tem prostoru in se s tem vzpostaviti kot posameznice, delujoče znotraj svojih osebnih in družbeno potrjenih vrednot in norm. Mislim, da nas je proces preplaval in nas popolnoma zatopil v problematiko našega ustvarjalnega obstoja. Nastalo je ogromno materiala, ki z mojim predhodnim koreografskim delovanjem ni bil neposredno povezan. Načrtno sem se izogibala postopkom, ki sem jih razvila prej, in kadar nisem vedela, kako naprej, nevednosti nisem zakrila s kakim preverjenim adutom iz rokava, pač pa sem odprla dejanskost – nevednost. To je bilo izjemno naporno. Edino znanje, ki mi je bilo še vedno v pomoč, je bilo uravnavanje in koordiniranje skupinske dinamike.

Ob tej veliki produktivnosti skupine in nenazadnje tudi sodelavcev za glasbo (Gipo Gurrado in Attila Faravelli) in scenografijo (Marko Peljhan), sem se po treh tednih dela ob izjemnem materialu zavedla, da bom v primeru, da začnem sopostavljati trenutni material zelo hitro zapadla v svoje običajne koreografske postopke in morda obstala pri »hermetičnosti sodobnega plesa«. Trlo me je vprašanje, kako še jasneje preartikulirati teme in kako najti soobstoje besedila, ki je bilo mestoma tudi eksplicitno in neposredno, s scenskimi akcijami in gibanjem na odru. Ob ponovnem preizpraševanju, kako prikazati ta marginalni položaj sodobnega plesa in njegovih ustvarjalk, sem naletela na opis in razmislek o lezbični performativni umetnosti Tatjane Greif, ki pravi, da je gledišče te umetnosti gledišče s pozicije družbene obrobnosti. V besedilu je navedla kup identitet, estetik in žanrov, ki so nam bili v nadaljevanju procesa v pomoč. Izbor likov in žanrov, ki smo jih ustvarjalke izbrale (Vampirela, famme fatale, drag king, nevesta, kabaret, vilinka, Barbarella, toreadorka ...) so v nadaljevanju dobile svoj razvoj. Vsak od izbranih likov je bil prefiltriran najprej z izborom posamezne ustvarjalke, saj je izbrala tistega, s katerim se je najlažje poistovetila. V nadaljevanju smo vcepile tako svoje materiale, ki so bili scenski, kot tudi besedila, ki so nastajala v intervjujih in so bila nadgrajena v improvizacijah. Vsak od likov je vzpostavil razvoj, ki je v svoji želji in v svoji dejanskosti verjeten, vendar nemogoč in zato tragikomičen. V nadaljevanju je sopostavljanje sedmih solov (tudi prevajalka Katja Kosi je v predstavo vključena kot performerka) potrdilo začetno tezo, da je mogoče ob upoštevanju aksiomov ZRAVEN narediti strukturo, ki dovoljuje hkratno bivanje sedmih solov, ki so tako konsistentni in stabilni, da lahko obstajajo tudi sami. To smo tudi izvedle. Brez glasbene spremljave, z minimalno kostumov in rekvizitov je vsaka performerka izvedla svoj del predstave. Ogled posamičnih delov je trajal skoraj sedem ur (trajanje predstave je 55 minut) in vsak del je ostal močen v vseh svojih komponentah (trajanju, koncentraciji, izvedbi aktivnih in pasivnih delov). Scenografska zamisel Marka Peljhana, da celoten prostor opremimo z nadzornim sistemom, je skonceptualizirala prostor dogodka, ki postane hkrati prostor zajetja nemogoče situacije sodobnega plesa. Na odru se dogaja barvito življenje, ki je obkroženo z neprizanesljivim pogledom kamere, ki producira sploščeno črno-belo sliko stanja. Kot tak se mi zdi močna metafora sistema, ki te ne podpira, temveč zgolj nadzira.

Viri:
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Maja Delak je koreografinja in plesalka, ki živi v Ljubljani. Študirala je sodobni ples na CNDC L'Esquisse v Angersu v Franciji in sodelovala na številnih plesnih seminarjih, ki so jih vodili mednarodno uveljavljeni pedagogi.

Maja Delak EXPESIVE DARLINGS – A REVISION (A NOTE ON THE CREATIVE PROCESS OF THE PERFORMANCE)

This article documents the creation of the dance performance *Drage drage*, which was premiered at Ljubljana's City of Women Festival in October 2007. The article will present the main motivators of the production and the materials used in the process. The article will also expose the main questions examined at the beginning of the process, the stimuli for it, as well as new directions emerging throughout the creation and the application of inputs in the performance as a whole. The process on the one hand started off with my desire to devise a group project in 2007, and on the other hand with an invitation from Sabina Potočki, the then programme and project manager of the City of Women Festival in Ljubljana, to premiere the piece as part of the event. The suggested theme of the Festival was humour and that presented a great challenge for me as I always believed that my pieces were humorous. However, I must admit that I often found them funnier than most people. At the time, I was also reading *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. The book features an essay in which the author interprets the writings of American psychologist Silvan S. Tomkins who devoted his life to exploring affects. Sedgwick's interpretations inspired me to read Tomkins' *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness*, focusing particularly on the negative affects. Tomkins' example of "a mouth that sucks cannot cry" made me think that I want my piece to talk about the status of contemporary dance in Slovenia. This decision was also connected to my personal history as a choreographer which I will summarize in the following paragraphs.

My first independent choreographic work dates back to 1995. Up until 2005, all my pieces were produced within the EN-KNAP Company. Along with developing my work, I established, initially by myself and later in collaboration with Mala Kline, the educational and publishing activities of the Group. Following changes to the programme scheme of the EN-KNAP Group in 2005, there was no longer enough room for several artists to simultaneously work within the Company. I was thus forced to find a new solution: I took over the existing, inactive Institute, renamed it Emanat Institute, and officially transferred all of my own

work to it by means of a contract. Due to the fact that the newly established institute had not been financially supported by the City of Ljubljana for a period of several years, it was not eligible to apply for any funding (this condition was introduced in tenders for the first time last year, and subsequently also featured in the tenders of the Slovenian Ministry of Culture in different areas). This meant that after a 10 year career, I found myself in an unenviable position in terms of production of new work. I encounter problems common to all contemporary dance artists in Slovenia: a chronic shortage of rehearsal space, no affirmation in the national culture scheme, no increase in the amount of funding at disposal for an ever growing number of artists. In addition, even within the field of art, contemporary dance is perceived as being of little value. What is more, the criteria of selection for those who apply for funding allow fewer and fewer changes. In the last few years, we are witness to reproaches that contemporary dancers are a product of western educational institutions and thus are not part of the eastern European tradition. Such reproaches neglect the difference between technique and a personal aesthetic and artistic standpoint. The latter is undoubtedly a part of a tradition. Therefore, not only is the continuity of contemporary dance in Slovenia rendered impossible, but the tradition of contemporary dance is also under attack in an unrealistic desire to conceptualize it in accordance with western European and American dance history, whereby there is no acknowledgment of the revisions which the history of contemporary dance has already experienced. I believe that a consistent record of the history of contemporary dance must come into existence in the light of historical facts and direct sources. With a biased, predetermined approach to historicizing, amounting to rapid conclusions and comparisons, we may face a renewed oppression of the art of dance.

The piece *Drage drage* was developed at the point of intersection of my career in production, which was as described above, and the invitation from the City of Women Festival to create a new performance on the topic of humour. Bringing these two levels together brought me to the following conclusions:

1. These themes cannot be expressed otherwise than through humour as this is the only way for me to tackle the sad existing state of affairs.
2. I want to take on the role of the child in *The Emperor's New Clothes* and state the fact that the "Emperor is naked".
3. I want to work with artists who are interested in the same topic and want to explore it.

In the remainder of this review I will focus on the texts which were used in the creation of the performance *Drage drage*. Before mentioning them, I would like to emphasize that the texts served different functions: they provided the terminology for the emerging processes, and some of them were an inspiration through their articulation of certain notions, and therefore also certain fields of research that interested us, but were part of a different medium. Some texts also supported the structure in terms of content and meaning of the piece itself. I understand the term FIELD as a mental space confined by various texts and other motivators in which the process of creating a performance takes place. We consciously avoided dealing with and over-examining the viewpoints of authors, as we commented on them in a different language – the language of the stage. I would like to start by mentioning here the contribution by Katja Praznik to the publication *Sodobne scenske umetnosti* (2006), where she made an interesting assertion that the Slovenian contemporary dance scene is mainly populated by female authors and thus the position of contemporary dance in the country is comparable to the position of women in a patriarchal society. Another text that thoroughly inspired me was Baudrillard's *The Ecliptic of Sex*, the precise articulations of which I tailored into themes that interested me within contemporary dance. By making use of Baudrillard's terminology as if conducting a scientific experiment, I acquired definitions of the artistic field of dance and the state it was in, in our country. Two examples of this diversion are:

- The trap of contemporary dance in Slovenia (instead of: "The trap of the sexual revolution" (Baudrillard, 1990: 130) for women...) "is that it [is being confined] to this sole structure (and I add: of a non-governmental organisation) condemning it to a negative discrimination when the structure is strong, or a derisory triumph in a weakened structure" (*Ibid.*).

- What does contemporary dance (instead of: "women") "contest in [its] opposition to the phallogocratic structure? An autonomy, a difference, a specificity of desire and pleasure, another use of the body, a speech, a writing – *but never seduction*. [The creators of contemporary dance] are ashamed of seduction as an artificial staging of their bodies, as a destiny of bondage and prostitution." (*Ibid.*). I was also interested in the terminology occurring in Baudrillard's *The Ecliptic of Sex*: "play, challenge, dual [*duelles*] relations, strategy of appearances" (*Ibid.*).

I asked Katja Praznik to work on the piece as dramaturg and, on the basis of the above suppositions, I began to establish with her the key topics that we wanted to tackle as early as spring 2007. These included: space (the thematisation of the actual performance space – the performance and rehearsal space of the Ljubljana Dance Theatre – PTL), history (a conscious production of the history of one's own field), hierarchies of creativity (within the creative process of individual performances as well as within contemporary dance in general), questions to do with funding, marketing, touring the piece, pleasure in dance/movement (linked to Tomkins' articulation of the continuum shame – joy), the body in contemporary dance (what kind of a body should this be?), education and forms of dance. These suppositions lead to me to invite to the project only those artists who mainly work in Slovenia (Nataša Živkovič, Urška Vohar, Barbara Kranjc, Jelena Rusjan, Vlasta Veselko). I always like to work with artists who I have had the opportunity to collaborate with in the past as we share a common experience, personal histories, and the experience of the cultural space. I started off the process by devising three levels:

- the methodological level which may be accurately defined with the following quote by Josef and Anni Albers: "Art is concerned with HOW and not with WHAT, not with literal content, but with the performance of the factual content. The performance – how it is done – that is the content of the art" (Josef and Anni Albers).
- the level of content, where I initially focused on Tomkins' writings on SHAME. He claims that shame is the affect of offence, humiliation, insult, defeat, transgression, violation and alienation, and adds that terror speaks of death and life and that distress makes the world a valley of tears. The terror and the distress are caused from the outside and make their way into a person's ego. That is why shame has a deep effect on a person and thus becomes inner torture, the disease of the soul. Regard-

less of the manner of humiliation, the humiliated feels naked, defeated, alienated and also feels a lack of dignity and value. In physicality this is manifested by lowering the head, the eyes, the upper part of the body, by covering the face and also by being ashamed of one's own body and consequently covering the body from other people. Another of Tomkins' assertions can be added: shame functions only when pleasure and joy have been established, and shame acts upon them as an inhibitor. - the level of form: the question of form developed through the process: the assumption was that the structure of the piece would be based on a *solo*. As there were seven performers involved, Katja Praznik and I decided for a co-existence of seven *solos* which would be so expressive that they could also exist on their own. However, we tried to find ways in which their co-existence side by side would be possible. As Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick proposed: "BESIDE is an interesting proposition also because there is nothing dualistic about it; a number of elements may lie alongside one another, though not an infinity of them. [...] *Beside* comprises a wide range of desiring, identifying, representing, repelling, paralleling, differentiating, rivalling, leaning, twisting, mimicking, withdrawing, attracting, warping, and other relations" (Sedgwick, 2003: 8).

After a good three weeks of researching a way of staging the content, we generated much acting as well as movement material. We developed new and interesting procedures of structuring individual material as scenes, imprint/print, a system of feedback, combining tactics, manipulations of the seen. At the same time Katja as the dramaturg also interviewed performers on all the above-mentioned topics. Each performer had to define her own knowledge of the history of contemporary dance, their place as artist in this space and this medium, the choices they make in their work and thereby establish themselves as an individual operating within their own personal and socially accepted values and norms. This process provided a good deal of material which was not directly linked to my previous choreographic work. I consciously avoided any methods I had developed beforehand and when I did not know how to proceed, I never covered up my doubts by using proven solutions, but opened myself up to this reality by naming it ignorance. This was very laborious. The only knowledge I could still use was managing and co-ordinating group dynamics.

After generating excellent material as well in collaboration with scenographer Marko Peljhan and musicians Gipo Gurrado and Attila Faravelli, I realized that if I started to assemble parallel material, I would very quickly fall into my usual choreographic methods and potentially come to a halt at the "hermetic nature of contemporary dance." The question that haunted me was how to articulate the themes more clearly and how to incorporate the text which, here and there, was explicitly and directly related to action and movement on stage. After another re-examination of how to show the marginal status of contemporary dance and female dancers, I came across a remark about the lesbian performing arts by Tatjana Grief. She asserts that the viewpoint of lesbian art is the viewpoint from the edge of society. Grief recognizes a series of identities, aesthetics and genres, which were of use to us in the further development of the piece. The characters and genres that performers chose – Vampirella, femme fatale, drag king, the bride, cabaret, the fairy, Barbarella, the bullfighter... were explored in the continuation of the process. Each of the chosen characters was filtered through the decision of individual performers, as all of them chose the character they could most easily relate to. In the next phase we applied our own material, as well as texts that emerged from interviews and were upgraded through improvisation, onto the construction of the character. Each of the characters displayed a development which was believable in its existence and desire, yet impossible and thus tragicomical. The juxtaposition of the seven individual solos (translator Katja Kosi also performs in the piece) confirmed the initial assumption that taking into consideration the axioms of BESIDE enables a structure which allows for their co-existence as they are consistent and stable to the extent that they can also subsist on their own. And this was how the piece was performed. Each of the seven artists performed without musical accompaniment and with minimal requirements for costumes and props. Looking at each individual's material took almost seven hours (the performance lasts 55 minutes) and all characters maintained a performative charge in all constituent components (duration, concentration, the execution of active and passive passages). Peljhan's idea of installing a system of monitoring cameras throughout the whole space created the concept for the performance space, as it also became a space expressing the impossible state of affairs for contemporary dance. The stage is home to a colourful life surrounded by the relentless gaze of the camera which produces a flat black and white image of the situation. As such, it is a powerful metaphor for the system that does not support you but only controls you.

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Maja Delak is a choreographer and dancer that lives in Ljubljana. She studied contemporary dance at CNDC L'Esquisse in Angers, France, and at numerous dance seminars, lead by internationally renowned pedagogues.

Translated from Slovenian by Jernej Možic.

NOVI FAŠIZMI/NEW FASCISMS

Šefik Šeki Tatlić UŽITEK V TRAVMI PRIMER HRVAŠKE – DRUŽBENA PERVERZIJA V PROCESU TRANZICIJE

Dva najpopularnejša hrvaška dnevna časopisa, *Jutarnji list* in *Večernji list*, sta novega hrvaškega obrambnega ministra Branka Vukelića obtožila, da se je – tako je bilo zapisano – v začetku osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja v Jugoslaviji izdajal za Jugoslovana. *Jutarnji list* je to »vest« objavil na naslovnici s kričečim naslovom »Izdajal se za Jugoslovana« in »škandalozno« trditev podprl z nerazložno kopijo, iz katere je bilo razvidno, da je Vukelić pod rubriko »narodnost« res zapisal »Jugoslovan«. Minister se je na »obtožbe« odzval s patetičnim opravičevanjem, da je vendarle Hrvat, s čimer je želel predvsem ugajati bralcem časopisa. Pravzaprav je bil to tipičen odziv, ki ga je na Hrvaškem pričakovati, ko nekoga obtožijo, da je »nečiste« krvi, kar v etničnem smislu (odvisno od trenutnega političnega trenda) lahko pomeni, da je Slovenec, Srb, Bošnjak ali Žid ali pa da je oseba »zagrešila« kaj drugega – recimo da je ateist, homoseksualec ali socialist. Hrvaška je odličen primer za analizo prevladujočih oblik družbene organiziranosti v državah, ki pristopajo k veliki evroatlantski skupnosti, hkrati pa kaže podobnosti s prevladujočimi družbenimi oblikami v državah prvega kapitalističnega sveta. Te hrvaške poteze lahko prenesemo tudi na druge države, kot so denimo Slovenija, Bosna in Hercegovina, Srbija ter Črna gora, ki jih lahko označimo za kolonije kapitala na ozemlju nekdanje Jugoslavije. Medtem ko je celo Hrvaška demokratična zveza (HDZ) pod pritiskom EU svojo nacionalistično retoriko zamaskirala s pravljicami o »evropski prihodnosti«, *Jutarnji list* kotira visoko s promocijo nacionalistično-šovinističnih »vrednot«. Kolikor mi je znano, je edini, ki se je na dane okoliščine ustrezno odzval, *Feral Tribune*, eden redkih kritičnih in alternativnih tiskov sedanjega hrvaškega vladajočega medijskega ustroja.

Ljubi svojega sovražnika

Marina Gržinić v svoji zadnji študiji o tipologijah sodobnih družbenih totalitarizmov z naslovom *From transitional postsocialist spaces to neoliberal global capitalism*, objavljeni v *Third Text*, London, 2007, navaja štiri možne tipe le-teh. Celotna ideja klasifikacije temelji na možnosti povezav družbenih odnosov med arhaičnimi, dogmatskimi in nacionalistično-šovinističnimi oblikami sodobnih družbenih totalitarizmov, ki so nekakšni »poskusi družbene ureditve« v sodobnih neoliberalnih kapitalističnih državah. Prvi tip je vsekakor tisti, ki ga avtorica, sklicujoč se na Henryja Kripsa, označi kot histerični izključujoči neoliberalni populistični tip. Kakor je zapisala Gržinićeva: »Histerični izključujoči neoliberalni populistični tip, ki ga opišem sklicujoč se na teoretika Henryja Kripsa, je tisti, ki 'sovražnika', ki ga prepozna kot trdovratni virus ali izmeček znotraj družbenega telesa, izključi. Za razliko od klasičnega liberalnega populističnega predstavlja neoliberalni tip 'ljudstva', ki se oblikujejo tako, da prepoznavao 'sovražnika' ne s pomočjo procesa javne razprave, pač pa preprosto s postopkom izključitve le-tega. Histerična oblika institucionalne totalizacije družbenega, kot zatrdi Krips, vzdržuje agresiven diskurz o družbeni razslojenosti, ki družbe ne deli na dva antagonistična pola v strogem pomenu besede (kakor je denimo značilno za klasični liberalni kapitalizem), pač pa naravnost nasprotno v neoliberalnem izključujočem tipu ta drugi pol preprosto sploh ne obstaja; je tako rekoč prek postopka izključitve izničen« (Gržinić, nav. delo). Kako lahko ta tip institucionalizacije populistično-družbenega imenujemo »histerični izključujoči« tip? Kot pojasni Gržinićeva, histerični klinični subjekt prepozna svoj simptom in ga postavi v središče pozornosti, ampak zanj noče prevzeti odgovornosti.

Tudi za Hrvaško velja, da njena prevladujoča večina prepozna svoj simptom (kdo je »sovražnik«, je odvisno od danega trenutka; zdaj so to Srbi, drugič Židje ali Bošnjaki ali Slovenci, tretjič homoseksualci ...), a zavrača odgovornost, da bi »pojasnila« odnos do lastne identitete, ki pogojuje in narekuje odnos do Drugega, torej do samega sebe. A prav to ji omogoča, da prepozna »sovražnika« v vsaki poljubni grožnji, ki naj bi po vsej sili skušala uničiti »ljudstvo in državo«. Prevladujoči občutek ali moralna večina je prav ime za tiste subjekte, ki utemeljujejo lastno etiko na neki dogmi, ideologiji ali mitomaniji in ne na človekoljubju utemeljenih vrednotah. To seveda pomeni, da so drugi ljudje dojeti kot grožnja, kar se kaže v ponovni aktualizaciji ksenofobičnih in/ali šovinističnih pogledov, s katerimi se prevladujoča večina lahko poistoveti. Zato si je treba nenehno izmišljati figuro sovražnika, ki predstavlja nenehno virtualno grožnjo; ta figura mora delovati kot nezavedno, kot kohezivni element družbenega telesa, ki na podlagi tako ustvarjene figure sovražnika utemeljuje svoj dogmatizem. Nenehno ustvarjanje namišljenega sovražnika le-temu onemogoča, da bi se »približal« poglavitnemu družbenemu telesu. To neoliberalno stališče je *sine qua non* današnje globalne družbene občutljivosti, ki je v resnici arhaična občutljivost; te se polašča kapital tudi tako, da današnjo globalno družbo prevleče s plastjo sodobnosti in ji tako omogoči zamaskirati prav svojo arhaično strukturo. Na Hrvaškem se ta tip družbenega ustroja med drugim »odraža« v odgovorih na nedavno zastavljeno vprašanje v eni izmed javnomnenjskih raziskav, ki se je glasilo: »Komu Hrvatje najbolj zaupajo in kdo je najmanj podkupljen?« Večinski odgovor je bil »vojska in Cerkev«. Ali obstaja še kakšen boljši primer izključujočih se institucij, kot sta vojska in Cerkev, ali še bolj dogmatičnih, kot je Cerkev sama? Kot trdi Gržinićeva, neoliberalni izključujoči tip pravzaprav ne upošteva drugega pola, saj je ta izničen prek izključitve. Potemtakem tak tip družbene totalnosti relativizira vsako prakso znotraj sebe, Drugega pa s procesom izničenja ne le izključi iz biološkega življenja, pač pa ga oropa vsakršnega dostojanstva. Ta tip družbene totalnosti ne prepozna lastnega simptoma kot simptom, ampak v njem vidi potrditev lastne patološkosti, ki jo ne nazadnje še promovira kot nacionalno identiteto Hrvaške. Na Hrvaškem, denimo, je vsem poznan primer Viceja Vukojevića, ki so ga žrtve mučenja, posilstva in trpinčenja v koncentracijskih taboriščih, ustanovljenih na t. i. hrvaških paradržavnih ozemljih v Bosni in Hercegovini za bošnjaške Muslimane, obtožile. Kljub obtožbam je Vukojević na Hrvaškem še do nedavnega opravljal visoke sodniške funkcije. V sodniškem kontekstu je ta tip družbene totalnosti ali telesa (po Kripsu in Gržinićevi) takšen, da mladega državljana, ki poseduje 20 gramov marihuane, kaznuje z dvema in pol

letoma zopora, medtem ko (katoliški) duhovnik, ki je obsojen pedofilije, dobi le leto ali dve pogojne kazni, v tem času pa lahko mirno opravlja svoj duhovniški poklic.

Na vsakodnevni politični ravni se ta totalnost kaže v humanistični retoriki, ki si jo polašča državni aparat (kot sam pravi le zato, da bi zaščitil državljane, sanje o vstopu v EU ali strateške cilje). Ta vladajoči razred torej uresničuje nacionalistično-(šovinistične) težnje pri vzpenjanju na oblast in sistematično »ropa in prodaja« Hrvaško le zato, da ohrani svoj položaj na oblasti. Ta izključujoči tip družbene totalnosti si vse od osamosvojitve Hrvaške prizadeva – in to, žal, zelo uspešno –, da bi bil danes glavni družbeni imperativ ali najpomembnejši »poklic« na Hrvaškem biti »pravi Hrvat«.

Perverzna enakost

Gržinićeva kot drugega izmed štirih tipov družbene totalnosti navaja »perverzni vključujoči totalizacijski družbeni tip«, ki »razkazuje vse lastnosti kapitalistične države blaginje in se nazven predstavlja s 'socialističnim' obrazom. Po Kripsu, ki ta družbeni model vpelje, je kapitalistična država blaginje tista, ki legitimira »sovražnika« in z njim zapolni prazen kotiček vzpostavljenega reda« (Gržinić, nav. delo). To je tisti tip – kot še naprej razvija Gržinićeva, sicer nanašajoč se na globalni svet in ne posebej na Hrvaško –, ki se, splošno rečeno, postavi v bran človekovim pravicam, ampak samo v okviru matrice globalnega kapitalizma in v skladu s lokalnimi strukturami, ki to totalnost tudi oblikujejo. Ta tip totalizacijskega družbenega telesa se loteva problematik človekovih pravic, hkrati pa zanemarja politični in ekonomski kontekst, ki te problematike pravzaprav povzroča. Deluje namreč tako, da napada kršitve človekovih pravic na lokalni ravni, a se nikdar ne loti popolne pripravljenosti in doveztnosti posamičnega državnega oblastniškega ustroja, da podpre in sprejme nekatere strateške rešitve združene Evrope, ki vodijo v nadaljnje kršitve človekovih pravic in v še večjo razredno neenakost. Ta tip se ukvarja predvsem s kritiko delovnih metod različnih nevladnih organizacij, ki se odzivajo na lokalne politične probleme, nikoli pa ne postavi pod vprašaj fašistične »občutljivosti«, ki jo gojijo prav te politične strukture, kakor tudi ne konteksta EU kot širšega okvira opisanega družbenega telesa. Na Hrvaškem se vse to kaže v odzivu nevladnega sektorja na nekatere politične predloge skrajno desničarskih strank, kot so recimo Hrvaška demokratična zveza in podobne, ki so hotele ukiniti nekatere radijske postaje (npr. zagrebški Radio 101), in v dejstvu, da se isti nevladni sektor v preteklosti ni odzval na koncentracijska taborišča v Bosni in Hercegovini, ki so jih posredno podpirale prav te stranke. Kontekst, ki ga ta družbeni tip ne kritizira, je posledica sporazumnega dogovora o tem, da je ustanovitev nadnacionalnih organizacij, kot sta EU in NATO, mogoča samo v svobodni tržni ekonomiji globalnega kapitalizma. Politične stranke, ki spodbujajo nacionalizem in šovinizem, podpirajo ideologijo svobodnega trga in temu primerno prilagajajo svojo retoriko, saj se zavedajo, da bodo tako imele več koristi od svobodnega tržnega gospodarstva in integracije v nadnacionalne strukture (kot je EU), ki uvajajo prav te zahteve. Na drugi strani pa je v poročilih vodilnih medijev, ki se promovirajo za »neodvisne« in »demokratične«, zavedajoč se, da so v resnici odvisni od večinskega prebivalstva, še naprej opaziti spodbujanje šovinističnih čustev. Kot primer naj navedem hrvaško televizijo Nova TV, ki je novico o smrti nekega otroka na sarajevskem tramvaju naslovila z »Bošnjak ubil Hrvata!« Fašističnega in profitno usmerjenega poročanja nista ustavili niti dejstvi, da med posredovanjem te vesti ni bilo dokazov, da bi bil povod za umor nacionalna pripadnost in da je bila žrtev pravzaprav otrok staršev bošnjaške in hrvaške narodnosti. Mnogični mediji vse bolj spodbujajo senzacije, tako da med posameznimi etničnimi skupinami ustvarjajo nezaupanje, ki sproža prave medetnične konflikte. »Civilizacijske« vrednote vodilnih hrvaških medijev se dovolj jasno kažejo ob primerih, kot je na primer ta, da je novinarka Hloverka Novak-Srzić, trenutno glavna urednica informativnega programa na državni hrvaški televiziji, eno svojih televizijskih oddaj zaključila takole: »Vesel dan protifašizma vsem, ki ga proslavljajo« (http://www.h-alter.org/tekst/profesionalne-s-prisavlja/6579#hot). Medtem ko so hrvaške nacionalistične stranke (ki so srbski šovinizem izkoristile proti Hrvatom, da bi spodbudile hrvaški šovinizem proti Srbom in si s tem zagotovile svoj položaj) svojo predstavitev nekoliko spremenile, mainstreamovski mediji, zaslepljeni od logike kapitala, nenehno ustvarjajo pogoje, ki onemogočajo preprečevanje družbene patološkosti in hkrati omogočajo procese »pozitivne« segregacije. Perverzna vključujoča totalizacija – kot ugotavlja Gržinićeva – temelji na »popolni in sprijeni instrumentalizaciji, kjer subjekt, ki želi biti vključen, v skoraj mazohističnih odnosih obredno ponavlja, kar Drugi želi slišati« (Gržinić, nav. delo). Na vsakdanji politični ravni se ta perverzna vključujoča totalnost odraža tako, da Hrvaška – kakor tudi druge države nekdanje Jugoslavije – sploh nima svoje zunanje politike, pač pa le posnema trende in izvaja politične odločitve vladajočega razreda, ki ga postavlja Evropska unija, in sicer v skladu z načeli trga, kjer sta življenje in dostojanstvo odvisna od finančne moči ogrožene subjektivnosti.

Pomenski odklon

Kakor trdi Gržinićeva, bi bilo tema dvema tipoma družbene totalnosti treba dodati še tretjega, ki ga ni najti v okviru resne politične analize sodobnega globalnega kapitalizma – to je psihotični socialistični ali komunistični tip. V psihozi, kot ugotavlja Gržinićeva, je subjekt v odnosu z neobičajnim, bizarnim Drugim. Značilno za ta tip družbene totalnosti je, da simptom ne predstavlja subjekta, pač pa neobičajnega Drugega. S tem grotesknim, patološkim, neobičajnim Drugim se poistoveti član psihotične totalnosti, ta pa je pravzaprav nekakšen hibrid med histerično in perverzno totalnostjo. Psihotiku se zdi celotna simbolna struktura skorumpirana, zato se ne čuti dolžnega upoštevati univerzalnih etičnih vrednot ali se po njih ravnati. Zakaj pa naj etično ravna, ko pa je itak »vse« že skorumpirano? Ta subjektivnost argumentov, naravnanih proti psihotični totalnosti, ne razume kot kritiko, ki prihaja od neke samostojne ali humanistične pozicije, pač pa kot kritiko, ki prihaja od neke subjektivnosti, ki prav tako vidi v Drugem nekaj nenavadnega in neobičajnega. Ta totalnost na Hrvaškem na nek način združuje prejšnji dve totalnosti. Kadar nekdo kritizira fašistični šovinizem hrvaškega moralnega večinskega prebivalstva, ista subjektivnost ne razume vsebine kritike, pač pa poskuša to kritično pozicijo predstaviti kot del neke druge psihotične totalnosti in ne kot neko objektivno mnenje. Gre za totalitarističen retorični obrat, ki kritiko (ali bolje rečeno poglodbjeno analizo) patološkega stanja obrne v potrditev same patološkosti. Torej kadar nekdo na Hrvaškem javno poda kritiko delovanja prej omenjenih totalnosti, psihotični mehanizem hrvaškega javnega prostora naj-

prej »razišče« narodno pripadnost ali politično usmerjenost osebe, ki kritizira, in se odzove le na ta »odkritja«, namesto na vsebino kritike. Zato je biti Jugoslovan (kar je sicer zelo ohlapen in nejasen pojem) na Hrvaškem sramotno, nekaj najhujšega in nepredstavljivega, saj spominja na »jugoslovanski« pojem bratstva in enotnosti. Subjekt psihotične totalnosti fašističnega profila bratstvo in enotnost percipira le kot zadevo nekoga drugega (v hrvaškem primeru sta potemtakem bratstvo in enotnost zadeva »sovražnika«), še zlasti ker bratstvo in enotnost predvidevata možnost neke druge družbene totalnosti, ki v simbolnem ne prepozna patološkosti. A tudi srbska histerična in perverzna totalnost razume bratstvo in enotnost kot nekaj povsem nesprejemljivega, zato ne preseneča, da danes srbski pripadniki fašističnih strank iz druge svetovne vojne prejemajo enake pokojnine kot pripadniki protifašističnega gibanja.

V hrvaški tranzicijski družbi so tako aktivno prisotni vsi trije tipi družbenih struktur. Prvi, histerični ekskluzivni tip, ki »sovražnika« izključi, da bi s tem ohranil neko distanco in do njega vzpostavil odnos kot do kohezivnega tkiva svojih lastnih hrvaških predsodkov, se še ni jasno opredelil do hrvaških nacističnih kolaborantov iz druge svetovne vojne (do tako imenovanih ustašev ali nacističnih kvslingov); posledica tega so nenehna prizadevanja za rehabilitacijo in relativizacijo ustaških vojnih zločinov, medtem ko se konstitutivna vloga hrvaškega antifašističnega gibanja (brez katerega Hrvaška danes najverjetneje sploh ne bi obstajala) nenehno zanikuje. Drugi, perverzni vključujoči tip, ki se predstavlja pod krinko socialne občutljivosti ali »socialne države«, pa za to krinko, kakor trdi Gržinićeva, v resnici skriva težnjo po integraciji, ki sicer sprejme drugačnost (ne glede na pripadnost), ne pa izvirne raznolikosti. Ta tip predstavlja že integrirano drugačnost kot svoj lasten prispevek k biopolitični matrici liberalnega kapitalizma in se potemtakem lahko brani pred obtožbami, da je totalitarističen, z besedami: »Ne drži. Vsak lahko doseže to, kar sem jaz.« Pri tem »doseči vse« pomeni doseči tisto, kar kapitalistična matrica dovoli, zato ta tip drži »sovražnika« v položaju, v katerem je ta prisiljen potrditi socialni čut kapitalistične države, s tem pa predstavlja učinke kapitala kot relativne za polje družbenega. Za tretji, psihotični tip je Drugi (na način, kako je ta vpisan v simbolnem) bizarna, nenavadna, groteskna instanca, kar mu potemtakem dovoljuje, da iz vseh drugačnih zaznavnih oblik ustvari kulturno pogojenega Drugega. Ta stigmatizira vse druge opcije, ki ne upoštevajo nacionalistične vizije Hrvaške, in trdi, da so vse (!) druge evropske države nacionalistične, vse ostalo pa je le še ena laž o multikulturalnosti in/ali židovska zarota. Posledica nerazumevanja učinka različnih tipov totalnosti na medsebojno družbeno delovanje na Hrvaškem je nadvse nenavadno doje-manje družbene realnosti, kjer tudi homoseksualci kot samoumevne ciljne tarče histeričnega in psihotičnega tipa kažejo naklonjenost totalitarizmu, rekoč, da sta fašizem in antifašizem »stvar preteklosti« in da je treba pogled usmeriti v »prihodnost«. Ta analiza nas je pripe-ljala do zaključka, da nekdo, ki se kritično loti fašizma, lahko pričakuje, da ga bodo prav ti homoseksualci obtožili podpiranja Stalinovih gulagov. Potemtakem ni nujno, da je »gejevski totalitarist« zgolj del neke obskurne »trash« filmske pripovedi, pač pa je lahko zelo stvaren dejavnik znotraj neke družbene realnosti, kot je Hrvaška.

Demokratizacija patologije

Prvi, histerični tip se prelevi v perverzni tip natanko tedaj, ko se po-javi zunanji element – denimo, ko nadnacionalna organizacija (kot je EU) zahteva, da se na narodnosti temelječa ekskluzivnost spremeni v ekskluzivnost, ki temelji na tržni ali razredni osnovi. To je poveza-no z akumulacijskim procesom kapitala na tem ozemlju in sestoji iz procesa, ki na etničnosti temelječo homogenizacijo družbenih spre-memb spremeni v sistem vrednot globalnega svobodnega tržnega kapitalizma. V jugovzhodni Evropi se ta proces kaže kot spreminjanje procesa homogenizacije naroda, temelječega na etnično-histerič-ni matrici, ki je bil značilen za devetdeseta leta prejšnjega stoletja, v pospešeno homogenizacijo na osnovi sprejemanja »evropskih vrednot«; to pospešeno spremembo pa izvaja perverzni tip vladajočega razreda, da bi le tako obdržal v preteklosti »ukradeni denar«. Histerični izključujoči tip je potemtakem mazohistični tip družbene totalnosti, ki izključi tuja telesa (ne le etnično, pač pa tudi politično telo, ki nasprotuje tej totalnosti), s tem pa tudi možnost percepcije travme kot patološkega stanja. Ta tip si prizadeva povzdigniti travmo na raven narodne zavesti. Perverzni tip je sadistični tip, ki v nasprotju s histeričnim tipom vključi tuja telesa v svojo družbeno matrico, ampak le zato, da to tuje telo lahko ukroji po svoji meri. Ta tip se poslužuje racionalizacije družbene realnosti, ki je zgolj in samo del realnega kapitala. Vloga perverznega tipa je racionalizacija totalitar-ne, nadnacionalne in tržno pogojene segregacije. Skratka, gre zgolj za zamenjavo enega tipa patologije z drugim. Čeprav ima Hrvaška kot politični subjekt (ali morda tudi ne) antifašistične korenine, ki pa ji same po sebi ne zagotavljajo moderne suverenosti, in čeprav se manjšina oklepa neke humanistične miselnosti, ki bi lahko vodila v pristno protikapitalistično politiko, vse tri razsežnosti, ki so posledica brezpogojnega sprejetja kapitalizma, v osnovi delujejo proti politizaci-ji družbe. Pustijo namreč, da družba razpade v procesu lastne frag-mentacije, ki se v danem primeru deli tako etnično kot razredno.

Skratka, odnos med Evropsko unijo (kot nadnacionalne organizaci-je, ki štiti interese kapitala) in hrvaško prevladujočo senzibilnostjo lahko razumemo kot odnos med zlim psihiatrom in psihotičnim pacientom, pri čemer prvi svoje lastno družbeno tkivo, ki ga požira kapital, zdravi tako, da prepričuje drugega, naj bo zdrav toliko časa, kolikor bo njegov pacient. Ali povedano drugače, toliko časa, kolikor se bo takšna patološkost racionalizirala, častila in predstavljala kot avtentična kultura, bo travma, ki je posledica te patološkosti, še bolj prisotna, kapitalizem pa znova potrjen kot edini mogoči sistem. Užitek v travmi prek procesa njegove intenzifikacije monopolizira samo definicijo etičnega v kulturi, ki v tej travmi prepozna svojo osnov-no identifikacijsko matrico.

Viri: Marina Gržinić, »From Transitional Postsocialist Spaces to Neoliberal Global Capitalism«, v: Third text, letn. 21, št. 5, Routledge, London 2007, str. 563–675.

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Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

Šefik Šeki Tatlić ENJOYING TRAUMA SOCIAL PERVERSION IN THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION – THE CASE OF CROATIA

The two most popular Croatian daily newspapers, *Jutarnji list* and *Večernji list*, attacked the new Croatian Minister of Defense, Branko Vukelić, because he, as the newspapers found out, used to declare himself at the beginning of the 1980s in Yugoslavia... as Yugoslavian. *Jutarnji list* published those “news” on the front page with the screaming title “He declared himself as Yugoslavian,” illustrating this “shocking” claim with the picture of an obscure facsimile, where it was possible to see that Vukelić under “nationality” really did write “Yugoslavian.” Reactions by the minister to these “accusations” consisted of pathetic excuses that he was Croatian after all, etc; they consisted primarily in indulging the readers of the newspaper. His reaction was in fact a typical reaction in Croatia, in situations when somebody is “accused” of having “bad” blood, which can be (depending on the political trend) any blood that follows an ethnic sense from Slovenians, to Serbians, to Bosnians or Jews, or can be based on other “sins,” such as being atheist, homosexual, socialist... Croatia can be seen as a great subject of analysis of the dominant forms of organization of the social in countries that are to be integrated into the great Euro-Atlantic community, and it presents similarities to the dominant social forms within the countries of the First Worlds of capital as well. We can also extend these Croatian features onto other colonies of capital in the territory of ex-Yugoslavia like Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. In a situation when even the right-wing Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica), under pressure from the EU, has masked its nationalistic rhetoric with fairy-tales about a “European future,” *Jutarnji list* continues to keep their sales high by promoting chauvinist, nationalistic “values.” As far as I know, the only appropriate reaction to such a situation has come from the *Feral Tribune*, a newspaper that is seen as one of the few, rare critical and counter-media spaces in Croatia.

Love thine enemy

Marina Gržinić¹, in her recent analysis of the types of contemporary social totalitarianism, lists four possible types. The whole idea of this classification is to see the relations between archaic, dogmatic, nationalist/chauvinist domains that are “experiments of the social” within neoliberal capitalist societies today. The first type to be given credit, is what she, referring to Henry Krips, terms as the “hysterical exclusive neoliberal populist type.” As it is written by Gržinić: “The hysterical exclusive neoliberal populist type that I am drawing in reference to the theoretician Henry Krips, coincides with a type, in which ‘the enemy,’ identified with a persistent virus or *scum* within the social body, is *excluded*. The hysterical exclusive neoliberal populist type, in contrast with the classical liberal populist type, forms a ‘people’ by identifying an enemy that people can actively exclude rather than dispute.... Krips stated that the hysterical form of institutional totalization maintains an aggressive discourse of social division; the division in question does not divide society into two antagonistic camps in the strict sense (as was the case with classical liberal capitalism) as the neoliberal exclusive type, the other camp does not exist, so to speak; it is *nullified* through exclusion.”² Why call this type of society “hysteric exclusive”? As Gržinić explains, the subject of clinical hysteria recognizes its symptom, puts it at the center of attention, but does not take responsibility for it.

In the case of Croatia, its dominant majority³ similarly recognizes its symptom, (the declaration of who the enemy is, shifts according to the needs of the moment, it can be Serbians, Jews, Bosnians, Slovenians, homosexuals...), but refuses to take responsibility to “clear up” this relation towards its own identity that dictates a relation towards an other, therefore, itself. In such a way, it allows seeing the “enemy” in every possible threat, which works hard to destroy “the people and the state.” This of course implies other people as a threat, which results in a re-actualization of xenophobic/chauvinist concepts with which the dominant majority identifies with. Therefore, an enemy as a figure must be reinvented constantly as a kind of virtual threat; it must function as the unconscious, cohesive material for the social body, which procures meaning to its dogmatism, basing it on this enemy figure. The constant reinvention of an enemy prevents it, however, from coming “closer” to the main social body. This neo-liberal point of view is the sine qua non of today’s global social sensibility that bases its archaic sensibility – cannibalized by capital and covered with a glaze of modernity – in order to mask precisely its archaic structure. In Croatia, this type of the social is “reflected,” among other things, through the answers to recently popular public poll questions such as “To whom do Croatsians believe the most, and who is the least corrupted?” The answer in most cases is “the army and the church.” Do better examples of exclusive institutions than the army exist or even more dogmatic institutions than the church? As Gržinić claims, in the neoliberal exclusive type, the other camp does not exist, so to speak; it is *nullified* through exclusion. Therefore, this type of social totality makes every practice inside it relative and the *other* is not only excluded from a biological life, but this process of nullification completely takes the dignity from the *other* as well. This type of social totality does not recognize its symptom as a symptom, but as a confirmation of its pathology, and it even wants to promote this pathology on the level of national identity in Croatia. In Croatia, we have the well-known case of Vice Vukojević, for example, who was accused by victims for torture, rape and abuse in concentration camps for Bosnian Muslims, established in the so-called Croatian para-state territories within Bosnia and Herzegovina. Vukojević, nevertheless, served, until his retirement recently, in ultimately high positions within the Croatian judicial system. In the judicial context, this type of a social totality or body (according to Krips and Gržinić) is the type that ensures the following obscene situation that puts a young man for possession of 20 grams of marijuana in jail for two and half years, while a (Catholic) priest that was found guilty on charges of pedophilia gets a year or two on parole, and he is even permitted to work during that time...

In the daily political sense, this totality through the state apparatus, appropriates the humanist’s rhetoric (it is all for the protection of the

1 Marina Gržinić “From transitional post-socialist spaces to neoliberal global capitalism,” in *Third text*, vol. 21, issue 5, London 2007, pp. 563-675.

2 *Ibid*.

3 Dominant sentiment or moral majority is the name for those subjectivities that derive their ethical from a certain dogma, ideology or national mythomany, and not from humanist-based values.

citizens, towards the EU dream, strategic goals...); in this context, the ruling class is the class that has nationalist (chauvinist) predispositions for coming to power, and it systematically “plunders and sells” Croatia for nothing more than securing its remaining in power. In Croatia, since its independence, this exclusive type of social totality wishes, and unfortunately succeeded in high measure, to additionally impose that the prime social imperative or the most important “profession” today in Croatia, is to be a “real Croatian.”

Perverting equality

Gržinić presents, among the four types of social totality, as the second case, the “perverse inclusive totalizing social type.” This one, according to Gržinić, “displays all the characteristics of the capitalist welfare states of capitalism with a ‘socialist’ facade. According to Krips (who introduces this type), the capitalist welfare state legitimizes the enemy and pushes it into a niche within the established order.”⁴ This type, as Gržinić claims further (by referring to a global, not to a Croatian level), is the type that is most generally speaking as the one who stands in a position of defense of human rights, but only within the matrix of global capitalism, and in agreement to local structures, which construct this type of totality. This type of social totalizing body, addresses the issues of human rights, but at the same time does not address the political context that generates the mentioned issues. It functions by attacking the locally performed human rights violations, but will never address the inclination of the establishment towards certain EU strategic solutions that actually lead to further human rights violations and even more radical class inequalities. This type, primarily reflects the work methods of various non-governmental organizations that react against locally, politically structured problems, but that never question fascism’s “sensibilities” created by these same political structures nor the EU context as a larger framework of the described social body. In Croatia, this applies to reactions by the NGO sector against the Croatian Democratic Union and similar far right-wing parties, when they tried to shut down certain radio stations (such as Radio 101 Zagreb), but did not react in the past, against concentration camps in Bosnia and Herzegovina that were indirectly supported by these same parties. The context, which is not criticized within this type, is created by the implication that there is a consensual agreement that the only strategy possible leads towards establishing supranational organizations like the EU or NATO through the free market economy of global capitalism. The political parties who foster nationalism and chauvinism accept such ideology of the free market and change their political rhetoric. They are aware that they will profit more from the free-market economy and integration with supranational structures (such as the EU) that impose these same directions. On the other side, mainstream media, while showing how “independent” and democratic they are, and while knowing how dependent on the majority of the population they are as well, continue to foster chauvinist sentiments in their reports. As an example, I can just recall when the Croatian NOVA TV station presented the case of a child that had been killed in a tram in Sarajevo with the news headline: “A Croatian killed by a Bosnian!” Although, there had been no evidence at the time of the report that nationality was a motive for the attack, and that the child had been born to an inter-ethnic Bosnian-Croatian couple, did not prevent such fascist and profit-based reporting. This is becoming a rule in mass media reporting that supports sensationalism through developing an atmosphere of inter-ethnic distrust that only leads to “real” inter-ethnic conflicts. The “civilization” values that are dominant in Croatian mainstream media are illustrated well enough by the fact that journalist Hloverka Novak-Srzić, currently a head editor of an informative program on Croatian state TV, once concluded her television news report in the past, with the words “Happy anti-fascist day to all who celebrate it.”⁵ While Croatian nationalist parties (who have used Serbian chauvinism against the Croatsians to transform it in Croatian chauvinism toward the Serbians for the sake of keeping themselves in power) slightly changed their presentation, the mainstream media, listening only to the logic of capital, constantly assure conditions for social pathology to be left untouched, while they reaffirm processes of “positive” segregation as well. Gržinić notes that the basis of this perverse-inclusive totalization is “the complete and perverted instrumentalization, in which the subject who wants to be integrated repeats in a ritualized set of almost sadomasochistic relations, what the other wants to hear.”⁶ In daily political sense, this perverse-inclusive totality reflects itself in a way that shows that Croatia, as well as other ex-Yugoslavian countries, does not really have a foreign policy. It is nothing other than the policy of cloning trends, and the approval of conclusions and political directions of the ruling classes imposed by the European Union, where its principles are only conducted in relation to market laws, where life and dignity only depend on the financial power of the endangered subjectivity.

The deviation of meaning

As Gržinić suggests, a third should be added to these two types of social totality, and as she states, this one is out of the picture of serious political analyses of contemporary global capitalism – a psychotic of a socialist or communist type. In psychosis, as Gržinić notes, a subject is in relation with an irregular, bizarre other. For this type of social totality, it is characteristic that the symptom does not represent a subject, but the *other* that is irregular. The *other* as a grotesque, pathological, irregular entity is an ultimate identification reference for the “member” of the psychotic totality, who is in fact a kind of hybrid of the hysterical and perverse totalities. Hence, the whole symbolic structure for the psychotic is being perceived as corrupt, and as such, does not deserve effort to try and function in accordance with any universal ethical values. Why should he/she function ethically, when “everything” has already been “corrupted?” This subjectivity perceives every argument that criticizes the psychotic totality, not as a critique that is coming from some independent or humanist position, but as an argument that presumably comes from the subjectivity that ALSO perceives the other as bizarre and irregular. This totality in Croatia is a kind of *summa sumarum* of the previous two totalities. When one criticizes the fascist chauvinism of the Croatian moral majority, the same subjectivity will not perceive the content of the critique. It will only try to present the position of the critic as part of some other psychotic totality, not as an objective position in any case. This is some kind of totalitarian rhetorical twist, turning any critique (more precisely an insight) of the pathology into a confirmation of the pathology in itself. When somebody in Croatia publicly criticizes the effects of the previously mentioned totalities, the psychotic mechanism within the Croatian public space primarily and

4 Cf. Gržinić, “From Transitional Post Socialist Spaces to Neoliberal global Capitalism,” *op.cit*.
5 <http://www.h-alter.org/tekst/profesionalke-s-prisavlja/6579#hot>
6 Cf. Gržinić, *op.cit*.

solely “scans” the ethnic heritage/political inclinations of the person who performs the critique, and therefore, the responses focus on these points and not on the content of the critique. This is why being a Yugoslavian (which is a rough and unclear concept anyway) in Croatia is a stigma – the worst imaginable thing – because it associates with a “Yugoslavian” concept of brotherhood and unity. Brotherhood and unity is, from the subject of the psychotic totality of a fascist profile, perceived only as *somebody’s* (in the Croatian case, it is the “agenda” of an enemy), mostly because brotherhood and unity presume the possibility of some other social totality; the one that does not see the symbolic as pathological. In addition, Serbian hysteric and perverse totality also finds brotherhood and unity references as something utterly unacceptable, so it is no wonder that members of WW2 fascist formations receive the same pensions as the members of the anti-fascist movement in Serbia today...

Therefore, within Croatian transitional society, all three types of social structures are active. The first, the hysterical exclusive type, the one that excludes the enemy in order to keep it at some kind of distance, so as to relate to it as to a cohesive tissue of proper prejudices in Croatia, still has not cleared up its relationship towards WW2 Croatian Nazi-collaborators (the so-called Ustasha or Nazi quislings) for example, which as the result, is making a constant effort towards rehabilitating and making their crimes relative, while the constitutive role of the Croatian anti-fascist movement (without which today’s Croatia probably would not even exist) is constantly negated. The second, the perverse inclusive type, is the one that has the social face or the face of a “social state,” as stated by Gržinić, which is the face of integration that integrates the *otherness* (regardless of heritage), but does not accept authentic diversity. This type is the one that presents already integrated *otherness* as its contribution to the biopolitical matrix of liberal capitalism in order to be able to react to accusations of being totalitarian by saying “it is not true, anyone can achieve what I have achieved.” Where “everything achieved” is just that which is allowed by the capitalist matrix, hence this type is the one where an “enemy” is in a position that would confirm the social “sensibility” of the capitalist state and the one, which would make the effects of capital relative to a social. The third, the psychotic type – that sees the *other* (as inscribed into a symbolic order) as bizarre, irregular, grotesque – as the instance which allows the making of any other perceptions as the culturally predisposed *other*. This is the option that is inclined to stigmatize all options that do not agree with the nationalistic vision of Croatia, where they would say that all (!) other European countries are nationalistic and everything is just another multi-cultural lie and/or Jewish conspiracy. The misunderstanding of the impact of these different types on social interaction within Croatia, results in some really bizarre perception of social reality, in which even homosexuals, as the default targets of the hysterical and psychotic types, show affinity to backing up totalitarianism, saying that fascism and anti-fascism are “matters of the past”, and that one should turn “toward a future.” Analyzing this, we have a situation, where if one starts to criticize fascism, then he or she can expect to be accused of supporting Stalin’s gulags by the same homosexual individuals. Therefore, “a gay-totalitarian” does not have to just be a part of some obscure trash movie, but can be a very real factor inside certain social realities as is the case with Croatia.

The democratization of pathology

The domination of the first, hysterical type, changes into the domination of the perverse type exactly in a situation when an external element appears; let’s say when a supranational organization (like the EU) asks to change the nation-based exclusivity into market/class-based exclusivity. It is connected to the accumulative processes of capital within this territory, and can be explained as an ethnic-based homogenization of social changes that turn into value systems of global free-market capitalism. In South East Europe, we see this process as a situation in which ethnic-based, hysterical type homogenization from the 1990s, changes into an accelerated perverse type ruling class that accepts “European values” for nothing other than preserving “money stolen” in the past. Hence, the hysterical exclusive type is a masochistic type of social totality, the one that excludes *foreign bodies* (not just an ethnic, but also a political body opting against this totality), and with this, the potential for the perception of trauma as pathology. This is a type that pretends to elevate trauma to the level of national identity. The perverse type is a sadistic type. This type, in contrast to the hysterical, integrates *alien bodies* into its own social matrix, but only in order to convert the alien body into itself. The weapon of this type is the rationalization of social reality, exclusively as the part of the *real* of capital. The role of the perverse type is the rationalization of totalitarian, supranational and market-based segregation. Therefore, one type of pathology is replaced with another. Although Croatia as a political subject (or maybe not), has anti-fascist roots that (definitely don’t) guarantee its modern sovereignty, and although a minority fosters some humanist thoughts that could lead to genuine anti-capitalist politics, all of these three dimensions, generated by the unconditional acceptance of capitalism, primarily act against the politicization of society, leaving society itself to disintegrate through a proper fragmentation, which in this case, consists of ethncal on the one side, and of a class fragmentation on the other.

In short, the relations of the European Union (as a supranational organization that protects the interests of capital) and Croatian dominant sensibilities, could be seen as the relation between an evil psychiatrist and a psychotic patient, where the first heals its own social tissue, cannibalized by capital, by convincing the other that they are healthy as long as being the patient of the first is accepted. Or, rephrasing the latter, I can state that as long as this pathology is being rationalized, glorified and presented as authentic culture, the trauma coming out from this pathology becomes even more intensified and capitalism reconfirmed as the only possible system. Enjoying the trauma through intensification monopolizes the very definition of the ethical in a culture that sees this kind of trauma as a basic identification matrix.

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DEKOLONIALNOST/DE-COLONIALITY

Marina Gržinić RAZVEZA EPISTEMOLOGIJE OD KAPITALA IN PLURIVERZALNOST – POGOVOR Z WALTERJEM MIGNOLOM, 1. del

Walter D. Mignolo (1947, Argentina) je semiotik in profesor na Univerzi Duke v ZDA; objavil je številne knjige o semiotiki in literarni teoriji, ukvarja se z različnimi aspekti modernega in kolonialnega sveta ter raziskuje koncepte, kot so globalna kolonialnost, geopolitika znanja, transmodernost in pluriverzalnost (<http://waltermignolo.com/>).

Marina Gržinić: *Prof. Mignolo, po vašem mnenju se je iz primeža neo-liberalnega globalnega kapitalizma mogoče iztrgati prek tako imenovanega procesa razveze (angl. delinking) epistemologije od kapitala. Da se to udejnanji, pa je treba epistemologijo vpeti v sistematični proces dekolonialnosti (angl. de-coloniality). O tem se z vami povsem strinjam! Zato bi vam rada najprej zastavila vprašanje o tem, kakšna je razlika med dekolonizacijo (angl. decolonization) in dekolonialnostjo (angl. de-coloniality) in kako pospešiti tako pomemben proces epistemološke dekolonialnosti v kapitalističnem svetu, kjer sta zahodni evropocentrizem in ameriški imperializem prej pripravljena ubijati kot pa zanikati svoje moške, bele, univerzalne, racionalistične nazore, ki so neločljivo povezani s kolonializmom.*

Walter Mignolo: Naj najprej pojasnim razliko med dekolonizacijo in dekolonialnostjo. Dekolonizacija je v času hladne vojne pomenila predvsem boj za osvoboditev Afrike in Azije, v glavnem od francoske in angleške imperialistične nadvlade. Takrat so se ZDA goreče zavzele za osvoboditev koloniziranih narodov in se tihoma borile proti vlogi, ki sta jo imeli Francija in Anglija kot vladajoči državi v globalnem redu vse od 18. stoletja naprej. Da bi lahko odgovoril na preostali del vprašanja in podal nek referenčni okvir za nadaljnji pogovor, bom pojasnil nekaj izhodišč, ki so ključna za odgovor na vsa vaša vprašanja. Začel bom s prvim ter v nadaljevanju poskušal navajati jih zapovrstjo. Po potrebi bom posamezne zadeve dodatno pojasnil. Naj torej začnem s prvima dvema točkama:

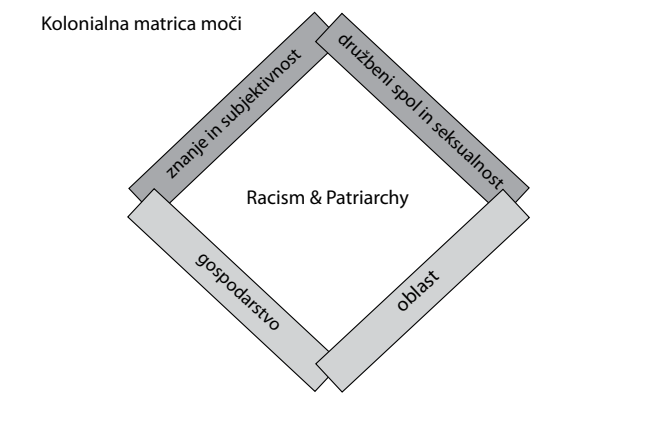
a) *Kako delamo?* To vprašanje se pravzaprav nanaša na kolektivni projekt, ki se imenuje modernost/kolonialnost/dekolonialnost. Obstaja glavna skupina, ki jo sestavlja približno štirinajst ljudi: polovica jih živi bolj ali manj v Južni Ameriki (Venezueli, Kolumbiji, Peruju, Ekvadorju, Argentini in Mehiki), druga polovica pa v Združenih državah Amerike (izvorno pa so iz Portorika, Venezuele, Bolivije, Argentine in Kolumbije). Kljub temu poteka med nami in našimi kolegi iz Južne Amerike pa tudi Brazilije vztrajno in usklajeno sodelovanje. Kolektiv zbira ljudi, ki so specializirani za različna področja: za filozofijo, sociologijo, literaturo, zgodovino, antropologijo, pedagogiko (npr. šola, ki jo je ustanovil Paulo Freire), politične teorije in religije. Kolektiv je sestavljen iz mrežnih vozlišč, kar pomeni, da nismo organizirani kot »interdisciplinarna ekipa«, ki ima svoj študijski predmet, ki ga analizira s stališča različnih znanstvenih področij. Prav nasprotno, združuje nas to, da vsi izhajamo iz ideje, ki jo lahko na kratko imenujem »koncept kolonialnosti« ali z daljšo različico »koncept kolonialne matrice moči«.

b) *Kakšne so naše izhodiščne predpostavke, teoretski okvir in vizije?* Naš projektni kolektiv izhaja iz nekaj osnovnih predpostavk:

Prva je, da modernost brez kolonialnosti ne obstaja, saj je kolonialnost temeljna sestavina modernosti. Modernost ne označuje zgodovinskega obdobja, pač pa je to retorična fraza, ki jo uporabljajo določene sile za uresničevanje svoje zamisli o osvoboditvi drugih narodov. S to retoriko namreč pripovedujejo svojo zgodbo, s tem pa sebe postavljajo v položaj odrešilnih prinašalcev globalnega zgodovinskega razvoja, ki z zastavo in plamenico v rokah korakajo v svetlejši jutri. Retorika modernosti je od vselej retorika odrešenja: bodisi ko je šlo za spreobrnitve (v španski in portugalski redovniški red), civilizacijske misije (Britancev in Francozov), razvoj in modernizacijo (s strani ameriških izvedencev s področja ekonomije in politike, ki v tretjem svetu uvajajo enake standarde kot v prvem) ali za odrešenje, ki ga prinašata tržna demokracija in potrošništvo. Predsednik George W. Bush je teden dni po napadu 9/11 ameriške državljanke nagovoril takole: vse je pod nadzorom, vi kar brez skrbi trošite naprej. Omenjene štiri težnje se ne izključujejo v smislu, češ, ko se začne nova, prejšnja zamre. To bi bila zares moderno zasnovana pripoved, ki temelji na ideji o »novem« (ki se je pravzaprav začela z idejo o »novem svetu«). Po našem mnenju (torej po mnenju omenjenega kolektiva) danes te štiri težnje soobstajajo v diahroničnem (časovnorazvojnem) protislovju. Iz (post)moderne razlage ni izključena njena lastna zgodovina, pač pa vse znanje in oblike življenja, ki bi jih bilo treba vključiti, marginalizirati ali uničiti, da se odrešilna misija modernosti za prevlado nad drugačnostjo lahko nadaljuje kot uničevalna sila. Z drugimi besedami, zgodba modernosti ustvarja in si izmišlja razlike, da bi jih nato uničila ali nadzorovala (kot v primeru multikulturalizma). V 16. in 17. stoletju so se španski, portugalski, nizozemski, francoski in britanski predstavniki cerkvene in monarhične oblasti, državni možje in pisatelji srečali hkrati s čudeši in težavami, ki so jih prinašale prostrane površine, nepredstavljivo bogastvo izkoriščanja naravnih virov (zlata in srebra) in kultur (sladkorja, tobaka, kave, bombaža) ter možnost zaslužjevanja afriškega prebivalstva, trgovanja z njim in izkoriščanja letega. Te države so gnali različni interesi, a v očeh nekdanjih sužnjev, kot je recimo Ottobah Cugoano (k temu se vrnem takoj), glede tega ni bilo nobenih razlik. Ottobah Cugoano se je v svoji pripovedi razvezal od pravil igre, ki so jih postavile prve imperialistične sile, da bi si zagotovile gospodarsko nadvlado nad Atlantikom (najprej Španija in Portugalska, za njima pa Holandija, Francija in Anglija). Oglejmo si odlomek iz Cugoanove knjige (*Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*/Misli in občutki o zlu zaslužjevanja, London, 1786): »Ugrabitve in kraje ljudi so se začele na afriški obali s prihodom Portugalcev. Ko so ti spoznali koristi trgovanja z ljudmi za svoje zle namene, so nadaljevali s še večjim opustošenjem. Španci so se pridružili temu nizkotnemu početju, saj so v trgovanju z Afričani videli ugodnosti, ki so jim omogočile živeti varno in v izobilju na račun krutega podjarmljenja in zaslužnjevanja drugih. Francija in Anglija ter nekaj drugih evropskih držav, ki so si ustvarile svoje kolonije na Antilih ali v Ameriki, so nadaljevale v istem slogu in se pridružile Portugalcem in Špancem pri ropanju, plenjenju in pustošenju Afrike ter uničenju in izropanju

prebivalcev zahodnega kontinenta. A evropski roparji in pirati niso le ropali in pustošili afriških ljudi, pač pa so jih zasuli z najnižkotnejšimi goljufivimi in verolomnimi lopovi tudi iz vrst tamkajšnjega prebivalstva; javnim in zapuščenim razbojnikom so na primer postavili utrdbe in delavnice in podobno.« Cugoanova nova zgodovinska in politična razprava je izšla deset let po izidu knjige *Bogastvo narodov* (1776) Adama Smitha in po ameriški revoluciji. Angleška ustava je že bila napisana po t. i. slavni revoluciji (1688), v ZDA pa je Cugoano svojo knjigo objavil tri leta pred nastankom Deklaracije o človekovih in državljanskih pravicah. Ta je izšla nekaj let pred vstajo na Haitih, ki se je končala z osvoboditvijo vklenjenih haitskih sužnjev leta 1804, in pet ali šest let, preden je Immanuel Kant »razsvetljenstvo« izenačil z »emancipacijo«, tako da je razsvetljenstvo opredelil kot »[...] izhod človeka iz nezrelosti, za katero je sam kriv. Nezrelost je nezmožnost uporabljati svoj razum brez navodil drugega«. Kdo govori za človeka? »Človek« ni bistvo sveta, o katerem »mik, ljudje, razpravljamo. Kant je jasno opredelil vlogo človeka na Zemlji. Ottobah Cugoano je delal prav to, kar je Kant nekaj let pozneje razlagal, a Cugoano je bil temnopolt, Kant pa temnopoltih ni prišteval v kategorijo »človeka«. V četrtem razdelku svoje razprave *Observations on the Beautiful and the Sublime*/Komentarji o lepem in sublimnem (1764) je Kant, sklicujoč se na Davida Huma, zapisal, da »naravna čustva afriškega temnopoltega prebivalstva ne sežejo dlje od ljubimkanja ... in tudi niti eden od njih ni prispeval ničesar pomembnega k umetnosti ali znanosti ali izkazal kakšno drugo hvalevredno lastnost, čeprav jih je nekaj, ki med belim prebivalstvom nenehno izstopajo iz povprečja in si s posebnimi darovi izborijo spoštovanje«. Cugoano je svojo knjigo o zgodovini »drugega« in o dekolonialni politični razpravi objavil, preden je Kant »razsvetljenstvo« opredelil na osnovi etničnorazrednega centrizma, ki je z geografsko-zgodovinskega stališča umeščen v »osrčje Evrope«, to pa po Heglu tvorijo Anglija, Francija in Nemčija. Nihče si ni mogel predstavljati nekoga, kot je bil Cugoano. Kant je menil, da »je razlika med tema dvema rasama [tj. belci in temnopoltimi, ki ju bom okrajšal kar s kraticama B in T] v njunih mentalnih sposobnostih tako velika, kot je razlika med tema dvema barvama«.

Modernost, ki se skriva za retoriko odrešitve, opravičuje logiko kolonialnosti: nadzor in prisvajanje zemlje, izkoriščanje delavcev, spreminjanje človeških življenj v tržno blago, nadzor oblasti, nadzor družbenega spola in seksualnosti, nadzor znanja in subjektivnosti. Vse pravkar omenjeno je med seboj prepleteno in del logike nadvlade in izkoriščanja, ki je logika kolonialnosti. Modernost in kolonialnost nista del binarne delitve, pač pa dve plati istega kovanca. Skupaj proizvajata dekolonialno miselnost in delovanje. Cugoano je en tak primer, čeprav jih je bilo v 16. stoletju več njemu podobnih. Življenjska in družbena sfera, v katerih deluje logika kolonialnosti, se vzpostavlja na mestu izrekanja, ki temelji na patriarhalnosti in rasizmu. Če to pozazorimo z diagramom:



Kolonialna matrica moči (KMM) je sestavljena iz štirih medsebojno prepletenih področij, kjer se odvija boj za nadzor, umestitev, odpor, ponovni obstanek itd. Gre za nadzor gospodarstva (dela, zemlje, naravnih virov), nadzor oblasti (vlade, vojske), nadzor družbenega spola in seksualnosti (nadzor družinskega življenja in razmnoževanja ras, ki temelji na krščansko-buržoazni družini) ter za nadzor znanja in subjektivnosti (epistemologije, estetike). Prav tako menimo, da je kolonialna matrica moči nastala v 16. stoletju, ko so Španci in Portugalci prevzeli nadzor nad »novim svetom« in pozneje Ameriko. Torej kolonialna matrica moči ni modelček, ki so ga konkvistadorji in misijonarji uporabljali za oblikovanje novega sveta, pač pa kompleksna struktura, ki se konstantno izgrajuje. Naj podam še tri stališča, ki bodo prispevala k lažjemu razumevanju kolonialne matrice moči (KMM). Prvič, po njeni vzpostavitvi na Atlantiku v 16. in 17. stoletju so kolonialno matrico moči od konca 18. stoletja do obdobja dekolonizacije po drugi svetovni vojni s svojo imperialistično ekspanzijo nadaljevali in izvajali Nizozemci, Britanci in Francozi. Čeprav drži, da se je kolonializem končal z dekolonizacijo v 20. stoletju, so ZDA kot svetovna velesila kolonialnost ponovno zasnovala, zakodirala. Kako lahko še drugače razumemo invazijo na Irak, če ne kot oživiljanje kolonialne matrice moči, ki se kaže v nadzoru oblasti, gospodarstva, družbenega spola in seksualnosti, znanja in subjektivnosti? Za retoriko modernosti, razvoja, demokracije, ki to invazijo opravičuje, se skriva uničenje lokalnih oblik družbenogospodarske organiziranosti, znanja in subjektivnosti. Drugič, svetovna zgodovina ni le *lokalna* zgodovina, ki gre od Grčije in Rima do Evrope v 16. stoletju in naprej do ZDA, ampak je zapleten in protisloven soobstoj še drugih *lokalnih zgodovin*, ki so bile v različnih obdobjih bodisi žrtve kolonizacije evroatlantskih imperialnih držav (te so si podredile Severno, Srednjo in Južno Ameriko, Indijo in Afriko), bodisi so se vmešavale v zadeve Rusije (od časa carja Petra in carice Katarine) ali v ponoven nastanek Sovjetske zveze leta 1917, nenazadnje pa sta tu še vmešavanje v zadeve Kitajske (od opijske vojne leta 1848) in vključitev Japonske v to zgodbo (od restavracije dinastije Meiji leta 1865). Kolonialna matrica moči ostaja matrica nadzora, nadvlade in izkoriščanja. Danes postaja celotna situacija zaradi policentričnega značaja globalnega kapitalizma še bolj zapletena. Opisal sem že soobstoj različnih zgodovin, ki ga strukturirajo kolonialne in imperialne razlike.¹ Tretjič, patriarhalnost in rasizem sta v središču diagrama, ker sta oba epistemološka temelja zahodne epistemologije (npr. grške, latinske in šestih sodobnih evropskih in imperialnih jezikov). Materialni aparat izrekanja ni bil zgrajen le formalno (kot je to v svojih teorijah obdelal Emil Benveniste), ampak tudi s stališča geopolitike in politike telesa. Epistemološki

¹ Glej *Theorizing from the Borders; Shifting to Geo and Body-Politics of Knowledge*, <http://est.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/9/2/205>, 2006.

dejavniki so bili in so moški, krščanstvo in evropstvo. Ottobah Cugoano je sicer moški, ampak temnopolti Afričan, ujet v Afriki, prepeljan na Karibe in nato v Anglijo. Cugoanova dekolonialna težnja izhaja iz stvarnih materialnih pogojev in izkušenj nekoga, ki je bil ujet v *zunanost* sveta. Kot lahko vidite, v tej izjavi izhajam iz marksističnega načela.

Patriarhalnost je bila vzpostavljena že v 16. stoletju. Obvladovala je znanje, ki je opravičevalo izgon Mavrov in Židov z Iberskega polotoka, hkrati pa je ponudila epistemološki temelj renesančni univerzi. Tudi pojmovanje ženske so izumili na osnovi patriarhalnih temeljev in ga vsilili družbam, ki takega pojmovanja prej niso poznale. Seveda je razločevanje med moškim in žensko ali soncem in luno obstajalo že prej, na njem je temeljila družbena organiziranost, a je bilo pojmovanje ženske v zahodnem krščanstvu in njena poznejša sekularizacija znotraj buržoazne družine ena od poglavitnih razsežnosti kolonialne matrice moči (ob gospodarskem, političnem in etičnem nadzoru ter dominaciji). Naj poudarim, da se suženjstvo nikoli ni končalo. Ljudje so še naprej blago, s katerim se trguje kot s katerimkoli drugim blagom. (Zato je človeško življenje tako nepomembno.) A danes se ne trguje več s temnopoltimi Afričani, ampak z ženskami iz nekdanjega drugega in zdajšnjega tretjega sveta. Globalna trgovina z ženskami ne pomeni trgovanja z Norvežankami, Francozinjami, Američankami ali Nemkami, pač pa so žrtve trgovine z ljudmi ženske iz Moldavije, Ukrajine, vzhodne in južne Azije, Argentine, Rusije in drugih neevropskih držav.

Moja zamisel (in zamisel našega kolektiva) o razvezi pravzaprav pomeni razvezo od *kolonialne matrice moči*, katere sestavni del je neoliberalna različica kapitalizma, tako s stališča časa kot prostora. Ko gre za čas, je neoliberalizem zadnja nam poznana različica zgodovine imperialne modernosti/kolonialnosti, kjer je kapitalizem dojet kot življenjski stil, v katerem sta pomembnejša širitev in akumulacija kapitala kot pa človek in življenje nasploh. Najočitnejša in najbolj uničujoča značilnost kapitalizma je, da je življenje – sploh tisto, kar je človeško in kar je življenje – spremenil v nekaj, kar je potratno, nepotrebno. Na prednostnem seznamu so ekonomska korist, zmanjšanje stroškov, vsakovrstna »zakonita korupcija« (katere primer je znana zgodba, ki prihaja iz farmacevtske industrije in načina, kako ta uporablja in zlorablja gensko spremenjene organizme, npr. primer multinacionalke Monsanto). Razveza od kolonialne matrice moči prinaša velikansko, kolektivno in globalno različnost ali pluriverzalnost (angl. *pluriversity*), ki je ne gre enačiti z globalno proletarsko revolucijo ali globalno spreobrnitvijo v krščansko oziroma islamsko veroizpoved, pač pa je nanjo treba gledati kot na usklajene, a mnogotere vizije o družbi, katere cilj ni živeti zato, da delaš ali troiš, pač pa da delaš in troiš zato, da živiš. Skratka, to je tudi v osnovi življenjskega načela, ki ga je predsednik Bolivije Evo Morales označil z besedami »živeti dobro« (*bien vivir*), ki ga predlaga namesto načela »živeti bolje od drugih« oziroma *vivir mejor* (*que los otros*). Razveza od kolonialne matrice moči je subjektivni in teoretski podvig, ki še zdaleč ni lahek, saj tukaj ne gre zgolj za gospodarske transakcije, ampak za nadzor znanja in subjektivnosti. Množična »kulturna industrija« je primer nadziranja znanja in subjektivnosti obenem. Poglejmo, kaj se dogaja s spektakularnim trženjem Franka Sinatre. Kot v znani zgodbi Bioya Casaresa *La invención de Morel*, po kateri sta Alain Resnais in Robbe-Grillet posnela film (*Last Year in Marienbad*/Lani v Marenbadu), se je na zadnji podelitvi grammyjev (2008) Frank Sinatra pojavil na prizorišču več kot dobro desetletje in pol po svoji smrti in pri tem pel, kot je to počel v petdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja. Zato razveza pomeni tudi, da si predstavljamo svet, kjer oblasti ne regulira in nadzira hegemonistična nadvlada zahodne politične teorije. Na primer: temeljno načelo zapatističnega izreka, ki izhaja iz starega domorodskega znanja (namesto iz zahodnjaškega znanja, ki zaobjema politično teorijo od Aristotela do Machiavellija, Hobbesa, Lea Straussa itd.), je »vladati in ubogati hkrati« in ne živeti v svetu, v katerem vladajoči ne ubogajo in vladani ne vladajo. Politična teorija, kot je denimo teorija zapatistov, ne dopušča izrednega kakor tudi ne suvereneja stanja, ki bi znotraj njihove politične organiziranosti odločal o izrednem stanju. Seveda to ni lahko, a je uresničljivo le z dekolonialno vizijo in prepričanjem. Razveza od imperialnega/kolonialnega nadzora nad družbenim spolom in seksualnostjo (ki poteka prek koncepta ženske in krščanskega in torej vsiljuje normativnost liberalne heteroseksualnosti) vključuje vizijo sveta, kjer razlika med družbenim spolom in spolnimi preferencami ni določena z moralnim kodeksom, ki ga narekujejo resnica transcendentalnega vedenja ali potrebe trga, ampak dostojanstvo in ljubezen, ki sta neodvisna od ekonomskih potreb kapitalizma in vpletenih državnih institucij. Nadzor in reprodukcija vrste ekonomije, ki jo označujemo s pojmom kapitalizem, je del širše kozmologije, ki jo mi (člani projekta modernost/kolonialnost) pojmujeemo *kolonialna matrica moči*. Feministke vseh usmeritev, belke, »queer« teoretičarke in teoretiki ter aktivistke in aktivisti so se tega problema lotili z vso resnostjo. Razveza torej pomeni odmik od te matrice in pristop k procesu dekolonialnega razmišljanja, čigar zametke najdemo že v 16. stoletju. Drugače povedano, gre za pojav regulatorne, s predpisi urejajoče strukture kolonialne matrice moči, ki je nastala iz potrebe in sedaj zahteva dekolonialne odgovore. Skratka, razveza kliče po *epistemološki neposlušnosti* (<http://subalternstudies.com/?p=194>).

Da zdaj preidem na samo bistvo vašega vprašanja. Naj povem, da v kapitalizmu ne gre samo za kapital, ampak je to kompleksna struktura, ki med drugim nadzira subjektivitete. Razveza torej pomeni prav sposobnost razvezati se od oblike življenja, ki jo promovira kapitalizem, ki je postal najučinkovitejši model spreobrnjenja. Predstavljam te si, da se tri četrtnine svetovne populacije, ki se upravlja s pomočjo novih tehnologij (internetom, mobilnimi telefoni), odloči trošiti, da bi lahko živel, namesto živeti, da bi lahko trošila, in delati, da bi lahko živel, namesto živeti, da bi lahko delala. To bi bil prvi korak. Predstavljamte si fundacijo Billa in Linde Gates, ki premore 37 milijard dolarjev sredstev. Ta znesek presega proračun Bolivije in proračun večine javnih ustanov, ki delujejo na področju globalnega zdravstva in na drugih področjih, kot je kmetijski razvojni projekt Afrike. Kaj naj rečemo? Gre za plemenito gesto, saj fundacija pomaga mnogim. Hkrati pa na globalni ravni neizpodbitno vsiljuje nek življenjski stil, ki akumulacijo bogastva ne podpira le zato, da se omogočita izkoriščanje in razlaščanje, ampak da se ustvarijo pogoji za dobrodelnost. Da se doseže, kar je dosegel Bill Gates, je vsekakor potrebna neka mera bistroumnosti. Bistvo pa ni toliko v bistroumnosti kot v problematičnosti družbe, v kateri je Gates odraščal in se oblikoval in ki mu je vsilila tak pogled na svet.

M. G.: *Razumevanje procesa epistemološke dekolonialnosti ni odvisno*

le od razumevanja kolonialne delitve, pač pa od mesta, ki ga zavzema-mo v njej. Lahko torej nadalje pojasnite kolonialno delitev in kakšne bodo razlike v bojih proti kapitalu in kolonialnosti tistih, ki prihajajo iz Evrope (in ta ni enal), denimo iz nekdanjih evropskih socialističnih/komunističnih držav, ali pa tistih iz Latinske Amerike, kot so denimo zapa-tistični kmetje ali pripadniki zapatističnega boja?

W. M.: Naj začnem s tistimi, ki »prihajajo iz Evrope«. Obstaja namreč popoln nesporazum, morda zaradi tega, kar portugalski sociologi označujejo kot »lenoben razum«, ki zavrača razlikovanje med Evropo in evropocentrizmom. Strinjam se, da je težko določiti, kaj je Evropa in kdo je Evropejec. Enako se je dogajalo s klasificiranjem ljudi na po-sameznih kontinentih. Ne zanima me Evropa kot taka, pač pa evropocentrizem. Sicer pa tudi nekaj besed o Evropi ne bo odveč. Ključna točka vašega vprašanja je, da ne gre le za odvisnost od »razumevanja kolonialne delitve, pač pa od mesta, ki ga zavzemamo v njej«. Koloni-alna matrica moči in posebno upravljanje ter nadzor ekonomije, ki jo označujemo z izrazom kapitalistična ekonomija, so vse od 16. stoletja eden od štirih temeljev kolonialne matrice moči. Ta pa ni predmet študij sociologov, antropologov, ekonomistov, političnih znanstve-nikov, zgodovinarjev in biotehnologov vseh vrst, nanotehnologov in podobnih. Nasprotno, vse discipline pravkar omenjenih strokov-njakov so že vključene v kolonialno matrico moči, ki je pravzaprav ustvarila pogoje za njihov obstoj. Zato je treba geografijo razuma ter etiko in politiko znanja (tj. na kratko geopolitiko znanja) preusmeriti v dekolonialnost znanja in obstoja.

Dekolonilani preobrat vključuje razvezo od hegemonije epistemolo-gije na njeni ničelni točki (Santiago Castro-Gómez, *Cultural Studies* 21, 2–3, 2007) v krščanski teologiji (16. in 17. stoletja) in v njeni se-kularizaciji v filozofiji in znanosti od 18. stoletja dalje. Prvi korak je torej epistemološka razveza, saj dokler bo znanje nadzorovano (kot je sedaj) z reproduciranjem kolonialne matrice moči v imenu razvo-ja – tehnološkega napredka in čudovitih tehničnih igráč (privilegij, ki ga imajo ekonomski in vojaški razvoj ter zadnji in tisti prihajajoči novi *post*-), bomo še naprej ujeti v kolonialno matrico, kjer bomo pro-izvajali interno radikalno kritiko (kot Bartolomé de las Casas in Marx na primer), misleč, da gre za eno samo igro: za igro, v katero smo vpleteni tudi sami in od katere se ni mogoče razvezati, ali z drugimi besedami, nemogoče je misliti, da lahko uidemo iz »Trumanovega šova«. Danes ves svet verjame, da sta napredek in razvoj pozitivna za vse, da več kot se proizvaja in več kot se troši, bolj so potrošniki zado-voljni. Vsi, ki so del te strukture, živijo, da lahko delajo; živijo, da lahko trojijo. Cilj je uspeti. V tem smislu je predsedniška kampanja Hillary Clinton postala paradigmatični primer že povsem naravne zasleplje-nosti: bolj kot se je zdelo, da Hillary napreduje v predsedniški kam-panji in več kot je imela pri tem težav, bolj je postajalo jasno, da želi postati predsednica. Njene vizije in program, ki ga je kot predsednica želela izpeljati, pa so bili potisnjeni v drugi plan. Sprašujem se, ali je res imela še kakšen cilj, razen tega, da postane predsednica, da uspe, saj so jo že v zgodnjem otroštvu, v družini, šoli in kolidžu učili, da mora uspeti. Nisem podpornik neuspeha. Želim samo povedati, da je družba, ki spodbuja k osebnemu uspehu in akumulaciji bogastva in ugleda, pokvarjena družba. Za Hillary postati predsednica pomeni doseči največji možen uspeh. Gre za paradigmatičen primer življenja, ki se ga živi, da se dela, da se doseže uspeh, da se uporablja (blago ali položaj znotraj institucije). Hillary ponazarja najbolj tragičen primer filozofije življenja, ki pomeni – kot trdi Evo Morales – živeti bolje od drugih, namesto narediti vse, da bo življenje skupaj z drugimi boljše. S tem ko tako pripovedujem to zgodbo, že načenjam proces razveze, oddaljitve od mehurčka, ki ga imenujem »Trumanov šov modernosti/ kolonialnosti«. Nenazadnje je prav vprašanje, kako se lahko zoper-stavimo kolonialni matrici moči glede mesta, ki ga zavzemamo v njej, začetek zavesti, ki je tudi začetek samega procesa zoperstavlja-nja. Začetek je impliciran prav v obliki vašega vprašanja. Pogosto se srečujem z mladimi angleškimi študenti, ki mi zastavljajo podobna vprašanja. Moj odgovor je, da niso krivi, da so se rodili v družini, ki pripada višjemu srednjemu sloju v ZDA. Ko se enkrat zavejo svojega položaja znotraj kolonialne matrice moči, lahko izbirajo, ali obrniti jadro v drugo smer in se pridružiti dekolonialni miselnosti. Izbira ne pomeni samo politične odločitve, pač pa tudi etično. Študenti mora-jo uvideti, da ne pripadajo nebelim študentom, ki se morajo pridruži-ti miselnosti, ki jim pripada, ne glede na njeno mero progresivnosti, pač pa ravno obratno.

M. G.: *Če zadevo zastavimo nekoliko drugače: kako lahko tisti, ki pri-hajajo iz zahodnega evropocentričnega sveta, razvijejo svoje interepi-stemološko področje, čeprav se ne zavedajo svoje kolonialne zgodovi-ne ali neokolonialne sedanjosti in se želijo kljub temu pridružiti tistim, ki delujejo z druge strani kolonialnih razlik in so bili v preteklosti žrtve kolonializma?*

W. M.: Če se oklenem linije diskurza, ki sem jo načel v prejšnjem od-govoru, bi rekel, da le z resnim upoštevanjem geopolitike znanja, ki gre z roko v roki z dekolonizacijo znanja in obstoja. Kaj imam v mislih? Dekolonialni projekti bi morali izhajati oziroma izhajajo iz neevropskega in neameriškega sveta, hkrati pa so posledica artikuli-ranja zavesti imigrantov v Evropi in ZDA. Namreč, akumulacija denar-ja sovпада, gre z roko v roki, z akumulacijo pomenov (npr. znanja): največje banke, največji borzni trgi, največji muzeji in univerze so v Franciji, Angliji, Nemčiji, Španiji, Italiji, Portugalski in v ZDA. Šele v zadnjem času se zgodovina pomika proti policentrični akumulaciji denarja, čeprav je nadzor pomenov (torej znanja) še vedno v rokah zahodnih institucij (zgoraj omenjenih držav). Naše delo (torej delo nas znanstvenikov, intelektualcev z vseh vetrov, ki delujemo prek medijev ali na cesti) tako kot delo nekonformistične in izobražene elite ni več delo bele rase, kajti »mi« so vseh barv: potomci prvotne-ga prebivalstva Amerike, Nove Zelandije in Avstralije; temnopoltega prebivalstva Afrike, Karibov, Andov in ZDA (Kant bi bil danes zelo pre-senečen); temnopolti muslimani Srednjega vzhoda in temnopolti La-tinoameričani v Združenih državah kakor tudi Indijci in Pakistanci; pa tudi kavkaški in iranski belci. In seveda »mi« nismo samo beli in hete-roseksualni moški, ampak najrazličnejših barv in spolnih usmeritev. Raznolik spekter subjektivnosti je pravzaprav tisto, kar šteje, ko go-ovorimo o predstavljenem in metaforičnem jeziku »barve tvoje kože« in »sestava tvoje krvi« (v zahodni Virginiji je bil eden od volivcev citi-ran v časopisu, češ da je rekel, da bo volil McCaina namesto Obame, ker želi predsednika »ameriške krvi«. Skratka, geopolitika znanja gre z roko v roki s politiko telesa znanja. Kako lahko potemtakem »mi« (po vsem svetu, ki so nam bile tako ali drugače prizadejane kolonial-ne rane v Evropi, Združenih državah Amerike, Afriki, Aziji ali Latinski

Ameriki) delamo skupaj? Ena možnost je ta, da geopolitiko znanja in politiko telesa znanja vzamemo resno. To pomeni prenehati sanjati o »novem abstraktnem univerzalnem«, ki naj bi bil dober za vse, čeprav abstraktna univerzalnost izhaja iz izkušnje »moje skupnosti in intere-sov« in na njej tudi temelji.

a) Od 16. stoletja dalje in od začetkov modernega/kolonialnega ra-sizma so nekatere regije sveta in tam živeči označeni za manjvredne. Kdo ima pravico do take klasifikacije? Vsekakor ne temnopolti Afri-čani, ameriški Indijanci ali arabski Muslimani. Ne, ti so bili označeni, a pri tem niso imeli besede. Tako klasifikacijo, ki je uspela, so iznašli in vpeljali zahodni krščanski teologi, pozneje pa posvetni filozofi in znanstveniki. Znanje je bilo tako obsojeno na univerzalnost, čeprav je bilo ustvarjeno in udejanjeno v eni regiji (zahodno krščanstvo) in s strani določene skupine ljudi (belih moških, ki so javno razglasili he-tetoseksualnost kot edino pravilno). Klasifikacije niso opravili zaradi klasifikacije kot take ali ker so belci, heteroseksualci, zahodni kristjani in moškega spola, pač pa zato, ker verjamejo v univerzalno, krajev-no nedoločeno in razteleseno resnico. Ti možje so menili, da le po-sredujajo univerzalen in transcendentalen način življenja in bivanja. Santiago Castro-Gómez (član kolektiva modernost/kolonialnost) je to epistemologijo označil kot »precenjevanje ničelne točke«: znanje opazovalca, ki se ga ne sme opazovati. Danes je to načelo na delu v vseh menedžerskih šolah, kjer gre denimo takole: sediš na skali v gorah s pogledom na nižino in načrtuješ, kako upravljati s prebival-stvom, ki tam živi.

b) Geopolitika znanja in politika telesa znanja sta ključna termina be-sednjaka dekolonialne epistemologije, ki delujeta v dveh smereh: na eni strani razkrivata utišano geopolitiko znanja in politiko telesa zna-nja evropocentrične modernosti (spomnimo se grščine, latinščine in šestih modernih evropskih imperialnih jezikov). Raziskave so že bile opravljene in pokazale so prikrito geopolitiko in politiko telesa v filo-zofiji Martina Heideggerja. Njegovo povezanost z nacizmom vsi do-bro poznamo (politika telesa), ne pa tudi dejstva, da je njegova filozo-fija temeljila na predpostavki o središčnem položaju Nemčije znotraj globalne središčne lege Evrope (npr. *Heidegger Roots* avtorja Charlesa Bambacha, <http://www.amazon.com/Heideggers-Roots-Nietzsche-National-Socialism/dp/0801472660>). Na drugi strani pa geopolitika znanja in politika telesa znanja potrjujeta pravico in legitimnost zna-nja, ki je bilo izključeno s strani imperialnosti evropocentrične episte-mologije kot mita, folklore, izvora, tradicije, netrajnostnega razvoja, demoničnosti, subverzivnosti, nerazumskosti itd. »Oh, mislite na si-tuirano znanje,« je običajen odgovor kolegov, ki se ukvarjajo s post-modernizmom. Seveda, ampak situirano znanje v kolonialni matrici moči. Mejna miselnost (angl. *border thinking*) in dekolonialni projekti se začnejo tam, kjer se konča zahodna ekspanzija, kakor sem nakazal s primeri Eva Moralesa in Suna-Yata Sena. Pluriverzalnost se začne, če je mogoče vzpostaviti *stičišča* in če se lahko izognemo hegemoniji enega vozlišča. V pluriverzalnem svetu ni prostora za eno hegemoni-stično vozlišče. Enak problem vidim v praznem označevalcu Ernesta Laclauja. Laclau še vedno verjame v potrebo po enem hegemoni-stičnem projektu in ne v hegemonijo *stičišč*, s katero se je mogoče izogniti hegemoniji ene in edine »abstraktno univerzalnosti«. Rešitev pluriverzalne hegemonije je v *stičiščih*, ki povezujejo globalno razno-likost dekolonialnih projektov.²

Ko se ta načela uveljavijo, se zastavi vprašanje, kakšni dekolonialni projekti nastanejo iz kolonialnih lokalnih zgodovinj: iz Vzhodne in Srednje Evrope (to je Evropa na robovih imperialnih držav z boga-timi in raznolikimi zgodovinami, jeziki in veroizpovedmi); od koloni-alnih imigrantov v Evropi in ZDA do evropskih (v širšem smislu, torej vključno z Balkanom in Vzhodno Evropo) raziskovalcev, ki se želijo razvezati od evropocentričnega (v ožjem smislu Heglovega srca Evro-pe) pojmovanja življenja in znanja ter se pridružiti »pripadnikom nek-danjega tretjega sveta« in množici priseljencev iz nekdanjih kolonij v središču Evrope in ZDA.

c) Da pojasnim, kaj pravzaprav želim povedati, naj predstavim neko-liko bolj specifičen argument, s katerim bom obrazložil razlikovanje med »objektivnostjo brez oklepajev« in »objektivnostjo v oklepajih«. To razlikovanje je vpeljal čilski nevrofiziolog Humberto Maturana in gre takole: Objektivnost brez oklepajev vodi v epistemologijo poslušnosti, v zaprt politični sistem, ki je odprt le za totalitarne režime, in v ekonomijo, ki daje prednost povečanju proizvodnje in bogastva pred človeškim življenjem in življenjem nasploh. Medkulturni dialog ali medepistemski dialog, dialog med epistemologijami, ki temelji na premisi o objektivnosti brez oklepajev, je na eni strani omejen znotraj danega sistema, na drugi strani pa je lahko poguben, kadar se določeni agensi, ki ščitijo nasprotno objektivnost brez oklepajev, spopadejo med seboj. Dialog postane nevzdržen. Objektivnost v oklepajih pa omogoča pravi medepistemski (in medkulturni) dialog. A da se to lahko realizira, mora objektivnost v oklepajih premagati objektivnost brez oklepajev. V svetu, kjer vlada objektivnost v okle-pajih, opazovalec sprejme pojasnjevalne poti, politično organizacijo, gospodarsko filozofijo, ki so drugotnega pomena v primerjavi z ži-vljenjem, človeškimi življenji in življenjem nasploh. Če so ključni cilji uspeh, ustvarjalnost in dobro počutje in ne nadzorovanje oblasti in ekonomije, ki je bistvena za zagotovitev uspešnosti v življenju, *potem* je objektivnost v oklepajih nujna pot, da se zagotovi medepistemski in medkulturni dialog. Citiram Humberta Maturano: »Obstajata dva različna pristopa, dva načina razmišljanja in pojasnjevanja. Prvega bom poimenoval *objektivnost brez oklepajev*. Gre za prepričanje, da obstajajo opazovalec –neodvisni objekti, ki – tako je mnenje – so lahko znani; hkrati gre za prepričanje v možnost zunanje uzakonitve trditev. Taka uzakonitev bi oblasti podala brezpogojno legitimnost za to, kar trdi, in bi posledično pripeljala do podreditve. Prav tako vodi v zanikanje vseh, ki se niso pripravljeni strinjati z »objektivnimi« dej-stvi. Teh, ki se ne strinjajo, ni nihče dolžan poslušati ali jih razumeti. Osnovno čustvo, ki vlada tukaj, se napaja z veljavo univerzalno spre-jetega znanja. Živimo znotraj vzajemno izključujočih se transcenden-talnih ontologij, vsaka ontologija pa domnevno lahko popade objek-tivno realnost; kar obstaja, se zdi neodvisno od osebnosti nekoga ali njegovih dejanj« (Maturana, 2004: 42). Drugi pristop je definiran kot *objektivnost v oklepajih*. V njem: »[je] čustvena osnova [...] uživanje v družbi drugih. Vprašanje opazovalca je v celoti sprejeto in nanj je treba na vsak način odgovoriti. V skladu s tem načinom *razlikovanje*

med objekti in izkušnjo obstoja ni zanikano, kakor tudi nanašanje na objekte ni osnova razlag, pač pa razlaga temelji na soodvisnosti med se-boj različnih izkušenj [...]. Prestopili smo prag že izdelanih ontologij: ves obstoj je sestavljen iz delovanja opazovalca. Če sledimo tej poti pojasnjevanja, se zavedamo, da nikakor ne poznamo *resnice*, ampak da obstajajo številne možne realnosti [...]. **Če sledimo tej poti razla-ge, ne moremo zahtevati podreditve drugih, ampak jim moramo prisluhniti, vzpostaviti z njimi sodelovanje in dialog**« [poudarek W. Mignola](Maturana, 2004: 42).

Preveč časa bi vzelo, če bi želeli raziskati politične in etične posle-dice sveta, v katerem sta objektivnost in epistemologija v oklepa-jih vodilna. A lahko dodam, da je razlaga Maturane, ki je podana v polju znanosti, le drugačna formulacija zapatistične dikcije: svet, v katerem sobiva več svetov. Uresničitev takega sveta, ki bi temeljil na medkulturnem dialogu, zahteva hegemonijo epistemologije v okle-pajih. Maturana si je to zamislil kot multiverzum (angl. *multiverse*), zapatisti pa kot »svet, v katerem sobiva več svetov«. V našem projek-tu modernost/kolonialnost govorimo o pluriverzalnosti kot univer-zalnem projektu. In ni nam treba razpravljati o tem, kateri je boljši, pravi in veljaven; ni potrebno, saj bi nas to pahnilo v epistemologijo brez oklepajev, kjer vsakdo želi »zmagati«. Ne smemo pozabiti, da se multiverzum in pluriverzalnost močno razlikujeta od ideje pluraliz-ma, značilne za besednjak liberalnih političnih teorij, ki so predmet kritike Carla Schmitta. Oba pojma se prav tako razlikujeta od Schmit-tovega pluriverzuma, ki ga ta razume kot pluralnost držav. Tako li-beralna politična teorija kakor tudi Schmittovo pojmovanje temeljita na paradigmatičnem primeru modernih imperialnih družb (Anglije, Francije, Nemčije), medtem ko temeljijo multiverzum Maturane, plu-riverzalnost našega kolektiva in zapatisti na izkušnjah modernih ko-lonialnih družb. Prvi se sklicuje na model moderne države, drugi pa na model kolonialne države. Predlagam miselni poizkus: najprej vze-mimo pojem pluralizma liberalne politične teorije in ga aplicirajmo na Bolivijo ter poglejmo, kaj dobimo, nato pa vzemimo še Schmittov pojem pluriverzuma in ga aplicirajmo na Latinsko Ameriko ter spet poglejmo, kaj smo dobili. Opcija je dekolonialnost: preusmerite geo-grafijo razuma in začnite misliti s staljšča izkušenj Bolivije in Latinske Amerike, potem pa primerjajte regionalni in omejeni obseg liberal-nega političnega pluralizma in Schmittov pluriverzum.

Drugi del intervjuja bo objavljen v peti številki *Reartikulacije*, jesen 2008.

Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni. Redakcija prevoda: Marina Gržinić.

Marina GržinićDE-LINKING EPISTEMOLOGY FROM CAPITAL AND PLURI-VERSALITY – A CONVERSATION WITH WALTER MIGNOLO, part 1

Walter D. Mignolo (1947, Argentina) is semiotician and professor at Duke University, USA, who has published extensively on semiotics and literary theory, and has worked on different aspects of the modern and colonial world, exploring concepts such as global coloniality, the geopolitics of knowledge, transmodernity and pluriversality (<http://waltermignolo.com/>).

Marina Gržinić: *Prof. Mignolo, you suggest that one of the most important processes in liberating ourselves from the grip of neoliberal global capitalism is that of de-linking epistemology from capital. In order to do this, it is nec-essary to put epistemology under the systematic process of de-coloniality. I deeply agree with you on that point! Therefore, I would like to first ask what the relationship between de-colonization and de-coloniality is? And sec-ondly, which way there is to push this important process of epistemological de-coloniality within the First capitalist World, where it is clear that Western Eurocentrism and Western American imperialism would rather kill than get rid of its male, white, universalist, rationalist foundations, which are intrinsi-cally connected to colonialism?*

Walter Mignolo: Let me start in the middle, with the distinction be-tween decolonization and de-coloniality. Decolonization was the key-word during the Cold War, describing the struggles for liberation in Af-rica and Asia, mainly from the imperial control of France and England. At that moment, the US was vehemently for the liberation of the colonized people and silently fighting the takeover role that France and England occupied, in the global order, since the eighteenth century. But in order to answer the rest of the question, and build a frame of reference for the subsequent dialogue, I would like to start with a couple of points quite relevant to addressing most of your questions, starting from this, the first one. I will state them succinctly here, as succinctly as I can, and expand whenever and whatever is necessary throughout the rest of the questions. Allow me then to start with these two points:

a) How do we work? “We” refers to the collective project identified as modernity/coloniality/decoloniality. There is a core group of about 14, half of us more or less based in South America (Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Argentina and Mexico), and half of us based in the United States (originally from Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentina, and Co-lombia), but working constantly and consistently with our colleagues in South America, including Brazil. The collective gathers people trained in different disciplines: philosophy, sociology, literature, history, anthropol-ogy, pedagogy (e.g., Paulo Freire’s school), political theory and religion. The collective is constituted by nodes of a network. That means that we are not organized as an “interdisciplinary team” that has an object of “study” and analyzes it from the perspective of different disciplines. Quite the contrary, what unites us is that we all accept, as our start-ing point, the concept of coloniality for short, or the colonial matrix of power (the longer version).

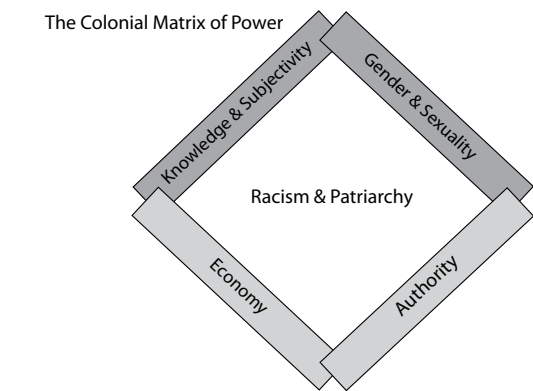
b) What are our assumptions, theoretical frame and vision? We (the col-lective of this project), start from a few basic assumptions:

There is no modernity without coloniality; coloniality is constitutive of modernity. Modernity is not a historical period, but it is a rhetoric grounded on the idea of salvation by the agents telling the story and placing themselves at the last moment of a global historical develop-ment and carrying the flag and the torch toward the bright future of

² Za obsežnejšo razpravo na to temo glej Walter D. Mignolo in Madina Tlostanova, Theorizing From the Borders; Shifting to the Geo- and Body-Politics of knowledge, v *European Journal of Social Theory*, <http://est.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/9/2/205>.

humanity. The rhetoric of modernity has been, since its inception, the rhetoric of salvation: by conversion (Spanish and Portuguese mendicant orders), by civilizing missions (British and French agents); by development and modernization (US experts in economy and politics guiding the Third World towards the same standards as the First); and salvation through market democracy and consumerism. President George W. Bush addressed the nation a week or so after 9/11, and the message was: things are under control, go and consume safely. These four movements are not exclusive in the sense that once the second comes, the first goes away. Such a narrative would really be a modern-framed narrative, based on the idea of “novelty” (that started indeed with the idea of “the New World”). In our view (we, the aforementioned collective), the four movements co-exist today in diachronic contradictions. What is eliminated by the narratives of modernity (and post-modernity) is not its own past, but all knowledge and life-forms that have to be integrated, marginalized or destroyed, so the salvation mission of modernity can continue, like a juggernaut, to roll over the differences. In other words, the narrative of modernity constructs and invents differences in order to eliminate them or keep them under control (in multiculturalism). During the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French and British agents of the Church and the monarchy, officers of the state and men of letters were confronted with the marvels and difficulties of vast proportions of land, unimaginable riches by extraction (gold and silver) and by cultivation (sugar, tobacco, coffee, cotton) and the possibility of enslaving, selling and exploiting Africans. There were different interests in the five aforementioned countries, but for an ex-slave like Ottobah Cugoano (I will come back to this), there frankly, was not any difference between them. Ottobah Cugoano was de-linked in his narrative from the rules of the game established by the first imperial states to control the economy of the Atlantic (Spain and Portugal) and their followers (Holland, France and England). Let’s read a paragraph by Cugoano (*Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*, London, 1786): “The practice of kidnapping and stealing men was started by the Portuguese on the coast of Africa, and as they found the benefit of trading human beings for their own wicked purposes, they soon went on to commit greater depredation. The Spaniards followed their infamous example, and the African slave-trade was thought most advantageous for them, to enable themselves to live in houses and affluence by the cruel subjection and slavery of others. The French and English, and some other nations in Europe, as they founded settlements and colonies in the West Indies or in America, went on in the same manner, and joined hand in hand with the Portuguese and Spaniards to rob and pillage Africa, as well as to waste and desolate the inhabitants of the western continent. But the European depredators and pirates have not only robbed and pillaged the people of Africa themselves; but through their instigation, they have infested the inhabitants with some of the vilest combinations of fraudulent and treacherous villains, even among their own people; and have set up their forts and factories as reservoirs of public and abandoned thieves...etc.” Cugoano’s new history and political treatise was published ten years after the publication of Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) and of the American Revolution. The “Bill of Rights” had already been written in England, after the Glorious Revolution (1688) and in the USA, Cugoano published his book three years before the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.” It was published a few years before the revolt in Haiti that would end in the Haitian revolution of enslaved and freed slaves, in 1804 and five or six years before Immanuel Kant defined equated “enlightenment” with “emancipation” by defining the former in terms of the latter: “Enlightenment is man’s emergence from his self-imposed nonage. Nonage is the inability to use one’s own understanding without another’s guidance.” Who speaks for Man? “Man” is not an essence in the world about which all “we” Men speak. Kant himself had a clear ranking of Man on the planet. Ottobah Cugoano was doing exactly what Kant preached a few years later, but Cugoano was Black, and for Kant, Blacks were not exactly members of the category “Man.” In section four of *Observations on the Beautiful and the Sublime* (1764), he stated, following Hume, that “The Negroes of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises above the trifling...still not a single one was ever found, who presented anything great in art or science or any other praise-worthy quality, even though among the White, some continually rise aloft from the lower rabble and through superior gifts, earn respect in the world.” Cugoano published his book, which was an-other history and a decolonial political treatise, before Kant defined “enlightenment” based on an ethno-class centrism geo-historically located in the “heart of Europe,” which according to Hegel, was formed by England, France and Germany. However, Cugoano was unthinkable. Kant believed that “So fundamental is the difference between these two races of man (White and Negro, additionally mine, WM), and it appears to be as great in regard to mental capacities as in color.”

Thus, modernity conceived in terms of a rhetoric of salvation, goes hand in hand justifying the logic of coloniality: control and appropriation of land, exploitation of labor, human lives converted into commodities; control of authority; control of gender and sexuality; control of knowledge and subjectivity. All spheres just mentioned are interrelated and integrated into the logic of domination and exploitation: the logic of coloniality. Modernity and coloniality are not part of a binary structure: they are two sides of the same coin. Together, they engender decolonial thinking and action. Cugoano is one example. There were others back in the sixteenth century. What holds the spheres of life and society, in which the logic of coloniality operates, is a locus of enunciation grounded in patriarchy and racism. The diagram of such relations is as follows:



The colonial matrix of power (CMP) is described in four interrelated domains in which the struggle for control, accommodation, resistance, re-existence, etc. takes place: the control of economy (labor, land, natural resources); the control of authority (government, army); the control of gender and sexuality (control of family life and reproduction of the species based on the Christian/bourgeois family) and the control of knowledge and subjectivity (epistemology, aesthetics). We further assume the colonial matrix of power was formed in the sixteenth century, within the process of Spanish and Portuguese control over the New World and later America. That is, the colonial matrix of power is not a cookie cutter that conquistadores and missionaries used to mold the New World with, but a complex structure, constantly in the making.

Three observations would be helpful to understand how we understand the CMP. First, once put in place in the Atlantic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was continued by the Dutch, British and French imperial expansion from the end of the eighteenth century to the period of decolonization after WWII. Although it is true that colonialism ended with twentieth century decolonization, coloniality was again re-framed by the leadership of the United States. How can we understand the invasion of Iraq if not as a reframing of the colonial matrix of power, in terms of control of authority, economy, gender and sexuality and knowledge and subjectivity? The entire rhetoric of modernity, development, democracy justifying the invasion, hides the dismantling of local forms of socio-economic organization, knowledge and subjectivity. Secondly, world history is not just the local history from Greece to Rome to the Europe of the sixteenth century to the United States, but the complex and conflictive co-existence of many other local histories that at different times were colonized by Euro-Atlantic imperialism (the Americas, India, Africa) or interfered with Russia (since Peter and Catherine); and again with the emergence of the Soviet Union in 1917; China (since 1848, since the Opium War) entangled Japan (since the Meiji Restoration in 1865). The colonial matrix of power remained as a matrix of control, domination and exploitation. Today, the situation is becoming more complex, because of the polycentric characteristic of global capitalism. I have described such co-existence structured by the colonial and imperial differences.¹ Third, patriarchy and racism are placed at the center of the diagram because both constitute the epistemic foundation of Western epistemology (e.g., Greek, Latin and the six modern European and imperial languages). The material apparatus of enunciation was structured not only formally (as Emile Benveniste theorized it), but also geo- and body-politically. The epistemic agents were, and have been, male, Christian and European. Ottobah Cugoano, instead, was male but Black-African, captured in Africa, transported to the Caribbean, and then to England. Cugoano’s de-colonial move starts from the material conditions and experiences of someone who has been cast in the exteriority of the world. As you can see, I am being quite Marxist in this statement.

Patriarchy was already in place in the sixteenth century, and it was the structure of knowledge that justified the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula and offered the epistemic foundation of the Renaissance University. Patriarchal foundations of knowledge invented the notion of “woman” and imposed it on societies in which such a concept did not exist. Of course, distinctions between male and female or sun and moon, were made and were basic for the organization of society, but “women” in Western Christianity and its secularization in the bourgeois family, was one dimension of the colonial matrix of power (e.g. a package of economic, political and ethical control and domination). Notice that slavery never stopped. The human being continues to be a commodity, like any other commodity (e.g., dispensable life), but are no longer Black Africans, but women from the ex-Second and Third World. The global trafficking of women, is not a trafficking of women from Norway, France, the US or Germany. Enslaved women are from Moldavia, the Ukraine, East and South Asia, Argentina, Russia and several other non-European locales.

My (and our) idea of de-linking is de-linking from the colonial matrix of power, of which the neo-liberal version of capitalism is one component, both in terms of time and space: in terms of time, neo-liberalism is the latest version we know of the history of imperial modernity/coloniality and capitalism as lifestyle, in which growth and accumulation takes precedence over humans and life in general. The distinctive and most pernicious feature of capitalism is this: making of life, human and life in general, dispensable. First comes economic benefit, reduction of cost, all kinds of “legal corruption” (as is well known in the pharmaceutical industry and in the uses and abuses of transgenics – e.g., Monsanto). De-linking from the colonial matrix of power implies a gigantic, collective and global diversity or pluri-verity – not like the global revolution of the proletarians or the global conversion to Christianity or Islam, but in a coordinate diversity of vision towards a society in which the goal is not living to work or living to consume, but instead, working to live and consuming to live. This is, in a nutshell, an orientation of life that President of Bolivia Evo Morales stated as “bien vivir” (living well) instead of “vivir mejor (que los otros)” [living better (than the others)]. De-linking from the colonial matrix of power is a subjective and theoretical operation, and it is hard, because it is not just economic transactions we are talking about, but the control of knowledge and subjectivity. The massive “cultural industry” is one example where control of knowledge and subjectivity go together. Look at what is going on now with the spectacular marketization of Frank Sinatra, like in that famous story by Bioy Casares, *La invención de Morel*, that Alain Resnais and Robbe-Grillet translated into a film (*Last Year in Marienbad*). Frank Sinatra appeared on stage at the recent Grammy Awards (2008), a good decade and a half after his death, singing as he did in the 1950s. Thus, de-linking is also the imagining of a world in which authority is not regulated and controlled by the hegemony of Western political theory. For example, the Zapatistas’s dictum, extracted from ancient indigenous knowledge (instead of Western knowledge, that is, the political theory from Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Leo Strauss, etc.) summarized in terms of “to govern, while simultaneously obeying,” instead of living in a world in which those who govern do not obey, and those governed do not govern. In a political theory, such as the one expressed by the Indigenous Zapatistas, there is no room “for the state of exception.” There is no sovereign in that political organization, who can decide on the state of exception. And of course it is hard. But in order to do it, it is necessary to have a de-colonial vision and conviction. De-linking from the imperial/colonial control of gender and sexuality (e.g., through the invention of the concept of “woman” and the Christian, and then of the liberal heterosexual normativity) implies envisioning a world in which gender distinction and sexual preferences

1 For instance, “Theorizing from the Borders; Shifting to Geo and Body-Politics of Knowledge,” <http://est.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/9/2/205>, 2006.

are not determined by a moral code dictated by the truth of a transcendental behavior or by the needs of the market, but basically, by dignity and love not regulated by economic needs of capitalism and the concurrent collaboration of state institutions. The control and reproduction of a type of economy we describe as capitalism, is part of a larger cosmology that we (in the project of modernity/coloniality) describe as the colonial matrix of power. Feminists of all color, including white feminists, as well as queer theorists and activists, are hard at work in that sphere. De-linking, then, means de-linking from that matrix and engaging in a process of de-colonial thinking, whose historical origins can be found in the sixteenth century. In other words, the emergence of a regulatory structure – the colonial matrix of power – engendered by necessity, strives for de-colonial responses. Briefly stated, de-linking requires epistemic disobedience (<http://subalternstudies.com/?p=193>).

Now, to answer the heart of your question, I would say that capitalism is not just capital, but a complex structure that, among other things, controls subjectivities. De-linking begins from there, from being able to de-link from the life-form that capitalism promotes. Capitalism has become the most effective mode of conversion. Suppose three-quarters of the world’s population, coordinated by using new technologies (internet, cell phones) decides to consume to live rather than live to consume, and work to live instead of living to work. That would be a beginning. Imagine Bill and Linda Gates’ Foundation, with an endowment of \$37 billion. The foundation is larger than the budget of Bolivia, and larger than many non-private institutions working on global health and other areas, such as agricultural development in Africa. What would you say? It is a noble cause – the foundation is helping many people. But of course, it maintains the non-questioned assumptions of a life-style, of global dimension, that promotes accumulation of wealth not just to exploit and expropriate, but to benefit. Of course, it requires a certain amount of intelligence to achieve what Bill Gates achieved. But the problem is not Bill Gates’ personal intelligence, but the society in which he grew up and was educated, and the vision such a society encouraged him with.

M. G.: *How we understand the process of epistemic de-coloniality, depends not only on how we understand the colonial division, but even more so on where we stand on it. Therefore, can you conceptualize this colonial division further as well and explain what the difference would be in struggles against capital and coloniality by those coming from Europe (which is not one!), for example, being those with ex-socialist/communist European backgrounds, and the others, for example, coming from Latin America, being Zapatista peasants and part of the Zapatista struggle?*

W. M.: Let’s start by “coming from Europe.” There is a persistent misunderstanding, perhaps due to what Portuguese sociologists describe as “lazy reason,” which remains in denial, with respect to the distinction between Europe and Eurocentrism. You are right, it is difficult to pin down what Europe is and who Europeans are. The same thing happens with any classification of people by continent. I am not interested in Europe, but in Eurocentrism. However, a few words about Europe are in order. The key point in your question is this “not only on how we understand the colonial division, but even more so on where we stand on it.” The colonial matrix of power and the particular kind of manage and control of economy that we refer to as “capitalist economy” has been – since the sixteenth century – one of the four legs of the CMP. The CMP is not an object to be studied by sociologists, anthropologists, economists, political scientists, historians, and bio-technologists in all the known varieties, nanotechnologists and the like. On the contrary, all the disciplines just mentioned are already embedded in the CMP. It is the CMP that created the conditions for their existence. Thus, it is necessary to shift the geography of reason and the ethics and politics of knowledge (e.g., geopolitics of knowledge in short) and work towards the de-coloniality of knowledge and being.

The de-colonial shift consists in de-linking from the hegemony of the epistemology of the zero-point (Santiago Castro-Gómez, *Cultural Studies* 21, 2-3, 2007) of Christian Theology (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries) and its secularization in philosophy and science from the eighteenth century on. The first step then, is epistemic de-linking, because while knowledge is controlled, as it is now, by the reproduction of the colonial matrix of power in the name of development – technological advancement and marvelous gadgets, the privilege of economic and military progress, the last and forthcoming “post” – we will remain within the colonial matrix, engaged in radical internal criticism (like Bartolomé de las Casas and Marx, for example), but still believing that there is only one game in town: the game we are in, and that there is no possibilities of de-linking. In other words, it would be impossible to think of getting out of the bubble of *The Truman Show*. The naturalized belief that has now spread around the world is that progress and development is good for all; the more you produce and the more people consume, the happier they – the consumer – are. Within that structure, those who are in it, live to work; live to consume. Success is the final horizon. In this sense, Hillary Clinton’s presidential campaign became a paradigmatic case of this naturalized blindness: the more she advanced in the campaign, and the difficulties in getting ahead increased, it became more and more obvious that what she wants is to be president. The vision, and the concerns of why she wants to be president, was relegated to a second-place position. One wonders now, if she ever had another goal than just being president, just making it, because she was trained from the early days in her life, in her family, school and college, to succeed. Well, I am not promoting failure. I am just saying that a society whose subjects are encouraged to personal success and the accumulation of wealth and prestige is a sick society. Becoming the president became the ultimate success for her. A paradigmatic example of living to work and be successful, living to consume (commodities or institutional locus); she is the most dramatic example of a philosophy of life that consists – as Evo Morales often states – in living and doing better than the others, rather than in doing to live well with the others. I believe that in telling you this story in the way I am telling it, I am already in the process of de-linking, of moving away from *The Truman Show* bubble of modernity/coloniality. And, in the last analysis, the differences in how the CMP is confronted in relation to the place we occupy within it, start with the awareness implied in your very question. Very often, I have white, Anglo-students in my class who ask similar questions. My answer is that they are not guilty of being born into a high middle class family in the United States. And once they become aware of their location within the CMP of power, they have the choice to shift gears and join de-colonial thinking. Since there is a choice, there is not just politics but ethics involved. They, the students, have to understand that they are not students of color who have to join their way of thinking, as progressive as it may be, but the other way round.

M. G.: *To put it differently, how do we develop an inter-epistemic field between those coming from the Western Eurocentric world, nevertheless aware of a proper colonial past and neocolonial present, that want to work with those on the other side of the colonial difference that had been colonized in the past?*

W. M.: Pursuing the line of argument that is hinted at in my last paragraph, I would say that in principle, it is by taking the geo-politics of knowledge seriously, which goes hand in hand with de-colonizing knowledge and being. What do I mean by that? That de-colonial projects shall come, are coming, from the non-Euro-American world as well as from the articulation of immigrant consciousness within Europe and the US. See, the accumulation of money went hand in hand with the accumulation of meaning (e.g., knowledge): major banks, major stock markets, major museums and universities are in France, England, Germany, Spain, Italy, Portugal and the US. It is only recently that history has been moving toward a polycentric accumulation of money, although the control of meaning (e.g., knowledge) is still in the hands of Western (countries mentioned above) institutions. Our work (“we” scholars, intellectuals of all strands in the media and in the streets) as the dissenting and educated elite, is no longer only of white stock because “we” come in all imaginable colors: Indigenous of the Americas and Aborigines of New Zealand and Australia; Blacks in Africa, the Caribbean, the Andes and the United States (Kant would be surprised today); Brown Middle Eastern Muslims and Brown Latinos and Latinas in the United State, as well as Indians and Pakistanis; and also Whites from the Caucasus and Iran. And of course “we” are not only White and heterosexual males but of variegated colors and sexual preferences. That is, a variegated spectrum of subjectivities is what matters under the visible and metaphorical language of “the color of your skin” and “the composition of your blood” (in West Virginia one voter was quoted in a newspaper as saying that he will vote for McCain over Obama, because he wants a president of “American blood.” That is, geo-politics of knowledge goes hand in hand with body-politics of knowledge. How then, can “we” (all of us around the world, who in one way or another have been touched by the colonial wound, in Europe, the United States, Africa, Asia or Latin America) work together? Taking geo- and body-politics of knowledge seriously would be one way. That would mean abandoning the dream of a “new abstract universal,” which is good for everybody, although such an abstract universal is premised and conceived, based on the experience of “my community and interests.”

a) Since the sixteenth century and the modern/colonial foundation of racism, certain regions of the world, and people dwelling within it, were classified as “lesser.” Who was in the position to classify? Not Black Africans, American-Indians or Arabic Muslims. No, they were classified, but had no say in the classification. The classification, and success, was invented and implemented by Western Christian theologians, and later on, by secular philosophers and scientists. Thus, knowledge was cast as uni-versal, although it was created and enacted in one region (Western Christianity) and by a particular community of bodies (White Males publicly assuming the rightfulness of heterosexuality). They did not perform such classification as such, as white, heterosexual, Western Christians and males. They did it, because they believe in a uni-versal, non-located and disembodied truth. These men felt that they were just the mediators of a universal and transcendental way of living and being. Santiago Castro-Gómez (a member of the collective modernity/coloniality) has been describing such epistemology as “the hubris of the zero-point”: the knowledge of the observer who cannot be observed. Today, this principle is at work in all schools of management, for example: looking at the valley from above, seated on a rock on the mountain, planning how to manage the population below.

b) Geo- and body-politics of knowledge are key words in the vocabulary of de-colonial epistemology that operate in two directions: in one direction, they unveil the silenced geo- and body-politics of knowledge

REARTIKULACIJA

Marina Gržinić

REARTIKULACIJA: OD SAMOORGANIZACIJE DO EKSTREMNE ORGANIZACIJE

V pričujočem besedilu bom skušala na eni strani ponuditi konceptualni, politični in ideološki premislek o produkcijskih pogojih časopisa in platforme *Reartikulacija*, na drugi strani pa oceniti, kako teoretsko reartikulirati *Reartikulacijo* kot specifično organizacijsko formo. Kdor dvomi v organizacijski model, ker naj ta ne bi upošteval razrednega boja proti izkoriščanju, je v zmoti. Toda kdor verjame, da »networking«, čustva in »spoštovanje« lahko nadomestijo kategoriji, kot sta »pretirano izkoriščanje« in »razredni boj«, se prav tako moti.

Potem ko so že izšle tri številke časopisa *Reartikulacija* in medtem ko število naših podpornikov narašča, je potrebno ponovno razmisliti o produkcijskih pogojih, kar lahko na novo prevedem v dokaj neprijetno vprašanje: Od kod denar za izdajanje takšnega aktivističnega časopisa, ki mu očitno primanjkuje institucionalnega zaledja? Vprašanje se navezuje na širše razmere, ki v Evropi postajajo sila zaskrbljujoče in so drugod vse bolj običajne. Gre namreč za pospešeno privatiziranje vseh sektorjev umetniških, kulturnih in socialnih polj v neoliberalnem globalnem kapitalizmu. Povsod okrog nas – ne le v Sloveniji – postaja možnost realizacije obsežnih umetniških in kulturnih projektov, ki niso prirojeni velikim umetniškim institucijam, odločilno in torej dokončno odvisna od kapitala multinacionalnih bančnih konglomeratov, zavarovalniških podjetij, večnacionalnih trgov, naftnih in gradbenih podjetij itd. Te multinacionalke v čedalje večjem obsegu podpirajo tudi uradne umetniške in kulturne ustanove (ki so jih v preteklosti izdatno podpirale države) ter celo izobraževalne ustanove. Proces povezovanja celotnega programa in vizije določene socialne in politične »emancipacijske« prakse v specifičnem kontekstu s privatnim kapitalom, financiranjem, pomočjo, z infrastrukturnimi finančnimi vložki ali s čimerkoli že hočete postaja po eni strani zaskrbljujoče vidno, po drugi strani pa povsem normalno dejstvo! Kapitalistične (in nekoč socialistične) države torej vse manj in manj vlagajo v umetniške in kulturne projekte, ki niso povezani z

of Eurocentered (remember: Greek, Latin and six modern European imperial languages) modernity. Research had already been done disclosing the hidden geo- and body-politics in Martin Heidegger’s philosophy. His link with Nazism is already well known (body-politics), but the fact is that his philosophy was built under the presupposition of the centrality of Germany within the global centrality of Europe (cf. Charles Bambach’s *Heidegger Roots*, <http://www.amazon.com/Heideggers-Roots-Nietzsche-National-Socialism/dp/0801472660>). On the other hand, geo- and body-politics of knowledge affirm the right and the legitimacy of knowledge disqualified by the imperialism of Eurocentered epistemology as myth, folklore, native, traditional, non-sustainable, demonic, subversive, irrational, etc. “Oh, you are talking about situated knowledge” is a common response from post-modern colleagues. Sure, but situated knowledge in the colonial matrix of power. Border thinking and de-colonial projects shall emerge from the receiving end of Western expansion, as I suggested with the examples of Evo Morales and Sun-Yat Sen. Pluri-versality comes into being as far as connectors can be established and the hegemony of one of the nodes avoided. In a pluri-versal world there is no place for one hegemonic node. This is a problem with Ernesto Laclau’s empty signifier. Laclau still believes in the need for one hegemonic project, rather than in the hegemony of the connectors, thus avoiding the hegemony of one-and-only “abstract universal.” Pluri-versal hegemony lies within the connectors that link the global diversity of de-colonial projects.²

Once such principles are accepted, the question is what kind of de-colonial projects can emerge from colonial local histories: from Eastern and Central Europe (that is, the Europe at the margins of the imperial states, and with dense and diverse histories, languages, and religions); from colonial immigrants within Europe and the US and from European (in senso largo, including the Balkans and Eastern Europe) scholars and intellectuals who want to de-link from Eurocentered (senso stricto – Hegel’s heart of Europe) conception of life and knowledge and join the “ex-Third World crowd” and the mass of migrants from the ex-colonies to the heart of Europe and the US.

c) A more specific way to understand what I am trying to argue is to elaborate on the distinction between “objectivity without parentheses” and “objectivity within parentheses.” The distinction was introduced by Chilean neurophysiologist Humberto Maturana. Basically, the argument is the following: Objectivity without parentheses leads to an epistemology of obedience, to a closed political system open to be taken by totalitarian regimes, and to an economy in which increases of production and wealth, take priority over human lives and life in general. Intercultural dialogue or inter-epistemic dialogue between epistemologies, based on the premise of objectivity without parentheses is, on the one hand, limited within a given system, and on the other hand, could be deadly when agencies defending opposite objectivities without parentheses, confront each other. Dialogue becomes unsustainable. Objectivity within parentheses, on the other hand, opens up the doors for true inter-epistemic (and intercultural) dialogues. Its realization, however, had the difficult task of overcoming objectivity without parentheses. In a world where objectivity-in-parentheses is hegemonic, the observer accepts explanatory paths, political organization, economic philosophy that is secondary to life, human lives, as well as life in general. If the final horizon is the flourishing, creativity and well-being, and not the control of authority and the control of the economy, which are predicated as the primary ends to insure the flourishing of life, then objectivity in parentheses would be the necessary path to insure true inter-epistemic and intercultural dialogues. I quote Humberto Maturana: “There are two distinct attitudes, two paths of thinking and explaining. The first path I

² An extended argument on the topic can be found in Walter D. Mignolo and Madina Tlostanova, “Theorizing From the Borders; Shifting to the Geo- and Body-Politics of knowledge,” in *European Journal of Social Theory*, <http://est.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/9/2/205>.

call objectivity without parentheses. It takes for granted the observer-independent existence of objects that – it is claimed – can be known; it believes in the possibility of an external validation of statements. Such a validation would lend authority an unconditional legitimacy to what is claimed and would, therefore, aim at subjection. It entails the negation of all those who are not prepared to agree with the “objective” facts. One does not have to listen or try to understand them. The fundamental emotion reigning here is powered by the authority of universally valid knowledge. One lives in the domain of mutually exclusive transcendental ontologies: each ontology supposedly grasps objective reality; what exists seems independent from one’s personality and one’s actions” (Maturana, 2004: 42). The other attitude is defined as objectivity in parentheses. In this attitude: “[...] the emotional basis is the enjoyment of the company of other human beings. The question of the observer is accepted fully, and every attempt is made to answer it. *The distinction between objects and the experience of existence is, according to this path, not denied but the reference to objects is not the basis of explanations, it is the coherence of experiences with other experiences that constitutes the foundation of all explanation* [...] We have entered the domain of constitute ontologies: all Being is constituted through the Doing of observers. If we follow this path of explanation, we become aware that we can in no way claim to be in possession of the truth, but that there are numerous possible realities [...] **If we follow this path of explanation, we cannot demand the subjection of our fellow human beings, but will listen to them, seek cooperation and communication**” (Maturana, 2004: 42; emphasis added by W. Mignolo).

It would take too long to explore the political and ethical consequences of a world in which objectivity and epistemology in parentheses would be hegemonic. But I could add that Maturana’s reflections from the sphere of sciences, states in a different vocabulary the Zapatistas’ dictum: a world in which many worlds would co-exist. The realization of that world, built upon intercultural dialogues, will require the hegemony of an epistemology in parentheses. Maturana has conceived it as “multi-verse,” the Zapatistas as “a world in which many worlds will co-exist.” In our project, modernity/coloniality, we talk about “pluri-versality as a uni-versal project.” No need to debate which one is the best, the correct, and the right one. Such a debate will place us squarely into the epistemology without parentheses where each of us wants “to win.” Notice also that “multi-verse” and “pluri-versality” are quite different from the idea of “pluralism” in the vocabulary of the liberal political theories critiqued by Carl Schmitt. And both concepts are quite different from Schmitt’s “pluri-verse,” which he conceives as a plurality of states. Both liberal political theory and Schmitt’s, are based on the paradigmatic example of modern-imperial societies (England, France, Germany), while Maturana’s multi-verse, our (the collective) “pluri-versality” and the Zapatistas, are based on the experiences of modern-colonial societies. The first takes the modern states as a model, the second, the colonial state. I suggest a thought experiment: take both, the pluralism of liberal political theory and “apply” it to Bolivia, and see what you get. And take Schmitt’s pluri-verse and “apply” it to Latin America and see what you get. The option is the de-colonial one: shift the geography of reason, think from the experiences of Bolivia and Latin America, and confront the regional and limited scope of liberal political pluralism and the Schmitt pluri-verse.

The second part of the interview will be published in *Reartikulacija* no. 5, autumn 2008.

rodne prispevke. S tretjo številko časopisa smo naše sodelavce začeli plačevati v obliki prevodov njihovih tekstov v angleščini, ki jih opravlja strokovnjaki. Vsak pisec lahko svoj članek na osnovi principa »creative commons« nemoteno objavlja kjerkoli. V svetu, ki mu vlada angleški jezik, pomenita prevajanje in lektoriranje denar. V oblikah izražanja v angleškem jeziku se je vzpostavil cel niz hierarhij. Uporaba zgledne angleščine postaja meja za možnost vstopa v prostor Imperija. Na osnovi prevodov in modifikacij določenega »nivoja« kvalitete prispevkov v angleškem jeziku se skozi lektoriranje in standardizacijo v procesu razumevanja izgubi veliko število konceptov, saj so prečiščeni in prilagojeni in tako izgubijo svojo moč. Proces se odvija tudi v nasprotni smeri. Namesto da bi kot v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja obstajalo multikulturno razumevanje drugih, se nove generacije teoretikov – zdaj visoko izobražena, predvsem belopolta mladina srednjega razreda iz Velike Britanije, ZDA, Kanade itd. – ne ozirajo na to, ali bodo razumljene izven prvega kapitalističnega sveta. Potujejo, in zdi se, da predavajo le drug drugemu; čeprav nastopajo v drugem geografskem prostoru in kontekstu, jih niti najmanj ne zanima, ali razumemo njihovo naglo angleško momljanje, ko arogantno predstavljajo svoje »nove« teorije. Lahko trdim, da v ozadju *Reartikulacije* obstaja jasna samoorganizacijska ideološka in političnoaktivistična pozicija, a če upoštevamo opisane produkcijske pogoje in odprta vprašanja o privatizaciji procesov umetnosti, kulture in izobraževalnih nivojev neoliberalnih kapitalističnih družb, lahko rečemo, da *Reartikulacija* deluje v ekstremno (samo)organizacijskih pogojih. Še več, predlagam ne le, da se predpona *samo-* uporablja le v oklepaju, pač pa, da se je povsem znebimo!

V eseju »Past Futures: Extreme Subjectification. The Engineering of the Future and the Instrumentalization of Life«, objavljenem v romunskem časopisu *Vector* leta 2005, sta Rozalinda Borcilă & Cristian Nae pokazala, da globalizacija kapitalizma ni le razpršena artikulacija moči, temveč konfiguracija, ki utemeljuje medij produkcije človeških odnosov; korporativno gospodarstvo ustvarja novi proces oblikovanja subjektivnosti. Ta proces subjektivizacije je označen kot ekstremen in napada ter premagaue ustaljeni zahodnjaški individualni jaz. Potrebno je povedati, da sodobni neoliberalni kapitalizem deluje na dveh nivojih: prvi je dominacija teritorijev ter kopicenje dobrin in uslug, drugi pa je intenzivni proces pasivizacije, ki je dobesedna ponovna apropiacija, prisvojitve subjekta, ki postane del planetarnega upravljanja z velikim številom populacije prek ponotranjene kontrole (ang. *governmentality*). Takšen položaj zahteva ekstremno obliko organizacije in oblikovanja nasprotnih strategij. Z ekstremnimi oblikami (samo)organizacije lahko nemara ustvarimo oblike delovanja, ki se postavljajo nasproti neoliberalnim globalnim kapitalističnim silam, ki delujejo na osnovi stopnjevanja razdalje med majhnimi tehnokratsko in vodstveno usmerjenimi skupinami na oblasti, ki nadzorujejo alokacijo kapitala, in vsem ostalim, ki živijo pod eksistenčnim minimumom. Ekstremni produkcijski pogoji in ekstremna organizacijska oblika, ki veljajo tudi za *Reartikulacijo*, ne želijo predstavljati le »lepote in udobja« zahodnjaškega jaza in ju tudi ne morejo, saj je *Reartikulacija* posledica popolne predanosti umetnikov, teoretikov in prevajalcev v ekstremno negotovih pogojih življenja in dela. *Reartikulacija* je posledica spoja dveh struj – politične in ekonomske. V neoliberalnem kapitalizmu obe delujeta skupaj in vplivata na možnost sleherne produkcije. Prav poudarjanje, da je *Reartikulacija* konceptualno ekstremna oblika organizacije, nam omogoča, da konceptualno natančno artikuliramo politično-ekonomsko obliko lastnega delovanja. *Reartikulacija* politike ne razume le kot sestavni del vsebine časopisa, temveč si zastavlja vprašanja o konceptu političnega v neoliberalnem procesu upravljanja znotraj kapitalizma, ki z nami upravlja, nas zatira in sistematično nadzira.

Sodobni procesi nekropolitike dokazujejo, da se ustvarja nov razred ekstremnih subjektivitet, ki nima nobenih možnosti za avtonomno odločanje in avtonomna dejanja. *Reartikulacija* zato ponuja obliko popolne reifikacije, s katero se je moč braniti in reartikulirati ekstremne pogoje, v katerih se je skupaj z umetnostjo, kulturo in izobraževanjem znašel družbeni prostor, ki je vse bolj reguliran ne kot bios (življenje), temveč kot smrt (necro), kot nekropolitično merilo nadzora naših življenj z gledišča smrti v globaliziranem kapitalističnem svetu. Potrebno je poudariti tudi, da pozicija popolne reifikacije, ki jo uvaja *Reartikulacija*, vztraja pri ločevanju ali oddaljevanju od alienacije. Alienacija v medčloveških odnosih, ki je motivirala generacije kritičnega mišljenja (Frankfurtska šola) je danes znotraj neoliberalnega globalnega kapitalizma le del stanja spektakla, ki alienacijo predstavlja kot senzualno, modno, luksuzno in »seksi« obliko subjektivnosti v zahodnem svetu (ki je podrta s tehnologizacijo komunikacije in estetizacijo zasebnega življenja). Senzualizirana alienacija je zaščitna znamka neoliberalnega globalnega kapitalizma. Rozalinda Borcilă in Cristian Nae trdita, da je »jaz definicija delovanja *svobodne volje* v okviru teleološkega projekta in je figura, skozi katero se v zahodni filozofiji vzpostavi subjektivnost; figura subjekta locira v današnji moderni dobi koncept svobode v kontekstu procesov nadziranja, ki se izpeljujejo znotraj instance popolnega upravljanja kapitalizma. Ta instanca, ki je odgovorna za racionalno determiniranost človeštva, deluje kot agens in tudi kot oblika, s katero je moč uokviriti, razumeti in dominirati nad človekovo eksistenco zunaj strogo biološkega režima« (Borcilă in Nae, str. 145). To človeštvo pa se vsakodnevno preoblikuje in le nekateri veljajo za ljudi, drugi (SIC!) pa se ne bodo nikoli uspeli emancipirati do te mere, da bi jih kapitalistični neoliberalni stroj upošteval kot ljudi. Borcilă in Nae menita, da jaz preprosto preči dualnost zasebnega in javnega in tako le utrjuje produkcijo subjektivnosti v mreži medčloveških odnosov in družbenih praks, ki uporabljajo normalizirane neoliberalne postopke subjektivne produkcije. Jaz je problematičen in ga je potrebno razumeti v soodvisnosti z dolgo zgodovino kapitalizma. »Subjekt je le sodobno poimenovanje za človeka [...]. Z definicijo subjekta kot entitete samorefleksije, sodobnost ustvarja pojem subjekta kot oblike substantiviranja človeka (tj. človeka, obstoječega samega po sebi), ki se gradi v povezavi s konceptom lastnine. Tudi načini, kako zahtevamo, da se subjektu povrne njegov status, niso nič drugega kot oblike njegove ponovne prisvojitve (appropriacije)« (Borcilă in Nae, str. 145).

Potrebna je razveza (»de-linking« je termin, ki ga predlaga Walter Mignolo kot koncept in proces artikulacije), s katero bomo predpono *samo-* v izrazu samoorganizacija ločili od njene naravne kohabitacije z neoliberalnim kapitalističnim sistemom. Najbolj primerna definicija organizacijske oblike *Reartikulacije* je torej, da gre za ekstremno organizirano teoretsko in umetniško platformo, ki posega v družbeno in politično sfero. *Reartikulacija* ni svobodna oblika racionalnega

jaza, ki se je odločil, da bo morda »raje deloval«, temveč brutalno izsiljena oblika organizacije v ekstremnih pogojih, brez denarja, pristora, publike in vidnosti. Le na tak način je mogoče na novo povezati *Reartikulacijo* z ekstremnimi oblikami inženiringa subjektivnosti, ki jih je treba aktivirati, da bi lahko delovali proti neoliberalnemu kapitalizmu.

Viri: Rozalinda Borcilă & Cristian Nae, »Past Futures: Extreme Subjectification. The Engineering of the Future and the Instrumentalization of Life«, v: Vector, št. 1, Iași, Romunija 2005 (str. 144–153).

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Iz angleščine prevedel Jernej Možic.

Marina Gržinić

REARTIKULACIJA: FROM SELF-ORGANIZATION TOWARDS EXTREME-ORGANIZATION

In this present text, I am on the one hand, interested in conceptually, politically and ideologically rethinking the conditions of the production of the journal and platform *Reartikulacija*, and questioning how to theoretically rearticulate *Reartikulacija* as a specific organizational form, on the other. Whoever mistrusts the organizational model, saying that it disregards the class struggle against exploitation, is wrong. But whoever believes that networking, affect and “respect” may put aside categories such as “over-exploitation” and “the class struggle” is wrong, too.

The question of rethinking the conditions of production that I can re-translate into a clearly disturbing question concerning where the money/funds for the publishing of such an activist newspaper – obviously lacking any institutional background – come from, must be posed after the three editions have been published, and the number of logos of our supporters increases. This question is connected to a much wider situation, which is becoming disturbingly obvious within Europe and is increasingly normalized elsewhere, that of the accelerated privatization of each and every sector of the artistic, cultural and social fields by neoliberal global capitalism. All around us – not only in Slovenia – the possibility for realizing substantial artistic and cultural projects, which are not made for the measuring up of major institutions of art is becoming vitally, and therefore terminally, dependent on the funding (money!) from multinational bank conglomerates and insurance companies, multinational market businesses, oil and construction companies, etc. These multinationals support, to an increasing extent, the official institutions of art and culture (which were abundantly supported by their respective national states in the past), and currently even include the institutions of education. This process of linking the whole program and vision of a certain social and political “emancipatory” practice within a specific context, by means of private capital, funding, help, an infrastructural “kick” – or just be my guest – while adding a new monitor to it, is becoming on a one side a disturbingly obvious and on the other a normalized fact! Therefore, the capitalist states (as well as the once socialist ones) invest less and less into art and cultural projects that are not connected to the art market, thus leaving the whole sector to what is termed as raw, direct privatization. The state and its apparatuses, ministries of science, education, culture etc. are abandoning the function they had in the past as founders of, not only educational, but also non-commercial art and cultural independent institutions. The same can be said about the supranational EU legislation. In the past, they had to work at least programmatically for public interest, and for the benefit of promoting important programs for social diversification, as well as legislative policies required in order to fight discriminatory populist policies and open the social and political space for equal opportunities for sexual, racial, migrant differences, etc. Today, this is not even the case on a normative level. As reported by Tatjana Greif, the *European Commission* suddenly dropped the horizontal directive from its annual program – a legislative policy against discrimination on the grounds of age, disability, sexual orientation and religion, as stated in Article 13 of the *Amsterdam Treaty*. Instead, it is supposed to protect the disabled only, whereas other categories are to be regulated with the help of non-binding recommendations. The state only supports selected, and through this selection a very ideological set of projects, which empower only and solely the neoliberal ideology of capitalism and the “national” state’s *Blut und Boden* ideology, on a daily basis. In order to develop non-market-orientated and critical art and cultural projects, we have to ask private companies for help and make recourse to private money and funding. As we know, capital has only one specific goal, the drive for surplus value. Every investment is never merely and purely about the exchange and development of understanding and mutual cooperation. The fact that our self-organizational platform is forced to depend heavily (as the capitalist state is not even interested in financing registered independent organizations) on private money and private funding in order to survive, forces us to raise the question as to what is going to happen with our politics in the future? The neoliberal capitalist state and its apparatuses, which put constant pressure on not only independent (but as well selected national) art, cultural and educational institutions towards relying more and more on private funding, enforce a terrain of dependency that is similar to drug addiction. It presents on the one side the concept of forced addiction to private funding of public programs, and on the other allows the neoliberal state to abandon (strategically serving capital) its funding of programs and projects of social and public importance. This is a twofold mechanism. It slowly but steadily imposes hierarchies, extending control over public content on the one side, while implementing behavioral, neoliberal-managerial patterns of mere empty expediency in relation to public and social programs on the other. *Reartikulacija* has been trying to co-opt funds from possible public (Slovenian state and European Union supra-state cultural, educational as well as research foundations), semi-public and fully private organizations (mostly banks and insurance companies, known throughout the European context), in order to cover the basic costs providing the fundamental conditions for the production of the journal (the translation of texts, language editing of the texts in English, in Slovenian, layout and corrections, printing, promotion and distribution), and the development of the platform. It seems that the willingness to publish a journal, and a clear concept of what is to be published within it (a vision of what I can term as a theoretical, ideologi-

cal, political point-of-view), is only the first step. The second one, which involves the realization of it, cannot be accomplished without the funds necessary in paying for the process of translation and editing. I want to put very clearly that this organization of production is not in any way a simple managerial redistribution of certain power structures, but the foundation of conditions that allow for the publishing of the journal. With *Reartikulacija*, we started with a straightforward analysis of global capitalism, the disintegration of the social state, and privatization of the public sphere; these processes are seen as “naturally” going along with an intensive process of the normalization of fascist, chauvinist, racist and anti-Semitic tendencies within Slovenia and Europe.

The first two editions of *Reartikulacija* were only and solely in Slovenian, all of the texts by authors from the Balkans, Europe and the rest of the world were translated into Slovenian, receiving the opportunity to be part of a common space that has always had high critical potential, but had not been seen as such. In the first two editions, we aimed to form a double platform, an alliance of interventions of theoretically and politically conceived forces, which previously had no chance to work together in the common Slovenian space. For the first time, so to speak, those involved in theory of contemporary art and culture, and queer and lesbian positions – that articulate continously one of the most important critical analyses of the European Union policies in Slovenia – gathered together and became part of the platform. From the third edition on, we have internationalized our position. We changed from an exclusively Slovenian platform to a Slovenian and English bilingual one, in order to internationalize the internal Slovenian positions as well as the other positions from our closest Balkan collaborators (from Belgrade, Sarajevo, Zagreb), who contributed up to that point with texts in their respective Slavic languages; on the other hand, we wanted to acquire positions from abroad that had not been published before, but were conceived as a contribution to as an “original” discursive and textual space. With the third edition, we also started to repay our contributors by investing in English translation, as well as English language editing, which is being done by professionals. Each writer ends up with a proper text, which can be used and republished freely, on a creative commons basis. Today, in a world hegemonized by the English language, translation and editing mean: money. A whole set of hierarchy is established, based and nurtured through the forms of English language expressions. The good and skillful usage of the English language is becoming the border to the possibility of entering the space of the Empire. On the basis of the translation and modification of what is termed as a certain “standard” of quality of English language texts, many concepts are lost in the process of “understanding” through editing and standardization. Being purified and customized, they lose their power. The process also takes place in the reverse situation, instead of the 1990s multicultural “understanding” of others’, the new generation of theoreticians today, well-educated, young middle class, mostly white that come from Great Britain, the USA, Canada, etc. are not making an effort in being understood outside of the First Capitalist world anymore. They travel around and seem to talk more and more only to each other, as being in other geographical spaces and contexts, they are not at all preoccupied with asking if we understand them when they, with their fast mumbling and bumbling English, arrogantly present their “new” theories. I can state that a very clear self-organizational ideological and political activist position is at the base of *Reartikulacija*, but if we take into consideration the described conditions of production, and the open questions regarding the processes of the privatization of art, culture and educational levels of neoliberal capitalist societies, we can state that *Reartikulacija* functions within an extreme (self)-organizational condition. I suggest that we not only put the prefix “self” in brackets, but even more so, that we get rid of it!

In their essay, “Past Futures: Extreme Subjectification. The Engineering of the Future and the Instrumentalization of Life,” published in the Romanian magazine *Vector* in 2005, Rozalinda Borcilă and Cristian Nae showed that the globalization of capitalism is not only a diffuse articulation of power, but a configuration that constitutes the very medium for the production of human relations; corporate economy produces a new process of the formatting of subjectivity. This process of subjectivization is termed as extreme and attacks and conquers the normalized Western individual self. It is necessary to state that contemporary neoliberal capitalism functions on two levels: one is the domination of territories and the accumulation of goods and services, and the other is an intensified process of passivity, that is the literal re-appropriation of the subject that becomes a part of planetary governmentality. This situation asks for an extreme form of organization and forming of counter-strategies. With extreme forms of (self)-organization, we may be able to counter-attack forms of neoliberal global capitalist forces that act with the intensification of the gap between those small technocratically- and managerially-orientated groups in power that control capital allocation, and all the others who live below the existential minimum. The proposed extreme conditions of production, and its extreme organizational form, which can also be applied to *Reartikulacija*, do not just want to present the “beauty and luxury” of the Western self – and it also cannot – as it is the outcome of a complete dedication of artists, theoreticians and translators in extremely precarious conditions of life and work. *Reartikulacija* is the outcome of two junctions, one is political and the other is economical. Both levels work together in neoliberal global capitalism and affect the possibility of any production. Therefore, in insisting on the naming of its form as being conceptually an extreme form of organization, *Reartikulacija* points to the emergence of the new possible politico-economical form of a proper agency. The vision of *Reartikulacija*, regarding politics, is not simply making politics part of the agenda of the journal, but asking what the concept of the political is, in light of the neoliberal processes of governmentality within capitalism that regulate, subjugate and systematically control us.

At present, the processes of necropolitics show that a completely new class of extreme subjectivities that have no possibility of any autonomous decisions and activities are being produced. *Reartikulacija* proposes a form of extreme reification with which to contest and rearticulate the extreme situation in which the social space, along with art, culture and education find themselves, more and more subtly regulated, not as bios (life), but as death (necro), as a necropolitical measure of the regulation of our lives from the perspective of death within the global capitalist world. It is important to expose that the extreme position of reification pushed by *Reartikulacija*, insists on a line of division or a distance towards alienation as well. The alienation of human relations, which was a situation that motivated generations of critical thinking (The Frankfurt School), is just a part of the conditions of spectacle within neoliberal global capitalism today that presents alienation as a sensualized, fancy,

luxurious, “sexy” form of subjectivity in the Western realm (that is backed up with the technologization of communication and the aesthetization of private life). The sensualized alienation is the trademark of neoliberal global capitalism. Rozalinda Borcilă & Cristian Nae explained that the “self is a definition of an agency of *free will* in the frame of a teleological project and it is the figure through which subjectivity emerges in Western philosophy, locating, in the modern age, the concept of freedom within the control of a governing instance. Responsible for the rational determination of mankind, this instance functions both as an agent and as a form by means of which one could frame, understand and dominate human existence outside the purely biological regime” (Borcilă & Nae, p. 145). The questionable part is that this humanity is reconfigured daily, and that only some are seen as humans, the others (SIC!) will never emancipate themselves enough to be viewed as human enough by the neoliberal capitalist machine. The self, according to Borcilă & Nae, simply crosses the private/public duality, and clearly cements the production

of subjectivity into the network of human relations and social practices that uses normalized neoliberal procedures of subject production. The self is problematic, and it has to be seen in its co-dependence on the long history of capitalism. “The subject is just the modern name for the human being... Defining the subject as self reflexivity, modernity creates the notion of Subject as a substantialization of human being, conceived in close connection to the concept of property. Even the manners of reclaiming subjectivity are conceived by such thinking as *appropriation*” (Borcilă & Nae, p. 145).

It is necessary to de-link (as used by Walter Mignolo as a concept and process of articulation) the self of self-organization from the natural co-habitation with the neoliberal capitalist system. Therefore, the most appropriate way of defining the organizational form of *Reartikulacija* is to claim that this is an extreme, organized, theoretical and artistic platform that intervenes in the social and political spheres. *Reartikulacija* is not

the free outcome of the rationalized self that “would prefer to act.” It is a brutally forced form of organization in the extreme situation of being without money, space, public and the possibility of visibility. Only in such a way, is it possible to reconnect *Reartikulacija* to the extreme forms of engineering subjectivity, and reclaim them for the counter-policy against neoliberal capitalism.

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Rozalinda Borcilă & Cristian Nae. “Past Futures: Extreme Subjectification. The Engineering of the Future and the Instrumentalization of Life.” in *Vector*, no. 1, Iași, Romania 2005 (pp. 144-153).

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INTERVENCIJA/ INTERVENTION

Bojan Radovič MÁTRICA, 2007

Fotografija predstavlja ruskega suprematista Kazimirja Maleviča (rojen 23. februarja 1878 – umrl 15. maja 1935) na smrtni postelji. Malevič je umrl leta 1935, ko je bila sovjetska strahovlada na vrhuncu. V Radovičevi fotografiji čez Malevičev obraz teče konceptualno nečitljivo besedilo. Na prvi pogled se zdi besedilo nesmiselno, a že bežen pogled na izvirno kodo razkriva, da je besedilo proizvedel računalnik; gre za programerski jezikovni ukaz, ki računalniku narekuje, kako digitalno »izpisati« prav to fotografsko podobo. Radovičevo fotografsko intervencijo lahko primerjamo s postopkom rekonstrukcije fotografije s pomočjo tehnologije. Besedilo je izpisano na prozorni folji (ki ima funkcijo fotografskega negativa), pozicionirani 1 cm nad fotografijo Maleviča. Ob osvetlitvi se črke teksta projicirajo na fotografijo. Sama fotografija je izredno nizke resolucije, ker je narejena z video kamero.

Bojan Radovič je fotograf in direktor *Hiše fotografije*, Novo mesto.

Bojan Radovič MATRIX, 2007

The photograph presents the Russian Suprematist Kasimir Malevich (born February 23, 1878 – died May 15, 1935) at his deathbed. Malevich died in 1935, at the height of Soviet terror. An impenetrable text conceptually runs across Malevich face in Radovič’s photograph. At first glance, it appears as a meaningless text, until a glance at the source code reveals it is a text generated by the computer; it is a programming language order that instructs the machine, the computer, how to digitally “depict” precisely this photographic image. Radovič’s photo modification is comparable to a reconstruction of photography through technology. The text is printed on a transparent foil (functioning as a photo negative), positioned 1 cm above the photograph of Malevich. Upon exposure the letters of the text are projected onto the photograph. The image itself is of very low resolution, as it is shot with a video camera.

Bojan Radovič is a photographer and director of *House of photography*, Novo mesto, Slovenia.

POZICIONIRANJE/ POSITIONING

Ana Hoffner PANIC: PERVERTED

Razširjeni kino. Leta 1969 je VALIE EXPORT s svojim telesom razširila parametre kina. V kinodvorani v Münchnu se je pojavila v hlačah z izrezom, ki je razkrival njene genitalije. S tem je želela pokazati, da meja med platnom in gledalci ni le vprašanje medija, pač pa tudi vprašanje družbenega spola. VALIE EXPORT se je kot feministka postavila nasproti moškemu, da bi sprevrnila pogled o moškem kot subjektu in ženski kot objektu. Boj za nek splošno veljaven »ženski« subjekt je danes postal zelo težaven iz različnih razlogov. Soočene smo s koncem politike identitet, kjer biti ženska ni več dovolj. Globalni neoliberalni kapitalizem je falocentrizem postavil za svoj najvišji red. Moč ENEGA (falusa), povzdignjenega do abstraktne ravni, vsakršen antagonizem zvede na vrsto identitetnih razlik, ki se jih lahko izprazni, nadzira in normalizira. Zastavlja se vprašanje, kako delovati v svetu, ki je presplošen in napolnjen z izpraznjenimi simboli, in kako poiskati svoje mesto v izrednem stanju, kjer je človek nenehoma zasledovan in nadzorovan?

Tako kot VALIE EXPORT sem v medijski instalaciji tudi sama uporabila telo, ki spodbuja samorefleksijo. Gledalec zre v goli kvadrat v mojem mednožju in je s tem vpleten v zaprti, krožni sistem moči. Če je treba strategije feminizma artikulirati (in to je moj namen), jih je treba vpeti v širši politični in zgodovinski kontekst. To pomeni, da delo VALIE EXPORT *Aktionhose: Genitalpanik* (1969) ne more ostati le tihi konstrukt nečesa, kar se je zgodilo pred štiridesetimi leti. Treba se je vprašati: Kdo sme govoriti in zavzeti vlogo aktivnega subjekta?

Ni naključje, da je projekcija v mojem mednožju kvadrat. Ta kvadrat se nanaša na performans Tanje Ostojić iz leta 1996, ko je v lastnem mednožju uprizorila *Črni kvadrat na beli podlagi* Kasimirja Maleviča. Zaradi obritih genitalij in kože postane kvadrat v mojem mednožju

resničen. Na tem mestu so migracije prišle do točke, kjer jih politike nacionalnih držav ne morejo več prezreti. Migracije so resnične in jih je treba artikulirati. Kot otrok migracij, ki se je iz nekdanje Jugoslavije preselil na Dunaj in katerega naloga je molčati in se ne izražati, želim spregovoriti prav o zgodovini razlik. Želim jo postaviti v središče zahodnoevropske feministične umetnosti. Ukradla sem delo VALIE EXPORT, da bi preizprašala svojo lastno zgodovino migracij, ki je del prevladujoče avstrijske kulture.

Nisem umeščena v binarni sistem moški/ženska. Sem queer subjekt. Biti queer pomeni krasti, a ne le falusa, pač pa vse, ki le-ta zaobjema: moč, lastnino, telesa itd.

Ana Hoffner (prej Prvulović) je performativna umetnica, ki se ukvarja s queer in migracijsko politiko.

Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

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Expanded cinema. In 1969, VALIE EXPORT expanded the parameters of cinema with her body. In a cinema in Munich, she appeared wearing trousers that displayed her genitals. She did it in order to show that the division between the stage/the screen and the audience is not only a question of media, but also a question of gender. VALIE EXPORT, as a feminist, placed herself in opposition to men in order to establish a different point of view than that of the male subject and the female object. Today, engaging as a general “woman” subject has become difficult for many reasons. We see ourselves faced with the end of identity politics, where being a woman is not enough. Global neoliberal capitalism has made phallocentrism its highest order. Raised to an abstract level, the

I am not situated within the binaries of male/female. I am a queer subject. Being queer means being a thief, not only of the phallus, but of everything that it includes: power, property, bodies, etc.

Ana Hoffner ex-Prvulović is a performance artist working in the fields of queer and migratory politics.