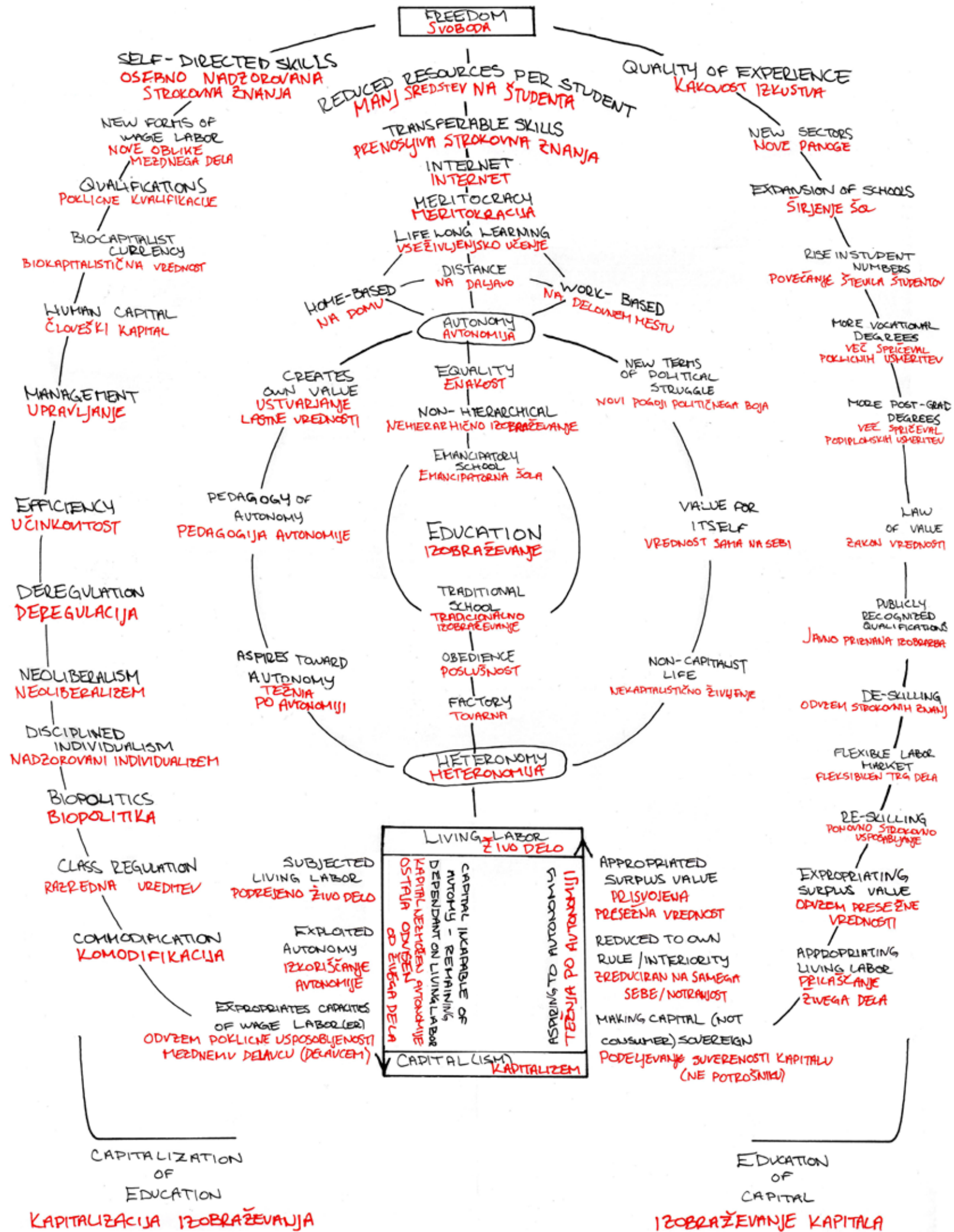


REARTIKULACIJA

UMETNIŠKO-POLITIČNA-TEORETIČNA-DISKURZIVNA PLATFORMA
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ARTISTIC-POLITICAL-THEORETICAL-DISCURSIVE PLATFORM 05

THE PEDAGOGICAL STRUCTURE OF CAPITALISM PEDAGOŠKA STRUKTURA KAPITALIZMA



Lina Dokuzović, diagram "The Pedagogical Structure of Capitalism" 2008 – based on "The Pedagogy of Human Capital" by Stewart Martin

Lina Dokuzović, diagram »Pedagoška struktura kapitalizma«, 2008 – na podlagi besedila »Pedagogika človeškega kapitala« avtorja Stewarta Martina

REARTIKULACIJA umetniško-politična-teoretična-diskurzivna platforma.
REARTIKULACIJA artistic-political-theoretical-discursive platform.

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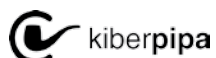


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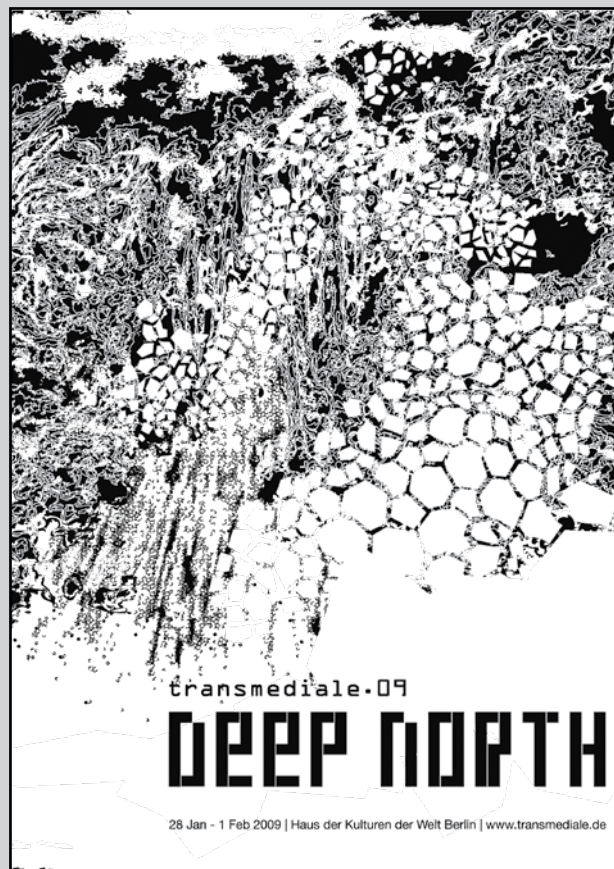
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Berlinski festival za umetnost in medijsko kulturo transmediale bo v okviru svoje teme DEEP NORTH/SKRAJNI SEVER v letu 2009 raziskoval večrazsežnosti pojav klimatskih sprememb kot paradigmatično spreminjajoče se izhodišče. Klimatske spremembe – s svojimi stvarnimi, možnimi in katastrofalnimi posledicami – prinašajo korenite kulturne spremembe, planetarni proces preobrazbe, ki na transnacionalni ravni spreminja družbene, politične in ekonomske pogoje kultur v svetu. Približujemo se odločilnemu trenutku v zgodovini, ki ne omogoča povratka! »Točko brez vrnitve« so simbolizirali že dogodki, kot so padec Berlinskega zidu, napad na Svetovni trgovski center 11. septembra 2001 in nedavno sesutje investicijskega bančništva. Taki dogodki, ki se zgodijo tako rekoč čez noč, kažejo na njihovo radikalno sposobnost, da prodrejo v zgodovino in sprožijo vprašanje mej ter preučijo politične sisteme in kulturne korenine. Kako naj razumemo v temelju preoblikovano podobo našega biološkega, kulturnega in tehnološkega sistema našega planeta? Kako naj prepoznamo ali po možnosti vnaprej napovemo slepo mesto, logiko in logistiko procesa klimatske in kulturne preobrazbe?

Ker so klimatske spremembe proces planetarne preobrazbe, potreba po tem, da izpostavimo novo, radikalno razmišljanje in delovanje, presega politični in industrijski (ekonomski) sistem. Temeljnemu družbenemu, ekološkemu in kulturnemu preobratu, ki ga prinašajo klimatske spremembe, se moramo prilagoditi, tako da naše delovanje znotraj običajne in institucionalne sfere (v politiki, industriji in na trgu) preusmerimo v kulturno in individualno sfero (v decentralizirana omrežja). Če upoštevamo politične in industrijske strategije ter načine, s katerimi se upravljajo ekologija, korporativna politika varnosti, politika migracij, distribucija sredstev in prenos znanja itd., pridemo do zaključka, da so vse te strategije bolj ali manj nemočne.

transmediale.09 DEEP NORTH je zasnovan kot meta-delavnica, ki bo omogočala povezovanje, razpravljanje, interveniranje z namenom, da se odkrijejo strategije, s katerimi lahko zamejimo predlagano temo tokratne festivalske edicije.

Reartikulacija bo na festivalu transmediale.09 organizirala delavnico z naslovom »Re-artikulacija scenarijev okoljske katastrofe«, ki jo bodo vodili: Marina Gržinič, Sebastjan Leban, Šefik Šeki Tatlić in Madina Tlostanova.

Gliding into the **DEEP NORTH, the transmediale, festival for art and digital culture, Berlin 2009**, explores the multidimensional phenomenon of climate change as a paradigmatic point of inflection. Climate change – with its real, potential and catastrophic consequences – represents a dramatic cultural change, a planetary transformation process that alters transnationally the social, political and economic condition of cultures in our world. We're about to pass a historically incisive moment, whose maelstrom precludes any turning back! The fall of the Berlin Wall emblemized such a "Point of No Return" just as the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center and recently maybe also the collapse of the investment banking system. Emerging in a blind spot such events unleash their radical capacity of breaking through history, blowing across boundaries and ripping through political systems and cultural roots. How can we seize the fundamental reconfiguration of our biological, cultural and technological system called earth? How can we bite and possibly even anticipate that blind spot, the logic and logistic of such a climate-cultural transformation process?

In view of the climate change as a planetary transformation process the need of finding a new radical thinking and acting, reaches far beyond the political and industrial (economic) equipment. We have to adapt to the fundamental social, ecological and cultural shift of climate change by moving the capacity to act from the habitual and institutional sphere (policy and industry, market) into the cultural and individual sphere (decentralized networks). Observing the political and industrial strategies and technologies of ecology, of corporate safety policy, of migration policy, of resource distribution and knowledge transfer etc., we discover a certain helplessness of act.

transmediale.09 DEEP NORTH is conceived as a kind of meta-workshop that offers network structures, discourses, interventions in order to find strategies with which to tackle the proposed topic by the festival in 2009.

Reartikulacija will participate at the transmediale.09 by organizing the workshop "Re-articulating the scenarios of environmental catastrophe." The workshop is conceived by Marina Gržinič, Sebastjan Leban, Šefik Šeki Tatlić and Madina Tlostanova.

Staš Kleindienst
APROPRIACIJA KRIZE

O različnih aspektih in ravneh aropriacije, ki jih neoliberalni kapitalizem uporablja za vzpostavljjanje samega sebe in svoje ideologije, je bilo, tudi v Reartikulaciji, napisanega že veliko. V pričujočem besedilu bi se rad osredotočil na različne ravni aropriacije krize, se pravi kriznih situacij, izrednih stanj, ki so, kot prvo, ustvarjena s strani vladajočih struktur sistemov moči ter služijo v veliki meri logiki kapitala in so, kot drugo, pomemben element pri širjenju zahodnih vrednot demokracije in kapitala. V kontekstu aropriacije krize me ne zanimajo toliko kapitalski vložki in profit, ki iz tega izhaja, pač pa predvsem konstrukcija jezika, ki omogoča naturalizacijo kriznih situacij, nasilja in izrednih stanj ter na podlagi njih izgrajuje ponotranjeno ideologijo neoliberalnega kapitalizma, ki se tako lahko širi v vse mogoče pore sodobne družbe.

Panayota Gounari v besedilu »Contesting the Cynicism of Neoliberal Discourse: Moving towards a language of possibility/Izpodbijanje cinizma neoliberalnega diskurza: na poti k drugačni govorici«¹ zapiše, da »eden od načinov naturalizacije in širjenja tržne ideologije poteka prek uporabe komodificiranega, raz-zgodovinenega jezika, v katerem izrazi, kot so znanje, sposobnosti, dostop, svoboda, izbire, možnosti in tako dalje, dobijo novo vsebino in so ukrojeni po tržni logiki.«¹ To je vsekakor pomembna izjava, saj pokaže moč tržne logike (le-ta je bistvo neoliberalizma), ki izravnava različne ravni družbenih diskurzov na primerljiv nivo in predvsem na njeno sposobnost presekati ali preoblikovati povezavo med jezikom in njegovimi pomeni. Tako se dejansko organizira nova uporaba jezika, besed, katerih pomeni so določeni na podlagi njihovih zgodovinskih izvorov, vendar preoblikovanih do te mere, da dopuščajo le enosmerno interpretacijo, ki je ponavadi kontaminirana z ekspanzionistično logiko neoliberalnega kapitalizma. Tako je naprimer v težnjo Zahoda po demokratizaciji sveta že avtomatično vgrajena tudi implementacija tržne ekonomije kot edine opcije za na novo »osvobodjene«² države. Gounarijeva med drugim izpostavi tudi primer diskurza človekovih pravic, ki je po njenem: »uporabljen zgolj kot preteza za prodor v ekonomije drugih držav in/ali za legitimizacijo vojaških intervencij zunaj lastne države.«² K diskurzu človekovih pravic se bomo vrnili kasneje, kot prvo bi rad potegnili vzporednice med logiko konstrukcije neoliberalnega jezika ter diskurzom krize, kot je uporabljen s strani prvega sveta in njegovih zvestih služabnikov (agentov) v drugih koncih sveta. Kot je bilo že nakazano, je diskurz krize zelo primerno orodje za izvažanje demokracije (in s tem tržne ekonomije) v drugi in tretji svet, zelo pomembna pa je aropriacija krize ravno pri naturalizaciji in legitimizaciji tovrstnega početja tako pri prebivalstvu novo nastalih demokracij, kot pri prebivalstvu držav, ki demokracijo izvažajo. V povezavi na slednje lahko izpostavimo še sistem vrednot, ki se izgrajuje na podlagi jasno definirane zahodne optike in pri katerem prihaja do polarizacije sveta ter s tem do samoumevnosti teh vrednot. In kot bomo videli na koncu, analiza aropriacije krize pove mnoga o nezmožnostih današnjih institucij kritike v kontekstu ciničnega izživljanja vladajočega družbenega razreda.

Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee v besedilu »Živi in pusti umreti: kolonialne suverenitete in mrtvi svetovi nekrokapitalizma«³ zapiše: »Ustvarjanje novih izrednih stanj je orožje, ki služi ideološkemu arzenalu imperija, kjer je vsiljevanje ekonomskih odnosov na prvem mestu, pa četudi je za to treba uporabiti grobo silo. Pravica do vladanja se opravičuje 's pravico ali celo dolžnostjo, da se ustvari menjalna vrednost.«³ Nadalje Banerjee izpostavi primer Iraka kot prototipa sodobne kolonizacije, kjer izredno stanje služi najprej zasedbi in nato rekonstrukciji teritorija s strani zahodnih investitorjev, da o kontroli nad naravnimi viri niti ne govorimo. Zanimiv pri tem je jezik, ki se uporablja za legitimizacijo izrednega stanja. Sestava jezika namreč uporablja ves arzenal neoliberalne demokratične ideološke terminologije, od svobode, možnosti, miru, itd., ki pa jim je dodana jasna zahteva po vzpostavitvi povezav z globalnim trgov in nudenju možnosti tujim (zahodnim) investitorjem. Skratka, za »osvobodjene«⁴ države obstaja ena sama možnost in to je podrediti se zahodnemu imperializmu in se na novo pustiti kolonizirati s strani kapitala. David Harvey v knjigi *A Brief History of Neoliberalism/Kratka zgodovina neoliberalizma*⁴ trdi, da so Združene države Amerike po 2. svetovni vojni forsirale evropske kolonialne imperije k dekolonizaciji predvsem zato, da so lahko ponovno kolonizirale te teritorije prek uveljavljanja zakonov, ki podpirajo privatizacijo in svobodno menjavo, kar je utrla pot širitvi neoliberalne ideologije ter zahodnim investicijam. Nadalje Harvey ugotavlja, da lahko težnjo ZDA po dekolonizaciji primerjamo s težnjo Zahoda po razbitju železne zavese komunističnih in socialističnih držav ter federacij, saj je v obeh primerih to utrla pot neoliberalni ekonomiji, prosti prodaji in svobodnemu trgu. Če vzamem za primer slovensko samostojnost, postane jasna samevidnost prehoda v neoliberalno demokracijo, saj je bil uporabljen diskurz krize, bipolarna optika bivše, totalitarne države in nove države neomejenih možnosti ter svobode, diskurz, ki ne pušča nobene možnosti odločiti se drugače, kot za neoliberalni globalni kapitalizem. Zanimiva je vloga Slovenije danes, saj kot vzorna glasnica neoliberalnih vrednot v službi Zahoda opravlja delo kolonizatorja na področju Zahodnega Balkana. Če vzamemo za primer Kosovo, lahko izpeljemo povezave med priznanjem njegove samostojnosti ter interesi slovenskih podjetij na tem teritoriju.

Aropriacija diskurza krize omogoča tudi mediacijo ter utrjevanje zahodnih neoliberalnih vrednot. Če se osredotočim samo na dva primera, ki se dotikata uporabe diskurza o človekovih pravicah in sta se zgodila v zadnjem letu v Sloveniji, lahko vidimo, na kakšen način je prisvajanje diskurzov pogojeno z utrjevanjem ideologije in kako ta proces poteka na nivoju diskurza človekovih pravic danes.

¹ Panayota Gounari, »Contesting the Cynicism of Neoliberal Discourse: Moving towards a language of possibility«, 2006. http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:emf0Ulb5VosJ:www-staff.lboro.ac.uk/~ssjer/SLC1/SLC1-4_Gounari.pdf+neoliberal+discourse&hl=sl&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=si&client=firefox-a

² *Ibid.*

³ Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee, »Živi in pusti umreti: kolonialne suverenitete in mrtvi svetovi nekrokapitalizma«, v: *Reartikulacija št. 3*, Ljubljana 2008, str. 17.

⁴ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005.

Prvi primer je umetniški program na slovenski proslavi ob dnevu človekovih pravic 10. decembra 2007, ki si ga je avtor Drago Jančar zamislil v obliki pričevanj političnih ujetnikov v bivšem sistemu. Program je bil tipična estetizacija, mitizacija in glorifikacija nasilja, ki je zaznamovalo črno obdobje naše zgodovine z jasnim sporočilom, da se take stvari ne smejo več dogajati. Če izvzamemo visoko estetizirano obliko predstave, je zanimivo, kako lahko taka proslava v določnem smislu reflektira ideologijo adolescentne neoliberalne države s socialistično preteklostjo (tudi kar se tiče kršenja človekovih pravic) in kako lahko ta ideologija pripomore k transformaciji slovenske nacionalne identitete po neoliberalnih standardih Evropske unije. Program proslave je bil zgrajen z namenom, da postavi bipolarno perspektivo na preteklost in sedanost, na prej in sedaj, prek optike slovenske osamosvojitve kot mejnika, ki je Slovenijo iz totalitaristične preteklosti postavil v svobodno sedanost. Pri tem se je pomembno zavedati konstrukcije kolektivnega spomina (sistematičnega in dolgotrajnega procesa, v katerem pričujoča proslava ne igra bistvene vloge, ampak jo lahko gledamo kot materializiran primer), ki je zgrajen po dualni logiki preteklosti in sedanosti, v kateri je sedanjí potrošniški način življenja samoumeven.

Drugi primer se nanaša na oddajo *Trenja* (24.4.2008 na Pop TV), ki je obravnavala pobudo varuhinje človekovih pravic, ki se je pisno odzvala na »poniževanje in izgubo človeškega dostojanstva«⁵ v resničnostnem šovu Big Brother. Bolj kot to, da se je debata razvila v smer čiste propagande evrocentrističnih, krščanskih in patriarhalnih moralnih vrednot, bode v oči to, da se diskurz o človekovih pravicah spusti na nivo obravnavanja dogajanja v šovu, ki je namenjen zabavi za mlade (kjer dejansko gre za dokaj splošno sprejet način franšznega entertainmenta, ki je prisoten na večini televizijskih postaj) in to z razlogom, da take resničnostne oddaje s prikazovanjem nasilja in poniževanja kvarijo moralne vrednote današnje mladine. Mar ta primer ne karikira ravno nezmožnosti modernih institucij, da se sploh še spoprimejo s konkretnimi problematikami in da so se bolj kot ne spremenile v mehanizme, ki prek uveljavljanja svoje moralne držbe skrbijo predvsem za red in disciplino, ko pride do izzivanja zahodnih kapitalističnih vrednot? V odnosu do tega vprašanja je pomembno izpostaviti temeljno lastnost, ki je kapitalizem naredila tako uspešnega, to je njegova samoumevnost. Marina Garcés v besedilu »What Are We Capable Of? From Consciousness to Embodiment in Critical Thought Today/Česa smo zmožni? Od procesa zavesti k utelešenju v sedanjí kritični miselnosti«⁶ zapiše, da je »samoumevnost v kapitalizmu prav zato, ker se ji ni treba braniti ali zagovarjati, postala nova oblika dogmatizma. Ta dogmatizem brez krinke pa zelo težko demistificiramo in se mu še težje zoperstavimo. Nič ga ne more razkrinkati.«⁶ Tukaj se namreč pokaže nezmožnost proizvajanja vsakršne kritike, saj je kapitalizmu uspelo oblikovati sisteme samokritike, ki prek depolitizacije populacije v resnici skrbijo za konstantno reprodukcijo kapitalistične ideologije. Zato tudi krizne situacije ne prenesejo več kolektivnega odpora, ampak zgolj porast nacionalizma ter agresije, kar spridoma izkoriščajo desničarske vlade zahodnih demokracij.

Morda je ravno zaradi nezmožnosti kritike ter nerefleksiranosti ljudstva možna najbolj cinična in izprijena aropriacija krize, ki jo v neoliberalnem kapitalizmu izvaja vladajoči razred in to samo za lastno zabavo. Nedavno je naprimer legenda modne industrije Vivienne Westwood privedila modno revijo, kjer so bile njene ekstravaganтно oblikovane kreacije sestavljene iz ponošenih oblačil. Koncept je namreč argumentiral s tem, da je to njen odgovor na trenutno svetovno finančno krizo, saj s svojimi kreacijami kaže, kako si lahko ljudje, ki jih je ta kriza prizadela, na ustvarjalen način popestrijo garderobo s ponošenimi oblačili. Cinizem, ki je nekako primerljiv z izjavo: »Če nimajo kruha, naj pač jedo potico.«

Staš Kleindienst je umetnik in teoretik, študent podiplomskega študija na ALUO, Ljubljana.

⁵ Zaradi Big Brotherja veliko vroče krvi v Trenjih, <http://24ur.com/ekskluziv/domaca-scena/trenja-big-brother-deli-javnost.html>

⁶ Marina Garcés, »What Are We Capable Of? From Consciousness to Embodiment in Critical Thought Today«, 2008. <http://transform.eipcp.net/transversal/0808/garces/en>

Staš Kleindienst
APPROPRIATION OF CRISIS

A lot has already been written, not the least in *Reartikulacija*, about the various aspects and levels of appropriation that neoliberal capitalism makes use of in order to reinstate itself and its own ideology. In this article I wish to focus on the various levels of appropriation of crisis; that is, situations of crisis, states of emergency, which are, in the first place, created by the systems of power of the governing structures and largely serve the logic of capital, and are, secondly an important element for the spreading of Western values of democracy and capital. In the context of appropriation of crisis I am not interested primarily in the invested capital and the resulting profit, but rather in the construction of language which allows for the naturalization of situations of crisis, violence and states of emergency, and through them builds an internalised ideology of neoliberal capitalism which is thus able to spread into all existing pores of contemporary society.

In "Contesting the Cynicism of Neoliberal Discourse: Moving towards a language of possibility", Panayota Gounari writes: "One way that market ideology is naturalized and disseminated, is through the use of a commodified, de-historicized language, where terms such as knowledge, skills, access, freedom, choices, opportunities, and so forth acquire a new content and are aligned with the logic of the market."¹ This is indeed an important statement, which demonstrates the power of the market logic (the essence of neoliberalism) that adjusts various levels of societal discourses to a comparable degree, and especially refers to the logic's ability to break or transform the connection between language and its meanings. This initiates a new formatting of language and words – their meanings are defined on the basis of historical origins, but are nevertheless transformed to the point where only

¹ Panayota Gounari, "Contesting the Cynicism of Neoliberal Discourse: Moving towards a language of possibility", 2006. http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:emf0Ulb5VosJ:www-staff.lboro.ac.uk/~ssjer/SLC1/SLC1-4_Gounari.pdf+neoliberal+discourse&hl=sl&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=si&client=firefox-a

a one-way interpretation is allowed; meanings are most commonly contaminated with the expansionist logic of neoliberal capitalism. This is why, for example, the Western tendency towards democratisation of the world automatically incorporates the imposition of market economy as the only option for the newly "liberated" countries. Gounari also highlights the example of discourse of human rights which is "used only as a cover to penetrate other countries' economies and/or to legitimize military interventions abroad."² We will return to the discourse of human rights later, as I would first like to draw parallels between the logic of construction of a neoliberal language and the discourse of crisis as it is being utilized by the first world and its faithful servants (agents) in other parts of the world. As already indicated, the discourse of crisis is a very suitable tool to export democracy (and thereby market economy) to the second and the third worlds, but also very important is the appropriation of crisis when it comes to naturalization and legitimization of this kind of undertaking, be it with the population of the newly-established democracies or the population in the countries that export democracy. In regards to the countries that export democracy, we may also point out the system of values which is constructed on the basis of clearly defined Western optics and consequently the polarization of the world and self-evidence of these values that both occur as part of this system. As we shall see in the end, the analysis of appropriation of crisis also shows the inability of modern-day institutions of critique to react within the context of an almost cynical delight, which is in a great deal displayed mostly by the ruling social class.

In "Live and let die: Colonial Sovereignties and the Death Worlds of Necrocapitalism", Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee says: "The creation of new spaces of exceptions is a weapon for the ideological arsenal of empire where the imposition of an economic relationship becomes paramount, using brute force if required. Thus, the right to rule is justified 'by the right, indeed the obligation, to produce exchange value.'³ Banerjee also exposes the issue of Iraq as the prototype of contemporary colonisation, where state of emergency serves firstly for the occupation and then for the reconstruction of the territory from the perspective of Western investors, not to mention the control of natural resources. What is interesting here is the language used for legitimizing the state of emergency. The structure of language namely makes use of a whole arsenal of neoliberal democratic ideological terminology, from freedom, and opportunity to peace, etc., and is complemented by a clear demand for the establishment of links with the global market that offers possibilities to foreign (Western) investors. In short, for the "liberated" countries there is only one option and that is to conform to Western imperialism and to allow the capital to colonise them anew. In his *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*⁴, David Harvey claims that after the Second World War, the USA forced European colonial empires to decolonize so that the USA was then able to colonize these territories anew by enforcing laws that support privatization and free trade, which opened the path of broadening neoliberal ideology and investments from the West. Harvey also ascertains that the USA's tendency for decolonization may be compared to the tendency of the West to demolish the iron curtain of communist and socialist states and federations, as in both cases this brought about a neoliberal economy, free trade and free market. If I use the example of Slovene independence, the self-evidence of the transition into neoliberal democracy becomes clearer as the discourse in use was one of crisis, a bipolar optics of the former totalitarian state and a new state of unlimited possibilities and freedom – a discourse which does not allow any other option but to decide for neoliberal global capitalism. It is interesting to point out the role that Slovenia plays today. It is an exemplary harbinger of neoliberal values in the service of the West and performs the function of colonizer in the West Balkans region. If we consider the example of Kosovo, we can find links between the recognition of its independence and the interests of Slovene investors in this territory.

Appropriation of crisis also enables mediation and strengthening of neoliberal values. I will focus on two cases which bear reference to the discourse of human rights and which occurred in Slovenia in the last year. In both we can see that the appropriation of discourses is going hand in hand with the assertion of ideology and we can see as well the way that this process affects the discourse of human rights nowadays. The first case relates to the event of honouring the international day of human rights, December 10th, in 2007, which the author Drago Jančar, conceived in the form of testimonies retold by political prisoners of the former system. This program was a typical case of estetization, mythologization and glorification of violence that marked the dark period of our history with a clear message that such things should never happen again. If we remove the event's highly aesthetic form, it is interesting to point out how such a presentation in a certain way reflects the ideology of an adolescent neoliberal state with a socialist past (also in terms of violating human rights) and how this ideology can contribute to the transformation of Slovene national identity according to neoliberal standards of the European Union. The script for the event was constructed with the intention of establishing a bi-polar perspective of past and present, the before and the now, through the optics of Slovene independence as the turning point which took Slovenia out of a totalitarian past and placed it into the liberal present. It is important that we are aware of the construction of a collective memory (a systematic and lengthy process, in which this particular event has no significant role, but can be viewed as a materialized example) which is based on a dual logic of the past and the present in which the current consumerist way of life seems taken for granted.

The second example is the TV programme *Trenja* (Frictions) (April 24th 2008, Pop TV) which dealt with the ombudswoman's initiative, as she responded to (warned the general public of) the "humiliation and loss of human dignity"⁵ in the reality show Big Brother. What strikes the eye more than the fact that this debate developed in the direction of pure propaganda of Eurocentric, Christian and patriarchal moral values, is that the discourse on human rights was lowered to the level of a show intended for a young audience (where it is all about a generally accepted entertainment's franchise present on the majority of TV channels) and displayed only a moralizing preaching of values of modern-day youth (supposedly being only violent and humiliating). Does this

² *Ibid.*

³ Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee, "Live and let die: Colonial Sovereignties and the Death Worlds of Necrocapitalism", in *Reartikulacija* n. 3, Ljubljana 2008, p. 17.

⁴ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2005.

⁵ Slovene Big Brother caused a heated debate in the TV programme *Trenja* (Frictions), <http://24ur.com/ekskluziv/domaca-scena/trenja-big-brother-deli-javnost.html>

example not picture the inability of modern institutions to face concrete problematic issues? Are not these institutions transformed more and more into mechanisms that through asserting only their moralistic stances are here solely to keep order and discipline when it comes to challenging Western capitalist values? In relation to this issue, it is important to outline a fundamental characteristic of capitalism, one that made it so successful, as self-evidence. In "What Are We Capable Of? From Consciousness to Embodiment in Critical Thought Today" Marina Garcés writes: "Because capitalism is not forced to defend or justify itself its self-evidence has become a new form of dogmatism. This dogmatism without masks cannot be demystified or combated by any form of exposure."⁶ What is exhibited here is the inability to pro-

6 Marina Garcés, "What Are We Capable Of? From Consciousness to Embodiment in

duce any kind of critique, since capitalism managed to form systems of self-criticism, which through depoliticization of a population supply constant reproduction of capitalist ideology. That is why situations of crisis can no longer bear a collective revolt but only an increase of nationalism and aggression diligently exploited by the rightist governments of Western democracies.

It is perhaps due to the inability of critique and a lack of reflection by the nation that the most cynical and degenerated appropriation of crisis is rendered possible. In neoliberal capitalism this crisis is executed by the ruling class purely for their own amusement. Recently, for instance, Vivienne Westwood staged a fashion show in which her

extravagantly designed creations were composed of worn-out clothing. Westwood said that this was her response to the current financial crisis in the world, as her creations showed how people affected by the crisis can variegate their outfit by putting on worn-out clothes. Such cynicism is somewhat similar to the statement »If they haven't got bread, then let them eat cake.«

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Translated from Slovenian by Jernej Možič.

POZICIONIRANJE/ POSITIONING

Lina Dokuzović UMETNOST V IZGRADNJI: OBELEŽITEV PETDESETLETNICE IZOBRAŽEVALNIH REFORM

V evropskih visokošolskih ustanovah se uvaja Bolonjski proces, ki bo korenito reformiral šolski sistem. Izobraževanje in umetnost sta danes, bolj kot kdaj koli prej, platforma za proizvajanje ideologij in kapitalske presežne vrednosti. Medtem ko je znanje vedno podpiralo avtonomijo, moč in svobodo, je (neoliberalni kapitalizem) izobraževanje in umetnost potisnil v vse bolj prisotno na znanju temelječo ekonomijo. Zato bom za izhodišče svoje obravnave vzela finančni odnos med znanostjo in umetnostjo v sodobnem šolstvu in trgovini ter na podlagi zgodovinskih dogodkov, ki so do tega pripeljali, poskušala orisati, kako ta soodvisnost vpliva na reforme in je hkrati pod njihovim vplivom. Kako je lahko znanost svoj hegemonični položaj znotraj univerz ohranila tako dolgo? Kakšen je njen politični in ekonomski pomen ter kakšna je bila do danes vloga umetnosti v visokem šolstvu v primerjavi z znanostjo? Ali želi sistem vključiti umetnost znotraj širšega krovnega zakona in ji podeliti status znanosti – družbene vede – ali pa to počne iz kakšnih drugih razlogov?

Genealogija prispevka zasleduje vzporedni potek reform izobraževanja v zadnjih petdesetih letih v Združenih državah Amerike in v Evropi, da lahko predstavi težnje in cilje, ki so sprožili vrsto medsebojno povezanih dogodkov oziroma so se oblikovali kot posledica implementacije teh reform. S kartiranjem pol stoletja zgodovinsko pomembnih reform lahko prikažemo določene težnje po raziskavah, usmerjenih k specifičnim dejavnostim zasebnega sektorja, ki zasebnikom omogočajo akumulacijo dobička. Začnimo z analizo tistih perečih problematik, ki jih lahko zaznamo znotraj dveh različnih kontekstov, na eni strani v starem germanskem visokoškolskem izobraževalnem modelu – iz katerega izhaja večina evropskih kontinentalnih sistemov – in po drugi v prihajajočem angloameriškem dodiplomskem in podiplomskem visokoškolskem sistemu, ki se danes, nekoliko spremenjen, širi v Evropi prek Bolonjske reforme. Kontinentalni model temelji na treh vrstah izobrazbe, na diplomskem, magistrskem in doktorskem študiju. Običajno so za pridobitev diplome potrebna najmanj 4 leta (v praksi veliko več), magistrski študij je v grobem podoben angloameriški sistemu, doktorat, ki sledi magisteriji, pa traja dlje. S tem sistemom se je začela zgodovina fetišizacije akademskih nazivov in ekstremne hierarhične strukture, kar pravzaprav gre pričakovati, zlasti od sistema s tako dolgo tradicijo.

Z Bolonjskim procesom bosta dodiplomski in magistrski študij po novem prevzela angloameriški sistem z manjšimi spremembami in prilagoditvami. Bolonjski proces uvaja tristopenjski sistem študija: dodiplomski, magistrski in doktorski študij (v slovenščini zaradi uporabe enakega izrazoslovja teh razlik ni čutiti, kar pa je še bolj boleče v praksi, ko navkljub nespremenjenim nazivom le-ti ob vpljavi Bolonjske reforme označujejo za stopnjo nižjo izobrazbo, op. urednikov). Dodiplomski študij, ki se zaključuje z diplomom (filozofske ali naravoslovne smeri), traja največ 3 ali 4 leta (3 leta v Veliki Britaniji in 4 leta v ZDA); magistrski študij ali magisterij traja eno leto v Veliki Britaniji in dve leti v ZDA; za doktorski študij ali doktorat, ki je po času trajanja najfleksibilnejši, pa so potrebna še naljnja tri leta. V tem sistemu je največji poudarek na stopnjah in ne toliko na trajanju posameznega študija. Višja stopnja izobrazbe omogoča večjo zaposljivost na trgu dela. Magistrski študij v ZDA/Veliki Britaniji običajno zahteva še dodatni sprejemni izpit in zato o njem trenutno potekajo burne razprave. Na drugi strani pa ima ameriški sistem bolj ohlapne sprejemne pogoje, a hkrati tudi bistveno višje šolnine, saj uporablja drugačno metodo selekcije študentov kot evropski sistem. Najverjetnejša rešitev za evropski sistem bo torej ta, da uvede višje šolnine, kot velja na večini angloameriških izobraževalnih ustanov, ki bodo na podlagi tega lahko odločale, kdo bo sprejet in kdo bo lahko študij nadaljeval na višjih stopnjah. Posledica nižjih kvalifikacij in zaradi višjih šolnin povečanega dotoka denarja za izobraževanje v ZDA je vse večja razredna razslojenost med izobraženimi. Zato so v ZDA, podobno kot v EU, da bi zadevo domnevno rešili, vpeljali novo dvehletno osnovno stopnjo izobraževanja na kolidžih, imenovano izredna diploma iz filozofije ali naravoslovnih ved (Associate's Degree). To novo stopnjo sta nato uvedli še Kanada in Hong Kong, podobni izobraževalni programi pa obstajajo tudi v Veliki Britaniji in v Franciji. V Evropi je bila ta stopnja izobrazbe vpeljana in oglaševana kot Bolonjska dodiplomska stopnja. Nove stopnje se uvajajo kot bolj cenene alternativne možnosti višjim, starejšim različicam, a v resnici so le posledica privatizacije višjih stopenj izobraževanja, ki bodo na ta način postale bolj ekskluzivne, ker jih oglašujejo kot priznane blagovne znamke in ponujajo kot tisto, kar nas bo uvrstilo med elite. Ker se nova stopnja izobrazbe dobro ujema z vse bolj fleksibilnim in nematerialnim trgovim dela, spadajo med ključne programe izredna diploma iz filozofije ali naravoslovnih ved (Associate's Degree in Arts and Science A.A./A.S.), oblikovanje spletnih strani, razvoj spleta in kopica drugih podobnih svobodnih poklicev. Zaradi večje dostopnosti izobraževanja,

nižjih cen in večjega števila stopenj v sistemu izobraževanja obstajajo skupine, ki vlagajo v ekonomijo znanja, čeprav so ti investitorji že sami potisnjeni na rob sprejemljivih pogojev dela in izkoriščani, saj so prisiljeni delati nadure in niso upravičeni do zavarovanja ali do drugih oblik institucionalne pomoči – kar je klasična posledica liberaliziranega trga dela.

Večje financiranje je običajno povezano z višjimi stopnjami izobraževanja, pri čemer sredstva zasebnikov vse bolj nadomeščajo sredstva iz državnega proračuna, kar univerzam zagotavlja »avtonomnost«. Javno izobraževanje se tako ne financira več iz davkoplačevalskega denarja, pač pa se iz javnega preusmerja v zasebno – čeprav se še vedno propagira kot »javno« –, s tem pa postaja razkošje, ki si ga bo lahko privoščila le peščica, kar velja tudi za zasebna podjetja, ki tak izobraževalni sistem lahko podpirajo. Javna finančna podpora šolstva sicer še vedno ostaja, a le na najosnovnejši ravni, torej ravno toliko, da ne bomo zatrdili, da so izobraževalne institucije povsem odvisne od delničarjev oziroma, da so postale le še prave delniške družbe. V zakulisju pa si večina podobnih javnih izobraževalnih ustanov želi privatizacije in te težnje kažejo s tem, da lastne institucije postopoma in vztrajno odpirajo vlaganjem iz zasebnega sektorja, ali tako, da se strateško povezujejo z drugimi višješolskimi zavodi (kolidži) in univerzami, s katerimi skupaj izvajajo raziskovalne programe. To ni zgolj naključje, pač pa zaželeno in zdaj že uveljavljena okoliščina, ki je posledica močnega znižanja javnih sredstev iz državnih proračunskih sredstev, namenjenih šolstvu. Posledično so zaradi vse večjih investicij in rekordno nizkih povračil za vložena sredstva tako neoliberalne strukture našle novo metodo prilaganja in akumulacije presežne vrednosti. Trenutno v umetniškem izobraževalnem kontekstu v Evropi poteka razpita debata o uvedbi t. i. doktorata za področje (umetniške) prakse. Razlog je, da so izobraževalne ustanove nesposobne opredeliti, kaj je to raziskovanje na področju umetnosti, in le-to ločiti od znanstvenega raziskovanja, ki pa je osrednjega pomena, zlasti za zasebne investitorje. Najvidnejša reforma v evropskem visokoškolskem izobraževalnem sistemu je bila uvedba šolnin na javnih univerzah, kar prinaša večjo fleksibilnost – in vse večjo deregulacijo. V ZDA se je to začelo že leta 1975, v Veliki Britaniji leta 1996,¹ v Avstriji leta 2001 in v Nemčiji leta 2006.

Evropske reforme

Da bi bolj razumeli, od kod izvira ta navidezni razvoj, se moramo vrniti v leto 1958 in si ogledati mednarodni potek dogodkov tako v Evropi kot v ZDA. Le tako bomo razvozlati, zakaj in kako je ta razvoj v Evropi in v ZDA kmalu po tem letu prodril na področje izobraževanja. Leto 1958 je bilo za Evropo pomembno, saj je bila takrat podpisana Rimska pogodba, na podlagi katere je nastala Evropska gospodarska skupnost. Rimska pogodba je predhodnica Maastrichtske pogodbe, to je ustanovne pogodbe Evropske unije (podpisane leta 1992 v Maastrichtu). Istega dne je bila podpisana tudi pogodba o ustanovitvi Evropske skupnosti za atomsko energijo (Euratom). Obe pogodbi sta začeli veljati takoj po njenem podpisu. Vse večja privatizacija in deregulacija sta bili preferenčni metodi pri pogajanjih o organiziranosti skupnosti. Nemčija je bila med glavnimi zagovorniki širjenja liberalizma in zmanjšanja carin, to pa je bil tudi liberalni ekonomski model, ki je predhodnik New Deala v ZDA.² Francija se sicer tem predlogom ni upirala, a je hotela na vsak način ohraniti svojo kolonialno prevlado. To pa so bili temelji, na podlagi katerih so se sklepali različni paketi in procesi ter se oblikovale različne pobude na področju znanosti in izobraževanja v okviru EU, kar še predstavlja zelo pomemben del danes aktivnih strategij; te bom tudi predstavila v okviru zastavljene genealogije.

Maastrichtska pogodba je uradno začela veljati leta 1993, s čimer je bila uradno ustanovljena Evropska unija. Dospel so vse sprejete pogodbe EU sledile izvirni Rimski pogodbi; to pa velja tudi, ko gre za spremembe in dopolnitve. Zamisel Evropske komisije leta 2007 o prostem gibanju znanja kot o peti svoboščini Evropske unije lahko postane ena od takih dopolnitev. Evropska unija podpira štiri svoboščine: prost pretok blaga, kapitala, ljudi (državljanov) in storitev.³ V resnici pa pomenijo te »svoboščine« le to, kar lahko poimenujem deregulacija gibanja. Maastridska pogodba, ki je začela veljati leta 1999, je močno spremenila položaj izobraževanja v EU. Ena ključnih sprememb je bila uradna uporaba izraza »vseživljenjsko učenje« za vse državljane ter naposled zavezanost EU temu principu. Spremembe izobraževanja, ki so jih predlagali za vključitev v pogodbo, so sicer prepuščene odločitvam držav članic, vendarle naj bi jih pri teh odločitvah opazno podprle evropske institucije; razvoj kakovostnega izobraževanja se spodbuja prek sodelovanja med državami članicami, potekal pa naj bi prek različnih dejavnosti, kot so spodbujanje gibanja državljanov, oblikovanje skupnih študijskih programov, vzpostavljanje mrežnega sodelovanja, izmenjava informacij ali poučevanje evropskih jezikov. »CILJ [teh nalog] je ljudem omogočiti čim večjo stopnjo znanja prek širokega dostopa

¹ Šolnine so bile znova uradno uvedene za časa administracije Johna Majora, čeprav so obstajale že pred tem in so bile tudi ukinjene. Ob njihovi ponovni uvedbi, ki je potekala kar nekaj časa, ni bilo posebnega negodovanja.

² »U.S. views on the European Common market and Free Trade Area«, v: *The Department of State Bulletin*, 4. februar 1957, št. 919, letn. XXXVI, izdaja 6444, str. 182. The Common Market. 14. julij 2008. www.ena.lu

³ *European Parliament*. 22. januar 2008. »Part I – How the European Community Works«, 16. julij 2008. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/facts/default_en.htm

do izobraževanja in nenehna nadgrajevanja le-tega« ter »spodbuditi interese potrošnikov in zagotoviti visoko stopnjo njihove zaščite, kar bo Skupnost zagotovila s prizadevanjem za zdravstveno varstvo, varnost in ekonomske interese potrošnikov, hkrati pa bo spodbujala njihovo pravico dostopa do informacij in izobraževanja ter jim pomagala organizirati se tako, da bodo lahko branili svoje interese.«⁴ Da lahko uresničijo te naloge, se države članice »spodbujajo«, da jih za evropsko dobro implementirajo in sicer prek t. i. odprte metode usklajevanja⁵ (OMU). To je oblika medvladnega vladanja, ki temelji na prostovoljnem sodelovanju držav članic kot odgovor na določen pritisk. OMU je hkrati tudi vzorec evropskih politik na področju izobraževanja, Bolonjska reforma pa je rezultat takšne »spodbujevalne« politike. Torej Bolonjska reforma pravzaprav ni evropska iniciativa, ki temelji na pravni podlagi, pač pa deluje kot OMU, torej kot medvladni sporazum med državami Evropske unije in tistimi, ki to niso. Ker temelji sodelovanje povsem na »prostovoljni« osnovi in ker ta ni zakonsko določena, ni zakonsko zavezujoče podlage za tiste države, ki so sporazum podpisale, pa čeprav ministri v imenu evropskega sveta razglašajo prav nasprotno.

Bolonjska reforma je začela veljati istega leta, kot je bil zastavljen cilj o ustanovitvi »evropskega visokošolskega prostora« (EHEA). Namen tega procesa je ustvariti primerljive standarde in medsebojno usklajene stopnje izobrazbe v EU, oblikovan pa je bil po angloameriškem modelu. To je potekalo sočasno s potrditvijo namer EU, da bo sprejela najštevilnejšo skupino novih držav članic v EU (uradna širitev se je začela 1. maja 2004) in s pojavom dot.com balona v ZDA. Lizbonska konvencija o priznavanju visokoškolskih kvalifikacij v evropski regiji, ki je bila podpisana marca 2000, predstavlja bolj poostreno in podrobno različico Amsterdamske pogodbe. Ko je Evropski svet predstavil programske osnutke izobraževalnih reform, so morali ministri na pomladnem zasedanju Evropskega sveta 2002 predstaviti »podroben delovni program o spremljanju ciljev izobraževanja in sistemov usposabljanja, vključno z oceno rezultatov v okviru odprte metode usklajevanja in na način svetovno odprte perspektive. Posebno pozornost je treba posvetiti načinom in sredstvom za spodbujanje mladih, zlasti žensk, pri znanstvenem in tehničnem študiju kakor tudi zagotavljanju dolgoročnega zaposlovanja kvalificiranih učiteljev s teh področij.«⁶ Programski osnutki, predstavljeni septembra 2001, sta Evropski svet in Evropska komisija temeljito pregledala in popravila ter ga 14. februarja 2002 tudi sprejela. Novi delovni program, ki je bil predstavljen v osnutku, izpostavlja način, kako naj se OMU izpeljuje v izobraževanju in na področju usposabljanja, primarno pa je program osredotočen na standarde orodij, »kot so indikatorji in meritve uspešnosti ter primerjanje najboljših praks, ter na periodično spremljanje, ocenjevanje in strokovno pregledovanje, ki so organizirani kot vzajemni učni procesi.«⁷ Evropski svet je tako zastavil delovni program pozdravil, evropski ministri in Evropska komisija pa so bili zadolženi, da ga izpeljejo in čez dve leti podajo poročilo o rezultatih. Tako kot je s predlogi za OMU in tistimi, ki jih OMU sama predlaga, tudi Bolonjski proces pogosto spremljajo »dodatne klavzule« ali reforme, ki se uradno izvajajo. Te dopolnjujejo zahtevane reforme in niso nujno zakonsko določene, pač pa so pripete v svežnji drugih reform in s tem prinašajo nejasnosti o tem, kateri deli reform so zakonsko utemeljeni in kateri niso. Te dodatne klavzule se nanašajo na uvedbo šolnin in spreminjanje strukture in organizacijo univerz in njihovih oddelkov. Doletele so jih tudi ostre kritike, češ da niso demokratične in da zmanjšujejo kakovost izobraževanja, za katerega naj bi se univerze v resnici prizadevale. Mnogo takih dodatnih klavzul je tudi v sistemu zagotavljanja kakovosti in učinkovitosti, ena od takih klavzul pa je bila vpeljana tudi v začetni fazi izvajanja Bolonjskega procesa. Naj opozorim na t. i. smernice za določanje kakovosti in učinkovitosti.⁸

Dolgoročne posledice Bolonjskega procesa se zaradi postopnega uvajanja še ugotavljajo, a so kljub temu že sprožile kritike, češ da se univerze spreminjajo v tovarne za proizvajanje diplom in da to vodi v vse večjo prekrknost in razredno razslojenost. Tako vse več študentov ne dosega minimalnih kreditnih točk, potrebnih za pridobitev štipendije, saj zaradi podpore načelu maksimiziranja učinkovitosti primanjkuje tako prostora in časa. Od uvedbe Bolonjskega procesa se je na helsinkiški Fakulteti za tehnologijo število študentov, ki ne izpolnjujejo minimuma, povečalo za 40 %, število študentov,

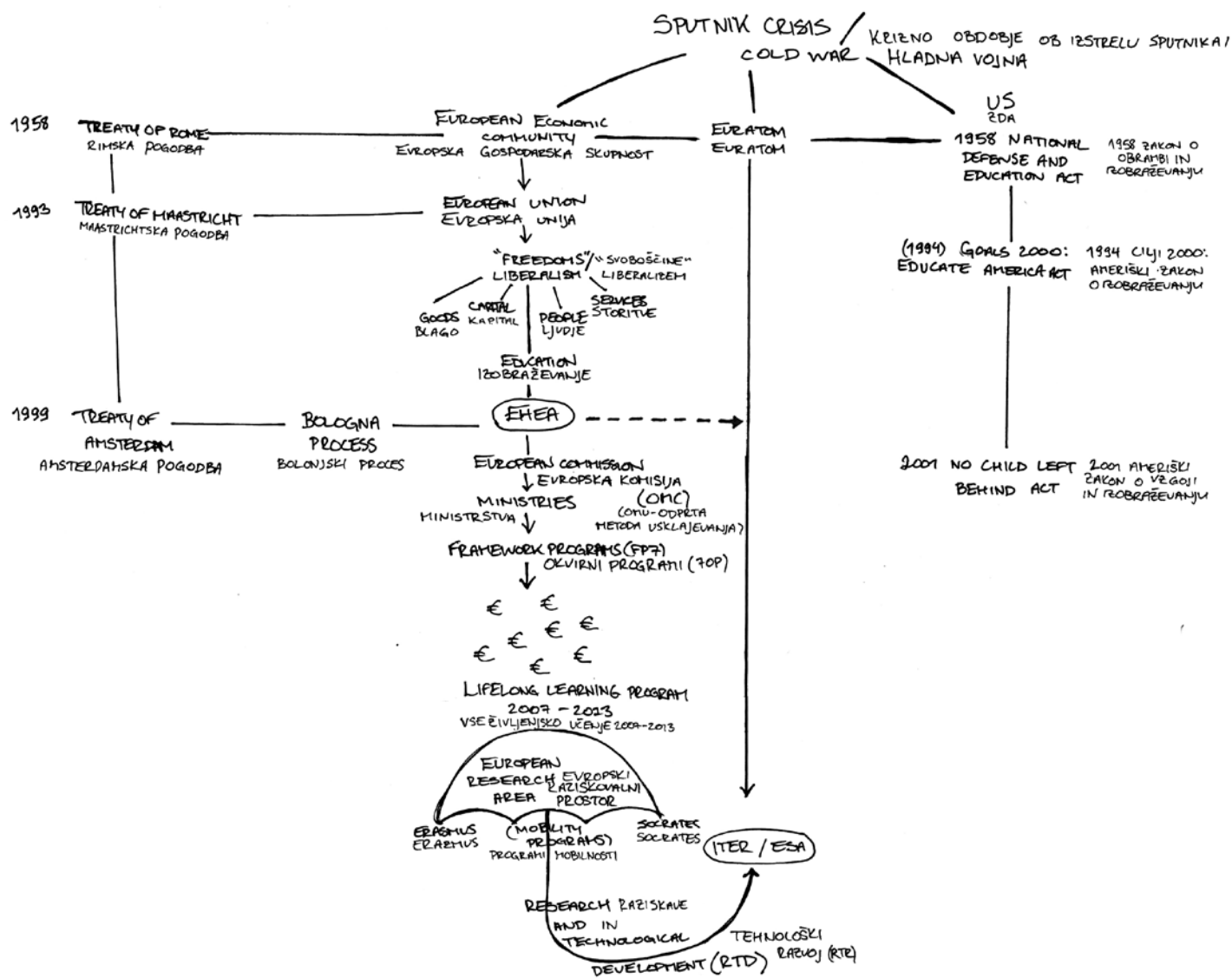
⁴ The Amsterdam Treaty. 2. oktober 1997. Člena 2 §1. in 129a §1. 18. julij 2008, http://www.eurotreaties.com/amsterdamtreaty.pdf

⁵ »Better lawmaking: Convergence of national policies: the open method of coordination«, v: *European Governance*. 31. julij 2007, http://ec.europa.eu/governance/governance_eu/nat_policies_en.htm 16. julij 2008; »Involving experts in the process of national policy convergence: Report by working group 4«, junij 2001. http://ec.europa.eu/governance/areas/group8/report_en.pdf

⁶ Stockholm European Council. »Presidency Conclusions«. §11. 23-24. marec 2001, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/00100-r1.%20ann-r1.en1.html 18. julij 2008.

⁷ »Detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of Education and training systems in Europe«, v: *Official Journal of the European Community*. 14. junij 2002. C 142/01, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/pri/en/oj/dat/2002/c_142/c_14220020614en00010022.pdf 18. julij 2008.

⁸ Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) »Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area«. Beiträge zur Hochschulpolitik 9/2006. Bonn, oktober 2006. HRK Hochschulrektorenkonferenz. 14. julij 2008. http://www.hrk.de/de/download/dateien/Beitr9-2006-Standards_Leitlinien_QS.pdf



Lina Dokuzović, diagram "Commemorating Reforms" 2008, based on "Art Under Construction: Commemorating Half a Century of Educational Reforms."

Lina Dokuzović, diagram "Obležitev reform," 2008. Delo temelji na besedilu "Umetnost v izgradnji: obležitev petdesetletnice reform."

ki ni doseglo zahtevanih kreditnih točk v dveh letih študija, pa se je povečalo na 85 %.⁹ Eden od ciljev, ki si ga je do leta 2010 zastavil Evropski svet, je, da bi se moralo na leto vsaj 12,5 % oseb, starih med 25-64 let, udeležiti vseživljenjskega učenja.¹⁰ Tega leta je predvidena tudi dokončna ustanovitev EHEA. Na tej stopnji pa je treba kar se da pospešiti izvajanje in realizacijo procesa. Naj opomnim, da je tudi Avstrija podpisala, da bo Bolonjski proces vpeljala do leta 2010.

Dodatni razlogi za uvajanje reform in odnos umetnost-znanost

Če primerjamo cilje EHEA in uvedbo Bolonjskega procesa v EU, ugotovimo, da sta njuni skupni točki pravzaprav evropski raziskovalni prostor (ERP) ter raziskave in tehnološki razvoj (RTR) v EU. Njun cilj je usklajevanje, izmenjava znanj, zagotavljanje mobilnosti raziskovalcev v Evropi, izboljšanje pogojev za raziskovalce in spodbujanje povezav s poslovnim in industrijskim sektorjem kakor tudi odprava vseh zakonskih in administrativnih ovir.¹¹ ERP kakor tudi šest držav, ki v tej pobudi sodelujejo, so osredotočeni na razvoj Mednarodnega termonuklearnega eksperimentalnega reaktorja ITER, ki je jedrski fuzijski reaktor, izdelan v Cadaracheju, Francija. ITER naj bi bil nadaljevanje projekta Skupni evropski Torus, ki je trenutno največji jedrski fuzijski reaktor v svetu in ki ima že zagotovljen status opazovalca znotraj Evropske organizacije za jedrske raziskave CERN. Če je bila Evropska gospodarska skupnost ustanovljena sočasno z Evropsko skupnostjo za atomsko energijo Euratom, ki je pred petdesetimi leti promovirala prevlado evropske jedrske tehnologije, se ITER danes podpira sočasno z razvojem in širitvijo EU. Evropska komisija pričakuje, da bo ITER do leta 2050 zmožen oskrbovati Evropo z energijo.¹² EU ne le da podpira jedrski tehnološki razvoj, pač pa je tudi, v skladu s smernicami OMU, torej ne da bi bila pravno zavezana, podpisala številne sporazume in vzporedne razvojne načrte z Evropsko vesoljsko agencijo (ESA). Po naključju je Francija leta 1958, ko sta se ustanovljala Euratom in EGS, lahko ohranila nekaj kolonij. Razlog je bil v tem, da je bilo izstrelišče agencije ESA zaradi bližine ekvatorja (kar pa pomeni, da je to najbolj dostopno mesto za komercialne satelitske prenose) v Kourouju, Francoska Gvajana, kjer sta tudi nameščena Evropski južni observatorij in Evropska organizacija za astronomske raziskave v južni hemisferi.¹³ Lizbonski evropski svet bo leta 2009 v Lizbonski sporazum predvidoma dodal poglavje o razvoju vesoljskih raziskav in tehnologij za potovanje v vesolje v EU.¹⁴

Reforme izobraževanja v ZDA – zgodovinski kontekst

Leto 1958 ni bilo le leto združitve evropskih sil, pač pa tudi leto, v katerem je prišlo do nove opredelitve vesolja in vesoljskega raziskovanja, v tej smeri pa je potekal tudi razvoj izobraževanja. Kmalu potem, ko je ZSSR v vesolje izstrelila prvi satelit Sputnik, in po krizi, ki je temu sledila, so ZDA istega leta sprejele državni obrambni zakon o izobraževanju, eno do sedaj najpomembnejših reform izobraževanja. Zakon je prvič v zgodovini zasebnim in javnim gospodarstvenikom zagotovil pravico do vlaganja in zagotavljanja sredstev za izobraževanje, t. i. »sredstva za pomoč v sili« za izobraževanje; odprl je vrata zasebnemu investiranju v izobraževanje. Zakaj je bilo treba na področju izobraževanja vzpostaviti tako »izredno stanje«? Potem, ko sta brata Wright leta 1903 ZDA povzdignila na »prvo mesto v letalstvu«, so bile ZDA vodilne v svetu na področju tehnološkega razvoja. Kmalu po tej dobi tehnološke prevlade, ki se ji je Nemčija močno upirala in ji poskušala kljubovati s svojimi obsežnimi, a vse prej kot uspešnimi poskusi s cepelinom, se je začela prva svetovna vojna, ki je bila povod za nove raziskave in tehnološki razvoj in je Nemčijo postavila za vodilno tehnološko državo. Po prvi svetovni vojni se je tekmovalnost vodilnih držav nadaljevala. ZDA je zajela velika ekonomska kriza, a so navkljub temu razvile Aeronavtski laboratorij Langley, ki je postal najsodobnejše aeronavtsko središče v svetu. Kriza se je končala z začetkom druge svetovne vojne in to zahvaljujoč vojnemu gospodarstvu. ZDA, ki so bile že bolj tehnološko opremljene, so se s sprejetjem najodličnejših izobraženih priseljencev, ki so bili begunci druge svetovne vojne, še bolj okrepile, saj so jih zaposlile v svojih institucijah na podlagi naturalizacije, ki je potekala nenavadno hitro in brez ovir. Po koncu druge svetovne vojne in padcu Nemčije kot njenega največjega tekmeča so bile ZDA nadvse presenečene nad dejstvom, da je ZSSR imela moč, finančna sredstva in tehnologijo za tako napredne vesoljske raziskave v času izstrelitve Sputnika. ZDA nikakor niso želele zaostajati, zato so izobraževanje izboljšale na vseh stopnjah – od male šole do podiplomskega študija – in uvedle zakon, ki je omogočal izdajanje kreditov z nižjo obrestno mero, zasebne investicije, manjši zvezni nadzor in splošne reforme. Zaradi interesa izboljšati izobraževanje, ki bo tako postalo mednarodno konkurenčno, in bojazni, da bi ZDA tehnološko zaostale – tehnologija je bila med drugim nujna tudi zaradi obrambe – so zakonodajalci dali večji poudarek raziskavam s področja znanstvenih in matematičnih ved.

1994: državno izobraževanje v ZDA – Ameriški zakon o izobraževanju (Goals 2000: Educate America Act)

Medtem ko so zasebne investicije in deregulacija skozi desetletja imeli vodilni položaj v izobraževanju, je leta 1994, leto po ustanovitvi EU, Clintonova administracija sprejela zakon o izobraževanju »Goals 2000: Educate America Act«. S tem zakonom, ki določa nacionalne cilje na področju izobraževanja (te cilje je leta 1994 zastavil Kongres), so bili postavljeni temelji ameriškim izobraževalnim standardom, ki določajo okvir za doseganje na rezultatih utemeljene standarde izobraževanja v ZDA. Zakon predvideva finančno podporo izobraževalnim ustanovam, »da bi svoj potencial lahko kar najbolje izkoristile«. Njegov namen je bil tudi »določiti svetovne akademske standarde, podati elemente za ocenjevanje napredovanja študentov in zagotoviti podporo študentom pri uresničevanju teh standardov.«¹⁵ Večina ciljev do leta 2000 ni bila uresničena, med drugim tudi ta, da bodo ZDA na mednarodni ravni dosegle najboljše rezultate s področja matematičnih in znanstvenih ved, da bo v

celoti odpravljena nepismenost in da bo vsak Američan pridobil ustrezna znanja in sposobnosti, ki zagotavljajo konkurenčnost v globalni ekonomiji in uveljavljanje pravic slehernega državljanca ter izvajanje njegovih državljskih dolžnosti.¹⁷

2001: Ameriški zakon o vzgoji in izobraževanju (No Child Left Behind Act)

Ker cilji niso bili uresničeni, je bil leta 2001 sprejet zakon o vzgoji in izobraževanju, ki omogoča dostop do izobraževanja vsem, ali t. i. »No Child Left Behind Act« (Nihče odrinjen), ki je začel veljati še istega leta. Ta zakon je izobraževanje, ki je bilo usmerjeno v doseganje čim boljših rezultatov, spremenilo v standardizirano izobraževanje, katerega cilj je določiti visoke standarde z namenom izboljšanja izobraževanja. Zakon so morale sprejeti vse zvezne države, da bi se lahko uvedli posebni kriteriji ocenjevanja na vsaki stopnji izobraževanja. Od teh ocen je odvisno, ali bodo posamezne ustanove še naprej prejemale državna sredstva ali ne. Ta način je zelo podoben primeru uvajanja OMU v posameznih državah članicah EU. Razlika med šolskimi reformami v ZDA in EU je v tem, da se v ZDA reforme uvajajo že na osnovnošolski ravni, kar je edina logična odločitev, saj omenjeni zakon »No Child Left Behind« osnovne šole povezuje z lokalnimi univerzami, s katerimi tvorijo enoto, ki jo financirajo lokalne korporacije. Tak primer je osnovna šola William H. Taft v Cincinnatiju, Ohio, kjer je bilo vse šolsko osebje, vključno z ravnateljem šole, odpuščeno zaradi preslabega uspeha, kar so poimenovali »akademsko izredno stanje«. Osebje je bilo nadomeščeno, trenutno pa se šola spreminja v center za znanstvene, tehnološke, inženirske in matematične raziskave.¹⁸ Tako kot vse pomembne reforme na področju izobraževanja in tehnoloških raziskav je vse močnejša kriza zajela tudi gospodarstvo v ZDA, kar je Evropi omogočilo, da se je okrepila in da je prek reform izobraževanja ponovno utrdila svojo industrijsko in intelektualno zmogljivost.

Večanje evropske konkurenčnosti in usposobljenosti ter zasebno vlaganje

Cilj trenutnih evropskih reform izobraževanja je uvesti strukturo, ki bo omogočala večjo mobilnost znotraj EHEA. Pri tem EU poziva vse državljanke, ki niso del EU, da povečajo raziskave in zaposlitev, prav tako pa želi uvesti bolj kompatibilen sistem, ki bo poenotil stopnje odprazbe v EU in ZDA in zmanjšal njuno odvisnost od uvoza goriv, kar je v skladu s sedmim okvirnim programom za raziskave in tehnološki razvoj (7OP). EU je te cilje podprla, tako da je še bolj podprla ERAZMUS in pod svoje okrilje sprejela nove programe, kot sta Socrates ali Leonardo da Vinci, ki spadata v okvir Programa vseživljenjskega učenja 2007-2013 (VŽU). Eden od ciljev programa, ki ga je zastavila Evropska komisija, je do leta 2012 povečati število študentskih in proforskih izmenjav na 3 milijone, saj je mobilnost ena od prednostnih nalog reform.¹⁹ Finančni vidik in proračun Programa vseživljenjskega učenja 2007-2013 sta bila določena leta 2007. VŽU bo v tem obdobju prejel 6.970 milijard evrov, njegov glavni cilj pa je izboljšati kakovost, ki je prvi korak k integraciji Bolonjskega procesa. Program namreč neposredno navaja 149. in 150. člen Rimske pogodbe.²⁰

17 Goals 2000: Educate America Act. Part D. Title V – National Skills Standards Board, Sec. 502. United States Congress, 25. julij 2008, <http://www.ed.gov/legislation/GOALS2000/TheAct/sec502.html>
18 Julie. 26. januar 2008. »Entire Staff of Failing Cincinnati School to Be Fired«. Cleveland Leader, 20. maj 2008, <http://www.clevelandleader.com/node/4411>
19 http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/l_327/l_32720061124en00450068.pdf
Člen 17 (1b).
20 »DECISION No 1720/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 November 2006 establishing an action programme in the field of lifelong learning«. Official Journal of the European Union. L327/45. 24. november 2006. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/ce321/ce32120061229en0010331.pdf>, 15. julij 2008.

9 Mitjonen, Johanna. »Vain harva uuden tutkintorakenteen opiskelija saavuttaa asetetut opuntopistemäärät«. Polyteekari. 30. januar 2008. http://www.polyteekari.fi/index.php?k=10529&hakustr=tutkinnonuudistus&_a_10529; Za podrobnejše statistične podatke glej »Student Union of Helsinki University of Technology annual report«, http://www.tky.fi/midcom-serveattachmentguid-93d2d1d6135011dcafc80db5dc5981c881c8/tky_vuosikertomus-2006_screen.pdf
10 Communication of 23 October 2006 from the Commission to the Council – Adult learning [COM (2006) 614 final – not published in the Official Journal]. »Adult learning: it is never too late to learn« Lifelong Learning. 20. julij 2008, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11097.htm>
11 European Commission. »The Erasmus programme celebrates its 20th anniversary«. Europa. 21. julij 2007, http://ec.europa.eu/education/news/erasmus20_en.html; Jean-Sébastien, Lefebvre. 22. januar 2007. »Erasmus turns 20 – time to grow up?«, Café Babel, 26. julij 2008. <http://www.cafebabel.com/eng/article/19702/erasmus-turns-20-time-to-grow-up.html>
12 »Q&A on Interinstitutional Agreement on Budgetary Discipline and Sound Financial Management 2007-2012«, Bruselj, 17. maj 2006. <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleaseAction.do?reference=MEMO/06/204&format=HTML>, 25. julij 2008.
13 EACEA. »About the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency«, Evropa. 21. julij 2008, <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/index.htm>; European Commission. »Lifelong Learning Programme«. Evropa, 21. julij 2008. http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/llp/national_en.html
14 »The Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007«, Official Journal of the European Union. C 306/42, zvezek 50, 17. december 2007.

Politike in prioritete na področju raziskav in z njimi povezanih programov in izvedb so pravna in politična zaveza, predvidena z Amsterdamsko pogodbo. Ta vsebuje celotno poglavje o raziskavah in tehnološkem razvoju (RTR), ki velja za ključni element delovanja industrializiranih držav, to pa so države članice EU. Poglavje določa naslednje: »Konkurenčnost podjetij in zaposlitev, ki jo ta nudijo, sta v veliki meri odvisna od RTR. RTR je prav tako ključni element pri podpori drugih politik, kot je zaščita potrošnikov ali zaščita okolja v EU. Skratka blagostanje posameznika in kolektiva je odvisno od kakovosti in pomembnosti RTR. Evropa mora biti aktivna na področju RTR prav zaradi samega razvoja te panoge.«²¹ Evropska komisija je povedala, da »...se v letu 2008 vzpostavlja celostni proces upravljanja in uvaja pet novih pobud Skupnega evropskega raziskovalnega prostora (ERP). Te pobude so povezane s kariero raziskovalcev in z njihovim prostim pretokom, z raziskovalno infrastrukturo, izmenjavo znanja, raziskovalnimi programi in z mednarodnim sodelovanjem na področju znanosti in tehnologije. Eden izmed ciljev pa je tudi vzpostavitev trajnega partnerskega sodelovanja med državami članicami in interesnimi skupinami – vključno s podjetji, univerzami in raziskovalnimi organizacijami – z namenom skupnega uresničevanja programa ERP na specifičnih ciljnih področjih.«²²

Programi pod krovnim programom Vseživljenjskega učenja spadajo pod okrilje krovnega programa okvirnih programov za raziskave in tehnološki razvoj. Od teh se trenutno udejanja sedmi okvirni program (7OP), ki je v EU ključni instrument za financiranje raziskav, njegov glavni cilj pa je izpopolnitev ERP. Skupni proračun 7OP za to obdobje je 51 milijard evrov, namenjenih predvsem jedrskim raziskavam. Vsa poglavja, povezana z jedrsko energijo, vključno z načrtom 7OP nikakor ne spreminjajo Maastrichtske pogodbe, pač pa spadajo v okvir Pogodbe (ali bolje rečeno so zavezane pogodbi) Euratom. V obdobju 2007-2011 bo iz proračunskih sredstev tega programa 2.7 milijard evrov namenjenih jedrskim raziskavam. Štiri specifične točke 7OP so sodelovanje, zamisli, ljudje in zmogljivosti.²³ Sodelovanje in zamisli sta kategoriji, pomembni predvsem za družbene vede, pri čemer je v zvezi z zamislimi zapisano, da družbene vede in humanistika nista povezani tematski prioriteti, zato zanje ne bo pristojna Evropska komisija, pač pa samostojni organ, in sicer Evropski raziskovalni svet. Pod kategorijo sodelovanje je zapisano, da sta za družbeno-ekonomske vede in humanistiko namenjena le presenetljiva 2 % (610 milijonov evrov) sredstev iz sklada za nejedrske raziskave, prednostno financiranja pa imajo informacijske in komunikacijske tehnologije, ki jim bo namenjenih 28 % (9.110 milijard evrov), in varnostne ter vesoljske raziskave, za katere je predvidenih 1.35 in 1.43 milijard evrov.²⁴

Medtem ko so rezultati bistveni za izvajanje reform znotraj naprednih znanstvenih raziskav na vseh ravneh, je eden glavnih ciljev 6OP in 7OP vzpostavitev t. i. »mrež odličnosti«, kjer se bodo sredstva dodeljevala v skladu z doseženo stopnjo integracije in števila med seboj povezanih raziskovalcev in ne na podlagi rezultatov. Iz programa 7OP se financirajo pobude Zveznega ministrstva za promet, inovacije in tehnologijo in Ministrstva za znanost in raziskave, torej avstrijskih ministrstev za šolstvo in raziskave. Obe podpirata enake pobude kot 7OP, a delujeta na podlagi vzporednih presejalnih sistemov različnih bolj ali manj reguliranih metod izvajanja, kot so politike izključevanja, ki omogočajo vstop v izobraževalne zavode, a mnogim prepovedujejo zakonito bivanje, če kandidat nima na voljo zadostnih finančnih sredstev za preživetje, ki mu jih mora priskrbeti neka druga država ali v večini primerov država, katere državljan je.²⁵ 7OP določa, da so do sredstev iz EU upravičeni le študijski programi s področja družbenih ali naravoslovnih ved, ker so znanstvene raziskave (RTR) na prednostnem seznamu. Umetnost ne prinaša veliko sredstev za tehnološke inovacije, zato je temu študiju namenjen najmanj javnih sredstev, kar sili študente, da si sami poiščejo zasebne vire financiranja. Umetniki pa smo kljub temu slabo preskrbljeni, saj korporacije večinoma povprašujejo po oblikovalski izobrazbi in potencialnem tehnološkem napredku, kot ga prinaša medijska tehnologija, to pa je nekaj, kar nas lahko ustavi pri našem delu.

Kaj lahko ukrenemo v dani situaciji?

V času, ko je privatizacija vodilo in si oblike odpora prilaščajo drugi, slabo kaže prav akcijam, ki razvijajo odpor. Na drugi strani pa vidim velik potencial – posebno v umetnosti, ki je lahko zastavek, saj je umetnost v procesu tranzicije najšibkejša točka, ki kot taka lahko pripomore v vzpostavljanju in priznavanju takšnih situacij ter k oblikovanju novih izveninstitucionalnih prostorov in gibanj.

Lina Dokuzović, Američanka hrvaškega porekla, študira na Akademiji za likovno umetnost na Dunaju. Raziskuje kanibalistične težnje neoliberalnega kapitalizma in privatizacijo umetnosti in izobraževanja.

Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

21 »What is the European Research Area?«, Research – ERA European Commission. 2. julij 2008. http://ec.europa.eu/research/era/era-history_en.html; stran se zaključuje tako: »Nuja po reviziji ERA izhaja iz dejstva, da globalizacija raziskav in tehnologije poteka vse hitreje, nove znanstvene in tehnološke sile – Kitajska, Indija in druge ekonomsko razvijajoče se države – pa privlačijo mnogo in vse več investitorjev v raziskave in razvoj. S tem se za Evropo in svet odpirajo nove možnosti. Hkrati pa se zastavlja vprašanje, ali je Evropa sposobna vzdržati konkurenčnost v znanju in inovacijah, kar je cilj prenovljene lisbonske strategije za povečanje rasti in delovnih mest.«

22 »Specific initiatives to support European Research Area«. Research – ERA. European Commission, 15. julij 2008. http://ec.europa.eu/research/era/specific-era-initiatives_en.html

23 »The main objectives of FP7: Specific programmes«. Understand FP7. Seventh Framework Programme (FP7), 10. julij 2008. http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/understand_en.html

24 »Zusammenarbeit«. Was wird gefördert. Europäisches Forschungsrahmenprogramm, 5. maj 2008. <http://rp7.ffg.at/zusammenarbeit>; O podrobnejših podatkih o finančni podpori glej: »Guide to Financial Issues Relating to FP7 Indirect Actions«, http://rp7.ffg.at/upload/medialibrary/financialguide_en.pdf

25 V Avstriji si mora nedržavljan EU/EGS zagotoviti vsaj 6.210 evrov za študijsko obdobje (ki običajno traja eno leto) poleg drugih dokazil o študijski uspešnosti in čisto pravno evidenco itd., da se mu odobri ali podaljša dovoljenje za bivanje v tujini za študijske namene. Podobne zahteve obstajajo tudi drugod v Evropi.

Lina Dokuzović ART UNDER CONSTRUCTION: COMMEMORATING HALF A CENTURY OF EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

The European institutions of higher education are currently undergoing an extreme process of reformation through the Bologna Process. Education and the arts have more clearly than ever become a platform for the production of ideologies and surplus value for capital. While knowledge has supported autonomy, power and liberation, (neo-)liberal capitalism has found a position for art and education within the expanding knowledge-based economy. I, therefore, take the financial relationship between the arts and sciences in contemporary education and commerce as a point of departure, and aim to show how this dependency drives and is driven by reforms, mapping out the historical events which have led to this point. If science has held a hegemonic position within universities, how has its hegemonic position been maintained for so long? Which political or economic value does it have, and until now, what has the role of the arts in higher education been, in parallel to that of science? Is the system adopting the arts under an umbrella of a larger system which wants to recognize them as a science – or a social science – for ulterior motives?

The present constructed genealogy will follow the parallel developments between the United States of America and European educational reforms over the last fifty years, in order to show tendencies and aims which have formed, and been formed by, a series of related implementations. Mapping half a century of historical reforms, one can observe certain tendencies towards a predisposition to research which gravitates in the direction of specific branches of the private sector, with subsequent profit accumulation for private investors. Let us begin by examining those issues within the different contexts of the old Germanic model of higher education (which most of the rest of the European continental systems were modeled after) on the one hand, and the forthcoming Anglo-American B.A./M.A. system of higher education, which is expanding with slight modifications throughout Europe by means of the Bologna Process on the other. The continental model is the Diplomstudium, or the Magisterium/PhD model. This system typically takes at least 4 years (considerably more in reality) for the completion of the diploma studies, and the Magisterium roughly equates to the Anglo-American Master's Degree. A doctorate can be pursued afterwards, which takes longer. With this system comes a history of the fetishization of academic titles and extreme hierarchical structures, as would be expected from a system which has existed for so long.

However, the B.A./M.A. system, which arrived with the Bologna Process, adopts the Anglo-American system with some slight modifications and adaptations. The Bologna Process introduces a 3-tiered system of higher education: undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate. The undergraduate, or Bachelor's Degree (B.S. for the sciences or B.A. for the arts) generally consists of up to 3 or 4 years (3 years in the UK and 4 years in the USA); the graduate, or Master's Degree, which adds another year in the UK or another two years in the USA; and the postgraduate, or doctorate, which generally adds another three years, but is the most flexible in length. Within this system, there is a strong emphasis on levels rather than years. The higher range of levels aim at making an individual more employable on the job market. The Master's Degree also generally requires an additional entrance exam in the USA/UK model, and is currently bringing up heated debates. The system in the USA on the other hand, has had more lax entrance qualifications, but significantly higher tuition fees instead, utilizing a different method of filtration of students than the European system. The likely solution would then be for the European system to also implement higher tuition fees, as is the case with most Anglo-American institutions, to define who enters or moves on to the different levels. A consequent outcome of the decreased qualifications and increased funding in the USA, following the rise of tuition fees, has been an increasing class gap among the educated. An alleged solution, similar to the outcomes seen within the EU, has been the creation of a new 2-year bottom level in colleges, called the Associate's Degree (in the Arts or Sciences, i.e. A.A./A.S.). The new tier has also been introduced in Canada and Hong Kong, and similar degrees exist in Britain and France. It was introduced and advertised the same way the Bachelor's Degree has been, and currently is, in Europe. The newest levels are introduced as being the cheaper alternatives to their bigger older siblings, but are in effect only the result of the privatization of the higher levels and their subsequent tendencies to become more exclusive, resulting from their branding and elite categorization. Since the new tier accommodates to an increasingly flexible and immaterial job market, the focal programs of the A.A./A.S. have been design, web development, and various other related freelancing occupations. With the increased availability, due to a drop in price and increase in levels, there is now a larger group investing in the knowledge economy. Those same investors are, however, finding themselves pushed to the edges of employment and being exploited by consistently working overtime without any insurance benefits or other institutional protection – the classic consequences of a more liberated job market.

Higher funding generally accompanies higher levels, with the private sector funding system increasingly replacing state funding, allowing universities to gain »autonomy.« There is no more need to exhaust tax money on public education when it (still under the title »public«) becomes a luxury of those who can afford it and the private industries that can support it. Public support does still exist, however, but only on a basic level in order to prevent the institutions from being entirely at the whims of stockholders, and purely becoming shareholding ventures. Behind the scenes, many of the similar remaining public institutions yearn to become privatized and show signals of it, such as slowly and increasingly bringing in private-sector funding or strategically linking to other colleges and universities for joint research programs. This is not merely a devious tendency, but both a desirable and enforced consequence, due to the consistent cuts in public funding by national governments. Consequently, in a cycle where investment rises and returns sink to all-time lows, neoliberal structures have found a new method of adaptation and surplus value accumulation. Currently, the implementation of a so-called PhD in (Art) Practice is a point of debate within the European art education context, due to the inability to define artistic research and break away from the model of

scientific research, which is, however, significant due to its existence as the focal point for private investment. The most obvious reforms within European higher education, however, have been the introduction and flexibility – with increasing deregulation – of tuition fees into public universities, which can be traced back to 1975 in the USA, 1996 in the UK,¹ 2001 in Austria and 2006 in Germany.

Europe Re-forms

To gain a more complete understanding of where these seemingly new developments are coming from, we need to go back to the year 1958, and view the international developments both in Europe and the USA to see why and how they soon thereafter implanted/implemented themselves into the penetrant position of education. Within the European context, 1958 was a significant year due to the signing of the Treaty of Rome, establishing the European Economic Community, which is regarded as the precursor to the Treaty of Maastricht and the establishment of the European Union (the Treaty on the European Union (TEU) was signed in 1992 in Maastricht and is known as the Treaty of Maastricht). The very same day, another treaty was signed establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), both of which immediately took effect. Increased privatization and deregulation were the preferred methods when negotiating the structure of the Community. Germany was on the forefront of supporting increased liberalism and the reduction of customs duties, since it was a similar liberal economic model that was the precursor for the New Deal in the USA.² France, however, was not opposed to these propositions, but wanted a way to continue maintaining its colonial governance. These laid down the foundation for various pacts and processes throughout the EU and its scientific/educational initiatives which are still of great importance today within current strategies, and which will be expanded upon within this genealogy.

After a year of development, the Treaty of Maastricht took effect in 1993, officially establishing the European Union. To date, all treaties of the EU have amended the original Treaty of Rome. The European Commission advocating the free movement of knowledge as the fifth freedom of the European Union in 2007 may become one such amendment. The European Union supports four freedoms: the freedom of goods, the freedom of capital, the freedom of people (citizens), and the freedom of services.³ In effect these "freedoms" represent, first and foremost, what I will refer to as deregulated mobility. In 1999, the Amsterdam Treaty took effect, substantially repositioning education within the EU. One of the most significant points that it introduced was the commitment to and official use of the term "lifelong learning" for all citizens. The changes proposed in the treaty place the main responsibility concerning education in the hands of the Member States, but with EU institutions holding a significant supportive role; the development of quality education is encouraged through cooperation between the Member States, and should be developed through actions such as the promotion of citizen mobility, the design of joint study programs, the establishment of networks, and the exchange of information or teaching languages of the EU. These tasks are "DETERMINED to promote the development of the highest possible level of knowledge for their people through a wide access to education and through its continuous updating," as well as "In order to promote the interests of consumers and to ensure a high level of consumer protection, the Community shall contribute in protecting the health, safety and economic interests of consumers, as well as to promoting their right to information, education and to organize themselves in order to safeguard their interests."⁴ In order to pursue these tasks, the Member States are "encouraged" to individually instate them as laws for a greater European good, using what is called the Open Method of Coordination,⁵ or the OMC, which is a mode of intergovernmental governance based on the voluntary cooperation of Member States in response to pressure. The OMC is also applied as a pattern of EU policies on education, of which it could be stated that the Bologna Process is such an "encouraged" policy. The Process is in fact not a European legal initiative. It functions as the OMC, as an intergovernmental agreement between both EU and non-EU nations. Since participation is entirely "voluntary" and it is not EU legislation, there is no legal obligation among the states who signed the agreement, even though this signing is the argumentation Ministers distribute on behalf of the European Council.

In the same year, the goal of establishing a "European Higher Education Area" or the EHEA was developed and the Bologna Process was launched. The process aims to create comparable standards and compatible degrees across the EU, and is modeled closely after Anglo-American models. These developments took place simultaneous to the approval of the entry of the largest number of new Member States in the EU (the official enlargement took place on May 1st, 2004) and with the growth of the dot-com bubble in the USA.

The Lisbon Recognition Convention of March 2000 brought with it a sharpened and more detailed version of what the Amsterdam Treaty began. When the European Council presented a work draft for educational reforms, they were asked to report back later in the Spring European Council of 2002 to present "a detailed work program on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems, including an assessment of their achievement in the framework of the Open Method of Coordination and in a worldwide perspective; special attention must be given to ways and means of encouraging young people, especially women, in scientific and technical studies as well as ensuring the long-term recruitment of qualified teachers in these fields."⁶ The work draft presented in September of 2001 was significantly revised and then adopted by the Council and Commis-

1 The official reinstatement of tuition fees took place under the new John Major administration after some had existed and were removed. That time, the second, long-term implementation was met with little resistance.

2 "U.S. views on the European Common market and Free Trade Area," in The Department of State Bulletin. 4 February 1957. No 919; vol. XXXVI; publication 6444, p. 182. From: "The Common Market," 14 July 2008. www.enala

3 European Parliament. 22 January 2008. "Part I – How the European Community Works," 16 July 2008. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/facts/default_en.htm

4 The Treaty of Amsterdam. 2 October 1997. Article 2 §1. Article 129a §1. 18 July 2008. From: <http://www.eurotreaties.com/amsterdamtreaty.pdf>

5 Better lawmaking: Convergence of national policies: the open method of coordination." European Governance. 31 July 2007 http://ec.europa.eu/governance/governance_eu/nat_policies_en.htm 16 July 2008; "Involving experts in the process of national policy convergence." Report by Working Group 4a. June 2001 http://ec.europa.eu/governance/areas/group8/report_en.pdf

6 Stockholm European Council. "Presidency Conclusions." §11. 23-24 March 2001. http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/00100-r1%20ann-r1.en1.html 18 July 2008.

sion on February 14th, 2002. The new Work Program proposed in the draft underlines the way the OMC should operate within education and training, primarily focusing on and introducing the standards of tools "such as indicators and benchmarks as well as on comparing best practice, periodic monitoring, evaluation and peer review, organized as mutual learning processes."⁷ The Work Program was welcomed by the European Council and the Ministers and Commission were asked to implement it, reporting on the results two years later. In the same vein as the proposals for and by the OMC, the Bologna Process is often accompanied by "riders," or other additional reforms, which become attached to the official implementations. They extend the required reforms and are not necessarily legally founded, but arrive bundled as parts of other reforms, leaving it unclear which portions are founded in law and which not. Such riders include the introduction of tuition fees, and are changing the structure and organization of universities and departments. They have been highly criticized for being undemocratic and decreasing the quality of universities they claim to support. Many such riders, like the so-called "Guidelines for Determining Quality and Performance"⁸, exist within the Quality Assurance Systems, which was one of the initial stages in the implementation of the Bologna Process.

The long-term consequences of the Bologna Process are still being observed due to its gradual implementation, but it has brought about criticism concerning the creation of diploma factories, and an associated increase in precariousness and an increased social class gap. One such example is that an increasing amount of students are failing to meet the minimum credits required for financial aid, due to the decreased access to space and time which is being implemented to support maximized efficiency. The number of rejected students in Finland at the Helsinki University of Technology, for example, has risen by 40% since the implementation of the process. In addition, the number of students failing to achieve the required amount of credits within 2 years has risen to 85% since the implementation of the process.⁹ One of the goals set for 2010 by the European Council is that no less than 12.5% of 25-64 year-olds per year should be participating in lifelong learning.¹⁰ 2010 is also the deadline for the establishment of the EHEA. At this rate, high speed implementations and high speed turnover needs to take place. It is notable to refer back to the fact that Austria has agreed to implement the Bologna Process nationwide by 2010 as well.

Uterior motives of reforms and the relationship between the arts and sciences

Paralleling the installation of the goals of the EHEA, and the launch of the Bologna Process, the focus was directed on the ERA, European Research Area, and its RTD, or Research and Technological Development, within the EU. It aims to focus on coordination, the sharing of knowledge, ensuring the mobility of researchers around Europe, improving the conditions for researchers, and encouraging links with business and industry, as well as removing any legal and administrative barriers.¹¹ The main focus of the ERA, as well as of six other participating countries, is the development of ITER, the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor, a nuclear fusion reactor in Cadarache, France. ITER would continue the project begun by the Joint European Torus, which is currently the largest nuclear fusion reactor in the world, and already has observer status within CERN, the European Organization for Nuclear Research. Just as the EEC was founded parallel to Euratom, thereby promoting the dominance of European nuclear technology 50 years ago, ITER is now being supported by the parallel development and expansion of the EU. The European Commission expects ITER to be generating energy for the EU by 2050.¹² In addition to supporting nuclear technology, the EU, although not legally obligated in accordance with OMC guidelines, has made many agreements and parallel developments with the European Space Agency (ESA). Coincidentally, in 1958, when Euratom and the EEC were being founded, France was able to maintain few of its colonies, because of the proximity of the ESA's primary launch site to the equator, hence making it the most accessible site for commercial satellite access. It is in Kourou, French Guiana, along with the European Southern Observatory, and the European Organization for Astronomical Research in the Southern Hemisphere.¹³ The upcoming 2009 Lisbon European Council plans to add a chapter about developing space research and travel technology within the EU.¹⁴

Educational reforms in the USA – a historical context

1958 was not only the year of the conjoining of the European forces, but additionally the year in which space would be redefined and extraterrestrial exploration would begin, with education following an accompanying process of parallel development. Immediately following the USSR's launch of Sputnik, the first satellite in space, and the ensuing crisis, the USA passed the National Defense and Education Act of 1958, the most significant educational reform to date. The Act

allowed both public and private interests the right to invest in and provide what was considered "emergency aid" for education for the first time, marking the early days of private investment in education. Why would such a state of "emergency in education"¹⁵ be called for? After the Wright Brothers made the USA the "first in flight" in 1903, the USA stood as the world's leader in technology. Shortly after that reign of leadership, World War I began and brought with it new testing grounds for research and technological developments, pushing Germany, which was previously a strong contender with their largely only somewhat successful attempts at bringing the Zeppelin into flight, to the forefront as the leaders in technology. After World War I, the competition between leading nations continued while the USA, suffering from the Great Depression, developed the Langley Aeronautical Lab, which would become the most advanced aeronautical center in the world. The Great Depression then ended with the onset of WWII, triggering the so-called war economy. More prepared technologically with the facilities, the USA grew even stronger by accepting the most successful World War II refugees and including them in their institutions, following remarkably and exceptionally brisk and smooth naturalization procedures. Following WWII and the downfall of their great competitor, Germany, the USA was shocked to see that the USSR had the power, finances, and technology for such advanced space research when Sputnik was launched. The USA needed to keep up by advancing their education on all levels – from childhood to post-graduate – and began by passing the Act, which allowed a boom of low-interest loans, private funding, decreased federal supervision, and general reforms all around. The interest in boosting education for international competition and the threat of falling behind in technology (which was needed for defense, among other things) would lead to legislators placing a greater emphasis on scientific and mathematical research.

1994: USA National Education – Goals 2000: Educate America Act

While private investment and deregulation had held a snug position in education for decades, the Clinton administration signed the Goals 2000: Educate America Act into law in 1994, a year after the EU was established. It was this act, referred to as the National Education Goals (set by Congress in 1994), which built a framework for outcome-based standards in education in the USA. The act provides institutions with funding "to reach their full potential." It aimed to "identify world-class academic standards, measure student progress, and provide the support that students may need to meet the standards."¹⁶ Many of the goals were not met by 2000, among them being that the USA should rank first in international mathematics and science achievement, and that every American adult would be literate and possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.¹⁷

2001: The USA No Child Left Behind Act

Since the goals had not been met, the No Child Left Behind Act was passed and took effect in 2001. It transformed outcome-based education into standards-based education in order to set high standards as goals for improving education. The Act requires the national enforcement of individual states to establish specific assessment criteria for specific grade levels in order to continue to receive federal funding, very similar to the OMC in relation to individual EU Member State Ministries. The difference between the USA and EU reforms is that the new USA reforms begin at the level of elementary schools, which is now the logical decision since the NCLB Act links elementary schools to local universities. Both, as a linked unit, are then directly funded by local corporations, such as in the case of the William H. Taft Elementary School in Cincinnati, Ohio where the entire staff including the principal were fired due to low ratings, and was referred to as an "academic emergency." The staff has been replaced and it is currently being reformed into a science, technology, engineering and mathematics research facility.¹⁸ As was the case with each significant reform in education and technological research, a growing economic crisis was taking place in the USA at the time, allowing Europe to strengthen and to rebuild their resources, both industrial and intellectual, through educational reforms.

Increasing European compet(ition)ence and private investment

The goals of the current European educational reforms support a structure which allows for easier mobility within the EHEA, which, according to the Seventh Framework Program for Research and Technological Development (FP7), appeals to non-EU citizens because of the increased expansion of research and employment and a greater convergence between the EU and the USA, including a more compatible degree transfer system and less dependability on imported fuels. The EU has been supporting these aims by increasing support for the ERASMUS program and bringing other programs, such as the Socrates or Leonardo da Vinci programs under its umbrella, also known as the Lifelong Learning Program 2007-2013. One of the goals of the program that the European Commission has set is reaching a total of 3 million student and professorial exchanges by 2012, as a result of mobility being one of the priorities of the reforms.¹⁹ The Lifelong Learning Program 2007-2013 financial perspective and budget were agreed on in 2007. The LLP will receive €6.970 billion during this period. The program's first objective is to improve quality, which is, as previously mentioned, both the initial step in the integration of the Bologna Process and directly quotes Articles 149 and 150 from the Treaty of Rome.²⁰

Policies and priorities concerning research and research-related programs and implementations are the legal and political obligations assigned from the Amsterdam Treaty. It includes an entire chapter on

RTD, and places it as a fundamental element in the functioning of industrialized countries such as the EU Member States, stating that "The competitiveness of companies and the employment they can provide depend to a great extent on RTD. RTD is also an essential element for the support of other policies such as consumer protection or the protection of the environment within the EU. In short: the individual and collective well-being of citizens depends on the quality and relevance of RTD. Europe must also play an active role in RTD because of a number of developments inherent to the RTD sector itself."²¹ The European Commission has stated that, "...an overall governance process is being set up and five new ERA (the European Research Area) initiatives are being launched in 2008. The new initiatives address researchers' careers and mobility, research infrastructures, knowledge sharing, research programs and international science and technology cooperation. They aim at establishing durable partnerships with Member States and stakeholders – including business, universities and research organizations – to develop the ERA jointly in their specific areas of focus."²²

The programs under the umbrella of the Lifelong Learning Program fall under the umbrella program of the Framework Programs for Research and Technological Development, the seventh of which is now in effect. The Seventh Framework Program (FP7) is the EU's key instrument for funding research, and its key objective is the advancement of the ERA. The FP7's total budget for this period is 51 billion euro and its aim is on nuclear research. Rather than amending the Maastricht Treaty, all nuclear issues, including the plan outlined by the FP7, fall under the Euratom Treaty. Nuclear research will receive €2.7 billion from the program during the years 2007-2011, The Four Specific Programs of the FP7 are Cooperation, Ideas, People, and Capacities.²³ Cooperation and Ideas are the categories relevant to the social sciences, with Ideas claiming that the social sciences and humanities are not among the linked thematic priorities, and that they will therefore not be managed by the European Commission, but rather by an autonomous entity, the European Research Council. Cooperation states that socio-economic sciences and humanities are allotted a less than impressive 2% (610 million euros) of non-nuclear funding, with its financial priorities lying instead in Information and Communication Technologies with 28% (€9.110 billion), and Security and Space advancement, which cash in at 1.35 and 1.43 billion a piece.²⁴

While outputs are the driving force in implementing reforms within advanced scientific research on all levels, one of the main aims of the FP6 and FP7 has been establishing "Networks of Excellence," in which funding is allotted according to the level of integration achieved and the volume of networked researchers, rather than on outputs. The FP7 funds initiatives of the Federal Ministry for Traffic, Innovation, and Technology and the Ministry for Research and Science, the ministries for research and education in Austria. Both are essentially run by the same initiatives as the FP7 itself, but run through parallel systems of filtration for various regulated and unregulated implementations, such as the policies of exclusion which allow entry into institutions of education, but may nevertheless forbid legal residence if the individual cannot present a large enough quantity of finances for sustenance, which must come from outside of the resident country, or in most cases, from the nation of citizenship.²⁵ According to the FP7, a program of study must qualify as a social science or natural science in order to receive money from the EU, because science is a priority of research/RTD. The arts bring very little money back into technological innovations; therefore, we get the least amount of public funding and have to go back to appealing to private investors for sustenance. We, the artists, are nevertheless weakly sustained because of the necessity of design those corporations need and the potential technological advancements, such as media technology, that we may stumble upon.

What can be done in this situation?

In a position where privatization is the norm and the forms of resistance become appropriated, the situation looks quite grim for potentially resistant action. On the other hand, I do see great potential – particularly with the arts' role as a wild card, primarily at this weak point during in the transition process – in the exposure and recognition of such situations, and in the creation of new extra-institutional venues and actions.

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21 "What is the European Research Area?" Research – ERA European Commission. 2 July 2008. http://ec.europa.eu/research/era/era-history_en.html; the page closes with: "A sense of urgency in revisiting ERA stems from the fact that globalization of research and technology is accelerating and new scientific and technological powers – China, India and other emerging economies – are attracting considerable and increasing amounts of R&D investments. These developments bring new opportunities for Europe and the world. At the same time, they raise the question of Europe's ability to sustain a competitive edge in knowledge and innovation, which is at the core of the renewed Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Jobs."

22 "Specific initiatives to support European Research Area." Research – ERA. European Commission. 15 July 2008. http://ec.europa.eu/research/era/specific-era-initiatives_en.html

23 "The main objectives of FP7: Specific programmes." Understand FP7. Seventh Framework Programme (FP7). 10 July 2008. http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/understand_en.html

24 "Zusammenarbeit." Was wird gefördert. Europäisches Forschungsrahmenprogramm. 5 July 2008. <http://rp7.ffg.at/zusammenarbeit>; For more detailed facts about funding, see: "Guide to Financial Issues Relating to FP7 Indirect Actions." http://rp7.ffg.at/upload/mediabrary/financialguide_en.pdf

25 In Austria, a non-EU/EEC citizen must provide proof of possessing at least €6,210 per period (generally one year of study), along with other evidence of successful study and clean legal record, etc. in order to receive approved or extended legal residence under a student resident permit. Similar requirements exist throughout Europe.

7 "Detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of Education and training systems in Europe." Official Journal of the European Community. 14 June 2002. C 142/01 http://eur-lex.europa.eu/pri/en/oj/dat/2002/c_142/c_14220020614en00010022.pdf 18 July 2008.

8 Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA) "Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area." Beiträge zur Hochschulpolitik 9/2006. Bonn, October 2006. HRK Hochschulrektorenkonferenz. 14 July 2008. http://www.hrk.de/de/download/dateien/Beit9-2006-Standards_Leitlinien_QS.pdf

9 Mitjonen, Johanna. "Vain harva uuden tutkintorakenteen opiskelijaa saavuttaa asetetut opuntopistemäärät." Polyteekari. 30 January 2008. http://www.polyteekari.fi/index.php?k=10529&hakustr=tutkinnonuudistus#_10529; For more statistics from the "Student Union of Helsinki University of Technology annual report," see: http://www.tky.fi/midcomserveattachmentguid-93d2d1d6135011dcaf80db5dc5981c881c8/tky_vuosikertomus-2006_screen.pdf

10 Communication of 23 October 2006 from the Commission to the Council - Adult learning [COM (2006) 614 final – Not published in the Official Journal]. "Adult learning: it is never too late to learn." Lifelong Learning. 20 July 2008. <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11097.htm>

11 European Commission. "The Erasmus programme celebrates its 20th anniversary." Europe. 21 July 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/education/news/erasmus20_en.html; Jean-Sébastien, Lefebvre. 22 January 2007. "Erasmus turns 20 – time to grow up?" Café Babel. 26 July 2008. <http://www.cafebabel.com/eng/article/19702/erasmus-turns-20-time-to-grow-up.html>

12 "Q&A on Interinstitutional Agreement on Budgetary Discipline and Sound Financial Management 2007-2012." Brussels, 17 May 2006. <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/06/204&format=HTML>. 25 July 2008.

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14 "The Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007." Official Journal of the European Union. C 306/42 Volume 50. 17 December 2007.

15 Title I – General Provisions." Finding and Declaration of Policy Sec. 101. National Defense Act of 1958. 25 July 2008. http://tucnak.fsv.cuni.cz/~calda/Documents/1950s/Education_58.html

16 "National Education Goals." Sec. 102. Goals2000: Educate America Act United States Congress. 25 July 2008. <http://www.ed.gov/legislation/GOALS2000/TheAct/sec102.html>

17 Goals2000: Educate America Act. Part D. Title V – National Skills Standards Board, Sec. 502. United States Congress. 25 July 2008. <http://www.ed.gov/legislation/GOALS2000/TheAct/sec502.html>

18 Julie. 26 January 2008. "Entire Staff of Failing Cincinnati School to Be Fired." Cleveland Leader. 20 May 2008. <http://www.clevelandleader.com/node/4411>

19 http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/L_327/L_32720061124en00450068.pdf Article 17, Part 1b.

20 "DECISION No 1720/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 November 2006 establishing an action programme in the field of lifelong learning." Official Journal of the European Union. L327/45. 24 November 2006. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/ce321/ce32120061229en00010331.pdf> 15 July 2008.

**Marina Gržinič
STANJE STVARI**

V Sloveniji so septembra 2008 potekale volitve. Volivci so se odločili za spremembo. Volilno telo v Sloveniji je 40 % glasov namenilo levosredinski opciji (do zdaj nam je vladala desna); to torej pomeni željo po spremembi, željo po tem, da bi stopili v novo prihodnost. Ta dogodek nas ne sili le v spraševanje o tem, kakšna je današnja leva pozicija, temveč tudi o tem, v katerem trenutku se lahko v pogojih, ki jih lahko imenujem neoliberalni globalni kapitalizem, levica znova dvigne. Ta dogodek je še pomembnejši, če vemo, da so bile teden dni za slovenskimi (prav tako septembra) parlamentarne volitve tudi v sosednji Avstriji. Avstrijci so skoraj tretjino vseh volilnih glasov (okrog 30 %) namenili skrajnim desničarskim strankam.

Desničarska vlada, ki je bila do nedavnega na oblasti v Sloveniji, je razvila triadni format jasnih »nekroukrepov« (smrtnih ukrepov), ki se izvajajo kot nekrokapitalizem, nekropolitika in nekroekonomija. K temu je treba dodati še dva velika procesa, ki sta v osnovi neoliberalnega kapitalizma in njegovega delovanja: privatizacija in deregulacija sleherne družbene ravni in njenih institucij ter družbenih, političnih, ekonomskih, kulturnih in umetniških praks.

Zanima me zlasti analiza institucij, posebej na področju umetnosti in kulture. Zakaj? Zdi se, da sta deregulacija in privatizacija posebej in močno prisotni na področju današnje umetnosti in kulture, kjer se institucije umetnosti in kulture zagrizeno varujejo pred kritiko in analizo. Tako ni le v Sloveniji, ampak se nekaj podobnega dogaja v vseh državah članicah EU in drugod. Slovenski primer tako odraža strukturalni razvoj, ki kaže podobne lastnosti v celotnem evropskem prostoru, čeprav je ponekod zvito prikrit, na drugih ravneh pa jasno načrtovan in še bolj razvit.

Najpomembnejše je razumeti, da neoliberalni nekrokapitalizem živi od krepitve dveh temeljnih pogojev reprodukcije: deregulacije in privatizacije. Pri tem, kar sledi, ko govorimo o neoliberalizmu in razlagamo logiko teh dveh pogojev in drugih lastnosti, ki jih je treba navesti kot lastne neoliberalizmu, se bom sklicevala na dve besedili, nedavno objavljenimi v 6. številki revije *Area Chicago* (ART/RESEARCH/EDUCATION/ACTIVISM) avgusta 2008, in na njun besednjak, in sicer na uvodnik Daniela Tuckera *Inheriting the Grid/Podedovani vzorec* ter na besedilo Nika Theodorea, Jamieja Pecka in Neila Breberja *The City as Policy Lab/Mesto kot politični laboratorij*.

Sklicevanje na deregulacijo in privatizacijo pomeni sklicevanje na situacijo, ki najprej spominja na psihozo ali izredne razmere, kmalu pa jo dojemamo kot popolnoma normalno in sprejemljivo. Privatizacija pomeni, da se država postopoma umika iz družbenega, kulturnega in javnega življenja ter pusti, da se ti javni sektorji borijo za zasebni denar. Privatizacija pa implicira tudi obliko zasebne lastnine ali zasebne instrumentalizacije javnih institucij s strani tistih, ki z njimi upravljajo. Da bi pravilno razumeli te procese in neoliberalizem, naj se obrnem na kratak, a izjemno natančen besednjak, objavljen v že omenjeni številki revije *Area Chicago*. Navajam: »Neoliberalizem je projekt radikalnega institucionalnega preoblikovanja. Izraz se nanaša na edinstveno obdobje kapitalizma, v katerem so nekatere gospodarske elite v nekaterih državah spodbujale fundamentalizem svobodnega trga, kakršnega v časih po veliki gospodarski krizi še niso doživeli. Ta fundamentalistična ideologija je spodbujala razveljavitev večine predpisov, ki so lokalna in nacionalna gospodarstva štiti pred tujo konkurenco (poleg večine družbenih in političnih pridobitev družbenih gibanj, vključno z delavskimi organizacijami). Preoblikovanje večinoma poteka preko privatizacije industrije in storitev, pri katerih je imela prej monopol država, in mnogih socialnih programov, povezanih s socialnim skrbstvom. To obdobje zaznamuje tudi odpiranje novih trgov na področjih, kjer dobičkonosnega potenciala prej niso izkoriščali, vključno z osnovnimi storitvami, ki jih nudi država, pa tudi z vse večjim pomenom panog, kot so kultura, zdravstvo, varstvo okolja in izobraževanja (če jih omenimo le nekaj). Neoliberalizem naj bi zrasel na oddelku za ekonomijo čikaške univerze, promoviral pa so ga ideologi, kakršna sta Friedrich von Hayek in Milton Friedman. Koncepti izhajajo iz 'liberalne' tradicije in segajo vse do teoretičkov zgodnjega kapitalizma z začetka 19. stoletja, ki so jih očarali čisti koncepti svobode. Za liberalca je bila ideal svoboda. Za neoliberalca je ideal svobodni trg, ki ga ne zmoti noben državni poseg. A ne smemo pozabiti, da je ideal daleč od resnice in da aktualne, tako imenovane neoliberalne politike zahtevajo ogromne državne posege – le da tokrat izključno v korist gospodarske elite, pri čemer jih ne zanima, da bi spodbujali politiko ekonomskega prerazporejanja, enakih možnosti ali državljanske participacije«.

Če se torej vrnemo k Sloveniji, vidimo skoraj kristalno jase vpliv neoliberalnega nekrokapitalizma na vseh področjih življenja, produkcije in dela. V neoliberalnem nekrokapitalizmu se je celotna družba preobrnila v en sam VELIKI INVESTICIJSKI sektor, ki skrbi za kapitalizacijo kapitala. Poudariti želim, da so časi partikularizacije družbenih ravni, na primer kulture in umetnosti, ko naj bi ti dve ravni obstojali »zunaj« procesov, ki se odvijajo v širših ekonomskih, družbenih in političnih kontekstih, tako rekoč mimo. Vedno je obstajala trdna medsebojna odvisnost med t. i. nadgradnjo (umetnost, kultura, socialno področje itd.) in ekonomsko bazo. Razlika je v tem, da je bila v preteklosti ta logika prikrita, v neoliberalizmu pa so te povezave jasno vidne. Danes vidimo, da so umetnostni, kulturni, družbeni, zdravstveni, javni sektorji itd., ki so se sprva uporabljali za ideološko reproduciranje načina produkcije in njene delovne sile, zdaj postali bistveni za neposredno kapitalizacijo kapitala. Kadar torej govorimo o neoliberalni nekrokapitalistični deregulaciji prav vsake družbene institucije, pa naj bo umetnostna, kulturna, politična, zdravstvena, socialnovarstvena, javna, pravna, religiozna itd., to pomeni, da ta ne zadeva le njene (dez)investicijske politike, ampak njeno zgodovino, strategije posegov, ideologije, rituale in oblike organizacije.

V neoliberalizmu, kot to formulirajo pri reviji *Area Chicago*, so na delu štiri procesi: financiacija kapitala, spekulativni premiki finančnega kapitala, medprostorska konkurenca in prostorsko trženje. Ne predlagam le, da bi procese, ki se odvijajo na področju umetnosti in kulture, opredelili kot očitno prestrukturirane in de-

regulirane, temveč da bi si radikalni proces financiacije kapitala predstavljali tudi kot obliko financiacije (kulturnih) ustanov s spekulativnim, medprostorskokonkurenčnim in prostorskotrziškim kot močno vidnimi lastnostmi. V neoliberalnem nekrokapitalizmu proces naddoločenosti, ki ni nič drugega kot sama financiacija, ne poteka le na vseh družbenih ravneh, temveč je močno prisoten prav na področju sodobne umetnosti in kulture.

Financiacija kapitala pomeni, da se presežna vrednost kot edino gonilo kapitala ustvarja s pomočjo mehanizma naphovanja balona, ki se mu reče »virtualni« pretok denarja, investicij itd. Ta mehanizem ne korenini več v »produkciji«, kot je bila značilna za ne tako davno, kapitalistično kolonialno preteklost, kjer je šlo za neposredno izkoriščanje ljudi, območij in ozemelj. Čeprav je ta proces še prisoten (npr. ko gre za nafto), pa se pri financiaciji ustvarja denar iz denarja (virtualno) brez tako imenovanega ozadja produkcije. Tako ne presežna, da so zadnji septembrski teden leta 2008, ko so se na Wall Streetu uresničile najbolj mračne slutnje (po veliki gospodarski krizi leta 1929), milijarde evrov izginito tako rekoč čez noč. Priča smo performativnemu vidiku spekulativne moči kapitalizacije denarja, ki ne temelji na ničemer razen na sami sebi. Posledica takšne situacije je avtokanibalizacija in supervampirsko krvoločno stanje hkrati. Kaj hočem povedati? Če financiacija kapitala pomeni prevlado finančnih trgov (trgovanje z deviznimi sredstvi, terminski posli, dolžniško trgovanje, trgovanje z vrednostnimi papirji vlade ZDA in druge oblike spekulativnih investicij) nad industrijskimi ekonomijami v sodobnem kapitalizmu, kot trdijo pri *Area Chicago*, predlagam, da na financiacijo institucij gledamo kot na paradigmo, vzporedno financiaciji kapitala, kjer gre za podeljevanje pretirane moči institucijam, a zgolj in edino s pomočjo performativnih spekulativnih procesov, ki nimajo osnove v ničemer drugem kot v samih institucijah. Ti spekulativni procesi postajajo pomembnejši od vsake umetnostne in kulturne produkcije, pomembnejši od vsake umetnine, pomembnejši od vsake umetniške pozicije ali pozicije umetniške skupine itd.

Kot so to opredelili pri *Area Chicago*, lahko spekulacijo »razumemo kot kupovanje, posedovanje in prodajo nečesa (od nepremičnin do umetniških del) z namenom pobiranja dobička od tržnih nihanj (nekaj takega kot 'kupuj poceni, prodaj drago)«. To, kar se tu kupuje in prodaja, je informacija sama po sebi, tako rekoč brez vsake vsebine. Temu je treba dodati še en proces, to pa je – kot smo se naučili iz balkanskih vojn – »čiščenje teren«. Prakse in teorije, ki motijo tok nenehne produkcije informacij, je treba izbrisati in morajo izginiti. Zelo podobni procesi so se in se še vedno – ne le npr. v brutalnih balkanskih vojnah v 90. letih in v Čečeniji – izvajajo pri izbrisanih v Sloveniji. Če povzamem, je na delu dvojen proces: po eni strani so spekulacije posledica hiperaktivnosti, a ne (umetniških ali kulturnih) produkcij, ampak hiperprodukcije informacij samih po sebi. Po drugi strani pa to pomeni, da se institucije aktivirajo kot inkubatorji nenehne produkcije informacij – o samih sebi. Rezultat je preprosto ta, da vsak dan bombardirajo javnost z informacijami o neverjetni količini projektov in dejavnosti, ki jim nihče več ne more slediti. Bum se ustvarja z neskončnim spekulativnim pošiljanjem in razporejanjem česarkoli že, hkrati pa smo priča povsem psihotičnemu procesu popolne izpraznjenosti.

Dober primer je ljubljanska Moderna galerija, ali kot jo poznajo v tujini, ljubljanski Muzej moderne umetnosti. Čeprav lahko položaj Moderne galerije razumemo kot posledico štiriletne desničarske vlade, ki je bila v Sloveniji doslej na oblasti in je tej ustanovi preprečevala polno in svobodno delovanje, pa lahko trdimo, da so bili zametki procesa financiacije vidni že v letu 2000. Povedano na kratko, financiacija ne pomeni le kapitaliziranja »ničesar« s pomočjo popolnoma spekulativnih strategij informiranja. Kadar govorimo o financiaciji institucije, to pomeni preoblikovanje celotne umetnostne produkcije kot take v NIČ.

Leta 2000 so v Moderni galeriji v Ljubljani pripravili razstavo »2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION« (2000 + VZHODNOUMETNIŠKA ZBIRKA), ki je potekala vzporedno z Manifesto 2000, prav tako organizirano v Ljubljani. Po besedah galerije in kustosinje, ki je bila poleg tega direktorica te institucije, je bilo bistvo »2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION« konceptualno gibanje v Vzhodni Evropi. V resnici pa v to razstavo ni bil vključen noben slovenski umetnik. Ta se ni znašel niti v barvnem katalogu z veliko naklado, tiskanem ob razstavi. Prav tako vanj ni bila vključena skupina OHO, ki velja za trdo jedro konceptualne dejavnosti v 70. letih 20. stoletja v Sloveniji, še več, na razstavi skupina sploh ni bila prisotna.

Kot sem poudarila v svoji analizi leta 2000, je bilo že to dovolj paradoksalno, saj »2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION« niso priredili kot nacionalne razstave, temveč je bila zbirka pripravljena prav za mednarodno občinstvo. Drugače povedano, številno občinstvo povabljenih mednarodnih strokovnjakov je prišlo v Ljubljano na Manifesto 3, kar je »2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION« načrtno izkoristilo.

Tako so z razstavo »2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION« popolnoma zatajili slovenski delež, saj so de facto izločili vso umetniško produkcijo, ki je v Sloveniji nastajala od 60. let prejšnjega stoletja. Po drugi strani in hkrati s tem pa so vodili v Moderni galeriji lahko dobili moč in se zmagovito umestili v mednarodni kontekst, saj so predstavili pomemben pregled umetnikov iz Vzhodne Evrope.

Lahko bi rekli, da nas je s tem, da ni upoštevala slovenske sodobne umetnosti, Moderna galerija »zaščitila«. Ker ni bil nihče predstavljen, razstava tako »ni« imela nobenih posledic za slovenski prostor. A najbolj zadušljivo in psihotično je, da je bila ta »zaščitniška skrb« Moderne galerije (ki je izbrisala vse slovenske umetnike in vse slovenske umetniške produkcije) navsezadnje namenjena zgolj in edino sami sebi. Uporabila jo je le zato, da bi zaščitila in ohranila svojo institucionalno in instrumentalno moč. S takšnim »čiščenjem terena« leta 2000 se je institucija izločila in rešila vseh odgovornosti za možne načine opredeljevanja, izbire in končne predstavitve moderne in sodobne slovenske umetnosti v nacionalnem in mednarodnem kontekstu. Dejstvo je, da je bila že leta 2000 napisana teoretična analiza o tem »primeru«, ki je prišla izpod peresa avtorice pričujočega besedila, vendar pa jo je bilo takrat v nacionalnem kontekstu nemogoče objaviti; to se je zgodilo le v mednarodnem prostoru.

K tej genealogiji načina delovanja Moderne galerije vse od leta 2000 lahko dodamo še to, kako je Moderna galerija v Ljubljani reše-

vala resen problem glavnega razstavnega prostora galerije, ki je v zadnjih dveh letih zaprt zaradi prenove. Moderna galerija se je znašla v izredno nerodnem položaju, a v tem nerodnem položaju smo se znašli tudi vsi mi, saj smo ostali brez najpomembnejše institucije sodobne umetnosti v Sloveniji. »Začasno« je izgubila prostor zaradi (potrebne) obnove, niso pa ji ponudili začasnega nadomestnega razstavnega prostora (kar je v sodobnem svetu običajna praksa, kadar je na kocki nacionalna institucija umetnosti in kulture). Ne-pripravljenost države in pristojnega ministrstva, da bi Moderna galeriji priskrbela nadomestni prostor, je bila proces discipliniranja institucije s strani ministra za kulturo Republike Slovenije, ki so ga namestili vladajoča desničarska stranka in drugi lobiji. A čeprav je bila Moderna galerija potisnjena v kot, ni pozvala mednarodne javnosti, naj sproži mednarodne akcije izvajanja pritiska na ministrstvo s pomočjo mednarodne podporne peticije.

Takšno »nesposobnost« Moderne galerije, da bi »sprožila« ali pozvala k mednarodni solidarnosti akciji, ki bi lahko vladajočo desničarsko stranko prisilila (in lahko trdim, da bi bil takšen poziv deležen pomembne solidarnostne podpore iz domačega in nacionalnega prostora) k ponudbi nadomestnega prostora, lahko vidimo tudi kot proces umikanja s pozicije resnične odgovornosti za to, kar je treba narediti v situaciji, ko se je pomembno »boriti« za umetnostno institucijo kot takšno. Namesto tega se je začel proces mimikrije. Moderna galerija so povabili, naj predstavi različne razstavne projekte (po logiki »skvoterstva«) na različnih kulturnih prostorih v mestu Ljubljana. Zabavno se zdi, da se nacionalna institucija obnaša kot brezdomec, težava pa je v tem, da s tem normalizira državne ukrepe, medtem ko bi se morala vesti popolnoma drugače (vsekakor ne kot obubožna nevladna organizacija). Nacionalna institucija bi morala lastno moč (in mednarodni ugled) uporabiti, da javno in v mednarodnem kontekstu pozove k spreminjanju situacije, da praktično sproži vojno, ki bo državo in njeno ministrstvo prisilila vsaj k poskusu, da si v mednarodnem okviru reši ugled in glede stanja nekaj ukrene. Nasprotno pa se je Moderna galerija znova obnašala popolnoma spekulativno, se izogibala, zavračala in umikala iz situacije prav takrat, ko bi bilo potrebno potegniti črto ali ukrepati, da bi ponovno artikularila ustrezen položaj v širšem kontekstu. Takšen način delovanja spominja na banke na Wall Streetu zadnji septembrski teden leta 2008. Vse te institucije in posebej tisti, ki jih vodijo, kažejo svojo neverjetno sposobnost preživetja na račun celotnega umetniškega in kulturnega sektorja.

V tem pogledu je pomembno poudariti, da Moderna galerija deluje z roko v roki z vzporednimi institucijami, ki jih lahko poimenujemo »javne strukture v sencih«. To so tako imenovane »neinstitucije«, saj v resnici niso javne institucije, ampak zasebni skladi, ki delujejo kot nevladne organizacije in prejemajo javni denar. Te neinstitucije živijo v sencih institucij in bolj ali manj predstavljajo ostanke iz 90. let. Kaj je njihova glavna dejavnost? Takšne institucije veljajo za nadvse hitre »inkubatorje«, ki prehitro, v resnici pospešeno, proizvajajo generacije novih struktur, delujoče na področju umetnosti in kulture: kustose, organizatorje, celo umetnike itd. Poleg procesa pospešene proizvodnje novih kadrov te neinstitucije proizvajajo pospešene genealogije sodobne umetnosti. Pomembno je razumeti, da se ta pospešeni proces odvija v nasprotju z genealogijami prvega kapitalističnega sveta (ki se vedno znova oblikujejo potrpežljivo in kontinuirano). Pospešena proizvodnja genealogij pa predstavlja proces »popodjetenih genealogij«, ki je oblika deregulacije, in način (prehitrega) sestavljanja in konceptualizacije zgodovine.

Te lastnosti niso psihološki opisi, ampak so bistvene za današnji strukturalni način funkcioniranja neoliberalnega kapitalizma ter kažejo, da so procesi pospeševanja del financiacije in spekulacij.

Da lahko financiacirane institucije za vsako ceno ohranijo svojo moč, pa pri celotnem procesu sodelujejo tudi manj vidni postopki. Gre namreč tudi za procese, ko institucija napove »vojno« in izzove izredne razmere, da bi prikrla svojo pravo neodgovornost. To pomeni prikazovanje prostora umetnosti in kulture, ki obdaja uradno umetnostno institucijo, kot razdrobljenega, problematičnega in skorumpiranega. Sodobnim dereguliranim in spekulativnim javnim in uradnim umetnostnim institucijam je težko dojeti prostor umetnosti in kulture kot prostor zaveznih. Skozi njihovo optiko so marginalizirane skupine in prakse predstavljene kot skupine in prakse z največjo močjo, medtem ko so državne institucionalizirane pozicije moči predstavljene, kot bi bile marginalizirane. Gre za proces popolne zameglitve, ki pripelje do situacije, ko so tako rekoč vsi udeleženi pri vzajemno destruktivnih strategijah prostorskega trženja in nastopajo drug proti drugemu. Uradna institucija umetnosti pa je pri tem oproščena vsake odgovornosti, še več, predstavlja se le kot žrtev sistema.

Kaj pa pomeni ustvarjanje izrednih razmer, če ne strategijo za prikrivanje pravega položaja z namenom ohranjanja moči? Da bi institucija preživela in reproducirala svojo moč v nacionalnem prostoru, potrebuje totalno vojno ali izredne razmere. To doseže s procesom »delegiranja« (ne)odgovornosti na nekoga drugega, da s tem prikrije lastno odgovornost. Proces delegiranja oziroma pooblaščenja nekoga drugega pomeni najti (umetniški) format ali popolnoma brezvestnega posameznika (ali skupino), ki bo opravil »umazano delo«, ali celo mednarodno institucijo, ki privoli v to, da finančno podpre celotno »umetniško akcijo«, če je le-ta izpeljana v drugem kulturnem (nacionalnem) prostoru. Čeprav je v svojem lastnem nacionalnem kontekstu takšna mednarodna institucija daleč od »izvajanja« enakih »ukrepov«, kot jih sedaj izvaja v »državah«, ki v oči mednarodne »podporne« institucije ne veljajo za dovolj civilizirane. Pravzaprav mednarodna podporna institucija stanje nereda in igre moči, ki jih poznamo pod imenom balkanizacija, uporabi v svojo korist, saj se tako predstavlja kot »subverzivna« in »avtonomna«.

Posledice vseh opisanih postopkov so, da postanejo kategorije javnega prostora, javnega denarja in javnosti kot take popolnoma instrumentalizirane in privatizirane.

Naj sklenem, da se morajo institucije in neinstitucije zato, ker podobno kot banke in nebanke delujejo s pomočjo istega procesa financiacije, ki poteka popolnoma spekulativno, prav tako zavedati svojega možnega popolnega zloma. Prav to se dogaja na Wall Streetu, čeprav elemente zloma vidimo že v načinu javnega delovanja umetniške institucije, ki prestopa vsake meje dobrega okusa.

Skratka, neoliberalni nekrokapitalizem se nenehno producira in re-producira, in to ne samo ekonomsko in politično, pač pa predvsem institucionalno. Vsi ti procesi imajo učinek, ki je popolnoma in naravnost družbeno povsem »disfunkcionalen«. Prinaša posledice, ki jih je zelo težko popolnoma razumeti. Dandanes se moramo nujno razvezati iz položaja vojne vsakogar proti vsakomur, (za)menjave vsega z vsem, vsakogar z vsakim; treba je potegniti ločnico v prostoru, medtem ko gradimo lokalna in mednarodna zavezništva. To so edini mogoči načini spreminjanja dereguliranih in privatiziranih ekonomskih, družbenih in institucionalnih sfer v našem sedanjem življenju in delu.

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Iz angleščine prevedla Polona Glavan.

Marina Gržinić THE STATE OF THINGS

Slovenia had its elections in October 2008. Its electoral body decided for a change. 40% of the votes by the electoral body in Slovenia went to the center-left option (we have had a right-wing government in power for the last four years in Slovenia); this therefore presents a wish to change, to turn a page for the future. This fact forces us to ask not only what a left position today is, but additionally to ask at which moment in a condition that is termed neoliberal global capitalism, can the left arise again? Its event(uality) is even more important as we know that a week after the Slovenian elections (in September 2008) the parliamentary elections were held in neighboring Austria as well. The Austrians gave almost one third of all their electoral votes (ca. 30%) to the ultra-right-wing parties.

The right wing government which was in power until recently in Slovenia developed a triadic format of clear necro (death) measures that are operative as necrocapitalism, necropolitics and necroeconomics. We should add two major processes of neoliberal fundamental ways of functioning to this as well: the privatization and deregulation of each and every strata of society; of its institutions and the social, political, economic, cultural and artistic practices.

I am specifically interested in the analysis of institutions, and more particularly, in the field of art and culture. Why? It seems that deregulation and privatization are specifically, powerfully present in the field of art and culture today, where they are ferociously safeguarded to be excluded from critique and analysis. This is not a solitary case in Slovenia, but something that is happening in the whole space of EU and beyond. The case of Slovenia therefore shows structural development that presents similar traits all over the European space, though wittily hidden somewhere, and clearly envisioned and even more advanced on other levels.

The most important point is to understand that neoliberal necrocapitalism lives from the intensification of its two primal conditions of reproduction: deregulation and privatization. In what follows in talking about and explaining the logic of these two conditions and other characteristics to be put forward as being internal to neoliberalism, I will make a reference to two texts and a small vocabulary published recently in Chicago, in the magazine area # 6. I will refer to Daniel Tucker and his editorial text "Inheriting the Grid" and to Nik Theodore, Jamie Peck and Neil Brebber's text "The City as Policy Lab," both published in *Area Chicago* (ART/RESEARCH/EDUCATION/ACTIVISM), no. 6, from August 2008.

To refer to these two conditions means to refer to a situation of psychosis or to a situation of exceptionality at first, that is soon to be seen as completely normalized and accepted. Privatization means that the state withdraws from social, cultural and public life step by step, and leaves these public sectors to struggle for private money. But privatization also implies a format of private property or of a private instrumentalization of the public institution by those who run it. To precisely understand these processes and neoliberalism, let me refer to the short, but extremely precise vocabulary of terms published in *Area Chicago*, no. 6. I quote: "Neoliberalism is a project of radical institutional transformation. This term refers to a unique period in Capitalism in which some economic elite of some countries has encouraged a free-market fundamentalism that is unprecedented since before the Great Depression. This fundamentalist ideology has promoted a reversal of much of the regulation that has protected local and national economies from foreign competition, in addition to much of the social and political gains of social movements (including organized labor). Much of this transformation occurs through the privatization of industries and services previously monopolized by the State, and many of the social programs associated with Welfare. This period is also marked by the opening up of new markets in sectors of life previously untapped for profit-making potential – including those basic services provided by the state, as well as the growing importance of industries like culture, health, environmentalism, and education (to name a few). Neoliberalism is considered to have grown out of the University of Chicago Economics Department, promoted by its ideologues such as Friedrich von Hayek and Milton Friedman. The concepts grow out of a 'liberal' tradition, dating back to the theorists of early capitalism in the late 1800s, who were compelled by pure concepts of freedom. For the liberal, 'freedom' was the ideal. For the neoliberal, the 'free market' undisturbed by any State intervention is ideal. What must be constantly kept in mind is that the ideal is far from the truth, and current so-called neoliberal policies require massive State intervention – only this time around it is exclusively on behalf of economic elite with no attempt to promote policies of economic redistribution, equal opportunity or civic participation."

Therefore, going back to Slovenia, we see with almost graphic clarity the impact of neoliberal necrocapitalism in every sector of life, production and labor. In neoliberal necrocapitalism, the whole of society has been transformed into only one BIG INVESTMENT sector that provides for a capitalization of capital. I want to emphasize that the time of the particularization of levels of society (let's think about cul-

ture and art, being "outside" the processes that are going on in the wider economical, social and political contexts, so to speak) are over. There was always a firm relationship of interdependency between the superstructure (art, culture, the social field, etc.) and the economical base. The difference was that in the past this logic was hidden, but in neoliberalism these connections are clearly visible. What we see is that these artistic, cultural, social, health, public, etc. sectors that were before primarily used for ideological reproduction of the mode of production and its labor force, are vital for the direct capitalization of capital today. Therefore, when we speak about the neoliberal necrocapitalist radical deregulation of each and every institution in society, be it the institution of art, culture, politics, health, social security, public, law, religion, etc., it means it affects not only its (dis-)investment policy, but its histories, strategies of interventions, ideologies, rituals and forms of organization.

In neoliberalism, as the *Area Chicago* team formulates, four processes apply: financialization of capital, speculative movements of financial capital, interspatial competition and place-marketing. My proposal is not only to term the processes that are going on in the field of art and culture as overtly restructured and deregulated, but also to envision a radical process of not only the financialization of capital, but of the financialization of (cultural) institutions as such, with speculative, interspatial competitive and place-marketing as highly visible characteristics as well. In neoliberal necrocapitalism, a process of overdetermination that is definitely financialization, affects not only every level of society, but it is also highly operative in contemporary art and culture.

Financialization of capital means that the surplus value as the only drive of capital is produced with a bubble mechanism of "virtual" money movements, investments, etc. This is not rooted in "production" any more so to speak, as was the case of the direct expropriation of people, regions and territories in the not so distant, clear capitalist colonial past. Even though such a process is still active, if we think about oil, financialization makes money from money (virtually) without the so-called background of production. It does not come as a surprise that in the last week of September 2008, in the week of Wall Street's darkest scenario of collapse (after the 1929 Great Depression), billions of euros simply disappeared overnight, so to speak. We witness a performative aspect of the speculative power of capitalization of money that has no base in anything but itself. The outcome of such a situation is at once an auto-cannibalization and super-vampiric blood thirsty condition. What do I want to say? If the financialization of capital means the domination of financial markets (foreign exchange trading, futures, debt trading, US government securities trading and other forms of speculative investment) over industrial economies in contemporary capitalism, as stated by the *Area Chicago* team, I therefore put forward the financialization of institutions as a paradigm, to be parallel to the financialization of capital, meaning the over-empowerment of institutions, but only and solely through performative speculative processes that have no base in anything other than the institutions themselves. These speculative processes are becoming more important than any art and cultural production, more important than any art work, more important than any artist or artistic group position, etc.

As it was formulated by the *Area Chicago* group, speculation "could be understood as buying, holding and selling something (anything from real estate to fine art) in order to profit from the fluctuations in the market (something like 'buy low, sell high')." What is bought and sold here is information itself, devoid of any content, so to speak. Additionally, a process of "a cleansing of the terrain" is to be added, as was learned from the Balkan Wars. Practices and theories that disturb the flow of incessant production of information should be erased, and have to vanish. Very similar processes were and still are –not only in relation to the brutality in the Balkan Wars in the 1990s and in Chechnya, etc. – implemented in relation to the erased people in Slovenia. Therefore, to summarize what is taking place is a twofold process; on the one hand, speculations are the outcome of a hyper activity, not of (art or cultural) productions, but of a hyper production of information itself, and on the other, institutions are activated as incubators of constant production of information – about themselves. The outcome is, to say it simply, a daily bombardment of information of an unbelievable quantity about projects and activities that nobody can follow anymore. A boom is made with the infinite speculative sending and distributing of whatever. On the other hand, we see a completely psychotic process of total evacuation.

A clear example is the Moderna Galerija, Ljubljana or as it is called internationally, the Museum of Modern Art, Ljubljana. Though the situation of the Moderna Galerija is seen as a reaction to the four year right-wing government which has been in power in Slovenia until now that prevented this institution from fully and freely working, we can claim that the seeds of being taken over by the processes of financialization are possible to be traced back to the year 2000. In short, financialization means not only capitalizing off of "nothing," through pure speculative strategies of information. In the case of talking about the financialization of the institution, it means transforming the whole art production as such into NOTHING.

In 2000, the Moderna Galerija in Ljubljana presented the exhibition "2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION" that was displayed parallel to Manifesta 2000 that also took place in Ljubljana. At the core of the "2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION," as was stated by the Gallery itself and the curator, who was additionally the director of the institution, was the conceptual movement in the East of Europe. But what happened is that not a single Slovenian artist was included in that given exhibition, not even in the catalogue that was published in color in hundreds of copies. The group OHO, who is perceived as the hardcore kernel of the conceptual activity of the 1970s in Slovenia, was not included in the exhibition nor in the catalogue. This was, as my analysis already in the year 2000 pointed out, paradoxical enough, since the "2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION" was not produced as a national display, but the collection was prepared precisely for the international audience. The exhibition "2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION" was parallel to Manifesta 3 in Ljubljana and therefore they both shared the same large public of internationally invited specialists for Manifesta 3.

Therefore, what happened was that the "2000 + ARTEAST COLLECTION" disavowed the Slovenian part entirely, de facto eliminating all art production from the 1960s on from Slovenia. On the other hand, and at the same time, those running the Moderna Galerija could empower and victoriously situate themselves in the international con-

text, as the exhibition showed an important overview of artists from the East of Europe.

We can say that the Moderna Galerija "protected us" with the complete and total disavowal of contemporary art from Slovenia. As nobody was presented, it is possible to say that the exhibition had "no" consequences for the Slovenian space whatsoever. But the truly suffocating and psychotic experience is that this "protective care" of the Moderna Galerija (that erased all Slovenian artists and all Slovenian productions of art) was in the end protecting only and solely the institution itself. It served to preserve and protect its institutional and instrumental power only. With such a "cleansing of the terrain" in 2000, the institution excepted and evacuated itself from any responsibility for the possible way of defining, selecting and finally presenting contemporary Slovenian art in national and international contexts. The fact is that a theoretical analysis was also written about this "case" immediately in 2000, by the author of the current text, but at that time it was impossible to publish it in the national context; that was only done internationally.

To this genealogy of the way the Moderna Galerija has functioned so far, from 2000, it is possible to also add the way the Moderna Galerija dealt with the serious problem of being without its main exhibition space, due to its renovation, for the last two years. The Moderna Galerija found itself in an extremely disturbing situation, not only for itself, but also for all of us who are without a major institution of contemporary art in Slovenia. The Moderna Galerija "temporarily" lost the space due to its (needed) renovation, but was not granted a temporarily substituting exhibition space (which is a normal practice in the contemporary world when a national institution of art and culture is at stake). The refusal to provide the substituting space to the Moderna Galerija by the state and the respective Ministry was a process of disciplining the institution by the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia that was elected from the right-wing party in power and other lobbies. Though under pressure, the Moderna Galerija failed to initiate an international action of pressure on the Ministry through activating an international petition force of support.

This "incapability" of the Moderna Galerija, by not "provoking" or initiating a call for an international solidarity action that could force the right-wing party in power to offer a substitutive space (and I can claim that such a call would receive important solidarity support from the national space), can also be seen as a process of withdrawing from a proper responsibility to what is necessary to be done in a situation when it is important to "fight" for the institution of art as such. Instead, a process of mimicry was put forward; Moderna Galerija was invited to present its different exhibition projects (through a logic of "squatting") in different cultural spaces in the city of Ljubljana. It seems cozy to act as a homeless person, but the problem is that the national institution in such a way normalizes wrong state decisions and procedures; it will be necessary to act completely differently (instead of behaving as an impoverished NGO); the national institution should use its power (and international recognition) to ask for the change of the situation publicly and internationally, to almost provoke a war that will force the state and its ministry to at least try to save face internationally and do something about the state of things. On the contrary, again Moderna Galerija behaved completely speculative; withdrawing, abstracting, and evacuating itself from the situation precisely when it was necessary to draw a line or when it was necessary to act in order to re-articulate a proper position in a broader sense; the way of functioning is similar to the banks on Wall Street in the last week of September 2008. All these institutions, and especially those who run them, are displaying their unbelievable capacity to survive at the expense of the whole artistic and cultural sector.

It is important to state in this respect that Moderna Galerija is working hand in hand with parallel institutions, that it is possible to call "shadow public structures." They are, so to speak "non-institutions," as they are not really public institutions, but private funds that function as NGOs and are getting public money. These non-institutions live in shadow of the institutions and are more or less left-overs from the 1990s. What do they primarily do? Such institutions are seen as over rapid "incubators" that over rapidly produce generations of different structures that are operative within art and culture: curators, organizers, even artists, etc. Along with this process of over rapid production of new (human) structures, these non-institutions produce over rapid genealogies of art. It is important to understand that this over rapid process is taking part contrary to genealogies of the First Capitalist World (that are patiently and constantly being (re)constructed). The over rapid production of genealogies present a process of "enterprised-up genealogies" – it is a form of deregulating, and it is the way to (over rapidly) construct and conceptualize history. These traits are not psychological descriptions, but are constitutive to the way neoliberal capitalism functions structurally today, and show that sped up time processes are part of financialization and speculation.

Additionally, in this whole process other less visible procedures are taking part, in order that the financialized institution can maintain its power at any cost. We think of processes when the institution declares a "war" provoking a state of exception, in order to hide its proper responsibility. This means to display a space of art and culture that encircles the official institution of art as being fragmented, problematic and corrupted. For contemporary deregulated and speculative art institutions, is difficult to grasp the space as being a space of alliances. Through their optics, marginalized groups and practices are presented as those with maximal power, while marginalized positions are made equal to state institutional power positions. It is a process of obfuscation that has as a result a situation where everybody is engaged, so to speak, in mutually destructive place-marketing strategies against others. At the same time the official institution of art is being cleared from any responsibility, and presents itself as only being a victim of the system.

What does it mean to provoke a state of exception as a strategy for obfuscating a proper position in order to preserve power? For surviving and reproducing its power in the national realm, the institution needs a total war or a state of exception. It is produced through a process that delegates its incitement through somebody else and in a format that hides the institution's responsibility. To delegate means to find an (art) format or completely unscrupulous individual on one side, or even an international institution on the other that is willing to accept financially supporting the whole "art (dirty) business" on the presupposition that it takes part in another cultural (national) space.

Though in a proper national context, such international institution is far from "implementing" the same "measures," as they are implemented only in countries that are seen from the international "supporting" institution as not being civilized enough. Actually, the international supporting institution turns a state of disorder and power games, which are known as balkanization to its advantage. It presents itself as being "subversive" and completely "autonomous."

As a result of these processes, the categories of public space, public money and the public as such have been totally instrumentalized and privatized.

At the point of a conclusion, I can state, that as institutions and non-institutions are functioning through a process of financialization with

fully speculative scenarios similar to banks and non-banks, they have to be aware of their possible total collapse. This is precisely what is going on in Wall Street. Elements of the collapse are already possible to be seen in the way the art institution functions publicly, going beyond every border of good taste.

In short, neoliberal necrocapitalism is continually being produced and reproduced, not only economically and politically, but obviously institutionally. All these processes have an effect that is totally and straightforwardly completely socially "dysfunctional." It generates consequences that are very difficult to be fully understood. Nowadays it is necessary to de-link ourselves from a war of everybody against everybody, ex/changing everything with everything, everybody with everybody; it is necessary to be capable of drawing a line of differen-

ja. Poročilo agencije zgolj potrjuje tisto, kar nevladne organizacije razglašajo že leta. Agencija je takoj pozvala k večji zakonski zaščiti seksualnih manjšin, in sicer na področju partnerskih zvez (svoboda gibanja, združitvev družine) in sovražnega govora, ki terja enotno ureditev na nivoju kriminalne zakonodaje EU. Lep primer sovražnega govora je britanska poslanka Iris Robinson, žena severno-irskega premierja, ki je julija letos kar dvakrat razburila javnost: prvič z izjavo, da je treba geje in lezbijke zdraviti, in sicer po metodi odrešitve »Born-Again Christian«, nato pa z izjavo, da sta le homoseksualnost in sodomija ostudnejši od pedofilije. Od sovražnega govora do sovražnega dejanja, tj. do zločina iz sovraštva, vodi ravna linija. Mnoge politične platforme vulgarno izkoriščajo ljudske predsodke in nevednost za lastno propagando, vladajoči diskurzi množično legitimizirajo nasilje, pa vendar niso predmet sodnega pregona ali sankcij. V zanimivem časovnem soglasju, 2. julija 2008, torej le dan po objavi poročila Agencije za temeljne pravice, je Evropska komisija napovedala sprejem splošne horizontalne direktive, potem, ko je maja letos umaknila sporni predlog taiste direktive, po katerem je hotela zaščititi le invalide, ostalih ranljivih skupin pa ne. Majski umik je komisija baje izvedla tudi v izogib očitkom o provokaciji javnosti pred irskim referendumom o Lizbonski pogodbi, čigar izid je bil navsezadnje negativen. Mednarodne organizacije za človekove pravice so pozvale voditelje sedemindvajsetih držav članic, naj direktivo soglasno podprejo; da bi bila horizontalna proti-diskriminacijska direktiva sprejeta, jo morajo odobriti vse članice, a vsaka ima pravico do veta.

Osrednja ljubljanska mestna knjižnica Otona Župančiča na svoji top-listi poletnega branja priporoča na tretjem mestu italijanskega pesnika Gabriela D’Annunzia, predanega nacionalista in frontmena propagandistične retorike proti vzhodnoevropski kulturni samobitnosti in človeka, od katerega se je Mussolini učil tehnik fašistične diktature. Morda bi morali v opombi za vsak slučaj le označiti, da je tretje uvrščeni D’Annunzio slovanske sosede onstran Soče imenoval »*nevarni barbari*« in čakal dan, ko se bo Soča rdeče obarvala z barbarsko krvjo.¹ Slovenski mediji so v sila obilnem poročanju ob papeževem obisku Avstralije znova zamolčali demonstracije proti papežu. 19. julija 2008 se je v Sidneyju zbralo preko petsto nasprotnikov vatikanske politike do kontracepcije, splava in homoseksualnosti; preoblečeni v nune, menihe in hudiče so vernikom delili kondome: »*Papež laže! Uporabite kondom!*«

Antagonizmi

Rada bi videla tistih 0,05% prebivalstva Slovenije oziroma tisoč evrobarometrovih anketirancev, zaslužnih za to, da tiskovna služba vehementno ugotavlja, da »*zaupanje Slovencev v EU ostaja stabilno, podpora evropskim politikam pa se je še nekoliko povišala. Slovenci so v sedemindvajseterici največji podporniki evropske monetarne unije in nadaljevanja širitve Unije. Poročilo za Slovenijo beleži tudi porast zadovoljstva z življenjem*«.² 71% anketiranih meni, da članstvo v Evropski uniji koristi državi. 73 % vprašanih meni, da glas Slovenije v EU šteje. Evropski uniji zaupa 66% vprašanih. Kar 89% vprašanih je zadovoljnih s svojim življenjem. Podpora evropskim politikam ostaja visoka. Podpora ekonomsko-monetarni uniji Slovenijo z 90% podporo uvršča na prvo mesto. 62% vprašanih meni, da Evro zagotavlja državi večjo gospodarsko stabilnost. Skupno zunanjo politiko držav članic podpira 82% vprašanih, skupno obrambno in varnostno politiko pa 87% vprašanih. Pomladansko poročilo beleži tudi porast podpore širitvi EU, ki jo podpira 74% vprašanih. 59% vprašanih ocenjuje, da gredo razmere v EU v pravo smer, zato je 74% vprašanih optimističnih glede prihodnosti. Skratka, zaupanje v EU je visoko nad evropskim povprečjem. Slovenija je znova prekosila vse, se povzpela na najvišje vrhove. Skoraj tako kot v športu – ga ni vršaca niti reke, ki jim ne bi bili kos – majhna država ruši rekorde. Kako potem taisti anketiranci menijo, da je stanje gospodarstva slabše od evropskega (70% vprašanih), da je stanje življenjskih stroškov v Sloveniji slabše kot v Uniji (79% vprašanih), 52% jih zaznava upad kupne moči, 59% pa jih ima težave pri plačevanju mesečnih računov.

Čeravno stopnja nasilja nad seksualnimi manjšinami v evropski praksi narašča, uradne statistike EU kažejo ravno obratno. Homoseksualci so zdaj na lestvicah nepriljubljenosti uvrščeni za starejšimi. Tako javnomnenjska raziskava Evrobarometra pravi, da bi državljani EU za voditelja države raje imeli istospolno usmerjenega kot nekoga, ki se jim zdi prestar. V raziskavi je samo 17% od skupno 27.000 vprašanih iz vse Unije odgovorilo, da bi bili popolnoma zadovoljni, če bi njihovo državo vodil nekdo, starejši od 75 let. Precej več, 36%, bi jih bilo bolj zadovoljnih, če bi bil predsednik njihove države homoseksualec. Danes dejansko le trem državam Unije predseduje oseba, starejša od 75 let: grški predsednik Karolos Papulias (79), litovski Valdas Adamkus (81) in italijanski Giorgio Napolitano (83). Hkrati je v Grčiji in Italiji le peščica vprašanih odgovorila, da bi bili popolnoma zadovoljni s starejšim predsednikom. Diskriminatorni pred sodki do različnih ranljivih skupin so se v zadnjih letih ne le razpasli, temveč se pojavljajo vedno nove tarče – zdaj je na udaru starost. Kar 61% državljanov EU izraža sovražna stališča do starejših. 45% Evropejcev motijo invalidi! Visokega deleža nestrpnosti so deležne tudi etnične manjšine – 61% ter geji in lezbijke – 53%. Vse aktivnejši nosilci nasilja in nestrpnosti so najstniki, nasilje pa je pogosto zapakirano v lažno tolerantno pop-kulturo, trivialno reklamno industrijo in ostale prijeme kapitalističnega megapotršništva. V Evropi je zaskrbljujoč trend naraščanja antisemitizma, islamofobije in rasizma, stalne tarče so tujci, Romi in hendikepirani. V EU samo dve državi uradno beležita statistiko rasizma, Finska in Velika Britanija. Približno v istem času, ko je Evrobarometer ugotavljal, kolikšen delež fo-bij pred starostjo goji »stara celina«, je sodišče v Atenah zavrglo tožbo prebivalcev otoka Lesbos zoper gejevsko in lezbično združenje OLKE. Trije otočani so nevladno organizacijo tožili zaradi uporabe in prisvajanja termina »lezbijka«, zaradi česar naj bi trpeli omalovaževanje. Domačine vznemirja, da je morska pečina Eressos, od koder naj bi se v smrt pognala antična pesnica Sapfo, preveč popularna turistična točka. Sodišče je odločilo, da izraz »lezbijka« ne definira statusa, zato prebivalci otoka Lesbos nimajo podlage za tožbo.

Najnovejše poročilo Evropske agencije za temeljne pravice z Dunaja ugotavlja, da diskriminacija gejev, lezbijk in trans oseb obsta-

^[1] B. Klabjan, »Slovenski teroristi: fašistična retorika in proces v Trstu leta 1930«, v: Acta Histriae 2007, str. 252.

^[2] PEK Poročilo Eurobarometer, 16. 7. 2008, http://ec.europa.eu/slovenija/index_sl.htm.

tion in the space, while building local and international alliances. These are the only possible ways for changing the deregulated and privatized present economic, social, and institutional spheres of our life and work.

tiation in the space, while building local and international alliances. These are the only possible ways for changing the deregulated and privatized present economic, social, and institutional spheres of our life and work.

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več je protesta in manj proslavljanja. Berlinska, že trideseta parada, je opozorila na problem homofobičnega nasilja, pariška, z milijon udeleženci, je kritizirala nasilje v šolah, rasizem in ksenofobijo med mladimi.

Če udeleženci parad na Vzhodu še veselo ploskajo govorcem iz političnih vrst, so politiki na Zahodu veliko manj priljubljeni. Na london-ski paradi so vihteli transparente iranskega predsednika Mahmouda Ahmadinejada z vpadljivim make-upom in nalakiranimi nohti: »*Predsednik Irana. Morilec. Homofob*« ter pripisom: »*Imam majhne-ga*«. Udeleženci londonske parade so glasno izvižgali laburistično poslanko Harriet Harman, ki je zgrozena zapustila govorniški oder. Množica je glasno izrazila jezo nad laburistično vladno migracijsko politiko, ki kljub pozivom na moratorij izvaja deportacije azilantov v homofobične države, kot so Alžirija, Egipt, Palestina, Kamerun, Zimbabve, Uganda, Iran, Irak in Belorusija. Britanska notranja ministrica Jacqui Smith zagovarja stališče, da »*ni tveganja za tiste geje ali lezbijke, ki so glede svoje usmerjenosti diskretni*«. Podobno politiko je ubrala tudi pregovorno najrazvitejša Švedska – imigracijski urad je sprejel pravilo, po katerem bodo iranski homoseksualci dobili možnost azila na Švedskem le v primeru, če so v Iranu živeli outfitano. V obeh primerih gre za nezaslišano politiko *Go home and be discreet!*, ki preganjanim ponuja življenje v ilegali, primerljivo z Judi pod nacizmom. Sprašujem se, ali švedske deportacije potem izvaja SAS, ki je kot prva evropska letalska družba uvedla posebno internetno stran za gejevsko tržišče. Ali je roza ekonomija tržna niša migracijske politike? Medtem se trgovci, hotelirji in drugi turistični delavci v Copenhagnu že pripravljajo na gej olimpijado *World Out Games 2009*; še ena komercialna iluzija o enakopravnosti.

Vztrajnost
V julijski oddaji *Studio ob 17h* na Radio Slovenija je predstavnik Ura-da varuha človekovih pravic povedal, da nasilje na letošnjih para-dah ponosa po Evropi, vključno z ljubljansko, ni bilo posledica or-ganiziranih napadov. V isti oddaji je predstavnik ILGA-Europe izjavil, da nasilje nad geji in lezbijkami v EU stagnira. Po meritvah nemške nevladne organizacije Maneo, specializirane za preprečevanje ho-mofobičnega nasilja, je nasilje nad geji v Nemčiji v zadnjem letu dni naraslo za 40%. Izmerjena stopnja nasilja nad GLBT v Liverpoolu je, po podatkih britanske policije 59%, v Londonu pa 47%, povprečno vsak 5 gej ali lezbijka v Veliki Britaniji je žrtev nasilja. Med vzroki homofobičnega nasilja navajajo patriarhalne vzorce, mačizem in homofobični verski pouk v šolah. Na majhnem Cipru kar 73% prebivalcev izraža sovražna stališča do gejev in lezbijk. Moldavski lezbični aktivistki, ki je ob napadu skupine neonacijev na pomoč poklicala policijo, je policist zabrusil: »*Razumemo, da so vas napa-dli, ampak kaj zdaj hočete od nas?*« Zaradi homoseksualnosti je v Is-tanbulu moral umreti 26-letni študent fizike Ahmet Yıldiz. 15. julija 2008 so ga sredi belega dne s pištolo pokončali domnevno njegovi lastni sorodniki. Kurdska družina iz vzhodne Anatolije ni prenesla, da je njihov sin objavil članek o svojem coming-outu, sledile so grožnje s smrtjo in umor zaradi skrutitve družinske časti. Pokopali so ga v anonimni grob. 2. avgusta 2008 je v Liverpoolu po nekajdnevni komi umrl 18-letni Michael Cause, potem ko so ga na ulici brutalno pretepli. Za oba primera je značilno, da su ju mediji skušali zamol-čati, v turškem primeru se je potuhnila tudi policija.

Kaj porečejo »moralne ženske«

Novinar visokonakladnega brezplačnika Marjan Jerman je letošnjo ljubljansko parado ponosa skušal prikazati kot nestrpno. Po njego-vem mnenju so »*ti ljudje*« sami krivi, da se dogajajo incidenti; deni-mo izzivajo s transparenti »*Ponosen sem, ker sem gej*«. Jerman meni, da s tem podžigajo nestrpnost in sovraštvo. »*Se je res potrebno ka-zati in na transparentnih zapisati 'vesel sem, da sem gej' in podobno? Jaz sem vesel, da nisem gej, pa zaradi tega ne organiziram parade, na kateri bi nosil napis 'Vesel sem, ker nisem gej'*«. In nadaljuje: »*Kako tra-pasto bi izpadlo, ko bi na primer prostitutke organizirale parado pono-sa, s katero bi želele opozoriti na njihov položaj v družbi in bi korakale s transparenti, na katerih bi pisalo 'Vesela sem, ker sem prostitutka'...*«. Pri tem novinarja skrbi, kaj bi na parado prostitutk dejale mimo-idočē »*urejene in moralne ženske*«. »*Morda še nismo dovolj zreli, da bi te ljudi normalno sprejeli*«. Sodelavec taistega brezplačnika Miha Šalehar je podobne bojzani zapisal takole: »*Rožnato prvenstvo in podobne manifestacije tako hitro postanejo lastni pljunek v skledo 'drugačnih'...izkazovanje ljubezenskih preferenc kot edinega para-metra, ki te kot osebnost definira, hitro lahko preraste v 'buzeriranje' v zdravo glavo*«. Šalehar pravi, da ima Slovenija »*tri estradne homose-kualce, da ji s klovnskimi eksplozejem dopovejo, kako zaplankana je*«.⁴ Preprost logika bulvarskega žurnalizma ne potrebuje komentarja, razen morda gole, osnovnošolske lekcije iz zgodovine izpred več stoletij izborjenih univerzalnih civilizacijskih principov – *Deklaracije o pravicah človeka in državljana* (1789), ki med drugim piše: »*Svobo-da je v tem, da lahko storiš vse, kar ne škodi drugemu*«, med človekove pravice pa uvršča tudi združevanje in upor proti zatiranju. Morda je časovna vrzel ali mentalitetna retardacija posledica pravnega in za-konodajnega capljanja, mencanja in ogrožanja varnosti; Slovenija ne premore zakonske regulacije niti sovražnega govora niti zločina iz sovraštva.

^[3] Parada (ne)strpnih, Dobro jutro 5. 7. 2008.

^[4] Roza fuzbal, Dobro jutro 28. 6. 2008.

Patriarhat

Gertrude Stein je v leta 1937 objavljeni *Everybody's Autobiography* zapisala: »Tu okrog se dogaja vse preveč očetovanja in nobenega dvo-ma ni, očetje so moreči. Dandanes je vsakdo oče, imamo očeta Mussolinija in očeta Hitlerja in očeta Roosvelta in očeta Stalina in očeta Trockega in očeta Bluma in oče Franko se ravnokar spočenja in obstaja jih še mnogo, ki se na to pripravljajo.«⁵ Lahko bi bilo tudi leto 2008 ali katerokoli drugo.

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5 Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, Vintage, New York 1973, str. 133.

Tatjana Greif MORAL WOMEN AND THREE CELEBRITY HOMOSEXUALS

Intro

The Summer Top Reading List of Ljubljana's Oton Župančič Library recommends in 3rd place the Italian poet Gabriel D'Annunzio, a devoted nationalist and the front man of the propagandistic rhetoric against the Eastern European culture of originality and man, Mussolini's mentor for the techniques of fascist dictatorship. Perhaps they should have added a footnote that the 3rd ranked D'Annunzio characterized the Slavic neighbours on the other side of the Soča River as "the dangerous barbarians" while waiting for the day when the barbaric blood would colour the Soča in red.¹ The Slovene media reported widely on the Pope's visit to Australia, but again failed to mention the demonstrations against the Pope. On 19th July 2008, over 500 protestors against the Vatican's policy of contraception, abortion and homosexuality gathered. Wearing costumes of nuns, monks and the devil, they were distributing condoms to the faithful exclaiming: "The Pope is lying! Use a condom!"

Antagonisms

I would like to see the 0.05% of Slovene population, or rather the 1000 Eurobarometer respondents thanks to whom the press agency vehemently concludes that "Slovenians' confidence in the EU remains stable and the support of European policies has increased. Among 27 member states, Slovenia is the strongest supporter of the European Monetary Union and of the continuation of the Union's expansion. The report also notes an increase of satisfaction with life."² 71% of respondents feel that EU membership is of benefit to the country. 73% of respondents feel that Slovenia's voice in the EU counts. 66% of them trust the EU. As much as 89% of respondents are satisfied with their lives. The support of European policies remains high. The support of economic and monetary policies places Slovenia at the top of list with 90%. 62% of respondents believe that the euro guarantees the country greater economic stability. The common foreign policy of the member states is supported by 82% of respondents, while 87% are in favour of the common defence and security policies. The spring report also mentions an increase in support of EU expansion that 74% agree with. 59% of respondents think that the EU is heading in the right direction and thus 74% of them are optimistic about the future. In short, confidence in EU is way above the European average. Once again, Slovenia has managed to climb to the top. It is almost like in the world of sports – no mountain is too high and river too long for us to conquer. Why, then, do the same respondents think that the economic situation is worse than in the rest of the European Union (70%), that the cost of living in Slovenia is higher than in the EU (79%), that a decrease of buying power has been detected (52%), and why do 59% of them experience problems with paying their monthly bills?

Even though the level of violence against sexual orientation minorities in European practice is increasing, the official statistics testify to the contrary. On the "most unpopular" charts, homosexuals have now been overtaken by the elderly. The Eurobarometer public survey therefore informs us that citizens of the EU would prefer to have a homosexual as a country's leader rather than someone they deemed too old. Only 17% of the total of 27,000 respondents from all over the EU said that they would be more satisfied if their country was led by someone older than 75. A lot more, 36% would be happier if their president was a homosexual. Nowadays, only three EU countries are presided over by a person over the age of 75: the Greek president Karolos Papoulias (79), Lithuania's Valdas Adamkus (81), and Italy's Giorgio Napolitano (83). At the same time only a handful of respondents from Greece and Italy said that they would be perfectly satisfied with an older president. Not only has discriminatory prejudice against various vulnerable groups seen a great increase, there has also been an emergence of new targets – currently under attack is old age. As much as 61% of EU citizens reveal a hostile viewpoint towards the elderly. 45% of Europeans are disturbed by people with a disability! Ethnic minorities experience a high degree of intolerance – 61%, and gay and lesbian people – 53%. The ever more active bearers of violence and discrimination are teenagers, however, the violence can often be packaged in the deceptively tolerant pop culture, the trivial commercial industry, and other strategies of capitalist megaconsumerism. There is currently a disturbing tendency of growing anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and racism in Europe, and usual victims of these are foreigners, the Roma people, and the disabled. There are only two countries in the EU that formally keep statistics of racism- Finland and Great Britain. At approximately the same time as the Eurobarometer was finding out the percentage of people who are phobic against old people, the court of justice in Athens (in the "Old Europe continent"), rejected a lawsuit by the inhabitants of the island Lesbos against the gay and lesbian society OLKE. Three islanders were suing a non-governmental organisation for using and appropriating the term "lesbian" for which they suffered disdain. The locals are upset by the fact that the cliff Eresos, from which, allegedly, the Antiquity poetess Sappho threw herself into death, has become too popular a tourist spot. The court's decision was that the term "lesbian" does not define a status, and the inhabit-

ants of the island of Lesbos therefore do not have the legal foundation for a lawsuit.

The most recent report of Vienna's European Agency for Fundamental Rights claims that discrimination against gay men, lesbians and transgendered people does exist. The report merely confirms what non-governmental organisations have been declaring for years. The Agency immediately called for greater legal protection of sexual orientation minorities in the field of partnerships (freedom of movement, uniting of families) and in cases of hostile verbal treatment, which demands a uniform regulation at the level of criminal legislation of the EU. A good example of hostile verbal treatment is British Member of Parliament Iris Robinson, the wife of the Northern Irish Prime Minister, who in July of this year managed to upset the public on two occasions: first by saying that gays and lesbians should be medically treated with the "Born-Again Christian" method, and then by asserting that only homosexuality and sodomy were more disgusting than paedophilia. There is straight line leading from hostile speech to hostile action, i.e. to a crime out of hostility. Many political platforms vulgarly abuse people's prejudice and ignorance for their own propaganda; the governing discourses greatly legitimize violence but are not subject to legal prosecution or sanctions. On 2nd July 2008, only a day after the Agency for Fundamental Rights' report was made public (what an interesting coincidence), the European Commission announced the acceptance of the agreement for a general parallel directive to protect the rights of all vulnerable groups. In May 2008 this same directive, that was in the past favourable to protect the rights of disabled people, had been removed. The May withdrawal was reportedly carried out to avoid reproaches of provoking the public in anticipation of the Irish referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, the result of which was, in the end, negative. International organisations for human rights called for the 27 leaders of the member states to unanimously vote in favour of the directive; for the parallel anti-discriminative directive to be accepted, all member states must give their consent, but each member has the right to veto.

As far as homo-politics are concerned, the European Commission included in the horizontal directive the prohibition of discrimination against gays and lesbians in the area of accessibility to public services (e.g. health services), social security, education, and residence and commercial services, but overlooked marriage and reproduction rights- this is why gay and lesbian couples still remain neglected. The European Commission public relations representative, Katharina von Schnubein, said that the Commission is not authorised for judicially regulating marriages, as this falls into the framework of national legislation, and stressed that "marriage is not a service". Marriage may not be a service, but an equal approach to merchandise and services depends heavily on wedlock – from the status of next of kin and acknowledgement of children, to the status of a family. The next weak point of the proposed new directive is that sexual orientation is more and more becoming an unprotected category in the EU legislation. Currently, the EU generally forbids only racial discrimination, while discrimination on the basis of age, sexual orientation, disability and religion is strictly forbidden only in employment. It is surely more convenient for EU institutions to be occupied with prices of mobile telephones rather than dealing with the intolerance of their own national structures. On July 8th 2008, not long after the move of the European Commission, a move from the Council of Europe followed. For the first time in the 60 years of the Council of Europe, the foreign ministers of 47 member states announced the instalment of a special declaration in support of sexual orientation and sexual identity and the establishment of a cross-government expert group in the field of GLBT.

Parading

Last year's optimistically announced Pride Parade in Sarajevo, which was supposed to take place in Freedom Square or at Skenderija, never happened. The organisers, interestingly, ruled out the option of holding the event at Sarajevo's old inner city Baščaršija, as the location cannot "put up with such a manifestation." For the sake of precaution, the Belgrade Pride Parade never happened as well. At a press conference, Serbian activists announced the beginning of negotiations with the authorities for the 2009 Pride Parade and demanded safety from the police and the government. Dragana Vučković, an activist from Labris, the organisation for lesbian and human rights from Belgrade, warned that the "political elite in Serbia are not aware that sexual orientation is an individual's fundamental right". The president of the clergy-fascist organisation Obrab, Mladen Obradović, braggingly disclosed in the media that he participated in the violent shattering of the Pride Parade in 2001 and threatened that he would not allow the "promotion of the monstrous and degenerate values on the streets of Belgrade" this year. The Russian activists announced that their next year's Pride Parade will be held on June 16th, the day when Moscow will be hosting the Eurovision Song Contest final.

The wave of parading that has seized Europe washed up the wrecks of violence on its Eastern shores while the West of Europe was marching for a commercial profit, filling up the capitalists' till. In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Cuba, and in India, the Pride Parades were organised for the first time this year and the reactions to them were hostile in all of the countries- there were Molotov cocktails flying through the air, bottles, rocks, eggs filled with acid and firecrackers. The police were forced to use tear gas and water cannons. In India the participants wore masks. In Sofia, where a mere 150 participated in the event, the police arrested over 60 violent people who were carrying slogans: "Be intolerant, be normal!" There were about 50 arrests and more than 20 casualties in Budapest. The Hungarian Minister of Jurisdiction, Tibor Drašković, determined that the attacks were the result of a well-organised group of extremists, but were directed mostly towards the police. Why then, were so many participants and journalists beaten up? Even before the parade wave, the European Parliament warned Croatia to ensure the safety of the participants, even though Croatia is one of the few countries that actually sanctions homophobic extremists. Last year's wrongdoers have already been sent to serve their sentence, and not long after this year's parade the police arrested the attackers and initiated criminal procedures against offences motivated by hatred. Cultural differences in the typology of the Pride Parades are becoming more and more obvious. The more mature the movement, the more protesting and the less parading it experiences. This year's 30th Berlin Pride Parade warned about the problem of homosexual violence, while the one in Paris, with a million participants, criticised violence in schools, racism, and xenophobia among young people.

If Eastern Pride Parades still merrily applaud speakers from political parties, politicians are much less popular in the West. At the London Pride Parade, participants were brandishing placards of the Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad wearing make-up and nail varnish: "President of Iran. Murderer. Homophobe," adding "My penis is this big." The participants of the London Parade loudly booed the Labour Party MP Harriet Harman, who left the main stage horrified. The crowd ferociously expressed their anger over the Labour Party's migration policy, which, despite calls for a moratorium, carries out deportations of asylum seekers to homophobic countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Palestine, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Iran, Iraq, and Belarus. British Home Secretary Jacqui Smith defends the standpoint that "there is no risk for those gays and lesbians who are discreet about their sexual orientation". A similar policy was adopted by the supposedly highly developed Sweden; their Immigration Office introduced a rule that Iranian homosexuals will have an option to be granted asylum in Sweden only if they have been outed as homosexuals in Iran. In both cases we may observe the unprecedented "Go home and be discreet!" policy, which offers the persecuted a life in the underground comparable to that of the Jews under Nazism. I wonder if the Swedish deportations are carried out by SAS, the first European airline to have introduced a special website for the gay market. Is the pink economy the marketing niche of migration policy? Meanwhile, the shopkeepers, hoteliers, and other tourist workers in Copenhagen are getting ready for the gay Olympiad *World Out Games 2009*- another commercial illusion about equality.

Endurance

In July the Ombudsman representative in Radio Slovenia's programme *Studio at 17h* declared that the violence during this year's Pride Parades across Europe, including the one in Ljubljana, was not a consequence of organised attacks. On the same programme, the representative of the ILGA-Europe explained that violence against gays and lesbians in the EU was in stagnation. According to the German non-governmental organisation Maneo, which specialises in preventing homophobic violence, the violence against gays in Germany has risen by 40% in the last year. The measured degree of violence against GLBT in Liverpool, according to the data from the British police, is 59%, and in London it is 47%. On average, every 5th gay or lesbian in Great Britain is a victim of violence. Among reasons for homophobic violence are patriarchal patterns, machismo and homophobic religious education in schools. On the tiny island of Cyprus, as many as 73% of inhabitants express hostile views on gays and lesbians. After being attacked by a group of neo-Nazis, a Moldovan lesbian activist called the police and an officer's response was: "We understand you were attacked, but what do you want from us now?". In Istanbul, a 26-year-old Physics student, Ahmet Yildiz, died because he was homosexual. He was allegedly killed in broad daylight on June 15th 2008 by his own relatives. A Kurdish family from Eastern Anatolia could not come to terms with their son's coming-out in a published article- afterwards, death threats ensued he was killed for violation of the family's honour. He was buried in an anonymous grave. On August 2nd 2008, 18-year-old Michael Cause died after being in a coma for several days following a brutal beating in a street. It is noteworthy to point out that the media tried to conceal the last two cases, while in the Turkish case even the police acted insidiously.

What the "moral women" say

Marjan Jerman, a journalist from a popular free newspaper, tried to portray this year's Pride Parade as intolerant. Jerman believes "these people" have themselves to blame for the incidents- for instance, they provoke with placards such as "Proud to be gay". This, according to Jerman, incites intolerance and hatred. "Is it really necessary to show oneself and write on placards 'happy to be gay' and the like? I am happy not to be gay, but I don't organise a parade at which I could wear a sign saying 'Happy not to be gay'." And he continues: "How foolish would it be, for example, if prostitutes organised a Pride Parade in a desire to point out their position in society and would march with banners like 'Happy to be a prostitute'...". The author is worried what the "situated and moral women" would say about the Parade, "Perhaps we are not mature enough to be able to accept these people in a normal way."³ A columnist for the same newspaper, Miha Šalehar, expresses a similar concern: "The pink championship and resembling manifestations may thus easily turn out to be spitting in one's own face as regards those who are 'different'... demonstrating love preferences as the only parameter that defines someone can quickly outgrow into 'screwing' a sane mind". Šalehar says that Slovenia has "three celebrity homosexuals whose clown-like accounts make the people realize how backward they are."⁴ The simplistic logic of such journalism requires no comment except perhaps a primary school history lesson in universal civilizational principles which were fought for several centuries ago – the Declaration of Human Rights (1789), which, among other statements, asserts: "Freedom is in doing everything that does not harm others," and states that other human rights include the right to peaceful assembly and rebellion against tyranny. Perhaps the time gap or a retarded mentality is a cause of the judicial and legislative shuffling along, hesitation and threat of safety; Slovenia does not possess the legislative regulation of hostile speech or hate crimes.

Patriarchate

In her *Everybody's Autobiography* from 1937, Gertrude Stein writes: "There is too much fathering going on just now and there is no doubt about it fathers are depressing. Everybody nowadays is a father, there is father Mussolini and father Hitler and father Roosevelt and father Stalin and father Lewis and father Blum and father Franco is just to be conceived now and there are ever so many more ready to be conceived as well."⁵ It could be written in 2008 or in any other year.

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Translated from Slovenian by Jernej Možic.

1 B. Klabjan, "Slovanski teroristi: fašistična retorika in proces v Trstu leta 1930" in *Acta Histriae*, 2007, p. 252.

2 PEK report Eurobarometer, 16. 7. 2008, http://ec.europa.eu/slovenija/index_sl.htm.

3 Parada (ne)strpnih, Dobro jutro 5. 7. 2008.

4 Roza fuzbal, Dobro jutro 28. 6. 2008.

5 Gertrude Stein, *Everybody's Autobiography*, Vintage, New York 1973, p. 133.

Sebastjan Leban REVOLUCIONARNA KRITIČNA PEDAGOGIKA: BOJ PROTI NEOLIBERALISTIČNEMU ZATIRANJU – POGOVOR S PETROM MCLARENOM, 1. del

Peter McLaren poučuje na oddelku za urbane študije na Visoki šoli za izobraževanje in informacijske vede, Univerza v Kaliforniji, Los Angeles. Je eden od pionirjev kritične pedagogike, avtor in urednik več kot 40 knjig, njegova dela pa so prevedena v več kot 20 jezikov. Na bolivijski univerzi v Caracasu, v Venezueli, deluje katedra z njegovim imenom. Prav tako so podobno katedro na pobudo učiteljev, raziskovalcev in aktivistov ustanovili v Tihuani in Hermosilliu, v Mehiki. Politični aktivist in profesor McLaren je član združenja industrijskih delavcev sveta in mednarodni svetovalec na mednarodnem centru Miranda v Venezueli.

Sebastjan Leban: Na vaši spletni strani (<http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/pages/mclaren/>) ste zapisali, da kritična pedagogika, ki jo podpirate in prakticirate, zagovarja nenasilno razhajanje v mnenjih, razvoj praktične filozofije po vzoru marksističnega humanizma, proučevanje revolucionarnih družbenih gibanj in miselnosti in boj za socialistično demokracijo, ki je diametralno nasprotna današnji neoliberalni demokraciji. Ali bi lahko dejali, da kot kritični pedagog vodite boj proti neoliberalnemu globalnemu kapitalističnemu vrednotenju izobraževanja?

Peter McLaren: Da, lahko bi temu tako rekli, in v tem boju, jasno, nisem sam. Tu je še mnogo drugih, ki na univerzah mednarodno delujejo za isti cilj. Ob tem pa moram poudariti, da nas je v ZDA zelo malo s področja izobraževanja, ki vodimo ta boj, zato je prihodnost v tem pogledu videti precej temačna. Naj zadevo podrobneje pojasnim. Veliko je namreč takih, ki si nenehno dvigujejo ugled s tem, da vodijo kritično analizo, v kateri pretkano in niansirano napadajo malopridnost in licemerstvo Busheve administracije, gangsterske kapitalistične in politične oportuniste, nepremišljenost krščansko-desničarskih »prodružinskih aktivističnih« klik, ki izvajajo rasizem s tem, da opozarjajo na t. i. »demografsko zimo«, ki bo zajela ZDA, če bela populacija ne bo toliko povečala rodnosti, da se doseže »nadomestna stopnja rodnosti« (oz. da se doseže stopnja, pri kateri se ohranja dolgoročno stabilnost števila prebivalstva, če ni priseljavanja ali odseljavanja, op. prev.), in ne nazadnje tudi evangeličanske ekonomske fanatike, ki so si umislili nov način, kako se lotiti revežev – z uvajanjem neoliberalnih, ekonomskih, političnih in socialnih načel ter direktiv. A ti kritiki strahovitega opustošenja, ki ga izvaja neoliberalizem, nam istočasno ne ponujajo alternative, vsaj ne take, ki bi lahko presegala že ustaljena in, lahko rečem, povečini prazna liberalna pluralistična načela. Do sredine devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja sem se tudi sam znašel v tem položaju. Takrat sem se boril za demokratizacijo javne sfere, kasneje pa sem postal zavzet zagovornik takega izobraževanja, ki bo omogočilo nadgradnjo socializma. Zavzemati sem se začel za svet, ki ne temelji na kapitalističnem procesu vrednotenja oziroma na obliki vrednosti, ki izhaja iz dela. Kapitalizem in demokracijo sem označil za lopova, ki načrtujeta skupen rop in hkrati razmišljata o tem, kako bosta drug drugemu iztrgala plen.

Izhajam iz gibanja, ki se zavzema za radikalni humanistični socializem, ki si na eni strani prizadeva socializem prikazati kot nekaj, kar ni le stvar preteklosti, na drugi strani pa želi kritično pedagogiko preoblikovati v boj za postkapitalistično alternativo. To pomeni, da zame socializem in socialistična načela niso le mrtve črke na papirju, pač pa odprta knjiga o socialnih in ekonomskih pravicah, ki jo bodo morali šele napisati ali na novo napisati ljudje, ki se borijo za predučenje naše kapitalistične prazgodovine in za vzpostavitev resničnega egalitarnega družbenega reda, kjer se bo – kot je zapisal Marx – prava zgodovina človeštva šele začela. To lahko storimo na več načinov. Sam pa sem se predvsem (ne pa samo) odločil za kritiko ideologije, za denaturalizacijo tistega, kar se zdi nespremenljivo, za razvezo človeškega potenciala od procesov postvarnosti in za razvezo potrošniške kulture sodobnega kapitalizma od popredmetenja. Progressivne pedagogice sem poskušal prepričati, da nehalo razmišljati o politiki človekovih pravic, ki je antisepično ločena od vprašanja ekonomskih pravic; zavzemam se za razbremenitev kulturnih študij od tekstualnosti negativnega, kar je marksistična profesorica Teresa Ebert označila kot »polje brezsmiselnih pomenov in nepremišljenega premišljanja«, ki je prišlo na krilih angela zgodovine, da bi nas odrešilo bradatega hudiča: Karla Marxa. Ko je v umetnosti in družbenih vedah prišlo do lingvističnega preobrata – v času ko so, žal, razredni boj na novo napisali v ohlapni terminologiji politike razlik in ko so bile razlike pojmovane kot razlike znotraj sebe (po čem se torej razlikuje od same sebe) –, je marksizem priljubljena tarča progresivnih akademikov. A če razredni boj nadomestimo s politiko razlik in različenosti, potem izbrisemo in izpraznimo celotno strukturo antagonizmov ali skupek protislovij, ki obstajajo znotraj strukturirane hierarhije kapitalističnih družbenih odnosov. Na ta način družbene odnose zatiranja zreduciramo na razliko znotraj dveh razlik ali na nekaj vmesnega med njima – omejimo jih na odnose nadomestljivosti, namesto da bi izpostavili delovne odnose ali boje med delavskim in kapitalističnim razredom. Ebertova je o tem veliko napisala s srditostjo, a prvinsko jasnostjo.

In spoprijel sem se seveda tudi s tistim, kar Quijano imenuje »kolonialnost moči« (Quijana, Mignola in Grosfoguela zelo cenim, čeprav se z njihovo kritiko marksizma ne strinjam povsem). Menim namreč, da bi morali zlasti pedagogji ubrati pot onkraj produkcije strahu in histerične retorike, ki ju zganjata – kot temu pravimo – kompleksni državniški, korporativni, vojaški in medijski aparat (ali preprosto rečeno aparat moči), in se preusmeriti k iskanju boljših načinov, kako se zoperstaviti družbenim strukturam, ki izvajajo represijo in nasilje. Le tako lahko v nekaterih primerih vsaj upočasnimo in spremenimo trenutne težnje zakonodajnih organov, oblikovalcev politike in političnih vodij, ki močno prispevajo k praznemu govorčenju in moralnemu zavračanju, značilnima za vojno, ki jo transnacionalni kapitalistični razred trenutno vodi proti revnim in delavskemu razredu v ZDA. Od leta 1987 obiskujem radikalne pedagogice, študentske

skupine, filozofe, pripadnike subkulturnih gibanj, nasprotno misleče, kulturne posrednike in pedagoške oblikovalce smernic po vsem svetu (pred kratkim sem bil na Finskem, Portugalskem, v Grčiji, Venezueli, Braziliji in na Kubi), da bi njihovo sporočilo prenesel v širši mednarodni prostor in tako prispeval k vzpostavitvi aktivističnega gibanja, usmerjenega v iskanje postkapitalistične alternative.

Zadnjih deset let sem se bolj zavzeto in kritično poglobil v marksistično teorijo, da bi ustvaril prostor, kjer bodo lahko študentje različnih profilov in stopenj izobrazbe spoznali, kako se odločneje zoperstaviti imperialistični geopolitiki in kako oblikovati nove družbene odnose, ki bodo nadomestili tiste, nastale kot posledica nasilja v ZDA, ki je hkrati tudi slabost te države. Še več, nasilje je njena pogubna šibka točka, skrita v vseprežemajoči izprijenosti uglasjenega licemerstva, ki se prek elektronskega ustja neoliberalnega propagandističnega senzorijskega izteka v samo jedro naše zavesti. Opeharjeni državljani pa s pridom absorbirajo tako propagando, ki ima le navidezen okus po »demokraciji«. Vse to je del geopolitike imperializma, ki v veliki meri določa zunanjo in notranjo politiko ZDA in nedvomno vpliva tudi na razumevanje in razvijanje naše vloge izobraženih državljanov (tu mislim na državljane sveta, saj sem proti večini oblik nacionalizmov) in kritičnih svetovljanov. Gangrenozne rane v duši ZDA ne bosta pozdravila ne Obama ne McCain (McCain še zlasti ne, saj je popoln bebec), saj gre za problem, ki presega meje ZDA in se dotikajo samega transnacionalnega kapitalističnega razreda, čeprav imajo pri vsem tem ZDA vodilno vlogo. V luči »humanitarne« invazije Busheve administracije na Irak in drugih vojnih zločinov, ki so jih zagrešile Združene države (teh je preveč, da bi jih lahko našeli), ter upoštevanje trenutno vojno proti revežem v ZDA, njihovo brutalno zatiranje 12 milijonov migrantov delavcev in vpletenost pri spodnašanju demokrasko izvoljenih režimov po vsem svetu, moramo izrazu demokracija odvzeti konotacije o enakosti pred zakonom, svobodi izražanja, pravici do združevanja, univerzalni volilni pravici in samoodločanju, skratka o vsem, kar smo temu izrazu naložili v zadnjih nekaj desetletjih, in se soočiti z dejstvom, da je demokracija zlonamerna, saj zaslužuje prav z meznim delom; povzroča delitev dela glede na raso in spol, imperialističnim silam pa omogoča plenjenje naravnih virov.

Nekoč močno odklonilnemu odnosu kritične pedagogike, da zgolj reproducira dominantne ideologije in prakse, inherentne kapitalističnemu načinu poučevanja v širšem kontekstu globaliziranega kapitalizma, in njeno prizadevanje za dekolonizacijo konceptualnih, filozofskih, epistemoloških in kulturnih razsežnosti učenja je zatrla poploščena antipolitika postmodernizma. Sam sem proti tej popularni apostaziji, ki jo prakticirajo tisti, ki sem jih nekoč označil za prvolinijske »zdrharje sejnih sob«.

Ob neki priložnosti je Gore Vidal preroško dejal, da ameriški vladi bolj ustreza, če »se javni denar ne vrne ljudem, pač pa velikim podjetnikom. Posledica tega je družba, kjer imamo svobodno podjetništvo za reveže in socializem za bogate«. Da je temu tako, potrjuje nedavna nacionalizacija družb Fannie in Freddie, ki jasno pokaže, da so ZDA država, kjer obstaja socializem za bogate in privatizacija za revne, vse skupaj pa je stlačeno v tisto, kar je Nouriel Roubini poimenoval »ponos svobodnega divjezahnodnega laissez-faire džungleskega kapitalizma«, ki je dovolil, da se je doslej največji balon prekomernega zadolževanja napihal brez nadzora in povzročil največjo finančno krizo po t. i. veliki depresiji. Socializem se obsoja samo takrat, kadar koristi revnim in nemočnim in ogroža bogate. Kapitalisti znajo obrniti socializem v prid bogatim – in to je tudi cilj neoliberalnega kapitalizma, ki ga imenujemo svobodni tržni kapitalizem in ga povezujemo z bojem za demokracijo. Zato danes bogati uživajo demokracijo, revni pa so potisnjeni v kvazifevdalne mrakobne predele, obsojeni na neizprosno boj za preživetje. Izoriščena delovna sila, ki prispeva k družbenemu blagostanju – to je razred meznih delavcev –, zdaj nosi glavino bremena trenutne ekonomske krize v ZDA.

S. L.: V intervjuju *Pedagogy and Praxis in the Age of Empire/Pedagogika in praksa v dobi imperija (ki je med drugim tudi naslov vaše knjige), objavljenem jeseni 2007, ste povedali, da revolucionarna kritična pedagogika izhaja iz razumevanja, da je osnova izobraževanja politična in da je treba študentom ponuditi prostor, kjer bodo imeli možnost misliti drugače svet, svet zunaj kapitalističnega zakona vrednosti. Ali lahko natančneje pojasnite, kateri prostor imate v mislih in definirate revolucionarni moment v kritični pedagogiki?*

P. M.: Revolucionarni moment. Všeč mi je ta izraz. Menim, da je revolucionarnih momentov toliko, kolikor je kritičnih pedagogov. Dovolite, da vaš odgovor vpnem v teoretski kontekst. Ta precep in izziv sem pred kratkim že pojasnil v enem izmed svojih člankov: če drži – kot mnogi poststrukturalisti neutemeljeno zatrjujejo –, da smo s semiotikega stališča situirani v horizontih hermenevtike, da je naša spolno in raso določena pozicioniranost razmajana zaradi odnosov, kjer se privilegiji enakomerno razporejajo med tiste, ki imajo moč in vplivnost, in da pripadamo družbenemu prostoru, ki je geopolitično in sociokulturno prepleten podolgem in počez, potem drži tudi, da je totalizirajoča moč kapitala ustvarila vseobsegajočo matriko izkoriščanja, v kateri se vsem tem antagonizmom določa vrednost glede na povpraševanje po človeški delovni sili na globalnem trgu, kjer se moške in ženske kot načrtno nahranjene svinje, zaslepljene in pohabljen v procesu njihovega pripravljanja na masovno potrošnjo, priganja v klavnico kapitala, kjer so privezani na zanko revščine in zadolženosti. S tem nikakor ne želim povedati, da moramo prenehati s preizpraševanjem in razmišljanjem o naši etnični heterogenosti in heterodoksnosti, ki določata našo subjektivnost. Sam nimam nič proti takim ali podobnim prizadevanjem, kot je ustvarjanje mejnih identitet, ki se izogibajo evropocentrični epistemologiji. Vse lepo in prav. A ne pozabimo, da totalizirajoča moč kapitala tvori konstitutivne okvire, znotraj katerih se oblikujejo subjektivitete. Kot sem nekje že pojasnil, lahko to razumemo kot obliko nadzorovane privolitve, ki jo omogoča produkcija družbene amnezije, proizvedena in vpeljana s strani korporativnih medijev, in trdno zakoreninjene psihologije, ki poganja kolesje masovne propagande, ki se skriva za svobodnim trgom idej (kjer pa je edini brezplačen kos sira položen v mišnico). Demokracija je postala sinonim za proizvajanje dobička; zahteva odvzem moči sindikatom in na splošno proces praznjenja, ki se odmika od socialne demokracije, in to ne z vojaško diktaturo, pač pa z nenehnim preganjanjem in zatiranjem levičarskih gibanj in marksističnih teorij, ki proučujejo

kapitalistične družbene odnose in se ukvarjajo z vprašanji o univerzalnosti.

Ujeti smo v popkulturo, ki je močno zasičena z nenehnimi spektakli, katerih cilj je odtegniti pozornost od pomembnih političnih vprašanj in razprav z namenom pridobitve privržencev in ustvarjanja skupine molčečih sokrivcev v uničevalnem valu korporativnega ekspanzionizma in imperializma. V imenu nedotakljivega potrošništva državniški medijski aparat, ki ga poganja turbina moralne izprijenosti, ne le, da se noče upreti logiki kapitala, ki je preplavila celotno javno sfero, ampak kapitalistično logiko dejavno podpira. Povedano z drugimi besedami: mediji pod pretvezo, da zmanjšujejo odtujenost, ki je posledica družbenega dela, ki služi kapitalu in prispeva tudi k oblikovanju bolj kritično informiranih državljanov, v resnici prav to odtujitev aktivno omogočajo.

Da bi se kritična pedagogika lahko lotila teh in podobnih vprašanj, mora najprej doživeti preobrazbo: soočiti se mora z momentom revolucionarnega. Preusmeriti se mora v iskanje načinov za vnovično priznanje človekovega delovanja in v iskanje take oblike organiziranosti, ki bo olajšala človekov razvoj. Plenilski progresivni (to so levičarski liberalni) pedagogji so svojo prakso vedno podrejali idejam, teoriji in režimu epistema. Kritična socialistična pedagogika ali t. i. »javna pedagogika« pa v prvi vrsti zagovarja javno politično delovanje. To je pedagogika, ki se utemeljuje v revolucionarni praksi. Naj zdaj podam še nekaj argumentov za dekolonizacijsko, antikapitalistično pedagogiko. Ker sem o slednji že veliko povedal, bom raje pojasnil, kaj imam v mislih, ko govorim o dekolonizacijski pedagogiki. Dekolonizacijski pedagoški pristop podpira progresivne pobude, kot so manjše študentske skupine, izboljšane šolske stavbe z zmanjšanim negativnim okoljskim vplivom, šole po meri določene skupnosti, ki naj bodo znotraj take skupnosti ali v njeni bližini, sodelovanje med šolami in lokalnimi oblastmi in ne tekmovanje med šolami na trgu ter povečanje sredstev za izobraževanje. Obenem se zavzema za podelitev več pristojnosti lokalnim oblastem pri razporejanju sredstev in za njihovo večjo vključenost pri oblikovanju protirasističnih, protiseksističnih in protihomofobnih politik in praks ter egalitarnih politik, ki bodo prispevale k enakim možnostim izobraževanja za vse, ne glede na njihov družbeni razred, spol, raso, spolnost ali invalidnost, kakor tudi pri oblikovanju študijskega programa, ki bo usmerjen v sodelovanje med zagovorniki socialističnih načel in v ekološko pravičnost. A dekolonizacijska pedagogika hkrati tudi presega te pobude, saj ne gre zgolj za razvijanje strategij v razredu, ki bodo omogočile izpodbijanje neoliberalnih politik in praks, imperializma in militarizma, pač pa predvsem za razvoj kritičnega jezika, ki se bo temeljito spraševal o akumulaciji korporativne in državniške moči tako na transnacionalni kakor na lokalni ravni. Njen cilj je torej obravnnavati družbo kot celoto. Dekolonizacijski pedagogji se zavedajo, da je koncept globalizacije kot tak neprimeren za razumevanje političnega in ekonomskega imperializma, vojnih osvajanj in imperialističnih težej.

Dekolonizacijska pedagogika, ki jo tukaj zagovarjam, upošteva dejstvo, da medtem ko mi s svojimi neokolonialnimi sredstvi izkoriščamo druge države (kot so ZDA in zunanji kapital izkoriščali delovno silo lokalnih populacij in jih potisnili na svetovni trg dela), so množični mediji in kultura nasploh glavni sredstvi, prek katerih si transnacionalni kapitalistični razred v prizadevanju, da bi utrdil svoje prakse ustvarjanja dobička, zagotavlja privolitve večinske populacije. Pomemben pogoj, ki omogoča ekonomsko izkoriščanje, je subjektivna predreditev večinske populacije, in sicer prek izobraževanja, zabave, literature in umetnosti. Na te strategije podrejanja pa opozarja prav dekolonizacijska pedagogika, ki uči kritične medijske pismenosti po vzoru filozofov, kot je Douglas Kellner.

Dekolonizacijske pedagoške prakse vključujejo predvsem delovanje in ne kontemplacijo abstraktnih pojmov; njihov cilj je spodnesti imperij, tako da se omogoči povezovanje med študenti, ki doživljajo subjektivna izkustva odtujenosti, in razumevanje njihovega dejanskega položaja v družbeni delitvi dela. Ali povedano drugače: pri projektu dekolonizacije gre za konkreten zgodovinski boj in nikakor ne za boj za neko abstraktno utopijo. Kot taka dekolonizacijska pedagogika študente seznanja z nekaterimi osnovnimi kvantitativnimi in kvalitativnimi orodji urbanih sociologov in aktivistov in jim omogoča, da analizirajo in izpeljujejo projekte v okolju in skupnosti, v katerih živijo, in ne nazadnje tudi znotraj izobraževalnih ustanov samih.

Če zadevo peljem še dlje, dekolonizacijska pedagogika pomeni ustvariti zgodovinsko identiteto na podlagi razumevanja izvora sistema, ki povzroča alienacijo ali odtujenost med študenti. S tem ko pedagogji študentom pomagajo analizirati, na kakšen način so simptomi njihove odtujenosti povezani z objektivnimi pogoji v razredni družbi, prispevajo k vzpostavitvi odnosa med študenti in historično sedanostjo. Skratka, glavni cilj je spodkopati vzpostavljene družbeni odnos med razredi, posamezniki in skupinami in prav državne naddoločene sisteme pomenov, saj bo le tako mogoče na novo določiti, kaj pomeni biti človek zunaj represivnega državnega aparata. Pri dekolonizacijski pedagogiki ne gre zgolj za izvajanje neke metodologije, pač pa za razvijanje zgodovinskega značaja našega družbenega obstoja. Nekateri radikalni pedagogji, kot sta Jeff Duncan Andrade in Ernest Morrell, denimo, učijo študente, kako postati radikalni sociologi, ki bodo v svoji lastni šoli sposobni prepoznati institucijo gospostva, kolonizacije in družbenega nadzora. Ta pedagoški pristop je pod vplivom teorije hip-hop glasbenika Tupaca Shakurja prejel ime »thug life pedagogy«. Kritična pedagogika je v tem smislu temelj za vzpostavitev odnosov med ljudmi, saj vliva novo upanje v boju proti strahovom, nevednosti in pomanjkanju samozavesti. Tupac Shakur je umrl star 25 let. Njegova humanistična teorija se imenuje THUG LIFE, kar je okrajšava za The Hate U Gave Little Infants Fucks Everyone (sovraštvu, ki ste ga vcepili mladoletnikom, se povrne in »jebe« prav vse nas). Tupac je mladino, ki se je borila proti zatiranju, poimenoval »vrtnice, ki rastejo iz betona«. Kot trdi Duncan Andrade, »s tem ko [mladi] ohranjajo upanje v boljše družbo in odraščajo kljub okolju, ki je hladno, neprizanesljivo in brezčutno kot beton, dokazujejo, da je družbeni red v celoti zgrešen«. Andradejevi študentje ustvarjajo lokalne blokumentarce ali dokumentarce o določeni sosesi, kjer študentje, razporejeni v skupine glede na sosese, v kateri živijo, dokumentirajo, kako se znotraj njihovega bližnjega okolja uprabljajo zgodovinske, sociološke, psihološke in izobraževalne sredstva zatiranja, s katerimi se

tako študente kot njihove družine drži v podrejenem položaju. To je po mojem mnenju en vidik kritične pedagogike. A ob vsem tem se vendarle moramo vprašati, kakšen bi lahko bil postkapitalistični projekt v stvarnosti, na cesti, kakšen bi bil na sistemski in strukturni ravni, na ravni državnih aparatov in življenjskega sveta. To so izživi, s katerimi se moramo kot pedagogji spoprijeti.

S. L.: *Sodobna realnost je kontaminirana z neoliberalno kapitalistično ideologijo vrednot, ki se glede na trenutni svetovni sistem ne namerava spremeniti. Kako lahko ta proces po eni strani naredimo vidnejši in razumljivejši drugim in kako ga lahko po drugi strani dekontaminiramo?*

P. M.: Najprej moramo vzeti na znanje to, kar ste pravkar povedali, in sicer, da se trenutni svetovni sistem ne namerava spremeniti. Ali je potem sploh smiselno delati podrobne in natančne analize ter zapletene in udarniške raziskave o kapitalističnem neoliberalizmu, če s tem ne moremo niti malo vplivati nanj? Namesto, da se gremo akademike, bi morali biti aktivisti. Pred letom dni me je neka desničarska skupina uvrstila na vrh seznama t. i. »dirty thirty« (to je seznam profesorjev, ki jih je desnica označila za nemoralne) in razglasila za najnevarnejšega profesorja na kalifornijski univerzi v Los Angelesu (UCLA). Skupina probuševcev, ki je bila za vse to odgovorna, je ponudila 100 dolarjev študentom, ki so skrivoma snemali moja predavanja, in 50 dolarjev za zapiske z mojih predavanj (ali s predavanj drugih levičarskih profesorjev). Zgodba je postala mednarodna, saj je spominjala na makartizem in je bila označena kot njegov prepoved, ki ga je sprožil napad buševe klike na civilne pravice. Manj verjetnosti je, da bi se to zgodilo pred 11. septembrom 2001. Menim, da sta ukinitve civilnih pravic in fašistično gibanje v ZDA dovoljšen dokaz, da je akademska svoboda v ZDA resnično ogrožena. Družbene vede so same prispevale k ohromitvi akademikov, saj kdor se ujame v sistem liberalne modernosti, liberalnega individualizma in v doktrini neoliberalne ekonomije, omeji svoje delovanje. Kot poudarja Takis Takis Foutopolis, negativno pojmovanje svobode, ki je značilno za liberalno demokracijo – to je odsotnost vsakršnih omejitev –, sloni na ekonomskih temeljih in je pripeljalo v postopno ukinjanje »formalnih svoboščin«. Danes so nam te svoboščine v poltotalitarnih zahodnjaških režimih odvzete, saj si heteronomno družbo, v kateri živimo, prisvajajo elite, ki ugajajo transnacionalnemu kapitalističnemu razredu. Dejstvo je, da izobraževanje danes pomaga elitam v njihovem prizadevanju za nadzor nad večinskimi prebivalstvom; in to ne le izobraževanje v šolah, pač pa tudi širša vzgojna praksa, ki se odvija na ravni komunikacije. S tem mislim na nenehno pedagogiko korporativnih medijev; to je tudi to, k čemur teži predstaviška demokracija. Skratka, kot predlaga Foutopolis, treba se je zavzemati za avtonomno družbo, v kateri bo javnost vsebovala civilno-pravno telo državljana v njegovi totalnosti in v kateri bomo lahko uveljavljali neposredno demokracijo (ali, kot jo sam poimenuje, vključevalno demokracijo), kjer bodo odločitve na makroravni (to so ekonomske in politične odločitve) del institucionalnega okvira, ki bo zagotavljal enako razporeditev politične in ekonomske moči med državljani. Tukaj gre za drugačno pojmovanje svobode, ki ni svoboda brez omejitev, pač pa svoboda samoodločanja in sodelovanja v družbeno preišljenih in preudarnih oblikah delovanja, s tem da lahko stvarno vsebinsko prispevamo k javni sferi. Pojmovanje svobode kot nečesa, kar ne postavlja omejitev (na trgu, pri odločanju o tem, koliko lahko nekdo poseduje, koliko moči lahko posamezna korporacija akumulira ali koliko lahko nekdo trpi zaradi pomanjkanja), je kapitalističnemu razredu (ali tistemu, kar lahko poimenujemo transnacionalni kapitalistični razred) omogočilo, da brani svojo zgodovinsko prednost, svoje obstoječe hierarhije moči in privilegirano z izigravanjem in manipulacijo sistema, ki tako deluje v prid njegovim interesom na račun revnih in nemočnih. Kako naj torej ustvarimo družbo samostojnih posameznikov? Tako da se zazremo onkraj moderne hierarhične družbe. Kot pedagogji se ne smemo zanašati na obstoječi družbeni sistem, pač pa se moramo boriti proti marketizaciji znanstvenih raziskav kakor tudi proti objektivnemu racionalizmu znanosti (ki uveljavlja nevtralnost znanja) in njegovemu postmodernemu relativizmu, trdi Foutopolis. Teresa Ebert in mnogi drugi opozarjajo na pedagoške prakse vodilnih poststrukturalistov, ki postavljajo teorije o izkustvih v odnosu do travme, želje in emocionalnih odnosov nasploh, kot da ta izkustva nimajo nobene zveze z razrednimi odnosi. S tem konceptualno analizo družbene totalnosti zamenjujejo z osvobajajočimi pedagoškimi naracijami, temelječimi na lokalnih emocionalnih strategijah – na strategijah, ki služijo kot neopazna epistemološka krinka ekonomskih razmer, ki naj bi subjektu pomagale pri njegovem soočenju s dejanskimi pogoji kapitalističnega izkoriščanja. Tako večina najprogresivnejših pedagoških praks nudi strategije, ki študente sicer učijo, kako preživeti v kapitalizmu, ne učijo pa jih, kako ga spremeniti. To v zadnji instanci vodi v dehistorizacijo ali razzagodovljenje družbenega življenja in v usmerjanje pozornosti stran od dejstva, da smo vsi, ki živimo v kapitalističnih družbah, tako ali drugače vključeni v mednarodni razredni boj in družbeno delitev dela.

Medtem ko se krvava pest ameriškega imperializma skriva v žametni rokavici, je pomembno, da v njeni podpori samoodločanju v Gruziji in Ukrajini prepoznamo neoimperialistično prakso, katere cilj je ustvariti neoimperialistično klientno državo. Kaj pa Venezuela in Bolivija? V teh državah poskušajo ZDA destabilizirati vladno Huga Chaveza in podpirajo nasilje v predelih Santa Cruz v Boliviji, medtem ko si Chavez prizadeva revne osvoboditi prisilnega suženjstva silam kapitala, tako da kot zadnjo možnost ponuja vizijo o »un otro mundo« (to je vizija o drugačnem svetu). V Boliviji smo priča nasilnim taktikam nasprotovanja Evu Moralesu s strani Nacionalnega demokratskega sveta (CONALDE), ki ga sestavljajo pet pokrajinskih glavarjev, poslovna združenja, konzervativne občinske skupine in zakonodajalci desničarske stranke Podemos, ki jo vodi nekdanji predsednik Jorge Quiroga. Skupaj delujejo z združenjem, imenovanim Unión Juventud Cruceña (Združenje mladine iz Santa Cruz), in z Občinsko komisijo Santa Cruz. Če v tem nismo sposobni prepoznati razrednih bojov, potem smo povsem zgrešili bistvo.

Drugi del intervjuja bo objavljen v šesti številki *Reartikulacije*, pomlad 2009.

Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

Sebastjan Leban REVOLUTIONARY CRITICAL PEDAGOGY: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OPPRESSION OF NEOLIBERALISM – A CONVERSATION WITH PETER MCLAREN, part 1

Peter McLaren is Professor of Urban Education in the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, University of California, Los Angeles. He is one of the leading figures in a field that has come to be known worldwide as critical pedagogy. McLaren is the author and editor of more than 40 books, and his writings have been published in 20 languages. La Cátedra Peter McLaren has been established at the Bolivarian University in Caracas, Venezuela, and La Fundación McLaren de Pedagogía Crítica has been created by teachers, researchers, and activists in Tijuana and Hermosillo, Mexico. A political activist, Professor McLaren is a member of the Industrial Workers of the World and serves as an international advisor to Centro Internacional Miranda, Venezuela.

Sebastjan Leban: *On your webpage (<http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/pages/mclaren/>) you state that the critical pedagogy, which you support and practice, advocates non-violent dissent, the development of a philosophy of praxis guided by a Marxist humanism, the study of revolutionary social movements and thought, and the struggle for socialist democracy, which is diametrically opposite to the current neoliberal democracy. Can we say that you as a critical educator are basically leading a fight against neoliberal global capitalism valorisation of education?*

Peter McLaren: Yes, that would be a very fair description. I am not alone, clearly, in this struggle. There are others within universities who work internationally towards the same goal. But it is also fair to say that in the United States there are very few of us in the field of education and the future in this regard looks irrepressibly bleak. Well, let me put it this way. To their ongoing credit, there are those who are quite capable of engaging in a rigorous analysis of mounting sophisticated and nuanced attacks on the scoundrels and hypocrites of the Bush administration, the gangster capitalists and political opportunists, the feckless cabal of Christian-right 'profamily activists' who exercise their racism by warning about the coming 'demographic winter' facing the United States unless the white population produce enough babies to achieve "replacement-level fertility", and on the evangelical economic zealots who call out for a renewed assault on the poor through neoliberal economic, political and social directives and principles. But these critics of the wretched havoc wrought by neoliberalism do not at the same time identify an alternative – at least one that is couched beyond very safe and I would say largely empty liberal pluralist principles. Until about the mid 1990s, I found myself in the same dilemma. For me, the struggle was focused on democratizing the public sphere. But since that time I have been a staunch advocate of education as a means to further socialism, that is, to bring about a world outside capital's valorisation process or, put another way, outside labor's value form. I have described capitalism and democracy as two thieves planning a joint robbery and simultaneously attempting to steal the spoils from each other.

I have been part of a movement to build a radical humanistic socialism – in part by de-writing socialism as a thing of the past and re-writing critical pedagogy as a struggle for a post-capitalist alternative – and in doing so I have taken the position that socialism and socialist principles are not dead letters, but open pages in the book of social and economic justice yet to be written or rewritten by people struggling to transform our capitalist pre-history, and to build a truly egalitarian social order where, as Marx put it, the real history of humanity can begin. We can do this in a number of ways but I have been concentrating mainly but not exclusively on ideology critique, de-naturalizing what is assumed to be unchangeable, de-reifying human agency, and de-objectifying the commodity culture of contemporary capitalism. I have been trying to discourage progressive educators from a sole reliance on a politics of human rights antiseptically cleaved from the issue of economic rights and unburdened cultural studies of its textuality of the negative, what Marxist Professor Teresa Ebert calls a "site of meaningfulness without meaning and thoughtful unthoughtfulness" that presumably arrived on the wings of the Angel of History to save us from the old bearded devil: Karl Marx. With the advent of the linguistic turn in the arts and social sciences – a time regrettably, where class struggle was rewritten in the aerosol terminology of the politics of difference, and difference were treated as difference within itself (how difference is different from itself) – Marxism was a popular target among progressive academics. But replacing class struggle with the politics of 'difference' and 'diversity' flattens out and empties the whole structure of antagonism or ensemble of relations of opposition within the structured hierarchy of capitalist social relations. Social relations of oppression are, in this case, dissolved into difference within or between two differences – into relations of supplementarity – rather than highlighting labor relations or struggles between workers and the capitalist class. Ebert has written in great detail on this in a white heat but also with pristine clarity.

And yes, of course, I have at the same time been challenging what Quijano calls "the coloniality of power" (I very much admire the work of Quijano, Mignolo and Grosfoguel although I have some difficulty with some aspects of their critique of Marxism). Educators, especially, need to get beyond the manufactured fear and the hysterical rhetoric, peddled by what we call the corporate-state-military-media complex (or simply, the "power complex"), and instead seek a deeper means of challenging repressive and violent social structures. In some instance we might slow down and reverse the current trend among legislative and policy-making bodies and political leaders who contribute mightily to the dreck and the moral refuse that has come to define the current war against the poor within the United States and the struggle against the working-class by the transnationalist capitalist class. Since 1987, I have been visiting radical educators, student groups, philosophers, counterculturalists, contrarians, culture brokers and pedagogical tastemakers internationally (most recently in Finland, Portugal, Greece, Venezuela, Brasil, and Cuba), attempting to conscript their messages into a larger, transnational drumbeat that will help to entrain an activist movement towards a post-capitalist alternative.

What has been different about my work over the last decade is that it delves deeper into the terrain of Marxist theory and with more exi-

gency and urgency, in an attempt to create spaces/places in different scales and registers where students can apprise themselves of the opportunity to resist more fully the geopolitics of imperialism and comprehend how new social relationships can be wrought that can supercede those given birth by the USA's underbelly of violence – a poisonous underbelly festering inside a hypocritical miasma of couth that floats everywhere and penetrates the very structure of our consciousness through electronic orifices that make up the neoliberal sensoria of propaganda – propaganda that is imbibed by a duped citizenry under the aroma of 'democracy'. All of this is part and parcel of the geopolitics of imperialism that largely defines U.S. foreign and domestic policy – all of which, of course, impacts how we both view and develop our role as educated citizens (in my case, a citizen of the world as I am against most forms of nationalism) and critical cosmopolites. The gangrene-ridden wound in the soul of the country won't be healed by Obama or McCain (certainly not McCain who is a total nutcase). The issue goes beyond the US itself. It has to do with the transnational capitalist class. But the US certainly plays a major role. In light of the Bush administration's "humanitarian" invasion of Iraq, and other U.S. war crimes too numerous to mention, its current war on the poor, its savage repression of 12 million immigrant workers, and its involvement in overthrowing democratically elected regimes worldwide, we must detach from the term democracy the connotations of equality before the law, free speech, right of association, universal suffrage and self-rule with which it has been saddled over the decades and recognize it as a vile condition that ensures the involuntary servitude of wage labor, the racial and gendered division of labor, and the plundering of natural resources by the imperial powers.

The once grand refusal of critical pedagogy to reproduce dominant ideologies and practices inherent in capitalist schooling and the wider context of globalized capitalism and instead to embrace the possibility of decolonizing the conceptual, philosophical, epistemological and cultural dimensions of learning, has been expurgated by the flat-lined anti-politics of postmodernism. My work has set itself up in opposition to this fashionable apostasy undertaken by what I once termed the avant-garde 'hellions of the seminar room.'

Gore Vidal once presciently noted that the US government prefers that "public money go not to the people but to big business. The result is a unique society in which we have free enterprise for the poor and socialism for the rich" and the truth of this statement is no more evident than in the recent nationalization of Fannie and Freddie where you can see clearly that the USA is a country where there exists socialism for the rich and privatization for the poor, all basking in what Nouriel Roubini calls "the glory of unfettered Wild West laissez-faire jungle capitalism" that has allowed the biggest debt bubble in history to fester without any control, causing the biggest financial crisis since the Great Depression. Indeed, socialism is only condemned when it profits the poor and the powerless and threatens the rich. But capitalists are quick to embrace a socialism for the rich – which really is what neoliberal capitalism is all about. But of course, it's called free market capitalism and is seen as synonymous with the struggle for democracy. Which is why today we have democracy for the rich while the poor are cast into quasi-feudal steampunk landscapes of dog-eat-dog despair. Those whose labor is exploited in the production of social wealth – that is, the wage and salaried class – are now bearing most of the burden of the current economic crisis in the United States.

S. L.: *In the interview *Pedagogy and Praxis in the Age of Empire* (also the title of one of your books) published in the fall of 2007 you argue that revolutionary critical pedagogy operates from an understanding that the basis of education is political and that we have to create a space where students can be given resources to imagine a different world outside the capitalism's law of value. Could you describe what space in particular you have in mind? Can you define the moment of the revolutionary in critical pedagogy?*

P. M.: The moment of the revolutionary. I like that term. I suppose that there are as many revolutionary moments as there are critical educators. Let me wind up to your answer by providing some theoretical context. As I expressed this dilemma and challenge in an article recently, while it is certainly true, as many post-structuralists unguardedly claim, that we are semiotically situated in hermeneutic horizons, in gendered and racialized positionalities riven by power-sensitive and power-expansive relations of symmetrical privilege, and in social space aligned and vectored geopolitically and cross-hatched socioculturally, it is also true that the totalizing power of capital has created an overarching matrix of exploitation in which all of these antagonisms have been accorded value in relation to the sale of human labor power in the global marketplace where, like force-fed swine who are made blind and crippled in preparation for mass consumption, men and women are led to the slaughterhouse of capital hoisted on hooks of poverty and debt. By this I meant that we certainly should not refrain from exploring and celebrating our ethnic heterogeneity and heterodox temporalities that power our subjectivity. I am not against this, or related issues such as building border identities that escape the lineaments of Eurocentric epistemes. This is all fine and good. But let's not forget that the totalizing power of capital creates constitutive limitations in which subjectivities are formed. This, I have argued, can be seen as a form of controlled consent made possible by the production of social amnesia both produced and enforced by the corporate media, and the deep psychology that turns the engines of mass propaganda disguised as a free marketplace of ideas (where the only free cheese available is in the mousetrap). Democracy has become synonymous with profit-making, requiring a rollback of trade union power and a generalized hollowing out of social democracy, not by military dictatorship but by an endless stream of maledictions and execrations against leftist movements and Marxist analyses that deal with the totality of capitalist social relations and address questions of universality. We are immersed in a popular culture unswervingly saturated by endless spectacles meant to divert attention from substantive political issues and debates, and geared towards proselytizing in order to create silent accomplices in the ravages of corporate expansionism and imperialism. In the name of the most holy acts of consumption, the state media apparatuses, powered by turbines of moral turpitude, not only fail to resist the complete takeover of the public sphere by the logic of capital, but actively promote capitalist logic. In other words, under the guise of defanging the alienation produced by the social labor of capital, and making us more critically informed citizens, the media actively promote such alienation.

In order to address these issues and other related issues, critical pedagogy needs to be renewed – yes, it needs to bring itself face-to-face with the moment of the revolutionary. This time it has to be concerned with the problem of reasserting human action, and of finding forms of organization that facilitate human development. The depredations of progressive (i.e., left liberal) pedagogues have often subordinated praxis to the realm of ideas, theory, and the regime of the episteme. But critical socialist pedagogy recognizes the pivotal role of public political action, what has been called “public pedagogy.” It’s a pedagogy of revolutionary praxis. And here I would argue for a decolonizing, anti-capitalist pedagogy. I have talked already about an anti-capitalist pedagogy so let me explain what I mean by a decolonizing pedagogy. A decolonizing pedagogical approach supports progressive initiatives such as smaller class sizes, improved low environmental impact school buildings, an end to school tracking, schools created on a human scale within or as local to communities as possible, cooperation between schools and local authorities rather than competition within the marketplace, vastly increased funding for education, increased powers for local governments to redistribute resources and participate in the development of anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-homophobic policies and practices, and egalitarian policies designed to assist in more equal educational outcomes, irrespective of social class, gender, race, sexuality or disability, and a curriculum geared toward socialist cooperation and ecological justice. But it also goes well beyond these initiatives. Decolonizing pedagogy in this instance does not only mean developing classroom strategies designed to contest neoliberal policies and practices, imperialism and militarism; it refers as well to developing a language of critique in which the concentration of corporate and state power is fundamentally challenged transnationally as well as locally. It is designed to understand society as a totality. Decolonizing educators realize that the concept of globalization alone is inadequate for understanding political and economic imperialism, wars of conquest and the pursuit of empire.

The decolonizing pedagogy that is being advocated here recognizes that as we exercise our neo-colonial means of exploiting other countries (as the US and other foreign capital have exploited the labor power of local populations, drawing them into the worldwide labor market), the mass media and culture in general constitute the central means by which the consent of the popular majorities are secured by the transnational capitalist class in pursuit of the consolidation of their profit-making practices. An important condition of possibility for economic exploitation is the subjective subordination of the popular majorities through education, entertainment, literature and art. Such strategies of subordination are made more transparent within a decolonizing pedagogy that employs critical media literacy in the manner suggested by philosophers such as Douglas Kellner.

Decolonizing pedagogical practices are fundamentally activities rather than a contemplation of abstract concepts; they are designed to undermine empire by creating connections between the subjective feelings of alienation experienced by students and an understanding of their objective location within the social division of labor. In other words, the project of decolonization involves a concrete historical struggle and not a struggle for an abstract utopia. It involves providing students with opportunities for learning some of the basic quantitative and qualitative tools of urban sociologists and activists, for undertaking analyses and projects in their neighborhoods and communities, and within the schools themselves.

More fundamentally, decolonizing pedagogy is the creation of an historical identity through understanding the origins of the system which produces the alienation and estrangement experienced by students. In helping students analyze how the symptoms of their alienation are

connected to the objective conditions of class society, teachers contribute to opening up a relationship between students and the historical present. The overall purpose is to undermine the established social relationship between classes, individuals and groups as well as the state’s overdetermined systems of meaning such that it is possible to redefine what it means to be human outside of the repressive restrictions of the state. What is at stake here is more than following a methodology but developing the historical character of our social being. For instance, some radical educators such as Jeff Duncan Andrade and Ernest Morrell are teaching high school students to become radical sociologists that can analyze their own schools as institutions of domination, colonization, and social control. They call their approach, “thug life pedagogy” after the late hip-hop artist, Tupac Shakur. Here critical pedagogy constitutes the building blocks for a relation with other people. In doing so, critical teaching helps hope resume its odyssey of struggle against the obstacles of fear, ignorance and self-doubt. Tupac Shakur died at age 25. His theory of humanization was called THUG LIFE (The Hate U Gave Little Infants Fucks Everyone). Tupac used to call youth fighting against oppression as the “roses that grow from concrete.” According to Duncan-Andrade, “they are the ones who prove society’s rule wrong by keeping the dream of a better society alive, growing despite the cold, uncaring, un-nurturing environment of the concrete.” Andrade’s students create block-umentaries where groups of students organized by neighborhood document how the historical, sociological, psychological, and educational tools of oppression are being used on their blocks to keep them and their families down. I think that’s one way to utilize critical pedagogy. Of course, in doing all of this, it is also important to try to imagine what a post-capitalist project might look like on the ground, in the streets—how would it look at the level of the system and structure, the state apparatuses and the lifeworld. These are challenges that as educators we need to face.

S. L.: *Contemporary reality is contaminated with the neoliberal capitalist ideology of values that from the perspective of the current world’s system has no intention to change. How can we make on the one side this process more visible and understandable to others, and how can we decontaminate it on the other?*

P. M.: Well, first of all we have to recognize what you just reiterated in your question. That the current world system has no intention of changing. So what’s the point of doing nuanced and rigorous analytic work, and sophisticated and hard-knuckled research on capitalist neoliberalism if it won’t make a dent in the system? We need to stop being academics and start becoming activists. A year or so ago, I was placed on a list by a right-wing group, right at the top of the list known as the “dirty thirty” and denounced as UCLA’s most dangerous professor – and the group that was responsible for this, a pro-Bush group, offered 100 dollars to students who would secretly audiotape me, and 50 dollars for lecture notes they made in my classes (or classes of other leftist professors). This story became international because of its resemblance to McCarthyism and was characterized as a resurgent McCarthyism brought on by the assault on civil rights by the Bush cabal. This would have been much more unlikely prior to September 11, 2001. I think that the erosion of civil rights and the movement towards fascism here in the United States has really laid bare the serious threat we have to academic freedom here in the United States. We need to recognize that the social sciences themselves have helped to paralyze academics. There is only so much you can do when you are ensepulchred within a system of liberal modernity, liberal individualism, and the doctrine of neoliberal economics. As Takis Takis Foutopolis points out, the negative conception of freedom that is embedded in liberal democracy – i.e., as the absence of constraints – has been abstracted from its economic base, leading to an erosion of “formal freedoms.” They are now being taken away in the semi-totalitarian regimes of the West, as the heteronomous society in which we live is being usurped

by the elites who serve the transnational capitalist class. Education helps the elites in their attempts to control the popular majorities, let’s face it. Not just education in classrooms, but a larger educational practice that takes place in the realm of communication. I am talking about the perpetual pedagogy of the corporate media. Clearly, this is what representative democracy thrives upon. So in terms laid out by Foutopolis, we need to struggle for an autonomous society in which the public space encompasses the entire citizen body, and where we can exercise a direct democracy (what he calls an inclusive democracy) where decisions at the macro level (i.e. economic and political decisions) are part of an institutional framework of equal distribution of political and economic power among citizens. Here we have a different conception of freedom – not freedom from constraints, but freedom to achieve self-determination and participate in society’s reflective and deliberative activities and bring a substantive content to the public sphere. The view of freedom as an absence of constraints [i.e., on the market, on how much one can own, on how much power a single corporation can accumulate, or on how much one can suffer need) has set the conditions of possibility for the capitalist class (or what we can now refer to as the transnational capitalist class) to defend its historical advantage, its existing hierarchies of power and privilege by out-manuevering and manipulating the system so that it continually serves their own interests at the expense of the poor and the powerless. So how do we create this society of autonomous individuals? We need to move beyond the modern hierarchical society. As educators we can’t take the existing social system for granted. And this means fighting in our work not only against the marketization of scientific research but against the both the objective rationalism of science (that enforces the neutrality of knowledge) as well as its postmodern relativism, as argued by Foutopolis. Teresa Ebert and others have warned us against pedagogical practices developed by the poststructuralist avant-garde who theorize experience in relation to trauma, desire, and affective relations in general as if these relations were antiseptically cleaved from relations of class, thereby replacing a conceptual analysis of the social totality with liberating pedagogical narratives grounded in local affective strategies – strategies that serve unwittingly as epistemological covers for economic conditions that help the subject cope with the objective material conditions of capitalist exploitation. So that most progressive pedagogical practices are little more than coping strategies that help students survive capital rather than transform it. This leads ultimately to a de-historicization of social life, and draws attention away from the way in which all human beings who populate capitalist societies are implicated in some manner in international class struggles and the social division of labor.

As the bloody fist of U.S. imperialism continues to hide itself inside a rose petal glove, it is important to see its support of the self-determination of Georgia and the Ukraine as part of a neo-imperialist practice of creating a neo-imperialist client state. Or what about Venezuela and Bolivia? Here the US is trying to destabilize the government of Hugo Chavez and foster violence in the areas of Santa Cruz in Bolivia. Chavez is trying to free the poor from involuntary servitude to the forces of capital by, at the very least, fostering a vision of *un otro mundo*. In Bolivia we are witnessing opposition to Evo Morales by means of the violent tactics of the National Democratic Council (CONALDE), composed of five provincial governors, business associations, conservative civic groups, and legislators of the rightwing Podemos party led by former president Jorge Quiroga, who are working now with the UJC (Unión Juventud Cruceña, or Union of Santa Cruz Youth) and the Santa Cruz Civic Committee. Not to see these struggles as class struggles is to miss the main point.

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LEZBIČNI BAR/ LESBIAN BAR

Nataša Velikonja NIKOLI NE REČI NIKOLI: IZ HOMOSEKSUALNEGA GETA V KEMP

Dragi homoseksualci in homoseksualke, ste mislili, da bo sčasoma kaj bolje? Da se bo njihov svet odprl in da bomo lahko na veliko ljubili? Ste res verjeli, da bodo vsi tisti srečni filmi in seksi serije, vsi tisti *L-Word* in *Queer As Folk* in *Better Than Chocolate* in *D.E.B.S.*, da bodo oni avantgardni produkti o neoprijemljivih telesih pregnali mukotrnost eksistence, v katero smo neizbežno ujeti? Da bodo predrli naše večno ločene prostore in našo civilizacijsko nesprejemljivost? Da bodo razblinili usojenost našega seljenja? Ste res verjeli, da vas bodo vse te nove besede o vaši odličnosti, o vaši drznosti, o izjemnosti vašega golega življenja nahranile ali vam morda celo pripravile brce v glavo? Ste dojeli, kdo vam jih govori? Nihče, kot ste vi. Se vam je v trenutkih neprištevne presoje, porojene iz mavričnega koktejla obupa, klavstrofobije in žgočih isker želja, zazdelo, drage lezbijke, da bo katera od teh šla z vami v posteljo? *Homoseksualci smo vsepovsod?* Niti ne.

Na lezbično sceno in v aktivizem sem prišla pred, kot ji pravijo, *informacijsko revolucijo*, leta 1993, oziroma ravno ob njenem vzniku. Bila je že tu, ampak načini komunikacije so bili še stari: srečevanje v takrat še vedno sektorsko razdeljenem svetu je potekalo v izborjenih, javno dostopnih in precizno obeleženih homoseksualnih prostorih. Leta 1989 se v ljubljanskem klubu *K4* začne nedeljski *Rozna disko*. Leta 1993 se na zasedeni *Metelkovi* oblikujeta stalna gejevski in lezbični klub. To prostorsko zgoščevanje je bilo nadaljevanje predhodnega, kulturnega pozicioniranja skozi oblikovanje specializiranih gejevskih in lezbičnih založb, revij ali filmskega festivala. Iz sveta, kjer je bilo moje lezbično življenje odvisno od *naključne prijaznosti tujk*, kot se glasi staro homoseksualno reklo, sem brez pomisleka vstopila v ta gejevski *geto*, kjer je bilo vse odvisno samo od mene – in si želela, da ga nikoli več ne bi zapustila. Zdi se, da generacije, odrasle ob novi informacijski tehnologiji, čutijo določen prezir do prostorskih umestitev. Ta prezir se gotovo kaže kot vse bolj modno zavračanje tistega aktivizma, ki se je utemeljeval

predvsem na teritorialnih postavitvah. Kaže se v vse pogostejših kritikah javnosti, ki se pojavijo predvsem ob javnih manifestacijah gejevske in lezbične prisotnosti, ob *paradah ponosa* in filmskem festivalu ali ob uspešnih prodorih lezbične ter gejevske literature, in se od stare, frontalne homofobije ločijo po tem, da se bolj ali manj dobrohotno sprašujejo o smislu tovrstnega združevanja ali opredeljevanja v obdobju, ko naj bi to bilo, zaradi domnevno končanega *homocida* (ha ha!), že povsem nepotrebno. Ta prezir čutim v ponovni objektivizaciji homoseksualnosti, ki tokrat redkeje nastopa skozi represivno oko psihiatrije, medicine, biologije ali kriminalistike, a ravno tako avtoritarno in pokroviteljsko s strani univerze, inštitutov in organizacij za človekove pravice, ki ne pridobivajo več prostorov za združevanje skupnosti, temveč, seveda, zgolj pisarne, ki se množijo in množijo. Čutim ga tudi v velikem delu *queer* paradigme, ki pod sicer zelo dobrodošlim načelom o fluidnosti identitet le slabo prikriva nerešene probleme z osnovnimi postulati *gejevske in lezbične osvoboditve*. In čutim ga v novih gejevskih in lezbičnih referenčnih platformah, v gosto naseljenem virtualnem prostoru spletnih kavarn, spletnih pogovornih sob, spletnih mrež, spletnih strani in spletnih dnevnikov, ki se, četudi so izrecno namenjeni homoseksualni populaciji, v Sloveniji imenujejo »*mavrični*« ali »*ženski*« ali kaj podobnega, kdo bi vedel.

Zato moram znova, neprilagojena urbana psica, vsak večer prebroditi celo mesto, da naletim na tri lezbijke. Ali na kogarkoli drugega. V tem obdobju, ko so po sedmih zvečer vsi homoseksualci po *domaćih domenah*, na *pseudonimih* ali pa v *zaklozetiranem* zasebnem sektorju, se zdi, da se z novo *mobilno revolucijo* nismo niti osvobodili niti razbremenili, temveč smo povsem izgubili, skupaj z ostalimi razlikovalnimi scenami, kolektivi, skupnostmi in kulturami. Novih generacij prostor ne obvezuje in ne določa. *Osvobojenih ozemelj* ne potrebujejo. Mislim, da se tega razpada skupnosti najprej nisem zavedala in sem svoje lezbično izginjanje s sveta najprej pripisovala povsem subjektivnim odločitvam. Najprej se mi je zazdelo, da me je, vso nepotrepljivo, močno, suvereno, venomer zaljubljeno, ven poglunel več srečnih ljubezenskih zgodb, te zlate in neprecenljive dediščine starega, minevajočega *geta*. Bila sem prepričana, da me tisočletja civilizacijskih omejitev ne zadevajo več. Zazdelo se mi je, da sem od lajfa ravno prav izklesana štiridesetletnica, da

sem izbrušena kot kristal, da izgledam odlično, da je ves ta *zdizajneran, fleksibilen, fluiden, kibernetiski, multituden, kul, poststrukturalen, postsubjektovski, trendovski, širokopasovni* svet, kjer nihče več nima predsodkov, kjer nihče več ne vstane od mize pred tribadistično neumestnostjo, stvaren, da *hetero-homo* mejá ni več, ne vedoč, da njegove *super-strejt*-junakinje živijo v togi, po vseh tisočletnih krščanskih merilih ukrojeni socialni matrici, njihova kritična zavest o njej gor ali dol. Ne vedoč, da bo prej konec človeštva, pa še takrat se ji ne bodo odpovedale. Kar se je tudi zgodilo. Poslušaj, če bi živila malce mojega življenja, bi bila manj *mašina*, in če bi jaz živila malce tvojega življenja, ne bi izgorela na ulici, bolna, garjava, uničena.

Da, najprej se mi je zazdelo, da je ta naš *homo geto* postal pretesen, preveč pozitivističen, preveč hoteč in premalo željan. Zazdelo se mi je, da legitimnosti želje, temu modernističnemu imperativu, katerega dediči in dedinje smo, vse preveč bliskovito pada vrednost, da se je vitalistični ekspanzionizem te večno ob rob potisnjene, prastare vrste preveč sunkovito prepustil obetu pred tem nikdar videne ne doživete shematike urejenih dimov in *skupnega življenja*. Da, najprej se mi je zazdelo, da gre za hipen incident, ko so mlajši kolegi hoteli na ljubljansko *parado ponosa* pripeljati katoliškega duhovnika za govornika, ko so javni prostor do vrha natrpali z zasebnostjo, tako zelo, da ni ostalo v njem nič drugega kot homoseksualni *Reality Show*, poln njihovih *coming-outov, priznanj, babcam, mam, očetov, sorodnikov, kuhinj, nuš derend, nikoli ljudi* s scene, ki so se medtem, globoko pod tem njihovim *slavolokom zmage*, še dalje v smrtnem strahu izogibali *coming-outom, priznanjem, babcam, mamam, očetom, sorodnikom* in njihovim kuhinjam, predvsem pa našim derendam. In še naprej *štrikali*. Ko sem ugotovila, da so kolegi in kolegice z bruseljskega sedeža Mednarodne zveze lezbijk in gejev, ki bi morali biti mojstri in mojstrice prepoznavanja biopolitik, v navdušenjem pozdravili evropsko epidemijo protikadilskih zakonov, ni pa se jim sanjalo, da se je v tem mestu rodil Jacques Brel, četudi so vedeli povedati, kje je *evropska četrt*. Mimogrede, *evropska četrt* je prav tam, kjer se je rodil Jacques Brel. Najprej se mi je zazdelo, da je to radikalno pomanjkanje poznavanja evropske zgodovine in teorije ali pa vsaj minimalnega delovanja po njiju, da je ta vesela neposrednost, ta zadržta nedostopnost, ta paranoična previdnost, ta nova semantična blaznost, ki osvojbaja besede, to

novo zasebnitvo, ki osvobaja *oblast*, nekaj bolj abstraktnega, nekaj, čemur se lahko izmaknem. In tako sem, izmikajoča se, ugotovila, da me je samo to izmikanje privedlo nazaj v lastno preteklost, da se mi *naključne tujke* že nasmihajo v pozdrav in da je naseljenosti konec. Ni je bilo konec za vse, ampak to ni bila več moja stvar. Prastari homoseksualni *kemp*, pederski in lezbaški, je dolga stoletja ohranjal homoseksualce in homoseksualne kulture prepoznavne, posebne, telesne. V tej moji želji, da ostanem *prisotna*, v tej dandanašnji zgodovinski regresiji, v tem mojem povratku nazaj v prazna, defragmentirana mesta sem se, zlagoma, kot bi bila edina homoseksualka na planetu, znašla v samem njegovem jedru. Tam so me čakali Renée Vivien, Djuna Barnes, Quentin Crisp, James Baldwin, Jean Genet, Pier Paolo Pasolini s svojimi *ragazzi*, Sadie Lee s svojimi Amy Lamé, striptizetami in Holly Woodlawn, Antony, Rufus Wainwright, mrtvi in živi, utelešeni v prastari kulturi stoične melanholije, kultiviranega ljubezenskega suspenza, fantazmagorije romanc, ki ne obstajajo nikjer v fizičnem svetu, temveč zgolj v conah somraka zavrtnitev, nasilja, sanj in umetnosti. Tam sem se znašla, naenkrat, kako znova gledam film *The Killing of Sister George* Roberta Aldricha iz leta 1968 in povsem drugače razbiram staro, zajedljivo sestro George, ki v zadnjem prizoru, ko ostane brez ljubimke in brez dela, razbija po filmskem studiu scenske elemente, tudi krsto, v katero naj bi položili njen odpisan filmski lik, rekoč: »Even the bloody coffin is a fake!« Vaše civilizacije je zanjo konec.

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Nataša Velikonja NEVER SAY NEVER: FROM HOMOSEXUAL GHETTO TO CAMP

Dear homosexuals, did you think it would eventually get better? That their world would open up and we would be able to love without limits? Did you really believe that all those happy films and sexy TV-series, *The L-Word*, *Queer as Folk*, *Better than Chocolate* and *D.E.B.S.*, those avant-garde products about intangible bodies would chase away the torment of our existence – in which we are inevitably trapped? Did you believe that they would penetrate our eternally separated walls and our civilizational unacceptability? That they would dissolve the fate of our migrations? Did you really believe that all these new words about your exquisiteness, your daring, the exceptionality of your bare life would appease you and spare you from being kicked in the head? Did you realize who it was saying those words to you? It was no one like you. Did it ever seem to you, dear lesbians, during moments of deranged judgement, conceived by the iridescent cocktail of despair, claustrophobia and stinging sparks of desire, which any one of the women who uttered those words would actually go to bed with you? *Homosexuals are everywhere?* Not really.

I entered the lesbian scene and activism before the so-called *informational revolution* in 1993, or rather, just before it surfaced. It was already present at the time, but there were still old patterns of communication in use; in the then world, divided into sectors, meetings were taking place in fought-for, publically accessible and precisely marked spaces. In 1989, Ljubljana's *Klub K4* (Club K4) opened the *Roza Disko* (Pink Disco) on Sundays. In 1993 a gay and a lesbian club were formed at the ambushed *Metelkova*. This spatial condensation was a continuation of

REARTIKULACIJA

Marina Gržinić POLITIČNO DEJANJE V SODOBNI UMETNOSTI: VRISOVANJE MEJA

Umetnica Šejla Kamerić iz Bosne in Hercegovine je zapisala naslednje:

»Meja ne obstaja, meja ne obstaja, meja ne obstaja, ne obstaja, ne obstaja, ne obstaja, upam.«

Ta stavek, njeno umetniško delo (ki je bilo pred kratkim citirano tudi v intervjuju s Kameričevo, objavljenim pod naslovom *Svoboda prihaja* v reviji Kontakt Skupine Erste Bank), pripisuje »meji« uničevalno in regulativno silo znotraj različnih družbenih, ozemeljskih in umetniških razmer sodobnega globalnega kapitalizma. Zato izginjanje meja, kar izpostavlja že sam naslov omenjenega intervjuja *Svoboda prihaja*, lahko razumemo tudi kot željo, ki bo nedvomno prinesla svobodo.

Kot se zdi, je izginjanje meja zadnja točka zgodbe o uspešni izgradnji današnjega sveta. To je pravzaprav točka, na kateri temelji celotna zgodovina, povezana z berlinskim zidom, ki je nekoč ločil vzhodno Evropo od zahodne. Zato se želja, ki jo izpostavlja Šejla Kamerić, že uresničuje prek logike historizacije padca berlinskega zidu. Ali to drži?

V letošnji avgustovski izdaji revije *Lufthansa Magazin* je Nemška nacionalna turistična organizacija celo stran (str. 6) posvetila letu 2009, saj bo takrat Nemčija obeležila 20. jubilej padca berlinskega zidu s sloganom »Dobrodošli na ozemlju brez meja«. V oglasu je še zapisano, da je berlinski zid simboliziral hladno vojno in 28 let trajajočo delitev Evrope na vzhod in zahod (do leta 1989). Leta 2009, 20 let po nemški združitvi, pa bo v Nemčiji mogoče videti le še peščico ohranjene zapuščine tistega obdobja v Evropi (dokler ne bo tudi ta v celoti izginila, op. avt.). Oglas zatrdi tudi, da so se revolucionarne težnje za boljši svet v Vzhodni Nemčiji začele v Leipzigu v cerkvi sv. Nikolaja in podobno.

Vzporedno s tem po vsej Evropi poteka temu zelo podoben proces, ki bi ga lahko imenovala krščansko prevzemanje komunistične revolucionarne preteklosti »vzhodne« Evrope. V prihodnje bo potrebno izpeljati zelo natančno analizo, da bi lahko opredelili kroženje

the transitional cultural positioning through the formation of specialised gay and lesbian publishers, magazines and the Ljubljana Gay and Lesbian Film Festival. From a world where my lesbian life depended, as the old homosexual saying goes, *on strangers and their unexpected kindness*, I did not hesitate when entering this gay ghetto where everything depended solely on me – and I wished never to leave it. It appears that generations which grew up alongside information technology feel a certain contempt towards being spatially situated. This contempt is manifest in the increasingly fashionable repudiation of activism that was founded particularly on territorial premises. It is also manifest in the recurrent criticism of the public that breaks out at open expressions of gay and lesbian presence, *Pride Parades*, and the Ljubljana Gay and Lesbian Film Festival, or of successful breakthroughs of lesbian and gay literature. What distinguishes these critiques from the old frontal homophobia is that, more or less benevolently, they question the importance of such kinds of connectedness, or of taking a stance in a time when, due to the (allegedly) end of *homocide* (ha ha!), it is all but unnecessary. I feel this contempt in the renewed objectivisation of homosexuality, which is now rarely displayed through the repressive eye of psychiatry, medicine, biology or the criminal sciences, but rather through the authoritarian and patronising manners (as was the case in the manners of the aforementioned sciences) of the University, institutes, human rights organizations which no longer acquire venues for connecting communities, but, of course, only offices, which are continually multiplying. I also feel it in a large part of the queer paradigm which, although it welcomes principles of fluidity of identities, conceals unsolved problems regarding basic postulates of *gay and lesbian liberation*. And I feel it in the new gay and lesbian referential platforms; the densely populated virtual space of cyber cafés, internet chat rooms, web networks, websites, and online diaries, which in Slovenia, despite the fact that they are intended explicitly for the homosexual population, are called *“iridescent”*, or *“women’s”*, or something like that. Who would know?

That is why every evening I, an unaccustomed urban bitch, have to sift through the entire city to run into three lesbians. Or anyone else. In these times, after 7pm, when all homosexuals are at *home domains* with *pseudonyms* or in the *closeted* private sector, it appears that the new *mobile revolution* has not liberated us, nor discharged us, but that we have simply vanished together with all the differentiating scenes, collectives, communities and cultures. New generations are not bound to and defined by space. They do not need *liberated territories*. I think I was not aware of this disintegration of the community and ascribe my lesbian disappearance from the world solely to my own subjective choices. At first I thought that, being restless, powerful, supreme, and always in love, I was driven out by a gust of happy love stories, the gilded and priceless legacy of the old passing *ghetto*. I was convinced that millennia of civilizational restrictions no longer concerned me. It seemed to me that at 40, life had carved me out just about right, honed me like a crystal, making me look perfect. It seemed to me that the whole *designed, flexible, fluid, cyber, multitudinous, cool, post structural, postsubjective, trendy, broadband* world in which no one had prejudice any longer and in which no one left the table in the face of tribbing *inappropriateness*, was real, that there were no *hetero-homo* borderlines. I did not know, however, that its super-*straight*-heroines lived in a rigid social matrix regulated by thousand year old Christian criteria (never mind their critical conscience of it), not knowing that humankind will become extinct before they would think about giving it up. And this is what happened. Listen, if you lived a bit of my life, you would be less of a *machine*, and if I lived some of yours, I would not burn out on the street, weak, scabby and devastated.

kapitala in krščansko hegemonizacijo Evrope (krščansko dominancijo nad Evropo) kot dva vzporedna in medsebojno povezana procesa, ki gresta z roko v roki in potekata sočasno v zgodovini in zdaj!

Uporabila bom mejo, da bi lahko predlagala naslednje teze. Čeprav se zdi, da nevidne meje globalnemu prostoru oziroma prvemu kapitalističnemu neoliberalnemu svetu onemogočajo odprtost in prosto gibanje za vse, menim, da je treba na zadevo pogledati tudi z drugega zornega kota. Na eni strani smo namreč priča procesu neverjetnega kroženja pozicij, ki nam preperečuje, da bi prostor sodobne umetnosti in kulture, družbene in ekonomske sfere mislili kot prostor, ki ga določajo meje, na drugi strani pa opazujemo izginjanje meja, ki so v preteklosti, npr. v času imperialističnega kapitalizma, jasno delile svet. Skratka, pred nami se odvija proces dezintegracije mej, zlasti tistih, ki so vsaj del ideološkega, diskurzivnega procesa reorganiziranja nove Evrope in sveta. Kot rečeno, v novi Evropi se želja Kameričeve že udejanja, saj bo Nemčija z omenjenim sloganom praznovala 20 let zedinjenja (ki se je zgodilo leta 1989 s padcem berlinskega zidu). Gre torej za jasno logiko organiziranja celotnega prostora nove Evrope, zato je treba vztrajati na še natančnejši analizi. Zaradi razmer, v katerih se veselo proslavlja svet brez meja, pa se zdi smiselno izpostaviti še eno trditev ali logiko, in sicer, da danes potrebujemo meje bolj kot kdajkoli prej. Kako je to mogoče? Odgovor je več kot preprost. Vzpostaviti, vrisati, povleči mejo – začrtati ločnico, na podlagi katere bo mogoče reartikulirati ta novi svet, ki se navzven kaže kot svet brez meja in kjer je edino, kar se zdi nemogoče, nemožnost kot taka – pomeni zavzeti jasno politično stališče in zahtevati politično dejanje, ki bo osvetlilo stanje, v katerem naj bi bila nemogoča prav nemožnost sama. A za čigavo (ne)možnost pravzaprav gre?

Pojdimo korak za korakom. Kaj se pokaže, če pozorneje pogledamo različne logike delovanja znotraj političnega prostora ali znotraj umetnosti in kulture v novi Evropi danes? Pokaže se, da obstaja nezainteresiranost za umetnost, kulturo itd., ki prihaja z ozemlja nekdanje vzhodne Evrope. Ne gre za romantizem ali melanholičnost; ta nezainteresiranost je očitno povezana z vse pogostejšimi velikimi razstavami in bienali, ki kažejo posebno zanimanje za umetnike tretjega sveta, zlasti azijskega in latinskoameriškega porekla. Pretekle delitve in ideologije razlikovanja v Evropi so danes dojete kot zavrinalni proces kroženja kapitala oziroma kroženja finančnega kapitala kot ključne oblike globalnega kapitala. Povedano z drugimi besedami, te delitve zavirajo pretok denarja. S tem ko se obnašamo,

Yes, at first I thought that our *homo ghetto* became too crowded, too positivist, too lustful, not eager enough. I thought that the legitimacy of desire, this modernist imperative which we are heirs to, was rapidly losing its value, and that the vitalist expansionism of this perpetually pushed-to-the-edge ancient species too hastily gave in to the promise of a never seen nor experienced schematic of living together in a warm home. Yes, first I thought it was an instantaneous incident when younger colleagues wanted to invite a Catholic priest to speak at the *Pride Parade* in Ljubljana and the public space became crammed with privacy to the extent that there was nothing else in it but a homosexual *Reality Show*; full of their *coming-outs, confessions*, grandmothers, mums, fathers, relatives, kitchens, singers like Nuša Derenda, without any people from the scene who deep below their *Arc de Triomphe* still avoided their *coming-outs, confessions*, grandmothers, mums, fathers, relatives, and their kitchens, and especially singers like Nuša Derenda. They kept on being useless. I found out that colleagues from the International Gay and Lesbian Association in Brussels, who should be experts in recognising biopolitics, greeted the European epidemic of anti-smoking laws with excitement, but had no idea that Jacques Brel was born in this city, although they knew where the *European Quarter* was. By the way, the *European Quarter* is right there where Jacques Brel was born. Yes, at first I thought that this signified a radical lack of knowledge of European history and theory (or at least a minimal activity according to the two), that this jovial directness, this stubborn inaccessibility, this paranoid precaution, this new semantic insanity which liberates words, this new privatization which liberates *power*, was something more abstract, something I could avoid. And while avoiding, I realized that the very avoidance lead me back into my own past, and that the *strangers* that are always *by chance* (unexpectedly) helping are nodding to me smilingly; that we have come to the end of the population trend. It did not finish for everyone however, but this is not of my concern anymore. For centuries, the age-old homosexual *camp*, faggoty and lesbian, preserved homosexuals and homosexual culture as being recognizable, unique and physical. In my desire to remain *present* in the modern-day historical regression, in my return to the empty defragmented places, I gradually, as if I were the only homosexual on the planet, found myself at its core. Waiting for me there were Renée Vivien, Djuna Barnes, Quentin Crisp, James Baldwin, Jean Genet, Pier Paolo Pasolini with his *ragazzi*, Sadie Lee with her Amy Lamé, striptease dancers and Holly Woodlawn, Antony, Rufus Wainwright, dead and alive, embodied in the ancient culture of stoic melancholy, cultivated love, suspense, a phantasmagoria of romances that do not exit in the physical world, but only in twilight zones of rejection, violence, dreams and art. That is where I found myself again watching *“The Killing of Sister George”* by Robert Aldrich from 1968 and seeing the old waspish sister George in a different way during that last scene when she ends up without a girlfriend and with no work, smashing the set of the film studio which included a coffin meant for her written-off character saying: *“Even the bloody coffin is a fake!”* – For her your civilisation ended.

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kot da gre za enoten prostor (Evropa) in enoten svet, ni treba več uprizarjati vključevanja skozi izključevanje, dovolj je, da se vedemo, kot da razlik več ni (Kitajska je to dokazala z olimpijskimi igrami!). Vsi smo nenadoma enaki v procesu izpraznitve, ki ga David Harvey v svoji knjigi *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005)/*Kratka zgodovina neoliberalizma* definira kot »akumulacija prek razlastitve«. Akumulacija prek razlastitve je proces izključitve vsakršnih razlik, po potrebi tudi z uporabo zakona (pomislimo le na neverjetno zakonodajno politiko EU, ki je razumljiva le strokovnjakom), sicer pa je na voljo vrsta institucionalnih, zakonodajnih, birokratskih, infrastrukturnih, teoretskih in kulturnih procesov, ki se jih uvaja zdaj surovo, spet drugič »nežno«. Bolonjski proces preoblikovanja evropskega visokošolskega izobraževalnega prostora je odličen primer odstranjevanja meja v Evropi. Morda proces akumulacije prek razlastitve v Evropi ne poteka več, saj naj bi tukaj svoje že opravil (z nemškim sloganom za leto 2009 je ta proces tako rekoč predstavljen kot zaključen), a pomislimo na njegovo delovanje drugod, denimo v tretjem svetu.

Proces izginjanja meja, ki ga želim na tem mestu predstaviti in s tem podpreti svojo trditev, da je želja po tem procesu že uresničena (pomislimo na zlom borze na Wall Streetu v New Yorku in preostali svet, ki se ruši kot domine), je pravzaprav povezan s procesi akumulacije kapitala. Prvi tak proces, ki želi »ugrabit« vse razlike in se jih znebiti, je nedvomno akumulacija prek razlastitve, drugi pa – s katerim smo prav tako soočeni danes – je imperializem kroženja. Michael Hudson v svoji knjigi *Super Imperialism/Super imperializem* iz leta 1972 (ki je pred kratkim doživela ponatis) trdi, da smo namesto krize zaradi vrzeli v distribuciji danes priča prav nasprotnemu procesu, to je »imperializmu kroženja«. A da se imperializem kroženja udejanji, moramo biti najprej povsem razlaščeni. Hudson je že leta 1972 napovedal, da bo prav imperializem kroženja odpravil meje, ki onemogočajo distribucijo in v njej ustvarjajo vrzeli. Menim, da na ta procesa – na akumulacijo prek razlastitve in na imperializem kroženja – ne gre gledati le kot na različna načina akumulacije kapitala (pri čemer naj akumulacija prek razlastitve danes ne bi bila več aktualna), pač pa kot na dejstvo, da je en proces (prek razlastitve) drugemu danes omogočil nadvlado.

Na kratko sem orisala nekaj najzanimivejših momentov, ki so del pomembnih razprav o problemu akumulacije in redistribucije finančnega kapitala, ki ju velja upoštevati v vsaki resni debati o tem, kako danes ukrepati proti globalnemu kapitalizmu in znotraj njega zagotoviti emancipacijsko politično delovanje. In nikakor ni treba pona-

vljati, da je vse to del novega, vsiljenega načina delovanja, ki nam prav tako preprečuje razumeti zgodbo o mejah na drugačen način. Mej ni več, kar plačujemo s popolno razlastitvijo vseh idej, nazorov in specifičnih pozicij. Cilj kapitala je ustvariti presežno vrednost, in to je več kot program ali konspiracija, kot jo poznamo iz holivudskih filmov. To je gon, ki se mu človek zlahka ne more upreti. Osnova imperializma kroženja brez razlik kot primarne logike, ki zagotavlja pomojo za produkcijo globalnega finančnega kapitalizma, je denar. A v vsaki krizi se balon prej ali slej razpoči. Ne nazadnje trenutna kapitalistična gospodarska kriza, ki jo imenujemo proces stagflacije – to sta hkratna diferencialna inflacija in stagnacija –, ni le znak novega procesa kapitalizacije finančnega kapitala, ki je povezan z novimi načini njegove akumulacije, ampak njegova uresničitev. Porast cen različnih dobrin in storitev, ki je posledica diferencialne inflacije sredi tistega, kar izvedenci v mnogih člankih in časopisih laično imenujejo trenutna kapitalistična stagnacija v gospodarstvu (po več kot desetih letih prosperitete in deflacije!), je opazen tako na individualni kot na institucionalni ravni. Posledic krize, ki se bo še stopnjevala, ni mogoče predvideti.

Kar je za nas zdaj pomembno, je proces, ki sledi ali poteka vzporedno z njim. Gre za proces, ki ga v primerjavi z Hudsonovim imperializmom neskončnega kroženja lahko opišem – sklicujoč se na Jelico Šumič - Riha in njen članek »Jetniki drugega, ki ne obstaja« – kot stanje, da je v današnjem kapitalističnem svetu nemogoča prav nemožnost kot taka. Oba omenjena procesa potekata hkrati. Imperializem kroženja, kot oblika neustavljivega procesa, onemogoča subverzijo, napad na katerokoli instanco gospodarstva. Vse kroži, se izmenjuje, a brez vsakršnih razlik. V mreži, ki strukturira našo realnost, zaprek ni. Tisti, ki so bili nekoč sovražniki, bodisi posamezniki bodisi institucije, se danes obnašajo, kot da smo vsi skupaj v isti godlji, v istem »dreku«, in zdaj naj bi družno poiskali rešitev za naše težave, potrebe, ovire itd. (medtem ko je treba na krivce za ekspropriacijo in razlaščenje takoj pozabiti). Skoraj nemogoče je dejati, da je danes sploh kaj nemogoče.

Ali povedano drugače, v preteklosti je bilo prevratniško dejanje mogoče, saj je šlo za subverzijo proti jasni družbeni zaporu in družbeni delitvi. Imeli smo meje. Veliki Drugi, virtualni simboli red, mreža, ki je tvorila in še danes tvori našo realnost, je tako rekoč zagotavljala »stanovitnost«. Bila je kratko malo zagotovilo za intervencijo. Danes se svet predstavlja kot neskončno kroženje (imperializem je odličen koncept, ki povzema ta »gon« ali pulzijo, kot »drive« prevajajo lakonovci, op. ur.), ki se kaže kot »prijateljska« in neskončna menjava; in zato se nam ponuja kot edina rešitev (kot upor proti temu gonu), da bi odpravili razlaščenje, zasužnjevanje in neokolonialno poseganje, le t. i. *koordinacija*. Pred kratkim sem nekje zasledila resen politični predlog, da je edina učinkovita rešitev za vse naše težave »koordinacija«. Zato se sprašujem, ali smo res tako neumni, da verjamem takim teorijam. Kdor obljublja, ima nedvomno moč, da lahko zagotavlja nemoteno kroženje vsega. Potrebna je uspešna koordinacija, ki bo vselej opravila s tistimi, ki še vztrajamo in poudarjamo družbene antagonizme in razredni boj. S tem nikakor ne želim zanikati potrebe, ki se je pokazala tudi v primeru akumulacije – potrebe po novi konceptualizaciji in historizaciji razrednega boja. Na svoji poti v Damask lahko s tem besedilom ponudim tudi odgovor na (retorično) vprašanje, ki ga je leta 2001 zastavil Jon McKenzie v svoji knjigi z naslovom *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance*, kjer je ta »else« (»pač«) nekako obvisel v zraku, brez odgovora. Torej, ali pač – kaj? Moj odgovor ali zapoved se glasi: »Kroži (a brez vsakršnih razlik)« Iz tega sledi, da je v prostoru treba potegniti črto, začrtati mejo. Določitev meje znotraj nestanovitnosti velikega Drugega je dejanje, in sicer politično dejanje, ki lahko spremeni koordinate nemožnosti. Samo z dejanjem je mogoče učinkovito zanikati obstoj velikega Drugega. To ne pomeni le, da moramo prevzeti politiko reprezentacije v naše roke in s tem določiti meje znotraj cinične situacije, v kateri je nemogoča le nemožnost kot taka, pač pa je treba – kot trdi Šumič - Riharjeva – postaviti tudi zaporo, okvir, platformo, ki bo določila nove parametre in nove koordinate političnemu dejanju samemu (kar smo tako rekoč naredili, ko smo začeli izdajati Reartikulacijo!). V tem kontekstu lahko zatrdim, da je čas za novo, jasno konceptualno in paradigmatično politično dejanje, ki bo omogočilo vzpostavitev teh okvirjev.

Politično dejanje pomeni narediti delitev, začrtati meje v nekem prostoru, saj je le tako mogoče preoblikovati ali zaustaviti, če želite, imperializem kroženja brez razlik in vzpostaviti novo strukturo, na katero se bomo lahko nanašali (dekolonialnost znanja, dekolonialnost oblasti, lezbična in queerovska politična platforma itd.). A dejanje se vedno vrši prek izrekanja in ne določa le parametrov, ki tako dejanje sprožajo, pač pa tudi parametre Drugega, v okviru katerega se to dejanje uresničuje. Zato je pomembno, da se vzpostavi struktura, na katero se bo ta delitvena črta (ena ali več) nanašala. V primeru Nemčije in kar zadeva zgodbo o neobstoju pretekle delitve Evrope je treba povedati, da ima največjo korist od izgibanja mej v Evropi prav finančni kapital. Da bi se ta logika udejanjila, je bilo treba izvesti surov proces poenotenja in izenačenja vseh plasti različnih evropskih in svetovnih sistemov in ta proces poenotenja izpeljati na različnih družbenih, izobraževalnih in kulturnih ravneh. Treba je bilo uvesti eno najokrutnejših politik – politiko razlaščenja. Povedano z drugimi besedami: lokalne specifične je bilo treba spremeniti v etnične in etnografske in vzpostaviti eno in edino veljavno zgodovinsko in genealoško nit umetnosti, kulture, znanosti in družbe: ustoličiti edino veljavno zgodovino sveta, to je zgodovino prvega kapitalističnega sveta, ki (de)regulira vso svetovno zgodovino, sedanjost in prihodnost.

Zato se nam vedno znova zastavlja vprašanje, na katere zgodovine pripenjamo našo politiko reprezentacije in kako se vsakič znova pozicioniramo znotraj nekega družbenega, gospodarskega in političnega ozemlja.

Deklaracija o našem obstoju (to, da napovemo, da obstajamo) je, kot zatrdi Šumič - Riharjeva, prvi korak, kar sledi, pa je rigorozna praksa posledic te deklaracije, posledična logika, ko se prvotna nezmožnost zapore kapitalističnega diskurza pokaže kot pogoj za možnost novega dejanja. V procesu reartikulacije neke zgodovine globalnega kapitalizma in meja lahko zatrdim, da je t. i. multikulturalna ideologija globalnega neoliberalnega kapitalizma v devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja potrdila obstoj drugih svetov, a zgolj in samo zato, da bi temu lahko sledila železna logika imperializma

kroženja. Da bi se to lahko zgodilo, so v pogon spravili pospešen proces razlaščenja, ki je uničil in izbrisal vse razlike. Ti fazi sta odlično ponazorjeni tudi v sodobnem umetniškem delu, ki sem ga že večkrat omenila in analizirala. V devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja je Mladen Stilić dejal: »Umetnik, ki ne zna govoriti angleško, NI umetnik«. Ta izjava, ki je tudi umetniško delo, odlično ponazarja začetek multikulturalne logike neoliberalnega globalnega kapitalizma tistega časa, ki je sicer pokazal zanimanje za specifičnosti, vendar je zahteval uporabo »enotnega jezika«, čeprav takrat – kot se zdi – ni bilo važno, kakšna je bila raven znanja tega jezika. Deset let po tem, leta 2007, sem predlagala popravek tega stavka in izjavila: »Umetnik, ki ne zna DOBRO govoriti angleško, NI umetnik.« Gre namreč za nov proces razlaščenja in razlikovanja oziroma za proces izpraznitve sveta vsakršne vsebine in političnih dejanj, saj navsezadnje prav formalizacija in izenačenje pozicij omogočata nemoteno kroženje.

Današnje razmere, katerim vlada logika, ki pravi, da je danes v svetu nemogoča prav nemožnost sama, lahko prekine le politično dejanje.

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Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

Marina Gržinić POLITICAL ACT IN CONTEMPORARY ART: DRAWING BORDERS

A sentence, coined by the artist Šejla Kamerić, from Bosnia and Herzegovina:

“There is no border, there is no border, there is no border, no border, no border, no border, I wish.”

as an art work (recently quoted in the magazine *Kontakt*, of the ER-STE BANK GROUP, as part of an interview with Kamerić under the title “Freedom Comes”) posits the “border” as a disruptive and imposed regulative force within the different social, territorial, and artistic conditions of contemporary global capitalism. Therefore, the disappearance of borders, as it is also precisely captured by the title “Freedom Comes” of this recent interview with Kamerić in *Kontakt*, is to be seen as a wish that would definitely bring freedom.

The disappearance of borders seems to be the last point in the success story of the constitution of the present world. This is the point at which its whole history, in relation to the WALL that once divided East and West (Berlin) Europe, is constructed as well. But the wish put forward by Šejla Kamerić is already operative as the logic of the historization of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Am I right? In the August 2008 issue of the *Lufthansa Onboard* magazine, a full-page ad (page 6) by the German National Tourist Board announces the year 2009. It is presented as the forthcoming 20th jubilee, as a celebration of 20 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall, with the following slogan: “Welcome to a land without borders.” The announcement goes on to say that the Berlin Wall symbolized the Cold War and the division of Germany and Europe into East and West (until 1989) for 28 years. But in the coming year of 2009, representing 20 years since the reunification of Germany, it will be possible to visit in Germany only some remainders of that time in Europe (and I would add, before they vanish completely). In this announcement, it is stated that the revolution for a better world in East Germany started in Leipzig at the St. Nicholas Church, etc. There is a very clear parallel process going on in Europe with regard to the overtaking of the communist revolutionary past of the “East” of Europe by Christianity. It will be necessary to undertake a very precise analysis in order to identify the circulation of capital and the hegemonization of Europe by Christianity as two parallel and interrelated processes that go hand in hand both historically and currently!

I will take the border as a point of departure in order to propose the following thesis. I can claim that although we have the feeling that invisible borders prevent the space of the world, to be precise, that of the First capitalist neoliberal global world, from being open and mobile, we nevertheless have to think differently. On one hand, we see the process of the unbelievable circulation of positions that prevents us from fully accepting thinking of the space of contemporary art and culture, the social and economical, as being foreclosed by borders, and on the other, we see the disappearance of the borders that firmly installed a clear division of the world in the past, as was the case in the time of imperialist capitalism. Actually what we see is a process of the disintegration of borders, at least as part of an ideological, discursive process of the reorganization of the new Europe and the world. What is presented by Kamerić as a wish is already operative so to speak, it is already working throughout the new Europe. This is the slogan of Germany today with which it will celebrate 20 years of its reunification (which took place in 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall). Therefore, there is an obvious logic organizing the whole space of the new Europe, and this means it is necessary to push a very precise analysis. Even more so, it is precisely necessary in relation to such a background, which is so cheerful in celebrating a world without borders, to push forward another thesis or logic: we need borders more than ever. How is this possible? The answer is very simple: to establish a border – to draw a line of division that would re-articulate this new world that seems to be without borders and where the only thing that seems impossible is impossibility as such – means to present, to take a clear political stance, to ask for a political act. This political act means pointing a finger against the situation that claims that today the only thing that is impossible is impossibility as such. Whose im/possibility?

But let's proceed step by step. What is the phenomenon that can be seen if one looks attentively at the different logics of functioning within the space of politics, but even more so within the art and culture of the new Europe nowadays? We see a disinterest in the art, culture, etc., coming from the region of former Eastern Europe. This is not about being romantic or sad; this disinterest must clearly be connected with the escalation of all major exhibitions and biennials that show a special appetite for the positions of Third World artists, mostly Asian and Latin American. The past divisions and ideologies of difference within Europe are seen as an obstacle to the process of capital circulation. This means, to the circulation of financial capital as the major form of global capital today, or, to say it simply, these divisions are seen as an obstacle to the circulation of money. Behaving as though this is already one space (Europe), it is not necessary to push any inclusion through exclusion, it is enough to behave as if no differences any longer exist (China proved this with the Olympic Games as well!). We are all identical through a process of “evacuation” that David Harvey in *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (2005) defines as “accumulation by dispossession.” Accumulation by dispossession is a process of expulsion from the possession of any possible difference; when it is necessary, a law is used (just think of the unbelievable legislative policy of the EU, which only specialists can follow nowadays) or there is a whole set of institutional, legislative, bureaucratic, infrastructural, theoretical, and cultural processes which are abruptly or “gently” installed. The Bologna process of reformulating the European Higher Education Area is an excellent example of this tearing down of borders in Europe. The process of “accumulation by dispossession” is perhaps no longer effective in Europe, as it is supposedly completed here (with the German slogan for 2009, it is cemented as a process that is finally realized, so to speak), but think of its workings elsewhere, in the Third World, for example.

The process of the disappearance of borders, as I try to conceptualize here, and my thesis is that the wish is almost completed (just lets think of the Wall Street collapse and the world that is falling down as a domino effect) is in fact connected to the processes of the accumulation of capital. One is surely accumulation by dispossession, meaning getting rid of, being robbed of, any difference. The second process is what we are facing today, and is called the imperialism of circulation. Michael Hudson in his *Super Imperialism*, from 1972 (recently republished), says that instead of there being a crisis as regards gaps in distribution, today we are witnessing a process contrary to it, which is “the imperialism of circulation.” But to come to the imperialism of circulation today, you have to be dispossessed. In 1972, Hudson already announced that the borders which were preventing distribution, forming gaps in distribution, would be removed by the imperialism of circulation. I can state that both processes – accumulation by dispossession and the imperialism of circulation – have to be seen not as a simple cut between the modes of the accumulation of capital (sending the accumulation by dispossession to retirement), but that one constituted the parameters (through dispossession) of the other in order to dominate at the present moment.

I roughly sketched out some of the most interesting moments that are part of the important debate regarding the question of the accumulation and redistribution of financial capital, which has to be seen as the logic for any serious debate of what is to be done at the present moment, regarding questions of agency for a possible emancipatory politics within/against global capitalism. It is also not necessary to repeat that this background is part of the new way that is imposed and made operative in order to think differently about borders as well. The borders are gone, and the price to be paid is the total dispossession of all our ideas, stances, and specificities. Capital has only one agenda, though – surplus value – and this is more than a program or a Hollywood film conspiracy. It is a drive; human desire against this mad drive is not an equal opponent. The imperialism of circulation without differences, as the primal logic of the condition of the production of global financial capitalism implies that what is produced is money. But as the crisis implies, this bubble will explode sooner or later as well. Last, but not least, the recent capitalist economic crisis which can be described as a process of stagflation, i.e. of differential inflation amid stagnation, is not only a sign, but also the realization of new processes of the capitalization of financial capital in connection with new modes of capital accumulation. Individually and institutionally, we can all detect the rising prices of different goods and services, which are processes of differential inflation in the middle of what experts in numerous articles in newspapers depict as the present capitalist stagnation for us laics in the field of economics (after more than a decade of prosperity and deflation!). The consequences of the crisis are still not predictable and will escalate further.

But what is important for us now is the subsequent or parallel process that is equivalent to Hudson's “imperialism of endless circulation” and which I can simply describe, making reference to Jelica Šumič-Riha's article “Prisoners of the Inexistent Other,” by stating that what is impossible in the world of capitalism today is impossibility as such. They work together: on one side the imperialism of circulation, and on the other, the impossibility of something being impossible. The imperialism of circulation, in its frenetic processes, prevents the subversion, the attack of any master entity. Everything circulates, is exchanged, clearly dispossessed of any difference, and no obstacles are to be seen in the network that structures reality for us. Those once perceived as enemies, from individuals to institutions, behave as if we were all in the same “merde” (to use this juicy French word for “shit”), as if we were all together, and if we all had to find the remedy to our problems and needs, obstacles, etc. (while those who generate expropriation and dispossession have to be forgotten immediately). It is almost impossible to say that something is impossible today.

Or to put this differently, in the past a subversive act was possible as it was subversion against the clear foreclosure and division in society. We had the borders. The big Other, the virtual symbolic order, the network that structures/d reality for us, was the thing giving “consistency”, so to speak. It was almost a guarantee of an intervention against it. The world today presents itself in an endless circulation (imperialism is an excellent concept capturing this drive) that is seen as “friendly” and endless exchange, and therefore in order to solve expropriation, enslavement, and neocolonial interventions by capital, only one measure is proposed, and this is called *coordination*. I recently found a completely serious political proposal that stated that the only thing to be done to solve our problems is an effective “coordination.” My question is, can we really be dumb enough to stick to such theories? Of

course they all have an ace hidden in their pocket or up their sleeve in order for things to circulate smoothly. It is necessary to successfully coordinate the process of getting rid of a small number of those who still bother us with social antagonisms and class struggle. I am not saying, though, that there is not a need, as in the case of accumulation, for a new conceptualization and historization of the class struggle!

Perhaps on my way to Damascus with this text, I can give an answer to what was seen as a purely rhetorical question when formulated by Jon McKenzie in 2001. His book is entitled *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance*, where this *else* floated in the air, unanswered. Or else what? I will propose the following answer or command: Circulate (but just without differences)! So we have to draw a line in space, a border. To show a border within the inconsistency of the big Other, means to act. To act politically. The act changes the very coordinates of this impossibility. It is only through an act that I effectively assume the big Other's nonexistence. This implies not only that s/he has to take the politics of representation into her/his hands, and set the border within the cynical situation that the only thing which is impossible is impossibility as such, but, as is argued by Šumič-Riha, it is necessary to build the framework as well, the foreclosure that would set the new parameters, giving the new coordinates to the political act. (Something we did when we started to publish Reartikulacija!) Within such a context, I can claim that what is necessary, in fact, is a precise, new conceptual and paradigmatic political act, which implies the setting of a new framework.

The political act is a division, the setting of a border within a space. It reconfigures, closes, or stops, if you will, the imperialism of the circulation without differences by establishing new parameters within the space. It establishes a new structure to which to relate (de-coloniality of knowledge, de-coloniality of power, lesbian and queer political plat-

NOVI FAŠIZMI/ NEW FASCISMS

Šefik Šeki Tatlić STROJ ZA PROIZVODNJO RESNICE: ODNOS MED ŽIVLJENJEM IN SUVERENO OBLASTJO

V dolgo pričakovanem filmu *Seks v mestu* ena od glavnih protagonistk, Carrie Bradshaw (Sarah Jessica Parker), najame osebno pomočnico, mlado žensko nižjega razreda, ki se je z juga ZDA preselila v New York, da bi našla delo in, seveda, »srečo«. Kot osebna pomočnica mora imeti tudi »obvezne« blagovne znamke, ki si jih sicer ne more privoščiti, a je v to prisiljena, čeprav le za kratek čas. Kaj drugega je obvezna znamka, če ne denarnica Louis Vuitton? Sreče torej ne prinaša (kot propagira ta popularna TV-serija/film/znamka) zaposlitev, kariera ali kaj podobnega kakor tudi ne znamka kot taka, pač pa sam stil življenja. Ta primer ne ponazarja le, kako blagovni fetišizem vpliva na kulturni sistem kapitalistične demokracije, temveč tudi, da je življenje danes namenjeno le še temu, da nam racionalizira strukture moči. Danes fetiš ni le blagovna znamka, pač pa sama oblika življenja. Kako naj torej bolje uzremo odnos med oblastjo in življenjem, če ne tako, da analiziramo tisto življenje, ki ni ne življenje ne oblast, pač pa nekaj vmes – tujec. Figura tujca (pri tem mislim na ilegalno osebo ali pribežnika, na nekaj, kar je postavljeno zunaj zakona, in ne na »izgubljenca«, recimo, v velikem mestu) presega le gola administrativna vprašanja, ki urejajo status tuje delovne sile, pa naj gre za tiste, ki povzročajo nemire na obrobju francoskih mest, ali za mehiške imigrante pred vojaškimi blokadami na južni meji ZDA. Tujec kot »fobogenik« objekt (ki v drugem vzbuja strah) je postal temelj kulturnega sistema kapitalistične demokracije, ki racionalizira politično neprimerno delovanje teh istih demokracij. Joel Kovel v svojem opisu odnosa med gospodarskimi oblikami in vzorci rasizma razkriva tri tipe rasizma, ki so se pojavili skozi zgodovino: prevladujoči tip, kjer se »barbarstvo« temnopoltih, ki ogrožajo čistost bele rase, nadzoruje prek dominacije in nasilja; repulzivni tip, kjer se »kužna odvrtnost« temnopoltega »rešuje« z izogibanjem; in metaraszizem (ki predstavlja današnje kapitalistične demokracije), kjer se drugačnost zanika prek popolnega zanikanja obstoja rasizma.¹ V vseh teh primerih – poudarja Ivan Ward – »fantóm Črnc« ogroža *status quo* kulturne zaslepljenosti in struktur moči.² »Fantóm Črnc« kot tujec je skrajni fobogeni objekt. V tem prispevku obravnavam prav odnos tega fantóma do *statusa quo* kapitalistične strukture moči.

Suverenost in življenje

Tujec v svojem negotovem položaju – saj ni ne povsem vključen v zakon, ne povsem izključen iz njega – razkriva prav suverenost današnje strukture moči, ki ni »vrhovna oblast nad politiko«,³ pač pa suverena oblast, ki organizira družbeni kontekst, v katerem bi morali posamezniki hrepeneti po nečem drugem, ki naj bo nadomestilo za neudeležnost v političnih procesih ali nadomestilo za popolno odsotnost političnega procesa.

Za kakšno obliko suverenosti pravzaprav gre? Prvič, gre za »imperialno suverenost«, ki ni suverenost neke nacionalne države, ampak globalna oblika suverenosti, ki vključuje prevladujoče nacionalne države in nadsionalne institucije, glavne kapitalistične organizacije in druge organe oblasti.⁴ Drugič, gre za suverenost, ki je manj definirana in bolj protislovna in o kateri govori tudi Giorgio Agamben. Po njegovem je paradoks suverenosti v tem, da »je suverenost hkrati znotraj in zunaj pravnega reda«. ⁵ Če Agambena še nadalje parafraziramo, lahko rečemo, da se suverenost prav s tem, ko ima zakonska pooblastila za razveljavitev zakona, lahko vzpostavi na osnovi tega istega zakona zunaj njega. Struktura tega paradoksa,

form, etc). An act is always performed through enunciation and it not only sets the parameters that initiate the act itself, but the parameters in relation to the Other to whom it is addressed, as well. What is important is the establishment of the structure to which this line(s) of division will relate. In the case of Germany and in the case of the story of a non-existent past division in Europe, it is necessary to state that the biggest profit from the disappearance of borders in Europe is to be gained by financial capital. The point is that in order to push such logic, it was necessary to imply a ferocious process of equalization and leveling of all of the strata of the different European and World societies, from the social to the educational and cultural. It was necessary to install one of the most ferocious politics in the whole space as well – the politics of dispossession – or to put it differently, local specificities were changed into ethnic/ethnographical ones, and one general path of history and genealogy from art to culture, science, and the social, was established as the only valid one: the First Capitalist World history that completely (de)regulates the history, present, and the future of the world.

Therefore, the question is always to which histories we attach our representational politics and how we resituate our position ourselves within a certain social, economic, and political territory.

The declaration of existence is the first step, as argued by Šumič-Riha, but what follows afterwards is the rigorous practices of consequences, the logics of consequences (of the declaration), where the impossibility of the foreclosure of the capitalist discourse turns into the condition of a new possibility. Therefore, in rearticulating a certain history of global capitalism and borders, I can state that the so-called 1990s multicultural ideology of global neoliberal capitalism was the declaration of the existence of other worlds, but only and solely for the installment of a second step, which is the iron logic of the imperialism of circula-

ki predstavlja suverenost kot mejo (v smislu, da suverenost riše nek začetek in nek konec), je – kot trdi Agamben – struktura izjeme. Ko se Agamben nanaša na Schmitta in ga parafrazira, zapiše, da suverenost ustvarja in zagotavlja situacijo v njeni totalnosti in ima pri tem izključno pravico do zadnje odločitve; v tem je bistvo državne suverenosti, ki ni izključna pravica do represije ali vladanja, pač pa izključna pravica do odločitve.⁶ Z drugimi besedami, suverenost odloča o tem, ali je neka situacija »normalna« (in pri tem upošteva pravni red), ali je treba razglasiti izredno stanje (in pravni red opustiti). Suverenost kapitalistične države ni odvisna od moči, ki jo ima nekdo nad določenim političnim prostorom, pač pa od vzdrževanja določene resnice o tem političnem prostoru. Ta resnica pravi, da prava suverenost ni državna suverenost, pač pa le suverenost kapitala (ki vzpostavlja trajno izredno stanje), katerega edina politika je politika trga, ki podpira življenje kot tržno blago. Ko kapital znotraj neke nacionalne države doseže svojo akumulacijo, se nenehno reproducira naprej in v procesu odkritja novih oblik proizvodnje, distribucije in menjave v celoti spreminja pojem ozemlja. Kot ugotavlja filozofinja Marina Gržinič, deterritorializacija ni proces brisanja ozemelj, pač pa proces reteritorializacije, to je ponovne določitve nekega ozemlja. Skratka, gre za nenehno kanibalizacijo starih in nenehno ustvarjanje novih ozemelj.

Tako ozemlje je tudi življenje samo. Giorgio Agamben razlikuje med dvema oblikama življenja: golim življenjem in življenjem s stilom. Golo življenje (grško *zoe*) je življenje homo sacerja, *svetega človeka*, figure, ki se po Agambenu lahko ubije, a se ne sme žrtvovati. To je zgolj in samo biološko življenje in nič drugega (ki ga živijo migranti, delavci tretjega sveta, oropani vsakršnega udobja). Druga oblika življenja je *bios* – življenje s stilom, ki je lastno državljanom; to je oblika življenja, ki se (za suverenost) lahko žrtvuje. Čeprav se zdi, da bi tujec lahko poosebljal golo življenje in da bios lahko zatira golo življenje, je naša osnovna hipoteza ta, da je figura tujca situirana neke vmes med tema dvema oblikama življenja. Tujec (ali alien, pojem, ki se je v slovenščini že tako lepo prijel; op. urednikov) je poslednji fobogeni objekt, prazna pozicija, v kateri se znajdejo vse zgrešene racionalizacije izrednega stanja državnih struktur moči. Iz tega sledi, da tujec vznikne neke na poti golega življenja k strukturi moči ali na poti, po kateri se bios odmika racionalizaciji moči, ki jo izvajajo oblastniške strukture.

Odnos med življenjem in oblastjo

Kot trdi Agamben, je golo življenje oblika življenja, ki ni vključena v človeško življenje in prav tako ne v božjo zakonodajo.⁷ Sfera nenehne suverene oblasti omogoča, da se življenje ubije, ne da bi bil pri tem storjen umor ali žrtvovanje. In prav v to sfero je ujeta sveto življenje, tisto, ki se sme ubiti, a ne žrtvovati. V tem smislu – trdi Agamben – je golo življenje pglavitni učinek suverene oblasti. Ko govorijo o razmerah v Iraku, zahodnim mainstreamovskim medijem in/ali oblikovalcem politike spodleti pri poročanju o tisočih mrtvih Iračanih,⁸ pri čemer poudarjajo, da je bistveno manj padlih ameriških vojakov (vojakov in ne članov nižjega sloja v ZDA) razlog za panično ocenjevanje učinkovitosti ameriške zunanje politike. Življenje Iračanov je golo življenje, medtem ko je življenje ameriškega vojaka bios. Smrt Iračana je humanitarni problem, medtem ko je smrt ameriškega vojaka politično dejstvo. Suverenost kapitalistične države ne vlada posameznim družbenim organizacijam, ki iščejo rešitve za težave neke države, pač pa vlada življenju; proizvaja golo življenje in hkrati podpira bios. Proizvajanje golega življenja, paradoksalno, pomeni tudi njegovo uničenje, saj je »pravica« suverenega, da odloča o prenehanju življenja ali da organizira odnose nekega življenja in določi njegov pomen. A golo življenje se ne prepozna v vlogi žrtve, pač pa v sebi vidi možnost, da postane bios in kot tako del »zgodbe o uspehu«. Golo življenje izrednega stanja ne razume kot anomalijo, ampak kot resnico kapitala, ki se ji ne upira, saj želi postati del nje: postati želi tisti, ki zatira. Golo življenje se torej ne upira diskriminatorni hierarhiji izrednega stanja (ki je resnica kapitala), pač pa se upira drugim, ki so v poziciji golega življenja in ki naj bi domnevno preprečevali njegovo emancipacijo v to hierarhijo.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ http://www.opinion.co.uk/Newsroom_details.aspx?NewsId=78

tion. In order to do this, an accelerated process of dispossession was put to work, which cleaned and evacuated each and every difference. These two stages are excellently captured in the field of contemporary art by a project I already mentioned several times and undertook an analysis of in the past. In the 1990s, Mladen Stilinović declared that "An artist who can not speak English is NO artist." This sentence, as an art work, depicted the initial multicultural logic of the neoliberal global capitalism of the 1990s excellently. It was an interest in a specificity that had to use the "common language" of translation regardless, and at that time it seemed that it did not matter how good it was. A decade afterwards, in 2007, I proposed a correction of this sentence as an art work: "An artist who can not speak English WELL is NO artist." This is the new process of dispossession and difference, and the process of emptying the world of any content and political action. It is a formalization and equalization of positions that allows easy circulation.

A political act is that which interrupts a situation where the only impossible thing in the world today is impossibility as such.

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Kot pojasnjuje Mona Chollet,⁹ je za marksistični model značilno, da mora delavec prestajati servilnost in ponižanje, ki mu ne dopušča, da bi svojo usodo primerjal z usodo bogataša in zahteval delež bogastva. V takem modelu se delavec poistoveti samo s svojimi sodelavci, zaposlenimi ali ne. Po mnenju Cholletove je genialnost politične pravice prav v preobratu te sheme, ki je bila značilna za preteklost. Danes se delavec poistoveti z bogatašem in se primerja s tistimi, ki uživajo enak položaj kot on. »Opazi« namreč, da priseljenci prejemajo socialno pomoč, medtem ko je on sam ne prejema, »opazi« tudi, da nezaposleni spijo dlje, medtem ko mora on sam na delo. Cholletova pravi, da so delavci odvrnjeni od legitimnega cilja, kar ustvarja začaran krog; slabši kot postajajo njihovi življenjski pogoji, bolj podpirajo politiko, ki te slabe pogoje ustvarja. To se dogaja golemu življenju; bolj kot trpi, bolj želi biti vključeno v delovni proces neoliberalnega kapitalizma in postati bios, življenje s stilom. Golo življenje se ne upira zatiralcu, temveč želi samo postati zatiralec. Kot trdita Hardt in Negri, »vsaka suverena oblast [...] nujno oblikuje politično telo, ki ima glavo, ki ukazuje, okončine, ki te ukaže izvršujejo, in telesa, ki združeno delujejo v podporo vladarju.«¹⁰ A kot se zdi, suverenost kapitala ne potrebuje *političnega* telesa (kot zahtevajo po možni drugačni organizaciji družbenega), pač pa le telo. Zato golo življenje ni edina oblika, ki jo proizvaja suverenost. Ta proizvaja tudi odnos med dvema oblikama življenja, v katerem bios želi ostati vključeno, golo življenje pa si prizadeva postati vključeno. Ta obsceni odnos tvori situacijo, v kateri politiko počasi ubija kapitalizem, kjer mučeniško telo politike ni skrito, ampak se predstavlja kot kultura. Na tej točki glavna skrb sužnja (bios) in tistega, ki to želi postati (golo življenje), postane nič drugega kot življenjski stil, ki je le evfemizem za to ravnodušnost ali pa pravica, da tudi sama postaneta zatiralca. Tako kot so bili nekoč državniški rituali socialističnih in totalitarističnih ureditev (množične parade itd.) uporabljeni, da so se suvereni oddolžili za svoje »grehe«, podobno tudi kapitalistične demokracije uporabljajo druge narode in kulture za iste namene, za politiko oddolžitve narodu za lastne grehe, čeprav to komajda opazimo.

Naj navedem primer: pred kratkim so v časopisu *The New York Times* poročali,¹¹ da je na Coney Islandu (v New Yorku) postavljena umetniška instalacija v stilu »peep show«, kjer dva animatronika (demonstracijski figuri) simulirata dušenje z vodo.¹² Gre za predstavitev metode mučenja, ki jo ameriški zasliševalci uporabljajo pri zaslišanju domnevnih osumljencev terorizma, kar jasno kaže, da nekaj tako smrtno resnega, kot je mučenje, ne simbolizira le zapuščine neokonzervativnega vladanja Busha mlajšega, pač pa tudi objestnost umetnika, ki to mučenje predstavi kot javno umetniško instalacijo. *The New York Times* je ta članek objavil v rubriki Umetnost in dizajn. Iz tega gre sklepati, da je kultura postala drugo ime za politično ravnodušnost, ki ni nič drugega kot neoliberalizem (kot pglavitna oblika reprezentacije kapitalistične države) ali, z drugimi besedami, življenjski stil namesto boja za bolj smiselno življenje oziroma za življenje z nekim drugim smotrom.

Stroj, ki proizvaja resnico

Kot rečeno, alien ni ne golo življenje ne bios, pač pa nekaj vmes. A kakšen pravzaprav je ta *vmes*? Ko so Francozi afriško-arabskega porekla sprožili nemire na obrobju Pariza (in drugih francoskih mest), so bili nemudoma predstavljeni kot nepomembni, leni, nezaposleni ljudje, ki med preprodajanjem drog tu pa tam zažgejo še kakšen avtomobil. Tako diskreditiranje upornikov s strani organov oblasti in vodilnih medijev nima za cilj le namensko uničiti njihov politični potencial, ampak je po mojem mnenju to tudi strategija, kako še naprej golo življenje ohraniti kot golo življenje. Masa izgrednikov najbrž ni želela nič drugega kot zaposlitev, a kljub temu je bil učinek nemirov tako močan, da se je oblast zbala, da bi nemiri o predočeni neenakostih prerasli v nekaj veliko širšega, to je v nemire, ki pod vprašaj postavljajo rasne in razredne neenakosti. Politične

⁹ Cf. Mona Chollet, glej <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2008/04/CHOLLET/15818>

¹⁰ Cf. Michael Hardt / Antonio Negri, op.cit.

¹¹ http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/06/arts/design/06wate.html?_r=3&oref=slogin

¹² http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/06/arts/design/06wate.html?_r=3&oref=slogin

¹³ Oblika mučenja, kjer se človeka postavi na hrbet z glavo nagnjeno nazaj in se ga poliva z vodo čez obraz in dihalne poti. Cf. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waterboarding>

posledice nemirov so bile učinkovito zanikane, saj so bili povzročitelji nemirov predstavljeni kot skupina huliganov, kot golo življenje. Kadar neka skupina protestira proti razredni neenakosti, srečanjem skupine G8 ali globalizaciji, je vedno označena kot skupina huliganov, kadar pa nasprotuje Hugu Chavezu, iranskim voditeljem ali kitajski nadvladi nad Tibetom, gre za politične proteste. To je strategija reprezentacije in represije, katere namen je preprečiti, da bi tujec postal politična figura. Pa ne zato, ker bi ti ljudje zahtevali integracijo v družbo, pač pa ker tujci kot politična figura lahko sprožijo radikalnejše spremembe v družbi nasploh. Trenutek, ko neko življenje (golo življenje ali bios) preneha biti to, kar je, in postane tujec, je tisti trenutek, ko ena od oblik življenja (ali obe) začne oblikovati svojo politično zahtevo, ki presega liberalno kapitalistično dogmo o resnici kapitala. Ko so bili nemiri na obrobju Pariza označeni za obliko politične zahteve (oziroma so bili tako dojeti), ki naglašuje vprašanje segregacije (torej vprašanje razrednih razlik), je golo življenje postalo tujec; s tem je bila zahtevi protestnikov zanikana politična oblika. Ko so se nemiri razširili izven obrobja mest ter s tem sprožili proces razredne neenakosti in ko je golo življenje začelo zavračati dejstvo, da je golo življenje, a hkrati ni želelo postati bios, sta se razkrili dve obliki vznika tujca kot politične figure. To je trenutek, ko golo življenje ne želi biti sveto in ni pripravljeno umreti, ne da bi bil kršitelj za to kaznovan, *obenem* pa tudi noče biti žrtvovano za suverenost kapitala. Tujec je figura, ki prakticira marksistični model, ki ga omenja Mona Chollet. Svoje sovraštvo usmerja v samo suverenost kapitalistične države, v njeno resnico. Ne identificira se le z drugimi tujci, pač pa tudi z možnostjo konflikta, z možnostjo razkritja ali izpostavljanja odvratnega demokratičnega/potrošniškega rituala kot totalitarnega rituala. Položaj tujca ni olepšan položaj, ne zaznamuje olepšane, romantične vloge, ki se lahko predstavi kot preprosta ali modna vloga. Še več, to ni *odtujena* subjektivnost. Odtujena subjektivnost (»izgubljena« ali »loser« neke subkulture ali slaven človek, ki je odvisen od drog in ki ga vsi z veseljem sovražijo) je danes mainstream, je »in«. Kot je zapisala Marina Gržinić, gre za način legitimizacije sebe prek »pravice do izbire« nekega koncepta. Ta obravnava izhaja iz analize filmov, kot sta *Izgubljeno s prevodom* ali *Strti cvetovi*. Bill Murray je v filmu *Izgubljeno s prevodom* Sofie Coppola izgubljen, izpraznjen, depresiven, »loserski« lik, v *Strtih cvetovih* Jima Jarmuscha pa glavni protagonist ne predstavlja tujca, pač pa takó »senzualizirano odtujeno pozicijo«, ki je le atraktivna, modna, odtujena subjektivnost.¹³

Kot trdita Hardt in Negri, je »multituda notranje drugačen, mnogovrsten družbeni subjekt, katerega ustanovitev in delovanje ne temeljita na identiteti ali poistovetenju oz. enotnosti (še manj na ravnodušnosti), pač pa na tistem, kar ima skupnega z drugimik.«¹⁴ V smislu te definicije je prav figura tujca tista figura, ki izpostavi, kaj imata »skupnega« bios in golo življenje. Izpostaviti, da je resnica kapitala nič drugega kot kapital sam, pomeni dvomiti v definicijo resnice, ki jo vsiljuje kapital(izem). Tujec torej ne predstavlja položaja posameznika (tisti »Jaz«) kakor tudi ne položaja tistega, ki zahteva »emancipacijo«: tujec predstavlja položaj, ki sebe dojema kot enega izmed mnogih, katerih »enakost« (skupni imenovalec) tiči v dejstvu, da so to vse subjektivitete, ki so proizvod sistema. Golo življenje oziroma odnos med različnimi oblikami življenja ni temeljni produkt stroja, ki ga poganja sistem, pač pa je to resnica, ki ga posamezno življenje sprejme za svoj sistem prepričan; to je velika življenjska oblika racionalizacije sistema in življenja kot takega. Ta sistem prepričan vsiljuje svojo lastno resnico kot edino mogočo. Ne gre za pojem, ki naj aktualizira vprašanje o univerzalni resnici, pač pa za pojem, ki nagovarja kapitalistični sistem, ki ima monopol nad resnico in kot tak o(ne)mogoča boj za drugačno resnico. Tako mizanscena življenja je glavni produkt kapitalističnega stroja.

Alien proti predatorju

Da bo zadeva še jasnejša, vzemimo za primer akcijski film *Alien proti predatorju* (Twentieth Century Fox, 2004). V njem so alieni (odvrtni, zlobne, povsem neznan, a vselej neukrotljive kreature, »Drugi« v pravem pomenu besede) bitja, ki jih ustvarja in vzgaja lovska civilizacija »predatorjev« le zato, da bi imela svoj »ničvreden« plen. Za aliene je smisel obstoja preživeti čim dlje, preden jih predatorji ubijejo. Ali lahko na tem mestu potegnemo vzporednico z Agambenom? Po njegovem mnenju je osnovna funkcija suverene oblasti proizvajanje golega življenja kot temeljnega političnega elementa in prag razločevanja med naravo in kulturo. V predmodernem času so bili naši »alieni« golo življenje, ki je trpelo pod težo kolonizacije, ki jo je izvajal (beli) prvi svet. Namen tega golega življenja je bil, da je kot suženj lahko služilo svojemu gospodarju, belemu kolonizatorju, torej »predatorju«. Takrat se golega življenja ni izkoriščalo le kot delovno silo, pač pa kot opravičilo za segregacijo, ki jo je izvajalo belo gospodstvo; suverenost, ki je imela »gospodstvo nad kulturo«, si je podelila tudi pravico do racionalizacije svojih imperialističnih ozemeljskih pridobitev in do zatiranja »čiste narave«, kakor so bili definirani barbari, sužnji, torej golo življenje. Po dobi kolonizacije se je namen golega življenja (kot posledica vsiljevanja resnice kapitala) prestavil iz dejstva »biti suženj« v željo »biti suženj«, kar odraža današnji položaj golega življenja, ki (večinoma) stremi po »uspešnosti« v prvem svetu, po življenju s stilom. Ne gre toliko za željo po dostojnem življenju kot za željo po življenju, ki pojmuje dostojno življenje kot nesmiselno potrošništvo. Če je temeljni politični odnos izključevanje (izredno stanje kot prostor brez razlik zunaj in znotraj, z izključevanjem in vključevanjem), potem lahko »golo življenje« razumemo kot življenje, ki »želi biti vključeno« v kapital, bios (kulturno življenje) pa kot življenje, ki si kljub groznji, da bo izključeno iz kapitalistične ureditve, želi »ostati vključeno«. Primer biosa je *Terezin* (nemško Theresienstadt), taborišče, kjer so Judje živel v »boljših« pogojih, zato da so jih nacisti lahko snemali v reklamne namene in jih pozneje ubili. Golo življenje in bios torej nista vključena v obliko kapitalistične demokracije, kjer je enakost med subjekti domnevno univerzalna, pač pa v nek obsceni, totalitarni ritual, kjer je enakost subjektov le enakost blaga na tržišču. Izredno stanje, ko se lahko sam kapitalistični sistem ukine, je kapitalistični poskus ustvariti samemu sebi nek ideološki pomen, čeprav takšen pomen ni nič manj banalen, kot je neomejena moč tržišča ali enakost subjektov, ki jo definira tržišče.

Torej, v zadnjih sekundah filma, potem ko alieni ubijejo poveljnika predatorjev in preostali predatorji njegovo telo odnesejo v vselj-

sko ladjo, vidimo, da se iz predatorjevega telesa prikaže na novo rojeni alien, ki predstavlja grožnjo vsem na ladji. Alien v filmu ne želi ostati na Zemlji (ki je bojno polje predatorjev in njihovo koncentracijsko taborišče). S tem zavrne pravila igre, saj sploh ne želi biti v taborišču. Namesto da bi si zagotovil emancipacijo znotraj resnice, ki jo proizvaja stroj, začne alien investirati v svoje različne sposobnosti in znanja, da bi se emancipiral prek odpora do kapitalizma, z razkritjem meja kapitalistične resnice, tako da predstavi njeno totalitaristično naravo.

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Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

Šefik Šeki Tatlić THE TRUTH MACHINE: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LIFE AND SOVEREIGN POWER

In the long awaited movie *Sex and the City*, one of the main protagonists, Carrie Bradshaw (Sarah Jessica Parker), hires a personal assistant; she is a young, lower class woman who came from the southern U.S. to New York in search of a job and, indubitably, "happiness." Being a personal assistant, she has to have the "necessary" commodities; she cannot afford them, but still she is forced to get them, though only for a short period of time. What is a necessary commodity other than a Louis Vuitton purse? Happiness is therefore not achieved (as this popular series/movie/brand promotes) by getting a job, a career or the like; not even by getting the commodity itself; but by getting a lifestyle. This example shows not just how commodity fetishism influences the cultural system of capitalist democracy, but how much life itself today plays the role of the rationalisation of power structures. Today it is not the commodity itself that is the fetish, but a form of life which is. What better way, then, to see the relationship between power and life than by taking a view on life that is neither life, nor power, but is something in between, an alien. The figure of an alien (illegal alien, excluded misfit) surpasses mere administrative questions of the regulation of foreign laborer status; it does not matter if we look at the suburban riots in Paris or even at the military blockade against Mexican immigrants on the southern U.S. border. An alien, as a "phobogenic" object (an object that creates fear in others), has become a sort of a foundation of the cultural system in capitalist democracy that rationalizes the political malfunction of these same democracies. When Joel Kovel describes the relation of the economic forms and patterns of racism, he finds three forms in historical phases of racism: dominant – in which the "savagery" of the black man that endangers the purity of a white woman is controlled by domination and violence; repulsive – in which the "contagious filth" of a black person is "approached" through avoidance; and a meta-racism (a designation of the present capitalist democracies) – in which a difference is being denied through a complete denial of the existence of racism.¹ In all of these cases, as Ivan Ward remarks, "the phantom Negro" endangers cultural illusion and structures of power status quo.² "The phantom Negro," as an alien, is the ultimate phobogenic object. The present text is precisely about the relation of this phantom to the status quo capitalist power structure.

Sovereignty and Life

The Alien, in its ambiguous position, by not being completely inside, and neither being completely outside the law, exposes the very sovereignty of today's power structure that is not the "supreme power over a body politic,"³ but is rather a sovereignty that organizes a social context in which individuals should crave for something else as compensation for the lack of participation in political processes, or for a lack of the political process at all.

Just what form of sovereignty are we talking about? First is the "imperial sovereignty", which is not a sovereignty of a certain nation-state, but a global form of sovereignty that includes dominant nation-states along with supranational institutions, major capitalist organizations and other powers.⁴ And second, this sovereignty is marked less by definition, and more by paradox, like the one Giorgio Agamben refers to. The paradox of sovereignty, according to him, means that the "Sovereign is at the same time outside and inside of the legal order."⁵ To paraphrase him further, I can state that the sovereign, by having a legal power to suspend the law, legally puts itself outside the law. The structure of this paradox that presents sovereignty as a border (in the sense of drawing a beginning and an end) is, as Agamben claims, a structure of exceptions. When Agamben quotes Schmitt, paraphrasing him, we see that "the Sovereign creates and guarantees the situation in its totality, the sovereign has the monopoly on that last decision; there lies an essence of state sovereignty, not as a monopoly on repression or rule, but as a monopoly of a decision."⁶ In other words, the sovereign decides whether some situation is "normal" (where legal order is applicable), or whether it is to proclaim a state of exception (stating that the legal order is not to apply). Therefore, sovereignty of a capitalist state does not depend on power over certain political space; it depends on maintenance of a certain truth about that political space. That truth says that the only sovereignty is not some state sovereignty, but the sovereignty of capital itself (as an ongoing state of exception), and that the only politics it has is the politics of the market that supports life as commodity. Hence, once capital reached its initial accumulation within the nation state, it started to reproduce constantly, and in the process of discovering new forms of production, distribution and exchange, it changed the very notion of territory. As philosopher Marina Gržinić observed, de-territorialisation is not the process of erasing ter-

1 Cf. Ivan Ward, *Phobia*, Totem Books, Cambridge 2001. Joel Kovel's quotation is from this book.

2 *Ibid.*

3 As defined in the Merriam-Webster online dictionary (<http://www.merriam-webster.com>)

4 Cf. Michael Hardt / Antonio Negri, *Multitude, War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*, Hamish Hamilton/Penguin Books, London 2005.

5 Cf. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer. Il potere sovrano e la nuda vita*, Giulio Einaudi, Torino 1995.

6 *Ibid.*

ritories, but of re-territorialisation – the constant cannibalisation of old territories and the constant reinvention of new ones.

One such territory is life itself. Giorgio Agamben differentiates bare life: life for the sake of life only; Greek *zoe*; pure nature. This is the life of Homo Sacer, Holy man, a figure that, according to Agamben, can be killed but can not be sacrificed, a life that does not have anything more than its biological life (migrants stripped of any commodity, third world laborers, etc.). The other form of life is *bios*: life with style, of a citizen; the form of life that can be sacrificed (to the sovereign). Although it could seem that an alien might resemble bare life and although bios might be seen as an oppressor of bare life, our basic hypothesis here is that the figure of an alien is situated between these two forms of life. The alien is the ultimate phobogenic object, a blank position that attracts all residues of failed rationalizations of state-of-exception power structures. What this means is that an alien emerges somewhere in the bare life's path toward the power structure, or in the path of bios moving away from the rationalization of power structures.

Relationship of Life and Power

As Agamben says, bare life is a life form that is excluded from human jurisdiction and that has not been included in God's jurisdiction.⁷ The continuous sovereign sphere is one in which one can kill while committing neither murder nor sacrifice. And holy life, the one that can be killed but not sacrificed, is a life caught in this sphere. As such, and produced as such, according to Agamben, bare life in that sense is a primal effect of sovereignty. Western mainstream media reports and/or the policy makers, when reporting on the situation in Iraq, fail to acknowledge the thousands of dead Iraqis⁸ but rather acknowledge that a far less number of dead American soldiers (as soldiers, not as members of low class community in the U.S.) are, on the other side, a cause for panic in assessments of the effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy. Iraqi life is bare life, while a U.S. soldier's life is bios. The death of an Iraqi is a humanitarian problem, while the death of a U.S. soldier is a political fact. Hence, the sovereignty of the capitalist state, through the lack of ruling over certain social organizations that seek a solution for its problems, rules over life, produces bare life and sustains bios. Production of bare life is paradoxically also a practice of killing it, as a practice of a sovereign's "right" to rule over the possibility to cease life, or to organize all of life's relationships and meaning. But bare life is not one that would perceive itself as a victim: it has a tendency to perceive itself as potential bios, potential "success story". Bare life does see that the state of exception is not the anomaly, but the truth of capital, but it does not react against it, as it wants to become a part of it, to become the one who oppresses. Bare life, therefore, does not react towards the discriminatory hierarchy of state exception (truth of capital), but it tends to react against some other bare life, that allegedly stops it in its way of emancipation to the same hierarchy.

As Mona Chollet explains, in a Marxist model, a worker is called upon to resist a servile and humiliating position that does not allow him/her to compare his/her destiny to the destiny of a wealthy man and demand a share of the wealth.⁹ In this model, the worker identifies him/herself only to his/her fellow workers, employed and unemployed. According to Chollet, the genius of the political right is exactly in the twisting of this scheme, which has been effective in the past. Today a worker identifies him/her self with a wealthy man and compares himself to those who share his/her situation. Therefore, s/he "sees" that immigrants get social help and he or she doesn't; s/he "sees" that the unemployed sleep longer, while s/he has to go to work. Chollet says that workers are therefore diverted from the legitimate target, and that this then creates the vicious circle: the more his/her life conditions are deteriorating, the more likely s/he is to vote for the politics that deteriorates them. This is what happens to bare life: the more it suffers, the more it wants to become integrated into the work processes of neo-liberal capitalism; the more it wants to become bios, life with style. It has a tendency not to resist the oppression, but to become an oppressor. As Hardt and Negri say, "Every sovereign power (...) necessarily forms a political body of which there is a head that commands, limbs that obey, and organs that function together to support the ruler."¹⁰ But it seems that the sovereignty of capital does not even need a political body (as a demand for a potential of a different organization of the social); it just needs a body. Thus, bare life is not the only form produced by the sovereign, but the sovereign produces the relationship between two forms of life, in which one, bios, wants to stay included, while the other, bare life, struggles to be included. This obscene relationship marks the situation in which politics are being slowly killed by capitalism, where the tortured body of politics is not hidden, but presented as culture. And here, the main preoccupation of a slave (bios) and of the wannabe slave (bare life) becomes nothing but a lifestyle as an euphemism for a right to be indifferent, or for a right to become an oppressor. The same way the state socialist totalitarian rituals (mass parades, etc.) were used for compensation for other "sins" of their sovereigns, similarly capitalist democracies use entire cultures for the same compensation policy, for the same scope... but it can barely be seen as such.

As an example, the *New York Times* recently reported¹¹ that there is a peep-show style artistic installation on Coney Island (NY), where two animatronics (demonstration figures) are simulating the act of waterboarding.¹² This presentation of a method used by U.S. interrogators against alleged terror suspects clearly shows that something as deadly serious as torture not only symbolizes the legacy of Bush Jr.'s neo-conservative rule, but also the frivolity of its potential installation as public art/entertainment. Incidentally, the *New York Times* published this article in the Art & Design section of the paper. Therefore, culture has become the other name for political indifference that is nothing else but neo-liberalism (as a dominant form of representation of capitalist state), or in other words, lifestyle instead of a struggle for a more meaningful, or for some other meaning of life.

A Machine that Produces Truth

Like we said, alien is neither bare life, nor bios, but is in-between. How does this in-between look like? When the French of African/Arab heri-

7 *Ibid.*

8 http://www.opinion.co.uk/Newsroom_details.aspx?NewsId=78

9 Cf. Mona Chollet, <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2008/04/CHOLLET/15818>

10 Cf. Michael Hardt / Antonio Negri, op. cit.

11 http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/06/arts/design/06wate.html?_r=3&oref=slogin&oref=slogin

12 A form of torture that consists of immobilising a person on his back with the head inclined downward and pouring water over the face and into the breathing passages.

tage started to riot in Parisian (and other French) suburbs, the rioters were immediately presented as insignificant, lazy, unemployed people, who during pauses between dealing drugs like to burn cars. This discrediting of the rioters by the authorities and the mainstream media, besides being an intentional destruction of the political potential of the protests was in my opinion a strategy to keep bare life as bare life. Although probably a mass of the rioters did not want anything more than a job, the effect of the riots was such that it was recognized by the authorities as potentially capable of igniting questions that address the issue of inequality in a far broader, racial and class context. The political repercussions of the riots were pretty effectively denied, as the rioters were presented as a bunch of hooligans, as bare life. When somebody protests against class inequality, against G8 meetings or against globalization, they are a bunch of hooligans, but when somebody protests against Hugo Chavez, against Iranian leadership or against Chinese rule over Tibet, then those are political protests. This is the representation and repression strategy whose aim is to stop the emergence of an alien as a political figure. Not because they demand integration into a society, but because aliens as political figures invoke the possibility of more radical changes to the society all together. A moment when a certain life (bare life or bios) ceases to be such a life, and becomes an alien, is exactly a moment where either of the two (or both) starts to shape a political demand that goes beyond liberal capitalist dogma of the truth of capital. At the moment Parisian suburban riots started to receive (or at least started to get perceived as) a form of political demand that would address segregation (i.e., an issue of class), bare life became an alien and the political form of its demand was denied to it. When the riots developed beyond the boundaries of the suburbs, and started to refer to a process of inequality as a class, and when bare life started to reject being bare life, but at the same time refused to become bios, these are two cases when the alien as political figure emerged. It is a moment when bare life refuses to be sacred, refuses to be available for murder without sanction, and refuses to be available for sacrifice to the sovereign of capital. The alien is the figure that practices the Marxist model mentioned by Mona Chollet. It focuses its hate toward the very nature of the sovereignty of the capitalist state, toward its truth. It identifies not only with other aliens, but also with the possibility of conflict, the possibility of unmasking or exposing the hideous democratic/consumerist ritual as a totalitarian ritual. The position of an alien is not an embellished position; it does not mark some decorated, romanticized role to be coveted; above all, it is not an alienated subjectivity. An alienated subjectivity (the misfit member of a subculture, or some celebrity with a drug addiction everybody loves to hate) is mainstream today; as elaborated by Marina

DEKOLONIALNOST/ DE-COLONIALITY

Marina Gržinić

RAZVEZA EPISTEMOLOGIJE OD KAPITALA IN PLURIVERZALNOST – POGOVOR Z WALTERJEM MIGNOLOM, 2. del

Walter D. Mignolo, rojen v Argentini, 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: *Poudarili ste, da je kolonialna epistemologija univerzalistični projekt, ki ponavlja in utrjuje zahodno evropocentrično kolonialno logiko. Namesto univerzalnosti predlagate pluriverzalnost. To se lahko razume kot odpiranje prostora, znotraj katerega vas lahko kritizirajo, saj se zadeve lahko razumejo, kot da taka pluripozicija vodi v pluralno lokalizacijo in preširoko fragmentarnost bojov, medtem ko kapital nadaljuje s svojim univerzalnim razlaščenjem.*

Walter Mignolo: Moj poudarek ni na tem, da je kolonialna epistemologija univerzalistični projekt, pač pa ravno obratno – dekolonialna epistemologija vodi v pluriverzalnost kot univerzalistični projekt; to pa je nekaj povsem drugega. »Kolonialna epistemologija« je drug izraz za kolonialno plat imperialne epistemologije. Povedano drugače, kolonialna epistemologija je prostor kolonialnosti v enačbi, ki jo tvorita modernost in kolonialnost. Temu navkljub je vaša zadnja opazka povsem na mestu. Kapital nadaljuje »univerzalno razlaščenje« z objavljanjem Žižkovih, Negrijevih, Harveyjevih knjig in knjig drugih avtorjev, ki napadajo kapitalizem, globalizacijo in podobne pojave. Pluriverzalnost se tako pridružuje množici nemočnih in nezadovoljnih, ki protestirajo in sanjarijo, »medtem ko kapital nadaljuje univerzalno razlaščenje«. Spomnimo se primera fundacije Billa in Melinde Gates ter razlastitve subjektivitet, ki jo povzroča kulturna industrija, in si oglejmo ta problem поблиže. V kakšno družbeno sfero se uvršča naše delo (vaše, moje, delo tistih, ki sem jih omenil v prejšnjih odgovorih, in tistih, ki ste jih omenili vi – Badiouja, Agambena itd.)? Ne vem, ali Berlusconi bere Agambena in ali Sarkozy bere Žižka. Morda bere Badiouja, ki je o njem pisal. Če vzamemo klasičen liberalni trikotnik – država, trg in civilna družba – in temu dodamo četrti člen, to je politično družbo (Partha Chatterjee), ki liberalcem ni ravno po volji, se naše delo pravzaprav uvršča v sfero civilne in politične družbe ali, še natančneje, v sfero izobraževanja (šole, univerze, kolidži, mediji). Naš vpliv (vaš, moj pa tudi vpliv drugih, ki so omenjeni v tem intervjuju) na državo in trg je nič. Za razliko od političnih znanstvenikov, ekonomistov, mainstreamovskih medijev in novinarjev je naša (z »naša« mišlim na prej omenjene) vplivnost znova omejena na civilno in politično družbo. Mi (ponovno vsi prej omenjeni) si prizadevamo razširiti politično družbo, saj so si aktivno civilno družbo večinoma prilastile nevladne organizacije. W. E. B. Dubois, Frantz Fanon, Gloria Anzaldúa in drugi so za mnoge od nas (prej omenjene), ki ne podpiramo obstoječega kanona zahodnega znanja, ustvarili izhodišče za nadaljnja razmišljanja. Povedano z drugimi besedami: Agnes Heller je v uvodni besedi svoje knjige *A Theory of Modernity/Teorija modernosti* zapisala, da Evropejci bivajo v hiši »biti«, medtem ko Američani (in s tem je mislila Anglaomericane) bivajo v hiši »demokracije«.

Gržinić, it is a way that legitimizes itself through a "right to choose" concept, which she elaborated in analyzing such films as *Lost in Translation* or *Broken Flowers*. Bill Murray as a lost, empty, depressed misfit character in Sofia Coppola's *Lost in Translation* or in Jim Jarmusch's *Broken Flowers*, presents not an alien but a "sensualised alienated position" to the point to become an attractive, stylish, alienated subjectivity.¹³

According to Hardt and Negri, "The multitude is an internally different, multiple social subject whose constitution and action is based not on identity or unity (or, much less, indifference), but on what it has in common."¹⁴ In the context of this definition, the figure of an alien turns out to be a figure that exposes what is "in common," what is the same for both bios and bare life. Exposing the truth of capital as nothing but capital itself is a disbelief in the definition of truth imposed by capital(ism). The alien, thus, is not an individual position (as "I"), and it is not a position that demands "emancipation": it perceives itself as one of many whose "sameness" (common denominator) lies in the fact that they are all subjectivities produced by the order. Therefore, bare life, or even the relationship between different forms of life, is not the primal product of the order's machine. Its primal product is the "truth" which the individual life tends to accept as its own system of belief; it is the form of life's grand rationalization of the order, and of itself. This system of belief imposes that its particular truth is the only one possible. This is not a notion that would actualize a question about universal truth, but addresses the capitalist order that monopolizes truth as such, with the imposition of the (im)possibility of struggle for some other truth. This mise-en-scène of life is the capitalist machine's main product.

Alien vs. Predator

In order to clarify this even further, let us refer to the action movie *Alien vs. Predator* (Twentieth Century Fox, 2004). In this movie, Aliens (disgusting, reptilian, completely unknown but resilient creatures – pure other) are beings that are created and nurtured as such by the hunter civilization of "Predators" for the sole purpose of being a "worthy" prey for them. The meaning of existence for Aliens is to resist as much as possible before the Predator hunters kill them. Can we draw a parallel here with Agamben? He says that the basic operation of sovereign power is a production of bare life as a source political element and the threshold of articulation between nature and culture. In pre-modern times, our "aliens" were the bare life that suffered under colonization

¹³ Cf. Marina Gržinić, *Re-Politicizing art, Theory, Representation and New Media Technology*, Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna, Schlebrügge, Editor, Vienna 2008.

¹⁴ Cf. Michael Hardt / Antonio Negri, op. cit.

Ko sem to prebral, se mi je zastavilo vprašanje, kje bivam jaz. In kje bivajo številne manjšine v Združenih državah Amerike in evropski priseljenci? Kaj pa preostali del sveta? Manjšine v Združenih državah Amerike in v Evropi, priseljenci obeh držav (pa tudi Kitajske in Indije) in mnogi drugi z vsega sveta bivajo v hiši »kolonialnosti«. Naša naloga (tokrat se »naša« nanaša na kolektiv modernost/kolonialnost) je potrditi obstoj hiše kolonialnosti in si od tod s silo izboriti svoj prostor v pogovoru s tistimi, ki domujejo v ograjenih hišah »biti« in »demokracije«.

Morda se motim in so pluriverzalni pogovori nepomembni in nemočni nasproti pogubni moči kapitala. Morda bi si bilo treba umisliti novo obliko mednarodne proletarske revolucije ali globalne multitudine; morda bi globalni pohod kapitalizma lahko zaustavili, če bi napisali več knjig o Leninu, Saintu Paulu in Spinozi. A četudi zaustavimo kapitalizem, kaj sledi? Kakšen svet bi (mi vsi, ki se ukvarjamo s tem vprašanjem) sploh radi zgradili? Pluriverzalnost kot univerzalni projekt je oporišče nekapitalističnemu in totalitarnemu boju, da bi vsilili eno obliko življenja in gospodstva. Glede »univerzalnosti dekolonialne epistemologije« naj povem, da naš kolektiv razmišlja prav v obratni smeri, saj si bolj kot na univerzalno dekolonialno epistemologijo prizadevamo pripeljati na globalno raven. Globalnost temelji na pluriverzalnosti in objektivnosti v oklepajih, univerzalnost pa na univerzalnosti objektivnosti brez oklepajev. Epistemologija, ki jo jaz (in drugi) zagovarjam, to je mejna epistemologija, ni kolonialna, temveč dekolonialna. Odmika se od »abstraktne univerzalnosti«, ki jo zagovarjajo krščanska teologija (pa tudi nekateri islamisti), liberalci (s civilizacijskim poslanstvom), neoliberalci (s tržno demokracijo) in marksisti (s proletarsko revolucijo in vzponom množstva). Mejna epistemologija podpira »pluriverzalnost kot univerzalni projekt«. Na tej točki najinega pogovora bi moralo biti jasno, kaj pravzaprav mislim s tem. A vseeno bom zadevo peljal nekoliko dlje.

Pluriverzalnost zahteva – kot rečeno – *stičišča*, stičišča med projekti (glejte naslednje vprašanje o tem, kdo so danes revolucionarni subjekti), ki se gibljejo, napredujejo in razvijajo v isti smeri (čeprav vsi izhajajo iz kolonialne matrice moči), a sledijo svojim singularnim potem, ki izhajajo iz *lokalnih zgodovin*. Posledično pluriverzalnost kot univerzalni projekt ni neka druga, nova, abstraktna univerzalnost, ki se nad prej omenjenimi abstraktnimi univerzalnostmi postavlja kot ultimativna resnica. *Stičišča* so potrebna, da se izognemo fragmentarnosti. Menim, da kapital ne razlašča na univerzalni, pač pa na globalni ravni. Kitajska nima dovolj obdelovalnih površin, da bi svojim prebivalcem zagotovila zadostno količino hrane. Zato »odkopljuje« zemljo v Afriki in Latinski Ameriki ter banke v Afriki. Fundaciji Billa Gatesa in Rockefellerja »pomagata« afriškim kmetovalcem pri »razvoju« kmetijstva (<http://waltermignolo.com/2007/11/01/bono-contra-china/>), medtem ko pisani paleti globalnih »levičarjev« (znova neki »mi«) ne preostane drugega, kot da jima sledi in ugiba, kako se je tokrat preoblikovala kolonialna matrica moči. Institucije, ki danes nadzirajo znanje, oblast in ekonomijo, svojo tehnologijo nadzorovanja nenehoma posodablajo. Davos in G8 sta dva taka primera. Svetovni družbeni forum, Družbeni forum Severne in Južne Amerike, Kontinentalni vrh staroselcev in organizacij (http://www.cumbrecontinentalindigena.org/index_guate_en.php), Tihomorska federacija združenja ribičev, Mujeres Creando (v Boliviji, <http://www.mujerescreando.org/>), mednarodno gibanje kmetov La Via Campesina in Food Sovereignty so zvedli z drugačnim modusom operandi, z razširjanjem voiztly po svetu,

from the (White) First world, and whose purpose was solely to be at service through slavery to their masters, the white colonizers, i.e., the "predators." Then, not only was bare life used as a work force, but also as a justification for the segregation practiced by the white sovereignty; the same sovereignty as a "domination of culture" also relegated to itself the right to rationalize its imperialistic territorial gains by oppressing the "pure nature," as the savages, the slaves, i.e. bare life, were defined. But after the era of colonization, the purpose of bare life (as a result of the imposition of the truth of capital) shifted from "being a slave" to "wanting to be a slave"; which reflects today's bare life position that (mostly) tends to "succeed" in the First World, to become a lifestyle. It is not about achieving a decent life, but about embracing the perverted notion of a decent life as mindless consumerism. If the prime political relationship is an exclusion (a state of exception as an area of non-differentiation between the outer and inner, exclusion and inclusion), then "bare life" could be seen as life that "wants to be included" into capital, while bios (life of culture) is a life that, under a threat of exclusion from the capitalist order, wants to "stay included". The paradigm of bios is Terezin (German: Theresienstadt) a camp where Jews lived in "better" conditions, where the Nazis could film them for propaganda purposes, to kill them later. Bare life and bios are therefore inscribed not in a form of capitalist democracy, where equality among human subjectivities is allegedly universal, but into an obscene, banal totalitarian ritual where equality means only that subjectivities are equal as commodities on the market. The state of exception, where capitalism can even suspend itself, is therefore a capitalist attempt to give itself some (ideological) meaning, though such meaning is not less banal than the unlimited power of the market, or the human equality that is defined by the market.

Hence, as the movie unfolds, after the Predator commander is killed, other predators take his body into a space ship... but in the final seconds of the movie, out of his body a newborn alien emerges, as a threat to everyone on the ship. Here, the alien refuses to stay on Earth (the predators' battleground and concentration camp), and thus, it refuses to respect the rules of the game; it does not want to be in a camp at all. Instead of emancipating itself within the truth of the machine, the alien should start investing its own diverse skills and knowledge to emancipate itself through resistance against capitalism, by unmasking the border of capitalist truth, by showing its nature as totalitarian.

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da bi razmišljali, kako naprej in ne le proti. Medtem ko ropa željni s špekulacijami v prehrabni industriji proizvajajo ogromne vsote denarja, prej omenjeni fundaciji vse bolj pridobivata na pomenu. Naj še enkrat poudarim, da je dobiček na prvem mestu, šele nato pride na vrsto človek. Če morajo za to ljudje umirati, naj bo. »Mi« (korporacije in njihovi akterji) so tisti, ki akumulirajo denar. Argentina se je znašla v krizi, saj kmetovalci želijo na vsak način povečati dobiček samo s pridelavo soje in njenim izvažanjem, vlada pa skuša uvesti raznolikost kmetovanja tako, da večja davke in s tem kmete sili v diverzifikacijo. Raznovrstnost je sicer dobra za družbo nasploh, ne prinaša pa dobička, zato kmetovalci ne želijo izgubiti priložnosti za vstop na »vlak prehrabnih roparjev«. To je pač vrednota kapitalizma zahodne civilizacije; to je svet uspešnih zmagovalcev, ki kopičijo bogastvo *na račun človeških življenj*.

Vse to so znaki pluriverzalnega globalnega gibanja, ki se poskuša razvezati od kolonialne matrice moči (ali kapitalizma, če uporabim vašo terminologijo), mejna epistemologija in pluriverzalnost pa sta nujno potrebna horizonta v tem prizadevanju. Razen če ne verjamemo, da morajo navkljub povedanemu vsa ta gibanja še naprej preučevati mislece, kot so Marx, Lenin, Spinoza, Žižek, Deleuze, Gramsci itd. Res je, da gre za velike mislece in aktiviste, a dekolonialni projekt je glasnik zelo različnih izkustev, želja, sanj, travm itd., ki niso del regionalne evropske zgodovine; in tokrat imam v mislih Heglovo delitev na južno, osrednjo in severovzhodno Evropo. Oglejmo si preprost primer (zagatno situacijo 9. maja 2008 v Santa Cruzu, kjer je bil z večino glasov, zakonito ali ne, podprt tamkajšnji referendum). Vlada Eva Moralesa (z vsemi pričakovanimi težavami) je odličen primer za ponazoritev možnih zapletov in težav, ki jih ta prinaša. Zahteva pokrajine Santa Cruz po priznanju avtonomije razkriva paradoksalno situacijo: za obvladovanje skupnosti, ki upravljajo z zemljo, naravnimi viri in kapitalom, je treba vzpostaviti državo, ki je močnejša, ki ima več sredstev, s katerimi bo prevzela nadzor nad zemljo, naravnimi viri in kapitalom. Kot se zdi, so državni zakoni pred zakonom kapitala nemočni. Gre za novo, paradoksalno situacijo. V obdobju hladne vojne je država nad delavce in univerzitetne študente, ki so podpirali zedinjenje, poslala vojsko. Danes pa bi bilo vojsko, če že, treba poslati nad lastnike zemlje v Boliviji in Argentini. Zdi se, da je kapitalizem (kot civilizacija, ki jo je zgradila kolonialna matrica moči) težko premagati, če igra poteka po pravilih (primer takega pravila je kolonialna matrica moči), določenih v prid kapitalizmu. Najhuje od vsega je paradigmatično izkustvo Bolivijcev in celotne svetovne populacije (torej nas vseh). V Boliviji namreč hkrati potekajo tri nasprotujoče si sile in projekti: projekt država MAS (Marcha hacia el socialismo), interesi kmetijsko-industrijske buržoazije jugovzhoda (t. i. Media Luna) in staroselska politična družba. Nobena od teh treh sil ni hegemonistična. Kakšni so možni razpleti? In kakšne so obvezne poti v prihodnost? Če bomo vztrajali pri hegemonističnem idealu, ki temelji na »univerzalnem, ki je abstraktno«, bo stanje postalo nevzdržno, saj se bo vsak od treh projektov poskušal uveljaviti kot najboljši model za vse. Alternativa temu sta interkulturalnost (kot ta pojem pojmujejo in uporabljajo staroselski intelektualci iz Ekvadorja in Bolivije, ki ni enak multikulturalizmu, pač pa je, vnovič, njegovo nasprotje) in mejna epistemologija. Kljub temu da bi sedanja država in staroselska politična družba lahko uvedli interkulturalnost in mejno epistemologijo, bi jo agrarno-industrijska buržoazija, to so bolivijski agenti globalnega kapitalizma, težko sprejela (ta izjava je vzeta iz pogovora s Javierjem Sanjinésom znotraj kolektiva modernost/kolonialnost). Interkulturalnost ne po-

meni multikulturalnosti; prva je prisotna v svetu, kjer vlada epistemologija v oklepajih, druga pa v svetu, kjer vlada epistemologija brez oklepajev.

Kolonialna matrica moči ali, splošneje rečeno, ekspanzija zahodne civilizacije, katere namen je nadzirati ekonomijo, oblast, družbeni spol in seksualnost, subjektivnost in znanje, se je širila postopoma vse od 16. stoletja dalje in se na svoji poti soočala z različnimi lokalnimi zgodovinami, jeziki, veroizpovedmi, ekonomijami, epistemologijami itd. Odgovori na zahodno ekspanzijo so bili in so še danes zelo različni. Ponekod imamo zagovornike zahodne civilizacije (v zadnjem času ukrojene po vzorcu ZDA), spet drugje imamo tiste, ki se postavljajo proti zahodu, tako da protestirajo ali z orožjem nasprotujejo nasilnim zahodnim vdorom (v vse sfere, ki sem jih pravkar omenil), in seveda dekolonialne odpore. To slednje mora nujno temeljiti na mejni epistemologiji. Upanje, da bosta zahodna politična ekonomija in politična teorija (pa naj bosta levo ali desno usmerjeni) pripomogli k oblikovanju prihodnosti, denimo Bolivije ali Iraka, je po mojem mnenju evropocentrična iluzija. Ko vlada Eva Moralesa in bolivijaska (pa tudi ekvadorska) intelektualna srenja govori o dekolonizaciji države in ekonomije ter o ponovni konsolidaciji države, že udejanjajo mejno epistemologijo. Z drugimi besedami, zahodna politična teorija in ekonomija obstajata tukaj vse od ustanovitve republike, a vendarle sta Bolivija in Ekvador kolonialni in ne moderni državi kot Francija ali Anglija. Drži, da ima liberalna demokracija v Boliviji svojo tradicijo, a prav tako tudi *ayllu* (staroselski način življenja, politična in ekonomska organizacija, znanje, ki izhaja iz jezikov Aymara in Quechua). Zato ni najmanjšega razloga, razen imperialističnega, da bi lahko trdili, da je liberalna demokracija edina možna pot za vse in da Indijanci nimajo pri tem kaj reči. S tem ne mislim, da se je treba vrniti v preteklost ali Bolivijo spremeniti v veliki *ayllu* (kar bi rada storila Felipe Quispe in El Mallku). Iz istega razloga zamisel o Boliviji kot veliki liberalni kolonialni državi ne vzdrži. Tudi liberalna bolivijaska država (še manj pa neoliberalna) ni več mogoča, saj tam živi približno 60 odstotkov staroselcev. Če analiziramo spor med Ronaldom Larsenom (ameriškim farmarjem v Boliviji) in vlado Eva Moralesa (<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/09/world/americas/09bolivia.html?pagewanted=all>), ugotovimo, da ne gre za spor med liberalci in marksisti, pač pa za spor med liberalno demokracijo in demokracijo *ayllu*. Zato se, ko gre za spor z moderno/kolonialno epistemologijo belcev (ki izhajajo iz Evrope), mejna miselnost (ali epistemologija) in interkulturalnost potegujeta za epistemsko vodenje staroselske epistemologije, v kateri se oblikujejo in udejanjajo ekonomija, politika, izobraževanje, subjektivnost itd.¹

Naj omenim še en primer, ki kaže na nujnost mejne epistemologije kot ustvarjalni odgovor na zahodno vsiljevanje in globalno reproduciranje kapitalizma. O Sun Yat-senu je bilo veliko napisanega. Slikali so ga kot prokomunista in prokapitalista, konservativca in tradicionalista, zagovornika jezuitstva itd. A nihče ni pomislil, da je Sun Yat-sen pravzaprav razmišljal v okvirih zahodnega liberalizma in marksizma na eni strani in kitajske večtisočletne zgodovine in civilizacije na drugi strani. Za časa Sun Yat-sena je bilo – kot v Boliviji danes – nemogoče in nepredstavljivo zahtevati, da bi se Kitajska vrnila nazaj v preteklost, v čas pred opijsko vojno. Na drugi strani pa je bilo prav tako nemogoče izpeljati liberalizem ali komunizem; torej izbrisati preteklost Kitajske in jo nadomestiti z zgodovino zahodnega sveta od Grčije do Rima pa vse tja do zahodnega kapitalističnega imperializma in obdobja po industrijski revoluciji. Zato je moral Sun Yat-sen teorijo misliti znotraj teh okvirjev. Tudi on si takrat še ni mogel predstavljati, da se je mogoče znebiti dualnosti med teorijo in dejanskostjo, zato je svojo filozofijo o treh načelih preživetja, kot viziji za Kitajsko, utemeljil na dejanskosti in ne na teoriji. Zaradi prostorske omejenosti bom na kratko nakazal »temeljno razliko med načelom preživetja in kapitalizmom«. Ker je načelo preživetja uporabljeno tudi v kontekstu ekonomskih načel kapitalistične ekonomije (npr. ustvarjanje dobička na račun življenja nasploh in ne le človeškega življenja), je načelo preživetja Sun Yat-Sena usmerjeno drugam. Kot Moralesovo razlikovanje med *buen vivir* in *vivir mejor que otros* (živeti dobro namesto živeti bolje od drugih) tudi Sun Yat-sen meni, da je kapitalizem civilizacija smrti: »Temeljna razlika med načelom preživetja in kapitalizmom je naslednja: edini cilj kapitalizma je ustvarjanje dobička, medtem ko je cilj načela preživetja ljudem zagotoviti osnovne življenjske potrebe.« Zgodovinsko gledano razvoj Kitajske zadnjih šestdeset let ni šel v to smer. Nauk zgodbe je očitno ta, da se je kapitalizma moč znebiti le prek razveze od zahodne epistemologije (v vsej svoji raznolikosti) in z zahtevo po uresničitvi »novega abstraktnega univerzalnega«, ki bo odpravilo vse napake in omejitve ter bo ustrezalo vsej, več kot šestmilijardni svetovni populaciji. In, kot se zdi, je nauk zgodbe tudi ta, da je želja po bogastvu, akumulaciji in nadzoru močnejša od želje po *vivir bien* in načela preživetja Sun Yat-sena. Preprosta ugotovitev dekolonialnih mislecev je, da s prebiranjem Lenina in spodbujanjem globalnega mnoštva, ne da bi dekolonizirali znanje in obstoj (npr. nepotrošniške subjektivtete), ne bomo prišli daleč.

M. G.: Še zlasti ostro napadate emancipacijo, za katero se zdi, da v evropskih levičarskih krogih ostaja zadnji fetiš, o katerem ne gre podvomiti. Namesto emancipacije govorite o osvoboditvi, pri čemer oba pojma vpletete v zgodovinski okvir in pokažete, da je emancipacija le proces znotraj kolonialnega mehanizma zahodne razumske episteme, medtem ko ima osvoboditev drugačno genealogijo boja. Lahko pojasnite temeljno razliko med emancipacijo in osvoboditvijo, kakor jo razumete vi?

W. M.: Razlike, ki jih želim izpostaviti, so sledeče: »emancipacija« pripada razsvetlenskemu jeziku. Kot rečeno, Kant enači razsvetljenstvo z emancipacijo. Kot taka je »emancipacija« postala ključni izraz za označevanje projektov in vizij posvetne evropske buržoazije, ki je nastala v času angleške velike revolucije leta 1688 in francoske revolucije leta 1789. Po isti logiki, a z drugačno vsebino, je »emancipacija« vstopila v jezik socializma. Marx je emancipacijo pojmoval kot pot k človečnosti: »Emancipacija vselej pomeni *obnovo* človeštva in medčloveških odnosov. Človeška emancipacija pa uresničena, ko bo slehernik sebe sprejel kot abstraktnega državljan; ko bo v vsakodnevnem življenju, delu in odnosih z drugimi postal človek

svoje vrste; in ko bo priznal in organiziral lastno moč (*forces propres*) kot družbeno moč, ki je ne bo več ločeval od svoje politične moči« (navede iz prispevka Wolf Dietricha Schmied-Kowarzika, <http://www.thur.de/philo/emanc.htm>). V tej genealogiji miselnosti je Ernesto Laclau napisal knjigo z naslovom *Emancipation(s)/Emancipacije* (1996). Dejstvo, da je Laclau podprl svojo tezo na podlagi argentinskega primera Juana Dominga Peróna, je samo po sebi dovolj zgovorno. Namesto emancipacije je »nacionalistična levica« v Argentini, ki je prišla na oblast po padcu Juana Dominga Peróna v petdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja in je bila kritični odgovor na oligarhijo in komunistično partijo, ki je pri padcu Peróna tudi sodelovala, uporabljala izraz »osvoboditev«. Ena od knjig J. J. Hernández Arreguija (vodilne osebnosti nacionalistične levice) nosi pomenljiv naslov *Nacionalismo y liberación/Nacionalizem in osvoboditev*. V Latinski Ameriki sta bili teologija in filozofija osvoboditve ustanovljeni v poznih šestdesetih in zgodnjih sedemdesetih letih. Nikomur se teologija emancipacije ali filozofija emancipacije nista zdela boljša izraza. Naziv *Ejércitos o Movimientos de Liberación Nacional* (Vojska/Gibanje za narodno osvoboditev) so izbrale najbolj organizirane skupine v boju za dekolonializacijo, ki je potekal v času hladne vojne. Niti eno gibanje ni bilo imenovano *Ejército o movimiento de emancipación nacional* (Vojska/Gibanje za narodno emancipacijo). Enako so se Zapatisti poimenovali *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (Zapatistična vojska za narodno osvoboditev). Seveda ne gre toliko za vprašanje imena. Ko govorimo s perspektive abstraktnih univerzalizmov, sta emancipacija in osvoboditev eno in isto. A zgodovinsko imata vsaka svojo težo, saj izhajata iz različnih izkušenj: emancipacija je sinonim za sanje in izkušnje evropske buržoazije, medtem ko je osvoboditev sinonim za boj prekleth (*damnés*, kot jih je poimenoval Fanon), rasno zaznamovanih in koloniziranih prebivalcev nekdanjega tretjega sveta. Osvoboditev je, z drugimi besedami povedano, povezana z dekolonizacijo, ki je potekala med hladno vojno in po padcu Sovjetske zveze – to pa je pomen, ki ga ima izraz »dekolonialnost« v projektu modernost/kolonialnost in ga bom pojasnil v nadaljevanju.

Sočasno z dekolonialnostjo, ki izhaja iz teh izkustev, oboroženega boja za osvoboditev, je potekala osvoboditev tudi na intelektualni ravni. Projekt dekolonizacije je presegal meje teologije in filozofije osvoboditve, saj ni želel razširiti družbenih ved (Wallerstein). To je sodobni projekt, ki ga je sprožil kolumbijski sociolog Orlando Fals-Borda. Naša (in tu imam v mislih kolektiv modernost/kolonialnost, vključno z afrokaribskimi in staroselskimi intelektualci) kritika evropske levice in njene različice v Južni Ameriki in na Karibih temelji na njenem evropocentризmu. Predmet naše kritike je dejstvo, da je poudarek na spremembi vsebine pogovora levico tako zaslepil, da ni bila možna uvideti potrebe po spremembi načina pogovora. Zakaj bi moral nebeli ali indijski intelektualci sprejeti vizijo evropske levice, če so njuna izkustva in položaj znotraj kolonialne matrice moči tako različna? Še več, evropocentrična različica evropske levice v Južni Ameriki in na Karibih ni nikoli upoštevala Indijancev, temnopoltih in žensk, zlasti nebelih žensk, kot da ti na podlagi svojih izkušenj in potreb ne bi bili sposobni izpeljati pravega transformativnega projekta brez pomoči evropske levice in njenih lokalnih agensov. Ti odnosi niso drugačni od desničarskih odnosov Mednarodnega denarnega sklada in njegovih lokalnih agensov. Dekolonialnost prek njenih ustanoviteljev, kot so Dubois, Césaire, Fanon, Anzaldúa in mnogi drugi, izpostavlja genealogijo miselnosti, ki sta jo zablokirali evropocentrična desnica in levica. Dekolonialnost je pravzaprav ena od možnosti poleg mnogih različic marksizma in teologije osvoboditve. Gre za analitični in transformativni projekt, ki je nastal v akademskih krogih (v ZDA, Južni Ameriki in na Karibih) in v javni sferi, pridružuje pa se podobnim in kompatibilnim projektom, ki so jih sprožili prebivalci afriškega porenja v Andih in na Karibih, v Latinski Ameriki, prvotni prebivalci Amerike, Nove Zelandije in Avstralije, priseljenci iz nekdanjega tretjega sveta v Evropo in Združene države Amerike, lezbična in gejevskega gibanja, ženske nebelega porenja itd. To je najbolj neposreden kontekst dekolonialnosti, kakor jo pojmuje kolektiv modernost/kolonialnost. V taki genealogiji miselnosti in aktivizma lahko osvoboditev enačimo z dekolonizacijo.

M. G.: Vaša kritika zahodne modernosti in racionalizma ter evropocentričnih institucij znanja je tako sistematična, da nam tukaj v Evropi ni ostalo nič več za procese osvoboditve in sistematični proces dekolonialnosti, na katerega bi se lahko oprli in se tako pridružili boju proti evropocentričnim institucijam znanja. Ali pa se morda motim? Lahko poleg Horkheimerja naštejete še kakšna druga pomembna imena, prakse, pozicije, odporiška gibanja?

W. M.: Se strinjam. Evropocentризem je tako surovo in sistematično uveljavil svojo nadvlado in ponižal ljudi, da je sprožil kopico negativne energije in nezaupanja do svoje imperialistične drže. Spomnimo se Fanona: »Evropa je oblast prevzela z veliko vnamo, s cinizmom in z nasiljem, zdaj pa se senca njenih spomenikov razprostira daleč naokoli. Evropa z vsakim korakom, ki ga naredi, zruši prostorske in miselne meje. Evropa ne pozna skromnosti, boječnosti in prijaznosti [...] Kako naj bi torej, bratje, ne sprevideli, da imamo vendarle druge, boljše stvari početi, kot ji zvesto slediti? [...] Pridite, tovariši, evropske igre je konec, začnimo svojo. Počnemo lahko vse, a le pazimo, da ne oponašamo Evrope in da ji ne poskušamo obsešno slediti« (zadnje poglavje v knjigi *Upor prekleth*, 1963).

Ne želim se skrivati za Fanonovimi besedami. Citiram ga zato, ker želim poudariti, narediti vidno občutljivost, ki je posledica kolonialne rane, prisotne tako pri Fanonu kot pri drugih, ki so se zaradi zahodne modernosti in racionalizma znašli v podobnih okoliščinah.² Vašo opazko, »da nam tukaj v Evropi ni ostalo nič več za procese osvoboditve in sistematični proces dekolonialnosti«, bi lahko obrnili v vprašanje, kaj bi za vas v Evropi (v širšem pomenu besede) pomenilo spreobrniti geografijo razuma, misliti dekolonialnost na podlagi izkustev in pojmovanj, lastnih pripadnikom projekta dekolonialnosti, ter postavivati politično teorijo in ekonomijo na podlagi izkustev prekleth (*damnés*). Zakaj ne? Prebivalci tretjega sveta so bili veliko časa izpostavljeni evropskim emancipacijskim idealom. Morda pa je sprememba v geografiji razuma vendarle mogoča in uresničljiva. Ne nazadnje so morali prekleth, kot je denimo Fanon, osvojiti evropske kanone znanja, da bi lahko artikularili svojo de-

kolonialno miselnost (mejno epistemologijo) in se jim zoperstavili s svojimi argumenti. Če ponovno citiram Fanona: »Tretji svet (danes sem prištevamo tudi priselcnce v Evropo in Združene države Amerike, moj dodatek, W. M.) je danes soočen z Evropo kot veliko kolosalno maso, ki bi morala odpraviti težave, na katere taista Evropa ni nikoli poprej našla odgovora« (zadnje poglavje v knjigi *Upor prekleth*). Fanon je to zapisal prav v trenutku, ko so Združene države Amerike stopile na pot globalne hegemonije. Danes bi bila evropocentrična Amerika nedvomno predmet njegovih obravnav.

Kolonialne rane ne občutijo le temnopolti, Indijci ali Židje, pač pa tudi belci evropskega porenja v Južni Ameriki in na Karibih, in predvidevam da tudi v Avstraliji, na Novi Zelandiji in v Južni Afriki. In seveda je prisotna tudi med Irci. V Argentini obstaja tradicija intelektualcev, (pretežno) sinov evropskih priseljencev nižjega ali srednjega razreda, ki so veliko pisali o tem, kako je biti Evropejec na robu, kar pravzaprav pomeni, da nisi Evropejec; Evropejci, ki pridejo v Argentino kot gosti argentinske kreolske elite, ki izhaja iz španske (pa tudi nemške in britanske) intelektualne in družinske tradicije, gledajo nanje kot na manjvredne in zaostale. Večina nas iz Južne Amerike in s Karibov je odraščala v takem ozračju. Zato ni nič nenavadnega, da smo vse bolj zavestno povezani in solidarni z ameriški staroselskimi, afrokaribskimi, afrobrazilskimi in afroindijskimi intelektualci: vsi smo izkusili kolonialnost, čeprav vsak na svoj način. Vsem nam je bila – bolj ali manj – prizadejana »kolonialna rana«, ki je ena od posledic evropocentrizma, ki jo je čutili predvsem na epistemološki in ontološki ravni. Na epistemološki ravni je pojem zahodnega racionalizma postal univerzalno merilo in model razumskega človeka, medtem ko se na ontološki ravni kaže v tem, da označuje za manjvredne tiste, ki ne sprejemajo zahodnega racionalističnega pojmovanja. To je, preprosto rečeno, logika rasizma: iznajdba epistemoloških in ontoloških kolonialnih razlik, da se zagotovi nadvlada zahodnega racionalizma in razvrednoti vse, kar ni moč asimilirati. To se dogaja na epistemološki ravni, ker gre za konstrukt, ki ne »predstavlja« epistemoloških in ontoloških razlik v svetu. Res je, da mnogi mislijo drugače in se ne strinjajo z zahodnimi kriteriji racionalizma; to, da so drugače misleči, pa še ne pomeni, da so manj razumsko sposobni.³ Morda sem se jaz (kakor tudi drugi iz Latinske Amerike, kot je denimo Enrique Dussel) tudi iz tega razloga počutil tako navezanega na evropske intelektualce židovskega rodu (Marxa, Freuda, Horkheimerja, Benjamina). Spomnimo se, da je bila ena prvih, če ne celo prva Marxova publikacija naslovljena *Židovsko vprašanje*. Nastanek posvetne ideje o židovstvu v 18. stoletju je premostilo versko poistovetenje Židov in njihove specifične zgodovine v modernem/kolonialnem svetu, saj so bili takrat skupaj z Mavri izgnani z Iberskega polotoka. Skoraj sočasno z nastankom moderne nacionalne države v Evropi v 18. in 19. stoletju se je oblikovala tudi kolonialna nacionalna država v Severni, Srednji in Južni Ameriki. Židje, Indijanci in Afroameričani so postali tarča prve radikalne spremembe kolonialne matrice moči: prišlo je do nastanka notranjih kolonialnih manjšin oziroma manjšin znotraj moderne nacionalne države in Evropi in znotraj kolonialne nacionalne države v Severni, Srednji in Južni Ameriki.

To sem moral pojasniti, da lahko zdaj odgovorim na drugi del vašega vprašanja. Seveda obstaja več gibanj v evropski zgodovini, ki so pomembna za Evropo, kot so bili denimo študentski protesti leta 1968 v Franciji. Kot se zdi – in v tem vidim jedro problema –, imajo le dogodki, ki se zgodijo v Evropi, globalne razsežnosti. Immanuel Wallerstein je leto 1968 označil za prvi znak krize geokulture moderne/kolonialnega sveta, ki naj bi bila po njegovem posledica francoske revolucije iz leta 1789 in nikakor ne denimo haitske revolucije iz leta 1804. Francoska revolucija je nedvomno ključni moment v zgodovini Evrope in evropskega imperializma, hkrati pa je haitska revolucija temeljnega pomena za globalno zgodovino dekolonialnosti. Če se vrnemo k letu 1968, ni šlo le za nemire v Franciji, pač pa tudi v Mehiki, Pekingu in na Češkoslovaškem. Kriza je zajela geokulturo (če se izrazim z Wallersteinom) celotnega moderne/kolonialnega sveta. Med ključnimi dogodki v Evropi novejšega datuma naj omenim Svetovni socialni forum, ki – kot vemo – izvira iz Braziliije. Še ena manifestacija, ki se mi zdi zanimiv prispevek Evrope k dekolonialnemu procesu, je *La marche décoloniale du 8 Mai 2008*. Ramón Grosfóguel, eden od članov kolektiva modernost/kolonialnost, ki živi med Parizom in San Franciscom, v Kaliforniji, in je bil na tem dogodku prisoten, je povedal, da »so bile na manifestaciji ogromne fotografije Aiméja Césaireja in na tisoče ljudi, ki so v rokah držali fotografije Yassina Sheika, Hasana Nasrallaha, Geronima, Angele Davis, Frantza Fanona, Jamesa Baldwinja, W. E. B. Duboisa, Nasserja, Nkrumaha, Shariatija, Zapataja, Gandhija itd. Pa tudi nekaj 12 fotografij afriških muslimanov, ki jih ne poznam in zanje še nisem slišal, čeprav naj bi bili povezani z gibanjem za osvoboditev. V velikem številu se je manifestacije udeležila tudi črna in arabska mladina«. Ta manifestacija slihi na ime *La marche décoloniale*. Obstajata torej dva možna odgovora na vaše vprašanje. V prvem bi lahko navedel vse glavne evropske kritične mislece, ki so veliko prispevali k zgodovini Evrope in k vsem ostalim razpravam o »evropski identiteti« od nastanka Evropske unije dalje. A to je povsem vaša stvar, h kateri lahko mi (Nevropejci v širšem pomenu besede) prispevam za našega (neevropskega) gledišča. Moj drugi odgovor pa je, da je za evropske intelektualce napočil čas, da začnejo upoštevati smernice neevropskih dekolonialnih mislecev, torej vseh tistih, ki jih je bilo mogoče videti na fotografijah med dekolonialno manifestacijo. Ne nazadnje smo morali »mi« (iz zdajšnjih in nekdanjih koloniziranih držav) sprejeti in upoštevati Aristotela in Tomaža Akvinskoga, zapostavljali pa smo Wamana Pumo de Ayalaja iz Andov in Ottobaha Cugoana iz Afrike. Če se v Mehiki in Buenos Airesu prevajata, berta in interperitara Beck ali Bahioui, zakaj ne storiti enako z avtorji, kot so Césaire, Fanon, Anzaldúa, Du Bois in Sylvia Wynter v Parizu, Ljubljani, Londonu in Frankfurtu? Ko bodo evropski intelektualci sprejeli dekolonialno genealogijo miselnosti, kot smo »mi« zahodno (imperialno in drugačnih nazorov), lahko stopimo v dialog in začnemo delati skupaj.

Če naj »mi« (vsi omenjeni intelektualci Severne, Srednje in Južne Amerike) in »vi« (intelektualci v Evropi v širšem smislu) začnemo sodelovati na projektu dekolonialnosti, moramo na novo opredeliti kolonialnost znanja in delovati v smeri epistemološke demokratičnosti. V nasprotnem primeru, kdo bo pripravljen, onkraj samo-

¹Argument se navezuje na odločitev Eva Moralesa o nacionalizaciji zemljskega plina v Boliviji; več o tem na <http://www.counterpunch.org/mignolo05082006.html>. Ta logika se odvija v sporu med liberalnimi ideali o zasebni lastnini, ki jih podpirajo lastniki zemlje, in ideji Eva Moralesa, da sta zemlja in življenje v staroselskih skupnostih v soodvisnosti.

² Drugi tak primer najdemo v dosjeju o postkolonialni filozofiji privrženca Fanona, Nelsona Maldonada-Torresa, <http://www.jhcf.duke.edu/wko/dossiers/1.3/1.3introarchive.php>.

³ Za podrobnejše argumente o epistemoloških in ontoloških razlikah glej Nelson Maldonado-Torres, *Cultural Studies*, 21 – 2/3, 2007.

kolonizirane levce v Južni Ameriki, Afriki ali Aziji, prejemati ukaze in navodila, kako »delati revolucijo«? In kdo bo pripravljen sprejeti subjektivnost, ki je utemeljena v zgodovini, ki ni »naša« (to je zgodovina koloniziranih)? Evo Morales je v nekem drugem kontekstu, ko je govoril o Mednarodnem denarnem skladu, povedal takole: »Ne potrebujemo strokovnjakov, ki nam bodo zapovedovali, kaj delati, potrebujemo ljudi, s katerimi bomo lahko sodelovali. Morda je napočil trenutek »epistemološke demokratičnosti« in trenutek, ki od nas zahteva, da na novo opredelimo geopolitiko znanja. Nisem ne misijonar ne funkcionar Mednarodnega denarnega sklada, da bi vam zapovedoval, kaj počnete v Evropi. Lahko vam povem le, kako mi razmišljamo, kaj mi delamo in na kateri točki poti se lahko naš in vaš kolektiv srečata ter vzpostavi sodelovanje na področju epistemologije in dekolonialnosti. Nujno je, da spremenimo geografijo razuma in začnemo na Evropo (imperialno Evropo in ZDA) gledati s stališča izkušnje, potreb in perspektiv nekdanjega kolonialnega sveta – in priseljencev v Evropi in ZDA –, namesto da gledamo na nekdanji kolonialni svet s stališča izkušnje in perspektiv evropskih (in ameriških) opazovalcev (privržencev levce ali desnice).

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Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

Marina Gržinić DE-LINKING EPISTEMOLOGY FROM CAPITAL AND PLURI-VERSALITY – A CONVERSATION WITH WALTER MIGNOLO, part 2

Walter D. Mignolo (born in 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: *You emphasized that colonial epistemology is a universalist project that repeats and cements western Eurocentric colonial logic. Instead of uni-versality you suggest therefore to take the path toward pluri-versality. This formulation may be understood as leaving a terrain open to your critics that will say that this pluri position leads to pluri localizations and to immense fragmentation of struggles, while capital will continue to exercise universal expropriation?*

Walter Mignolo: First of all, my emphasis is not in that colonial epistemology is a universalist project but – on the contrary – that de-colonial epistemology points toward pluri-versality as a universal project; quite different indeed. "Colonial epistemology" would be another way to refer to the colonial side of imperial epistemology. Or in other words, colonial epistemology will be the space of coloniality in the equation modernity/coloniality. However, you are right in the last observation. Capital has continued to "exercise universal expropriation" through the publications of all Žižek's, Negri's, Harvey's etc., books attacking capitalism, globalization, and the like. So, pluri-versality joints the crowd of inefficient discontents who protest and dream "while capital continues to exercise universal expropriation." And remember the example of Bill and Melinda Gates's Foundation and the cultural industry's expropriations of subjectivities. But let's put the problem into perspective. In what sphere of the social is our work (yours, mine, of those mentioned in the previous paragraphs, and of others you mention yourself below – like Badiou, Agamben, etc.)? I am not sure if Berlusconi reads Agamben or Sarkozy reads Žižek. Perhaps he reads Badiou who wrote about him. If we take the classic liberal triangle of the State, the Market and the Civil Society, and we add a fourth, the Political Society (Partha Chatterjee), of which liberals may not be too happy, our work is located basically in the sphere of the Civil and Political Society, and more specifically, in the sphere of Education (school, universities, colleges, the media). Our (your, mine, and other names mentioned in this interview) influence on the State and the Market is very limited, if we have some. Contrary to political scientists, economists, mainstream media and journalism, our (the same as above) sphere of influence is again that of the civil and political society. In fact, I see our (the same as above) contribution in trying to enlarge the political society since the active civil society is mainly taken by NGOs. The legacies of W.E.B. Dubois, Frantz Fanon, Gloria Anzaldúa, among many others, is to have created a space in which many of us (same as above), who did not find our place in the existing canon of Western knowledge, have now a place to dwell. Let me put it differently. Agnes Heller stated, in the introduction to her *A Theory of Modernity* that Europeans dwell in the house of Being while Americans (she means Anglo-Americans), dwell in the house of Democracy. When I read that I asked myself, where is my house? And which one is the house of the large minorities in the US and European immigrants? And in which house is the rest of the world dwelling? Minorities in US and Europe, immigrants in both places (but also in China and India) and many others around the world, dwell in the house of Coloniality. Well, what we (this time "we" refers to the collective modernity/coloniality) are doing is to affirm the existence of the house of Coloniality and, from there, to forcefully enter into the conversation with those inhabiting the fenced house of Being and Democracy.

But perhaps I am wrong and pluri-versal conversations are irrelevant and inefficient in front of the juggernaut of capitalism. Perhaps a renovated international revolution of the proletariat, or the global multitude; or perhaps if we can write more books on Lenin, Saint Paul and Spinoza we would be able to stop the global march of capitalism. But, if we succeed in stopping capitalism, what is next? What kind of world would we (all of us concerned with this question) like to build? Pluri-versality as a universal project is the anchor of a non-capitalist and totalitarian struggle to impose one form of life and of domination. As for the "universal projection of de-colonial epistemology," it is not exactly but just the opposite of what we (the collective of the project) are talking about. We aim at a global projection of de-colonial epistemology, and not necessarily universal. Global projection is predicated on pluri-versality and objectivity in parenthesis. Universal projection is predicated on the uni-versality of objectivity without parenthesis.

The epistemology I (and others) advocate, border epistemology, is not colonial but de-colonial. On the other hand, it moves away from the "abstract universals" predicated by Christian Theology (but also by some Islamists), by liberals (civilizing mission), by neo-liberals (market democracy) and by Marxists (proletarian revolution, the rising of the multitude). Border epistemology promotes "pluri-versality as universal projects." At this point of our conversation (yours and mine) it should be clear what I mean by that. Nevertheless, let's push it a step further.

Pluri-versality requires – as said above – *connectors*, connectors among projects (see the question about who are the revolutionary subjects today, below) moving, advancing, unfolding in the same direction (departing from the colonial matrix of power), but following singular paths emerging from *local histories*. Consequently, pluri-versality as a universal project is not another new abstract universal that claims the ultimate truth above all the previous abstract universals. *Connectors* are necessary to avoid fragmentation. And I would say that capital is not exercising universal but global expropriation. Certainly, China is short in land to produce enough food for its population. Consequently, China is "buying" land in Africa and Latin America and banks in Africa. The Bill Gates's and the Rockefeller Foundations are "helping" African farmers to "develop" agriculture (<http://waltermignolo.com/2007/11/01/bono-contra-china/>), while the variegated global "left" (another "we") have no more to do than run behind trying to guess how this time the colonial matrix of power is being reshaped. The institutions controlling, today, knowledge, authority and economy are constantly renovating the technology of control. Davos and the G8 are just two examples. The World Social Forum, The Americas Social Forum, the Continental Summit of Indigenous Peoples and Organizations (http://www.cumbrecontinentalindigena.org/index_guate_en.php), the Pacific Coast Federation or Fishermen's Association, Mujeres Creando (in Bolivia, <http://www.mujerescreando.org/>) etc. etc. etc.), La Via Campesina, Food Sovereignty have initiated a different *modus operandi*: the proliferation of nodes around the globe with the intention of thinking forward and creatively not only against. Both organizations are gaining importance today when predators of all sorts are making enormous amounts of money in food speculation. Once again, profit comes first, human beings second. If people have to die, let it be. "We" (the corporations and its agents) accumulate money. The crisis in Argentina today between land-owners who want to increase their profit by just growing soya and exporting it, and the government who is pushing agricultural diversification by increasing their taxes to force them to diversify. For land owner, diversity may be good for society in general but not for profit, and they do not want to lose this opportunity to jump in the band wagon of food-predators. This is, as you know, the beauty of capitalism of Western civilization: a world of successful winners in accumulation of wealth at the cost of *dispensability of human life*.

All these are sign-posts of the pluri-versal global march de-linking from the colonial matrix of power (or capitalism, in your vocabulary). Border epistemology and pluri-versality are two necessary horizons in that endeavor. Unless one still believes that all these movements need to study Marx, Lenin, Spinoza, Žižek, Deleuze, Gramsci, etc. These thinkers and activists are all great, but the de-colonial project responds to a myriad of experiences, desires, dreams, traumas, etc. etc., that are not those embedded in the regional history of Europe; and this time I mean Hegel's Europe, divided in South, the Heart and the North-East. Let's examine a modest case (and this very moment [May 9, 2008] in a difficult situation after the referendum of Santa Cruz passed with a wide margin, legal or not). The government of Evo Morales (with all the expected difficulties) is a good example in both, its possibilities and difficulties. The fact that the province of Santa Cruz is forcing its autonomy makes evident the paradoxical situation that in order to rule over communities controlling the land, natural resources and capital, it is necessary to have a state that is stronger in possessing lands and natural resources and capital. It seems that the rule of Capital cannot be overruled by the rules of the State. We are facing a new and paradoxical situation. During the Cold War, the State sent the army against the workers and university students supporting the claim of the union. Today, the army if it is to be sent it has to be sent against the landowners, both in Bolivia and in Argentina. One may think that capitalism (as a civilization structured by the colonial matrix of power) may be difficult to defeat playing by the rules established (e.g., the colonial matrix of power) to make capitalism work. The bottom line is the paradigmatic experience Bolivians and the world at large (we) are going through. There are three contending forces and projects in Bolivia: the State-MAS (Marcha hacia el socialismo) project; the interests of the agro-industrial bourgeoisie of South East (the Media Luna) and the indigenous political society. None of these three forces is hegemonic. What are the possible features? And what are the unavoidable roads toward the future? If we remain in the hegemonic ideal modeled by "abstract universal," the situation will be explosive because each of the three projects will claim their legitimacy to be the best model for all. The alternative is inter-culturality (in the sense the concept has been introduced and used by Indigenous intellectuals in Ecuador and Bolivia, which is not equivalent to multiculturalism but, once again, exactly the opposite) and border epistemology. However, inter-culturality and border epistemology would/could be endorsed by the actual State and by the indigenous political society, but would hardly be accepted by the agro-industrial bourgeoisie, that is, by the Bolivian agents of global capitalism (this statement comes from a conversation with Javier Sanjinés, in the collective modernity/coloniality). Inter-culturality is not the same as multi-culturality. The former operates in a world ruled by an epistemology in parenthesis; the latter in a world ruled by an epistemology without parenthesis.

The colonial matrix of power, or in a more common parlance, the expansion of Western civilization to control the economy, authority, gender and sexuality, subjectivity and knowledge, has been gradual since the 16th century, and has encountered many different local histories, languages, religions, economies, epistemologies etc. The responses to Western expansion were and are variegated. There are the promoters in different parts of the world of Western civilization (lately modeled on the US), there are anti-Western responses from manifestations to armed violence responding to the violence of Western incursion (in all the spheres mentioned above), and de-colonial. De-colonial responses have, of necessity, to be founded on border epistemology. Imagining that Western political economy and political theory (in their right or left versions) will be helpful in imagining and creating the future of, say, Bolivia or Iraq is, in my view, an Eurocentric

illusion. When the government of Evo Morales, as well as Bolivian intellectuals (and also in Ecuador) talk about the decolonization of the state and of the economy, of the re-foundation of the state, they are already enacting border epistemology. That is to say, Western political theory and economy is there, has been there since the foundation of the republic. But Bolivia and Ecuador are colonial states, and not modern states like France or England. Thus, liberal democracy has a tradition in Bolivia, for sure. And also the *ayllu* (indigenous ways of life, political and economic organization, knowledge grounded in Aymara and Quechua language). There is no reason, except imperial reason, to argue that liberal democracy is the way to go and Indians have nothing to say. That said, it is not a question of going back to the past or of transforming Bolivia into a big *ayllu* (as Felipe Quispe, El Mallku would like to do). For the same reason, it is no longer sustainable to imagine Bolivia as big liberal-colonial state. Simultaneously, and since there is around 60% of indigenous population, it is no longer possible to have a liberal (even less neo-liberal) state. Just analyze this case: the conflict between Ronald Larsen (an American rancher in Bolivia) and the government of Evo Morales (<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/09/world/americas/09bolivia.html?pagewanted=all>). This is not a conflict between liberals and Marxists. It is a conflict between liberal and *ayllu* democracy. Thus, border thinking (or epistemology) and inter-culturality implies the epistemic leadership of Indigenous epistemology in conflict with White (European descent) modern/colonial epistemology in which economy, politics, education, subjectivity, etc. is formulated and enacted.¹

And let me offer another example of the inevitability of border epistemology as creative response to Western intrusion and the global reproduction of capitalism. Much has been written about Sun Yat-sen. He has been portrayed as pro-communist and pro-capitalist, as conservative and traditionalist, as close to the Jesuits, etc. No one thought that what Sun Yat-sen was doing was to think in the borders of Western liberalism and Marxism on the one hand, and Chinese long lasting history and civilization on the other. At the point he was thinking, it was – like in Bolivia – impossible and imaginable to pretend that China could go back to its past, before the Opium War. On the other hand, it was unthinkable also to get a blue print of liberalism or communism; to erase Chinese past and supplant it with the history of the Western world from Greece and Rome until the Western capitalist imperialism and the aftermath of Industrial Revolution. He had then to theorize by dwelling in the borders. He himself was not yet ready to imagine that it was possible to detach from the duality between theory and facts, so that he opted for facts instead of theory to frame and argue for the three principle of livelihood as a vision for China. Given space constraint here I just want to underline his "fundamental difference between the Principle of Livelihood and capitalism." Since the principle of livelihood is also used within the economic principles of capitalist economy (e.g. profit at the expenses of life in general and not only human life), Sun Yat-sen's Principle of Livelihood points toward a different direction. Like Evo Morales' distinction between "buen vivir" and "vivir mejor que otros" (to live well rather than to live better than the other), Sun Yat-sen sees capitalism as a civilization of death: "The fundamental difference between the Principle of Livelihood and capitalism is this: capitalism makes profit its sole aim, while the Principle of Livelihood makes the nurture of the people its aim." Unfortunately, it is not in this direction that the history of China, in the past 60 years, seems to be heading. The lesson seems to be that there is no way out of capitalism without de-linking from Western epistemology (in its variety) and from all pretense of achieving a "new abstract uni-versal" that will correct all the errors and limitations of previous ones and will be good for the planet and its six billions plus people. And the lesson seems to be also that the desire for wealth, accumulation and control is stronger than the desire for "vivir bien" and Sun Yat-sen's principles of livelihood. The modest claim of de-colonial thinking is that without de-colonizing knowledge and being (e.g., non-consumerist subjectivities), reading Lenin and cheering the global multitude will not take as very far.

M. G.: *Especially harsh is your attack on emancipation that in European leftists circles seems to be the last »fetish« not to be questioned. Instead of emancipation, you talk about liberation, grounding both concepts in a historical overview, and showing that emancipation is just a process inside the colonial mechanism of western rational episteme, while liberation has a different genealogy of struggle. Can you reflect on the radical difference between emancipation and liberation?*

W. M.: The distinctions I am trying to draw are the following: "emancipation" belongs to the vocabulary of the enlightenment. As I mentioned before, Kant equates enlightenment with emancipation. As such, "emancipation" became the key-word to describe the projects and visions of the secular European bourgeoisie emerging in England from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and in France from the French Revolution of 1789. Within the same logic, but with reverse content, "emancipation" entered the vocabulary of socialism. Marx himself conceived emancipation as the march toward humanness: "Every emancipation is a restoration of the human world and of human relationships to man himself. Human emancipation will only be complete when the real individual man has absorbed into himself the abstract citizen; when as an individual man, in his everyday life, in his work, and in his relationships, he has become a species-being; and when he has recognized and organized his own powers (*forces propres*) as social powers so that he no longer separated his social power from himself as political power;" (quoted by Wolfdietrich Schmied-Kowarzik, <http://www.thur.de/philo/emanc.htm>). In this genealogy of thoughts, Ernesto Laclau wrote a book titled *Emancipation(s)* (1996). The fact that Laclau illustrates his thesis with the case of Juan Domingo Perón, in Argentina, is telling. Instead, the "national left" in Argentina that emerged in the late fifties after the fall of Juan Domingo Perón, as a critical response against the oligarchy and the communist party that collaborated in his fall, used the word "liberation." One of the books written by J. J. Hernández Arregui (a leading figure of the nationalist left, is significantly titled *Nacionalismo y liberación*. In Latin America, Theology and Philosophy of Liberation were founded in the late sixties and early seventies. No one claimed Theology of Emancipation or Philosophy of Emancipation as a better name. All the movements toward decolonization during the Cold War were labeled "Ejércitos o Movimientos de Liberación Nacional."

¹ You can find this argument when Evo Morales nationalized the gas in Bolivia; see about this at <http://www.counterpunch.org/mignolo05082006.html>. This logic applies to the conflict between liberal ideals of private property among landowners and Evo Morales's idea of interdependence between land and life among indigenous communities.

No one was baptized "ejército o movimiento de emancipación nacional," the same with EZLN, Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional. Of course it is not a nominal question that is at stake. In the domain of abstract universals, you can say that emancipation and liberation are the same. In history, however, they carry the weight of different experiences: emancipation described the dreams and experiences of the European bourgeoisie while liberation describes the struggles of the *damnés* (Fanon), the racialized and colonized people of the ex-Third World. Liberation in other words is linked to de-colonization both during the Cold War and after the collapse of the Soviet Union – that is the meaning of "de-colonial" in the project modernity/coloniality, which I will clarify below.

So, the de-colonial option that emerged from such experiences, the armed struggle for liberation, was paralleled by intellectual weapons of liberation. Beyond theology and philosophy of liberation were projects of de-colonizing rather than opening the social sciences (c.f., Wallerstein). Decolonizing the social sciences was a contemporary project launched by Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals-Borda. Our (in this case, the collective modernity/coloniality but also Afro-Caribbean and Indigenous intellectuals) critique of the European left and its version in South American and the Caribbean is grounded on its Eurocentricity – on the fact that the emphasis on changing the content of the conversation made them blind to the necessity of changing the terms of the conversation. Why should a Black or an Indian intellectual endorse the vision of the European left if their experiences and locations in the colonial matrix of power are so different? Besides, the Eurocentred version of the European left in South America and the Caribbean has always been blind (if not blind, like in Bolivia today, at least still inhabiting white Creole consciousness) to Indians, Blacks and women and particularly to women of color as if no real transformative projects could come from their needs and experience without the help of the European Left and its local agents; which indeed parallel the relationship, on the right wings, of the IMF and its local agents. The de-colonial option brings to the foreground (through the pioneering works of Dubois, Césaire, Fanon, Anzaldúa) and many others a genealogy of thoughts that has been blocked by the Eurocentered right as well as the Eurocentered left. The de-colonial option emerges as an option next to the variegated versions of Marxism as well as of Theology of Liberation. It emerged as an analytic and transformative project in the academia (in the US and in South America and the Caribbean) as well as in the public sphere, joining forces with similar and compatible projects advanced by Afro-Andean and Caribbean, Latinas and Latinos, Native Americans and Aboriginal in New Zealand and Australia; immigrants of the ex-Third World in Europe and the US, gay and lesbian struggle, women of color, etc. This is the most immediate context of the de-colonial option as formulated by the collective modernity/coloniality. And in this genealogy of thoughts and activism, liberation is akin to de-colonization.

M. G.: *Your criticism of the western modernity and western rationality and Eurocentric institutions of knowledge is so systematic that nothing is left here in Europe for a process of liberation and a systematic process of de-coloniality on which to base ourselves in order to proceed today in struggles against the Eurocentric institutions of knowledge. Am I wrong? Can you list, besides Horkheimer, some other important names, practices, positions, resistance?*

W. M.: You may be right. Eurocentrism was so harsh and systematic in asserting its supremacy and humiliating people that generated a significant amount of harsh energy and mistrust against. Remember Fanon?

"Europe has taken over leadership of the world with fervor, cynicism and violence. And look how the shadow of its monuments spreads and multiplies. Every movement Europe makes bursts the boundaries of space and thought. Europe has denied itself not only humility but also solicitude and tenderness [...] So, my brothers, how could we fail to understand that we have better things to do than follow in that Europe's footsteps? [...] Come, comrades, the European game is finally over, we must look for something else. We can do anything today provided we do not ape Europe, provided we are not obsessed with catching up with Europe (*The Wretched of the Earth*, 1961, "Conclusion")."

I do not want to hide myself behind Fanon. By quoting him I want to put forward, to make visible, the sensibility of the *colonial wound* that you have in Fanon as well as in others in similar circumstances, with respect to western modernity and rationality.² The response to your observation "that nothing is left here in Europe for a process of liberation and a systematic process of de-coloniality" could be reversed in this direction. What would it mean for you, in Europe (senso largo), to shift the geography of reason, to think decolonially and from the experiences and conceptualization of de-colonial thinkers, and to re-imagining political theory and political economy from the experiences of the *damnés*? Why not? For a long time, people in the "third world" were exposed to European emancipating ideals. Well, perhaps a shift in the geography of reason is thinkable and doable. After all, the *damnés* like Fanon had to learn the European canon in order to articulate, against it, his de-colonial critique (border epistemology). Let's follow Fanon again: "The Third World (today we will include immigrants in Europe and the US, my addendum, W. M.) is today facing Europe as one colossal mass whose project must be to try and solve the problems this Europe was incapable of finding the answer to" (*The Wretched of the Earth*, *Conclusion*). Fanon's observations were written just at the moment when the US was on its way to global hegemony. Today Euro-America would most certainly be included in his reflections.

It is not just among Blacks, Indians or Jews that the colonial wound is felt. It is also among whites of European descent in South America and the Caribbean, and I suppose in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. And obviously among Irish people. There is a tradition, in Argentina, of intellectuals, sons (mainly sons) of European immigrants, lower or middle class, that have written many pages about that feeling of being European at the margin, which is, not being European; being looked as inferior or behind by Europeans visitors to Argentina, hosted by the Argentine Creole elites, grounded in Spanish (and some time German or British) intellectual and family traditions. The point is here that many of us, in South America and the Caribbean, grew up in that

atmosphere. This is one of the reasons why, with a growing awareness, the link and solidarity with Indians and Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Andean intellectuals "came naturally:" we have all experienced coloniality, although at a different scale. We share "the colonial wound" at different level of intensity. The "colonial wound" is one of the consequences of Eurocentrism and it operates, basically, at the epistemic and ontological level. At the epistemic level, the Western notion of rationality became a universal measuring stick and a model of a rational human being. At the same time, it spilled over ontology, as those who are not quite at the level of Western notion of rationality are lesser being. This is, simply, the logic of racism: the invention of epistemic and ontological colonial differences to secure the supremacy of Western rationality and devalue what cannot be assimilated. And it is basically epistemological because it is invented and created rather than "representing" epistemic and ontological differences in the world. It is true, though, that many people think differently and not according to Western criteria of rationality, which really and only means that they think differently, not that they are less rational.³ This may be one of the reasons why I (as well as others in Latin America, like Enrique Dussel) felt connected with Jewish European intellectuals (Marx, Freud, Horkheimer, Benjamin). Remember that one of the first, if not the first, Marx's publication was titled *The Jewish Question*. The emergence of the secular idea of Jewishness in the eighteenth century displaced the religious identification of Jews and their specific history in the modern/colonial world, when they were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula at the same time as the Moors were. In the 18th and 19th century, when the modern-nation state was in its inception in Europe, it was more or less simultaneous with the emergence of the *colonial* nation state in the Americas. Jews, Indians and Afros became the targets of the first radical transformation of the colonial matrix of power: the emergence of colonial internal minorities. That is, minorities of the nation state, modern in Europe or colonial in the Americas.

I needed this explanation to respond to other aspects of your question. Certainly we could think of many movements in the internal history of Europe, significant for the history of Europe, like France 1968. The problem always is that what happens in Europe could be taken as an event of global significance. Thus, Immanuel Wallerstein took 1968 as the first sign of the crisis of the geo-culture of the modern/colonial world that he traced, alas, in the French Revolution of 1789, and not in the Haitian Revolution, for example, of 1804. French Revolution is no doubt crucial in the history of Europe and the European imperialism. The Haitian Revolution is fundamental in the global history of de-coloniality. If we come back to 1968, it was not just France. It was Mexico, it was Beijing, it was Czechoslovakia. The crisis was indeed in the geo-culture (respecting Wallerstein's vocabulary) of the modern/colonial world. More recently, I think the crucial moment of Europe are the emerging branches of The World Social Forum that originated, as you know, in Brazil. And, in the same vein, I found extremely interesting the contribution that Europe can make to the de-colonial process with recent events like "La marche décoloniale du 8 Mai 2008." Ramón Grosfoguel, one of the members of the collective modernity/coloniality, who

³ A detailed argument on the epistemic and ontological difference, in Nelson Maldonado-Torres, *Cultural Studies*, 21- 2/3, 2007.

lives between Paris and San Francisco, California, attended the march and told me that "the march went in pitching with a gigantic photo of Aimé Césaire and with thousands of people with photos of: Yassin Sheik; Hasan Nasrallah, Geronimo; Angela Davis, Frantz Fanon, James Baldwin; W.E.B. Dubois, Nasser, Nkrumah, Shariati, Zapata, Ghandi, etc. And some other 12 or so photos of African-Muslims whom I do not know and have not yet heard their names although they seem to be related to liberation movements. The march was integrated by a significant number of young Black and Arab youths (personal communication)." The march has a name; identification: "La marche décoloniale." So, there are two ways of responding to your question. One is to name the canonical critical thinkers of Europe who have been and still are extremely relevant for the history of Europe itself and for all current debates about "European identity" after the European Union. I would say that this is your business to which "we" (non European in senso largo) can contribute from the perspective of "our" (as defined above, non-European) concerns. Another answer to your question would be to say that the time has arrived, for European intellectuals, to follow the guidance of non-European de-colonial thinkers, illustrated by all those names whose pictures were honored in "la marche décoloniale." After all, "we" (in the colonies and ex-colonies) had to suffer and endure Aristotle and Saint Thomas, while ignoring Waman Puma de Ayala, in the Andes, and Ottobah Cugoano, in the Black Atlantic. If Beck or Badiou are being translated, read and discussed in Mexico and Buenos Aires, for example, why not do the same with Césaire, Fanon, Anzaldúa, Du Bois and Sylvia Wynter in Paris, Ljubljana, London and Frankfurt? Once European intellectuals master the de-colonial genealogy of thought as "we" master the Western (both imperial and dissenting) genealogy of thought, then we can start talking and working together.

If "we" (the variegated array of intellectuals I mentioned before in the Americas) and "you" (in Europe, in senso largo) are to work together de-colonially, we have to begin by redressing coloniality of knowledge and working toward epistemic democracy. Otherwise, who would be interested, beyond the self-colonized mentality of the left in South America or Africa or Asia, to receive orders and instructions on how to "do the revolution?" And to embrace a subjectivity that is grounded in the history that is not "ours" (that is, colonial histories)? Evo Morales said in another context, addressing the IMF: We do not need experts telling us what to do, we need people to work with. Perhaps the moment has arrived, the moment of "epistemic democracy" and of redressing the geo-politics of knowledge. I am neither a missionary nor a functionary of the IMF to tell you what to do in Europe. I can only tell you what we are thinking, what we are doing, and what are the possible roads where we (a collective "you" and a collective "we") can meet each other and sing together epistemic and decolonial chants. Basically, what is necessary is to shift the geography of reason and to look at Europe (imperial Europe and the US) from the experiences, needs and perspectives of the ex-colonial world – and of immigrants in Europe and the US – rather than looking at the ex-colonial world from the experiences and perspectives of Euro (American) observers (from the left and from the right).

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² Another instance can be found in this dossier on post-continental philosophy by a Fanonist, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, <http://www.jhfc.duke.edu/wko/dossiers/1.3/1.3introarchive.php>

Sebastjan Leban STRATEGIJA POSODABLJANJA IDEOLOŠKE IN STRUKTURNE MATRICE NEOLIBERALIZMA

Nedavni dogodki, povezani s hipotekarno krizo v ZDA, katere posledice so se razširile po vsem svetu, nam ponujajo jasno sliko današnje realnosti neoliberalizma, strategij njegovega posodabljanja in posledic globalizacije, ki ne le pogojujejo naš vsakdan, pač pa so že v veliki meri začrtale in determinirale našo prihodnost. Vsaj tako nas prepričuje sistem z vsemi svojimi vzvodi o morebitnih posledicah krize, ki že vpliva na realno ekonomijo. Sistem prepričuje gledalca/potrošnika/volivca, da ni mogoče misliti na alternativo: skratka, da drugačen sistem izven neoliberalnega valorizacijskega vzorca ni mogoč. Ali je res tako ali je to zgolj skrbno načrtovani model proizvodnje paranoidne bojzani zaradi morebitnega kolapsa kapitala, skozi katero se v realnosti posodabljata ideološka in strukturna matrica neoliberalizma.

Pobuda reševanja dolga z davkoplačevalskim denarjem, ki se je dejansko udeležila v tolikšni meri, da so Nemčija, Francija, Nizozemska, Španija in Avstrija skupaj namenile in odobrile več kot 1.300 milijard evrov za sanacijo trenutne krize, govori o izrednem stanju, ki ga je neoliberalizem definitivno in permanentno uvedel po vsem svetu. Celoten problem krize se dodatno veže na eni strani na definicijo lastnine (javne in privatne), na drugi pa na definicijo in premislek o javnem in privatnem v širšem družbenem kontekstu. Ko govorimo o javni in privatni lastnini in ko skušamo postaviti ločnico med njima, ne moremo mimo sprememb, ki so se zgodile v zadnjih desetletjih na Zahodu, kakor tudi ne tistih, ki so (bile) pogojevale s tržno ideologijo in privatizacijsko strukturo neoliberalizma v Sloveniji, na Balkanu in v drugih državah Vzhodne Evrope.

V socializmu je *javno* definiralo nekaj, kar je bilo namenjeno za javno korist in kar je bilo izključno v javni lasti, medtem ko v kapitalizmu *javno* definira nekaj, kar je propagirano kot javna korist, a je v resnici v privatni lasti (vsaj tako lahko beremo zadnje dogodke na področju sanacije bank). Tako je denimo na Vzhodu termin *javni prostor* označeval popolnoma nekaj drugega kot na Zahodu, saj je bil javni prostor v socializmu nekaj, kar je po definiciji socialistične logike namenjeno izključno javni koristi, medtem ko je skozi prizmo kapitalistične logike, ki ima v sebi že vključeno dikcijo privatnega lastništva, javni prostor namenjen javni uporabi, a s točno določenim ciljem; povečini gre za privatno last, ki je namenjena javni uporabi zgolj in samo iz profitabilnega stališča. Na tem mestu moramo izpostaviti, da se ta sprememba ni zgodila samo v primeru javnih prostorov in javne lastnine, ampak da je do privatizacije prišlo tudi v ostalih sektorjih, kot so denimo izobraževanje, zdravstvo, kultura, itd. Zato ne preseneča dejstvo, da se je pred kratkim, ko je nepremičninski trg še prosperiral, predvajala reklama, kjer so trije znani slovenski igralci, dva moška in lik noseče ženske, propagirali ugodnost najetja/sklenitve kredita pri slovenski državni banki NKBM. Da je stvar absurdna do skrajnosti, govori dejstvo, da na vprašanje, kako je lahko vzela kredit, ženska ponosno odgovarja: »Saj to je pa res enostavno, jaz sem vzela kredit, pa ata in mama, pa še babica tudi.« Na delu imamo kapitalistično logiko, ki naj bi z izjemno ponudbo omogočila mladi družini, materi samohranilki, itd., nakup stanovanja, četudi je cena le tega tolikšna, da bo morala zanj delati vse življenje in, kar je še huje, ne samo ona, ampak tri generacije. Kar je v celotni zgodbi izprijenega in kar ostaja prikrito, je dejstvo, da sta v primeru Slovenije prvi dve generaciji s samoprispevki obnovili infrastrukturo v javni lasti, ki je bila po osamosvojitvi uvedbi neoliberalizma privatizirana.

Lik noseče matere je prek medirane podobe na televiziji uporabljen za vzbujanje gotovosti znotraj negotove socialne situacije, v kateri se nahaja velika večina prebivalstva prvega kapitalističnega sveta. To socialno zapostavljeno skupino tvori predvsem nižji razred, ki se v tranziciji in v tržni ekonomiji ni uspel prilagoditi tržni logiki kapitala ali neoliberalni transformaciji bivše socialistične države, ker mu ta možnost preprosto ni bila dana. Iz tega stališča je analiza strategije sanacije finančne krize toliko bolj zanimiva, saj je obrat, ki smo mu bili priča vsi, ki smo v tranziciji doživeli neoliberalistično spreobrnitev – kjer se je državna lastnina, to je lastnina ljudstva privatizirala in s tem omogočila vzpostavitev monopolnih struktur – v zadnjem desetletju povzročil divjo privatizacijo v slovenskem prostoru in prerazporeditev javne lastnine v roke peščice posameznikov. Razumevanje tega obrata je ključnega pomena, saj le-ta pojasnjuje razloge načrtno aropriacije socialistične logike delovanja s strani kapitalizma po tem, ko je taisti kapitalizem pomembno prispeval k njegovemu uničenju. Čemur smo priča v primeru sedanje sanacije finančne krize s pomočjo davkoplačevalskega denarja v državah prvega kapitalističnega sveta, je kapitalizem s pomočjo neoliberalizma že zdavnaj udeležil in preizkusil v državah bivšega vzhodnega bloka, vključno s Slovenijo in z Balkanom.

Tako lahko zatrdimo, da je sedanji način reševanja finančne krize del ustaljene prakse v tranzicijskih državah, kjer se je podjetja v težavah saniralo z davkoplačevalskim denarjem, da bi se podjetje izvleklo iz krize, po sanaciji pa si je dobiček delila peščica posameznikov (menedžerjev), ki, namesto da bi sanacijski denar skupaj s pripadajočimi obrestmi vrnila nazaj v državno blagajno, le-tega uporabila pri izvedbi privatizacije (menedžerskih odkupov).

Kaj se ob vsem povedanem pokaže?

Gre za več nivojski proces, ki sočasno determinira neoliberalno sedanost in ustvarja pogoje za njeno proliferacijo v prihodnosti. Ta proces poteka v različnih fazah, ki jih bom definirale v nadaljevanju.

V prvi fazi imamo opraviti s surovo manifestacijo moči kapitala, ki ni abstraktna, ampak se prek vidnih mehanizmov oblasti manifestira v vsej svoji podobi. Zato ne čudi dejstvo, da se zakoni spreminjajo in prilagajajo glede na potrebe in želje kapitalističnega razreda, da se z davkoplačevalskim denarjem jamči za privatne investicije in ne nazadnje – kot lahko vidimo v primeru finančne krize –, da se sanira dolg, ki je realno nedoločljiv, saj ga države dnevno določajo glede na dogodke na svetovnih borzah. Sistem svoje početje utemeljuje,

češ da skrbi za lastno avtoregeneracijo, za ljudi in za njihov privarčevani denar. Skratka, propagira skrb za malega človeka in njegovo prihodnost. Ob vsem tem se moramo seveda vprašati, kaj se je zgodilo z vsemi tistimi posamezniki, ki so jim bile zaplenjene zastavljene hipoteke, ki so izgubili svoje domove, itd., ker preprosto niso bili sposobni vrniti kredita, ker so bili že v sami osnovi brez vsakršne možnosti, saj je njihova realnost socialno in razredno pogojena.

Usoda teh ljudi je za sistem zanemarljiva, saj se njihova vloga meri na podlagi produkcijske vrednosti, ki temelji na potrošnji in tržni ekonomiji; dokler je posameznikov prispevek v skladu s tržno logiko kapitalu koristen, do tedaj je subjekt sestavni element družbe, v nasprotnem primeru postane ta nepomemben člen, ki ga sistem nemudoma zavrne in izloči. Gola hierarhična struktura, ki se kot vzorec ponavlja od obstoja civilizacije dalje, vrednoti na podlagi klasifikacije. Če za primer vzamemo analizo Anibala Quijana, kjer zapiše, da je rasna klasifikacija postala glavni kriterij za razvrščanje ljudi v sloje, na položaje in v vloge, se ob tem pokaže, da vzorec, na podlagi katerega sta se skozi stoletja definirali rasna klasifikacija in dominantna pozicija bele rase nad drugimi, velja tudi v primeru razredne klasifikacije. Po avtorjevem mnenju »je rasna klasifikacija najučinkovitejši in najdlje uveljavljeni instrument, s katerim se že od 16. st. dalje izvaja univerzalna družbena dominacija, saj je v bistveno starejše načelo – nadvlada nad družbenim spolom ali interseksualnostjo – posegla rasna klasifikacija, temelječa na razločevanju med inferiornim in superiornim« (Quijano). Prav ti dve razločevanju med inferiorno in superiorno raso tvorita temelj za izvajanje razločevanja med inferiornim in superiornim razredom, ki izhaja iz razredne klasifikacije. Vendar tu nastopi pomembna razlika: neoliberalizem ni uporabil samo strategije rasne klasifikacije in jo kot ponavljajoči se vzorec vključil v strategijo razredne klasifikacije, ampak je rasno klasifikacijo tako kot nadvlado nad družbenim spolom ali interseksualnostjo vikorporiral v izvajanje razredne klasifikacije. Tako imamo znotraj ene klasifikacije različne oblike klasifikacij, ki v sebi združujejo različne oblike diskriminacij, od rasnih do spolnih, itd.

Ena od strategij sistema je načrtno ločevanje med belci in ostalimi rasami in izpostavljanje privilegirane vloge bele rase nad drugimi. S tem se uvaja razizem znotraj razredne klasifikacije, o čemer med drugim v svojem tekstu *Whiteness without apartheid: the limits of racial freedom* govori tudi Achille Mbembe, ki definira, da se »danes v ZDA živeče revno belo prebivalstvo spodbuja, da podpira razpad socialne države in ukinjanje posebnih politik, ki bi lahko izboljšale njihove življenjske pogoje. Čeprav so politike, označene kot "pozitivni ukrep", več tisoč ženskam omogočile dostop do kolidžev, varne zaposlitve in napredovanje na delovnem mestu, se revno belo populacijo prepričuje, da "imajo temnopolti več ugodnosti". Zato je ta sloj najmočnejši nasprotnik tega ukrepa, čeprav je tudi sam v finančni stiski, družbeno stigmatiziran in politično nemočen« (Mbembe). Na ta način sistem kontinuirano vzdržuje hierarhično strukturo nadvlade višjega nad nižjim slojem, s tem pa dodatno slabi razredni boj, v katerega vnaša razizem, ki ustvarja ločevalno polje znotraj samega razrednega boja in ga s tem reducira na minimum.

Druga faza je faza neskončnega reproduciranja sistema, katerega posledice se manifestirajo tudi skozi trenutno krizo, ki je – kot navaja Antonio Negri – sama odraz prekomerne eksploatacije nižjega in srednjega sloja. V eni izmed oddaj *L'Infedele* (Neveren), ki so bile predvajane na kanalu LA7, takoj po začetku krize, je Negri, kot sodelujoči na razpravi, dejal, »da gre vzrok sedanje finančne krize iskati v zadolževanju ameriških družin, ki so oropane socialne države, oropane pravice, da izrazijo pritisk represije, v kateri živijo in ki se je nekoč kazala v obliki mezdnega plačila, danes pa se ta pritisk kaže kot pritisk na oblike življenja, na nezmožnost reproduciranja lastnega življenja. Ker nimajo denarja za osnovne življenjske potrebe, kot sta denimo zdravstvo ali šolstvo itd., so se bili prisiljeni zadolževati« (Negri). Tako smo soočeni z realnostjo neoliberalizma in tržne ekonomije, ki poleg vzpostavljanja elitnih struktur postopoma uničuje vse, kar je bilo z bojem pridobljeno v zadnjih 150 letih (delavske pravice, socialne pravice, pravice do izobraževanja, itd.) in vrača nižji sloj v tisti položaj, v katerem je bil v času industrializacije.

Tretja faza je manipulacija družbe, ki poteka prek medijev in kjer se nagovor vrši na podlagi afirmativne politike reševanja sistema, kjer je prostora samo za črnooglede scenarije o nezmožnosti obstoja civilizacije izven neoliberalnih vrednot. Tako naj bi bilo nesmiselno iskati alternative, temveč je potrebno slepo slediti ideologiji kapitala. Na tem mestu lahko govorimo o načrtni manipulaciji, saj strategijo pasivizacije, ki jo kapital izkorišča za proizvodnjanje kolektivne pasivnosti, sistem uporabi za vzpostavitev kolektivne paranoidnosti in vzbujanja strahu o zrušitvi neoliberalizma. Namesto reaktivacije socialnega čuta in družbene pripadnosti sistem družbo vedno globlje razslojuje in znotraj nje načrtno vpeljuje razizem, diskriminacijo in ksenofobijo. Še več, v zgodbo o krizi so mediji s pomočjo ekonomskih strokovnjakov in analitikov vpeljali dramatični scenarij morebitnega kolapsa sistema, s katerim so omogočili sistem, da utemelji reševanje finančne krize z denarjem davkoplačevalcev rekoč, da če krize ne bomo sanirali, če država ne stopi na pomoč, če davkoplačevalskega denarja ne porabimo za sanacijo, se bo celoten sistem zrušil. Ob vsem tem pa so seveda mediji pozabili omeniti, da z davkoplačevalskim denarjem rešujemo sistem, katerega edini cilj je vzdrževanje razredne klasifikacije.

Neoliberalizem tako posodablja svojo kapitalistično matrico s socialnim momentom, katerega najprej do popolnosti izropa in ga nato vpne v službo kapitala. Se pravi, ideologija neoliberalizma ni samo nadomestila ideologije socializma, ampak jo je kot nek degeneriran izrodek zapakirala v novo podobo, ki jo sedaj reklamira kot neoliberalistični izum.

V četrti fazi lahko zasledimo paralelnost dogodkov, ki so pripeljali do krize, špekulacij in dobičkov, ki bodo zaradi tega nastali, ter napoved o globalni recesiji, ki bo prizadela realno ekonomijo in bo pomembno vplivala na naše življenje. A kljub krizi ne smemo pozabiti, da se pohod in diktat kapitala ter kolonizacija, ki jo ta izvršuje, kontinuirano nadaljujejo in izvajajo. Če za primer vzamemo Prištino in analiziramo dogodke, ki so se zgodili ob proglastitvi kosovske neodvisnosti, se lahko legitimno vprašamo, kakšni so bili in so interesi kapitala pri priznanju Kosova. V tem trenutku je na Kosovu vidna tista oblika kolonizacije, ki pripada neoliberalni ekspanzijski logiki kapitala, tisti sodobni kolonizacijski strategiji, ki poteka paralelno na

različnih predelih sveta (v drugem in tretjem svetu) in na katere se aplicira različne geopolitične načrte in strategije (od biopolitike do nekropolitike) ter se tako prek kapitalske odvisnosti pogojuje vse ostale segmente družbene odvisnosti. Ta poteka simultano na treh nivojih, in sicer, kot prvo se vzpostavlja prek *medijacije zahodnih kapitalističnih vrednot*, ki jih sistem posreduje s pomočjo vizualnih sporočil, ki slonijo na uporabi belih, krščanskih in heteroseksualnih zahodnjaških vrednot (Gržinič). Kot drugo sistem uvaja strategijo podrejanja, ki jo izvaja prek *nadzora kapitala*; to pomeni, da se prek kapitalskih investicij, lastniških deležev in privatizacije vrši nadzor nad celotno kapitalsko in posledično družbeno strukturo v neki državi ali na nekem geografskem področju. Kot tretji in najpomembnejši člen pri vzpostavljanju kapitalske in družbene odvisnosti pa je *globalni načrt*, ki služi kot matrica neoliberalistični ekspanzijski logiki. Sredstvo za izvajanje globalnega načrta pa je globalizacija, ki jo je kapital izumil kot nov civilizacijski načrt, da bi zavladal svetu (Mignolo).

V tem trenutku se nahajamo na robu transformacije v novo dobo neoliberalizma, ki dosedanja politiko tržne ideologije nadgrajuje s socialistično logiko delovanja, ki pa ni socialno, pač pa ekskluzivno elitistično in razredno naravnana. Čas od nas zahteva, da začnemo nov razredni boj, ki ne bo iskal razlik (rasnih, spolnih, verskih, itd.) znotraj samega sebe, ampak bo sposoben lokalizirati hegemonsko strukturo zatiranja s strani kapitalističnega razreda, ki je kriv za vse večje razredno diskriminacijo in socialno bedo.

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Sebastjan Leban THE STRATEGY OF THE MODERNISATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL AND STRUCTURAL MATRIX OF NEOLIBERALISM

The recent events related to the mortgage crisis in the USA, whose consequences have spread throughout the world, offer a clear picture of today's reality of neoliberalism, its modernisation strategies, and the consequences of globalisation which not only condition our everyday living, but have largely set and determined our future. At least this is how the system and all its agents convince us of the potential consequences of the crisis already influencing the real economy. The system tries to persuade the viewer/consumer/voter that it is not possible to think an alternative: in short, that no system is possible outside the neoliberal valorisation pattern. Is this really the case or is it just a carefully planned model of inducing paranoid fear due to the potential collapse of capital which modernises the ideological and structural matrix of neoliberalism in reality?

The initiative to recover from the crisis by using taxpayers' money, which has actually been realised to such an extent that Germany, France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Austria approved and earmarked over 1,300 billion euro to remedy the present crisis, testifies to the state of exception definitely and permanently introduced by neoliberalism throughout the world. The entire problem of the crisis is additionally related to the definition of property (public and private), on one hand, and to the definition and consideration of the public and private in the broader social context, on the other. When we talk about public and private property and try to draw a boundary line between them, we cannot ignore neither the changes which have come about in the last few decades in the West, nor those (initially) conditioned by a market ideology and the privatisation structure of neoliberalism in Slovenia, in the Balkans, and other countries of Eastern Europe.

In Socialism, *public* denoted something intended for the public benefit and exclusively publicly owned, while in capitalism *public* denotes something advertised as a public interest but actually privately owned (at least this is how we can read the recent events in the field of bank rehabilitation). Thus the meaning of the term *public space* in the East was completely different than in the West, for public space in Socialism was, by the definition of Socialist logic, something intended exclusively for the public benefit, while the prism of Capitalist logic, which includes the diction of private property in itself, sees the public space as that space intended for public use, but with a strictly defined objective; it mostly concerns private property intended for public use solely from the aspect of profit. Here it must be emphasised that this change has not occurred only in the case of public spaces and public property, but that privatisation has affected other sectors, too, such as education, health care, culture, etc. Thus, it is not surprising that some time ago, when the real estate market was still prospering, there was a television advertisement with three well-known Slovenian actors, two men and a pregnant woman, promoting the advantages of loans taken from the Slovenian state-owned bank NKBM. The utter absurdity of the matter is proven by the fact that the actress, answering a question regarding how she could afford a loan, proudly states: "It's truly simple, I took the loan, as well as my dad and mum, and even my grandma." We are dealing with a capitalist logic whose extraordinary offer is supposed to enable a young family, a single mother, etc., to buy an apartment although its price is so high that the mother will have to work for it for her entire life – and what is worse, not only herself but three generations. What is perverse in this whole story and what remains hidden is the fact that in the case of Slovenia the first two generations' self-imposed contributions had renovated the publicly-owned infrastructure, which was privatised after independence and the introduction of neoliberalism.

The character of the mother-to-be is used through the mediated image on the television to induce a feeling of certainty in the uncertain

social situation faced by a great majority of the population of the first capitalist world. This socially neglected group consists mostly of the lower class, which was unable to adapt to the market logic of capital or to the neoliberal transformation of the former Socialist state during the transition because it simply had not been offered this opportunity. From this aspect, the analysis of the strategy of financial crisis solution is even more interesting, for the turn experienced by all having undergone the neoliberalistic conversion during the transition – where the state property, therefore the people's property, was privatised, which enabled the establishment of monopoly structures – caused in the last decade a wild privatisation in the Slovenian space and the redistribution of a large amount of public property into the hands of just a few individuals. The understanding of this turn is of key importance, for it clarifies the reasons for a planned appropriation of the Socialist logic of operation by capitalism after the same capitalism importantly contributed to its destruction. What we are witness to in the present solution of the financial crisis by means of taxpayers' money in the countries of the first capitalist world was long ago realised and tested by capitalism with the help of neoliberalism in the countries of the former Eastern bloc, including Slovenia and the Balkans.

Thus we may state that the present way of resolving financial crisis is a part of established practice in transition countries where enterprises in trouble were restored by taxpayers' money to help the enterprise recover from crisis; however, after the recovery the profit was shared by a handful of individuals (managers) who, instead of returning the recovery money together with participating interest to the state revenue, used it to carry out privatisation (managerial purchases).

What is revealed by the above?

It is a multi-level process simultaneously determining the neoliberal present and creating conditions for its proliferation in the future. This process is implemented in different phases, which are defined below.

In the first phase we witness a raw manifestation of the capital power, which is not abstract, but fully manifested through the visible mechanisms of power. Therefore, it is not surprising that laws are changed and adapted to the needs and wishes of the capitalist class, that taxpayers' money is used as a guarantee for private investments, and last but not least – as we can see in the example of the financial crisis – that the debt being recovered is unidentifiable in real terms, for states determine it on a daily basis regarding the fluctuations of world stock markets. The system justifies its actions by stating that it takes care of its self-regeneration, of people and their savings. In short, it advertises care for the everyman and his future. In view of this, we must, of course, ask ourselves what happened to all those individuals whose pledged mortgages have been foreclosed on, who lost their homes, etc., because they were simply unable to repay the loan, because they did not have any opportunities from the start, for their reality is conditioned by social status and class.

The fate of these people is insignificant to the system, for their role is measured on the basis of the production value based on the consumption and market economy; as long as an individual's contribution benefits capital in accordance with market logic, the subject is a constituent element of society; otherwise they become an unimportant link immediately rejected and eliminated by the system. The bare hierarchical structure repeating itself as a pattern since the beginnings of civilisation values on the basis of classification. If we compare the above with Anibal Quijano's analysis of how racial classification became the main criterion for placing people into ranks, places, and roles, it turns out that the pattern used through the centuries to define racial classification and the dominant position of the white race over the others applies to class classification as well. In the author's opinion "racial classification has been the most effective and long-lasting instrument of universal social domination since the sixteenth century,

because the much older principle – gender or intersexual domination – was encroached upon by the inferior/superior racial classifications" (Quijano). It is exactly these two classifications between the inferior and the superior race that constitute the basis for the classification between the inferior and the superior class derived from class classification. However, an important difference is presented here: neoliberalism not only used the strategy of racial classification and integrated it as a repeating pattern in the strategy of class classification, but also incorporated racial classification as well as gender or intersexual domination in the implementation of class classification. Thus one classification contains different forms of classification covering different forms of discriminations, from racial to gender, etc.

One of the system's strategies is the planned distinction between white and other races and the stressing of a privileged role of the white race over the others. This introduces racism within class classification, which is, among others, a topic of *Whiteness Without Apartheid: The Limits of Racial Freedom*, a text by Achille Mbembe, who defines that "in the United States today, the white poor are encouraged to support the dismantling of the welfare state and the cutting of specific policies that could improve their life chances. Although policies stigmatised as »affirmative action« have helped hundreds of thousands of white women enter colleges, secure employment, and gain promotions, white poor are persuaded that »the blacks get more«. For this reason, they are the most virulent opponents of »affirmative action« although they, too, suffer from economic hardship, social stigma and political disempowerment" (Mbembe). In this way the system continually maintains the hierarchical structure of the supremacy of the higher over the lower class, thus further weakening the class struggle by introducing racism, which establishes a field of separation within the class struggle itself and therefore reduces it to the minimum.

The second phase is the phase of the infinite reproduction of the system, whose consequences are also manifested through the current crisis, which is – as stated by Antonio Negri – itself a reflection of the over-exploitation of the lower and middle classes. In the show *L'Infedele* (Unfaithful) broadcast on the LA7 channel immediately after the onset of the crisis, Negri, as a participant in the discussion, said "that the reason for the present financial crisis must be sought in the debts of American families deprived of the welfare state, deprived of the right to express the pressure of the repression they live in and which was once revealed in the form of a wage, while now it has the form of pressure on the forms of life, on the incapability to reproduce one's own life. Since they do not have enough money to cover their basic life needs, such as health care or schooling, they were forced into debt" (Negri). Thus we are faced with the reality of neoliberalism and the market economy, which, besides establishing elite structures, gradually destroys everything gained through struggle in the last 150 years (workers' rights, social rights, rights to education, etc.) and returns the lower class to the position it had at the time of industrialisation.

The third phase is the manipulation of society taking place through the media and carried out on the basis of the affirmative policy of system solving with room only for pessimistic scenarios with regard to the incapability of civilisation to exist outside of neoliberal values. Thus, it is presumably absurd to seek alternatives; instead, the ideology of capital should be blindly followed. This is where we can talk about planned manipulation, for the strategy of passivisation misused by capital to produce collective passivity is used by the system to establish collective paranoia and induce fear of the collapse of neoliberalism. Instead of reactivating the social sense and social affiliation, the system pursues the further classification of society, deliberately introducing racism, discrimination, and xenophobia within it. What is more, the media, assisted by economic experts and analysts, introduced to the crisis story a dramatic scenario of the potential relapse of the system, which enabled the system to substantiate remedying the finan-

cial crisis by means of taxpayers' money by saying that if the crisis is not remedied, if the state does not come to the rescue, if taxpayers' money is not used for the bailout, the entire system will collapse. Of course, what the media forgot to mention in the process was that taxpayers' money was used to save a system whose only goal is to maintain class classification.

Neoliberalism thus modernises its capitalist matrix adding to it the social moment, which is first completely voided and then placed at the service of capital. Therefore the ideology of neoliberalism not only replaced the ideology of Socialism but wrapped it like a degenerated concept in a new image now propagated as a neoliberalistic invention.

In the fourth phase we can trace the parallel nature of the events which brought about the crisis, the resulting speculations and profits, and the forecasts that a global recession will affect the real economy and significantly influence our lives. However, regardless of the crisis, we must not forget that the advance and the dictate of capital as well as the colonisation it performs are relentlessly continued and implemented. If we take Prishtina as an example and analyse the events that happened upon the declaration of the independence of Kosovo, we may legitimately ask ourselves what were and are the interests of capital in the recognition of Kosovo. At the moment, Kosovo demonstrates the form of colonisation typical of the neoliberal expansive logic of capital, the contemporary colonisation strategy whose parallels are implemented in different parts of the world (the second and third worlds) and to which different geopolitical plans and strategies (from biopolitics to necropolitics) are applied, thus conditioning all other segments of social dependency through capital dependency. This goes on simultaneously at three levels: Firstly, it is established through the mediation of *Western capitalist values* conveyed by the system through visual messages based on the use of white, Christian, and heterosexual Western values (Gržinič). Secondly, the system introduces the strategy of subjugation implemented through *capital control*, which means that capital investments, equities, and privatisation are the means of controlling the entire capital and consequentially the social structure in a given country or geographical area. The third and most important link in establishing capital and social dependency is the *global design* that serves as a matrix for the neoliberalist expansive logic. The means for the implementation of the global design is globalisation, which capital invented as a new civilisation design in order to rule the world (Mignolo).

At this moment we are on the brink of a transformation to the new era of neoliberalism, which upgrades the current market ideology policy with the Socialist logic of operation, which is, however, not socially but exclusively elite- and class-oriented. The times demand that we start a new class struggle which will not seek differences (racial, gender, religious, etc.) within itself, but one that will rather be able to localise the hegemonic structure of oppression by the capitalist class responsible for increasing class discrimination and social poverty.

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Translated from Slovenian by Polona Glavan.



Medijacija zahodnih kapitalističnih vrednot prek reklamnega panoja IPKO; fotografija: Sebastjan Leban in Staš Kleindienst, *Contemporary Structures of Colonization, Prishtina, Kosovo, 24.9.2008*, (Sodobne oblike kolonizacije, Priština, Kosovo, 24.9.2008), delo v nastajanju (detalj)

A billboard's advertising by IPKO mediates western capitalist values; photo: Sebastjan Leban and Staš Kleindienst, *Contemporary Structures of Colonization, Prishtina, Kosovo, 24.9.2008*, work in progress (detail)