

REARTIKULACIJA

UMETNIŠKO-POLITIČNA-TEORETIČNA-DISKURZIVNA PLATFORMA
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ARTISTIC-POLITICAL-THEORETICAL-DISCURSIVE PLATFORM 06



Marina Gržinić: Okoljska kriza in cunamiji narave, kakor tudi trenutni gospodarski cunami, se producira in reproducirajo z znanostjo, tehnologijo in epistemologijo kapitalizma./ The environmental crisis, the tsunami of nature and as well the present tsunami of economy, are produced and reproduced through capitalist science, technology and epistemology.

Šefik Šeki Tatlić: Solidarnost pomeni oviro na poti k »osebnemu uspehu v življenju«, svoboda pa svoboden pristop k nefrofilskemu užitku pervertirati vse predstave o pomenu, razen tiste, ki pravi, da obstaja le en pomen, to pa je pomen, ki ga diktira režim./ Solidarity is perceived as an obstacle to "private success in life" and freedom is perceived as the freedom to join the necrophilic enthusiasm to pervert every notion of meaning besides the one that says that there is no other meaning but the one dictated by the regime.



Araba Evelyn Johnston-Arthur: Radikalne agende za okoljsko pravčnost in gibanja za osvoboditev potekajo hkrati in globalno. Okoljski rasizem nam omogoča, da razumemo medsebojno povezanost različnih sistemov zatiranja (racizma, seksizma ali izkoriščanja) in način, kako ti spodbujajo ekonomsko in okoljsko pravčnost./ Radical agendas of environmental justice and liberation movements are at the same time inclusive and global. Environmental racism enables us to understand the interaction of different oppressive systems (racism, sexism or exploitation) and the way they undermine economic and environmental justice.



Walter Mignolo: Izkoriščanje delovne sile in prisvajanje zemelj v Novem svetu sta se odvijala sočasno z rasno klasifikacijo. V Novem svetu je rasna klasifikacija upravičevala razlaščanje zemelj, ki je pripadala Indijancem, množično trgovanje z zasužnjenimi Afričani in brutalno izkoriščanje delovne sile. Ta nova oblika ekonomije pa se je prav tako odvijala sočasno s spremenjanjem drugih sfer znotraj kolonialne matrice moči./ Exploitation of labour and appropriation of land in the New World went hand in hand with racial classification. In the New World, racial classification legitimized expropriation of land from Indians, the massive trade of enslaved Africans, and the brutal exploitation of labour. This new type of economy went hand in hand with the transformation of other spheres within the colonial matrix of power.



Reartikulacija je bila povabljena, da na letosnjem berlinskem Transmedialu 09 z naslovom *Skrajni sever* organizira delavnico, ki bo omogočila premislek o možnih globalnih okoljskih katastrofah, ki so v zadnjih desetletjih vse bolj prisotne. Z naslovom **Reartikulacija scenarijev okoljske katastrofe** smo žeeli kritično intervenirati v strukturo sodobne družbe in izpostaviti povezave med naračajočo okoljsko problematiko na eni in pogubnimi socialnimi politikami na drugi strani. Oboje namreč poglablja družbeno neenakost, omogoča nove oblike kolonializma, hiperkomodifikacijo in marginalizacijo različnih družbenopolnih, etničnih skupin itd. / In the frame of this year's *Transmediale Berlin 2009*, and its theme *Deep North*, Reartikulacija was invited to organize a workshop reflecting on the potential global environmental catastrophes that have been increasingly occurring in the last decades. We proposed the workshop **Re-Articulating the Scenarios of Environmental Catastrophe** in order to critically intervene in the structure of contemporary society and to expose connections between the ever more escalating environmental problems and the catastrophic social policies being produced on daily basis. The effect of both is wider social inequalities; developing new forms of colonialism, producing hyper-commodification and marginalization of different gender and ethничal groups, etc.



Sebastjan Leban: Vse večja revščina, podrejanja in neenakosti, ki vedno bolj prizadevajo večino svetovne populacije, so tesno povezani z okoljsko politiko, ki je poleg tržne ekonomije postala ena glavnih regulatorjev globalne kolonialne ekspanzije kapitala./ Increasing conditions of poverty, subordination and inequalities that are increasingly faced on earth daily by the major part of its population are strictly connected with the environmental policy that, beside the market economy, has become one of the basic regulators of the global colonial expansion of capital.

Madina Tlostanova: Okoljske katastrofe so posledica temnejše strani modernosti, to je globalne kolonialnosti, ki se kaže kot niz dolgo vzpostavljenih struktur moči, ki izhajajo iz kolonializma in obstajajo še danes, dolgo po tem, ko so kolonializem in kolonialne ureditve prenehale obstajati./ Environmental catastrophes are a result of the darker side of modernity, that of global coloniality, as a set of long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but continue to exist long after colonialism and colonial administrations as such are gone.



Lala Rašić: Ne smemo pozabiti, da tega območja ni prizadel le orkan Katrina, pač pa tudi pomanjkljivi nasipi, ki jih je zgradila zvezna država in ki bi morali trajati mnogo let, a se danes še vedno obnavljajo in popravljajo. Poročila o tem, kdaj naj bi ti nasipi zares zagotavljali varnost mesta, so žal zelo različna./ The other thing you have to remember is: it is not just that hurricane Katrina damaged this area, but it is about the failure of the Federal levees, which were supposed to last for years and which are now still being repaired and brought back to a level at which they will be able to protect the city – we are getting different reports as to when this will happen.

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

REARTIKULACIJA je umetniški projekt skupine Reartikulacija/
REARTIKULACIJA is an art project by the group Reartikulacija:
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Koordinacija prevodov/Translation coordinator: Tanja Passoni
Oblikovanje/Design: Trie
Oblikovanje naslovnice/Cover design: Leban-Kleindienst
Postavitev/Page layout: Staš Kleindienst
Tisk/Print: Čukgraf
Naklada/Print run: 2000

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Izdajo časopisa so omogočili podporniki projekta ter vsi sodelujoči pisci, umetniki in umetniške skupine v pričujoči številki/The publication of the journal has been made possible by the generous contribution of the supporters of the project and all the contributors (authors of texts, artists and art groups) in this issue.

Izdajatelj/Publisher: Društvo za sodobno kreativnost HCHO/
Society for Contemporary Creativity HCHO.



Časopis je brezplačen/The journal is free of charge.
Časopis Reartikulacija je vpisan v razvid medijev na Ministrstvu za kulturo RS/The journal Reartikulacija is registered in the mass media register at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia.

Bančni račun/Bank account: SI56020100256719681; SWIFT:
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Reartikulacija št./no. 6, Ljubljana, 2009.

Projekt podpira Fundacija ERSTE/
This project has been supported by ERSTE Foundation:



ERSTE Stiftung

Podporniki projekta/Supporters of the project:



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REARTIKULACIJA ŠT. 6: ČAS ZA UVODNIK

Ob trenutnih razmerah v svetu, kjer peščica privilegiranih živi svoje življenje s stilom na račun večine zapostavljenega prebivalstva, ne moremo zogli nemo opazovati. Čas od nas zahteva, da reagiramo; zahteva razredni boj in radikalno kritično intervencijo v ekonomijo, kulturo, sodobno umetnost, družbeni kontekst in politiko. Lahko se postavimo po robu hegemonističnim strukturam – bodisi s pisanjem, protestiranjem, z aktivizmom ali umetniškim projektom –, a pri tem se moramo zavedati, da si je potreben umisliti predvsem nove strategije upora proti diskriminaciji, brutalnemu izvajanju moči, rasizmu, seksizmu, kriminalnemu prilaščanju skupnega in privatizaciji javnega prostora, institucij, znanja, pravic, dostenjstvenosti, s katerimi kapital nadzoruje, manipulira in uničuje naša življenja.

Šesta številka Reartikulacije želi povezati in izpostaviti nove oblike kolonizacije in izkorisčanja. Razkriti želi tisto, kar lahko mirno označimo za očitno kriminalno dejanje menedžerskih struktur in politikov na oblasti, ki nam jemljejo delo, plačo, družbeno in zdravstveno varnost, pokojnine naših staršev, sosedov, prijateljev in neštetih delavcev po vsem svetu. In ne nazadnje osvetiliti že jasno rasistično in fašistično držo do priseljencev in manjšin. Trenutna gospodarska kriza, njene posledice in poskusi rešitve kapitalizma dajejo lažen vtis, da je kapitalizem propadel in da ga bo nasledil nov družbeni red, ki bo bolj naklonjen družbi, okolju itd. A to je bolj kot ne varljivo upanje. Kapitalizem po svojem bistvu ostaja enak; spreminja le podobo, da bi prikril svojo izkoriščevalsko naravo, si umislil nove oblike zatiranja in se posodobil za 21. stoletje.

To je tudi izhodiščna točka pričujoče številke Reartikulacije, ki s povezovanjem preteklih in sedanjih družbenih neenakosti, procesov marginalizacije, strategij podrejanja in okoljskih problematik poskuša opredeliti in lokalizirati nekdanje in nove vire zatiranja in razviti nove možne oblike radikalnega kritičnega delovanja, da bi intervenirala v vse bolj dovršene procese kapitalističnega zatiranja in razlažanja.

Zaradi prekerne, situacije, v kateri smo se znašli v tem trenutku, so v tej številki v slovenščino prevedeni samo štiri članki, saj nismo uspeli zagotoviti dodatnih sredstev za osnovna (minimalna, skorajda simbolna, a vendarle pomembna) plačila našim zvestim prevajalcem in lektorjem. Skupina Reartikulacija je vse bolj prepričana, da je glede na trenutne razmere še toliko bolj pomembno nadaljevati boj proti vsaki obliki izkoriščanja. Zato se bomo z radikalnim kritičnim mišljenjem še naprej borili za razvezo družbe od kapitalističnega zatiranja in se zavzemali za pravičnost.

REARTIKULACIJA NO. 6: TIME FOR THE EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

When facing the current situation in the world, where the privileged part of the population lives its life with styles afforded at the expense of the majority of the world population, one cannot just stand still and observe passively. The situation demands from us a reaction: it calls for a class struggle, for a radical critical intervention in economy, culture, contemporary art, social context and politics. We can take a clear position in relation to the hegemonic structures by any means at our disposal, either with writings, protests, activism, artistic project, though it is important to realize that we have first and foremost to think about new forms of strategies of resistance against any level of discrimination, brutal power, racism, sexism, criminal appropriation and privatization of commons, factories, public spaces, institutions, knowledge, rights, or dignity, through which capital controls, manipulates and finally destroys our lives.

The focus of this issue of the journal Reartikulacija is to connect and expose new forms of colonization and exploitation; to lay bare what is possible to call pure and clear criminal acts by managerial structures and politicians in power, regarding labour, wages, social and health security, pensions for our parents, neighbours, friends, and millions of workers worldwide; to expose clear racist and fascistic attitudes toward migrants and minorities. The current economic crisis, its consequences and the mediation for the salvation of capitalism is giving a fake feeling that capitalism has failed and that it will be replaced by a new social form more concerned with society, environment, etc. But this is far from being true. Behind this false hope, capitalism is just changing its pants, masking its proper exploitative nature and inventing new forms of oppression, updating itself for the 21st century.

This is the point of departure of Reartikulacija no. 6, which by connecting social inequalities, processes of marginalisation, strategies of subjugation and environmental issues from the past to what is happening today seeks to define and localize the old/new sources of oppression and to develop new possible forms for a radical critical activity, to intervene in more and more sophisticated processes of oppression and expropriation in capitalism.

In this issue just four texts are translated into Slovene, since the precarious situation to which we are restricted in the present moment did not allow us to provide additional funds for basic fees (small, almost symbolic, but still important) for our faithful translators and language editors. Nevertheless, the collective Reartikulacija is more than ever convinced that the time demands from us to continue the struggle against every form of exploitation, and by producing radical critical thought, we will continue to contribute to further processes of de-linking the society from the oppression of capital, insisting on justice.

Marina Gržinić and Sebastjan Leban
Editors of the journal Reartikulacija

Marina Gržinić in Sebastjan Leban
Uredniki časopisa Reartikulacija

**Nataša Velikonja
LEZBIČNA REVIZIJA**

Včasih pridejo trenutki, ko si utrujena in izčrpana od pisanja. Ne gre za tisto slovito in zloveščo avtorsko utrujenost ali pisateljsko izčrpanost; še posebej, če si lezbična avtorica, ti tem *nikdar* ne bo zmanjkalo. Okolje ti vsakodnevno in »vsakonočno« prinaša nove in sveže primerke čudes individualnega in kolektivnega obnašanja, ki smo jih vse združno stlačili pod oznako »homofobija«, četudi bi njihovim tisočerim pojavnostim prav lahko rekli tudi »čisto običajen slehernikov dan«. Bolj gre za nekakšno »smrt javnosti«; še posebej, če si lezbična avtorica in pišeš že pol življenja, in to večinoma tekste o teh *nikdar* prekinjenih slehernikovih dneh oziroma homofobiji, ti bo nemoč pisane besede tako zelo načela privzgojeno pisemsko dostojnost, da bi namesto premišljenih analiz ali sanjavih esejev najraje napisala »Jebite se vso po spisku« in šla s tistimi tremi preostalimi starimi obdrgnjenimi lezbačami v še zadnjo preostalo staro obdrgnjeno oštarijo na koncu mesta in tam ostala vse do svoje nasilne in prezgodnejne smrti.

V nekem smislu je nastajanje *gejevske in lezbične scene* sledilo točno takšnemu nagonskemu pobegu pred dokončno izčrpanostjo. Gejem in lezbijkam je na neki točki resnično dovolj dogovarjanja – ne le s tistimi, ki so na svet poklicani zato, da na vse pretege ovirajo dober homoseksualni fuk, verbalni ali telesni, temveč tudi z onimi, ki s svojimi živiljenjskimi praksami izpričujejo, da so ljudje svobodni le takrat, ko so doma. Ali v klozetu.

Ti uničevalni, a trdovratni civilizacijski rutini, *domačnost* in *klozet*, so geji in lezbijke s svojim povezovanjem le delno razpustili. Homoseksualni aktivizem se je v 20. stoletju začel tudi z bojem za pravico do neoviranega in javnega družabnega življenja ter se nato v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih nadaljeval s pozivom po razveljavitvi konvencij zasebnega življenja, ki so se vse bolj kazale zgolj kot legalizirane in visoko priporočene oblike sodobnega suženjstva, neplačanega dela, medosebnega nadzora, nasilja nad otroki, lastnirjenja teles in duha, prisilnega seksa ali še bolj prisilnega celibata. Še vedno mi ni jasno, zakaj sta prekrasni *Sodoma in Gomorah* padli. Zaradi *aids* krize gotovo ne: varnejši seks je bil takojšnja gejevska obrambna reakcija proti prekletstvu prisilne monogamije in za zaščito blaženega štrikanja. Zaradi *novega konservativizma* v začetku osemdesetih let tudi ne: prav tedaj so se v angleškem in ameriškem prostoru, torej v srcu divjanja novega fašizma, odvijale burne »seksualne vojne« znotraj lezbične skupnosti, ki so radikalizirale lezbično teorijo, aktivizem in tudi same lezbijke in pred svet nepovratno postavile novo lezbično generacijo, ki ji je prav figo mar za medčloveško solidarnost, kolikor ta predpostavlja strpnost do vseživljivenske zviažnosti, ki jo namesto upora zelo pogosto prakticirajo podrejeni razredi, recimo ženske, da bi ublažili svoje trpljenje.

Vse bolj se torej zdi, da je po dveh neuspehov poskusih uničenja homoseksualne svobode, ki smo jima bili priča v zadnjih desetletjih, dokončni udarec zadal nov program restavracije, poimenovan *integracija gejev in lezbijk*, in ta je uspel na vseh ravneh. Strejti so radi malce milostni in zelo radi pokroviteljski. Geji in lezbijke pa smo hudo patetični in fatalistični. Kaj bi ne bili. In tako so se pojavile vse tiste podobe zakonske zvezne, partnerstev, cvetlic, venčkov in belih tort z dvema rožnatima ženinoma ali dvema rožnatima nevestama – za ohranjanje *razlike*. In Del Martin in Phyllis Lyon, ustanoviteljici *Bilitinih sester*, prve ameriške lezbične organizacije iz petdesetih, sta svoj več kot petdeset let dolg aktivistični boj zaokrožili in kronali leta 2008 z veleodgovkom, ki je postal znan kot *prva homoseksualna poroka v Kaliforniji*. Prvi lezbični aktivistki in tudi prvi poročeni. Pa smo doma. Hvala lepa.

A *Bilitis*, mitološka Sapfina učenka, pravi v pesmih Pierra Loujysa takole: »Skozi gozdove, ki vladajo nad morjem, so se drevile Mene. Mashalé z ognjevitimi prsi, tuleč, je vihtela falos, ki je bil iz si-komorovega lesa in rdeče pomazan. Vse pod basarido in kronami iz popja so tekale in kričale ter skakale, krotale so ropotale v rokah in tarsi so razbijali kožo bobnečih timpanov.« Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy in Madeline D. Davis v knjigi *Usnjeni škornji, zlati čeveljci: zgodovina lezbične skupnosti*, analizi ameriških lezbičnih barov iz petdesetih in šestdesetih let, ugotavljata, da so organizacijo *Bilitine sestre* ustanovile prav tiste članice takrat že močne lezbične barske skupnosti, katerim je bilo poudarjeno in izrecno mesto seksualnosti v barski kulturi neprijetno. Avtorici menita, da je to pripomoglo k naravnosti celotnega kasnejšega lezbičnega aktivizma, ki je torej striktno spregledoval in zavračal pozitivne učinkine lezbične seksualne barske kulture na poznejo politično moč homoseksualne skupnosti. Prav tako znano dejstvo je, da sta Martin in Lyon svojo integracionistično politiko že od začetka barvali z nekaknimi spravnimi dialogi s krščanskimi cerkvami.

Skratka: dobro bi bilo znova razmisli o celotnem skladu vedenja, znanja, informacij, političnih usmeritev, ki tvorijo zgodovino lezbičnega in gejevskega aktivizma, in morda revidirati aprioristične trditve o emancipatornem naboju, ki naj bi ga ta vselej imel. V sami zgodovini *gibanja* bi bilo dobro poiskati tiste nastavke, ki so ne nazadnje privedli do stanja zložnega izginjanja gejevskih in lezbičnih kultur ter *udomačitve* homoseksualcev in posledično do ponovne implozije v *klozet*. Morda bi s ponovno refleksijo vendar le zmogli znova obuditi to mrtvo tvorbo, ki je nekoč bila vitalna, razpoznavna homoskopnost.

Prav letos Slovenija beleži petindvajset let od začetkov gejevskega gibanja. Aprila 1984 se je v Ljubljani začel *Magnus festival*, na-slovjen Homoseksualnost in kultura, ki je pred slovensko oziroma tedaj še jugoslovansko javnost prinesel nekaj najboljših avtorjev gejevske teorije in umetnosti, Roso von Praunheima, Franka Ripploha, Lotharja Lambert, Guya Hocquenghema, R. W. Fassbinderja, Divinea. Organizatorji so, kot pišejo v opisu projekta, zbirali raznovrsten material in nato preprosto razstavili to, kar so dobili. »Vidimo lahko«, pišejo v fanzinu *Viks*, ki je izšel ob festivalu, »kar-

seda raznovrsten material: od izdaj krščanskih in konservativnih skupin do skrajno levčarskih, od 'lepih' grafično bogatih in vsebinsko raznovrstnih revij, do preprostih, cenenih izdaj, od izrazito komercialnih do teoretskih produktov, od naivno polpornografiskih publikacij do drznih likovnih intervencij. Mislimo, da heterogenost v tem primeru ne pomeni akceptualnosti, temveč da se šele s tem izkaže široki spekter homoseksualne subkulture.«

Prof. dr. Ljubo Bavcon, eden od pobudnikov ukinitve kazenskega pregona homoseksualcev v Sloveniji leta 1977, je v lanskoletnem intervjuju v časniku *Dnevnik* priznal, da jim je dekriminalizacija homoseksualnosti uspela, »ker v tistem času katoliška cerkev ni imela moči, da bi se oglašala, sovrašča do drugačnih v spolnosti ni imelo nobene zunanje spodbude in molčal je tudi del prebivalstva, ki je bil tradicionalno vzgojen v nasprotovanju homoseksualnosti in drugim spolnim različnostim.«

Stranska vrata, ki so jih torej čez prgišče let odprli sami pionirski aktivisti in skozi katera se je v že predhodno sprožene *osvobodilne tokove* vrnili konservativizem – kot kaže primer *Bilitinih sester* ali upodabljanje »širokega spektra homoseksualne subkulture«, ki je v *Magnus festival* in nato v kasnejši aktivizem pripeljalo krščanske in konservativne skupine – so ne nazadnje nujno privedla do poganjaj, če ne celo do vojne med dvema izključujočima si programa. Rezultati so vidni: eden od elementov boja za javno življenje gejev in lezbijk, izborjeni družabni prostori, so zgozl podaljšek nekdanjih »malih oglasov«, dandanes pa *Facebookov*, *Messengerjev*, *chat roomov* in podobnega. Lezbična in gejevska scena je postala nekakšen manj pomemben vogal srečevanja, nikakor pa ne platforma politične subjektivizacije. Razlika med *geji* in *homoseksualci* je spodletela. »Gej in lezbičnik ne vidim več kaj dosti«, sem zadnjič rekla znanki s scene, ki mi je nato z vso silo ugovarjala, češ, pač nimam pojma, koliko lezbičje je v Sloveniji – »Vsaka druga ženska je lezbička!« –, saj se je prek *Facebooka* ravnokar zapelca z žensko, ki je poročena, ima otroke, stalno ljubimko in še dalje išče ženske za seks. »Nimaš pojma, ljudje živijo vse živo!« Nastaja novo-stará kultura *klozeta* izpred začetkov gibanja. Razlikovalna kultura je poniknila: programski vodje homoklubov skorajda brez izjemne težkoj k čim večji skladnosti z dominantnimi trendi zabave in nudijo obiskovalcem in obiskovalkam pir in turbo muziko. Vidim ameriška petdeseta, ko so morali kriptohomoseksualni bari za svoj obstoj bojevali podtalne bitke z lokalnimi tolparmi. Vidim strejt, poročeno, heteroseksualno žensko, ki na univerzi predava *gejevske in lezbične študije*. Vidim queer simulacre. Gej in lezbičnik ne vidim. Vidim pomanjšavo tiste druge družbe, kjer je vsega po malo – konservativcev, progresivcev, laži, ena Resnica, mnogo suspenza, veliko Cerkva, veliko revščine, malo seksa, dosti seksa – in v kateri ljudje v trenutkih razkrojenih humanističnih upov radi skomignejo z rameni in rečejo: Človeštvo pač. Ups: *Scena pac. Osvoboditev homoseksualnosti?* Se vidimo znova leta 1984. Orwellova.

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final blow came with the agenda of restoration, called *integration of gays and lesbians*, which succeeded on all levels. Straight people like to be a bit merciful and really like to be patronizing. Gays and lesbians, meanwhile, are highly pathetic and fatalistic. How would we not be? And thus enter all those images of marriage, partnerships, flowers, garlands and white cakes with two pink grooms or two pink brides for the preservation of difference. And so in 2008, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, founders of *Daughters of Bilitis*, the first American lesbian organization in the fifties, marked 50 years of the activist struggle with a major event which became known as the *first homosexual wedding* in California. And we are home. Thanks a lot.

In the poems of Pierre Louÿs, *Bilitis*, Sappho's mythological pupil says: "Through the forests that overhang the sea, the Maenads madly rushed. Masked of the fiery breasts, howling, brandished the sycamore phallus, smeared with red. All leaped and ran and cried aloud beneath their robes and crowns of twisted vine, crotals clacking in their hands, and thyrses splitting the bursting skins of echoing dulcimers." Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, authors of the book *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community*, in an analysis of American lesbian bars of the fifties and the sixties, ascertain that *Daughters of Bilitis* was founded by those members of the lesbian bar community that found the exposed and explicit position of sexuality in bar culture uncomfortable. The authors believe this contributed to the direction of the whole of the ensuing lesbian activism which therefore strictly disregarded and denied the positive effects of the lesbian sexual bar culture to the later political power of the homosexual community. It is also a known fact that entirely from the beginning, Martin and Lyon colored their integration politics with some sort of reconciling dialogues with the Christian Church.

In short: it would be useful to consider anew the entire stack of the awareness, the knowledge, the information, the political beliefs that form the history of *lesbian and gay activism*, and perhaps revise a priori claims of the emancipatory charge that has allegedly been there forever. It would be beneficial to search through the history of the movement and find those outpoints that in the final instance brought about the state of a comfortable disappearance of gay and lesbian cultures and the *homeliness* of homosexuals – and thus, as a consequence, a renewed implosion into the *closet*. A renewed consideration might help us awaken this dead formation which was once a vital, recognizable homo community.

This year marks the 25th anniversary of the beginnings of the gay movement in Slovenia. In April 1984 Ljubljana was the venue for the *Festival Magnus* titled "Homosexuality and Culture" which brought to the Slovene, at the time still the Yugoslav, public some of the best authors of gay theory and art, Rosa von Praunheim, Frank Ripploh, Lothar Lambert, Guy Hocquenghem, R.W. Fassbinder, Divine. As the reports of the project say, the organizers were collecting diverse specimens and then simply exhibited what they had assembled. Fanzine *Viks*, which accompanied the Festival writes, "We may observe thoroughly versatile exhibits: from Christian and conservative groups to the extreme leftists, from 'beautiful,' graphically abundant magazines with diverse content to simple, cheap publications, from distinctively commercial to theoretical products, from naive semi-pornographic publications to audacious art interventions. We believe that such heterogeneity does not represent a concept, but rather displays the wide specter of homosexual subculture."

In an interview for the newspaper *Dnevnik*, Professor Ljubo Bavcon, one of the initiators of the abolition of the prosecution of homosexuals in Slovenia in 1977, admitted that the decriminalization of homosexuality was successful "because at the time the Catholic Church did not have the power to voice its beliefs, the hatred towards those who are different in their sexuality had no external stimulation, while people brought up in a traditional manner, not in favor of homosexuality and other sexual differences, also remained silent."

The side door that the pioneer activists themselves opened a few years later and which saw the return of conservatism through the afore-unleashed current of liberation – as shown by the examples of *Daughters of Bilitis* or the representation of a "the wide specter of homosexual subculture" which brought *Christian and conservative groups* to the *Mangus Festival* and the later activism – ultimately lead to negotiation, if not even war between two exclusive programs. The results can be observed: one of the elements of the struggle for the public life of gays and lesbians, the battled-for venues for social gatherings, are only an extension of the former "small ads," nowadays, Facebooks, Messengers, chat rooms and alike. The lesbian and gay scene has become a sort of less significant meeting corner and by no means a platform of political subjectivization. The distinction between gays and homosexuals has failed. "I don't see much of gays and lesbians these days," I said to an acquaintance from the scene who objected by saying I have no clue about the number of lesbians in Slovenia – "Every other woman is a lesbian!" – as she hooked up with a woman on *Facebook* who is married, has children, a regular female lover and is still looking for women to have sex with. "You haven't got a clue, people get up to all sorts of stuff!" A new-old culture of the closet is emerging, a culture that preceded the beginnings of the movement. The culture of distinctiveness has disappeared: program heads of homo clubs almost exclusively tend to look for uniformity with the dominant trends of entertainment and offer their guests beer and turbo music. I see the Fifties in America, when crypto-homosexual bars had to fight underground local gangs for survival. I see the straight, married, heterosexual woman, a university lecturer in gay & lesbian studies. I see queer simulacra. Gays and lesbians I do not see. I see a smaller version of that other society where there is a bit of everything – conservatives, people with progressive views, lies, one Truth, a lot of suspense, many churches, a lot of poverty, little sex, enough sex – and where, in moments of disintegrating humanistic hope, people shrug their shoulders and say, that's *mankind* for you. *Oops, that's the scene for you. Liberation of homosexuality?* I'll see you again in 1984. Orwell's 1984.

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Translated from Slovenian by Jernej Možic.

Marina Gržinić

RAZVEZA EPISTEMOLOGIJE OD KAPITALA IN PLURIVERZALNOST – POGOVOR Z WAL- TERJEM MIGNOLOM, 3. 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 različimi aspekti modernega in kolonialnega sveta ter raziskuje koncepte, kot so globalna kolonialnost, geopolitika znanja, transmodernost in pluriverzalnost (<http://waltermignolo.com/>).

Marina Gržinić: Žižek, Badiou, Laclau, Beck itd. so tisti intelektualci, ki jih ostro kritizirate, ker ponavljajo in reproducirajo zahodno racionalnost in evropocentrične institucije znanja. Na čem temelji vaša kritika? Kaj pa Agamben in Deleuze? In kaj menite o zahodnih feminističnih, ležbičnih ali queer stališčih?

Walter Mignolo: Dovolite, da kompleksnost izpostavljenih tematik, ki jih načenja vaše vprašanje, pojasnim ob naslednjih treh primerih. Naj začnem z navedbo odstavka, ki sem ga napisal v enem od mojih komentarjev na blogu, ko sta se španski kralj in španski premier José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero burno odzvala na komentarje venezuelskega predsednika Hugo Cháveza. »Slovenski filozof Slavoj Žižek je nekoč izjavil, da ko nekdo izreče besedo evropocentrizem, 'se vsak postmoderni levičarski intelektualec, ki ima kaj samospoštovanja, odzove enako burno, kot se je Joseph Goebbels odzval na kulturo: tako, da poseže po pištoli v bran protifaističnega evropocentričnega kulturnega imperializma'. A vendarle si je zastavil vprašanje, 'ali je levičarsko prilaščanje evropske politične zapuščine sploh mogoče'. Zakaj le, bi se vprašal dekolonalni intelektualec, ki spoštuje samega sebe. Ali bi se levičarski evropski premier (kot je José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero) namesto denimo postmoderni levičarskih intelektualcev vprašal, ali je levičarsko prilaščanje evropske politične zapuščine mogoče oziroma primerno? Kaj si o tem mislijo neevropski levičarski predsedniki (kot je Hugo Chávez) ali, ne postmoderni levičarji, pač pa dekolonalni intelektualci? Kakšen smisel bi imelo za ne-postmoderne levičarske intelektualce, ki sicer spoštujejo samih sebe, razmišljati o levičarskem prilaščanju evropske politične zapuščine?« (<http://waltermignolo.com/2007/11/29/eurocentrism-21st-century-the-king-and-the-serf/>)

1) Ta odstavek in to, kar poimenujete »ostra kritika« evropskih levičarskih intelektualcev z moje strani in s strani drugih (prim. Nelson Maldonado-Torres, *The Typology of Being and the Geopolitics of Knowledge* (Tipologija biti in geopolitika znanja), na <http://www.afyl.org/nelson.pdf>; William Hart, *Slavoj Žižek and the Imperial/Colonial Model of Religion* (Slavoj Žižek in imperialni/kolonialni model religije), na <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/nepantla/v003/3hart.html>), želite poudariti, da je v globalnem mestu več iger. Znamka »postmoderni intelektualci« je regionalna tržna znamka intelektualcev, ki imajo svoje izpostave po vsem svetu. Za dekolonalne afriške in staroselske intelektualce – kakor tudi za mnoge intelektualce evropskega porekla v Severni, Srednji in Južni Ameriki ter za radikalne in progresivne muslimanske intelektualce (glej denimo knjigo Alija Shariatija *Marxism and Other Western Fallacies: An Islamic Critique* /Marksizem in druga zahodna razdejanja: islamski kritični pogled, ki je bila prvič objavljena v začetku sedemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja), je evropocentrizem (ali zahodnjaštvo) še kako pomenljiv izraz. Skratka, odvisno je od tega, na kateri strani moderne/kolonialne delitve ste (na katero stran te delitve je umeščena barva vaše kože) in kako vi (in prav tako barva vaše kože) artikulirate konceptualne in teoretske argumente nasprotnomislečih, glede na mesto, ki ga znotraj te delitve zasedate, ter glede na vaša načela.

2) Giorgio Agamben se mi zdi zanimiv z dveh stališč. Prvič zaradi njegovega razmišljanja o človekovih pravicah, kjer kot primer navaja begunce po prvi svetovni vojni, o čemer sem izčrpneje pisal v članku *The Zapatistas Theoretical Revolution* (Zapatistična teoretična revolucija), in drugič zaradi njegove teorije »golega življenja« (kjer vzpostavi dialog med Hanno Arendt in Michelom Foucaultom). Če se za trenutek oprem na »ničvredno življenje«, se moram vnovič vrniti k Ottobahu Cugoanu, ki sem ga že omenil v prvem delu tega intervjua (objavljenem v Reartikulaciji št. 4. op. avtorice), in k njegovi knjigi *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* /Misli in občutki o zlu zasužjevanja in trgovanja s človeško vrsto (1787), v kateri več strani posveča gospodarskemu vidiku suženjstva in ničvrednosti človeškega življenja. Ena od mnogih opazk so tudi strahoviti pokoli in poboji, ki so jih britanski pobudniki suženjstva zarešili zoper svoje sužnje, ter pretresljivo, nepojmljivo in nezaslišano ravnanje s sužnjimi; ne le da so si jih gospodarji lastili, kar jim je podejalo pravico, da so z njimi – živimi ali mrtvimi – ravnali, kakor so želeli, ampak so tudi bili mnenja, da je ubiti temnopoltega človeka enako in nič drugače, kot ubiti zver.

Podoben in nadvse žalosten primer se je zgodil okoli leta 1780, kot je zapisano v nekem sodnem registru; gospodar ladje je na poti v zahodne kolonije izbral 132 najbolj bolehnih črnskih sužnjev in jih dal vreči v morje, da bi od zavarovalnice iztržil zavarovalno vsoto, potem ko je ugotovil, da jih na Karibskem otočju ne bo mogel dovolj dobro prodati (poudarek W. M.).

Leta 1944 je Eric Williams zgodbo o nastanku ničvrednega življenja zasužnjenih črncev in o zapuščini rasne/kolonialne rane predelal in jo vpel v drugačen kontekst, ki si ga za časa Cugoana ni bilo mogoče zamisliti. Cugoano se je oprl na krščansko etiko in na njej utemeljil dva komplementarna argumenta; prvega o barbariskem ravnanju španskih, portugalskih, nizozemskih, francoskih in britanskih kolonizatorjev, drugega pa o krščanskem boju proti širjenju gospodarstva, ki je človeške subjektivitete spremenil v ropa željne, pripravljene storiti vse za ekonomsko korist. Prav nasprotno pa je Williams krščansko etično razsežje, s katerim je ope-

rial Cugoano, zamenjal z marksistično analizo kapitalizma. Kljub vsemu sta tako prvi kot drugi odkrila obema do tedaj neznani razsežnosti: krščanstvo in marksizem. S tem sta sprožila radikalno kritiko rasizma, ki pomeni radikalno kritiko imperialnih/kolonialnih temeljev kapitalizma.

Zgovern odstavek Erica Williamsa pojasnjuje bistvo rasizma v modernem/kolonialnem svetu in hkrati odpira vrata dekolonalnosti, ki jo kot možnost ne upoštevata ne kritično krščanstvo ne marksizem. Dekolonialnost so vpeljali tisti, ki so bili neposredne žrtve rasizma (Cugoano) ali žrtve njegove trajne zapuščine (Williams). Ena najpomembnejših posledic slavne revolucije leta 1688 in izgona Stuartov je bila njun vpliv na načela proste trgovine. Leta 1698 je Kraljeva afriška družba (Royal African Company) izgubila monopol nad trgovino s sužnji, ki je postala temeljna in naravna pravica vseh angleških trgovcev. Istega leta so tudi londonski trgovski prevozniki (Merchant Adventurers of London) izgubili monopol nad Rusko družbo (Muscovy Company), s čimer se je sprostila trgovina z Rusijo. Prosta trgovina s sužnji se je od drugih oblik proste trgovine razlikovala v eni sami točki: vključevala je trgovanje z ljudmi (Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* /Kapitalizem in suženjstvo).

Suženjstvo je kot posebna oblika izkorisčanja delovne sile neločljivo povezano s kapitalizmom. Čeprav naj bi se suženjstvo, ki se je začelo s trgovinsko izmenjavo na Atlantiku v šestnajstem stoletju, uradno končalo v prvi polovici devetnajstega stoletja, temu v resnici ni tako. Trgovanje se je nadaljevalo – in to ne več samo z ljudmi afriškega porekla, ki so bili, če niso bili žrtve trgovanja, žrtve rasne in družbenje marginalizacije. Danes poznamo drugačno suženjstvo, saj se je trgovanje s človeškimi telesi, ki se sploh nikoli ni končalo, pridružilo še trgovanje s človeškimi organi. Življenje postane ničvredno, potrošno natanko takrat, ko postane tržno blago.

Če povzamem: »golo življenje« je kategorija, ki pripada področju prava, države in človekovih pravic. »Golo življenje« pa, ki je neločljivo povezano s kapitalizmom, je kategorija, ki pripada področju ekonomije in seveda človekovih pravic. Medtem ko se prvo nanaša na znotrajevropskega Drugega, je drugo vezano na zgodovinski nastanek kapitalizma in zunajevropskega Drugega. Ta razlika je namreč ključnega pomena. Aimé Césaire je v svojem besedilu *Discourse on Colonialism* (Razprava o kolonializmu) (1955), ki ga dekolonalni intelektualci in postkolonialni mislec danes jemljejo nadvse resno, podal zanimivo opazko. Kar »nadvse ugledna, nadvse humanistično naravnana in krščansko usmerjena buržazija dvajsetega stoletja [...] ne more odpustiti Hitlerju, ni zločin kot tak, torej zločin zoper človeka, kakor tudi ne ponižanje človeka, pač pa zločin zoper belega človeka, ponižanje belega človeka in dejstvo, da je v Evropi vpeljal kolonialistične procedure (poudarek W. M.), ki so jih do takrat uporabljali izključno za alžirske Arabce, indijske 'kulije' in afriške 'zamorce'«.

Skratka, moj namen je spremeniti gledišče in geografijo razuma ter razkriti geopolitiko vednosti, ki se za tem skriva.

3) Če nadaljujem z vprašanjem o »zahodnih feministkah, ležbjkah in queer stališčih«, naj povem, da v razpravah, ki potekajo med belimi in nebelimi feministkami ter med belimi in nebelimi queer pripadnicami, prevladuje enaka logika, kot sem jo predstavil v prvi in drugi točki.

Sam se s tem sicer ne ukvarjam, a spremjam razprave in ugovoritve ter uporabljam teze, ki so v neposredni povezavi z mojim delom, zlasti tiste, ki so vpete v kolonialno matrico moči (kot denimo delo Maríe Lugones o heteroseksualnosti in kolonialnem/modernem družbenopolno določenem sistemu (<http://muse.jhu.edu/login?url=/journals/hypatia/v022/22.1lugones.html>, <http://www.jhfc.duke.edu/wko/dossiers/1.3/contents.php> in njen projekt o dekolonalni miselnosti na <http://cpic.binghamton.edu/decolonial.html>).

Četudi se sam ne ukvarjam z vprašanjem queera, feminizma in teorije queera, me je v poznih osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja na nek način zaznamovala prodorna knjiga Glorie Anzaldúa z naslovom *Borderland/La Frontera. The New Mestiza* (Meja/La frontera. Novi mestici) (1987), kakor tudi knjižna dela drugih pomembnih ameriških pisk, znanstvenic in aktivistek mehiškega porekla, kot so Cherrie Moraga, Sandra Cisneros, Chela Sandoval in Sonia Saldívar-Hull. Prelomna knjiga, ki je močno vplivala na moje mišljenje, je *The Bridge Called My Back. Writing by Radical Women of Color* (Most, imenovan moja pleča). Zapis radikalnih temnopoltih žensk (objavljena leta 1992 in ponatisnjena ob deseti obleti objave prve izdaje), ki sta jo uredili Cherrie Moraga in Gloria Anzaldúa. Njen vpliv je čutiti zlasti v dveh poglavjih moje knjige *Local Histories/Global Designs* (Lokalne zgodovine/globalni načrti) (2000), posebno v poglavju *Bi-languaging love* (Jezikovno podvajanje ljubezni), ki se je izobilkovalo na razpotju med teorijo Anzaldúejeve o novih mesticih, med dvojno kritiko Abdelkebirja Khatibija, ter pojmom *languaging*, ki ga je vpeljal Humberto Maturana. V zadanju času me zanimajo predvsem možnosti, ki jih odpira pojmom »interseksualnost«. Izraz je vpeljala črnska teoretičarka prava in feministka Kimberley Crenshaw. Naj navedem še eno referenčno ime, in sicer latinskoameriško filozofinjo in feministko Lindo Martín Alcock, ki je v svoji knjigi *Visible Identities. Race, Gender and the Self* (Vidne identitete. Rasa, družbeni spol in jaz) (2006) izpostavila mnoga vprašanja, ki se dotikajo razprav med belimi in nebelimi feministkami. Pomemben prispevek prihaja tudi s strani žensk tretjega sveta (recimo knjiga *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* /Ženske tretjega sveta in politika feminizma (1991), ki so jo uredile Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo in Lourdes Torres), ki bodisi reproducirajo teze kolektiva modernost/kolonialnost bodisi stopajo v neposreden dialog z njimi. Ali knjiga *Dialogue and Difference, Feminisms Challenge Globalization* (Dialog in razlike, feministični izizz v globalizacije) (2005) urednic Marguerite Waller in Sylvie Marcos. Zlasti pomembno je delo Marcosove, avtorice zgodovinsko-ethnografsko-politične študije *Taken from the Lips: Gender and Eros in Mesoamerican Religions* (Z ust iztrgnane besede: Družbeni spol in eros v mezoameriških verstvih) (2006), ki sodeluje z zapatistkami. Podobne argumente obravnava tudi Madina Tlostanova v kontekstu feminističnih odzivov v osrednji Aziji in na Kavkazu (http://www.jhfc.duke.edu/wko/dossiers/1.3/documents/TlostanovaWKO2.2_000.pdf).

Zdaj sem bolj ali manj pojasnil, od kod izhajam in zakaj vaš pogled na »zahodni feminism« enačim z »belim feminismom« Severnega Atlantika, ki obsegajo denimo avtorice od Luce Irigaray prek Judith Butler tja do Nancy Fraser. Beli (ali zahodni) feminism in nebeli feminism (ali feminism tretjega sveta) se razlikujeta po mestu, ki ga zasedata vzdolž ločnice, ki jo izrisuje kolonialna razlika. Kot sem pojasnil, je kolonialna razlika konstrukt imperialne epistemologije, ki poteka na dveh soodvisnih ravneh: na ravni epistemološke in na ravni ontološke kolonialne razlike. Feminizem žensk nebelega porekla in feminismem žensk tretjega sveta se nahajata na presečišču patriarhalnosti in rasizma (glej diagram kolonialne matrice moči, objavljenem v Reartikulaciji št. 4, op. avtorice), medtem ko se feminism belih žensk (ali zahodni feminism) umešča tako, da se postavlja po robu nadvlasti patriarhalnosti. Razlika med temo oblikama feminismata je enaka razliki, ki sem jo poskušal prikazati v drugih kontekstih, to je razliki med dekolonalnimi mislici in intelektualci na eni strani ter Žižkom in Agambenom na drugi strani (kljub očitni razliki med njima).

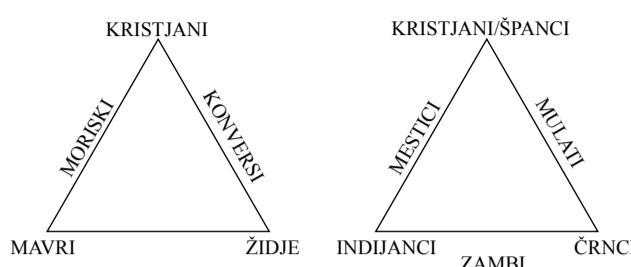
Tudi v queer teoriji ne moremo mimo rasne komponente. Morda razlika med zahodnimi queer stališči in queer stališči, ki jih zastopajo nebelci in nebelke, še ni tako očitna kot v feminismu, a se kljub temu tudi o tem že razpravlja. Onkraj presečišča med feminismom, queerom in rasizmom v (literarnem, teoretskem in aktivističnem) delu Anzaldúejeve in Moragajeve je navzoč tudi pomislek o queer skupnostih, ki so manifestacija notranjega kolonializma (prim. Maura Ryan, *Queer Internal Colonialism: Aiding Conquest Through Borderless Discourse* /Interni queer kolonializem: Podpora osvajanju z diskurzom brez meja (2007)). Sociologinja Maura Ryan obravnava vprašanje rasizma in queer skupnostih. Trdi namreč, »da imajo beli geji in ležbjice aktivno vlogo v širši ameriški notranji kolonizaciji ljudi nebelega porekla, saj si z zavračanjem rasnih razlik vzdolž linije spolnih usmeritev in z uporabo rasistične politične retorike skušajo izboriti več spolnih pravic za lastno skupino. Rasna dimenzija queer teorije in mainstream gejevska in ležbična politika sta povezani z notranjim kolonializmom in potrjujeta dejstvo, da spolne skupnosti prispevajo k ameriškemu nacionalističnemu rasističnemu projektu« (podatek je dostopen na spletu).

Kar sem tukaj na kratko pojasnil, se nanaša na ZDA. Če na zadevo pogledamo širše in povlečemo vzporednico s queer populacijo nebelega porekla ali iz tretjega sveta, je v knjigi *Postcolonial and Queer Theories. Intersections and Essays* (Postkolonialne in queer teorije. Presečišča in eseji) (2001), ki jo je uredil John Charles Hawley, podan argument, da »[so si] od šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja dalje ameriški in zahodnoevropski geji in ležbjice na dnevni red uvrstili spolno osvoboditev in jo definirali. Zahodni modeli homoseksualnosti so najpogosteje edini globalno prepoznavni okviri za razprave o gejevski in ležbični kulturi v svetu, pri čemer se zahodni interpretativni sistem vasiljuje tudi družbam, ki ne pripadajo zahodu. Obenem gejevski in ležbični način življenja v državah v razvoju ne ustreza vedno popolnoma zahodnim paradigmam, tako da so podatki iz teh držav pogosto v navzkriju s prevladujočim zahodnim modelom. Tudi v literaturi držav v razvoju je homoseksualnost upodobljena na način, ki zanika obstoječi instrumentarij zahodne literarne kritike«. Kot vidite, sta postali epistemološka in ontološka razlika, ki ju je zgradila imperialna epistemologija, vprašljivi. Bele feministke in queer ne občutijo rasizma in njegove kolonialne rane, ki predstavlja temelj, na katere nebele feministke in queer gradijo svojo teorijo.

Naj izpostavim še en argument. Izraz queer se je sprva uporabljal za označevanje gejev in ležbjik. Čeprav na nek način še vedno vsebuje ta pomen, pa queer danes označuje prakse, ki presegajo zgolj vprašanja spolnosti. Črnski filozof David Ross Fryer je zapisal: »Izraz queer je treba razdeliti v dve kategoriji: (1) queer kot protinormativna miselnost in (2) queer kot postnormativno mišljenje. V obeh kategorijah se kaže želja po preseganju norme« (prim. Fryer, *On the Possibilities of Post-humanism or How to Think Queerly in an Anti-Black World* (O možnostih posthumanizma ali kako misliti queer v protičrnskem svetu), v: *Not Only the Master's Tools. African-American Studies in Theory and Practice* (Ne le gospodarjeva orodja: Afriško-ameriške študije v teoriji in praksi), ur. Lewis R. Gordon in Jane Anna Gordon, 2006). S prej omenjenim rasnim razlikovanjem se tako ponovno srečamo pri Fryerju, ki na svoj način opozarja na pomanjkljivosti teorije Judith Butler. Čeprav Fryer Butlerjevi priznava subverzivne prispevke, pa njeno poststrukturalistično obravnavo performativnosti označi za neprimerno, »češ da ni sposobna misliti družbenega spola onkraj binarnega sistema«. Ob poskusu misliti queer v protičrnskem svetu Fryer kritizira Butlerjevo tudi zato, ker se sklicuje na »naravoslovne vede« in zato »ni zmožna preseči pozitivističnih trditvev, ki oblikujejo stališča, katerim tudi sama nasprotuje«. Skratka, za Fryerja Butlerjeva sprejema znanstveni diskurz in ga izpodbija s tem, ko izpodbija njegove ugotovitve, medtem ko Fryer postavi pod vprašaj same trditve, ki ta znanstveni diskurz utemeljujejo. To spraševanje pa po Fryerju izhaja iz ključne analize o pojmu »človek«, s katerim se ukvarjajo črns

W. M.: Lewis Gordon (vodilni afrokaribski filozof) je nekoč dejal, da v Evropi zavahaš razredni boj, medtem ko se gre Amerikam (Severni, Srednji in Južni) za raso.

Kaj je želel povedati? Da je bila vse od začetka atlantskih trgovinskih izmenjav v šestnajstem in sedemnajstem stoletju družbena klasifikacija, ki je temeljila na krščanski teologiji, rasno določena. Naj to pojasnim z naslednjim diagramom:



Na vrhu prvega trikotnika je krščanska teologija, na levi spodnji strani islamska teologija/Muslimani ali Mavri, na desni pa židovska teologija/Židje. Moriski (spreobrnjeni Mavri) in konversi (spreobrnjeni Židje) so »verski mestici«, saj predstavljajo mešanico krščanske in mavrske krvi na eni in mešanico krščanske in židovske krvi na drugi strani. To je bilo nekaj običajnega na Iberskem polotoku, ali če želite, v središču nastajajočega imperija.

V kolonijah pa je bila stvar nekoliko drugačna. Tam ni bilo verske miselnosti in zato tudi ne znanja, ki bi temeljijo na teologiji. Krščansko teologijo so vse bolj spodkopavali Španci ali Kastilci. Na dnu drugega trikotnika imamo tako Indijance in crnce/Afričane. Mešanici verske krvi, ki sta predstavljala do tedaj neobstoječe kategorije, kot so bili denimo moriski in konversi na Iberskem polotoku, so v novo odkritem svetu zamenjali mestici in mulati. A medtem ko na Iberskem polotoku niso upoštevali potomstva mavrsko-židovske krvi (ki najverjetneje ni bilo prav pogosto), je v na novo odkritem svetu prebivalstvo mešane krvi med mulatimi in mestici ali obratno predstavljalo novo kategorijo, imenovano zambi. Od tu naprej se je klasifikacija samo še stopnjevala, a je vse razvrščanje potekalo prav v odnosu do »čiste španske/kastiljske krvi (prim. objavo Cástra-Gómeza v posebnih številki z naslovom *Globalization and the Decolonial Option* (Globalizacija in dekolonialna opcija), v: *Cultural Studies* 21/2-3, 2007). »Razsem« je teološki konstrukt, ki je nastal v okviru modernega/kolonialnega sveta. Danes, ko razkrivamo skrivnosti genov, da bi razvzlastili skrivnosti »ras«, pozabljamo, da je »rasa« popolnoma »rasističen« teološki konstrukt. A ni to zanimivo?

Teologi in literati niso podpirali konkvtadorjev, trgovcev z živilimi in lastnikov plantaž pri izkoriščanju in zasužnjevanju Indijancev in Afričanov. Kot vemo, je tudi cerkev nasprotovala lakomnosti po materialnem bogastvu, a kljub temu je bila družbena klasifikacija staroselcev in afriške populacije na Karibskem otočju (ali v Novem svetu, pozneje preimenovanem v Ameriko) vpeljana skozi teološko miselnost in je močno prispevala k nastajajoči kapitalistični ekonomiji. Pribrojnost so idejno in stvarno krojili britanski kolonialni uradniki in lastniki plantaž. Eden takih je bil Sir Dalby Thomas, član širše skupine vplivnih uradnikov, ki so na koncu sedemnajstega stoletja podpirali merkantilizem (ali trgovski kapitalizem). To je bila ekonomska struktura, ki jo je pozneje napadel Adam Smith, ker je podpiral prostro trgovino, v odličnem, a najmanj branem poglavju svoje knjige *On colonialism* (O kolonializmu). Sir Dalby Thomas, lastnik plantaž, zgodovinar in leta 1690 guverner Jamajke, je zapustil monografijo z naslovom *An historical account of the rise and growth of the West-India colonies. And of the great advantages they are to England, in respect to trade* (Kronološko poročilo o nastanku in razvoju Karibskega otočja ter o ogromni tržni koristi, ki jo je od njega imela Anglija) (1690), v kateri je slikovito opisal razcvet svobodnega kapitalizma, ki ga je z zgodovinskega stališča podrobno analiziral tudi profesor, predsednik vlade Trinidada in Tobaga ter vplivna javna osebnost Eric Williams v knjigi *Capitalism and Slavery* (Kapitalizem in suženjstvo) (1944). Tako v Williamsovem delu kot v delu njegovega mentorja C. L. R. Jamesa je med marksizmom in dekolonialno miselnostjo čutiti nekakšno trenje, ki ga izčrpno analizirajo dekolonialni zgodovinarji in filozofi, izhajajoči iz tega, kar je povedal Frantz Fanon: »Bogati ste, ker ste bili, in beli ste, ker ste bogati. Zato bi morali marksistično analizo vselej nekliko razširiti, kadar gre za kolonialno vprašanje. Zgolj ponovno preučevanje pojma predkapitalistične družbe, ki jo je Marx tako vneto analiziral, ni dovolj [...]. 'Vladajoči razred' ne posejuje le tovarn, premoženja ali bančnega računa, pač pa je to v prvi vrsti vladajoča vrsta, ki prihaja od drugod, je drugačna od staroselcev, posebila 'druge' (*Upor prekletih*).«

Skratka, v šestnajstem in sedemnajstem stoletju se je na Atlantiku pojavila nova oblika ekonomije v svetovni zgodovini, za katero je bilo značilno dvoje: 1) izčrpavanje virov (zlata, srebra) in proizvodnja tržnega blaga (sladkorja, bombaža, tobaka, kave) za globalni trg (Quijano) ter 2) tehnologija investiranja kapitala. Vse to je omogočilo reprodukcijo virov in v bližnji prihodnosti v nastajajočih evropskih imperijih na zahodu Atlantika odpravilo omejitve agrarnih družb, ki so ekonomsko temeljile na obdelavi zemlje in davkih. Nobena od nastajajočih družbeno-ekonomskeh formacij tistega časa (Osmanski sultanat, Mughalski sultanat in Rusko cesarstvo) in nobena od obstoječih formacij z daljšo tradicijo (npr. Kitajska za časa dinastije Ming) ni bila sposobna razviti take oblike ekonomije, kot je današnja kapitalistična ekonomija. Izkoriščanje delovne sile in prilaščanje zemlje v Novem svetu je potekalo sočasno z rasno klasifikacijo, ki je v Evropi pravzaprav upravičevala izgon Mavrov in Židov, medtem ko je bila v Novem svetu rasna klasifikacija podlaga za kasnejšo legitimno razlastitev Indijancev, masovno trgovjanje z zasužnjenimi Afričani in brutalno izkoriščanje delovne sile. Nova oblika ekonomije se je razvijala hkrati s spremenjanjem drugih področij kolonialne matrice moći. Od takrat se kapitalizem (skupaj z rasizmom) le še širi.

M. G.: Kolonialnost in modernost sta vzajemni in soodvisni, zato ju ni mogoče misliti ločeno. Logiko kolonialnosti povezujete z retoriko modernosti in počakate, da delujeta vzajemno v proizvodnji koloni-

alnosti. Kakšni sta vlogi retorike in slovnice pri proizvodnji kolonialnosti?

W. M.: V članku *The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of Decoloniality* (Retorika modernosti, logika kolonialnosti in slovница dekolonialnosti) iz moje monografske publikacije predlagam metaforično uporabo treh disciplin (retorika, slovница, logika, op. avtorice) ali *triviuma v okviru renesanse univerze*. Naslov se navezuje na mojo prejšnjo knjigo *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* (Temnejša stran renesanse). »Modernost« zato ni zgodovinsko obdobje, pač pa diskurzivna retorika: gre za prepričevalni diskurz, ki obljudbla napredok, civilizacijo in srečo. Ali če želite, modernost je lahko zgodovinsko obdobje, a le po definiciji tistih, ki jo živijo in imajo od nje koristi. »Kolonialnost« pa je po drugi strani nevidna (kot nezavedno pri Freudu ali presežna vrednost pri Marxu) in v sebi skriva pokole, ki so bili storjeni v imenu »razvoja« modernosti. Kot rečeno, dekolonialnost je bila le eden od odzivov na imperialno ekspanzijo kolonialne matrice moći, bila je odpor zoper njo, kakor tudi vnovično priznanje svojega lastnega obstoja, ang. *re-existence* (pojem, ki ga je razvila kolumbijska slikar, kulturni kritik in aktivist Adolfo Albán v svojem razumevanju boja za preživetje in kreativnosti črnskih skupnosti v Kolumbiji od osemnajstega stoletja do danes). Gre za »slovnicu, ki se izgrajuje« tako v smislu njenih lokalnih partikularnosti kot globalnih povezovanj, ki so na delu (ta intervju je denimo skromen primer slovnice globalne dekolonialnosti). Modernost/kolonialnost opisuje dvojno plat in dvojni naboj imperialne ekspanzije, medtem ko se dekolonialnost nanaša na globalno zgodovinsko raznolikost odzivov na monotematsko raznolikost zahodnega imperializma (Španija, Anglija, Francija, Nemčija in ZDA so si tako različne v svoji enakosti). Danes je potrebno analizirati radikalne transformacije kolonialne matrice moći v svetovni ureditvi, kjer vlada pluricentrični kapitalizem. A pustimo to za drugo priložnost.

M. G.: Poučujete na eni tistih imperialnih akademskih ustanov v ZDA, ki sistematično reproducira in podpira racionalno zahodno epistemologijo kot kolonizacijski sistem. Kako lahko svoje delo razvezete od take institucije in delujete neodvisno od nje? Ali ameriški korporativni izobraževalni sistem (ki temelji na učinkovitosti, tekmovalnosti in lažnem nesoglasju) ne zahteva od svojih profesorjev prav (re)produciranja kritičnosti, a le na način zaigranega kritičnega diskurza, ki kot takjamči, da se bo stanje ohranilo takšno, kakršno je?

W. M.: Drži. Res sem profesor na univerzi Duke in stvari so točno takšne, kot ste jih predstavili. Drugačen scenarij bi bil, da bi zapustil univerzo in vodil svoj epistemološki boj v gozdu, kakor je to storil podpoveljnik Marcos. A če zadevo zastavim drugače: lahko bi svoje mesto na univerzi prepustil tistim, ki spodbujajo »la pensée unique«, srednja pot pa bi bila, da bi se podal na pot neodvisnega intelektualca ali raziskovalca, ki se ne meni za korporativni izobraževalni sistem v ZDA, v zahodni in srednjevzhodni Evropi, Kitajski, Indiji ali Argentini. Gre za izbiro med možnostmi, ki so nam dane. Na imperialistični akademski ustanovi, kot je univerza Duke, in na drugih visokošolskih ustanovah poučujejo tudi Fredric Jameson in drugi profesorji, ki pripadajo marksistični ali dekolonialni miselnosti (npr. Univerza v Kaliforniji, Berkeley). Z gibanjem za človekove pravice se je akademska struktura v ZDA korenito spremenila. Medtem ko se v tretjem svetu artikulira geopolitika znanja (npr. Enrique Dussel je prvo poglavje v svoji knjigi *Philosophy of Liberation* (Filozofija osvoboditve) (1977) naslovil *Geopolitics and Philosophy* (Geopolitika in filozofija)), se je v ZDA po gibanju za človekove pravice močno razširila vednost politike telesa. Zgodil se je premik od disciplinarnega znanja k znanju, ki prispeva k osvoboditvi žensk, queera, gejev in lezbijsk, ameriških staroselcev ter Afro- in Latinoameričanov. Opažamo torej proliferacijo etničnih študij, ki predstavljajo preobrazbo disciplinarnega v dekolonialno znanje. Res je, da je dekolonialni preobrat prispeval k politiki identitet, a kljub temu velja poudariti dvoje: 1) politika identitet obstaja znotraj posameznih disciplin, čeprav se izdaja za objektivno znanje, in 2) politiko identitet je treba ločiti od identitete *V politiki*. Gibanje MAS (Marcha hacia el socialismo) v Boliviji in Hamas v Palestini nista političnostrankarski organizaciji, nastali v okviru zahodne politične teorije. Ob zahodni politični teoriji se zdi, kot da bi bili republikanci in demokrati v ZDA izvzeti iz politike identitet, resnica pa je, da so politične stranke še kako trdno utemeljene s politiko identitet, čeprav naj po prevladujočem javnem mnenju ne bi bile. Zato je bilo nujno potrebitno ustvariti družbenopolitični organizaciji, kot sta MAS in Hamas, da bi prek demokratičnih in poštenih volitev zasedli uradno pozicijo v vladi. Če teh dveh gibanj ne bi bilo, bi se moralistični, ki so ustvarili MAS (Marcha hacia el socialismo) in Hamas (Harakat al-Muqāwama al-Islāmiyya), in tisti, ki so ti gibanji podprtli, pridružiti že obstoječim strankam, čeprav se v njihovi politiki identitet ne prepoznavajo. Skratka, povedati želim, da je bilo v mnogih univerzah v ZDA mogoče in koristno odpreti prostor znanju, ki ni pod vplivom Washingtona in korporacij, pač pa prispeva k dekolonizaciji znanja in obstoja (npr. dekolonizacija ume, o čemer piše Ngugi wa Thiong'o). Mnogi profesorji in intelektualci, ki se ukvarjajo z generiranjem dekolonialnega znanja, so na različne načine vpleteni v aktivizem zunaj univerze, v aktivizem, ki je povezan z znanjem in se proizvaja in širi na univerzi.

To je torej en način delovanja. Drugi način se kaže prek dela, ki ga jaz in drugi (v ZDA živeči sodelavci južnoameriškega afrokaribskoga in latinskega porekla) opravljamo v sodelovanju z dekolonialno usmerjenimi institucijami v Južni Ameriki. To je denimo delo, ki ga mnogi izmed nas (kot so Ramon Grosfoguel, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Catherine Walsh) in drugi iz Združenja karibskih filozوفov (Lewis Gordon) vodimo skupaj s študijskim programom *Fabrica des ideais* (<http://www.fabricadeideias.ufba.br/apresentacao.php>) v Salvadorju de Bahia v Braziliji, kjer ima afrobrasilsko gibanje svojo mrežo. Mnogi, ki živimo v ZDA, sodelujemo z doktorskim študijskim programom na Univesidad Andina Simón Bolívar v Quito, Ekvador, kjer je večina študentov (če ne vsi) profesorjev, intelektualcev in aktivistov; podobno kot udeleženci seminarjev na *Fabrica des ideais*. V ZDA je okoli 150 raziskovalcev in intelektualcev na največjih imperialističnih akademiskih ustanovah že začelo ustvarjati Latinsko akademijo znanosti in umetnosti (ki sem jo že omenil), suprastrukturno institucijo z več vozlišči na celotnem ozemlju Združenih držav. Cilj Akademije je ustvariti institucijo, ki bi jo upravljale osebe latinskega porekla in ki bi bila odprta za

vse (kot demokratska ali republikanska stranka, ki sta, kot vemo, odprtji za vse, ki se jima želijo pridružiti in voliti zanju; nista torej izključevalni), ki želijo poseči v javno in akademsko sfero. S tem ko smo akademijo poimenovali Latinska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, pravzaprav že razkrivamo dejstvo – ne da bi to posebej poudarjali –, da Ameriško akademijo znanosti in umetnosti upravlja nihče drug kot belci. Na drugi strani pa je naš cilj boriti se proti nadzoru znanja in njegovim imperialističnim posledicam.

Glede korporativnih vrednot univerze se povsem strinjam z vami. Naš cilj – ki je hkrati tudi eno od načel Latinske akademije – je izobraževanje ljudi od dodiplomskega študija naprej in tem ljudem dati možnost za »uspeh« (saj ne želimo propadli revolucionarjev, ali ne?), hkrati pa jih naučiti, da je treba uspeh vselej preizprati in razumeti filozofijo, ki se skriva za idejo o uspehu. Povedano drugače, *biti znotraj institucije* ne pomeni nujno slepo slediti *njenim ciljem*. Mejno mišljenje je ena od strategij, ki omogoča biti znotraj institucije in delovati proti njej, delovati torej od znotraj, vendar zasledovati drugačen cilj. Univerze Duke in Berkeley, Michigan in North Carolina in njih podobne so kompleksne institucije. Poleg tega, da se morajo spopadati s konkurenčnostjo in da odobravajo korporacijske vrednote, cenijo tudi humanistične vede in »svobodomiselnost«. Predsednika univerze Duke in univerze North Carolina v Chapel Hillu (ena je zasebna, druga pa javna), ki sta med seboj oddaljeni 16 kilometrov in sodeljujeta na različnih področjih, sta se postavila v bran profesorjem, ki so jih desničarski ekstremisti po napadu 11. septembra 2001 obtožili proislamizma. Kot radi povedo ljudje, »so [stvari] veliko bolj zapletene«, kot se utegnejo zdeti. Idealni prostor za vodenje boja ne obstaja. Na drugi strani pa si poskušajte zamisliti, da Fredric Jameson vsa ta leta ne bi poučeval na univerzi Duke. Njegovo mesto bi zasedel nekdo drug, ki bi lahko bil učenec Samuela Huntingtona namesto Karla Marxa.

M. G.: Prof. Mignolo, najlepša hvala za vaše odgovore!

Marina Gržinić je filozofinja in umetnica. Je raziskovalka na FZRC SAZU, Ljubljana in profesorica na Akademiji za likovno umetnost na Dunaju.

Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

Marina Gržinić DE-LINKING EPISTEMOLOGY FROM CAPITAL AND PLURI-VERSALITY – A CONVERSATION WITH WALTER MIGNOLO, part 3

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 pluriuniversalism (<http://waltermignolo.com/>).

Marina Gržinić: Žižek, Badiou, Laclau, Beck, etc., are those intellectuals that are part of your harsh criticism as they repeat and reproduce western rationality and the Europocentric institutions of knowledge. On what ground is based your criticism? What is with Agamben and Deleuze? How about the western feminist or lesbian or queer positions?

Walter Mignolo: Let me select three cases to address the complex set of issues prompted by your question. I will start with quoting a paragraph from one of my blog-postings, when the King of Spain and President José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero reacted violently to remarks made by Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez. "A while ago, Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek stated that when someone says Eurocentrism 'every self-respecting postmodern leftist intellectual has as violent a reaction as Joseph Goebbels had to culture: to reach for a gun, hurling accusations of proto-fascist Eurocentrist cultural imperialism.' However, he asked himself, 'is it possible to imagine a leftist appropriation of the European political legacy?' What for? A self-respecting de-colonial intellectual would ask. Would leftist European presidents (like José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero) instead of postmodern leftist intellectuals ask themselves if a leftist appropriation of the European political legacy is possible or desirable? And what about non-European leftist presidents (like Hugo Chávez) or non-postmodern leftist but de-colonial intellectuals? How relevant would be for self-respecting but not postmodern leftist intellectuals, to imagine a leftist appropriation of the European political legacy?" (<http://waltermignolo.com/2007/11/29/eurocentrism-21st-century-the-king-and-the-serf/>)

1) The paragraph, and what you call "harsh criticism" of European leftist intellectuals by myself as well as by others (Cf. Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "The Typology of Being and the Geopolitics of Knowledge," in <http://www.afyl.org/nelson.pdf>; William Hart, "Slavoj Žižek and the Imperial/Colonial Model of Religion," in <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/nepantla/v003/3.hart.html>) intent to make clear that there are several games in the global town. "Post-modern intellectuals" is a regional brand of intellectuals that, of course, have branches around the world. For de-colonial Afro and Indigenous intellectuals – as well as for many intellectuals of European descent in the Americas and also for radical and progressive Muslim intellectuals (see for example, Alí Shariati, *Marxism and Other Western Fallacies: An Islamic Critique*, originally published in the early 70's), Eurocentrism (or Westernism) is a necessary word. So, it depends on what sphere of the modern/colonial divide is your skin, and how your skin – and your heart – articulates conceptual and theoretical dissenting arguments.

2) My take on Giorgio Agamben has been two-fold. One is on his reflections on human rights where he takes as paradigmatic examples refugees after World War I, and I elaborated on that in my article on "The Zapatistas Theoretical Revolution." The other, most recently, takes on his elaboration of "bare life" (bringing Hanna Arendt and Michel Foucault in conversation). Let's think for a moment of "dispensable life." Again, I have to indulge in an example. Ottobah Cugoano, whom I mentioned in the first part of this interview (published in Rearticulacija no. 4) wrote in his

of *Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (1787) several pages on the economic aspect of slavery and the dispensability of human lives. One among many observations is the vast carnage and murders committed by the British instigators of slavery; it is attended with a very shocking, peculiar, and almost unheard of conception, according to the notion of the perpetrators of it: they either consider them as their own property that they may do with as they please, in life or death; or that the taking away the life of a black man is of no more account than taking away the life of a beast.

A very melancholy instance of this happened about the year 1780 as recorded in the courts of law; a master of a vessel bound to the Western Colonies, selected 132 of the most sickly of the black slaves, and ordered them to be thrown overboard into the sea, in order to recover their value from the insurers, as he had perceived that he was too late to get a good market for them in the West Indies (italics mine, WM).

In 1944 Eric Williams recast the making of enslaved Africans dispensable lives and re-framed the legacy of the racial/colonial wound in a context that was not visible at the time of Cugoano. For Cugoano, Christian ethics was the weapon available to him. And Christian ethics served him well to built two complementary arguments. One about the barbarian attitudes he found in colonizers from Spain and Portugal to Holland, France and Britain. The other was the Christian struggle against the growth of an economic horizon that transformed human subjectivities into predators who will go any length in order to obtain economic benefits. Williams, instead, had the Marxist analysis of capitalism to replace the ethical dimension that Christianity offered to Cugoano. However, both Cugoano and Williams introduced a dimension that was alien to both, Christianity and Marxism: they introduced the radical critic of racism which means the radical critique of the imperial/colonial foundation of capitalism.

A telling paragraph by Eric Williams brings together the bottom line of racism in the modern/colonial world and by the same token an opening to the de-colonial option that both critical Christianity and Marxism are missing. The de-colonial option has been opened by subjects who either suffered directly the consequences of racism (Cugoano) or its enduring legacy (Williams). One of the most important consequences of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the expulsion of the Stuarts was the impetus it gave to the principle of free trade. In 1698 the Royal African Company lost its monopoly and the rights of a free trade in slaves was recognized as a fundamental and natural right of Englishmen. In the same year the Merchant Adventurers of London were deprived of their monopoly of the Muscovy Company was abrogated and trade to Russia made free. One in particular did the freedom accorded in the slave trade differ from the freedom accorded in other trades – the commodity involved was man (Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*).

Slavery, as a particular form of exploitation of labor, is consubstantial to capitalism. While slavery in the form it acquired in the economy of the Atlantic since the sixteenth centuries officially came to an end during the first half of the nineteenth century, it never ended in reality. Not only people from African descent continued to be enslaved; when they were not, they continued to be racialized and marginalized from society. On the other hand, new form of slavery developed until today. More so, what never ended was the commerce of human bodies and, today, the commerce of human organs. Dispensable lives are those that become dispensable when they become commodities.

In a nutshell: "bare life" is a category in the sphere of law, the state and human rights. "Bare life" that is consubstantial with capitalism is a category in the sphere of economy and, of course, human rights. The former affected European internal others, while the latter is consubstantial to the historical foundation of capitalism, and of European external others. The distinction is crucial. Aimé Césaire made a remark, in his *Discourse on Colonialism* (1955), that is today taken seriously by de-colonial intellectuals and post-colonial scholars. What "the very distinguished, very humanistic, very Christian bourgeois of the twentieth century [...] cannot forgive Hitler for – said Césaire – is not the crime in itself, the crime against man, it is not the humiliation of man as such, it is the crime against the white man, the humiliation of the white man, and the fact that he applied to Europe colonialist procedures" (italics mine, WM), which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of Algeria, the 'coolies' of India, and the 'niggers' of Africa."

Once again, I am reversing the gaze, shifting the geography of reason, unveiling the geo-politics of knowledge.

3) Now the question on "Western feminists, lesbians and queer positions." The same logic that I explained in 1) and 2), above, applies in current debates between white feminists and women of color and, by extension, to the debate between white queerness and queerness of color.

I have not addressed these issues personally. However, I have been following the debates and finding and capitalizing on those arguments that resonate with my own work, those which are framed in the colonial matrix of power (like the work of María Lugones, on heterosexism and the colonial/modern gender system (<http://muse.jhu.edu/login?url=journals/hypatia/v022/22.1lugones.html> <http://www.jhfc.duke.edu/wko/dossiers/1.3/contents.php>; and her project on "Decolonial Thinking" <http://cpic.binghamton.edu/decolonial.html>).

I should add that although I did not address personally issues of gender, feminism and queer theory, I have been "framed" so to speak in the late 1980s by the ground-breaking book of Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderland/La Frontera. The New Mestiza* (1987), as well as by other prominent Chicana writers, scholars and activists like Cherrie Moraga, Sandra Cisneros, Chela Sandoval, Sonia Saldívar-Hull. A land-mark book, *The Bridge Called My Back. Writing by Radical Women of Color* (published in 1992 and reprinted for its ten anniversary), co-edited by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa has been also very influential in my own thinking. There are two chapters in my book *Local Histories/Global Designs* (2000) where you can see the reflection of these debates in my own thinking, chiefly the chapter titled "Bi-languaging love," which is set up at the intersection of Anzaldúa's new mestiza, Abdelkebir Khatibi's double critique and Humberto Maturana's concept of languaging. Lately, I have been very interested in the theoretical potential of the concept of "intersectionality" introduced by Black legal theorist and feminist Kimberley Crenshaw. Just to put one more point of reference on the table, Latina philosopher and feminist Linda Martín Alcoff has addressed recently many of the issues concerning the debate between white feminism and feminism of color in her splendid *Visible Identities. Race, Gender and the Self* (2006).

Furthermore, significant work is being done, that some times resonate and others are in direct dialogue with the thesis of the collective modernity/coloniality, in the arena of third-world women (cf. *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, edited by Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo and Lourdes Torres, 1991.) More recently, *Dialogue and Difference, Feminisms Challenge Globalization* (2005), edited by Marguerite Waller and Sylvia Marcos, the later one doing magnificent work with Zapatistas women. And she, Marcos, is also the author of a historical-ethnographic-political study *Taken from the Lips: Gender and Eros in Mesoamerican Religions* (2006). Madina Tlstanova has advanced similar arguments in the context of feminists responses in Central Asia and Caucasus (http://www.jhfc.duke.edu/wko/dossiers/1.3/documents/TlstanovaWKO2.2_000.pdf).

Well, now you know more or less where I am coming from, and how I understand your reference to "Western feminism" as equivalent to "White feminism" in the North Atlantic, from, say, Luce Irigaray to Judith Butler and Nancy Fraser. White (or Western Feminism) and Feminism of Color (or Third-World Feminism) differ in the way they situate themselves across the colonial difference divide. As I said above, the colonial difference is a construction of imperial epistemology at two interrelated levels: the epistemic colonial difference and the ontological colonial difference. Feminism of color and Third World Feminism dwell at the intersection of patriarchy and racism (see the diagram of the colonial matrix of power), while White feminism (or Western feminism) locate itself in confronting the dominance of patriarchy. The divide between the two strands of feminism parallels the divide, I attempted to illustrate in other spheres, between de-colonial thinkers and intellectuals, on the one hand, and Žižek and Agamben (in spite of the differences between the two of them), on the other.

As for Queer theory, the racial component is also a factor. Perhaps the distinction between Western Queers and Queers of Color is not as strongly manifested yet as is in the domain of feminism. However, the debate has been already put on the table. Beyond the intersection between feminism, queerness and racism in the work (literary, theoretical, activist) of Anzaldúa and Moraga, is present the idea of Queer communities that are manifestations of internal colonialism (cf. Maura Ryan, "Queer Internal Colonialism: Aiding Conquest Through Borderless Discourse", 2007). Sociologist Maura Ryan engages the topic of racism in queer communities, arguing "that white gays and lesbians are active participants in a larger US internal colonialism of people of color with their denial of race differences along sexual orientation lines and by their use of racist political rhetoric to further sexual rights for their group. The raced dimensions of queer theory and of mainstream gay and lesbian politics are linked to the idea of internal colonialism, making the argument that sexual communities aid the US nationalist project of racism" (available in the web).

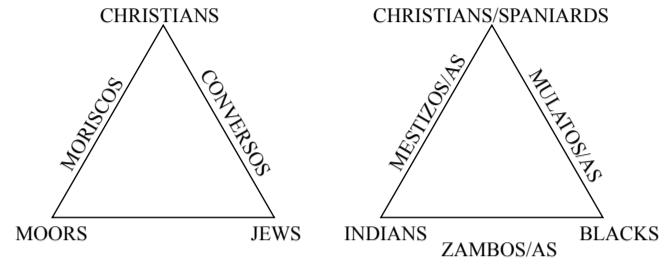
What I briefly depicted here refers to the US. Looking at the larger picture, parallel to Queers of color or Third World Queers, it had been argued in *Postcolonial and Queer Theories. Intersections and Essays*, edited by John Charles Hawley, that "Since the 1960s American and Western European gays have set the agenda for sexual liberation and defined its emergence. Western models of homosexuality often provide the only globally recognizable frameworks for discussing gay and lesbian cultures around the world, and thus Western interpretative schemes are imposed on non-Western societies. At the same time, gay and lesbian lifestyles in emerging countries do not always neatly fit Western paradigms, and data from those countries often clash with dominant Western models. So too, the literature of emerging countries often depicts homosexuality in ways which challenge the existing tools of Western literary critics." As you see, epistemic and ontological differences, built in imperial epistemology, is being contested – racism, in the last analysis, and the racist colonial wound, is not felt by White feminists and queers while it is the ground in which women and queer of color built their theories.

Let me add one more point. Queer was a term originally used to refer to gays and lesbians. Although still holds this meaning, it has been extended to situations of queerness beyond sexuality. Black philosopher David Ross Fryer put it this way: "The term queer needs to be broken down in two categories: (1) Queer as an anti-normative thought; (2) Queer as post-normative thinking. The desire to fight the norm manifest itself in both of these" (Cf. Fryer, "On the possibilities of Post-humanism or How to Think Queerly in an Anti-Black World," in *Not Only the Master's Tools. African-American Studies in Theory and Practice*, edited by Lewis R. Gordon and Jane Anna Gordon, 2006).

Once again, we encounter the above mentioned racial divide when Fryer confronts Judith Butler inadequacies, in his words. Although Fryer acknowledges Butler's subversive contributions, he found her post-structuralist account of performativity inadequate "for the lack of thinking gender beyond a binary construction." When thinking queerly in an anti-black world, Fryer also criticizes Butler on her reliance on "an appeal to natural sciences" and as such "her project fails to go beyond the positivist assumptions that inform the positions that she is herself opposing." In a nutshell, for Fryer, Butler accepts scientific discourse and contests it in its *finding*, while Fryer questions the very assumptions upon which scientific discourse is *founded*. Such question, in Fryer, comes from the crucial concern of Black philosophers and intellectuals (common among Afro-Caribbean like C. R. L. James, Frantz Fanon, Sylvia Wynter) with the concept of "human" that scientific (biological, biotechnological) arguments are reifying. In other words, sciences start from a metaphysical concept of "human" which is basically an Eurocentered construction (modeled on the white male), and attempt to describe and explain its features. While Black intellectuals, particularly Sylvia Wynter, built her argument as "After Man, Toward the Human", from the experience of a Black Caribbean women. Fryer "thinking queerly" attacks the normative of scientific thinking and critiques Butler for falling into the trap of scientific discourse, contesting its content but not its ideological foundation.

M. G.: You especially emphasize the moment of race; the racial is to be taken along the class struggle as only in such a way it is possible to connect class struggle with the de-colonial moment and therefore to empower them both. What is so blatantly named primitive accumulation is in fact the process of obscene expropriation realized through brutal colonialism, but not analyzed as such, not even by Marx. Your criticism turns against Marx, who was not capable of reflecting on surplus value based directly on colonization. Can you elaborate further on this point?

W. M.: Lewis Gordon (a leading Afro-Caribbean philosopher) noticed a while ago that Europe smells like class while the Americas smells like race. What did he mean? That from the very historical foundation of the Atlantic commercial circuits, mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, social classification grounded in Christian theology, was a racial one. Allow me to explain this with another diagram:



Christian Theology is in the upper angle of the first triangle and at its base you see Islamic/Theology/Muslims or Moors on one end and the Jewish/Theology/Jews on the other. On the other triangle "Moriscos" and "Conversos" designate the "religious mestizaje," the mixing of Christian and Moorish blood on the one hand and Christian and Jewish blood on the other. That was clear in the Iberian Peninsula, or, if you wish, in the heart of the emerging empire.

In the colonies, the situation was different since there was no religious thought and therefore no theological-based knowledge. Christian Theology became more and more displaced by Spaniards or Castilians. On the lower base of the second triangle we have then Indians and Blacks/Africans. Religious blood mixtures that engendered non-existing categories until then as Moriscos and Conversos, in the Iberian Peninsula, were replaced by Mestizos/as and Mulatos/as in the New World. But while in the Iberian Peninsula the blood mixture between Moors and Jews was not accounted for (and probably physically not very common), in the New World the mixture of Mulatos and Mestizas or vice-versa engendered a new racial category, Zambos and Zambas. From here on, classification multiplied but all of them were displayed under the "purity" of Spanish/Castilian blood (Cf. the text by Castro-Gómez in the special edition of *Cultural Studies* 21/2-3, 2007 with the title "Globalization and the Decolonial Option"). "Racism" is a theological invention in the framing of the modern/colonial world. Today when trying to count genes to find out the mystery of "race," we forget that "race" is a "racist" theological invention. Isn't that interesting?

Theologians and men of letters were not of course supporting *conquistadores*, *encomenderos* and plantation owners to exploit and enslave Indians and Africans and, as we know, the Church was against greediness for material wealth. However, the social classification of Indigenous and African population in Indias Occidentales (or New World, and later America) enacted by Theological thinking, played in the hands of the agents in the construction of capitalist economy. The panorama was clearly in the heads and writing hands of British colonial administrators and plantation owners. Sir Dalby Thomas was one of them and belonged to a significant number of influential officers, at the end of the seventeenth century, supporting mercantilism (or mercantile capitalism). An economic structure that later on Adam Smith will attack in defense of free-trade, particularly in the superb section "On colonialism" that is the less read section of Smith's book. Sir Dalby Thomas was plantation owner, historian, and governor of Jamaica in 1690. He left a monograph titled *An historical account of the rise and growth of the West-India colonies. And of the great advantages they are to England, in respect to trade* (1690). There you can see free-trade capitalism in full blown. The history was told in detail by the classic book, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), by Eric Williams, scholar, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and an influential public figure. You can see in Williams' work, as well as in the work of his mentor, C. L. R. James, the tension between Marxism and decolonial thinking, a tension that has been very well analyzed lately by de-colonial historians and philosophers who have been following Frantz Fanon's dictum: "You are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. This is why Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched when it comes to address the colonial issue. It is not just the concept of precapitalist society, so effectively studied by Marx, which needs to be reexamined here. [...] It is not the factories, the estates, or the bank account which primarily characterizes the 'ruling class.' The ruling species is first and foremost the outsider from elsewhere, different from the indigenous population, 'the others'" (*The Wretched of the Earth*).

Briefly, a new type of economy emerged in world history in the Atlantic, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Two features, mainly, characterized this economy: 1) extraction (gold, silver) and production (sugar, cotton, tobacco, coffee) of commodities for a global market (Quijano); and 2) a technology of investment of capital that made possible to reproduce resources for the foreseeable future that allowed Western Atlantic European emerging empires to end the constraints of agrarian civilizations, economically based on land and taxation. None of the emerging socio-economic formations of the time (Ottoman Sultanate, Mughal Sultanate, and Russian Tsarate) and the long lasting existing ones (e.g., China during the Ming Dynasty) initiated such kind of economy. The type of economy today we call capitalist economy. Exploitation of labor and appropriation of land, in the New World, went hand in hand with racial classification. In Europe, racial classification legitimized the expulsion of Moors and Jews. In the New World, racial classification legitimized expropriation of land from Indians, the massive trade of enslaved Africans, and the brutal exploitation of labor. This new type of economy went also hand in hand with the transformation of other spheres of the colonial matrix of power. From then on, it was capitalism (hand in hand with racism) all the way down.

M. G.: Coloniality and modernity are working together; they cannot be understood separately, as one is dependent upon the other. You connect the logic of coloniality and the rhetoric of modernity, and show that they are co-substantial in reproducing coloniality. How would you define the function of rhetoric and of grammar in such a relation?

W. M.: In the monographic article titled "The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of Decoloniality," I opted for the metaphorical use of three disciplines of the *Trivium*, in the Renaissance University. The title is in dialogue with my previous book, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*. "Modernity" is not an historical period but a discursive rhetoric, that is, a persuasive discourse promising progress, civilization and happiness. Or, if you wish, is the historical period as defined by those inhabiting and benefiting from it. "Coloniality" is invisible (like Freud's unconscious or Marx plusvalue) and hides the carnage implied in the "advances" of modernity. De-coloniality as I said before, have been one type of responses to the imperial expansion of the colonial matrix of power, responses of resistance as well as of re-existence (a concept introduced by Colombian painter, cultural critique and activist, Adolfo Albán in his understanding of the survival and creativity of Black communities in Colombia from the eighteenth century to today). It is a "grammar in the making" both in its local particularities as well as in global connections that are at work (for example, this very interview is a modest example of the grammar of global de-coloniality). Modernity/coloniality describes the double side and double density of imperial expansion. De-coloniality refers to the global historical diversity of responses to the monolithic diversity (Spain, England, France, Germany and the US, diverse in their sameness) of Western imperialism. Today it is necessary to analyze the radical transformations the colonial matrix of power is going through in a world order of pluri-centric capitalism. But this would be for another conversation.

M. G.: You are professor in one of those imperial academic structures in the USA that systematically reproduces and sustains rational western epistemology as a colonizing system. How do you de-link your work from such an institution? Moreover, is it not true that the American corporate educational system (that basis its work on efficiency, competition and fake struggles) wants from their professors to (re)produce instead of a critical discourse, a theater of it, that is an assurance to the system that nothing will really change?

W. M.: Yes indeed, I am. And the scenario you depict is a viable one. The other scenario would be to just leave the university and to go fight an epistemic struggle in the forest. Sub-comandante Marcos did it. Or, to put it upside down, leave the university to those who want to promote "la pensée unique." In the middle, would be the illusion of being an independent intellectual or scholar, who is immune to the corporate educational system, here in the US, in Europe

(Western and Central/Eastern China, India or Argentina). It is a matter of choice, after all, among the possibilities that are open to you. Fred(ric) Jameson is a professor in the same imperial academic structure of Duke University. And there are many other professors at Duke and elsewhere, of Marxist persuasion or de-colonial conviction (e.g., University of California at Berkeley). Thanks to the Civil Rights movement, the academic structure of the US changed radically. While geo-politics of knowledge was articulated in the Third World (e.g., Enrique Dussel's first chapter in his book *Philosophy of Liberation*, 1977 is titled "Geopolitics and Philosophy"), body-politics of knowledge had a strong hold in the US after the Civil Rights Movement. A shift from disciplinary knowledge to knowledge helping the liberation of women, queers, gay and lesbians, Native and Afro-Americans, Latinas and Latinos is at stake; we witness, more general, the proliferation of Ethnic Studies that present the transformation of disciplinary into de-colonial knowledge(s). It is truth that the de-colonial turn contributed to *identity politics*. However, two disclaimers: 1) there is an identity politics in the discipline hidden under the pretense of objective knowledge and 2) identity politics shall be distinguished from *identity IN politics*. The MAS (Marcha hacia el socialismo) in Bolivia and Hamas in Palestine are not political party formed in the frame of Western political theory. In Western political theory it is as if Republican and Democrats in the US are except from identity politics while the truth is that political party are *belle et bien* grounded in identity politics. However, the public façade is that they are not. Therefore it was necessary to create socio-political organizations like MAS and Hamas to occupy official positions in the government through democratic and clean elections. Without MAS and Hamas it would have been necessary to joint the already existing parties to whose identity politics did not belong all of those who created MAS (Marcha hacia el socialismo) and Hamas (Harakat al-Muqāwama al-Islāmiyya) and all those who voted for them. My point here is that in many US universities it has been possible, and beneficial, to create spaces of knowledge not directed toward Washington and the Corporations but to contribute to decolonization of knowledge and being (e.g., decolonization of the mind as Ngugi wa Thiong'o has it). Now, a large proportion of scholars and intellectuals involved in generating this kind of knowledge, decolonial knowledge, are in several ways involved in some sort of activism outside of the University; activism which is entangled with the kind of knowledge being produced and disseminated at the University.

So, that is one way of proceeding. The other is the work myself and others (South American based in the US, Afro-Caribbean, Latinas and Latinos) do in collaboration with de-colonial oriented institutions in South America. For example, the work many of us (Ramon Grosfoguel, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Catherine Walsh) and others from the Caribbean Philosophical Association (Lewis Gordon) do with

Fabrica des ideias (<http://www.fabricadeideias.ufba.br/apresentacao.php>), in Salvador de Bahia, Brazil, where the Afro-Brazilian movement has its hub. Many of us, based in the US, collaborate with a PhD at the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Quito, Ecuador, where most of the students (if not all) are scholars, intellectuals and activists; pretty much like those who attend the seminars in *Fabrica des ideias*. In the US, around 150 scholars and intellectuals, in major imperial academic structures, began already the creation of a Latina/o Academy of Arts and Sciences (which I already mentioned), a supra-structural institution, with many nodes of a net, all over the US. The goal of the Academy is to create an institution, lead by Latinas and Latinos but open to all (like the Democratic or Republican party, you know, they are open to all who want to join and vote; they are not exclusivist) to intervene in the public sphere as well as in the academic realm. By calling it Latina/o Academy of Arts and Sciences we are already unveiling the fact that the "American Academy of Arts and Sciences" is simply White without saying it. On the other hand, our aim is to dispute the control of knowledge and its imperial consequences.

And you are right; those are the values of the corporate university. The question is, and this is one of the principles of the Latina/o Academy, to educate students from undergraduate on to "succeed" (since you do not want failed revolutionaries, right?) at the same time that questioning and philosophy behind the idea of success. In other words, *being in the institution* doesn't mean that you go literally with the *institutional goals* – border thinking one of the strategies to be inside and against, to be inside and moving in a different direction. Institutions like Duke and Berkeley, Michigan and North Carolina, etc., are complex institutions. While they have to compete and endorse corporate values, they also value the Humanities and "free thinking." The President of Duke and of the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill (one private the other state university), 10 miles from each other and collaborating in many fields, stood up in defense of professors who were accused by right-wing extremist, after 9/11 2001 of being pro-Islam. So, as people like to say, things "are more complex than that." There is no ideal place to struggle. On the other hand, imagine that Fredric Jameson was not at Duke all this year. Some one else would have occupied his place. And that some one else could have been a disciple of Samuel Huntington instead of Karl Marx.

M. G.: Prof Mignolo, thank you very much indeed for your answers!

Marina Gržinić, philosopher and artist. She is researcher at the Institute of Philosophy at SRC of SASA in Ljubljana and professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna.

QUEER

Tatjana Greif EVROGREHI IN NOVA INKVIZICIJA

Demokrat Barack Obama je za svojo inauvguralno mašo najel razvitega pastorja Ricka Warrena, gorečega nasprotnika splava, gejevskih pravic in uporabe kondomov. Njegova zadnja akcija je seziganje kondomov v imenu Jezusa. Warrenovi zavezniki v afriških državah z lažno propagando sistematično blokirajo varne metode za preprečevanje okužbe z virusom hiv, kar vodi v drastično širjenje novih infekcij.

Posmrkani robec za lačne je bil naslov časopisnega članka, ki je opisoval velikodušnost neke filmske zvezde, ki je svoj umazani robec darovala na dražbi, izkupiček pa namenila hrani za reveže. Beremo tudi, kako je bogataška sodrža preživelu božič na Maledi- vih, v Maroku in na drugih stičiščih svetovne eksploatacije pod krinko turizma. V Marakešu so naši rojaki igrali golf. Šibanje žogic čez zelenico res ni najbolj inteligenten šport, je pa zato luksuzna ekološka katastrofa. O enormni potrati vode, uporabi pesticidov, herbicidov, uničevanju živil vrst – srednje veliko igrišče za golf namreč terja štiristo tisoč kubičnih metrov vode in pol drugo tono pesticidov letno – časniki ne poročajo. Tudi zato turistične agencije izbranim Slovencem še naprej prodajajo novotletne pakete po dvajset tisoč evrov. A kaj bi to. Evropska unija porabi letno 2,4 milijarde evrov za promocijo same sebe.

V manj kot mesecu dni je bila pozabljena smrt šestnajstletnega fanta, ki ga je 6. decembra 2008 na atenskih ulicah umorila policija. Mediji so o nemirih v Grčiji poročali samo toliko, kolikor se je tam dogajal »incident«, dokler se je po Atenah kadilo in pokalo in so prizori uličnih sponpadov s policijo, ki »se brani« pred »napadi« anarhistov, hranili krvolčnost televizijskih hiš in njihovih gledalcev. Mlade Evropejce, ki so se spontano uprli neizbežni usodi bo- dočih brezposelnih in topovske hrane megakapitalistov, so mediji označili kot »nasilne demonstrante«, ki iz golega dolgočasa razbijajo avtomobile in izložbe, policijo, ki je umorila otroka, pa kot tisto, ki se brani. Klub odvratni medijski blokadi je širom Evrope vzplamenela solidarnost z grškimi uporniki, tudi v Ljubljani. Srž konflikta je globalna analogija zahodne družbe – *proizvodnja odtujenosti, počasna smrt na delovnih mestih, v loviščih kapitala, modernizirana nepismenost in spektaklso vraževerje, ki krepita moč gospodarjev, univerze kot katedrale neumnosti samodejno na- rekujejo prevzem nadzora nad ulico, izgon služabnikov obstoječega reda. Zavrnitev države, kapitala in policije, sveta brez prihodnosti.¹*

Nova italijanska zakonodaja, imenovana *Varnostni paket*, zaostruje ukrepe proti migrantom; zvišuje dolžino pridržanja, ilegalce enači z zločinci, jim odvzema pravico do družine, spodbuja bolnišnice, naj prijavijo bolne migrante. Aktivisti so v začetku januarja 2009 v Rimu mobilizirali javnost proti še večji segregaciji in rasizmu nad migranti. V Berlinu je bil v zadnjih treh mesecih večkrat oskrunj

spomenik homoseksualnim žrtvam nacizma. Pod Hitlerjevim režimom je bilo obsojenih štiriinpetdeset tisoč gejev in lezbijsk, več tisoč jih je umrlo v koncentracijskih taboriščih. V Nemčiji tudi sicer beležijo porast homofobičnega nasilja, organizacija *Maneo* je s plakati pretepenih gejev preleplila Berlin. Za nasilje krivijo neonaciste, mlade verske skrajnež in mestno oblast. Župana Klausa Wöverveita pozivajo, naj poskrbi za varnost, on pa le ponavlja, da ni gejevski politik, temveč zgolj politik, ki je gej. Pod njegovim župovanjem so mestne oblasti ukinile dotacije programom o toleranci, varni spolnosti in preventivi hiv/aids.

Na Hrvaškem so po petih letih iz psihiatrične bolnišnice izpustili enaindvajsetletno dekle iz Reke, kamor sta jo zaradi lezbištva dala zapreti njena starša. Popolnoma shirana mlaedenka zaradi krutega ravnjanja za zidovi psihiatrije toži bolnišnico, ministrstvo za zdravje in mesto Reka. Parlament v Litvi ugotavlja, da imajo javne informacije o homoseksualnosti trajne posledice za razvoj otrok in da spodkopavajo družinske vrednote. Zato je izdelal zakon, ki ščiti mladino pred homoseksualnimi vsebinami. Svet Evrope je v zadnjem času večkrat okrcal Litvo zaradi državne homofobije. Litvanski evroposlanec Šarunas Birutis je protestiral ob razstavi o istospolnih družinah, ki je bila na ogled v Evropskem parlamentu; označil jo je za vulgarno in agresivno. Za moralno kondicijo mladine so zaskrbljeni tudi na Portugalskem, kjer mladinski nogometni klub predpisujejo denarno kazen v višini štiridesetih centov za »homoseksualno obnašanje v slačilnicah«, med prepovedane prakse pa sodi tudi medsebojno »tleskanje po zadnjicah«. Slovenski predsednik Danilo Türk je novembra lani gostil poljskega predsednika in deklariranega homofoba Lecha Kaczynskega. *Reartikulačija* ob tem dogodku – klub zagotovilom tiskovnih služb – ni dobila odgovora na novinarsko vprašanje: *Kako lahko pojasnите vaše – na nacionalni in mednarodni ravni – trdovratno, deklarativno vztrajanje pri odrekjanju enakopravnosti, državljanov in človekovih pravic gejem in lezbijskam?*

V poročilu organizacije Human Rights Watch *This Alien Legacy: The Origins of 'Sodomy' Laws in British Colonialism* ugotavljajo, da je več kot polovica držav na svetu, ki danes še vedno kazensko peganjo homoseksualnost, dedičinu britanske kolonialne vladavine. Britanci so leta 1860 v Indiji napisali kazenski zakonik, katerega 377. člen je kaznoval »karnalni spolni odnos proti naravnemu redu« z dosmrtnim zaporom. Od Indije preko Afrike do Nove Gvineje še danes uporablajo predpise, ki so bili izpeljani iz tega kolonialnega zakona.

Vse pogosteji napadi na homoseksualnost kažejo, da je papež še naprej in celo vedno bolj obseden z gejevskim seksom. Pravi, da homoseksualno nagnjenje samo po sebi ni greh, pač pa je greh seksualni akt, saj pomeni »uničevanje božjega dela«. Benedikt XVI. obsoja celo tiste homoseksualce, ki se grejo abstinenco in seksualno sploh niso aktivni, češ da procesirajo »težnjo k moralnemu zлу«. Proti dekriminalizaciji homoseksualnosti, ki čemur je pozvala OZN, je zagnal silovito kampanjo. Vatikan, edina verska institucija, ki ima v ZN pravico do besede, je entiteta brez demokratičnega ustroja – pogoj, ki velja za vse ostale države članice – in še naprej operativna napaka ZN.

Generalna skupščina ZN je 18. decembra 2008 podprla deklaracijo, po kateri mednarodna zaščita človekovih pravic vključuje tudi področje seksualne usmerjenosti in spolne identitete. V tem zgodovinskem dokumentu je OZN prvič v času svojega obstoja izrecno obsodila kršitve človekovih pravic gejev, lezbijsk, biseksualcev in transseksualcev. Odločno je obsodila umore iz sovraštva, mučenje, zapiranje in peganjanje gejev, lezbijsk in transseksualcev po celem svetu. Med šestinšestdesetimi državami podpisnimi je dokument podprla tudi Slovenija, niso pa ga podprle ZDA, Rusija, Kitajska in JAR. Države podpisnice so poudarile zavezo, da bodo ščitile človekove pravice vseh ljudi, ne glede na njihovo sekualno usmerjenost in spolno identiteto, ter da se bodo globalno zavzemale za ukinitev kazenskih zakonov, ki kakorkoli peganjo in sankcionirajo homoseksualnost. Trenutno kar šestinsemdeset držav na svetu kazensko peganja moško homoseksualnost, nekatere države tudi lezbištvo. Predpisane so zaporne kazni, tudi dosmrtnne. V najmanj sedmih državah je v veljavi smrtna kazni – v Iranu, Savdski Arabiji, Jemnu, Sudanu, Mavretaniji, Nigeriji in Pakistanu. Vatikan, ki sicer nasprotuje smrtni kazni, pa le-to podpira, če gre za homoseksualce.

Kasneje istega meseca je papež definiral potrebo po ekoloških ukrepilih proti homoseksualnosti. Prepričan je, da homoseksualci predstavljajo globalno grožnjo planetu in pomenijo nevarnost za preživetje človeške vrste. Izjavil je, da je treba človeštvo rešiti pred homoseksualci in transseksualci podobno kot Zemljo pred klimatskimi spremembami ali tropski pragozd pred izsekanjem. Homoseksualno vedenje vodi v samoučenje človeške rase. Ni slučaj, da je za »čiščenje« družbe, za klerikalno higieno moralne umazanije, najbolj priročna ravno ekologija. Implantacija ekologije kot krinke za vse bolj strupeno hujskaštvo proti pravicam seksualnih manjšin in vse bolj zlovešča diskurzivna bizarnost Vatikana odstirata absolutno nemoč religije, ki hoče upravljati s človekovo seksualnostjo.

Ob veljavni ekologiji v polje homoseksualnosti se je papež prvič doslej neposredno obregnil tudi ob teorijo spolov. Teorija spolov z vidika Vatikana briše spolno razliko, ki jo je zdaj zaviral stvarnik in krni biološko identiteto ljudi. »Prisluhniti jeziku stvarstva« pomeni ukloniti se teokratski in ultrapatriarhalni definiciji tega, kaj sta »pravii« in »edini« vlogi moškega in ženske.

Napad na homoseksualnost namesto na lakoto, vojno, revščino in pomanjkanje kaže na papežev seznam prioritet. Ekološka grožnja planetu seveda niso geji, lezbijske ali transseksualci, temveč cerkve, religije, kapitalizem, pohlep in potrošništvo. Homoaktivisti se upravičeno sprašujejo, zakaj je Benedikt XVI. tako obseden z gejevskim seksom, da se z njim ukvarja tako rekoč tedensko. Nekateri iščejo razlage v bolezni prisilni nevrozi in sarkastično podutarjajo, da RKC brez gejevskih duhovščine sploh ne bi mogla normalno delovati – najmanj tretjina katoliške duhovščine je namreč homoseksualna. Brez gejevskih duhovnikov, škofov, nadškofov, kardinalov, svetovalcev in tajnikov, ki v svili drsajo po vatikanskih palačah, bi vesoljna cerkev prav težko vrtela svoje kolesje. Transseksualci papeža hudomušno pozivajo, naj prenehata z napadi na, saj se istočasno tudi sam spreha v kriklih, dolgih oblekah, bleščicah in drugih oblačilnih insignijah ženskosti.

¹ Anarhistična pobuda. Ljubljana, 20. 12. 2008.

Zaradi aktivnega širjenja homofobije je nizozemska fundacija *Gay Krant* v začetku leta 2009 sprožila globalno kampanjo proti papežu Benediktu XVI. Švedska fotografinja Elisabeth Ohlson-Wallin na razstavi *In Hate We Trust* upodabljala papeža, stojecega na vrhu grmadi razgaljenih človeških teles, živih mrtvecev.

Tatjana Greif je doktorica arheologije, lezbična aktivistka, publicistka, urednica zbirke ŠKUC – Vizibilija in Časopisa za kritiko znanosti.

Tatjana Greif EURO-SINS AND THE NEW INQUISITION

For his inaugural invocation, the democrat Barack Obama selected the disreputable pastor (protestant clergyman) Rick Warren, an ardent opponent of abortion, gay rights and the use of condoms. His most recent action was burning condoms in the name of Jesus. Warren's allies in African countries are impeding, by means of false propaganda, safe methods of AIDS prevention which will result in even greater diffusion of infections.

Snotty handkerchief for the starving was the title of an article describing the magnitude of a film star who donated her snotty handkerchief at an auction, earmarking the takings for food for the poor. Further, we could read how the rich mob spent Christmas in Maldives, Morocco and other parts of the world faced with global exploitation under the guise of tourism, while our fellow countrymen played golf in Marrakesh. Hitting golf balls across a golf course may well not be an intelligent sport, but it certainly is a luxurious ecological disaster. However, what newspapers fail to report about is the huge waste of water and use of pesticides and herbicides which destroy living species – a medium-sized golf course requires 400,000 square meters of water and 2.5 tons of pesticides annually. This is one of the reasons why tourist agencies continue selling New Year packages worth 20,000 Euros to the Slovenian elite. But apparently, this is a mere trifle. Namely, the European Union spends 2.4 billion euro annually for self-promotion.

The death of a sixteen-year old boy who was shot dead by the police on the streets of Athens on 6th December 2008 was forgotten in less than a month. The media reported about the riots in Greece as if they were a mere "incident," and as long as the streets were cloaked in plumes of smoke and explosives were going off, and the scenes of street fights with police "defending" itself from "assaults" of anarchists were nourishing the bloodlust of broadcasting houses and TV audience. The natural revolt of generations of young Europeans against the unavoidable destiny of becoming the future jobless cannon foggers of mega-capitalists was denounced by the media as the actions of "violent demonstrators" who break cars and display windows out of mere boredom, while the police responsible for child murder were labeled as the defenders. Regardless of the repulsive media blockade, solidarity with Greek protestors flared up throughout Europe, including in Ljubljana. The kernel of the conflict is the global analogy of western society – *production of alienation, slow death in the workplace and the hunting ground of capital, modernized illiteracy and spectacular superstition that strengthen the power of the masters, and universities as cathedrals of stupidity all inevitably result in street takeover, the eviction of servants to the existing order. Rejection of the state, capital and police; of a world with no future!*

The new Italian legislation known as *Security Package* restricts measures against immigrants; it introduces longer detentions, equates illegal immigrants with criminals, deprives them of the right to fam-

1 Anarhistična pobuda [Anarchic Initiative]. Ljubljana, 20. 12. 2008.

ily, and stimulates hospitals to inform authorities on sick migrants. At the beginning of January 2009 in Rome, activists mobilized the public against greater segregation and racism towards immigrants. Over the last three months in Berlin, there have been recurrent attacks at the monument dedicated to homosexual victims of Nazism. Under Hitler's regime, 54,000 gays and lesbians were convicted, while thousands died in concentration camps. In Germany, on other occasions too, there has been evidence of the increase of homophobic violence. The organization *Maneo* has pasted Berlin with posters of (assaulted) beaten-up gays, placing the blame for the violence on Neo-Nazis, young religious extremists and city authorities. The mayor Klaus Wowereit is being called upon to provide for safety, while he goes on repeating that he is not a gay politician, but a politician who's gay. Under his mayoralty, the city authorities abolished grants for programs on tolerance, safe sex and prevention of HIV/AIDS.

In Croatia, a twenty-one year old girl from Rijeka was released after a five-year detention in a mental hospital, to where she was sent by her parents for being a lesbian. A completely worn out young girl is suing the hospital, the Ministry for Health and the city of Rijeka due to inhuman treatment behind the walls of the psychiatric hospital. According to the Lithuanian Parliament, public information on homosexuality seems to have permanent consequences on child development, undermining family values. As a result, the law for protection of youth against homosexual content has been introduced. Recently, the Council of Europe has repeatedly blamed Lithuania for state homophobia. Lithuanian member of the European Parliament Šarunas Birutis complained about the gay family exhibition held at the Euro Parliament; he denounced it as vulgar and aggressive. The moral condition of youths is a point of concern also in Portugal, where youth football clubs prescribe a penalty charge of forty cents for "homosexual behaving in changing rooms," while also prohibiting "buttock smacking." In November last year, Slovenian president Danilo Türk hosted Lech Kaczynski, the Polish President, and a declared homophobe. On that occasion, *Reartikulacija* – notwithstanding the assurances given by the news services – did not get an answer to the journalistic question posed to the Polish president: How would you explain your stubborn, declarative perseverance in declining equality and human rights to gays and lesbians, both at the national and international level?

According to the report by the organization Human Rights Watch titled *This Alien Legacy: The Origins of 'Sodomy' Laws in British Colonialism*, more than half of the countries worldwide that have until now prosecuted homosexuality, are a legacy of the British colonial sovereignty. In 1860, the British introduced the Indian Penal Code, Article 377 of which punishes "carnal intercourse against the order of nature" with life imprisonment. From India through Africa and to New Guinea, regulations that derive from that same colonial law are still in use today.

Ever more recurrent assaults on homosexuality show that the Pope continues to be, and is ever more obsessed with gay sex. The Pope says that homosexual inclination is not a sin, rather that the sin is in a sexual act, for it implies the "destruction of God's work." Pope Benedict XVI disapproves of even those homosexuals who practice abstinence and are not sexually active, on the ground that they involve the "tendency ordered toward an intrinsic moral evil." He set up a violent campaign against decriminalization called upon by the UN. The Vatican, the only religious institution entitled to speak in the UN, is an entity without a democratic structure – a condition that applies to all other member states – and a (persistent) functional mistake of the UN.

On 18th December 2008, the UN General Assembly approved the declaration which sets out that international protection of human rights shall also include the sphere of sexual orientation and gender identity. In this historical document, the UN, for the first time in

its existence, expressly condemned the violation of human rights of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transsexuals. It firmly condemned hate-murders (killings out of hatred), torturing, imprisonment and persecution of gays, lesbians and transsexuals worldwide. Among the sixty six signatory states was Slovenia, while the document was not approved by the USA, Russia, China and The South African Republic. The signatory states pointed out their commitment to protect the human rights of all people, regardless of their sexual orientation and sexual identity, and to abolish globally penal laws that persecute and sanction homosexuality. Currently, 86 states in the world legally prosecute gays, some of them also lesbianism, subjecting them to imprisonment or, at times, even life imprisonment. The death penalty applies in at least seven countries, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Sudan, Mauretania, Nigeria and Pakistan. However, while opposing the death penalty generally, the Vatican seems to be in favor of it when it comes to homosexuals.

Convinced that homosexuals represent a global threat to the planet and may also endanger the survival of the human species, later on that same month the Pope called for ecological measures against homosexuality. He stated that saving mankind from homosexuals and transsexuals was just as important as saving the Earth from climate change or the rainforest from deforestation. Homosexual behavior leads to the self-destruction of the human race. It is no coincidence then, that for the "cleaning" of society, and for the clerical hygiene of moral depravity, ecology happens to be the nearest at hand. It is precisely the use of ecology as a guise for the ever more poisonous instigation against the rights of sexual minorities, and an ever more atrocious discursive eccentricity of the Vatican that bear testimony to the absolute incapability of religion to control human sexuality.

By mixing ecology with homosexuality, the Pope for the first time meddled directly in the theory of gender. According to the Vatican, gender theory blurs the distinction between sexes designed by the Creator, thus curtailing the biological identity of man and woman. "*Listening to the language of creation*" means to submit oneself to theocratic and ultra-patriarchal definition of what is the "only" and "undisputable" role of man and woman.

The attack on homosexuality instead of on hunger, war, poverty and indigence points to the Pope's list of priorities. Ecological threat to the planet is by no means represented by gays, lesbians or transsexuals, but rather by the Church, religion, capitalism, greediness and consumerism. Homoactivists are justified in asking themselves why Benedict XVI is so obsessed with gay sex as to preoccupy himself with it virtually on a weekly basis. Some search for answers in the symptomatic coercive neurosis, and sarcastically make the point that without gay clergy the Roman Catholic Church could not function properly – for at least one third of the catholic clergy are homosexuals. If there were no gay clergymen, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, advisers and secretaries all dressed up in silk and gliding along in the Vatican palaces, the universal church would hardly have been able to spin its wheels. Transsexuals are roguishly calling upon the Pope to stop assaulting them, for he himself wears skirts, vestments, spangles and other insignia of womanhood.

Due to an active spreading of homophobia, at the beginning of 2009, the Dutch Foundation of Friends of the *Gay Krant* initiated a global campaign against Pope Benedict XVI. At the exhibition "*In Hate We Trust*," a photograph of the Swedish photographer Elisabeth Ohlson-Wallin depicts the Pope standing on the top of a pile of half-naked human bodies, the living dead.

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Translated from Slovenian by Tanja Passoni.

RADIKALNA KRITIČNA PRAKSA/ RADICAL CRITICAL PRACTICE

Sebastjan Leban REVOLUCIONARNA KRITIČNA PEDAGOGIKA: BOJ PROTI NEOLIBERALISTIČNEMU ZATIRANJU – POGOVOR S PETROM MCLARENOM, 2. 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 katreda z njegovim imenom. Prav tako so podobno katedro na podobu 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: *Produkcija pasivnosti je strategija, ki jo neoliberalni sistem uporablja za proizvodnjo družbene in politične apatije. Kako se lahko postavimo po robu takšni proizvodnji pasivnosti, da lahko (re)aktiviramo pasivno družbo in sprememimo trenutni neoliberalni sistem?*

Peter McLaren: Najprej se moramo otresti bête noire progresivnosti, to je pozitivizma, ki se ga večina progresivnih pedagogov oklepa pri svojem delu. Pozitivizem, ki je bil pompozno razglašen za protutež metafizičnemu prepričanju v prirojenost razuma, temelji na predpostavki, da nam ostajajo objekti našega mišljenja nespoznavni, to pa zato, ker naj bi naše spoznanje izviralo iz našega čutnega dojemanja sveta, ki ga posredujemo prek različnih pojmovnih sistemov ali sistemov razumevanja na podlagi naših subjektivno doživetih izkuštev. Povedano drugače, naša subjektivno doživeta izkušnja posreduje realnost tako, da je nikoli ne dojamemo objektivno, pač pa se ji lahko le približamo prek

različnih posredovalnih sistemov, ki predstavljajo nepremostljivo oviro – in zadeve dodatno mistificirajo. Rezultat tega je pasivna teorija znanja, ki temelji na izkušnji kot doktrini, ki zavrača pojmovanje sveta kot celote in spominja bolj na prazni solipsizem, ki realnost pojmuje le kot niz formalnih ali logičnih izjav (ki omogočajo obstoj pojmov samo zato, ker vanje verjamemo). Tako stališče je John Hoffman označil kot »pozitivizem z 'levičarskim' obrazom«. Sam sem bolj zagovornik hegelsko-marksističnega stališča, ki pravi, da izkušnje ne moremo pravilno razumeti, če nanoj ne gledamo celostno, absolutno, ampak jo pojmuemo na način osamljenih izkustvenih drobcev. Vprašati se je torej treba, kaj omogoča izkušnjo, zakaj nekaterim izkušnjam pripisujemo večjo vrednost kot drugim in kakšni so pogoji za nastanek specifičnih izkušenj. To pa moramo razumeti dialektično, v nasprotju z absolutom. Na tej točki naj omenim Quijana, ki nas opozarja, da se moramo pri razmišljanju o totalnosti ali družbenozgodovinski totalnosti izogibati evropocentrični paradigm totalnosti. To lahko storimo tako, da totalnost pojmuemo kot področje formiranja družbenih odnosov na podlagi heterogenega in nekontinuiranega združevanja različnih obstoječih sfer družbenega obstoja, ki pa jih prav tako sestavljajo posamezni zgodovinski heterogeni, časovno nekontinuirani in konfliktni elementi. Kljub temu ima vsak element relativno avtonomijo in ga lahko obravnavamo kot partikularnost in singularnost, usmerja pa ga vendarle celoto. Zato totalnosti ne moremo misliti kot neko zaprto strukturo, saj zgodovinsko gledano vsaka spremembra učinkuje heterogeno in nekontinuirano na posamezne elemente znotraj polja družbenih odnosov. Enako se tudi zgodovina ne pomika od ene homogene in kontinuirane celote k drugi. Skratka, izogniti se moramo evropskemu pogledu na totalnost in nanjo pogledati z denimo »predkapitalističnega«, »predindustrijskega« ali »predmoderne« zornega kota. Kot je poudaril Ramón Grosfoguel na enim zadnjih predavanju, na katerem sva sodelovala, je t. i. »primitivna akumulacija« v Latinski Ameriki vselej obstajala, toda ta izraz je šele pred kratkim vpeljal David Harvey v svoji odlični knjigi o akumulaciji prek razlastitve.

Pomembno se mi zdi najti način, da osvetlimo dozdevno naravne (v resnici pa še kako varljive) medčloveške odnose v kapitalizmu in tako prispevamo k »aktivnejši« teoriji znanja. Aktivna politika namreč ne more temeljiti na pasivni teoriji znanja, kar je eden temeljni problemov. Trenutne pedagoške obravnave »izkušnje« prikrivajo ljudem, da so prav oni tisti, ki ustvarjajo družbene razmere, zato ni utemeljenega razloga za sprejetje naivne, čeprav zgodovinsko morda neizogibne iluzije o nedotakljivosti kapitalizma kot edine mogoče resnice. Od tod moje nestrinjanje z Laclaujem in Mouffejevo, ki zanikata vsakršen pomen materialnega sveta zunaj diskurzivne artikulacije, saj menim, da obstajajo stvari materialni interesi, ki jih lahko in moramo artikulirati. Hkrati zavračam pojem totalnosti kot nekakšne apriorne abstrakte sheme, ki se kot prefabricirana šablona vsiljuje realnosti. Seveda se strinjam, da se marksizem lahko zlorablja za militantske ali dogmatične namene, a ga kljub temu ne moremo kar odpisati, češ da gre za univerzalno teorijo. Absolutu, ki ga poganja duh arogantnosti in totalnosti in katerega namen je marginalizacija, demonizacija in izključevanje kulturno drugačnih, se moramo nedvomno postaviti po robu. Če pa gre za hegelski absolut, ga je treba preprosto preseči, kar je marksizem v svojih različnih fazah – zlasti marksistični humanizem – tudi stori.

Ne verjamem, daje človekovo delovanje v historično materialistični analizi omejeno na enostranski determinizem, kjer se zgodovina očitno in neizbežno ponavlja. Skratka, ne verjamem, da je človek dodeljen pasivna vloga in da je zato človek le orodje zgodovinskih zakonov gibanja, ki jih sproža narava. Tak mehanični materializem ostro zavračam, in prav tako – kot nasprotje temu – ostro zavračam postmarksistično radikalno kontingenco in determinizem družbenega. Razviti moramo aktivni materializem, pedagogiko tistega, kar imenujem »ustvarjanje zgodovine«, torej revolucionarno prakso, s katero se bo mogoče zoperstaviti kapitalističnemu poskušu, da bi našo zmožnost samorefleksije sporebnil v našo nezmožnost razumevanja njegovega izvora. Kot trdijo Teresa Ebert in drugi, pasivna kontemplacija ni dovolj za spremembo pogojev, v katere smo potisnjeni neodvisno od

naše volje. Nasprotno, vztrajati moramo pri humanizaciji pogojev in okoliščin, ki nas zaznamujejo. Boj za socialno pravičnost zahteva več kot le abstraktna načela. Zahteva načela, na katerih temeljijo protisistični in protiseistični programi ali ekološka gibanja, ki si prizadevajo za harmonijo med človekom in naravo. Skratka, spopasti se moramo tudi z materialnimi okoliščinami, ki so navidezno zunaj našega dosega, in sicer tako, da razvijemo pedagogiko razrednega boja.

Za doseglo svobode ni dovolj, da stvarnost le presežemo, pač pa jo moramo aktivno preoblikovati, trdi Michael Lebowitz. Nekako podobno lahko izjavim, da resnica ni to, kar je, pač pa tisto, kar se šele mora zgoditi. Tukaj se sklicujem na klasična marksista, kot sta Teresa Ebert in Mas'ud Zavarzadeh, ki pomagata raziskovalcem/aktivistom iztrgati se iz izčrpavajočega sveta subjektivizma in voluntarizma.

Kaj pravzaprav mislim z razrednim bojem? To ni le ekonomski boj med posestniki in razlačenci, pač pa politični boj, uperjen proti državi (kjer se prek zaveznosti razrednih frakcij, organiziranih v strukturo moći, ustvarja hegemonistični razred). Uspešen boj za demokracijo zahteva velik več kot le kultiviranje etičnega gnusa do izkorisčanja; zahteva aktivno prizadevanje za njegovo odpravo. Država ni neutralni prostor, ni avtonomna regija, ki čudežno lebdi nad svetovno zmešnjavo razrednih antagonizmov. A mnogi progresivni pedagogi se tega ne zavedajo, in s tem ko se zavzemajo zgolj za javni prostor in se oklepajo anemičnega in abstraktnega pojmovanja demokracije in svobode, nevede zrcalijo svojo levičarsko plat kapitalističnega razreda, ki ustvarja in vzdržuje navideznost, stvarnost pa črta.

Naj poudarim, da materializem, kot ga sam razumem, in moje prepričanje, da svet obstaja tudi zunaj našega miselnega dometa in naših izkustev, ne zanikata »objektivnosti v oklepah«, ki jo omenja Walter Mignolo, saj ne verjamem v vzajemno izključujočo se transcendentalno ontologijo, ki niti ne priznava drugačnih ontologij, niti ne upošteva našega mišljenja. S tem ko zagovarjam univerzalno socialno pravičnost (in socializem), ki omogoča pogoje možnosti za osvoboditev vseh od nujnosti, pa ne zanjam plurerzalnosti znanj. Ravno obratno: potrjujem legitimnost vseh tistih znanj, ki jih imperialistična evropocentristična epistemologija ne priznava. Zato vztrajam pri marksističnem humanizmu, ki temelji na spoznanju sveta prek izkušenj, ki so koherenčne z drugimi izkušnjami in akcijami – z akcijami protagonistov sveta in v svetu, kjer je družbeno hkrati pogoj in rezultat človekovega delovanja. Od tod moje prizadevanje za socializem, za enakost univerzalnih in hkrati partikularnih pravic. Kulture ne moremo razumeti le kot sistema označevanja, pač pa jo moramo razumeti kot nekaj, kar je pripeto na materialnosti družbenega življenja. Pri tem tudi ne moremo mimo normativnega pomena zatiranja, ki ga razumem kot regulativno idejo. Zato (stogo in dosledno) zagovarjam epistemološki kulturni relativizem, saj menim, da nihče nima privilegiranega dostopa do resnice in da ne obstaja neposredna povezava med objektom in predstavo o njem. Na drugi strani pa nasprotujem sodobnemu relativizmu, ki pravi, da ne obstajajo temelji, razumski temelji za privilegiranje nekaterih prepričanj nad drugimi. Seveda se ne smemo ujeti v past in verjeti, da so vsa prepričanja ali argumenti enako veljavni, saj menim, da je treba našo sodbo o tem, katera resnica je prava, vselej ustrezno in razumsko utemeljiti. S tem nikakor ne želim vsiljevati matrice vrednotenja, ki izhaja iz mojega zahodnega geopolitičnega in epistemološkega položaja. Potrebujemo namreč nove politike – kot trdi Ajiaz Ahmad –, ki bodo subjekte upoštevale v vsej svoji heterogenosti in univerzalnosti. Univerzalnosti in univerzalnih pravic, ki so temelj solidarnosti in boja, ne moremo kar tako odpisati, pač pa se moramo upreti tisti univerzalnosti, ki predstavlja buržoazni, moški, heteroseksični, imperialni, krščanski kolonizacijski subjekt. To lahko storimo, ne da bi zavrnili pojem univerzalnosti in pri tem zapadli v prevladujočo ontološko filozofijo, ki prikriva transontološko pojmovanje sveta in ukinja našo radikalno odgovornost do drugega v vztrajnem spodbujanjem družbenih amnezije (spomnimo se Busheve administracije). Principe upoštevanja razlik nam ne zagotavlja standardov, ki bi nas prisili v priznavanje drugačnosti drugih, poudarja Kenan Malik in dodaja, da razlika izhaja le iz enakosti, enakost pa nikakor ne more izhajati iz razlike. Po mnenju Bruga Robbinsa so vsi univerzalizmi slabi, kar pomeni, da so današnji univerzalni standardi rezultat neenake razporeditve moći. A prav s temi slabimi univerzalizmi, ugotavlja Robbins, se lahko zoperstavimo zagovornikom še slabših univerzalizmov. Enako ne moremo povsem opustiti pojma bistva, tistega torej, kar presega navideznost, kajti če to storimo – če privilegiramo pojem drugačnosti –, upravičimo obstoj različnih kategorij človečnosti, ki imajo komaj kaj ali nič skupnega ali pa so med seboj celo neprimerljive. S tem bi podlegli logiki pozitivistične rasne teorije, ki raso razvršča po videzu, na podlagi barve kože, las in kosti, pojasnjevanje formalnih razlik pa bi se sprevrglo v zagovarjanje obstoja različnih ontoloških kategorij, kar je sila tveganja, kakor je tveganja tudi zavračanje vseh humanizmov – zavračanje, ki temelji na prepričanju, da modernost sama na sebi vodi v nepriznavanje drugega. Kot je zapisal Kenan Malik, barbarizmi dvajsetega stoletja niso toliko posledica modernosti, pač pa prej rezultat specifičnih kapitalističnih družbenih odnosov. Menim, da je pomembno obsojati lažno prilaščanje univerzalnosti, ki je nepogrešljiva evropska posebnost. A klub temu se strinjam z Eagletonom, ko trdi, da so zahodni postmoderni intelektualci (intelektualci prvega sveta) »svoje lastne zelo lokalne težave zmotno prekvalificirali v univerzalno človeško stanje natanko tako, kot so to storile univerzalistične ideologije, ki jih tudi oni sami obsojajo«. Tisti, ki se obremenjujejo s »krizo humanizma«, se morajo zavedati, da to ni kriza, ki bremenii vsakogar (tudi na zahodu ne). Prav tako ne smemo pozabiti, da so mnogi boji tretjega sveta v povojnem obdobju izhajali iz »logike univerzalizma«, ki je še danes temelj mnogih bojev za osvoboditev. Na tem mestu naj za politično vodilo postavim »neabstraktno in nehomogeno« obliko univerzalizma, kajti treba je razlikovati med abstraktnim univerzalizmom, ki ukinja pomembne razlike med različnimi pojavi, in stvarnim univerzalizmom, ki skrbno upošteva razlike in vzdržuje pogoje, ki so za vse zavezajoči. Nekje sem zapisal, da je restriktiven in največkrat pogubno destruktiven zahodni buržoazni značaj razsvetljenskega univerzalizma še kako pomembna tema, ki je vredna kritike. A to, da napadamo idejo

univerzalizma samo po sebi, je sporno, kajti moramo biti previdni, da ne zamenjujemo univerzalizma z uniformnostjo, saj obstaja več univerzalnih pojmov, ki jih na lokalni ravni pojmujejo zelo različno. Da je kolonializem inherenten tipu univerzalnosti, ki ga poznamo v večini svetovnih zgodovin, in da je globalni kapitalizem edina univerzalna civilizacija, ki danes obstaja, je vsem jasno. Zato rešitve ne vidim v zavračanju univerzalizma, pač pa v boju za boljši univerzalizem, ki je v določeni meri uresničljiv tudi prek boja za tisto, kar Walter Mignolo, Grosfoguel in drugi imenujejo pluriverzalnost.

Boljšo alternativo »zavračanju univerzalizmov kot oblik maskiranih partikularizmov« vidim v pristopu, ki ga ponuja Eagleton. Ta je zapisal, da biti socialist med drugim pomeni priznati, da »univerzalnost trenutno ne obstaja v pozitivnem, pač pa le v deskriptivnem ali ideološkem smislu. Vsi niso (vsaj zaenkrat še ne) deležni svobode, sreče in pravičnosti, kar je delno posledica lažnega univerzalizma, ki trdi, da je to mogoče uresničiti le s širjenjem vrednot in svoboščin določene človeške vrste, ali grobo rečeno, zahodnega človeka na ves svet. Socializem je kritika takega lažnega univerzalizma, a ne v imenu kulturnega partikularizma, pač pa v imenu pravic vseh do priznanja lastne drugačnosti kot enakovredne drugačnosti drugih. Na tej točki se mi zastavlja naslednje vprašanje: Kdaj postanejo druge kulture upoštevanja vredne? Menim, da moramo upoštevati objektivno resnico vrednot drugih kultur in se odpovedati temu, da bi zavrgli ne-subjektivni značaj njihovih vrednot. Sem zagovornik kulturnega relativizma, a ne na način vulgarnega relativizma, ki s filozofskega metakulturnega stališča verjamem, da so kulturne vrednote subjektivna zaveza vsakega posameznika. Nasprotno, objektivni resnici drugih kultur pripisujem stvarno težo, saj menim, da ima vsaka kultura pravico do svoje resnice, pa četudi vrednote drugih kultur niso združljive z vrednotami in pojmovnimi sistemom meni lastne kulture. Ostro zavračam vsiljevanje zahodnega subjektivizma, sedimentiranega v imperialnem univerzalizmu. Odlična se mi zdi opazka Nelsona Maldonada-Torresa, ki trdi, da sta kapitalizem in kolonialnost izdala »preklete« na račun transontologije, zavrnila sta veljavnost znanja, obstoja in same človečnosti koloniziranih in tako ustvarila pogoje za življenje, ki temelji na receptivni rado-darnosti ali pa se po drugi strani okorišča s terminom *altericity* (s katerim Maldonado-Torres pripisuje odgovornosti prednostni potmen v odnosu med jazom in drugim). Iz tega sledi – po mnenju Maldonada-Torresa –, da je treba odpraviti tisto, kar sam imenuje »kolonialnost obstoja« (tj. normalizacijo vojne proti žrtvam kolonializma, ki je prisotna v vseh nacionalnih in identitetnih ontologijah itd.). Torres predлага ukinitev podrejene ontološke razlike (tj. ontološke kolonialne razlike oz. naturalizacije podrejenih drugih, ki naj bi kot taki pravzaprav legitimizirali uporabo prekomernega nasilja nad njimi samimi) in ponovno vpeljavo pomena pojma transontološke razlike (razlike, izhajajoče iz dogodka, ki se oblikuje v procesu produkcije biti in omogoča komunikacijo med jazom in drugim, ter utemeljitev pravičnosti skozi vertikalni odnos med subjektivnostjo in drugostjo).

Kot marksistični humanist močno cenim Heglovo delo, zato naj ga podam kot primer filozofa, ki mu mnogi multikulturalisti očitajo odkrit rasizem in etnocentrizem. Strinjam se, da moramo Heglov etnocentrizem in rasizem obsojati in da Hegel s svojim filozofskega pogledom sam ponuja možnost, da se njegov etnocentrizem in kulturni rasizem izpodbjavi. Philip Kain in knjigi *Hegel and the Other* (Hegel in Drugi) odlično izpostavi Heglovo prepričanje, da je vsaka kultura pred absolutom, tako da je absolut izraz te kulture in obratno. Če parafraziram Kaina, je naloga filozofije po Heglu prav ta, da za zavest ustvari absolut, in četudi smo ga sami skonstruirali, to še ne pomeni, da ni resničen. Vedenje je za Hegla del absoluta, zato je nemogoče karkoli vedeti, dokler nečesa ne vemo. Povedano drugače, začeti moramo brez kakršnegakoli epistemološkega merila, saj je (kot opozarjajo Kain, Norman in drugi) pojasnjevanje epistemološkega merila, ki bo določalo, kaj smemo vedeti in česa ne, samo na sebi že oblika vedenja, kar predpostavlja, da je bilo merilo ustvarjeno le za namene pojasnjevanja. Če začnemo pri absolutu, pri nedokazanem, in ga poskušamo razložiti, ugotovimo, da je to pravzaprav nemogoče. Hegel nas torej popelje vso pot nazaj k absolutu in nam dokaže interno vsepovezanost; pokaže nam, da so stvari med seboj povezane, prepletene in da skupaj tvorijo celoto. Za to gre tudi pri Marxovi teoriji notranjih odnosov – in še več: vsaka kultura po svoje konstruira absolut za zavest o sebi in tako omogoči dostop do svoje resnice. Absolut je potem takem odprt in ne zaprt sistem, saj se človeški duh lahko udejanji samo prek duha posamezne kulture, zato je treba priznavati kulturne razlike. A absolut hkrati kliče po lastnem zanikanju. Ne smemo dovoliti, da postane absolut totalizirajoča uničevalna sila v službi zahodnih imperialističnih teženj, pač pa moramo znotraj njega podpirati razlike. Da je absolut resničen za neko kulturo, mora biti absoluten sam na sebi in za sebe. Nikakor pa ne more biti zgolj absoluten sam na sebi in hkrati absoluten za neko kulturo. S tega stališča sem kulturni relativist, kakor ga definira Kain, in ne vulgarni relativist. Po mojem prepričanju kulturni relativizem ni izraz, ki sam sebe izpodbjava, saj menim, da se zavest razvija znotraj specifičnega kulturnega konteksta in znotraj specifične zgodovinske dobe ali konjunkture. Naj še dodam, da kultura lahko uteleša resnico ali je del nje. Ne verjamem nameč, da v obstoj neke vesoljske platforme, ki se postavlja nad kulturo – nekakšnega postajališča v mrtvem ozvezdu, kjer cesar, ovit v krvavo rdečo oglavnico zahodne epistemologije, stoji nad kulturo in vsljuje svoj superiorni božji pogled. Ne verjamem v nek nebeni ali observatorij v metafizičnih višavijih gore Olimp ali v nek nevralni skupni koordinatni sistem zunaj matrice, s katerih naj se prevrednotijo vsi pomeni, ki jih generira univerzum, in izrečeno neizpodbitne sodbe o vsem in vsakomur. Močno dvomim, da so vse resnice (dosledno) zvedljive na en sam sistem razumevanja, pač pa menim, da je treba spoštovati tudi druge pojmovne sisteme, saj noben ne more zaobjeti vseh resnic hkrati. Če drugih kultur ne razumemo, še ne pomeni, da so te kulture neprimljive z našo, pač pa le, da so pojmovni sistemi med kulturami različni. Možnost interpretacije vselej obstaja, četudi je ta še tako omejena.

Ne trdim, da bi se morali moralno zavezati strpnosti do drugih kultur, pač pa da bi morali razlogi za nestrpnost temeljiti na čem drugem. Da bi bolj razumeli sebe in druge, našo medsebo-

jno povezanost, obveznosti, ki jih imamo drug do drugega in ne nazadnje tudi do sveta kot celote, moramo biti strpni do drugih kultur. Spoznati moramo njihove vrednotne in miselne sisteme, priznati tako njihovo subjektivno kot nesubjektivno veljavnost in sprejeti njihovo resnico. Kot poudarja Kain, če verjamemo, da so vse vrednote subjektivne in kot take ne konstituirajo objektivnih resnic, zapademo v navaden relativizem, kar po mojem mnenju vodi naravnost v epistemološko nasilje. Skratka, upoštevati moramo objektivno resnico drugih kulturnih vrednot, saj ima vsaka kultura dostop do svoje lastne resnice. Zahodni subjektivizem je utemeljen na zavračanju nesubjektivnega vrednostnega značaja drugih kulturnih bitij (tj. njihovo stališče velja le za eno od mnogih stališč brez prave resničnostne vrednosti). Hegel res zagovarja etnocentrizem, a Kain prepričljivo trdi, da nam s tem ponuja instrumentarij, s katerim je njegovo tezo o etnocentrizmu mogoče ovreči. A Hegel je bil rasist – po Kainovem mnenju sicer ne teoretski ali znanstveni –, ki je različne etnične skupine razvrščal po njihovi udeležbi pri absolutu in na tej osnovi ustoličil evropsko superiornost. Zato je nedvomno vreden kritike, saj tega preprosto ni mogoče zagovarjati. Heglovo neupoštevanje Afrike je naravnost pretresljivo, prav tako je treba kritizirati in obsojati njegov pogled na ameriške staroselce (glej njegovo razvrščanje kultur v *Philosophy of Mind* (Filozofija umna)), saj ne le da opisuje zahodni etnocentrizem, imperializem in rasizem, pač pa jih tudi odobrava. Kot je zapisal Kain, Hegel razvršča rase na superiorne in inferiorne brez znanstvene utemeljitve. Bistvo rase, ki se po Heglu nahaja v umu in duhu, se da privzgojiti in spremeniti. A tako razmišljanje in upoštevanje samo tistih ras, ki so del skonstruiranega absoluta, ne upravičuje Heglovega rasizma in etnocentrizma. Prej nas napeljujeta iziskanju načina, kako njegovo teorijo izpodbiti. Kain trdi, da je na Heglovo izključitev drugih kultur treba gledati dialektično, saj ima vsaka kultura svojo resnico. Z drugimi besedami, svetovni duh pripada vsem in ne le posameznim narodom. Svet obstaja tudi zunaj Heglovega filozofskega sistema, ki se utemeljuje v zahodni epistemologiji. Skratka, Heglova teorija o razvrščanju kultur kliče po lastnem izpodbijanju, saj je po Kainu Hegel zavezан heterogenosti in se ne osredotoča na rasno čistost. Treba se je zavedati, da Hegel ni zagovornik enotne svetovne kulture, saj je po duši pluralist in si zato ne prizadeva za vključitev drugih kultur v abstraktno univerzalnost. Na filozofski metakulturni ravni je Hegel res etnocentrističen, a – kot rečeno – njegova teorija ponuja instrumentarij za lastno zanikanje.

S. L.: Anibal Quijano je v svojem besedilu *Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America* (Kolonialnost moći, evropocentrizem in Latinska Amerika) zapisal, da je zgodovinsko gledano kapital lahko samo prek kolonizacije Severne, Srednje in Južne Amerike okreplil svoj položaj, zavladal v svetu in vzpostavil novo svetovno ureditev, ki jo imenujemo kapitalizem. Ali ni zanimivo in nadvse presenetljivo, da po sto letih moderne svetovne ureditve socialistična revolucija poteka prav v Latinski Ameriki, ki je eno najbolj izkorisčanih geografskih območij, kjer je kolonializem skozi stoletja vse do danes omogočal (globalno) širjenje kapitalizma? Ne nazadnje je povsem jasno, da je drugačno perspektivo (ne le skozi kapitalizem) mogoče zgraditi tako, da napremo vojno trenutni struktuji moći na vseh družbenih ravneh. Boj proti hegemoniji že poteka, a je – kot se zdi – fragmentiran (strukturiran na različnih teoretskih področjih). Ali radikalna kritična pedagogika sodeluje z drugimi pomembnimi projekti, ki zagovarjajo razvezo, kot je denimo dekolonialnost (W. Mignolo)? Ali je po vašem mnenju napočil čas za zgodovinsko revolucijo na globalni ravni?

P. M.: Dela Quijana in Walterja Mignola zelo cenim. Menim, da bi morala biti upoštevana kot obvezno čtivo tako na mojem področju poučevanja kakor tudi na drugih področjih. Prav tako pomemben je, da nadvse potreben je prispevek Enriqueja Dussela, Ramóna Grosfoguela in Nelsona Maldonada-Torresa. A omenili ste Quijana, ki denimo opozarja na proizvodnjo svetovnega klasifikacijskega sistema, temeljčega na klasifikaciji, ki jo pred 16. stoletjem ni zaznati, in zatrjuje, da so bile oblike gospodstva pred tem časom (npr. pred časom družbenopoljnega gospodstva) organizirane okoli novega sistema rasne klasifikacije. Znanje in družba sta temeljila na kategoriji rase (ki je bila predhodnica evropocentrizma) do take mere, da je postala delitev dela naturalizirana. Kapitalizem je še dodatno podprt idejo o rasni kategorizaciji, ki je svetovno populacijo pahnila v hierarhično delitev na superiorne in inferiorne in postala temelj oblikovanja in reproduciranja međunarodne delitve dela in svetovnega patriarhalnega sistema. Quijano upravičeno zapiše, da je »gospodstvo prvi pogoj za izkorisčanje, rasa pa najučinkovitejše sredstvo za doseganje gospodstva, ki skupaj z izkorisčanjem tvori univerzalno klasifikacijsko merilo trenutnega globalnega sistema moći«. Prav tako pomembna je njegova trditve, da sta dualizem in evolucionizem evropski subjekt povzdignila na raven duhovno najrazvitejšega, medtem ko so ženske in sužnji veljali za najprimitivnejše, zaprte v svojo lastno telesnost. Suženjstvo, hlapčevstvo, mezdno delo in recipročnost so služili za proizvajanje tržnih dobrin za svetovni trg.

Grosfoguel, sklicujoč se na Quijana, opiše kolonialnost moći kot skupke različnih in heterogenih globalnih hierarhij (t. i. »heterarhij«) spolnih, političnih, epistemoloških, ekonomskih, duhovnih, jezikovnih in rasnih oblik gospodstva in izkorisčanja, kjer na rasi in narodu temeljča hierarhija, ki se deli na evropsko in neevropsko, preoblikuje vse druge globalne strukture moći. Ker sta rasa in rasizem postala organizacijsko načelo urejanja vseh obstoječih hierarhij svetovnega sistema, Grosfoguel trdi, da so se različne oblike dela, ki so se spremenile v kapitalistično akumulacijo na svetovni ravni, določale na podlagi rasne hierarhije. Slabo plačano in prisilno delo so opravljali ljudje neevropskega porekla z obrobja mest, medtem ko se je

odlično, zlasti ko gre za kritiko zgodnjega marksizma, kar bi lahko poimenovali bojevit manifest marksizma, a puščajo v nemar drugo marksistične težnje, vključno z marksističnim humanističnim stališčem. Nekateri prispevki o kolonialnosti in identiteti v teorijah »razlik« (najpogosteje ko gre za vprašanje rase) preprečujejo in spodbavajo vsakršno sistematično vedenje o materialnih razsežnostih razlik in ločujejo vprašanja o »razlikah« od vprašanj razredne formacije in formacije kapitalističnih družbenih odnosov. To sicer ne velja za Quijana, Grosfoguela in Mignola ter Maldonada-Torresa, zato bi se morali marksistični pedagogi še toliko bolj sklicevati nanje. A nekateri postkolonialni raziskovalci (ki stremijo h okrepliti »identitarne« razumevanja razlik, ki temelji izključno na vprašanju kulturne in rasne hegemonije) podcenjujejo ali preprosto ignorirajo celovitost kapitalističnih družbenih odnosov.

Hkrati s prizadevanjem za razširitev kulturnega prostora, kjer bodo vsi doslej izključeni imeli pravico do besede (in zastopanstvi), moramo paziti, da ne še bolj utrdimo neoliberalne pluralistične države, ki korenini v ideologiji kapitalističnega svobodnega tržišča. Skratka, zavračati moramo kulturno politiko, ki se utemeljuje na tržnem modelu, hkrati pa si moramo prizadevati za svobodo, ki bo vsem vplet enim omogočala, da pokažejo svojo »drugačno« kulturo. Mnogi postkolonialni teoretički spodbujajo drugačnost in razlikovanje, a le v kolikor še spadajo okvir obstoječih oblik kapitalistične družbene ureditve. Neopluralne politike razlik (vključno s tistimi, ki temeljijo na »rasi«) ne morejo postaviti pod vprašaj produkcjskega sistema kapitalizma, ki je zmožen zaobjeti široko paleto pluralnih idej in kulturnih praks. Prav tako niso sposobni razkriti načinov povezanosti med različnimi oblikami zatiranja in temeljno logiko kapitalističnega izkorisčanja. Na tej točki se za koristnega pokaže prav marksistični humanizem.

Zakaj vam to priovedujem? Ker je boj za različnost v okviru bojev proti diskriminaciji pokazal, da se je ameriška družba navadila na produkcijo neenakosti in politiko razlik spreobrnila v korist neoliberalnega sistema. Kot rečeno, si sam že več desetletij prizadevam za razvoj pedagoške prakse, ki se bo ravnala po protirasističnem, protiseksističnem in protihomofobnem programu. Zoperstavil sem se šolski politiki in praksi in zagovarjam strateški pomen razrednega boja. S tem ne želim postaviti razreda nad raso in družbeni spol ali raso zvesti na element razreda, kot trdijo nekateri moji kritiki. Nasprotino, želim povedati, da protirasistični in protipatriarhalni boji, ki nimajo jasno začrtanega programa in ki niso povezani z razrednim bojem, lahko kvečemu še bolj utrdijo neenakost, nikakor pa je ne morejo odpraviti. Zakaj? Medtem ko je kapitalistična družba vse manj diskriminatorna, je neenakost vse bolj prisotna. Nedavno je Walter Benn Michael v nekem članku, objavljenem v *New Left Review*, zapisal, da je leta 1947 pet najbogatejših Američanov zasluzilo 43 odstotkov skupnih prihodkov v ZDA (danes ta odstotek znaša 50,5), na drugi strani pa je istega leta pet najrevnejših Američanov zasluzilo 5 odstotkov vseh skupnih prihodkov; danes je ta odstotek le 3,4. S tem je želel povedati, da je »po pol stoletja protirasističnih in feminističnih bojev /.../ enakost v ameriški družbi še bolj poglobljena kot v rasistični in seksistični družbi za časa Jima Crowa«. Kot je še zapisal, boji proti diskriminaciji niso uspeli odpraviti neenakosti, pač pa so prispevali k njenemu radikalnemu širjenju. Razlog je v tem, da je glavni krivec za današnje neenakosti izkorisčanje in ne diskriminacija. Michaels trdi tudi, da so debate o rasi in družbenem spolu same na sebi prazne, če ne upoštevajo kapitalističnega izkorisčanja. Tiste, ki verjamejo, da z neenakostjo ni nič narobe, če ta ni v funkciji diskriminacije, označi za desničarske neoliberalce, tiste pa, ki menijo, da je boj proti rasističnim in seksualnim neenakostim korak na poti k enakosti, označi za levičarske neoliberalce.

Zato se mora kritična pedagogika otresti levičarske liberalne politike, ki z odkljanjanjem kritike neoliberalnega kapitalizma le še bolj krepí strahovit pritisik kapitala na revne in nemočne. To je v bistvu sporočilo tistega, kar sam imenujem revolucionarna kritična pedagogika. Michaels bi bil močno v zmoti, če bi se osredotočil samo na spremenjanje kapitalizma in ne bi upošteval kolonialne epistemologije in pluriverzalnosti ter dejstva, da se različni antagonizmi dopolnjujejo. Če se želimo postaviti po robu kapitalizmu, se moramo razvezati od zahodne razumske episteme, saj bomo le tako sposobni uvideti, da se kapital hrani z epistemologijo, ki izhaja iz lakomnosti in želje po akumulaciji kapitala. Povedano drugače, zanikati moramo kapital, torej našo lastno negacijo. Od Hegla se lahko veliko naučimo le tako, da njegov pojem samoreferencialne negacije ali to, kar Raya Dunayevskaya imenuje absolutna negativnost, vzamemo resno v obzir.

S. L.: Veliko sodelujete z akterji iz Latinske Amerike (Bolivije, Venecuele), ki vodijo socialistični projekt (socialistično revolucijo) 21. stoletja. Tudi Slovenija je bila kot ena od držav nekdanje Federalne Republike Jugoslavije del podobnega socialističnega projekta s socialističnim samoupravljanjem in kolektivno (tj. javno) lastnino, a se je kmalu po padcu berlinskega zidu moralno soočiti z neoliberalizmom. Neoliberalna ideologija se je v Sloveniji začela s prehodom socializma v neoliberalni kapitalizem, ki ga je omogočila nova elita slovenskih kapitalistov. S tem so socialistične vrednote izginile, nadomestile pa so jih neoliberalne. Podobno se dogaja v drugih državah nekdanjega socialističnega vzhodnoevropskega bloka. Kakšna bi bila po vašem mnenju socialistična alternativa neoliberalizmu in kakšne so realne možnosti za vzpostavitev socialistične demokracije v državah, kot so Bolivija in Venezuela, pa tudi drugod po svetu?

P. M.: Naj se znova vrнем k marksističnemu humanizmu in pojmu absolutne negativnosti Dunayevskaye, ki odpirata pot v novo družbo. Kot opozarja Peter Hudis, se Heglova premislenost kaže prav v njegovem zavedanju, da je negacija odvisna od predmeta kritike. Povedano drugače, ideje o osvoboditvi so tako ali drugače prezete z oblikami zatiranja, ki jih subjekt poskuša zavrniti, ta negacija pa sama na sebi subjekta ne osvobodi povsem od zanikanega objekta. V nasprotju s postmodernisti, ki so se stoletja pozneje sklicevali na Hegla, pa je le-ta verjel, da obstaja način, kako naj negacija preseže objekt lastne kritike. Zato je vpeljal pojem »negacija negacije«. Kot pojasni Hudis, negacija negacije ali sekundarna negacija ni le kontinuiran niz negacij, ki se lahko nadaljuje v neskončnost in nikoli ne odrešijo negacije objekta svoje lastne kritike. Zato je Hegel zagovarjal samoreferenčno negacijo,

ki z lastnim zanikanjem vzpostavi razmerje s seboj in se tako osvobodi odvisnosti od zunanjega objekta. Po Hudisovem mnenju je sekundarna negativnost »absolutna«, saj obstaja, ne da bi bila v odnosu do nečesa zunaj sebe. Skratka, negacija ni več odvisna od zunanjega objekta, saj to odvisnost zanika z lastno samonegacijo.

Kot trdi Hudis, Marx ni zanikal pojma »negacija negacije« kot neko idealistično iluzijo, pač pa je prisvojil pojem samoreferenčne negacije, »da bi pojasnil pot v novo družbo«. Marx je menil, da nas preprosto zanikanje nečesa ne odreši odvisnosti od objekta kritike, pač pa le potrdi obstoj odtujenega objekta naše kritike, a na drugačni ravni. Kot poudarjajo Hudis, Dunayevskaya in drugi marksistični humanisti, je bil to problem preteklih revolucij, ki so ostale odvisne od objekta svoje lastne negacije. Negacija negacije omogoča prihod nečesa zares pozitivnega le tedaj, ko absolutna negativnost ni več odvisna od drugega.

Hudis je ob primeru komunizma zadevo pojasnil takole: »Ukinitev zasebne lastnine v komunizmu je negacija kapitalizma. A ta negacija, kot trdi Marx, ostaja odvisna od objekta svoje lastne kritike, saj zasebno lastnino le nadomesti s kolektivno. Komunizem tako ni osvobojen odtujenega pojmovanja lastnine ali *imetja* kot najpomembnejše sestavine človekovega obstoja, pač pa tako pojmovanje potrjuje, le da tokrat na drugi ravni. Zato Marx ne vztraja le pri negaciji zasebne lastnine, pač pa tudi pri negaciji te negacije, saj le tako lahko nastane nekaj *zares pozitivnega* – povsem nova družba.«

Po Hudisu je Marx verjel, da delo ali praktične človeške dejavnosti lahko presežejo odtujitev, a je za to potrebna subjektivna praksa, temelječa na filozofiji osvoboditve, ki je zmožna ponuditi vsebinu postkapitalistične družbe in ustvariti temelj povsem novi družbi. A najprej je treba človeštvo prepričati, da je odprava protislovja med odtujitvijo in svobodo vendarle mogoča, in to ne znotraj kapitalistične družbene ureditve in njene blagovne oblike dela, temveč tako, da absolutno negativnost sprememimo v nov začetek, ki bo vključeval ustvarjalni duh, kar se med drugim že uresničuje v Latinski Ameriki, predvsem v Boliviji in Venezueli, pa tudi drugod po svetu.

Skratka, povedati želim, da potrebujemo novo obliko filozofskega razumevanja in novo konceptualizacijo absolutne negativnosti kot možnosti novega začetka. Opredeliti moramo značilnosti sveta, ki ni ujet v kapitalistično blagovno obliko, zato pa potrebujemo pojma, kot sta pluriverzalnost in transmodernost. Zgolj priznanje, da smo v zgodovini vselej dajali prednost materialnim dobrinam, ni dovolj, pač pa moramo začeti graditi postkapitalistično družbo ali t. i. socialistično družbo, ki bo odprtta do drugih kultur in vrednot. Tako razumevanje absolutne negativnosti predstavlja plodna tla za nov začetek in je hkrati gibalo nove kritične/revolucionarne pedagogike, ki jo poganjata imperativ razrednega boja in razvoj dekolonialne filozofske prakse. V Venezueli si močno prizadevajo ustvariti prostor, ki bo omogočal človekov razvoj. Pozorno spremljajmo te poskuse, ali še bolje – pridružimo se jim!

Nasvet, ki ga pesnik Lawrence Ferlinghetti daje mladim pesnikom, bi po mojem mnenju lahko posredovali tudi pedagogom. Naj navedem nekaj kratkih vrstic:

Če si pesnik, ne sedi nemo. Poezija ni sedeče delo, ni praksa, kjer si poišče svoj prostor. Vstani in pokaži, kaj veljaš.

Podvomi v vse in vsakogar, tudi v Sokrata; tudi on je podvomil v vse.

Beri med življenji in piši med vrsticami.

Ne dovoli, da ti očitajo, da twoja lena domišljija iz tebe poganja le prazne marnje.

Pomagaj umu poiskati pot do srca.

Izogibaj se provincialnosti, prizadevaj si za univerzalno.

Sebastjan Leban je umetnik in teoretik, študent podiplomskega študija na ALUO, Ljubljana.

Iz angleščine prevedla Tanja Passoni.

Sebastjan Leban REVOLUTIONARY CRITICAL PEDAGOGY: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OPPRESSION OF NEOLIBERALISM – A CONVERSATION WITH PETER MCLAREN, PART 2

Peter McLaren je Professor of Urban Education in the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, University of California, Los Angeles. He is one of the leading figure 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: *The production of passiveness is a strategy lead by the neoliberal system which enables the system to produce social and political apathy. In this perspective how can we fight against the production of passiveness and how can we (re)activate an already passive society so that it will be able to change the current neoliberal system?*

Peter McLaren: First of all, we need to free ourselves from the *bête noire* of the progressives – positivism – which actually undergirds much of progressive educators' own work. One of the cardinal principles of positivism that was grandly pronounced as an antidote to the metaphysical belief in innate reason, is that because all knowledge is derived through the senses, and because it is mediated by our subjectively conceived experiences through various conceptual systems or systems of intelligibility, the objects of our contemplation

can never really be known. In other words, our subjectively conceived experience mediates reality such that we can never know it objectively but only approach it through systems of mediation that form an insuperable barrier – a necessary wall of mystification. This has led to a passive theory of knowledge via a doctrine of experience that rejects understanding the world as a whole and resembles an empty solipsism where reality is reduced to a set of formal or logical statements (which leads to the existence of concepts only because they are believed). This is a position that John Hoffman has called "positivism with a 'left' face." My position is Hegelian/Marxist in the sense that I believe that we can't understand isolated bits of experience adequately without the whole – the absolute. We need to ask what makes experience possible, why do certain experiences count more than others, and what are the conditions of possibility for certain types of experiences. We read these dialectically against the absolute. But here I must make a caveat. Quijano warns us that when thinking about totality, or socio-historical totality, we need to avoid the Eurocentric paradigm of totality. We can do this by thinking of totality as a field of social relations structured by the heterogeneous and discontinuous integration of diverse spheres of social existence, every one of which is in turn structured by its own historically heterogeneous, temporally discontinuous and conflictive elements. Each element, however has some relative autonomy, and can be considered a particularity and singularity. But they move within the general tendency of the whole. We can't think of totality as a closed structure. Change affects components in a historical field of social relations in a heterogeneous and discontinuous manner, and history does not move from one homogeneous and continuous whole to another. We need to avoid the perception of totality as seen from Europe, for instance and yes, we can see that in terms such as "precapitalist" or "preindustrial" or "premodern." As Ramon Grosfoguel pointed out at a recent workshop we participated in, so-called "primitive accumulation" has always existed in Latin America but it took David Harvey to bring this term into the spotlight recently in his excellent work on accumulation by dispossession.

I think it is important that we find a way to illuminate what is taken to be the natural (yet illusory) relation of human beings under capitalism and in doing so create a more "active" theory of knowledge. We can't have an active politics built on a passive theory of knowledge. That's one of the major issues. The current pedagogical concern with "experience" conceals from human beings that men and women are themselves the creators of these social facts and there are no supportable reasons why we should accept the naive but perhaps historically inevitable illusion of the inviolability and necessary persistence of capitalism as the truth. This is why, for instance, I reject the position of Laclau and Mouffe which denies that the material world has any significance outside of discursive articulation since I presuppose that there are real material interests that can and should be articulated. Of course, at the same time I reject the concept of totality as some aprioristic abstract schema imposed as a prefabricated mould upon reality. And, of course, I agree that Marxism may be misapplied in a militant or dogmatic manner, but it cannot be dismissed solely in *non-sequitur* fashion on the basis that it constitutes a universal theory. If it is driven by the spirit of self-assertion and totality such that it marginalises, demonizes, and excludes cultural others, then this is deeply objectionable. If that is the Hegelian absolute that confronts us, then we need to get beyond it. And many trajectories of Marxism, such as the Marxist humanist tendency, have done so.

I don't believe that human agents are reduced in historical materialist analysis to a one-sided determinism in which history repeats itself with crystalline inevitability. That is, I don't believe that human beings are relegated to a passive role in which they are swept away in a swift current consisting of historical laws of motion, of nature-imposed necessity. I flatly reject this kind of mechanical materialism just as I reject, in contrast, a post-Marxist radical contingency and determinacy of the social. We need to develop an active materialism – a pedagogy of what I have called "history-making" which is a revolutionizing practice that challenges capitalism's ability to invert our capacity for self-reflection so that we cannot understand capitalism's origins. As Teresa Ebert and others have argued, passive contemplation is not enough to alter those conditions in which human beings enter independently of their will. Rather, human beings must work to humanize those conditions and circumstances which shape them. We need more than abstract principles by which to strive for social justice, such as those that guide anti-racist and anti-sexist curricula or eco-sensitive procedures for living in harmony with the planet. We must also challenge and transform those material circumstances seemingly beyond our control and this means developing pedagogy of class struggle.

To reach for freedom is not an act of transcending reality but of actively reshaping it as Michael Lebowitz has argued. Similarly, truth is not an account of what is but what needs to happen. Here I am indebted to classical Marxists such as Teresa Ebert and Mas'ud Zavarzadeh for helping scholar/activists to escape the debilitating world of subjectivism and voluntarism.

Now what do I mean by class struggle? Well, I believe that it is more than an economic struggle between the propertied and propertyless, but is a political struggle directed at the state (and here the hegemonic class is created through a system of alliances of class fractions that can best unify the power bloc). And winning the battle for democracy means much more than cultivating an ethical distaste for exploitation; it means actively working to end it. The state is not a neutral site; it is not an autonomous region that miraculously floats above the messy world of class antagonisms. Many progressive educators fail to realize this and in their refusal to move beyond reclamation of the public sphere and an embracing of an anemic and abstract conception of democracy and freedom, they unwittingly reflect the leftist face of the capitalist class in which appearances are created and preserved while reality is eroded.

It is important to note that my concept of materialism here and my belief in a world outside of our thoughts and experiences in no way denies the "objectivity in parentheses" mentioned by Walter Mignolo since I reject a mutually exclusive transcendental ontology that is inhospitable to other ontologies or to observing our own acts of observation. My defence of a universality of social justice (and socialism) for all-creating the conditions of possibility for freedom from

necessity for all—in no way rejects the pluriversity of knowledges. In fact, it affirms the legitimacy of knowledge disqualified by the imperialism of Eurocentered epistemology. But at the same time I am not prepared to give up on a Marxist humanism, on knowing the world through experiences that cohere with other experiences and actions that cohere with other actions—with protagonistic actions in and on the world a world in which the social is both the condition and outcome of human agency. And that also means I am not prepared to give up the fight for socialism. We struggle here for the simultaneity of universal and particular rights. And in doing so we don't privilege the idea of culture as a signifying system, but as a form of embeddedness in the materiality of social life. In doing so we can't abrogate the normative sense of what constitutes oppression, we consider it as a regulative idea. That's why I agree that we can advocate an epistemic cultural relativism (in the serious rather than the vulgar sense) in arguing that there is no privileged access to the truth, and that there is no direct correspondence between an object and its representation, but at the same time I am opposed to a judgemental relativism—that there are no grounds, rational grounds, for advocating some beliefs over others. We can't fall into the trap of assuming all beliefs or arguments are equally valid. We need some explanatory adequacy or judgemental rationality in making decisions about various truth claims. However, we don't impose this matrix of evaluation from our own Western geopolitical and epistemic location. And at the same time, following Aijaz Ahmad, we need new forms of politics that constitute human subjects both in their heterogeneity and in their universality. We can't abandon the challenge of universality, of universal rights, as a basis of solidarity and struggle. We need to struggle to make sure such universality is not representative of the bourgeois male, heterosexist, imperial, Christian colonizing subject, of course, but we can do this without abrogating the concept of universality. We can achieve this without collapsing ourselves into an ontological philosophy of power that eclipses the trans-ontological and abrogates our radical responsibility to each other in the most debilitating forms of social amnesia (think about the Bush administration!). The principle of difference cannot provide us with the standards which oblige us to respect the difference of others, as Kenan Malik has pointed out. He notes that while difference can arise from equality, equality can never arise from difference. All universalisms are dirty, claims Bruce Robbins, and by this he means that universal standards are arrived at in conditions of unequal power. But he also notes that it is only dirty universalisms that will help us against the powers and agents of still dirtier ones. Similarly, we can't abandon every and all notion of essence, of something that is beyond appearance, because if we do that—if we privilege the concept of difference—then the notion of appearance alone becomes evidence that there are different categories of humanity that have little or nothing in common—or that they are incommensurable. If we do that, we fall into the same logic as positivist racial theory—which deduces categories of races from mere appearances of skin, hair, and bone. Apprehension of formal difference then moves to an explanation for the existence of different ontological categories. This is a dangerous move, just as I think a rejection of all humanism is dangerous, a rejection that follows the notion that modernity itself leads to an annihilation of the other. The barbarism of the 20th century is, Kenan Malik argues, not so much a consequence of modernity as it was a product of specific capitalist social relations. I do believe it is important to critique the false claim of universality inherent in the European particular, of course. However I agree with Eagleton when he argues that the Western, "First World," postmodern intelligentsia has mistaken "its own very local difficulties for a universal human condition in exactly the manner of the universalist ideologies it denounces." Those who are preoccupied with the "crisis of humanism" need to remember that it is not everyone's crisis (not even in the West). We need to remember, as well, that many third world struggles of the post-war era drew upon the "logic of universalism" and that it remains crucial in many struggles for liberation.

Here I am calling for a "nonabstract and nonhomogeneous" form of universalism as a *political* referent. We need to distinguish between an abstract universalism that dissolves important differences among diverse phenomena and a concrete universalism that carefully draws such distinctions while upholding conditions that are binding for all. I have written elsewhere that the restricted and often dangerously destructive Western bourgeois character of Enlightenment universalism is a worthy and necessary object of critique, but to attack the idea of universalism itself is problematic. We need to be wary of conflating universalism with uniformity, because universals can be both various and locally diverse. There is no question that, for instance, colonialism has been intrinsic to the kind of universality that we have had in much of world history and that the only universal civilization that exists today is global capitalism. The solution isn't getting rid of the concept of universalism but working towards a better universality—and some of this can be achieved in struggling for what has been called by Walter Mignolo and Grosfoguel and others as pluriversality. A more useful alternative to "dismissing universalisms as masked particularisms" is to side with Eagleton who writes that to be a socialist is, among other things, to recognize that "universality doesn't exist at present in any positive, as opposed to merely descriptive or ideological, sense. Not everyone, as yet, enjoys freedom, happiness and justice. Part of what prevents this from coming about is precisely the false universalism which holds that it can be achieved by extending the values and liberties of a particular sector of humankind, roughly speaking Western man, to the entire globe... Socialism is a critique of this false universalism, not in the name of cultural particularism... but in the name of right of everyone to negotiate their own differences in terms of everyone else's."

I need now to ask: Where do other cultures come into play? I am committed to the objective truth of the values of other cultures; I do not reject the nonsubjective character of their values at all. I am a cultural relativist not in the vulgar sense of believing at the philosophical metacultural level that cultural values are simply subjectively held commitments. Rather, I give serious weight to the objective truth of other cultures in the sense of maintaining that all cultures have their own access to truth even though the values of other cultures might not be compatible with the values and conceptual schemes of my own culture. One has to guard against the imposition of a Western subjectivism calcified into an imperial universal. As Nelson Maldonado-Torres so brilliantly argues, capitalism and coloniality

have betrayed the damne at the expense of the trans-ontological, that is, at the expense of validating the knowledges and forms of being and the very humanity of the colonized, creating a conditions of life founded on receptive generosity, or at the expense of "alterity" (a term which Maldonado-Torres uses to capture the priority of the relationship of responsibility between self and others). The task then becomes, in Maldonado-Torres view, eliminating what he calls "the coloniality of being" (the normalization of everyday warfare against colonial subjects that can be found in national ontologies and identitarian ontologies, etc.). He calls for the elimination of sub-ontological difference (ontological colonial difference or the naturalization of sub-Others as legitimate recipients of excessive violence) and restoring the meaning and relevance of trans-ontological difference (difference produced as a formative event in the production of being that makes possible communication between a self and an Other and the foundation of justice through the vertical relation between subjectivity and alterity).

As a Marxist humanist who finds a great deal of value in the writings of Hegel, let me take Hegel as an example of a philosopher of whom many multiculturalists are critical because of his undeniable racism and ethnocentrism. Of course, we must reject Hegel's ethnocentrism and racism. But Hegel's own philosophical position provides us with the tools to subvert Hegel's own ethnocentrism and cultural racism. Philip Kain's book, *Hegel and the Other*, makes a good case that Hegel takes the position that every culture stands before the absolute such that the absolute is the expression of that culture and that culture is the expression of the absolute. Paraphrasing, Kain, Hegel believes that it is philosophy's task to construct the absolute for consciousness, and because we construct it doesn't mean the absolute isn't real. Knowing, for Hegel, is part of the absolute—so it is impossible to know anything, really, before we know—so that we need, in other words, to start without any epistemological criterion because (as Kain, Norman, and others remind us) to attempt to demonstrate an epistemological criterion that would claim to tell us what we can and cannot know already is a form of knowing and this would presuppose the criterion it was supposed to demonstrate. So, we begin with the absolute, that is, we begin with something unproven and by abstracting from the absolute we eventually realize that this is impossible so Hegel takes us full circle back to the absolute again by showing us how everything is internally related, how things are mutually constituted, that is, they are constituted by other things and fused by the whole, and this is what Marx's theory of internal relations was all about—and more. Each culture constructs the absolute for consciousness in a different way, in doing so, each culture has access to its own truth. So that this absolute needs to be seen as open. The human spirit can be realized only through the spirit of particular cultures and therefore we should not view the absolute as closed and we should welcome engaging cultural difference. In fact, the absolute demands its own subversion. We can't let the absolute be a totalizing juggernaut linked to Western imperial adventures so we need to incite difference within the absolute. The absolute that is true for itself for a particular culture needs to be true in and for itself. It can't be absolute in itself and be absolute for a particular culture. Thus, I am a cultural relativist in the manner that Kain describes, rather than a vulgar relativist. I am a cultural relativist who denies that cultural relativism is a self-refuting term insofar as I maintain that consciousness develops within a specific cultural context and a specific historical era or juncture. That being said, it is also the case that culture can embody or embed truth. I reject the existence of a space station platform above culture—some kind of Death Star standpoint where the emperor shrouded in a blood red cowl of Western epistemology stands above culture and exercises a supercultural God's eye view, some kind of sky hook or observation platform nested IN THE METAPHYSICAL HEIGHTS of Mount Olympus or neutral common coordinate system outside of the Matrix from which to transvalue all the meanings generated by the universe and pronounce indubitable judgement on all convention. I doubt very much that all truth can be captured within one system of intelligibility—at least consistently captured. We need to respect other conceptual systems—other perspectives—because no single system can capture all truths. Our misunderstandings with individuals from other cultures do not mean that these cultures are incommensurable. After all, our conceptual systems can be different—and we can find such systems to be incompatible or inconsistent or both—but there is always the possibility of translation, no matter how limited.

I am not advancing a moral obligation for tolerating other cultures, I want to be clear on that. We need other grounds for taking a position against intolerance. We need to engage other cultures in order to better understand ourselves and others, our interdependence, and mutual obligations towards each other, and the world as a totality. We engage in the values and belief systems of other cultures, not in a vulgar way by according them only subjective merit and by denying them any nonsubjective validity. We engage them by embracing a concept of truth. As Kain points out, if we believe that all values are subjectively held commitments and do not constitute objective truths—then we are going to fall into the trap of vulgar relativism—and I believe this leads to epistemic violence inevitably. We need a commitment to the objective truth of other cultural values. All cultures have access—their own access—to the truth. The rejection of the nonsubjective character of the values of other cultural beings (i.e., considering their views as just another position among many positions without any real truth value) is tantamount to the imposition of Western subjectivism. Hegel, of course, is ethnocentric but Kain argues persuasively that his system gives us a chance to subvert his ethnocentrism. Hegel was a racist, and while Kain argues that he was not a theoretical or scientific racist, he certainly must be condemned for his ranking different ethnic groups according to their participation in the absolute and his view of European superiority. It is simply indefensible. Hegel's ignorance of Africa is staggering and his view of indigenous Americans must be criticized and denounced (see his ranking of cultures in *Philosophy of Mind*) as he not only describes Western ethnocentrism, imperialism and racism but actually endorses them. Kain writes that in his rankings of races as higher and lower Hegel rejects a scientific justification of his ranking. Racial essences, which reside for Hegel in mind or spirit, are educable and are not unchanging. This, and the fact that Hegel includes different races for being part of the construction of the absolute does not mean we should forgive him for his racism and ethnocentrism

but it does mean that we can look to Hegel's system for a way of subverting Hegel himself. Kain suggests that we need to view Hegel's exclusion of other cultures from a dialectical perspective—they all contain the truth—in other words, world spirit does not belong to any one nation. There remains an outside to Western epistemology in Hegel's overall philosophical system. In this way Hegel invites a subversion of his own narrative of cultural ranking since, according to Kain, Hegel is committed to heterogeneity and does not focus on racial purity. It is important to keep in mind that Hegel does not want a single world culture—he is a pluralist at heart. He does not seek to absorb other cultures into an abstract universal. But undeniably, Hegel is ethnocentric at the philosophical metacultural level. But his system carries within itself a mechanism for subverting itself.

S. L.: Anibal Quijano in his text *Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America* wrote that historically only through the colonisation of the Americas the capital could consolidate and obtain global predominance, establishing the new world order known as capitalism. Isn't it interesting and amazing that after five hundred years of modern world system the new socialist revolution is actually happening precisely in Latin America that is probably one of the most exploited geographical areas where colonialism through centuries allowed the expansion of capitalism (globally) up to now? Let me follow this with another question. It is quiet obvious that if we want to build another perspective (and not only the capitalist one), we will have to engage in a fight against the current structure of power on all social levels. The fight against this hegemony is already going on but it's seems that it is still a little bit dispersed (structured in different theoretical fields). Does radical critical pedagogy work together with other important de-linking projects, such as de-coloniality (W. Mignolo), and do you think that it is time for a historical revolution on a global scale to take place?

P. M.: I very much admire Quijano's work and that of Walter Mignolo. They need to be read in my field of education and of course in other fields, as well. And of course there is the very important and I would say urgently needed work of Enrique Dussel, and Ramon Grosfoguel and Nelson Maldonado-Torres. But you mentioned Quijano. Well, for instance, Quijano draws attention to the production of a world system of classification, non-existent before the 16th century, and deftly argues that previous forms of domination (e.g., gender) were then reconfigured around the new system of racial classification. Knowledge and society were organized around the category of race (a precursor to Eurocentrism) to the extent that the division of labor itself was naturalized. With the help of capitalism, the idea of race helped to yolk the world's population into a hierarchical order of superior and inferior people and it became a central construct in creating and reproducing the international division of labor, including the global system of patriarchy. Quijano is correct when he writes that "Domination is the requisite for exploitation, and race is the most effective instrument for domination that, associated with exploitation, serves as the universal classifier in the current global model of power." He is also makes an important intervention when he argues that dualism and evolutionism situated the European subject as the most spiritually evolved while women and slaves were viewed as the most primitive, locked into their corporeality. Slavery, serfdom, wage labor, and reciprocity all functioned to produce commodities for the world market.

Expanding on Quijano's work, Grosfoguel describes the coloniality of power as an entanglement of multiple and heterogeneous global hierarchies ("heterarchies") of sexual, political, epistemic, economic, spiritual, linguistic and racial forms of domination and exploitation where the racial/ethnic hierarchy of the European/non-European divide transversally reconfigures all of the other global power structures. As race and racism became the organizing principle that structured all of the multiple hierarchies of the world-system, Grosfoguel argues that the different forms of labor that were articulated to capitalist accumulation at a world-scale were assigned according to this racial hierarchy. Cheap, coercive labor was carried out by non-European people in the periphery and "free wage labor" was exercised in the core. Such has been the case up to the present day. Grosfoguel (in press) points out that, contrary to the Eurocentric perspective, race, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and epistemology are not additive elements to the economic and political structures of the capitalist world-system, but a constitutive part of the broad entangled "package" called the European modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system. This work is very important for educators to engage. We need to enter into dialogue with this line of work—I agree. But in some of the work by decolonial thinkers there is a critique of Marxism that I think, while it does a brilliant job of critiquing the Marxism of a number of the early Internationals, what could be called militant manifesto Marxism, it also ignores other Marxist tendencies, including the Marxist humanist standpoint. Some of the work on coloniality and identity, in their theorizations of "difference" (usually in their discussions of race) circumvent and undermine any systematic knowledge of the material dimensions of difference and tend to segregate questions of "difference" from class formation and capitalist social relations. This is not the case with Quijano and Grosfoguel and Mignolo, and Maldonado-Torres, which is why their work is so important for Marxist educators to engage. But some of the post-colonial scholars (those who work to consolidate "identitarian" understandings of difference based exclusively on questions of cultural or racial hegemony) tend to downplay or basically ignore the totality of capitalist social relations.

While it is important to create greater cultural space for the formerly excluded to have their voices heard (represented), at the same time we have to make sure that this does not simply reinscribe a neo-liberal pluralist stance rooted in the ideology of free-market capitalism. In short, cultural politics becomes, in this case, modeled on the marketplace and freedom amounts to the liberty of all vendors to display their 'different' cultural goods. What many postcolonial theorists fail to address is that the forces of diversity and difference are allowed to flourish provided that they remain within the prevailing forms of capitalist social arrangements. The neopluralism of difference politics (including those based on "race") cannot adequately pose a substantive challenge to the productive system of capitalism that is able to accommodate a vast pluralism of ideas and cultural practices, and cannot capture the ways in which various manifestations of oppression are intimately connected to the central dynamics of capitalist exploitation. This is where Marxist humanist analysis can help.

Why am I saying all this? Because the struggle for diversity through anti-discrimination has actually seen US society adapt to its production of inequality and make the politics of difference work to bolster neoliberal capitalism. As you know, I have been creating anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-homophobic curricula and pedagogical practices for decades, and have been challenging educational policies and practices from these same perspectives, but I have also been stressing the strategic centrality of class struggle. It is not that I am trying to privilege class over race and gender or reduce race to an artifact of class, as some of my critics claim. Rather, I am trying to make the case that unless anti-racist and anti-patriarchal struggles are multi-pronged endeavours and conjugated with class struggle, their efforts could possibly lead to a strengthening of inequality rather than bringing about its defeat. Why? Because while capitalist society is becoming less discriminatory, it is increasingly becoming unequal, not more equal. In a recent article in the *New Left Review*, Walter Benn Michaels wrote that in 1947 the top fifth of American wage-earners made 43 per cent of the money earned in the US and today that same quintile gets 50.5 per cent. He also mentioned that in 1947, the bottom fifth of wage-earners got 5 per cent of total income; today it gets 3.4 per cent. His point is that "After half a century of anti-racism and feminism, the US today is a less equal society than was the racist, sexist society of Jim Crow." He writes that the successes of the struggle against discrimination have failed to alleviate inequality, and in fact they have been compatible with a radical expansion of it. This is because exploitation, not discrimination, is the primary producer of inequality today. Michaels also claims that the debates about race and gender are essentially empty unless the focus remains on capitalist exploitation. Those who genuinely do think that inequality is fine as long as it is not a function of discrimination Michaels describes as neoliberals of the right. And those who think that fighting against racial and sexual inequality is at least a step in the direction of real equality are neoliberals of the left.

Consequently, critical pedagogy needs to remove itself from a left-liberal politics in which its antipathy for challenging neoliberal capitalism only strengthens the unholy grip of capital on the poor and the powerless. This is essentially the message of what I have been calling revolutionary critical pedagogy. Michaels would be mistaken, however, only to concentrate on transforming capitalism, and to forget about colonial epistemology and pluriversality and the fact that multiple antagonisms are co-constitutive. If we want to challenge capitalism, we need to delink from the western rational episteme in the sense that such a de-linking helps us recognize that it is the desire for wealth and capital accumulation that helps to provide the epistemic oxygen which nourishes capital. In other words, we need to negate capital but we need to negate what we have negated, and in doing so we can learn a lot from Hegel if we take seriously his concept of self-referential negation and what Raya Dunayevskaya referred to as absolute negativity.

S. L.: You are working a lot with countries in Latin America (Bolivia, Venezuela) that are leading the socialist project (socialist revolution) of the

21st century. Slovenia as one of the states of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had already been part of a similar socialist project with socialist self-management and collective (i.e. public) property. Soon after the fall of the Berlin wall we entered the neoliberal order. Neoliberal ideology took place when the new born Slovenian capitalists allowed for a reorganization of socialism into neoliberal capitalism. All socialist values have been replaced by the neoliberal ones. The same story happened in all the countries of the former Eastern European socialist bloc. Therefore how can we imagine a socialist alternative to neoliberalism and what are the real possibilities for establishing a socialist democracy in countries such as Bolivia and Venezuela or elsewhere in the world?

P. M.: Here I return to my Marxist humanist roots and to Dunayevskaya's concept of absolute negativity as the path to a new society. Peter Hudis notes that the genius of Hegel was that he was fully aware that negation is dependent on the object of its critique. In other words, ideas of liberation are impacted, in one way or another, by the oppressive forms that one tries to reject and that negation per se does not totally free one from the negated object. But unlike the postmodernists that centuries later followed him, Hegel believed that there was a way for negation to transcend the object of its critique. He therefore introduced the notion of "the negation of the negation." Hudis makes clear that the negation of the negation, or second negativity, does not refer simply to a continuous series of negations – that can potentially go on forever and still never free negation from the object of its critique. Hegel instead argues for a self-referential negation. By negating itself, negation establishes a relation with itself – and therefore frees itself from dependence on the external object. According to Hudis, this kind of negativity, second negativity is "absolute," insofar as it exists without relation to another outside itself. In other words, negation is no longer dependent on an external object; it negates such dependency through a self-referential act of negation.

According to Hudis, Marx did not dismiss the concept of the "negation of the negation" as an idealist illusion but instead appropriated the concept of the self-referential negation "to explain the path to a new society." Marx understood that simply to negate something still leaves us dependent upon the object of critique, in other words, it merely affirms the alienated object of our critique on a different level. As Hudis and Dunayevskaya and other Marxist humanists have pointed out, that has been the problem with revolutions of the past, they remained dependent upon the object of their negation. The negation of the negation, however, creates the conditions for something truly positive to emerge in that absolute negativity is no longer dependent on the other. Here is how Hudis puts it in his own words, using the example of communism:

"Communism's abolition of private property, is the negation of capitalism. But this negation, Marx tells us, is dependent on the object of its critique insofar as it replaces private property with collective property. Communism is not free from the alienated notion that ownership or having is the most important part of being human; it

simply affirms it on a different level. Of course, Marx thinks that it is necessary to negate private property. But this negation, he insists, must itself be negated. Only then can the *truly positive* – a totally new society – emerge."

According to Hudis, Marx believed that labor or human praxis can achieve the transcendence of alienation but what was needed is a subjective praxis connected with a philosophy of liberation that is able to illuminate the content of a post-capitalist society and project a path to a totally new society by convincing humanity that it is possible to resolve the contradiction between alienation and freedom. We can't resolve such a contradiction within the social universe of capital and capital's value form of labor but need to concretize absolute negativity as a new beginning. This new beginning must seize the imagination, well, that is certainly happening in Latin America with Bolivia, Venezuela, and other places.

I am arguing here that we need today a new form of philosophical comprehension and working out of what absolute negativity as a new beginning means today. We need to start to define the characteristics of a world outside of capital's value form – and we need the concepts of pluriversality and transmodernity to help us in doing so. We need, in other words, not only to acknowledge the priority of material necessity in historical development but to start constructing a post-capitalist society, what we refer to as a socialist society in dialogue with other cultures, other values. This understanding of absolute negativity as a seedbed for new beginnings, is the motor of a renewed critical/revolutionary pedagogy guided by the imperative of class struggle, and the development of a decolonial philosophy of praxis. Great experiments are taking place in attempting to create spaces for human development in Venezuela. We need to watch them carefully and better still – to participate in them!

What the advice poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti gives to aspiring poets, I believe also applies to educators. Here are a few random lines:

If you call yourself a poet, don't just sit there. Poetry is not a sedentary occupation not a "take your seat" practice. Stand up and let them have it.

Question everything and everyone, including Socrates, who questioned everything.

Read between the lines and write between the lines.

Don't let it be said of you that sluggish imagination drowned out the slush of your heart.

Make your mind learn its way around the heart.

Avoid the provincial, go for the universal.

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RE-ARTICULATING THE SCENARIOS OF ENVIRONMENTAL CATASTROPHE

at transmediale.09, Berlin

In the frame of this year's Transmediale Berlin 2009, and its theme *Deep North*, Reartikulacija was invited to organize a workshop reflecting on the potential global environmental catastrophes that have been increasingly occurring in the last decades. Reartikulacija members Marina Gržinić and Sebastjan Leban proposed the workshop *Re-Articulating the Scenarios of Environmental Catastrophe* in order to critically intervene in the structure of contemporary societies and to expose connections between the ever more escalating environmental problems on one side, and the catastrophic social policies produced on daily basis on the other. The effect of both is wider social inequalities, the forcing overexploited people to migrate, the development of new forms of colonialism, the production of hyper-commodification and the marginalization of different gender and ethnic groups, etc.

The workshop's main goal was to determine that in each crisis of the last century, there was a privileged structure (system of power)

that benefited from it. The same projection was done on possible environmental catastrophes on a global scale; only those in power and socially and economically wealthy people will benefit, compared to all those who are already forced to live in poverty and extreme living conditions. The workshop gave a picture of the connection between the current processes of subjugation, and the disastrous environmental policy of that same system of power which produces politics of discrimination, colonialism and inequalities. *Re-Articulating the Scenarios of Environmental Catastrophe* wanted to find out new ways of (re)articulating the contemporary social condition driven by capital hegemony, and of exposing contemporary politics of exploitation (from social to environmental, etc.) that influences contemporaneity, and will affect the future. The aim of the workshop was also to re-think the possible alternatives to the current neoliberal reality, its exploitation strategies, and to imagine a different future that will not

depend on politics of exploitation, but rather it will de-link from such politics and abrogate them.

Participants in the workshop were Marina Gržinić, Sebastjan Leban, Šefik Šeki Tatlić, Madina Tlostanova, Araba Evelyn Johnston-Arthur, Walter Mignolo and Lala Raščić.

In this special section of Reartikulacija we published the contributions by Gržinić, Leban, Tatlić, Tlostanova and Raščić.

The contributions by Araba Evelyn Johnston-Arthur and Walter Mignolo can be heard/viewed on www.reartikulacija.org

Marina Gržinić ENVIRONMENTAL CATASTROPHE: A CULMINATION OF CAPITAL DEREGULATION AND PRIVATIZATION PROCESSES

Today, environmental catastrophe scenarios hide dysfunctional capital processes of unscrupulous profit-making logic; these are processes of exploitation of (still?) untapped natural resources, or of environments and urban structures, and, last but not least, of people, which have already been expropriated for decades. As a result of these processes, the categories of the environment and natural resources are totally instrumentalized and privatized.

The environment is increasingly depicted in terms of crisis and catastrophe. But what is definitely missing in such depictions is the mode of production that is at the base of such crises. This is global capitalism with its dysfunctional, speculative financial logic. Therefore, the crisis visible in the environment is first and foremost an outcome of the unrestraint of capitalism that with a sped up mechanism shifts the idea of being the source of such crisis. To ignore this situation means to ignore the primal

"environment" that generates and reproduces the crisis: the environment of capitalism and the global age. The financial capital logic produces and reproduces itself through economic, social and political disruptions and with the help of science and new media technology. Science and technology are implemented for the figuration, representation and mediation of the environmental crisis, as well as for its continuous exploitation that is being hidden through catastrophic scenarios. But we have to be clear that imagination and figuration are mostly expanding the horizons of those who can base their horizons on the expansion of horizons. What is needed is an almost material incorporation of very real histories and elaborations of the changed conditions of life, reality and capital in the time of globalization.

What new media technologies put forward is in fact, as claimed by Sarah Kember, "anti-politics"! Such technologies are seen as a "consensual hallucination," the new "final frontier" of an out-of-control realm in which only "post-humans" can live. But what are the real humans doing in the meantime, those who sometimes are not even considered to be fully human? They are looking for discarded food in the immense garbage dumps on the outskirts of the big cities of Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Eastern Europe. This will become more and more visible, especially with the present crisis of the financial capitalism, across Europe and the US.

The environmental crisis, the tsunami of nature and as well the present tsunami of economy are produced and reproduced through scientific, technological and epistemological interventions. Andrew Ross pointed out that the turn towards showing an interest in the environment was an outcome of the turn in global capitalist business. With the disappearance of the Berlin wall in 1989 and with the supposed disappearance of the conflict between the democratic and the totalitarian world (the cold war being over?), capitalist business reoriented its interests towards environmental threats, shortages of natural resources, water and oil, cross border pollution, radioactivity, acid rain, the environmental under-belly of north/south trade, resources degradation and the new migrant economy that was the outcome of the new capitalist labor division. All this listed by Ross is not a simple transformation, or just a shifting of the "interest," but an intensification of class relations under the new structure of capitalism, and this is definitely globalization.

As Ross argued, secret services no longer highlight military installations and intercontinental ballistic missiles, but demography maps, routes of migrations, sites of hunger and potential war coming, and this, I have to add, is the result of capital provoked environmental crises that are then the sites of conflicts and wars. Today specially configured military defense complex structures

compile environmental maps showing sites of nuclear power plants, geopolitical maps showing spaces of intensified smuggling of natural resources and places of potential "natural" wars and state of exceptions, etc. NASA sends space shuttles on environmental missions and satellites are used to detect changes in vegetation, land movement and water flow that could cause earthquakes and other catastrophes.

In order to understand the situation, we should NOT ignore the class dimension of all of the environmental catastrophes, and even more, we should be aware that for capital, environmental stability is not the condition for economic growth, but on the contrary, the *instability of the environment* is the condition for capital profit. This can actually be seen visibly in the First Capitalist World, where deflation and inflation are artificially produced and maintained, proving that these are real parameters for generating profit. In order to hide such processes while making profit, we have on one side environmental destruction that is not only produced by capital (although this tends to evaporate from our histories and current evaluations), but is today shifted, made invisible through discursive, representational (Hollywood films) and epistemological bubbles in which the environment itself is transformed into the enemy, and on the other we have the "happy ending," seen as reconstruction. Therefore, capital continuously hides the fact that is the cause of the environmental catastrophes and of different sorts of tsunami (natural, economical, welfare turned into warfare, etc.), presenting the destruction of nature and the environmental crisis as endogenous processes; that means as processes that by themselves generate the environmental catastrophes (in the end is stated that "Nature is the enemy!").

I would like to focus on this simultaneous work of environmental destruction and its reconstruction that is conducted by capital. What does this mean? After long decades of exploitation and expropriation of natural resources and non sufficient, non functioning mechanisms for protection of the environment, people, structures, etc., – the disaster that happens is massive, visible and almost, as the analysis reports afterwards, painfully inevitable. But this is just the beginning, what follows is that the scene of the crime (massive destruction and massive human loss) by capital (motivated only by its drive for profit) is suddenly hijacked by the familiar actors: the international money foundations, multinational reconstruction companies etc.. In between, don't forget, is the global mobilization of humanitarian organizations entering the scene, which is intensively exploited by the mass media. The result of the reconstruction will be a never ending process of debt and dependence from big multinational corporations, banks loans, etc. In the end, when the mass media is gone and the territories are out of the media focus or just have their silent approval (as they are financially supported through complex channels from these same media), the result is a total privatization of what is left after the catastrophes of nature, environment, structure and last but not least, of the people living there. This is not the case only in the Third and Second Worlds, but as we know and as it is even reported in some art magazines (*Art Forum*, January 2009), it is also the case in regions of the First Capitalist World. In relation, we have to point out the Hurricane Katrina devastation of the US city of New Orleans as being one of the most obvious.

Neil Smith, the author of the book *The Endgame of Globalization* (2004), stated in an interview conducted by Bryan Finoki that the destruction of New Orleans was initiated (but not caused) by a hurricane and the subsequent events. Smith argued that had the levees never been built and the wetlands tarred over, the level of physical and economic destruction would have been far less. To this it is necessary to add the evacuation strategy that was based

on the private property of car ownership, and first and foremost on the protection of land property. Reconstruction companies Blackwater and Halliburton were established in New Orleans so quickly, and worked with the National Guard, simply confirming the connections between militarization and economic opportunity that is becoming more and more a "natural" connection. Smith concludes that the reconstruction of New Orleans is in fact being used as an opportunity to reconstruct a new social geography throughout the city, in the areas of the working class, poor, mostly black, ethnic population, including, I would like to propose, a strategy of cleansing such as was used for ethnic cleansing in the Balkan war in the 1990s. Gentrification, militarization and capital accumulation come together in near-perfect unison, and nature gets the blame.

Bryan Finoki while interviewing Neil Smith (interview published in *Subtopia*) stated that today there exist a new form of urbanism that uses the context of post-conflict reconstruction to lend money and to put into operation murderous conditions of economic capitalist neoliberalism in nations desperate to rebuild. But in order to conceptualize the dimensions of globalization, it is necessary to argue that this is not only a procedure, a dysfunctional plan of new urban regulation that is conducted via post-conflict reconstructions, but was also and is still activated as part of the process of post-socialist reconstruction in all the former eastern European countries, some of which are already a part of the European Union (we should not forget about former East Germany), and others which are today waiting to enter it. Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia and Zagreb, the capital of Croatia are caught in such processes of urban devastation, which have the outcome of the privatization of public land and the privatization of public services and utilities along with the acceptance of a new murderous division of labor. Somebody has to work for the reconstruction to be done! These workers in Slovenia and all over the EU are a new caste of over exploited migrant workers. In Slovenia these workers are coming from the other former Yugoslav states that are not yet in the EU, and though having legal papers are forced to live and work in the most dehumanizing conditions, being completely ignored by the syndicates and overlooked by the legal system of protection of workers by the state.

In principle, it is possible to state that all the events (or if you want, the natural, environmental and economic catastrophes) are brought back to a single event. This event I will name in reference to Santiago López Petit as the impossibility of capital to restrain from exploitation and expropriation. This unrestraint of capital is the accomplishment of co-property between capital and power. This was clearly seen in the way that the financial crisis involving banks and their deficit was solved in September 2008, with a bill issued by one single move to save the capitalists and their banks savings. It presented the unification of power (political representatives) and capital (and note that nothing similar was proposed regarding New Orleans and the poorest working class that lost everything).

Achille Mbembe in his book *On the Postcolonial: On Private Indirect Government* (2001) stated, regarding the put forward accomplishment of co-property between capital and power in the time of capitalism and globalization, and taking into account specific conditions of environmental exploitation and warfare in Africa, that while war tactics in Africa are quite rudimentary, they still result in human catastrophes. This is because military pressure sometimes targets the straightforward destruction of, if not the civilian population, at least of the very means of its survival, such as food reserves, cattle, and agricultural implements. In some cases, these wars have enabled band leaders to exercise more or less

continuous control over territory. Such control gives them access not only to those living in the territories but also to the natural resources and the goods produced there – for instance, the extraction of precious stones, exploitation of timber or rubber, or ivory poaching. The financing of these wars is very complex. In addition to the financial contribution provided by Diasporas and assignment of men and women to forced labor, there is resort to loans, appeals to private financiers, and special forms of taxation.

He argued that these new forms of more or less total control not only blur the supposed relationship between citizenship and democracy, they in fact *incapacitate* whole sections of the population politically. Therefore, it is possible to state that what is becoming evident (with a reference to Mbembe) is that in relation to Africa we see the emergence of a new form of relation between capital and power named "private indirect government," which presents a new configuration of power: the privatization of violence (the myriad of militias and private armies) that works hand in hand with economy, which is also put through the process of privatization, and therefore is completely informalized. In an interview given by Mbembe on the occasion of the publication of his aforementioned book, he stated firmly that democracy as a form of government and as a culture of public life does not have a future in Africa – or, for that matter, elsewhere in the world – if it is not rethought precisely from the crucible of "necropower." By "necropower" Mbembe refers to a sovereign power that is set up for the maximum destruction of persons and the creation of deathscapes, unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of living dead.

Today, if we only think about what happened in Gaza in December 2008/January 2009, these deathscapes (as is pointed out by Mbembe) are not "a peculiar African reality," but something that is becoming more and more of a normal "landscape" in all the territories outside of the First Capitalist World (Palestine, Chechnya etc.). Even though such deathscapes were once reserved for the Third and Second Worlds (Balkan's Srebrenica was such a deathscape), with the present recession within the First Capitalist World, deathscapes are becoming slowly normalized.

As argued by Aihwa Ong, management and administration are running our social lives through a system of calculations. Exception functions as a mechanism of differential inclusion. Neoliberalism is the technology of optimization, from economics to politics, from nature to environment, and can be used, pace Ong, by any political regime (with no changes needed in the system for improving the conditions of life whatsoever) in order to effectuate only one single calculation, and this is the calculation for profit.

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Sebastjan Leban **RETHINKING THE FUTURE: POLITICS OF EXTERMINATION**

The increasing conditions of poverty, subordination and inequalities on earth that are more and more faced daily by the major part of its population are strictly connected with the environmental policy that (beside the market economy) has become one of the basic regulators of the global colonial expansion of capital. The number of victims produced by necropolitics is countless, and will increase drastically in the future. Contemporaneity is thus marked by the strategy of extermination and regulation of life that is being reproduced and artificially maintained by the neoliberal global hegemony, and that, as a consequence, form extreme living and environmental conditions.

In his book *Corporate Social Responsibility*, Bobby Banerjee has brilliantly analyzed the historical formation of corporations to this day. By providing us with Perrow's examples, Banerjee slowly unveils how economic, political and social forces collectively have created the legal basis for the modern notion of *corporation*. The present form of corporation was established on the basis of the old chartered corporations, which were a result of royal corporate charters granted by the British monarchy in the 1700s and 1800s. Later on, after their independence, the American colonists replaced the royal charters with state charters, and that is where the real story of corporations begins. Corporations were invented on the basis of a legal ruling, to serve the public interest and to facilitate the development of the new modern society. For every corporation that failed to observe this legal ruling, the charter was revoked. By the 19th century, these legal rulings were completely abolished, giving way to the modern form of corporation which was granted the same rights as citizens and fell under the protection of the 14th Amendment of the US Constitution. Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, the world was faced by a new entity led by private interests whose only specific purpose was the accumulation of power, capital and control.

What are the consequences of 200 hundred years of corporative evolution? As a matter of fact, aside from achieving citizen rights in its evolutionary process, multinational corporations have changed the role citizen rights were supposed to have in society by installing corporative rights as society's main priority. In doing so, they haven't just managed to form elitist structures capable of kneading their own policies inside national and international objectives, but have also created state policies worldwide. In this regard, they have invented globalisation as a tool through which they are able to spread the ideology of capital globally.

The very definition of globalisation can be traced in Walter Mignolo's book *Local Histories/Global Designs* in which the author defines globalisation as the last among the civilizing plans of the white Christian colonizer (Christianity, Civilizing Mission, Development and Global Market), through which contemporary forms of colonization have been implemented. Mignolo further defines globalisation as an invention and consequence of the global transformation occurring since 1945, which is marked by three moments; firstly by the development and modernization after WWII, secondly by the rise of multinational corporations and the demise of the state after the 68' world crisis, and lastly by the fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union.

And how does this logic fit into contemporary multinational corporation strategies and the production of environmental catastrophes? If we try to apply the strategy by which systems of power rule the world through local histories and global designs, we must analyze the advertising campaigns used by multinational corporations to produce passivity (collective and individual) and mediate a false reality of a perfect world in which multinational corporations are presented as agents working for the good of the world's population, environment, and for the benefit of the entire society. One such example is the advertising campaign of the Suez Company founded in 2007. Digging deeper into the campaign, we realize that we are facing the latest perversion made possible by the media, in which the dispossession and subjugation of life and the violation of human rights are presented under the brand of sustainability and global development. The slogan of the advertising campaign is "*Delivering the essentials of life.*"

Through this slogan, the Suez Company guarantees sustainable solutions in energy, water and waste services to developing and developed nations worldwide. What is more, the advertisement is a neoliberal propaganda *par excellence*, promising a better future by the dictum "*You are going to love the future.*" Actually, the question that arises is, who will benefit from such a future, and what will be the amount of deaths that will have to be produced for the market (owner's) needs?

In this case, we are dealing with privatisation of an elementary necessity of life – water – that should be accessible to everyone! Unfortunately, this is not the case, since this logic is not included in the contemporary privatisation strategies aiming at privatising everything that has not yet been privatised. The strategy applied by Suez and similar multinational corporations in order to obtain exclusive water contracts outside the first capitalist world is based on blackmailing. In the aforementioned case, this is manifested in the roles of the World Bank or the IMF, which offer these countries loans provided that they agree with privatisation of their water utility.

This analysis brings us directly to the principle of necroeconomy and the discourse on contemporary colonialism which is maintained through mechanisms of political, economic and cultural control. Developing countries are in such a way constantly in the position of being exploited. But there is one other mechanism of control which was developed to produce death under the guise of creating life. I will name this mechanism of control the *Silent Weapon of Extermination*. In order to understand why it was invented and how it has been evolving until now, we must analyze its historical coming into being, which was not a result of an involuntary invention, but rather of a well premeditated strategy of those systems of power which today hide behind the major multinational corporations.

In William Engdahl's article *Doomsday Seed Vault in the Arctic* on the actors/agents behind the biggest global seed vault, we find out that contemporary colonization is the last act of the extermination of all unwanted races, and a decisive supremacy of the white man over the world. The author, at the very beginning of

the book, exposes some of the main names involved; such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Gates Foundation, Dupont, Syngenta, Monsanto and many others that he connects in the text, creating an uncanny projection of an imminent future where the role of God will be taken over by a handful of multinational corporations headed by the chosen few individuals.

In order to get to the origin of this idea, we have to go back to the beginning of the 20th century, when Margaret Sanger, a eugenics of that time, with the support of some wealthy families (including the Rockefeller family) started a project which involved the systematic killing of undesired blood lines. She was a strenuous supporter of the so-called science postulates that some races are genetically superior and, hence, more fit for survival than others. According to this ideology, the world will be pure if only people with good genes reproduce, while those with bad ones cease to do so. Such an ideology gave way to the *Negro project* launched by Sanger in 1939. The basic purpose hidden behind the politics of birth control in poor black communities was the extermination of the black population.

Here we encounter the notion of the sovereign right to kill, which was in this case covered under the veil of birth control. This strategy has been used throughout the 20th century for producing politics of the extermination of unwanted races. One such example, as described by Engdahl is the tetanus vaccine which is spread by the WHO only to women of child-bearing age. The vaccine contains a natural hormone which, when combined with a tetanus toxic carrier, stimulates antibodies and renders a woman incapable of maintaining a pregnancy. Another example is the genetically engineered corn developed in 2001, which contains a spermicide that makes men sterile. What is interesting is that during the aforementioned period, we have the same actors/wealthy families which have produced the current monstrous reality of multinational corporations. In this perspective, the *Silent Weapon of Extermination* fits exactly in the genealogical line that is described by Achille Mbembe as innovations by which technologies of murder have been implemented through centuries, the aim of which being not only to "civilize" ways of killing, but also to dispose of a large number of victims over a relatively short period of time- or, as in the case with the genetically modified organisms, to invent an invisible silent killer as a weapon of mass destruction, branded as the solution to world hunger.

Ramón Grosfoguel states that Descartes had formed the basis of modern western philosophy by defining a new moment in the history of western thought, where the figure of God – the foundation of knowledge in the theo-politics of knowledge of the European Middle Age – has been replaced by the figure of the (western) man- which forms the foundation of knowledge in European Modern times. All the attributes that were until that time only in the domain of God have become the right of (western) man. Grosfoguel further argues that the universal truth beyond time and space, privileged access to the laws of the Universe, and the capacity to produce scientific knowledge and theory have been placed in the mind of western man. By putting the western man into the centre of the world, Descartes was able to produce the dualism between mind and body and between mind and nature, as also to claim for non-situated, universal, omniscient divine knowledge. Grosfoguel also refers to Santiago Castro-Gómez's *point zero* perspective of Eurocentric philosophies and states that "The 'point zero' is the point of view that hides and conceals itself as being beyond a particular point of view, that is, the point of view that represents itself as being without a point of view. It is this 'god-eye view' that always hides its local and particular perspective under an abstract universalism" (Grosfoguel, 2008).

The *Silent Weapon of Extermination* seems to be the last in the series of attempts to return to the point zero, redefining it as the end point rather than the possible point of a new beginning. At 'point zero' the privileged (western) man reaches his catharsis for the committed crimes. In other words, by producing death, he tries to reach the promised salvation.

In the text *Doomsday Seed Vault in the Arctic*, we gradually discover that the Doomsday Seed Vault is not a separate joint venture of the few wealthy families that have been governing the world for the last hundred years, but an accurate strategy of how to get definitive and permanent control of the world and its population. As noted by Engdahl, during the Green revolution the Rockefeller foundation (later joined by the Ford foundation) shaped and supported the foreign policy goals of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and of the CIA. The Green Revolution resulted in the displacement of the rural population, which, due to unemployment, was compelled to move into slums around big cities where it can serve as cheap labour for multinational corporations. The same occurs when corporative ideology

shapes global environmental policies, as is ever more frequently the case, with the intention of producing a global environmental catastrophe in order to reach the set goal. The key to this supremacy is provided exactly by the genetically modified organisms that represent the *Silent Weapon of Extermination* used by the multinational corporations in order to replace the figure of the (western) man and assume the role of the dominator by exterminating all unwanted subjects.

Is there any possibility to prevent such a planned environmental catastrophe, and suppress the increasingly recurrent processes of oppression?

As argued by Ramón Grosfoguel, "the fact that one is socially located on the oppressed side of power relations does not automatically mean that he/she is epistemically thinking from a subaltern epistemic location. The success of the modern/colonial world-system consists precisely in making subjects that are socially located on the oppressed side of the colonial difference think epistemically like the ones in dominant positions" (Grosfoguel, 2008).

We need to realize that we are being subjugated by capital and all other mechanisms of control not only at the material level, but that we are also forced into epistemological thinking imposed by the system of power. Any form of resistance against capital, social inequalities or bad environmental policy within such an epistemological thinking does not constitute the real point of resistance, as it is appropriated by that same system of power. Therefore, new strategies must be developed in order to continue to de-link ourselves from capital and the colonial matrix of power.

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Šefik Šeki Tatlić THE VICE OF A DEMOCRATIC MAN

The view of an average subjectivity in the First (Western) World towards neo-liberal capitalism, besides all the lamentations about "stupid Western consumerism," is not as affirmative as it might seem. The concept of "the evil that threatens capitalism," as it can be perceived in popular culture, is usually completely different than the image of the politically correct perception of evil – represented by terrorists, communists, etc. Hence, in post 9/11 TV shows (such as West Wing) the enemies are not the terrorists, but elements within the power structure that obstruct the "heroes" in engaging with the enemy.

Therefore such concept of evil usually does not insist on the evil lurking from outside of the system. On the contrary, sleazy lawyers, greedy capitalists, mad generals, etc., (i.e. secret power centers *from within*) are more common villains than terrorists or communists in the western cultural imaginary. Though such view does not serve as a critique of neo-liberal capitalism – but on the contrary, it serves as a tool of its rationalization. On one level, the neo-liberal destruction of the social (through privatization and deregulation) in the name of market fundamentalism is being justified by "secret power groups" that "could not be controlled." On the other, the construction of "the secret evil" serves as *construction eo ipso*, as an ideological rationalization of the ultimate lack of any meaning behind the market fundamentalism. Hence, by criticizing this "secret evil," by being particularly critical of the neo-liberal system, emancipated subjectivity only rationalizes its universal truth.

As Paolo Virno remarks, paraphrasing, "...informality in communication, competitive interaction typical for a business meeting, noisy variations that could start some TV program, generally anything that could become formalized in a dysfunctional way (...) is today, in the post-Fordist era, a typical mark of *complete* social production."¹

The emancipated subjectivity in capitalism is therefore not programmed/enslaved, but de-programmed, de-formalized in a dysfunctional way – not to endorse the minimum of the democratic norm, but to criticize precisely that norm. When the constitution says "everybody is equal," capitalism does not have to change the constitution; it just has to make sure that nobody believes in the constitution – a minimum of meaning. And what better way is there to conceal a lack of meaning but to "kill" it, and present the act of killing as the meaning.

Killing of the Meaning

In the cartoon show "South Park," there is an episode in which a TV network announces the appearance of an animated prophet Mohammed on another cartoon show. As a result, Islamic extremists respond with the threat of a terror attack against Americans if the prophet appears on the show. Overall panic overwhelms the (American) town of South Park, and the citizens summon an analyst from Washington to teach them how to deal with the terrorist threat. At a meeting in city hall, the analyst tells the citizens that during the airing of the show they should bury their heads in the soil in order not to see the Mohammed – which should allegedly appease the terrorists so as not to harm them (!). But one of the

citizens gets up and gives a dramatic speech about hard gained freedoms (of speech) they fought for, saying that now is the time they should stand up for what they believe in! However, the majority of citizens gets disgusted with the idea of defending the freedom, and opts for the heads in the soil option.

The Democratic norm or societal consensus on some value (freedom of speech) gets rejected/neglected by that same society if the same norm shows up as an obstacle to obscene enjoyment. What is being defended is not the higher purpose of freedom, but rather it is the freedom to be obscene that is defended. Therefore, neo-liberal capitalist ritual is a ritual of the destruction of a barrier to the "anything goes" mantra. It is the ritual that constructs the purpose behind the obscene banality of the needs of a "democratic man," who gives purpose to neo-liberal capitalism by turning the obscene banality into sacredness.

"Sacredness is in fact held to be enhanced in proportion as truth decreases and illusion increases, so that the highest degree of illusion comes to be the highest degree of sacredness."²

Jean Baudrillard, writing about the Beaubourg building (popular name for Pompidou center in Paris which consists of a mass of pipes, metallic joints, and random structural connections) says; "Within a museal scenario that only serves to keep up the humanist fiction of culture, it is a veritable fashioning of the death of culture that takes place, and it is a veritable cultural mourning for which the masses are joyously gathered."³ Beaubourg, by representing the bowels of the system turned upside down, presents the very truth of social relations and social production in neo-liberal capitalism; the embellishment of the essential nothingness. Culture in neo-liberal capitalism therefore might be seen as a cadaver exposed as a work of art, a cultural object that stands as compensation for the lack of politics that should, after all, construct meaning. What else does the archetypical explosion of police car in an action movie, a YouTube suicide, or the morbid fascination with televised pictures of genocide represent, but enjoyment of the death of society as a death to any barrier of a vice of democratic man.

"The misunderstanding is therefore complete when one denounces Beaubourg as a cultural mystification of the masses. The masses, themselves, rush there to enjoy this execution, dismemberment, this operational prostitution of a culture finally truly liquidated, including all counterculture that is nothing but its apotheosis"⁴

That makes the meaning that supports capitalism nothing else but an illusion which is as omni-present as the method of its fake discovering.

Exclusion of the Norm

Giorgio Agamben says that sovereign power produces bare life (holy man, the one who can be killed and cannot be sacrificed) as a basic political element – but it also excludes this life from its norm. As he says, what is excluded is not entirely without relation to the norm; on the contrary, the norm stays connected with the exception in the form of suspension.⁵ The norm is applied to the

exception not by being applied, but by being moved away from the exception⁶.

When genocide happens, "victims are the members of another, possibly violent culture," when Wall Street CEO's ignite a global crisis "everyone" has to start saving; the norm is being dislocated, not applied. Xenophobia here turns out to be not a phobia of its object, the stranger, but rather it turns out that the system is phobic of itself – or more precisely, of confrontation with its own sadistic meaninglessness.

As Agamben says, when confronted with an excess, the system interiorizes what is beyond it through a ban, and in that way it "puts itself as exterior to itself."⁷ As an example, Barack Obama, after the election victory got interiorized by some positions in which we find out that Obama in fact is not a black man (!?). As an example, the president of the Croatian Helsinki Committee Ivo Banac "enlightened" the public saying that Barack Obama is not really an African American. He said that (Obama's) "father is African, but his mother is Caucasian, while Obama's academic knowledge certainly tells that he had much more possibilities in life unlike the majority of African Americans in the US."⁸ This position says that Obama's victory does not represent the appliance of the minimum of the democratic norm (racial equality), but upholds the obscenity that supports a non-appliance of the norm.

When bare life (black man, immigrant from the Third world, the poor, ghetto dweller, Palestinian) is being interiorized (emancipated in the First World), that means that that subjectivity is *not* being initialized to accept the minimum of the norm (equality, freedom, brotherhood), it is being initiated to criticize exactly that minimum of the norm. By accepting the monopoly over the concept of equality, in which it means to become, as Rancière would say, equal only in front of the market⁹, solidarity is perceived as an obstacle to "private success in life" and freedom is perceived as the freedom to join the necrophilic enthusiasm in perverting every notion of meaning besides the one that says that there is no other meaning but the one dictated by the regime.

On the other side, the only choice emancipated subjectivity (*bios*) has is the right to choose among the representations of the oligarch who will continue to "grant freedoms." But the monopoly over the definition of freedom, in that case, also remains in the hands of the oligarch that is represented through unrestrained power of the market. The "curser," emancipated subjectivity, the one who has the freedom to reject a product, will see that choice as an ultimate confirmation of its freedom.

That is what lurks beside the deregulation – in the social and economic sense, as well in the sense that when subjectivity itself is being de-regulated to such a measure, its only meaning becomes the drive to garble it. Sacredness of bare life (*Homo Sacer* – Holy Man) therefore comes out of "being outside" of the necrophilic culture. It is sacred because it has not yet become a part of the utterly unsanctified ritual of garbling of sense.

Marina Gržinić stated, "neoliberal necrocapitalism is continually being produced and reproduced, not only economically and politically, but obviously institutionally. All these processes have

2 Ludwig Feuerbach, Preface to the second edition of "The Essence of Christianity," in Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, Situationist International online at <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/> and <http://www.bopsecrets.org/SI/debord/1.htm>

3 Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, University of Michigan Press, 1995. p. 46

4 Ibid.

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

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 www.index.hr - <http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak.aspx?id=408335>

9 Cf. Jacques Rancière, *La haine de la démocratie*, Fabrique, Paris 2005.

an effect that is totally and straightforwardly completely socially "dysfunctional." Capitalism justifies its own systemic and political dysfunction; a state of exception by producing a dysfunctional society whose perception of the essential meaninglessness of such a system has been converted into the adoration of the very death of meaning at all. The same logic applies in the case of "Big Brother" or in the case of Guantanamo Bay.

Emancipated subjectivity is therefore programmed *not* to believe in any aspect of the norm that could endanger an institutional perversion of the norm; such subjectivity is de-regulated from the society that should make sure that the norm regarding the issue of human dignity functions. Dominant sentiment of emancipated subjectivity, therefore, is not the complying one, but the critical

one – *but* critical only of the potential of society to protect the sacredness of human dignity. That is the only purpose emancipated subjectivity has. The syntagma "meaningless killing" comes out of this predisposition; it is not just "meaningless killing," it is killing of meaning – by discrediting those who remind emancipated subjectivities of the possibility that the essence of the norm should actually be put into function. This is what happened in Nazi Europe, where the ultimate external element, the Jew, was completely externalized from being, and it happens today, when bare life is internalized into "culture" by being emancipated only in order to legitimize the obscenity of the neo-liberal order.

As Rancière says, the right to associate, to gather and manifest, allows the organization of democratic life, political life to be sepa-

rated from the sphere of the State. As he claims further, "to allow" is obviously a contradictory term; these freedoms are not the gift of the oligarch.¹⁰ But Bare life that accepts that these freedoms ARE the gift of the oligarch, turns into bios with a necro-culture life style. Bare life or Bios that take these freedoms for granted become an alien-up-to-obscurity; the one who takes or demands to be given to.

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10 *Ibid.*

Lala Rašić

NEW ORLEANS: MARCH 1, 2009

In an attempt at a hasty investigation of a post-Katrina New Orleans, US, just days after my arrival in the city, I interviewed Ted Hornick, editor in chief of *The Trumpet* – a bi-monthly community magazine aimed at helping New Orleans neighborhoods orchestrate the change. These are excerpts from our interview:

"...The new president has already made statements that he is going to be assisting the progress down here..."

"...Right now especially, 3 years is enough time after which people want to see more concrete deliveries, want to see information that they can keep track of, that they can use and at the same time they are ready to start putting more investment, more time into it, if it means those results..."

"...There are plans for a census to go through next year to really assess the population level which is the subject of a lot of questions. Before the storm New Orleans had 450.000 people, recent estimate (I saw it) placed it at 280.000 post-storm, so that is a real question..."

"...A lot of people speak to individual accomplishments and see them as a part of a larger rebuilding, a part of these deliveries that are supposed to happen..."

"...New Orleans is historically famous as a very corrupt city. They've just put in place their first inspector general – historically, and he is putting in his first reports..."

(Few days after the interview, Ted sent me a FYI email informing me that the Inspector General had just resigned.)

"...The other thing you have to remember is not just the hurricane that damaged this area, it is the failure of the Federal levees, which were supposed to last for years and which are now still being repaired and brought back to a level at which they will be able to protect the city – a level of which we are getting different reports of when that will happen. We are told that they are working around the clock on them and we have to trust that they are, but

they need to build them deeper and stronger. So anything that is going to happen is going to take time..."

"...There are problems with insurance returns for a number of people trying to come back to the city because of a number of insurance companies said that "you were insured for wind but not water damage, so we are not going to pay you back for restoring your house."

In other places people were more fortunate and their homes weren't devastated, they have to contend with blight in their neighborhood, they have to contend with the damage to the surrounding area and the lowered quality of the neighborhood around them. Those strike me as the most significant concerns at the moment..."

"...I think it is also convincing people to come back..."

"...*The Nation*, a popular national magazine did an article just recently about hidden racial attacks post-Katrina and just the racial discrimination that was happening here when there were no police functioning, and even when the police were functioning, they were brutalizing minorities, so time brings these things to light..."

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Lala Rašić: *A Hasty Investigation of post-Katrina New Orleans*, 2009, stills from video.

Madina Tlostanova RE(DIS)ARTICULATING THE MYTH OF MODERNITY THROUGH THE DECOLONIAL PERSPECTIVE

Environmental catastrophes are a result of the darker side of modernity, that of global coloniality, as a "set of long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism but continue to exist long after colonialism and colonial administrations as such are gone, surviving in culture, labor, inter-subjective relations, knowledge productions, books, cultural patterns and other aspects of modern existence."¹ Produced by Western capitalist modernity, the discourse of exploiting nature as an object cannot be successfully deconstructed from within neo-liberal capitalism. It takes something other than modernity to conceptualize, criticize and rethink ecological disasters instead of masking them as inevitable side-products of progress and development. Only through alter-modern in the sense of other-than-modern perspectives, standing on the border of Western modernity and non-Western reasons, can we hope to work out a solution. Capitalism the way it exists now seems to be increasingly incapable of dealing with its own consequences. While alter-modern perspectives need to be redeemed from the discourse of modernity, which habitually has treated them as sentimental, romantic, archaic, and retarded in order to easier discard them and present the dominant scientific-technocratic ideal of the future as the only possible and reasonable one.

The mythology of modernity presupposes an institute of sacrifices, according to Enrique Dussel, who stated that "as the civilizing mission produces a wide array of victims, its corollary violence is understood as an inevitable action, one with a quasi-ritual character of sacrifice; the civilizing hero manages to make his victims part of a saving sacrifice."² Hence, the myth of progress and development justifies violence and other "side-effects," often growing today into major ecological and humanitarian catastrophes which in turn are regarded as sites of competition for resources and dominance. The progress myth is based also on taking groups of

people outside the realm of the human and into the sphere of the natural. The Western consciousness traditionally praising itself on account of its own morality needs very little provocation to justify any violence against those who are objectified, commodified, demonized or exoticized and thus taken outside of human realm.

Both neoliberal xenophilia and xenophobia are guided by similar thinking operations, and difference is still interpreted in the Western thinking that projects itself onto the rest of the world as either absolute and too difficult to understand, or somehow taken to sameness. This happens within the familiar progressivist universal paradigm which assigns people from the ex-third and ex-second world to some earlier stage that the West already went through long ago. This allows treating them in a condescending way and prevents any real efforts to understand others. The problem is not that the Western scholars or creators of cultural politics do not understand what difference or sameness is but that the Western discourse has the right to assign difference to non-Western people and phenomena and interpret them accordingly without having to really get to know them.³

Re-articulating the scenarios for environmental catastrophe necessarily includes a rethinking of the ecology of human beings themselves, as a species, and as social beings. But the concept of the human has to be seriously scrutinized and de-linked from the five hundred years of modernity's mythology. The ideal human being was imagined as a Western European White Christian male, occupying the subject position and regarding everything and everyone else as an object of study, exploitation, classification, taming, altering or destroying. This founding division into subject and object, culture and nature, is grounded in the Cartesian split and in Francis Bacon's interpretation of nature as something to be conquered and dominated by humans. The human dimension is juxtaposed to a natural one and they form one of the endless binary oppositions that modernity rests on. However, this abstract binary becomes concrete and hideous, when we realize that the whole of humanity has been classified by Bacon's and Descartes' heirs into real humans with all rights, and into disposable lives, whose humanity is constantly disputed and who are classified as belonging to nature rather than culture or society. To this realm there belong not only the indigenous peoples of the New World, but also quite contemporary phenomena such as unregistered

migrant workers or people used as live goods in human trafficking. The logic remains the same and lies in the clear distinction between the superiority of a European/Western man and the inferiority of non-European Nature and those who are part of it. What is hidden behind the sunny side of the Cartesian logic of *ego cogito* is the Western *ego conquiero* which has led to the global naturalization of the sub-human status of the colonized people and hence of the coloniality of being.⁴ A perfect manifestation of *ego conquiero* is the secular belief that divides Human from Nature and assigns various people their status with respect to culture, society and nature. Delinking from this rhetoric is crucial on both theoretical and practical levels.

Czarist Russia and later the Soviet Union were more interested in the appropriation of the purely technological side of modernity, and the continuous and unsuccessful efforts to disentangle it from the rhetoric behind it. It is in this point that one sees the common roots of (neo)liberal modernity and socialist modernity which both lead to ecological catastrophes based on the rhetoric of progress and development they share. No matter what concrete economic forms were used in the Soviet Union or in the USA, the race for progress based on the conquering of nature and those who were considered part of it, was there at work. The modern human being, no matter Western or Soviet, preferred to ask the question "how" and not "why" or "what for." In fact, the Soviet project of *ego conquiero*, only in this case, not ego, but an anonymous conquering collective, a communitarian social body, was much more endearing than Francis Bacon could ever imagine. The end results turned out disastrous, as we can witness today. The crucial feature of Soviet modernity, marked with imperial difference from the West, was the fact that it did not make much differentiation between sameness and otherness in ecological or any other exploitation policy, for that matter. A human being in Russia and later, in the Soviet Union, as well as today, lacks respect or human rights, no matter if he or she is an *other* or one of the same. Within the reigning paradigm of lacking freedoms, authoritarianism is automatically justified and even those who realize their lack of freedoms do not act, for they are aware of the meaninglessness of any actions. In this logic all lives remain dispensable.

Neoliberal globalization made a much larger group of people vulnerable to ecological, cultural, social, economic and other di-

1 Cf. Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "On the coloniality of being: contributions to the development of a concept," in *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2-3, 2007, p. 243.

2 Cf. Enrique Dussel, "Europe. Modernity, and Eurocentrism," in *Nepantla*, 1.3, 2000, p. 472.

3. Shu-mei Shih, "Towards an ethics of transnational encounters, or "when" does a "Chinese" woman become a "feminist"?" in *Dialogue and Difference. Feminisms Challenge Globalization*, New York 2005, p. 5.

4 Cf. Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "On the coloniality of being: contributions to the development of a concept," in *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2-3, 2007, p. 252.

sasters. An average middle-class Westerner discovers today that nobody is immune in the scenarios of global ecological or economic disasters, that ecology, if nothing else, is one of the very few things that we all share and that his life is also dispensable, similar to that of unregistered immigrant workers and ethnic minorities. Whether this would lead to sweat-shop sublime or Chernobyl sublime depends on the individual going through this experience. Surprisingly, the old Russian and Soviet situation, with respect to ecology or human rights, and with the double standard of populist slogans and anti-human economy at its far right at work, has simply become more universal than anyone would like to admit today.

A rearticulation of the scenarios of environmental catastrophe can take place in two interconnected spheres – that of epistemology and that of aesthetics and ethics. Lacking the real access to the decision making, what we are left with as activists, intellectuals, artists, and thinkers, is to try to change the way we and the people around us think – to alter our consciousness, free it from the enchantment with the rhetoric of modernity, in W. Mignolo's metaphor, which lies at the basis of most of today's ecological and humanitarian catastrophes.⁵ It is easier and more effective to do it

⁵ Cf. Walter Mignolo, "The Enduring Enchantment: (or the Epistemic Privilege of Modernity and Where to Go from Here)," in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101: 4, Fall

in the realms and through means that are not quite entirely mastered by modernity and its discourses; in places where modernity feels not quite at home, in transdisciplinary areas escaping modernity's 'disciplinary decadence'.⁶

There is a profound asymmetry when a few people are making money and the majority is held responsible for the ecological disasters, poverty and lack of rights because the first few are using liberal arguments and ethical norms to induce this sense of guilt and responsibility. But we can disentangle from the pleasures and myths of modernity, decolonizing our thinking, being and acting. The very forms of participation, elaborated by modernity, need to be rearticulated in our effort to create a non-racist and non-patriarchal future. We cannot change the power structure, but we can turn to the virtual, spiritual, aesthetic praxis which would change the way we pose questions, altering not just the content, but also the terms of the conversation, the tactic of dealing with modernity.⁷ If we place our arguments outside of modernity's system of reference and create alternative humanities and arts that would

force modernity to play outside its technocratic binary logic, then there is hope that we can contribute to the on-going process of dismantling of modernity and its discourses.

The usual tactic of modernity consists in replacing meaningful questions with instrumental and applied ones, thus hiding the real reasons and modernity's own crucial role in virtually each and every catastrophe that we deal with today. Modern disciplines study various objects by means of disciplinary instruments and within the frame of monopotic hermeneutics, rather than dialoging about what knowledge is as such, as the pluritopic hermeneutic would suggest to do instead, thus making the object in the Western understanding disappear and different problems come in its place. Then, instead of the usual object we would ask a question: what kind of knowledges do we need in order to make the world more livable and just for us all?

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POSITIONING

Albin Kurti IN DEPENDENCE From Stability of Crisis to the Crisis of Stability

In this essay, other words, besides "stability" will be used and explained according to the specific meaning they have received in the context of post-war Kosova. As Louis Althusser once put it: "In political, ideological and philosophical struggles, words are also weapons, explosives or tranquilizers and poisons."

The international presence in Kosova is international domination based upon the paradigm of stability. It ensures that the situation remains stable. Over five billion euros have been poured into Kosova in less than 10 years. Stability is therefore an expensive thing. To preserve the status quo, more efforts are needed than to make progress. Staying still requires more money than moving forward. But, what exactly is kept stable? The actual *order*, the present *state of things*. Stability is stability of a certain relation. Changes shall be co-opted: For every change, everything else has to change a bit, so nothing really changes.

We still have UNMIK (UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosova), and now also the newest supplementary mission in Kosova, called EULEX. 1,900 international policemen, prosecutors and judges are to have executive powers and immunity from criminal prosecution. These people – who are always worried but in fact never care – describe their undertaking as a "crisis management operation." Not an *exit* from crisis: Crisis is here to stay – it just has to be managed. This focus on preventing an explosion of crisis has continuously held us on the brink of it. We are kept stable in the face of utter destabilization. In Kosova, there is no contradiction between stability and crisis – it is the crisis which is stable.

For retaining such a paradigm of stability in Kosova, it means holding executive power over the institutions of Kosova. As a consequence, local politicians are obedient and servile. They are prudent and soft, knowing that the people's votes do not matter to the executive power of the internationals as they are, in the broader concept embedded in the authoritarian state-building. For the local politicians, advancing in the hierarchies is ensured through submissiveness, i.e. only with bending down you rise up. The international rule in Kosova is doubly non-democratic. First, it is non-democratic in itself; it consists only of top-down commands, with no internal democracy in the decision-making. Second, it is non-democratic for Kosova domestic institutions, as they are normatively and politically subordinated to internationals in an inclusive and absolute way. At most, the internationals have allowed Kosova's institutions to deal with what Pierre Bourdieu calls the left hand of the state (education, health care, culture) but the internationals always keep the right hand of the state (army, police and judicial system). In addition, they have installed themselves as the supreme instance of authority and keep the last word on every matter.

The justification for Kosova's international non-democracy takes the shape of a "yes, but this is an interim mission, a transition." A transition, however, is a process of conversion, one which is certain to end, soon, within a definite timeframe. In this sense we are

not in a transition in Kosova, since we are always in a transition. International rule in Kosova has never had a time limit.

The international rule in Kosova propagates itself as a post-conflict mission. Yes, the international mission is a mission in a country that has (just) emerged from a conflict. Still, the international rule in Kosova was not and is not a post-conflict mission but was always a (preventive) *pre-conflict* mission. The international rule is in Kosova to manage not a post-war situation but a pre-war situation, the situation before a war that should never occur. If the international rule had been a post-conflict mission, it would have dealt with past conflicts; it would analyze the previous war's causes, consequences, sources, patterns and history. But it does not. As a pre-conflict mission, it deals only with future conflict that must not happen. This is a direct consequence of the fact that, originally, the international factor did not come to liberate or develop Kosova, but to stop war. They arrived, engaged in war to stop war, and stayed in Kosova in order to prevent its re-occurrence.

The paradigm of stability suspends history. History would have made the International Mission (who considers the local population immature) itself immature: like a 10 year-old kid. What is more, history is seen to be able to disturb an apparent peace. After the war, innumerable projects and conferences dealing with the past were organized in Kosova by international organizations, but there was no actual dealing with the past. Conference and seminar participants talked and concluded that dealing with the past was crucial, but in fact this dealing with the past never happened. The conferences were dealing with dealing with the past in order to make sure that we wouldn't really deal with the past; the imperative of dealing with the past was reiterated, out loud, in order to make sure that it would be perpetuated as necessity but never actually realized. This, combined with the lack of plans for the future (again due to the paradigm of stability), put in a situation with no recognized past nor any foreseeable future, trapped in what Fredric Jameson calls "postmodern immediacy."

The paradigm of stability, which negated history and deprived us of a future, is the political and systemic obstacle for demanding justice for the crimes of the past. In this respect, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and UNMIK's Department of Justice were two sides of the same coin. The ICTY tried to compensate its lack of independence (from the powerful countries of the Security Council of the UN) with "impartiality" constructed by taking from all sides (a few Serbs, a couple of Croats and a similar number of Bosnians and Albanians). Similarly, UNMIK's Department of Justice compensated for its lack of independence by "impartiality," built differently, simply by doing nothing.

There is still no justice for the 12,000 killed Albanians, the thousands of raped Albanian women, and the 2,000 Albanians still missing, or for the several hundred killed or missing Serbs and Roma.

The paradigm of stability has conceptually militarized security. The number of international police and military troops became the measure of security in Kosova, not the wellbeing of citizens and their future prospects. Security in Kosova is a non-economic security (the promise of a market economy simply brought us a market without an economy). The international rule imposed a discourse stripped of words like "defence" and even "protection,"

where the only security which remains is an army turned into police, and the rule of law is recalled by rulers of law, de-linked from the ideas of justice and rights. This militarized security is the main generator of danger.

The imperialist viewpoint of the internationals' rule sees no people in Kosova. For them, there are only different ethnicities. *Ethnicity* is the lens of international rule's gaze. What in modernity were "tribes," are in post-modernity "ethnicities." From 1999 onwards, the approach and starting point of the internationals in Kosova was ethnic. UNMIK identified, like in *a terra nullius*: Albanians, Serbs, Roma, Turks, Egyptians, Bosnians and Ashkalis. It proclaimed it wanted to build multi-ethnicity while it started from ethnic affiliation, from differentiating between ethnicities. It ignored what is in common, what is universal among people; their need for freedom, dignity, jobs, qualitative education, health care, and social insurance. Universality would have brought about a multi-ethnic society as its consequence; by aiming to get multi-ethnicity we have moved further away from it. The international rule in Kosova promotes diversity at the cost of solidarity and difference at the cost of universality. In Kosova, the international rule does not see human beings, individuals, citizens, pupils, or students etc., but only Albanians, Serbs and other communities. Individuals are random samples of particular collectives.

Besides "multi-ethnicity," the international regime's most frequently used word when addressing itself to people in Kosova is "tolerance." This, again, implies that it considers ethnicity as a most essential trait, and as an unbridgeable characteristic of people in Kosova. Asking for tolerance from an Albanian (or Serbian) means asking him/her to come to terms with the fact that Serbs (or Albanians) are bad, but to tolerate them nevertheless. Tolerance will not make people live together, but in the end, perhaps, side by side. This neatly fits within the internationals' "divide and rule" strategy.

Years of dwelling in Kosova have now turned thousands of internationals into *local internationals*, a different species from their compatriots back home. Years of international rule have turned local politicians and NGOs into *international locals*, a different species than their compatriots in Kosova. The local internationals and the international locals are kept together by a happy marriage of interest, providing the system's internal cohesion. Instead of talking about the rights of the people, they talk about needs of the communities; instead of fighting for rights, justice, freedom and equality, they encourage advocacy and lobbying; instead of protests and demonstrations (where dissatisfied people get together in a public physical sphere) they promote campaigns (with billboards and TV ads in a public virtual sphere, which people watch alone).

The overcrowding of local internationals and international locals in Kosova means less society and less politics. It means more technical assistance and consultancy, more conferences and seminars with more power point presentations, more policemen, prosecutors and judges, more jeeps, more extended weekends in Thessalonica or Dubrovnik, more offices, more working lunches, more coffee breaks, more parties... Systematically they try to divert the public's attention from sovereignty, politics, economy, and social and public issues – thus from things that belong to us but that we are deprived of – and toward ethnicity, culture, religion and identity issues, pushing us back into identity introspections.



ONLY TV IS COLOURFUL. TOWARDS BLACK AND WHITE, IN RED.

VETËVENDOSJE! UNMIK Building, Prishtina, 28.11.2006.

In the meantime, the people of Kosova have less buying power, fewer jobs and more dismal economic prospects, less social assistance, worse health care and poorer education. Three things are basically increasing among the local population: poverty, unemployment and dissatisfaction. 18% of the population is in extreme poverty (living with less than one dollar per day), another 40% are poor (living with less than 2 dollars per day) and unemployment is over 40%.

All this did not change in the slightest with the Declaration of Independence on 17th February 2008, which now seems like a short commercial break interrupting a bad film; after the commercial, the film continues where it stopped. In order to prevent the so-called *domino effect* (which Kosova's independence presumably would have triggered in stateless nations throughout the world), the case of Kosova was defined as a *sui generis* case. Yet, other motives stand higher than this one. First, other independences could actually be *real*: copies could be real in contrast to the virtual original. Secondly, a *sui generis* case implies that norms and experience teaches us nothing, therefore experimenting remains the only way 'forward' and international rule equals a club of scientists utterly objectifying Kosova.

After the Declaration, the Government of Kosova has chosen as its issue of priority only *international recognition* of this declaration – and left to the side our *sovereignty, territorial integrity* and *economic development*. Kosova has been recognized by 54 countries. It does however seem that no specific number would make the government drop this topic from the top of its agenda. It seems like it is more important to be recognized as an independent country than to actually be independent. In other words, let others recognize us as an independent country, never mind that we are politically and economically as dependent as before the declaration of independence, and never mind that we *know* we are. Or perhaps: let them recognize us as an independent country because, in that way, maybe they can convince us that we really are. Since we did not achieve independence through self-determination, the independence lacks sovereignty – it is a form without substance. This is the battle of the Movement SELF-DETERMINATION! (Lëvizja VETËVENDOSJE!). It is organizing people for self-determination. Political parties in Kosova are demobilizing forces. They ask people to be awakened for only one day, namely when voting for them, and for the rest of the time to stay asleep because everything will be taken care of by the party leaders. Kosova has around 40 political parties, but pluralism without sovereignty has not been constructive. Even Milošević in the 1990s allowed Kosova to have political parties. Because when one is oppressed and denied the right to self-determination, pluralism functions as little more than an illusive replacement: the fight with the real adversary is being substituted by futile internal political competition.

VETËVENDOSJE! tells people to become themselves, to get together, create networks, to organize and protest. The origin of VETËVENDOSJE! is KAN (Kosova Action Network), which had as its goal the creation of active citizenry in Kosova, dedicated to the promotion of human rights and social justice. On 12 June 2005, the slogan "NO NEGOTIATIONS – SELF-DETERMINATION!" was written for the first time on the walls surrounding UNMIK's headquarters, marking the final transformation of KAN into VETËVENDOSJE! The slogan-writing continued in almost all urban areas of Kosova.

VETËVENDOSJE! emerged when it became clear that the status of Kosova would be negotiated with Serbia. We started with a twofold opposing problem: Kosova does not lack status but the people of Kosova lack freedom; and, Kosova is not a problem for whose solution we should partner up with Serbia; Kosova has a problem – Serbia (as well as UNMIK). While Serbia and the UN Security Council Resolution 1244 (1999) are obstacles to external self-determination, UNMIK and, again, Resolution 1244, stand in

onment for another five and a half months. The charges against me were "leading a crowd that committed a criminal offence: attempt to cause general danger (sic.)", "calling for resistance" and "obstructing official persons in performing their duties."

During ten months in detention I was interrogated once for 30 minutes, showing clearly that isolation was a greater priority than investigation, or truth. In the sixth court session in the case against me, on 7 February 2008, the politically motivated case against me was suspended: the sixth UNMIK-appointed defence council did not show up in court, and the president of the Bar Association in Kosova issued a statement saying that no other "defence" would be appointed to the case. I never accepted any of the defence councils because they were all appointed by UNMIK – and the same goes for the judge, prosecutor and for the offended part in the case. Kosova's lawyers, as well as the public, saw that the international judges did not want to provide me with defence councils for the sake of justice, but in order to legitimize their political process against me. By refusing to actively take part in UNMIK's injustice, Kosova's lawyers displayed courage and professionalism and acted according to their ethical responsibility as lawyers: serving justice. This small, but significant victory showed that it is possible to suspend an unjust law by principled moral disobedience. This, however, is not the end of the case against me. Instead of dismissing it altogether, the UNMIK court merely suspended it, awaiting instructions from its boss, the Special Representative of Secretary General of UN – head of UNMIK (who is also listed personally as an offended part in the case). I am sure that the international regime will find a way to continue the political trial against me, possibly by transferring it to the newly established EULEX mission.

Kosova and its people have not been free for centuries. Early in the 20th century, Ottoman occupation was followed by Serb occupation. The latter was a military accomplishment of Serbia's intellectual and political elites. The history of these elites in relation to Kosova consists of a series of projects aiming to expel Albanians from the lands they lived in and exterminate them. Each government of Serbia has been nationalist and chauvinist: Serbia always occupied lands and oppressed the people who lived there. In addition, each government of Serbia has always believed that Serbia is too small and must become greater. Throughout history, Serbia represented itself as a victim of different imperialisms (the US one being the most recent) in order to mask her own "small" imperialism in the Balkans. At the onset of the 20th century, Serbia created Yugoslavia in order to expand and by the end 20th century Serbia destroyed Yugoslavia in order to expand.

During the last three years, Serbia's focus regarding Kosova (this became particularly clear during the status negotiations) was the territorial autonomy of Serbs. Just as in Croatia and Bosnia, Serbia wants territory. The precedent of Bosnia, where the preservation of external borders was paid for with strong internal, ethnically based boundaries, represents a real threat to Kosova. The Ahtisaari plan for decentralization will create new Serb majority municipalities, effectively cementing and legitimizing the ethnic division of Kosova. This will empower and unite Serbia's illegal parallel structures and enclaves in Kosova, which are under Belgrade's control. The result will be the legalization of Serbia's control of around 30% of Kosova, while the rest will continue under international administration. Kosova will be partitioned between Serbia and international rule.

A radical change of political course is needed, just like before (the declaration of) independence. VETËVENDOSJE!'s work stretches in front of it. Perhaps the curse of every truthful political movement is that its history is always ahead.

Prishtina, 26th January 2009

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VETËVENDOSJE! Outside UNMIK Building, Prishtina, 02.12.2008.

Agon Hamza NEW BORN IDEOLOGY

How do we stand with regards to the field of ideology within the realm of society? The question itself poses certain difficulties which for all of us are already well known. When we talk about ideology in society, aren't we basically talking about political struggles which take place within the space of a social reality? As Mao Zedong said, "Except in the desert, everywhere else there is always a left, centre and right." Liberals tell us that the notion of "ideology" is no longer operative, because liberalism won over other ideologies and their perverted forms (totalitarianisms). Therefore they announce the end of ideological struggles, and our world is portrayed as a post-ideological era (prefix "post" goes for everything, from political, to cultural or even theoretical realms). However, where does this lead us? To Althusser, of course, and I think it's very important to take the difficult road of dialectical materialism and repeat Althusser's remark on the use of philosophy – using "scientific knowledge against all the mystifications of ideological knowledge."¹ Demystification can take place only in the field of the political. As Althusser says, it's "politics which decide everything," not politics in general, but "Marxist-Leninist politics." We should use Marxist-Leninist tools to demystify the certain form of ideology in Kosova, the one which I call "New Born Ideology."

Let me begin. As Alain Badiou argues, we should begin from the beginning. The Beginning was one of the greatest philosophical problems for German Idealism.² Schelling states that the beginning is what negates that which begins with it.³ This should be my beginning, BUT, in what way? By turning Schelling upside down: New Born Ideology is the very opposite from what Schelling counts as the beginning. And here resides the paradox of New Born Ideology.



New Born Obelisk, Prishtina, Kosovo.

I state this based on two facts, which in their social configuration are paradoxical. New Born ideology attempts to mark a new era, but effectively it doesn't, precisely because it is the political continuation of the ideology which has been installed in Kosova since June 1999. And that is: neoliberal ideology. What it really does, is that it gives another perspective to the existing state of things. That is to say, phenomena which are perceived as new were there all the time. They got the different, or rather, new form of social appearance or manifestation. The new form doesn't condense new content, it's rather that the old political content is placed within a new form of social activity and appearance. But, in order to proceed further with the New Born Ideology, I need to give a very brief explanation on what this New Born Ideology is.

On the day of the declaration of the independence of Kosova, one not-so-big yellow object, located in the very centre of Prishtinë, marked a new era. That object is called the "New Born" obelisk, but it is not one, as such. It's rather a bad work of art. But, it's the ideology of the New Born that turns it into today's greatest political problem. Despite of all the political, media and other ideological campaigns, which try to convince us that a new era has begun, the independence of Kosova doesn't mark a new era proper to itself. It is rather the continuation of the "old within the new." New Born Ideology legalizes the entire political process in Kosova from 1999 onwards.

How can one notice the traces of New Born Ideology in the daily experience? What we get out of New Born Ideology is a New Born flag, New Born Anthem (no text, just music, and it is called *Europe!*), New Born Security Force, which comes as a supplement for the lack of an army. The list goes on; we can even add to it the New Born Nation. To simplify it further, through such a move a New Born Ideological Subject is constituted. I'll come to this a bit later.

The main point of this text is the difficulty of reading New Born Ideology. In order to do this, we have to take into account Althusser and his reading of ideology, and the concept of reproduction, as this is what New Born Ideology is about. Althusser's "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,"⁴ provides us with a remarkable interpretation of Marx's thesis on reproduction of the conditions of production. As Marx said, we all know that a social formation which doesn't reproduce the conditions of production would not last even few months.⁵ That is to say, every social formation

should simultaneously reproduce its own conditions of productions, as production itself goes on. The first stands as the very condition of the latter. As Althusser points out, every social formation must therefore produce a) productive forces and b) existing relations of productions.⁶

As Marx, Althusser also conceived the structure of society as constituted by different social groups, which are, as Althusser says "articulated by specific determinations." And they are the economic base or *infrastructure* (as Althusser names it), and the *superstructure*, which again, according to Althusser, contains two levels or instances: the politico-legal (law and the State) and ideology (the different ideologies; religious, ethical, etc.). The subject matter of this text is situated within the two levels of the superstructure. That is to say, if we start from Althusser's premise that the State as such equals the Ideological Repressive Apparatuses, which are dependent on the Ideological State Apparatuses, it is because the Ideological Repressive Apparatuses function only by being deeply connected with Ideological State Apparatuses.

In Kosova, different works of ideological "knowledge" take place in the political sphere. From 1999 onwards, we are witnessing a parachutist form of doing politics. That is to say, all political, social and cultural projects of Kosova came from abroad (Washington, Brussels, New York, even Belgrade...), they become policies and then we get an *a posteriori* debate on them.

This is the case with all racist projects such as "Standards before Status," Multi-ethnicity, decentralization, implementation of Ahtisaari's Plan, etc. In order for these projects to be implemented, ideological structures or apparatuses such as Althusser would have named them, had to be created. That is to say, civil society had to be (re)created. The way that civil society was reconstructed and functionalized is the best example on how ideology functions in Kosova. Marx is right when he claims civil society as an instrument of the bourgeois. The problem is that in Kosova we have no bourgeois class; the highest class is represented by what Marx calls compradors.⁷ Kosova's Government responds worthily to the economic domination of a social class called "nouveau riche". Kosova's high class is petite bourgeois compared to their

The problem with and of Ahtisaari's Plan is, above all, that of the right to self-determination. The self-determination of Kosova's people was repressed legally; politically it was claimed to be an outdated "socialist" concept and no longer operative. Instead of the right to self-determination, the obligation for dialogue with Serbia was imposed on us. Dialogue was presented to be a civilized tool for solving problems. We were taught that Serbia is our friend-to-be and not our present colonizer (it's important to say that Serbia controls over 25% of territory of the Republic of Kosova, through its so-called parallel structures). Another important problem is that Ahtisaari's Plan, by claiming Kosova to be *sui generis* (unique) case, "marks the defeat of self-determination as a universal right."¹⁰

The other problem of the Plan is what Agamben calls "sovereign power;" the sovereign, while having the legal power to suspend the validity of the law, legally positions himself outside the judicial order itself. The sovereign marks the limits of the judicial system. The Plan stands inside and outside of the judicial system. Ahtisaari's Plan was well accepted (especially) in the West because with it they got what they were looking for. Our conflict with Serbia is portrayed as an ethничal conflict; primitive Albanian and Serbs fighting against each other throughout their entire history, and so on, while in reality the conflict is a class and a political struggle: our struggle stands for decolonization and therefore our liberation war is an emancipatory war.¹¹

In his *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon says that "decolonization is truly the creation of a new man."¹² What we're experiencing in Kosova is that we have a New Born man, but we are not decolonized. On the contrary, together with independence we're experiencing new forms of colonialism, even more brutally sophisticated, so to speak. The Movement SELF-DETERMINATION! of Kosova (Lëvizja VETËVENDOSJE!) states that the New Born Kosovar is a childish man. That is to say, the New Born Kosovar Child has been created by international paternal authority. For example, we all know that every colonial regime needs corrupted local politicians, government and other state and ideological institutions. And, that's what they created here – corrupted children, whose desires need to be domesticated and administrated; because of their incapability to control themselves, and inability to speak, they are someone that you should feel pity for. This is true and is known to be the case for every colonial situation. But nonetheless, I would suggest another way of reading the New Born Kosovar, as that of the silent figure. In his "Pervert's Guide to Cinema" Žižek says that silent figures are like figures in cartoons: they don't know death, they don't know sexuality even, they don't know suffering, they just go on in their oral egotistic striving. This is our New Born man: an evil, but a good, naïve evil, of whom we shouldn't be really afraid, but nonetheless should keep a proper distance from, which in our New Born political vocabulary is called "international supervision" – and of course, it means administration, colonization.¹³ "Colonized society is not merely portrayed as a society without values. The colonist is not content with stating that the colonized world has lost its values or worse never possessed any. The "Native" is declared impervious to ethics, representing not only the absence of values but also the negation of values,"¹⁴ says Fanon. Therefore, our colonizers are here to teach us what democracy, human rights, respect and tolerance are, as the highest human political and cultural values.

New Born Ideology presents the politics of form without content. I think we can use the help of Marx apropos commodity fetishism. In his *Capital*, Marx stated that "a commodity appears, at first sight, a very trivial thing, and easily to be understood. Its analysis shows that it is, in reality, a very queer thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties."¹⁵ That is to say, at first sight, New Born products appear common, normal, even expected – a flag, an anthem, a constitution... But, if we analyze it deeper, what we get is not the content hidden beneath the form, but the very form repressing the content. A good example is Ahtisaari's Plan. It was accepted by the Negotiating Team of Kosova and immediately ratified by the Parliament. Then we were told that through implementation of the Plan, we'll become a democratic, tolerant country, and so forth. The Plan itself isn't a product of the procedure which is called democracy, and which in Lenin's vocabulary means the right for self-determination, but it was an imposed project. The reasoning behind it was: we have to accept the plan because it formally separates us from Serbia; it's the "lesser evil" solution; within our objective conditions this is the best that we could get. And here resides the problem. When we talk about the limit of the "objective conditions," aren't we basically talking about our impotent political status? That is to say, aren't we talking about what others (Westerners) wants to hear from us? But as it is stated by Žižek, the first act of liberation is: in order to attack the enemy, we must beat the shit out of ourselves.

You should rid yourself of the debt which attaches you (in yourself) to the leader, to the conditions of slavery, and so on. Isn't this also the first act against the so-called "objective conditions"?

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¹ Louis Althusser, "Philosophy as a revolutionary weapon," in *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays*, Monthly Review Press, New York/London 1971, p.11.

² If nothing else, one should bear in mind Schelling and Hegel. For example, in Hegel's *Science of Logics*, the Preface begins with the problem of the beginning and Hegel gives a detailed explanation of it.

³ Quoted from Slavoj Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*, Verso, New York/London 2000, p.125.

⁴ Louis Althusser, *On Ideology*, Verso, London/New York 2008, pp. 1–61.

⁵ Marx letter to Kugelmann, 11 July 1868, in Marx&Engels, *Vepra të Zgjedhura*, Vol. II,

No. 8, Tirana 1975, p. 496.

⁶ Louis Althusser, *On Ideology*, Verso, London/New York 2008, p. 3.

⁷ An intermediary, so to say a home agent engaged by a foreign establishment to act as an intermediary in home business affairs controlled by the foreign establishment.

⁸ It's interesting to notice that unlike Marx, Lenin and Stalin, who saw peasantry as a reactionary class, lacking proletarian subjectivity, Mao Zedong accounted it as the main revolutionary agent.

⁹ Marx, Engels, *Ideologjia Gjermane*, Rilindja, Prishtina 1989, p. 13.

¹⁰ Besnik Pula, *Pavarësia pa vetëvendosje e dokumentit të Ahtisaarit*, 9 February 2007, www.besnikpula.com

¹¹ Recall on this point the book written by the Serbian social democrat Dimitrije Tucović *Serbia and Kosovo: a contribution for the criticism of the occupying politics of Serbian bourgeoisie* (1914).

¹² Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Grove Press, New York 2004, p. 2.

¹³ What we encounter in the Republic of Kosova with the so called "international administration" is the difficulty of identifying the real colonizer. The international presence is presented by two administrative structures: United Nations and the European Union and of course, in-between is NATO, as a key element that maintains the continuous state of exception in Kosova. This is another problem but on which I won't focus here.

¹⁴ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Grove Press, New York 2004, p. 6.

¹⁵ Karl Marx, Kapitali, Naim Frashëri, Tirana 1970, p. 105.

Tihomir Topuzovski

FROM THE IMAGINING OF THE BALKANS TO THE INVENTION OF THE WESTERN BALKANS

This text is about the Western Balkans and about the processes occurring in the region. Since it is of great importance to make a difference between the Western Balkans and the Balkans, I would like primarily to make a distinction between the processes of imagination and invention. I consider that the difference between these two processes directly implies to the Balkans on one hand and the Western Balkans on the other hand. If by the term imagination we understand the action or process of forming images or concepts, then it is a characteristic of our attitude towards the Balkans. For example, Todorova in her work *Imagining the Balkans* validates imagining as a general attitude towards the Balkans, though she makes a difference between Balkanism and Orientalism; for Todorova the Balkans own a concrete historical existence. On the other hand, the Western Balkans as a geopolitical region was announced by the European Union in 1998 as a new region, which did not exist previously – this is an act of Invention.

Consequently, we may conclude that if the Balkans, in some parts, is a locus of dreams, fantasies, myths and obsession without certain topography, the Western Balkans possess a date of invention, exact political requirements, and, like a coin, is a rigid designator for the definite territory. Currently the region of the Western Balkans is *Borderland*; territory surrounded by the countries of the European Union which present a new type of polarization.

Hence, the Western Balkans appear as a post-Balkans phenomenon, constructed as a consequence of imagination about the Balkans; all the pejorative meanings of the Balkans are being compressed and linked to a certain territory. It is important to mention here that the invention of the Western Balkans follows the imagining of the Balkans. So we could say that from the set of derogative representations for the Balkans, the criteria for exclusion are set, as is the case with the countries of the Western Balkans. This confirms that representation always involves "the construction of reality." The invention of the Western Balkans brings back the possibility for distinction between the centre and the periphery, different market conditions, and something which could be named as transitional circumstances within the Western Balkans.

Balkans and Balkanization

The name Balkans (etymological meaning – old Mountains) has been mainly used in pejorative meanings, in the context of violence, and religious and ethnic struggles. Todorova emphasizes that historically, when the term Balkan was accepted and widely used as a geographic notion, it was simultaneously already becoming flooded with a social and cultural meaning that expanded too far beyond its immediate and concrete meaning.¹ Balkan is used with emotional ingredients varying from pro neutral to derogative. Set in its general parameters around World War I, it has been reproduced almost without variation over the following decades and operates as a discourse.² The verb Balkanization has been used to refer to the breaking up of a geographic area into small and often hostile units. The term Balkanism is used in reference to the everyday practices of any region with internal turmoil or divisions. Something which I want to emphasize is that this verb lost its rigid geographical reference, and was recreated into the phantom which explains situations of conflicts and separation, and what is more, becomes synonymous with dehumanization, destruction, and reversion to the tribal and the backwardness.

In this very case, the phantasmagoria about which countries belong to the Balkans can be illustrated with the case of the former Croatian president, Franjo Tuđman, who in one of his speeches, reported differently about Croatia being (or not being) a part of the Balkans.

(1) "The Croat armed force has changed strategic relations in the part of the Balkans." (Franjo Tuđman, president of the Republic of Croatia, at the celebration of the Day of Patriotic Thanksgiving, at the Zemunik air-base; *Vjesnik*, Zagreb, 5. 8. 1996)

(2) "...those who want to push Croatia into the Balkans..." (Tuđman in the same speech, transmitted by Croatian TV, 4. 8. 1996)

Like Rastko Močnik noticed, it seems that between (1) and (2), the speaker has shifted from one belief-background to another; or at least, that the referent of the term Balkans has changed. No special indication is needed to trigger the imaginary reference of the Balkans. This term may be appropriate to start by viewing the Balkans theme as a simple rhetorical *topos*.³

Here I will paraphrase the answer which was given several times by Slavoj Žižek to the question "Where do the Balkans begin?": "...you will always be told that they begin down there, towards the south-east. For Serbs, they begin in Kosovo or in Bosnia where Serbia is trying to defend civilised Christian Europe against the encroachments of this Other. For the Croats, the Balkans begins in Orthodox, despotic and Byzantine Serbia, against which Croatia safeguards Western democratic values. For many Italians and Austrians, they begin in Slovenia, the Western outpost of the Slavic hordes. For many Germans, Austria is tainted with Balkan corruption and inefficiency; for many Northern Germans, Catholic Bavaria is not free of Balkan contamination etc..."⁴

Consequently, the Balkans locus is permanently moving, and

presents the dark side of Europe; the unconscious of the European other. The Balkans becomes more evanescent as a domain within the imaginary geography. Since as a geographical domain the Balkans is nothing but a pragmatic alibi and a justification *topos*, the logic of the scheme pushes the stereotype from its denotational dimension toward the operational function.⁵ Generally speaking, this kind of stereotype helps us to shift from one conceptual scheme to another, one belief-background to another, where imaging is a precondition of what is invented. In the case of the Balkans, we are dealing with an imaginary cartography which is prerequisite to the invention of the cartography in the case of the Western Balkans.

The Western Balkans

The Western Balkans as a politically designated region was announced in 1998 at the summit of the European Union in Vienna. The term gained approval and popularity at the summit in Thessalonica five years later. After the announcement of the Western Balkans, this syntagma began to be used as a legitimate coin for a certain geopolitical region extended to 264,256 km². This new geopolitical region included Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Albania, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosova. At the summit in Thessalonica in 2003, the EU declared that "the future of the Western Balkans is within the European Union." Initially it adopted a generous strategy that linked the timetable for accession to the pace of reform in the Western Balkans. The EU would consider the Western Balkan states for membership, but only if they reached EU standards. The EU was motivated by the usual economic considerations connected to enlargement, and also by a desire to increase regional stability.⁶ Consequently, in part we may say that the involvement of the EU above this region is with the completely juridical legitimacy to resolve the existing conflicts.

As Hardt and Negri argue, the most significant symptom of this transformation is the development of the so-called right of intervention. This is commonly understood as the right or duty of dominant subjects to act in the interest of preventing or resolving humanitarian problems, guaranteeing accords, and imposing peace.⁷ As an "operator of the reality" the EU defines the Western Balkans as a transitional region with implications of the social/political/geopolitical/economical/cultural construct. This territory is an instrumental destination for the countries which should be reorganized completely to become a replica of the European example. Reality of the region is growing up from the supreme sovereignty and knowledge of the EU. Knowledge, then, is a set of beliefs, described and/or formalized according to some institutional (academic) criteria. Its source of legitimacy, hence, is that the whole region is now put in the process of grasping reality. The reality of the Western Balkans is guaranteed by powerful institutional network which implicated rules of recognition and posed them as another of the EU. To be adapted into this reality implies the recognition of this region by the political authorities inside and outside of it. An illustration of the acceptance of this reality is the fact that after proclaiming this region as such, each political party, as well as the media started to use this new geopolitical coin, and furthermore recognized the new geopolitical actuality – becoming in that way a necessary correlate of this provision. With this, after the announcement, the population here is constrained to identify themselves as citizens of the Western Balkans. The citizens caught up within this scheme are positioned in the new geopolitical formation and new situation, and should fill them with the new modes of agency, new strategies of recognition, and new forms of political and symbolic representation. Such an introduced system of differentiation enables The Western Balkans to gain symbolic and historic reality.

The distinctions determined by the European Union are supported by the power of the ontological and empirical truths along with convincing demonstrations of such truths. The final consequences of this relation is the positioning of the EU as an example that possesses the criteria of a political reality as well as the criteria for the verification of such a reality; criteria according to which the EU distributes, monitors, and therefore determines which of them cannot enter the system of arrangement, and in one word decides the definition of those states; which will remain "the rest," the unclassified and unfit. Hence, the syntagma Western Balkans is exactly about this "rest," about the irreducible composite of states. As a prophylactic game, the EU introduces these states in a creation, since they compose the rest that is unacceptable for the European Union. I would state that the "inadaptability" exists already, since the first moment of the provision of the EU on the Western Balkans, and that the latter is correlatively and necessarily in an under-relation to the EU due to the power of the EU. Hence the whole population of the Western Balkans is considered as an unfitted group.

It is necessary to mention that the invention of the Western Balkans was followed by the visa regime. The EU introduced visa regimes for the countries of the region of the Western Balkans that inhibited the progress of trade, business, education and even more, the open civil societies – and that generally negatively affected the population. Why this regime? Milan Kučan, former president of Slovenia, said the following: "...There exists an objective danger that Europe, safe and stable, will enclose itself to defend itself against the surprises coming from politically, economically, militarily, and socially unstable countries..." (Milan Kučan, *Globus*, Zagreb, 25.07.1997)

Susan Buck-Morss in her essay on "Passports" depicts the archaeology of the passport as a process that makes its owner an object of non tolerance. Here, this could be applied in its more radical sense to the Schengen regime that reinforces the borders around the region. In this sense, the approach to the Western Balkans is a type of disciplinary approach, as argued by Foucault, which means enclosing a space or a separation of some place that is

different from the others, and therefore becomes closed in as a world by itself.⁸

PANOPTICON

The European Union, through the distribution of knowledge markers that enable the functioning of expert teams, is permanently supervising the Western Balkans; it is monitoring the processes that should be a kind of training and preparation for participation in the European Union (from the execution of reforms to a whole range of regulations which aim at reshaping the region). Practicing the political values that are valid for the European Union is a process of insemination. Now, this region is put under the tutorship of the European Union in order to create real political values in the region for the future. As an illustration, the entire program created for this region is a therapy prescribed by an instance of experts. Those implants must be necessarily accepted, since the states of the Western Balkans are in an unequal position in relation to the EU; this relation is not reciprocal. It is a relation with no exchange; a relation of difference and imbalance that includes the imperative form of speech.

Referring to the problems of monitoring by the European Union, the most compliant model for me was the model of a panopticon which is an apparatus of knowledge and power. I consider that the countries of the Western Balkans are the subject of a panoptical perspective of the European Union. This model is executed through the Western Balkans region. Keeping in mind the importance of the panopticon, I will try to make an excuse through it.

The Panopticon model has been used particularly by Foucault, who defines it as homeostatic: i.e. if you don't act in compliance with the apparatus that is imposed on you, then you provoke pain on yourself. Technically, the panopticon is composed of a centrally located tower which enables observational power to limited premises. That limited, excluded, at every point monitored space where all events are recorded, where there is a hierarchical setting, is a place where each individual (in this case, each Western Balkans' state), is permanently monitored, checked up on and examined.⁹ The panopticon is a creation of Jeremy Bentham from 1787, as a model of a prison applied, with certain modifications, in several European prisons.

The panopticon is multiplier; it enforces the power inside a lot of institutions, to make its power the most intensive one, its distribution the best one, and its application target the most precise one.¹⁰ With certain modifications, I believe it can have new applications. The Western Balkans is produced as a panoptical object. It is a monumental panopticon of the EU, which keeps the same functions of the panopticons applied in schools, prisons, hospitals and orphanages, although their shape is transformed. Particularly important is the statement that the panopticon by means of a simple architectonic conception is able to reform the moral, to preserve the health, to heal the industry, to spread the education, to decrease the public expenditure, and to build the economy upon firm foundations.¹¹

Bentham's panopticon is a mechanism that works in many institutions which are being monitored, places where power is manifested and certain knowledge is created. Similarly, by the same principle, the EU exercises power by trying to impose its political values on the region of the Western Balkans, which should be nothing else but its replica. If there is a practice of politics and political values independent from those of EU, then this may activate the punishment apparatus of the EU.

I would like to point out that the incompatibility of some countries of the Western Balkans with the EU causes a whole set of sanctions. This has as a result a process of normalization, submission and participation created by the European Union to which these countries are submitted. In order to keep the relation of sovereignty, it is always necessary to have additional violence as a threatening violence. I will use the example used by Foucault in one of his lectures describing the discipline apparatuses as being as homeostatic as possible: these are those apparatuses which make you feel less pain if you oppose them less. It is the system of a punishing collar with iron spikes which causes pain if you don't lower your head. If you lower your head you can't feel it, but the more you try to take it out, the more you feel it.¹² This means the pain is increased proportionally to your attempts to get rid of the apparatus designed for you. My claim is that we, the states in this region, are in a generalized panopticon. It is a monumental panopticon whose territory is 264,256 square meters. The states which are under this Panopticon undergo a process of learning by passing through a certain number of obligatory and necessary grades that are time sequenced. Through time, they show progress according to the stages that are undergone, a certain number of therapeutic actions such as a regime of isolation, regularity, an imposed time schedule, a system of measured lacks, and obligatory work on prescribed activities.¹³ Here we come to the merging of time and progress, therefore the project Western Balkans can last a decade or several decades, but it can become atemporal too; a permanent margin of the EU or its simulation. Because of all these claims, the Western Balkans has neither existential nor semantic density. The countries of the Western Balkans are caught in a temporal equilibristic logic. The question is: will the Western Balkans become the asymptote of the European Union?

Decomposition and Deterritorialization

Nevertheless, the Western Balkans is not granted forever – progress in some of the countries in this region is of the utmost importance, since this is closely connected in a circular relation to the systems of power which can change the topography of the region. This could be a start of the decomposition of the creation of the Western Balkans, especially because the report from the EU in 2007, under the title "EU enlargement" contains, besides help to

¹ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, New York 1997, p. 21.

² Ibid, p. 184.

³ Rastko Močnik, "The Balkans as an Elements in Ideological Mechanism," in *Balkans as Metaphor. Between Globalization and Fragmentalization*, Dušan I. Bjelić and Obrad Savić (eds.), The MIT press, London 2002, p. 95.

⁴ http://www.lrb.co.uk/v21/n06/zize01_.html

⁵ Cf. Mišel Fuko, *Nadzor i kazna*, Slovo, Skopje 2004, p.145. (Original: Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir: Naissance de la Prison*, 1975).

⁶ Mišel Fuko, *Nadzor i kazna*, Slovo, Skopje 2004, p. 23.

⁷ Mišel Fuko, *Psihijatricka moć*, Svetovi, Novi Sad 2005, pp. 105–106.

⁸ Mišel Fuko, *Nadzor i kazna*, Slovo, Skopje 2004, p. 23.

⁹ Mišel Fuko, *Psihijatricka moć*, Svetovi, Novi Sad 2005, pp.105–106.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 234.

prepare each Western Balkans' state for future EU membership, a conditional promise for the region.

I would like to emphasize that including the Western Balkans in the EU is motivated by the usual economic considerations connected to enlargement, where the Western Balkans offers enthusiastic and untapped markets. In such cases, the Western Balkans is as a border place, which could no longer exist prospectively. This periphery or semi-periphery would cease as a formation, and the inside-outside perspective will be surpassed. Deconstruction of national markets, the dissolution of the national monetary regimes and the subordination of national markets to the needs of financial powers are an actuality today in the region of the Western Balkans. Hence, from an economic point of view, this formation will not stay permanently in accordance with global tendencies,

since, as stated by Hardt and Negri, the ideology of the world market has always been anti-foundational and anti-essentialist discourse par excellence, because almost every factor of production – money, technology, factories and equipment – moves effortlessly across the borders.¹⁴ Besides that, it tends historically to destroy traditional social boundaries, expanding across territories and always enveloping new populations within its processes.¹⁵

If we assume the decomposing of the region, then this will provoke the ceasing of the panoptical inside-outside relation, presenting an act of transition from transcendence into immanence.

14 Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Harvard University press, London 2001, p. 150–151.

15 *Ibid.* p. 326.

In that perspective, the Western Balkans region should be understood as an instrumental territory in which, through adoption of certain standards, the states will internationalize the outside and therefore create a possibility for the ending of the Western Balkans.

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(HARD) CORE

María Ruido PRODUCING BODIES AND BUILDING MEMORIES

Notes on the video film "Plan Rosebud: on images, sites and politics of memory" (2006–2008)

PART 1: THESES ON MEMORY

"There has never been a document of culture, which is not simultaneously one of barbarism. And since it itself is not free from barbarism, neither is the process of transmission from one to another. That is why the historic materialist distances himself from it as far as possible. He regards it as his task to brush history against the grain."

Walter Benjamin, *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, 1940

"There has never been a document of culture, which is not simultaneously one of barbarism," states Walter Benjamin in his *Theses on the Philosophy of History*. Under the shadow of the responsibility of these words, which are nowadays the epitaph on his grave in Portbou (Girona), Spain, I started to work with a group of people and with production support from the CGAC (Galician Centre for Contemporary Art) in Santiago de Compostela, on *Plan Rosebud* in March 2006. In that same period, we were experiencing the commemoration of the Year of the Memory and the excitement about the debate on the so-called *Ley de Memoria Histórica* (The Historical Memory Act). Spain's Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) government has declared 2006 as the Year of Historical Memory and has submitted a law, The Historical Memory Act, to the country's parliament for ratification. For the first time, the mass killings committed by General Francisco Franco and his fascist regime (1939–1975) were described as "unjust." The Historical Memory Act was confirmed by the parliament (by a very thin margin) on December 26, 2007, and we attended the many (well deserved) tributes to the victims that the terrorism of the Franco regime imprisoned and left unburied in the ditches. Therefore, the so-called historical memory fully entered into political and electoral agendas with an unusual intensity not seen since the 1970s.

Our purpose, from the very beginning, was not, however, to make a documentary with historical or informative value, nor to commemorate or encourage the new epic narratives surrounding the republican remembrance, but rather we tried to elaborate a critical mapping of the so called *politics of memory*; to investigate into the ways of transmission and/or imposition of historical memory (not lived or remembered, but transmitted and/or imposed through the different forms of the politics of memory: edu-

cation, commemorations, memory sites, symbols...), and to reflect upon different strategies and mediators of memory in Galicia, and therefore in the Spanish state. We were focusing our attention very specially on the representation as well as on the control devices imposed on bodies and subjectivities during the long dictatorship of the General Franco and the Transition period.² Besides, we wanted to establish comparisons with other European states, especially Great Britain, in order to discover which specificities and resemblances, if there were any, Spain had in relation with Britain and other European historical contexts.

According to that different tone, *Plan Rosebud* wanted to get closer to a visual essay, a distanced gaze, though not objective (since no research is nor can be); we wanted to propose questions more than providing answers. Following the thread of the social debate which has been reflected in the last several years by the media, but has never in fact faded away, we intended to ask questions: Why should we now awaken memories that seemed to be asleep? Which memories have been remembered and for which purpose? Which characteristics are shared by the politics of memory in Spain and by other EU member states, apparently very different states due to their different heritages and legal frameworks? In which way can the history of the Spanish Civil War (especially in Galicia) be related to the later developments in Europe? To what extent is this historical memory act related to the transitional and post-transitional processes in Latin-American's former dictatorships, or to the management of memory in the former Eastern European countries? And how, in which ways and in which places, have the old and new grammars of state memory been formed and based upon?³

According to the definition provided by Maurice Halbwachs in the 1940's in his seminal work *The Collective Memory*,⁴ the state and other supra-state institutions (for example, the church or big multinational corporations nowadays) carry out a process of institutional elaboration that "distils" different personal memories to generate a *collective memory* that can be shared by the community. Following the same idea, he defines *historic memory* as borrowed memory, that which is transmitted institutionally to individuals regarding facts or actions that are not experienced personally. This process can be developed as an imposition (in a dictatorship, for example) or as an agreement based on the pact of representation (parallel to parliamentary representative de-

2 The Spanish transition to democracy was the era when Spain moved from the dictatorship of Francisco Franco to a liberal democratic state. The transition is usually said to have begun with Franco's death on November 20, 1975, while its completion has been variously said to be marked by the Spanish Constitution of 1978, the failure of Antonio Tejero's attempted coup on February 23, 1981, or the electoral victory of the socialist PSOE on October 28, 1982.

3 Cf. Paloma Aguilar Fernández, in *Las políticas hacia el pasado. Juicios, depuraciones, perdón y olvido en las nuevas*, A. Barahona de Brito y C. González Enríquez (eds.), Istmo, Madrid 2002.

4 Maurice Halbwachs, "Fragmentos de 'Collective memory,'" in *Revista de Cultura Psicológica*, no. 1, D. F., México 1991; original *La mémoire collective*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1950.

mocracy) that is supposed to legitimate politicians in a democratic state. This memory shared by the majority is at the same time, in many cases, a biased and partial memory that fulfils the interests of the dominating group, a *hegemonic memory* (if we make a reference to the term used by Gramsci). In opposition to many authors that consider memory an exclusively personal dimension, Halbwachs is the unquestionable pioneer of the articulation of the concept of *collective memory*, which he clearly distinguished from *hegemonic memory* (that which was explained previously) by considering the fact that individuals remember according to their social adscription.⁵

In an attempt to reflect on the recent past, it seems clear that the legitimacy of the Franco state was achieved by a process of the brutal repression of the memories and bodies of those men and women that did not share the values of the National-Catholicism with fascist tones put forward by the dictatorship. As Paloma Aguilar properly explained in *Memoria y olvido de la Guerra Civil española*,⁶ the Franco regime deposited itself in the Civil War, re-elaborated it as a crusade, legitimized itself, and justified its actions. When this legitimacy was questioned, the memory of the war sprang up (accompanied by death penalties and/or some acts to consolidate order) in order to provide a moral alibi and to revive fear as a basic tool of control. According to the author, the *hegemonic memory*, even if it is known to be false, still had an important role in decision making, even after the death of the dictator. This continues the use and re-use of the (old and new) memories, and the oblivion can explain, among other things, the silence of the state regarding the victims of the repression and the distortion of the republican memory, a silence that remained even when the PSOE took over the Government in October 1982. Not then nor now, as has happened in South Africa, Chile or Argentina, has a "truth commission" been proposed in order to try to compensate, at least symbolically, the victims, and clearly differentiate responsibilities. And we should not forget that the amnesty laws, both the one from 1976 as well as the one from 1977 and the subsequent dispositions that completed them, did not only not consider this possibility, but they cancelled and closed the path to any possible legal action against the perpetrators.

It was not until November 20, 2002 when the national parliament recognised and condemned (without unanimity though) that the Spanish Civil War started with a *coup d'état* with which the republican political force in power in the parliament at that time (enjoying the majority in the *parliament* and democratically elected) was overthrown. It took twenty-seven years after the death of General Franco to state this.

Maybe, trying to legislate memory is simply absurd, and this act of law, as recently explained by Ms. Teresa Fernández de la Vega, Spain's Vice-President, will only be useful to "continue the spirit of the Transition period," and will be no more than an overexposure which is needed to reaffirm oblivion, to bury even deeper the voices of the ghosts that are still there in the *sites of memories*. It is probable that right now we are generating narratives that will be consumed as a new homogeneous and blunt memory. Because, which memories do we want to be recovered? Will they be finally plural, or will they only gather those memories that help the franchise-states to reaffirm their status, and therefore help the negation of antagonisms (i.e. class, gender) and through various normative statements reaffirm sentimentality and heroism?

There is no contemporary state, totalitarian or democratic, that forgets nor ignores the more or less direct relationship with the media, art and cinema, whether through visibility policies, or, in the most extreme cases, with direct control strategies of these policies. If we only review the beginning of modernity, and above all, the two great wars of the last century and their subsequent consequences, we can see how contemporary memory policies used representation, media and, in general, cultural and educational policies, as their most fertile territories.

All of us know that for decades, successful Hollywood films, literary best sellers or TV series have been much more powerfully influencing the elaboration of our memory than any historiographic production, even though they lack rigour and are clearly refuted by historians or researchers. As a result, thinking of museums (we must not forget that *Plan Rosebud* is produced by a museum), cinema, press, television, or, in the last years, the Internet, as *devices and privileged sites of memory* (whether they are public or private) do not present any special audacity, even though they are far from the classic denomination of Pierre Nora,⁷ as *sites of memory*;



María Ruido: *Rosebud* 1, still from the video.

as physical or symbolical places, commemoration or actualisation sites which are agreed upon, basically, by the State or by Para-State institutions and accepted as such by the majority of society.

If we consider that the writing of history and its representations are part of the history itself,⁸ it is, nevertheless, essential to distinguish that not all of the writings of and on history and/or on memory share the same principles or purposes. As it is very well explained by Talens and Zunzunegui in *Rethinking Film History*, we can distinguish at least three different kinds of representational narratives of history: the mirror (based on chronological linearity and on the reverse angle shot, described as positivist, universalistic, individualistic and heroic; all these characteristics would respond to the prototype of cinema as the hegemonic-state media aiming to "fix the past" by naturalizing it), the cartographic (based on the depth of field, described as diachronic; it rejects universality and concentrates on specific cases by studying them very deeply; all these characteristics could correspond to those understood as memory accounts), and the diagrammatic (based on editing and archaeological-essayistic research that understands history as an ephemeral and perishable construction, generated from the present through the collision of fragments; Talens and Santos Zunzunegui provided as the example of this kind narrative the well known *Histoire(s) du cinéma* by J. L. Godard).⁹

Representing History and *representing memory* are shown as different concepts with different uses, even though they are closely linked. But, are they really divergent territories, or do they have more contact points than those we could discover in the first place? Firstly, we can not ignore that nowadays the franchise-states have a limited power in the new global capitalist regime and its representation; as with many other symbolic territories, representation is a very important economic product, and therefore susceptible to certain "relative autonomy" with respect to the interests of the nation-state, as was the case some decades ago. Secondly, and not less importantly, as remembered by Talens and Zunzunegui, it is also not possible to make a division between the two types of narratives, since both share, apart from their differences, a common visual regime and framework that transcends, many times, its first political intentions.¹⁰

PART 2: PLAN ROSEBUD

"Our sentence does not sound severe. The law which a condemned man has violated is inscribed on his body with the Harrow. This Condemned Man, for example," and the Officer pointed to the man, "will have inscribed on his body, 'Honour your superiors.'"

Franz Kafka, *In the Penal Colony*, 1919

As we have already stated in our initial proposal, starting a project with the last words of a dead person, and doing it with the powerful image of an icon of contemporary cinematography such as *Citizen Kane*, by Orson Welles (1941), is, in itself, a declaration of principles that already identifies the framework of our film project. Invoking Rosebud¹¹ is to call upon the ghosts, it is a call for dissent, and for memory as a contradiction and dis-encounter; it means doubting, from the beginning, the possibility of a *collective memory* in any univocal sense, and showing, through the filmic text, its fragmentation and constructive fragility; always united and as also always changing from the perspective of the present. Calling for Rosebud then, means, from the very start, a decision for an audiovisual and textual research that will find in the images and therefore in the study of documents and monuments, its research tools.

Plan Rosebud has 2 parts *Plan Rosebud 1* is long 114 minutes and *Plan Rosebud 2* is long 120 minutes. Both parts are structured into four chapters and three intervals.

Plan Rosebud 1: Crime scene

Plan Rosebud 1 is focused on the recent social debate around "The Historical Memory Act" in Spain, and the current relations between the sites of memory and the politics of memory that are produced through cultural industries. In our case, they are studied in detail, through war tourism and commemorative tourism. In *Plan Rosebud 1*, we visit Museums and Commemorative Historical War Sites, and these materials form the main part of *Plan Rosebud 1*. This study is not only limited to Spain, and especially to the Spanish province of Galicia (where I, and General Franco were born), but it is presented as a comparative study against war and commemorative tourism sites in Great Britain and Normandy which serve as the European memory policy sites of WWII. The reason to choose Great Britain as more significant comparative variable was related to the fact that Britain is a well established European democracy with a completely different past from the one we have inherited from the Franco dictatorship, and nonetheless, as we discovered throughout the process, we have many more similar dynamics than expected, in terms of links between cultural industries and production of memory (as an unstoppable and supra-state phenomenon which is due to economic globalisation). The politics of memory are in fact equally selective in relation to episodes that may contradict or question the compact and linear heroic narratives that are transmitted by the state or the media (I am referring, for example, to the very low interest in research about the conditions of German and Italian prisoners in detention camps in the United Kingdom until very recently).

The three intervals in *Plan Rosebud 1* developed further privileged topics already exposed in the initial draft of making the film: the construction and control of the body by different control devices, implemented whether by repression or through the legislation of social politics (capitalizing on the past and the deconstruction of historic mythologies transmitted through the politics of memory) and lastly, but centrally to the film, the relationship of cinema to

the construction of personal and collective memories and historic narratives, especially visible in some film examples collected by us in images and statements, that were used in collision or for reaffirmation of the topic. We refer to films such as *Esa pareja feliz* (1951) by Luis G. Berlanga and Juan Antonio Bardem, or *The longest day* (1964) by Darryl F. Zanuck.

Now returning to the question of Museums and Commemorative Historical War Sites, in *Plan Rosebud 1* I can say that on this topic we elaborated around the current reuse of camps and penitentiary colonies situated in Galicia (the graveyard of Ourense and the San Simón island in Vigo), Great Britain (Eden Camp, World War II prisoners of war camp, in Malton, North Yorkshire, current site of the Museum of the Peoples War) and also in a filmed itinerary related to the current tourism industry in Low Normandy, that was established on five beaches where the Battle of Normandy took place in 1944, Pointe du Hoc and the village of Sainte-Mère-Église. All these places are transformed in an open-air museum connected with D-Day.

Memory acts as a political instrument, as a tool for the building of the state, but also, as Jorge Blasco explains in *El arte turístico de la memoria*,¹² memory is seen as a fetish, as an object of mediation of a trip, even though it is a trip to the crime scene, and a scenario of war repression. As the speechless tourist situated behind the camera, maybe none of us could stand the confrontation with death scenarios, and that is why, more than in any other place, the *souvenir*, not the memory, is transformed into the transitional object. The sites of memory, those that, according to Pierre Nora, the civil society or the state (or both), consider important symbolic territories for the development and maintenance of the *collective memory*,¹³ have been converted, decades ago, into complementary and/or central parts of tourist itineraries. Whether it is in the form of memorials, tombs, battle scenarios, archives or documents, the conversion into an object of memory, introduced as such in the capitalist system, follows an ascending path.

Visiting these territories of the past for our experience and research has had a strange quality of authenticity; how is it possible to preserve the few rests of the concentration camps, the precarious footprints in the penitentiary colonies or the few working camps that still exist? Is it necessary to transform them into museums or should we reuse them, changing and revitalising them, even at the cost of making them into tourist places?

But if we wanted to talk about sites of memory and their current adoptions of new meanings, we had to go to visit the most controversial in the Spanish state, built for the dictator Franco in order to host his remains, and presented as a "reconciliation place." *Plan Rosebud 1* presents our recordings of the 31st anniversary of the death of the general Franco on November 18, 2006 – the last act that was allowed in the Valle de los Caídos¹⁴ before the approbation of the historical memory act. If, for a moment, we could think that the Spanish state had completely forgotten the dictatorship heritage and the social order that put it into such a scene, these images not only show the resistance of a small but noisy group of nostalgists, they also provide a context, and we do think this is worrying for the revisionist positions of the parliamentary right wing whom while they show a social substrate, (if not of ultra-conservatives, then at least of passive positions) still think that it is better "not to stir the past," and that the Transition period cannot be put to an end.

Plan Rosebud 2: Calling the ghosts

The second part of the film focuses specifically on the Spanish Transition period and on its cultural context, as well as on the last years of the British labour period in the 1970's and the arrival in

12 See Jorge Blasco: "El arte turístico de la memoria," in *Tour-ismos: La derrota de la disisión*, Fundació Tàpies, Barcelona 2004.

13 Pierre Nora, op.cit.

14 The Valle de los Caídos (in English: Valley of the Fallen) is a monumental memorial near Madrid, conceived by the dictator Francisco Franco to honour those who fell during the Spanish Civil War. However, only two names are commemorated – those of José Antonio Primo de Rivera and Franco himself. It was also claimed by Franco that the monument was meant to be a "national act of atonement." As a surviving artifact of Franco's rule, the monument and its Catholic basilica remain controversial, especially due to the manner and circumstances of its construction (it was built by political prisoners).

power of the conservative leader Margaret Thatcher. It tries to dismantle, through analysis of some specific cases of social movements and productions of popular culture, the idea of Transition as a pact among elites; the official discourse, teleological, united the political class that (with Adolfo Suárez¹⁵ and the king of Spain, Juan Carlos being at the front of this political elite pact) "saved" the Spanish state from a new civil war, thus making possible the "peaceful" change toward a democratic regime. This is what is presented, for example, in the most famous mythological-media account, in the series *La Transición Española*, directed by the journalist Victoria Prego in the first years of the socialist government of Felipe González (Former Prime Minister of Spain, 1982–1996).¹⁶

Again, the epic discourse, built through the media and certain kinds of cinematography, distorts, from our point of view, the real work and the maturity of the civil society that for decades has been sustaining a resistance more or less covered against the repressive and instrumentalizing strategies implemented by the General Franco dictatorship. Here we aimed at studying popular culture in its relation to different social forces that were protagonists of the political change (from the union movements to the feminist movement, through neighbours associations or collectives of gays and lesbians). We analysed why and how certain images of the militant cinema that showed that the collective effort of these fights has been removed or even indirectly censored to make it possible for the triumphal narrative to take part; these are the individualist and linear narratives that we have all learnt through television or through press, especially those that are widely distributed.

The three intervals in *Plan Rosebud 2* specifically develop a critical vision of these cultural and media strategies, focusing on the informative policies, on the promotion of popular music in relation to the social context, and on the almost complete disappearance of militant cinema and its ways of production and distribution. I spoke here, for example, of the cases of Carlos Varela and the Colectivo de Cine de Clase in Spain, and of Cinema Action or Berwick Street Film Collective (1970–1978)¹⁷ in Great Britain.

In this case, the comparative analysis with Great Britain is especially interesting because, on the one hand, for the Spanish cultural producers in the 1970's and 1980's, London was an inevitable reference (especially for the musicians of the so-called "Movida"), and on the other hand because of the social parallelism that could be drawn with Britain due to the economic crisis suffered during Pre-Thatcherism and in the time of Thatcherism. This period had a late reflection in the restructuring of the steel industry in Spain, as well as in the cycle of social struggles in the 1980's. It is possible to connect Thatcherism with the cycle of protests that had started in the late period of the Franco regime, which had serious consequences for the working class (deaths, imprisonment and strong retaliation).

Plan Rosebud 2 proposes a continuation of the context of the first part of the film *Plan Rosebud 1*, and shows similar processes in some specific sites.

The physical and temporal spaces of *Plan Rosebud 2* are formed by sites and happenings, such as those at the wolfram mines of Caamaño and Fontao (Galicia) and their relationship with the economic and business policy in the period of Franco regime. Between both spatial and temporal territories, between the British and the Spanish, there is a light but common conceptual line. There is a parallelism between the military bases established in Europe un-

15 Suárez was prime minister of Spain from July 1976 until January 1981, and secretary-general of General Franco's official political movement "The National Movement."

16 In the 1977 at the general elections after the death of Franco, Felipe González, was elected to the Spanish Parliament for Madrid. In 1978, he became Vice-President of the Socialist International, a position he held until 1999. In 1982, the PSOE gained a majority in Parliament and González was elected President of the Government, where he served three consecutive terms until leaving office in 1996. Under González, Spain entered the European Union in 1986.

17 The best known of the Berwick Street Film Collective productions is *The Night-cleaners*, Part 1 (1975), conceived originally as a campaign film about attempts to unionise women working at night as contract cleaners in large office blocks. The film was several years in the making, emerging eventually as a landmark work of British political cinema and of collective and feminist film-making.



Maria Ruido: *Rosebud 1*, still from the video.

8 Cf. Hayden White, *Metahistoria*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México D. F. 2001.

9 Jenaro Talens and Santos Zunzunegui, *Rethinking Film History*, Episteme, Valencia 1985, pp. 16–22.

10 Cf. Jenaro Talens and Santos Zunzunegui, op. cit.

11 *Citizen Kane* traces the life and career of Charles Foster Kane, a man whose career in the publishing world is born of idealistic social service, but gradually evolves into a ruthless pursuit of power. Narrated principally through flashbacks, the story is revealed through the research of a newspaper reporter seeking to solve the mystery of the newspaper magnate Kane's, dying word: "Rosebud."



María Ruido: *Rosebud 2*, still from the video.



María Ruido: *Rosebud 2*, still from the video.

der the policy designed by the Cold War (Estaca de Bares¹⁸ and Greenham Common,¹⁹ to be more specific). There is a connection between the repression exerted on workers in Great Britain and in Spain during 1970's and 1980's (specifically the workers protests on March 10, 1972 in Ferrol,²⁰ Galicia). Last but not least, there is the cycle of struggles and the possibility of appropriation of our own bodies and subjectivities that was brought by the different feminist movements and the different movements of gays and lesbians during the decades of the Transition and Pre-Thatcherism.

As I commented at the beginning of this essay, the forms of control by the state of our bodies and our subjectivities (what Michel Foucault named as *biopolitics*) draw important intersections between both landscapes, even though their display makes evident differences. If between the 1930's and the 1950's the repressive Spanish state policy (with the established concentration camps and the penitentiary colonies as clear examples of this policy) dominated the society with brutal strategies implemented on individual and social bodies (especially onto women's bodies), in the 1960's and 1970's we can observe how the collective social body changes with the entry of tourism and global capitalism. But above all, with the death of the dictator Franco, this collective body went "high," and as if in a sort of transvestism, it went to parties and into an ecstatic digression that seemed capable of burying forever the National-Catholicism of the dictatorship with its never ending heritages. Nevertheless, the arrival of the AIDS epidemic some years after the "failed" (or maybe not?) military coup d'état on February 23, 1981,²¹ presented a brutal return to order.

The states (and in this case, the Spanish state) used this epidemic as a metaphor of the social disorder, as a repressive instrument with intense conservative flavour in the middle of the 1980's.

18 Punta de Estaca de Bares is the northernmost point of mainland Spain, located in Galicia. There are currently two abandoned military sites there. One was operated by the US Coast Guard since the early 1960's as a LORAN (Long Range Aid to Navigation) Station. The station at Estaca de Bares operated jointly with stations operated by the British Government in East Blockhouse, Wales and, until 1973, the French Government in Pospoder, France. In 1978, after the Coast Guard ended the LORAN operations, the US Air Force assumed control of the base. The Air Force operated a communications site until 1991, and it now sits in ruins.

19 RAF Greenham Common is a former World War II and NATO Cold War airfield located 72 km west of London. During World War II it was used by the United States Army Air Force and the Royal Air Force, and during the Cold War by the United States Air Force for Strategic Air Command bombers and later for BGM-109G cruise missiles.

20 In order to preserve the memory of the workers who died on March 10, 1972 the democratic trade unions had named this day as the anniversary celebration of the Working class Day in Galicia.

21 Antonio Tejero Molina, a Spanish former Lieutenant-Colonel, was the most visible figure in the attempted coup d'état against the Spanish democracy.

Again, control policies appeared, although in a different way; prevention changed into protectionism, and political and sexual autonomy changed into a postmodern social democracy that was governed by a new PSOE that redesigned a new Spain under the sign of oblivion and consensus. This same renewed PSOE is today getting hold of the republican symbolic capital that it had previously rejected, and has today elaborated a poor historical memory act, that does nothing but revalidate again the transitional pact under the severe look of the Partido Popular.²²

Apparently silenced, patiently expectant, the ghosts of our dismembering have been wandering through the home stories of our grandmothers, in films and novels long before the death of the dictator. Nevertheless, as Tzvetan Todorov writes accurately in *Los abusos de la memoria*, the calling of the ghosts can not be an obligation, because "recovering the past is, in a democratic period, a legitimate right, but must not be turned into a duty (...). The right to forget exists as well."²³ Forgetting and remembering are part of the permanent construction processes of memory, and it would be cruel to condemn, from public or private instances those who have lived facts so many times that it became traumatic for them to permanently remember.

Therefore, if the State should not be the unique depositary of memory, nor its unique transmission device, are we, the civil society, not the ones that have then a certain "duty" toward memory? As the quote from Walter Benjamin in the beginning of this essay suggests, our intention in this complex and long working process was "to brush history against the grain," calling to and listening to the ghosts, and discovering amongst the ruins, narratives less ordered and compact, more diffuse and organic that may make possible other histories. If we have managed to transmit to you some of these questions and suspicions, and thus contribute to the debate about our current context of the politics of memory, our main objective has been reached.

Barcelona, summer 2008 – winter 2009

For additional information: <http://planrosebud.proyecto-edicion.net>

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REARTIKULACIJA

Marina Gržinić SUBJECTIVIZATION, BIOPOLITICS AND NECROPOLETS: WHERE DO WE STAND?

We are in the middle of a voracious, unrestrained capitalism (that is again called "late capitalism," as it was in 1984 when F. Jameson started his discussion about postmodernism and multinational capitalism), – a financial capitalism, that is more than just a cultural condition, it is our reality. But what is the relation between capitalism and reality? Santiago López Petit, in his online essay published in Spanish "Reivindicación del odio libre para una época global" (2008) argues that reality has gone totally capitalist. The global era in which we are living now is the era in which reality and capitalism totally coincide. Precisely because of this, we can state that the modern/postmodern discourse is not enough for analysing reality, or as claimed by Petit, the postmodern discourse contemplated reality as neutral, and hence developed political neutrality as well. However, by reflecting reality it is not possible to dismantle the co-property of reality by capitalism, what is necessary is to attack reality and capitalism.

In order to do this, as proposed by Petit, it is necessary to think about reality in relation to a global age. Thinking about reality in the global age means to approach globalization, and this requires a new conceptual toolbox. But what is the global age (Petit, in referring to it, makes a reference to Martin Albrow, *The Global Age*, Cambridge, 1996)? Globalization is a total process that has given rise to a worldwide network of connections and of functional interdependencies that combines, pace Petit, simultaneously reterritorialization and deterritorialization; integration with fragmentation. But what is becoming undoubtedly clear in the global age is that capitalism coincides with the reality. (See S. López Petit, *The infinite and the nothing*, Barcelona, 2003.)

In what follows, I will resume some of the most important points developed in the already mentioned complex essay by Santiago López Petit in order to delineate a certain condition of im/possibility in which to insert the state of things in contemporary art and culture, as well as to open a discourse for a possible political act (of sabotage or subversion) against such a situation. I will formulate this proposal from my side at the end of this text in relation to Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez.

I will present in an almost stenographic way the main points of the Santiago López Petit text, bearing in mind, as argued by Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez (she refers to Walter Benjamin) that "a good translation is not necessarily the one that repeats the idea of the original by creating a copy of it, but the one that stems from a failed translation of the original." If there is any originality at stake here, then, I will state, it is the "originality" of the class struggle and our externalization of it on every level of society.

To state that in the global age *capitalism and reality coincide* means in the final instance to say that the World is a Closed World. The impossibility of having another world makes difficult the radical criticism of this world, and this does not mean that the critical thought is obliged to offer "alternatives," but, as argued by Petit, that the statement about a world that is a closed one makes it impossible to perform modern politics. The identification of distinction between contemporary capitalism and reality indicates on one side that there exists a series of historical forms of capitalism, and on the other the coincidence of capitalism and reality proves that capitalism entered its "last" historical formation – the global age.

The global age signifies the triumph of liberalism. What does that consist of? For liberalism, pace Petit, which does not know about a political perspective, the economic liberty is the fundamental requirement of politics. The life of the market is the condition of a possibility of the (neo)liberal global capitalist society. From the very beginning of liberalism, this meant to produce compe-

tition, since competition is not a natural fact. It presents the life of the market, and the effect is that competition has become a dynamic of the entire society. Therefore, if we take into consideration this trait we can say that the neoliberal government is less an economic government, as it is primarily about governance or govermentality; a control and redirection of actions, though fundamentally it is conceived as a social plot, as argued by Petit, whose units are businesses. Therefore, it is too simplistic, if not altogether misleading, to reduce the neoliberal capitalist society only and solely to a "homo economicus" equation; it is necessary to take into consideration governance or govermentality.

To come to a further point, Petit states that it is necessary to refresh our memory and bring to the forefront Ludwig von Mises (along with Friedrich August von Hayek being the two most prominent economists and ideologists of liberalism). In his book *Human Action*, which he wrote in 1949, Mises introduced praxeology as a framework for modelling human action. From praxeology, Mises derived the idea that every conscious action is intended to improve a person's satisfaction. These utilitarian and behaviourist views will be generalized by Mises into an economic doctrine and from there it will be extended to the whole of society. Mises prepared, in fact, the terrain to translate the coinage known as "the life of the market" (developed by "pre-liberal" economists) into "the life as market." From here it was only a step towards today's usage and conceptualization of humanity – in Santiago López Petit's words – as human capital. It is necessary to connect this book with another. In 1948 Lawrence Wiener wrote *Cybernetics, or Control and Communication in the Animal and Machine*. Wiener's *cybernetics* was coined to denote the study of the structure, as formulated on Wikipedia, of regulatory systems and is closely related to control theory and systems theory. In my simple parlance it is about control, governance and govermentality.

It is no surprise that presently on the Internet a debate over a possibly more "emancipative" view on the so called second order/generation of cybernetics is taking place. It is possible to connect

this debate on the Internet with what Christian Marazzi defines as the “the crisis of the governance of the US as a monetary authority in the World” that is the cause of the present financial bankruptcy (read as the biggest bank robbery by the bankers and their managers) in the First capitalist world, and with it, everywhere in the global world. But the debate on the second order cybernetics is another cry in the desert, I would say, as it is an attempt to get rid of the historical “bad” cybernetics logic (that through recording, analyzing, simulating and transforming controlled the environment). This bad logic is the so-called US military hubris that is today made visible, for example, through new analysis reports on the Vietnam War. Though the question stays as to whether we can think of second order cybernetics as something less dangerous and ideological, especially as some of the postings on the Net-time list suggest, that is possible to connect second order cybernetics with some kind of purifying, new therapeutic ideas.

The contemporary theory of the human capital perceives humanity as a constant product of investments (biopolitics) in the First capitalist world, or, I would claim, dis-investments (necropolitics) in order to make profits in the Third and other (second, underdeveloped, emerging...) worlds. The theory of human capital presents human action as a maximizing way of acting and envisions one's behaviour as having the final objective of achieving more utility or greater welfare. The consequences of such a view are, among other things, a complete financialization, so to say; a speculative dysfunctional logic that sees and interprets every expense of individuals for education, health, social or leisure activities not as consumption but as investment. The logic goes even further, as Petit argues, and today it is almost nobody that talks about a wage labour force being exploited in capitalism, but more or less the story goes around about the beneficiary “capital” that belongs indissolubly to everyone who is merely ready to put it into play (read: business). According to this new grammar, the wage is not more than the “profit” of a determined human capital. This new grammar and its implications urgently need a radical analysis of what Carlo Vercellone terms “becoming rent of profit”, for example, and/or Christian Marazzi’s concept, “becoming rent of wage.” It is very important to understand here that I am not proposing the usual psychoanalytical repertoire of jokes (we are not clowns, though this is how theorists from other parts of the world can enter the Empire industry of theory- only by being constantly “out of joint”), but I would like to draw attention to a complete evacuation and subtraction from the social, political, economical, etc., of relations of expropriation and the class division in the time of financial capitalism. To precipitate, I would like to point out that this total dis-functionality and speculative grammar is of no surprise; neoliberal global capitalism’s most internal logic is precisely the deregulation that tends towards a complete reversal and shattering of every relation that was once seen as logical into normalization and rationalization of the most illogical processes. Saying this is to understand that capital profit and private property are at the core of capitalism, and these two axioms of capital are not illogical at all.

In 1974 Robert Nozick in his book *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* stated: “The people cooperates to do things, but works separately; every person is a business in miniature.” Each individual, as argued by Petit, is a businessman of themselves, being his or her own capital. This is why it is then attested that every action is an investment! Life becomes the true market. For American neoliberalism, as pointed out by Petit, the market is confused with life, and life with the market. The democracy is subsumed in the market, and the market, finally, in life. Therefore, the American neoliberalism formulates an optimal approach to the global reality, because the American neoliberalism understands itself not so much as an exclusively economic phenomenon but as a total capitalist phenomenon. Liberalism in the neoliberal axiom manages to put life in the place of the market, but capitalism, as argued by Petit, is obviously not only the market.

In order to grasp the logic of present capitalism – Petit insists – it is important to include capitalist exploitation inside what he names “global mobilization,” that is to say, inside the mobilization of our lives that (re)produces this obvious reality which crushes us and which is confused with our existence. The global mobilization coincides with the total production. It is the one that (re) produces this obvious reality in which we live. We alone inscribe ourselves within the global mobilization only as individuals. The individual is the unit of mobilization. Petit emphasizes that in order to be able to advance in the study of the politicization of the social uneasiness we have to formulate it more precisely: the unit of mobilization is the individual perceived as “conscience.” The theory of private property that is at the core of capitalism becomes inseparable from the affirmation of the individual and his or her rights to property. One of the consequences is that in neoliberal capitalism, fundamentally the individual is an owner of himself, or more precisely of his or her conscience. Petit, with employing the notion from the book *The proprietary individualism* (L’individualismo proprietario, 1987) by P. Barcellona, states that conscience is the I built in a reflexive process of decisions that are taken one after the other. Therefore the I is multiple, broken and flexible, and lives life as the accumulation of vital events whose balance determines the success or failure of the I. This genesis of the I that is going on within the capitalist market, or more exactly, as part of the global mobilization, makes a commercial brand of conscience. I build (and I possess) my conscience in the same way I build (and I possess) a brand. In this sense, “I am my brand.”

Petit reworks this point steadily. My conscience is constituted as a brand, and the brands – that are not so much material as immaterial and subjective – compete among them. The conscience as a commercial brand produces a universe of meanings and is obliged to signify and to reaffirm its existence, or otherwise it disappears. Therefore, the conscience as a brand has to be externalized. Petit states that the I is not in relation to itself, because there exists no interiority. The interiority is exteriority: it is my brand. The global mobilization presents competitiveness without any pity among brands, mediated by money. This process of externalization, which is at the core of the fact that individuals and their consciousnesses are only able to act as part of the global mobili-

zation, is actually accurately capturing another process of externalization that is the core feature of the process of financialization of capital. In financial capitalism, profit can only be produced if the production process is externalized and turned towards other areas. Nothing new is possible to state, though the difference is crucial, as it is not an extension of production toward consumption, but consumption is the place of production as well. The financial capitalist mode of production implies an extension of production toward the reproductive spheres: towards education, health, arts, culture, and leisure. Therefore, of course, as stated by Petit, all is bought and all is sold today, but the global mobilization presents a step beyond. The global mobilization is a war, the war for its brands, that is to say, to signify something for the other, and to be able to accumulate meaning in the shape of money. Petit therefore makes a detailed analysis of the way in which biopolitics capitalizes and governs over consciousness.

Each brand mobilizes its resources (credibility, legitimacy...) to obtain its own public. Therefore, the border between the private and public space is erased, intimacy is aired and becomes a pure Big Brother show, and the only private matter tolerated, states Petit, is the religious one. The externalization of the conscience extends its transparency to all of reality. The reality is obvious because it is transparent. The brand is the only value, and to increase it is the objective. But Petit is precise; here it is not about a commodification, as this would be too simple and the analysis would be a sociologist preoccupation with consumerist culture. If it were about commodification, then this would be a form of economic alienation – and since goods can, in the last instance, still be values as well for non-capitalist use, the matter would not be so preoccupying. A possible solution would be, pace Petit, to oppose the brand(s) of the global mobilization against each other. But this would be too cosy as well; what we would get in the end is a situation of polarity, a live brand against the dead, or as in communism and/or consumer capitalism, the so-called third way, “a living zombie.” But conscience that is externalized is not at all a dead person. On the contrary, it functions perfectly as part of the global mobilization. The brands are true semiotic motors, states Petit, whose fuel are colours, sensations, feelings, etc. In short, and maybe from my side too quickly coming to a point, summarizing Petit’s brilliant essay: today life itself is the field of battle! Therefore, a proposal put forward to dismantle the total subsumption of reality by capitalism is a proposal to make of our life an act of sabotage. In what way? His proposal is for hatred. Petit states that those that hate their lives deeply can come to the point of changing it. I will try to formulate another possible solution at the very end of this text.

That our lives have gone totally capitalist has numerous consequences as well for contemporary art, culture, theory and for any radical political act. I would like to summarize some of the consequences presently.

Art and culture are constitutive to the functioning of late capitalism; through its practice of aestheticizing excess, art is the most developed form of capitalist commodity – a total brand. The institution of art is an ideological accessory to the incessant capitalist reproduction, and is at the centre of the formation of an aestheticized “re-commodification.” For this reason, it is important to ask how it might be possible to form a different platform of contemporary art and culture production and interpretation that wrests itself away from the global neoliberal capitalist system through the processes of a) de-coloniality (Walter Mignolo’s term) and b) de-linking (again Walter Mignolo’s term) of art and culture from capital, and to think about a new possible radical break within the social and political, a break that will produce a liberation from the capital’s grip of continuous exploitation and expropriation. Coloniality that is different from the historical colonialism is the hidden logic of contemporary capital and makes possible here and now the imperial transformation and colonial management of the world in the name of fake, but for capital, constitutive parameters: progress, civilization, development, and democracy. This process of coloniality is grounded in the Western rhetoric of modernization and salvation, through which global capitalism attempts, disgustingly snobbish, and when is not possible with pure violence and the death of millions, to reorganize what it calls “human” capital. In the capitalist apocalyptic scenario, technology gets out of control; it seeks only progress and development, and in this fake progress the only scientists, or artists, who can be involved are those from the First capitalist World. You will be hard pressed to find any trace of a position that originates anywhere outside of the Western (First World) neoliberal capitalism. I suggest in relation to Alain Badiou, a political act of “FORCING;” implying a force that is the result of an approach that insists on a continued analysis of knowledge/coloniality/modernity. This forcing is based especially on the demand to de-link contemporary art and theory from contemporary forms of epistemological coloniality (as defined by Walter Mignolo and Madina Tlostanova). Contemporary epistemological coloniality presents only the Western enlightenment matrix and does not take into consideration the epistemological breaks and shifts taking place in the so-called “exterior,” or rather at the “edges” of Western European scientific thought.

Why is important to enlarge, expand and open a different referential theoretical framework? Theory is not just an abstract practice of interpreting and rearticulating the “World.” Theory is contextualized; it has its history and its byways and bypasses. Often, it is theory that provides a rational basis for the cruellest forms of exploitation, the legitimization of capitalist expropriation and for various racial, chauvinist, and anti-Semitic positions. Even when theory does not deal with these questions, but is directing us “elsewhere,” demanding, so to say, for a withdrawal from the World – this is also a positioning of theory; this is theory’s politics. The same holds true of art. Art without theory is dead; lacking critical discourse, an artwork is only a salon decoration and an easy prey for the art market.

This differentiation as well makes a cut within postcolonial theory. I quote Achille Mbembe: “There is no doubt that postcolonial theory, under its many guises, has importantly contributed to the unmasking of Western hegemony in the field of the humanities

and in other disciplines. But at the same time the postcolonial theory has revealed the violence of Western epistemologies and their dehumanizing impulses. This process is far from over. It has intensified in the situation when the imperial sovereignty dictates who may live and who must die. When sovereign power has taken control over mortality and has defined life as the very site of the manifestation of absolute power, we need to start asking different questions. One such question is who has the right to kill? What does the implementation of such a right tell us? How can we account for the contemporary ways in which the political, under the guise of war, of resistance or of the fight against terror, makes the murder of the enemy its primary and absolute objective? The other challenge to postcolonial theory is what is referred to as ‘globalization.’ What is clear is that it opens awareness beyond the postcolonial theory of the 80s and the 90s.”

With regard to the relationship between globalization, capitalism and aesthetics, we should establish a critique of the formation of a so-called “universal culture and art” that takes place at three co-dependent and decisive levels (the economical, political and institutional) and that establishes culture as a hegemonic and ideological apparatus. Today’s frenetic global economy demands the production of more and more new commodities at increasingly larger profit rates and ascribes the essential role (position and function) to innovations and experimentation in the field of art. On the other side, while demanding for the de-linking of art and capital, we have to ask for a linking of contemporary theory and practices of intervention in the social and political. For it is precisely within this horizon (theory and political intervention) that a different type of “de-linking” is nowadays being promoted. This de-linking claims that it is sufficient to *think* about the critique of the world, to contemplate it within one’s mind and support it within oneself by reading and writing what is termed “real” theory, while what happens to the World “out there” is not important. Such a de-linking is very much desired and promoted in the name of active passivity, because activity is seen as an exercise in thought.

There is a process of subjectivization (individualization) at work today in the field of contemporary artistic and cultural production, which does not take place through work, but through *artistic creativity*; the latter redefines precisely, or, if you want, colonizes what the work is. The production and instrumentalization of life (what is known as biopolitics) become in such a context (of a redefinition of labour) of a fundamental importance for capital. French philosopher Michel Foucault characterizes biopolitics as biopower, as a power that aims for the production and reproduction of life itself. Biopolitics thus practices sovereignty that can, today, also be connected to the processes of subjectivization, which does not mean only a production and reproduction of subjects, but, above all, the regulation and understanding what the process of subjectivization means in itself. Biopower is based on strategies of control that transcend those institutional frameworks which were important for societies at a time when domination was founded on punishment and discipline; biopolitics/biopower is based on control. Biopower is a matter of a direct instrumentalization of life enabled through contemporary new media technologies. Control is, thus, composed of surveillance systems (surveillance cameras following us everywhere), increasingly more detailed digitalized databases of personal information available to the state, as well as being composed of public opinion (market) researches and other forms of acquiring more and more precise personal data.

In the genealogy of the connections between institutions, money, and power that Foucault defines as one of the more important procedural processes of biopolitics, economy plays a very significant role. The politics of economy show how finances are distributed in such a way that the government supports only those organizations, administrations, discourses, theories, and populisms that are vital only to that particular government and its commands, practices and governance of the social body. As it was precisely conceptualized by Petit, at the core is the question of governance and govermentality. I would like to make a jump and propose a thesis that the whole dismantling and rearranging of the contemporary university or academy by the Bologna agreement (the changes of High Education) throughout Europe, is not about simple economization of the university, making money through a system of equalization and leveling of the university system around the world, it is in fact about governance! The economy that is invested in the whole plot of reorganization is not the primal task of the Bologna agreement. Actually, such a reduction (as the university is forced only to make more money) prevents an understanding of in what sense neoliberal politics truly constitute a politics of governance of the society.

However, even here we need to make a further step and point to the fact that today it is necessary to politicize biopolitics with – necropolitics. What does it mean? The concept of necropolitics was proposed by Achille Mbembe, and it is connected to necro-capitalism and necro-economy; all three working hand in hand within and with global neoliberal capitalism today.

With necropolitics, we can precisely define the transformation of regulation of life within extreme conditions produced by capital. Necropolitics is a coinage combining necro (DEATH) and politics. Necropolitics regulates life through the perspective of death, therefore transforming life into a mere existence, below every life minimum. Necropolitics presents as well, I will state, a historicization of biopolitics! Necropolitics was primarily envisioned by Achille Mbembe in Africa or was taking place in the Third World, but today is more and more taking place in the First (capitalist) World.

With this proposed “transformation” of biopolitics into necropolitics, I am NOT asking to de-link biopolitics from necropolitics, but to understand that the maximization of exploitation and expropriation of life, labour, and “humanity” that is put forward here and now by capital asks for the reformulation, or, better to say, re-politicization of biopolitics!

New media technology is the condition for contemporary art to be an important part of the functioning of capitalist society. Three

strategies are at work here; the production of shock through the help of cloning, the strategy of creating simulacra that work outside the human perspective (say "paraspace"), and the strategy of mutation (theories of the "post-human"). These three strategies are a form of concealing, abstracting, and evacuating from the economical, social, political and artistic conditions of the social antagonism, of the class war.

I want now in the end to try to answer differently the question of the possibility of subversion, or of sabotage, as conceptualized by Petit; sabotage of capitalism and reality through a sabotage of life that went totally capitalist as well, being exploited by the two iron laws of capital, the drive for profit (surplus value from capital) and private property. I will make reference as well to another analysis, equally brilliant as that of Petit, by Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez, which was recently republished in the magazine *Zehar* (Arteleku, San Sebastian, 2008). In this text, Gutiérrez Rodríguez radicalizes a situation of the translation of different relations that are today marked by gender, class, race and migration by stating

that the only way to understand translation is to think about it as a failure. For such a statement, she takes as a reference Alberto Moreira's "aporetic impossibility" as the basis of transcultural encounters that are today, in the time of globalization, taking place not between individuals as such, but gender, class and race divided individuals coming from different geo-political contexts. Gutiérrez Rodríguez states that instead of relating to a European discourse of modernization, it is necessary (as emphasized by Moreira) to re-appropriate for a critical reading "transculturación" as an ideological tool. Therefore, in an encounter between transnational capital and a national or local state network, between economic and social interests, it is important to take as the basis of the political-conceptual framework a process of understanding that presents a failure, impossibility, and therefore proposes as such an "uncompromised transculturación." This means that in the present situation of complete exploitation of every commons and of the complete dis-valuing of each and every life (although, I will insist, differentially as biopolitics and necropolitics), such an uncompromised position asks for a radicalization; asks to

take into analysis, what is NOW outside of the sight that is – as formulated by Moreira and quoted by Gutiérrez Rodríguez – "the unpleasant insight into the fact that 'a departure from the dehumanizing logic of capital is nowhere in sight."

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INTERVENTION

Julij Boršnik CHAINED CREATIVITY

"Chained Creativity," has a double meaning; it is the title of this text and as well it is a felicitations postcard (snow, wood, pigment) done by Vita Žgur, Julij Boršnik, Zdravko Pravdič for the 8th of February, The Day of celebration of Slovenian Culture.

With the felicitations postcard, we wanted to stress the situation of the *Art Center* in Goričko, Slovenia, center of art and development, which was reopened in 2008, but whose future is still uncertain and potential as a space for creativity still chained by the arbitrariness of the ignorant local political and cultural authorities.

The *Art Center* is a residential artistic center, the first of such type in Slovenia, situated in a renovated ex-Yugoslav army guardhouse on the border of Hungary, in the most underprivileged region in Slovenia. The basic goal of *Art Center* is to provide creative people with an environment where they can realize their ideas. To offer its residents space, time, tools and organisational support for their creativity. To enable them to have time for reflection, observation and critical distance, and to set and realize their ideas. It does not matter where they come from, as long as they have the will to think, to create, to exchange, to act. The concentration and circulation of creative people invites deliberation, experimentation, good ideas and creativity. It is very important however, that the artistic center is not a foreign body in its surrounding, that the activities are linked to the vicinity and that it opens new possibilities and also acts as an initiator of positive changes on the local level.

Goričko, where the *Art Center* is situated, is a specific natural and social environment. Its history as a multiethnic (Slovene, Hungarian, Roma) and multi-religious (evangelical, catholic, protestant...) region dates back centuries. This makes it more passively tolerant to the surrounding regions. At the same time, Goričko was somehow left aside by the industrial mode of production and agriculture. *Art Center* can thus offer abundance of nature and tranquillity, and interaction with the surrounding villages. At the same time, its geographic position is strategic, since Bratislava, Budapest, Zagreb, Vienna and Ljubljana – the centers of Central Europe – circumscribe a circle around the *Art Center* that is therefore situated in its "symbolic" center. Such a position offers multiple possibilities for connections with cities and an interaction with the environment that offers cultural and social experiments.

The other side of the idyllic, intact rural environment of Goričko and Prekmurje are the local relations of power; a handful of locally powerful persons, whose horizon does not reach beyond their very personal interests, can exercise almost undisputed dominance inside this little region, extending it over the municipal and juridical authorities, and as well the dominance is extended over the local mass media that influence what is and what is not seen in the region. At the same time, there is very little interest outside the region about what is going on inside it. In such an environment, it is not very surprising that pioneering artistic projects became a target of local hostile appetites and private interests.

The problems started when the *Art Center*, after surpassing its initial difficulties, grew fast in the period from 2004 – 2005 with its programme and activities. In 2006 the municipal representatives appointed to the *Art Center* a director of their own. On the base of false legal charges and completely neglecting her duties as a director, she managed to close the *Art Center* down. This destroyed all of its ongoing projects and transformed the *Art Center* for a year and a half into an abandoned place open for burglars.

The downfall of the artistic center was stopped in April 2008 by the team of the *Art Center* that was successful in winning the judicial battles in the court in Ljubljana! (This was not possible in Prekmurje). The *Art Center* was annexed to the institution Art Središče (*Art Center*, in English translation), that was established by the *Art Center*'s team. This enabled the team – those who work in the center and provided most of the funding, mostly through EU project calls – to take over the formal control of *Art Center*.

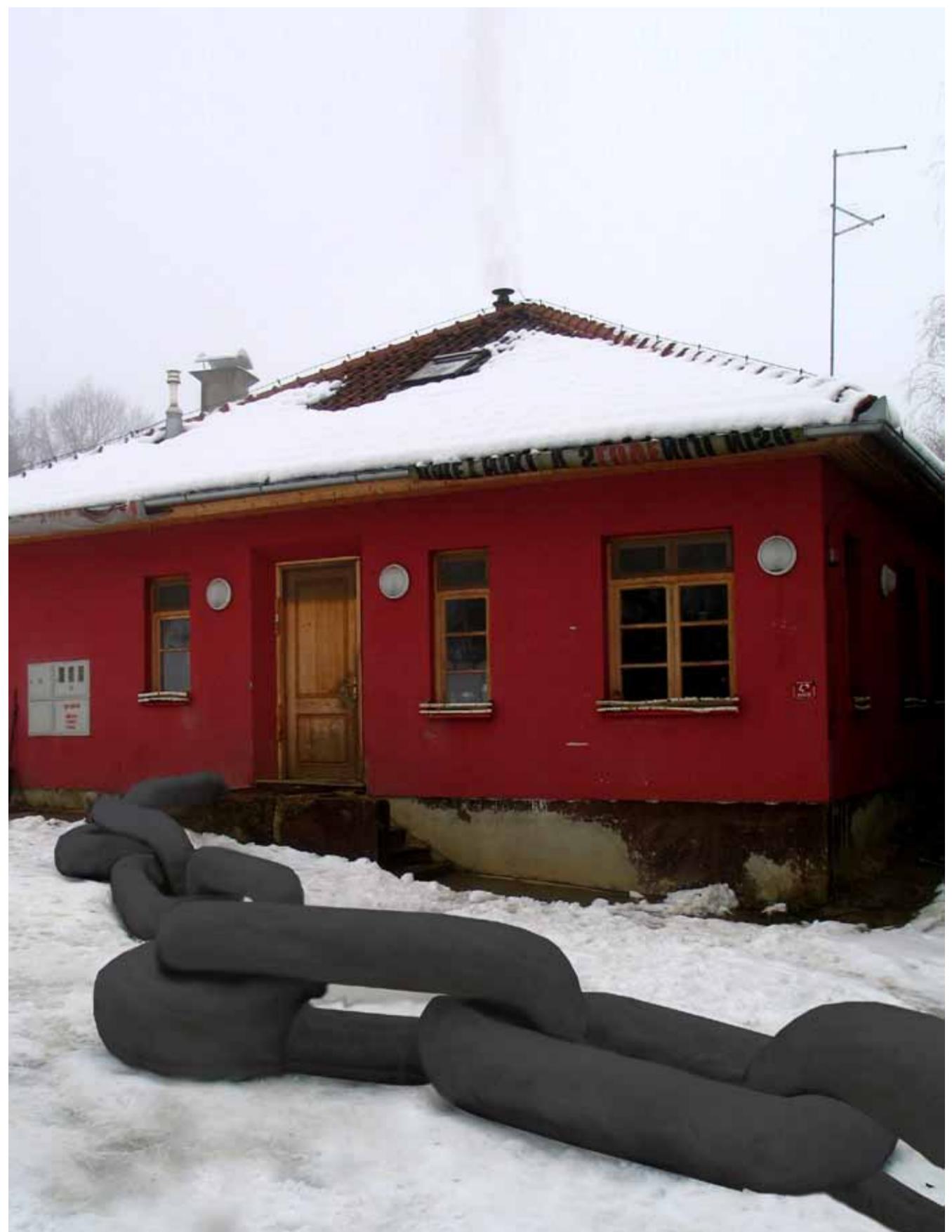
The judicial victory against the arrogance of local authorities did not bring an end to the troubles. Their assaults produced yet another problem. Because of the problems with the municipality, the *Art Center* failed to pay the credit instalments that the *Art Center* took in the construction phase from the Public Fund of the Republic of Slovenia for regional development. Therefore, the

Public Fund demanded the auction of the *Art Center*. So far, the *Art Center* has managed to survive five attempts at auction. The first four were survived by legal means and/or through luck. The last one however, announced for the 24th of February 2009, was cancelled temporarily by the order from "above." This was the result of the *Art Center* team's efforts in the last months to persuade the governmental services responsible for culture, development and the civil society to acknowledge the *Art Center* as a project with local, national and international importance. With the cancellation of the last auction of the *Art Center*, it entered into the third stage of its struggle for the right to exist and function. The first level was the struggle against the arbitrariness of local power, the second was the struggle against the treatment of the *Art Center* as just another real estate, and the third, with which we have still to deal with, is the struggle to persuade the government to help to solve

the credit debt and by so doing let the *Art Center* loose from the symbolical chain visualized in our felicitations postcard "Chained Creativity."

More about the *Art Center* projects and history is available at http://artcenter.co.nr/predstavitev_Art_sredisca.pdf.

Art Center – Institution for Development and Arts is an artistic residential center, located in the rural area of Goričko in the North-East of Slovenia. Its main concerns are the support both of artistic creativity and of the local surrounding. Art center was established in the year 2000 by association Onej. Its activities grew steadily until 2006, when it was closed by the local authorities. It was reopened in May 2008.



Vita Žgur, Julij Boršnik, Zdravko Pravdič: Chained Creativity, snow, wood, pigment, Goričko, 2009.