

# REARTIKULACIJA

UMETNIŠKO-POLITIČNA-TEORETIČNA-DISKURZIVNA PLATFORMA  
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ARTISTIC-POLITICAL-THEORETICAL-DISCURSIVE PLATFORM 07

23/03/1983

Ameriški predsednik Ronald Reagan razglasi svojo odločitev, da bo sprožil nov, večji raziskovalni in razvojni program, ki bo omogočil uporabo učinkovite raketne obrambe

U.S. President Ronald Reagan announces his decision to launch a major new research and development program to deploy effective missile defenses

09/11/1989

11/09/2001

## WITHDRAW!



## WHY?

## WHERE TO?

Tjaša Kancler, *Umik! Zakaj? Kam?*, 2009

Pričujoča fotografija – dokument – čeških aktivistov Pobuda proti oporiščem, prikazuje projektni načrt za gradnjo **bodočega** radarskega oporišča na območju Brdy. Radar, ki je del projekta širitve ameriškega protiraketnega štita v Evropo, naj bi postavili na 718 metrih nadmorske višine. Prst kaže na območje, ki je bilo sprva predvideno za gradnjo radarja na Češkem, vendar, kakor je razvidno, bo ameriško vojaško oporišče po končani gradnji zavzemalo bistveno večje območje.

This photo document that was provided by the Czech activists No Bases Initiative shows a construction map for the **future** Radar base in Brdy, spot height 718 metres, part of the U.S. antimissile shield enlargement in Europe. The finger is pointing to the area that was initially presented as the territory needed for the instalment of the Radar in the Czech Republic, but, as the document shows, the U.S. military base, once constructed, would occupy a much wider space.

08/07/2008

Ameriška in Češka vlada podpiseta Sporazum o raketni obrambi

U.S. and Czech Government sign Missile Defense Agreement

20/08/2008

Ameriška in Poljska vlada podpiseta Sporazum o raketni obrambi

U.S. and Polish Government sign Missile Defense Agreement

17/09/2009

Ameriški predsednik Barack Obama je začasno ustavil evropski raketni obrambni program iz leta 2007 in napovedal nov pristop

U.S. President Barack Obama suspends the 2007 European missile defense program and announces a new approach

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

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## ZAKON KAPITALA: ZGODOVINE ZATIRANJA

Tokratne tri številke *Reartikulacije* (7., 8. in 9. številka) raziskujejo današnjo in historično vlogo kapitala pri (de)regulaciji vseh družbenopolitičnih, delovnih, epistemoloških in življenjskih procesov. Cilj vzpostavitve trajnega izrednega stanja je preoblikovati družbo tako, da ta postane sterilna, nezmožna alternativnega mišljenja in s tem politično mrtva. Strah pred izgubo zaposlitve in domov, strah pred priseljenci, drugačnostjo, krizo itd. je postal temeljni regulator življenja. Zato je namen 7., 8. in 9. številke *Reartikulacije* pokazati, da je treba kapital in njegove strategije posoda-bljanja nenehno in ostro obsojati, kritizirati in preprečevati.

Reartikulacija št. 7., 8. in 9. prinaša novo strukturo produkcije interdisciplinarnih radikalno-kritičnih diskurzov. Čeprav vsaka številka posebej deluje kot samostojna enota, so vse tri med seboj povezane prek projekta *Zakon kapitala: Zgodovine zatiranja*. Gre za mednarodni raziskovalni projekt, ki vključuje razstavo in simpozij ter publikacijo treh števil *Reartikulacije*. Konceptualna osnova projekta vzpostavlja sodelovanje med omenjenimi radikalno-kritičnimi diskurzi vsake številke, s čimer pa ne izpostavlja le problematične plati kapitalističnega izkoriščanja, pač pa tudi vse strategije in načine produkcije, na podlagi katerih si kapital podreja ljudi, ozemlja, diskurze itd.

Projekt *Zakon kapitala: Zgodovine zatiranja* je kritična intervencija v strukturo sodobnih kapitalističnih družb z namenom, da osvetlimo probleme družbene neenakosti, sodobnih oblik kolonizacij, komodifikacij, marginalizacij različnih seksualnih in etničnih skupin, skratka probleme izkoriščanja s strani kapitala, s katerimi se že stoletja sooča večina svetovnega prebivalstva. Projekt razvija diskurzivno/intervencijsko platformo, ki vključuje umetnost, teorijo, filozofijo in aktivizem z namenom, da se zoperstavi rasizmu, homofobični normalnosti, izkoriščanju, razlaščenju in kolonialnosti. Ključni moment znotraj projekta predstavlja *Razveza od kapitala in kolonialne matrice moči*, ki s svojo dvojno obliko (kot priloga in kot simpozij) še dodatno poudarja intervencijsko vlogo pričujočih treh števil *Reartikulacije*, ki jo določa večplastna intermedialnost.

V tokratni številki so v slovenščino prevedena samo besedila iz priloge *Razveza od kapitala in kolonialne matrice moči*, saj smo še vedno potisnjeni v prekerno situacijo, ki nam ne omogoča zagotoviti dodatnih sredstev za izplačilo osnovnih honorarjev (neznanih, simboličnih, a vendar pomembnih) za naše zveste prevajalce in lektorje. Kljub temu bo *Reartikulacija* še naprej izhajala, saj smo trdno prepričani, da bomo samo z nenehno produkcijo radikalno-kritičnega diskurza lahko razkrili ne le starih, pač pa tudi nove oblike zatiranja, in ponudili možno alternativo trenutni situaciji.

Navsezadnje gre prav za to in morda je prav zdaj pravi čas, da se spremembe zgodijo, saj nas je vse več takih, ki želijo videti konec nekropolitičnega upravljanja, ki se je polastilo našega dela, izobraževanja, delovanja in življenja nasploh. To lahko dosežemo le s skupnimi močmi, kar potrjujejo tudi tokratne tri številke *Reartikulacije*.

Marina Gržinić in Sebastjan Leban,  
urednika Reartikulacije

## THE LAW OF CAPITAL: HISTORIES OF OPPRESSION

The starting point of *Reartikulacija* no. 7, no. 8, and no. 9 is the analysis of the present state of things in relation to the historical role of capital in (de)regulating all social political, labour, epistemological, and life processes. A permanent state of exception is being developed to re-shape society; making it sterile, incapable of thinking alternatively, i.e. transforming it into a politically dead society. Fear of losing jobs and houses, fear of migrants, of diversity, of the crisis, etc., has started to function as the basic regulator of life. Therefore, *Reartikulacija* no. 7, no. 8, and no. 9 want to show that capital's upgrading strategies call for its firm and consequent denigration, criticism and degradation.

Reartikulacija no. 7, no. 8, and no. 9 present a new structure of producing interdisciplinary radical-critical discourses. Although every number is meant to function independently, they are in fact all connected through the international project *The Law of Capital: Histories of Oppression*. We define the latter as an International Research Project with Exhibition and Symposium that comprises the publishing of the 3 issues of *Reartikulacija*. It is through the conceptual base of the project that the collaboration of the exposed radical-critical discourse of each issue starts to take place, thus unveiling not just the problematic side of capitalist exploitation, but also exposing all the strategies and modes of production by way of which capital has been subjugating people, territories, discourses, etc.

The project *The Law of Capital: Histories of Oppression* is a critical intervention in the structure of contemporary capitalist societies, aiming to shed light on social inequalities, contemporary forms of colonization, commodification, marginalization of various sexual and ethnic groups, and general exploitation by capital, which has been faced by the major part of the world's population for centuries. The project puts focus on the development of a discursive/intervention platform between art, theory, philosophy and activism, in order to fight racism, homophobic normalities, exploitation, expropriation and coloniality. A crucial point is being presented in the framework of the project, namely the *De-linking from Capital and the Colonial Matrix of Power*, that through its double role (as a supplement and a symposium), further connects the issues no. 7, no. 8, and no. 9 together into an intervention marked by its uniformed multilayered intermediality.

In this issue, only the texts included in the supplement *De-linking from Capital and the Colonial Matrix of Power* are translated into Slovene, since the precarious situation by which we are restricted persists, and does not allow us to provide additional funds for the basic fees (small, almost symbolic, but still important) for our faithful translators and language editors. Nevertheless, we will continue to publish *Reartikulacija*, regardless of the precarious situation, since we are clearly convinced that only through the constant production of radical-critical discourse are we able to detect new as well as old forms of oppression, and most importantly, that we can propose some changes in the end.

Certainly, this is what it is all about, and maybe the general time is favorable to such ideas, as there are more and more of those who have enough regarding all these necro-governmentality procedures imposed on our studies, actions and lives. We can unite our forces. This is our power, and the three issues of *Reartikulacija* testify this clearly.

Marina Gržinić and Sebastjan Leban  
Editors of the journal Reartikulacija

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## Sebastjan Leban CONTEMPORARY VAMPIRISM: CAPITAL AND ITS (DE)REGULATION OF LIFE

This paper aims to research the contemporary and historical role of capital in regulating all social processes and also to define its historical formation. The current crisis of financial capital is far from weakening capitalism; on the contrary, it is upgrading it to a higher level. By connecting capital to colonialism, this paper discusses how forms of oppression deriving from this connection have perpetually reinvented capital's existence and have provided the basis for the formation of the capitalist world order. In this regard, development is seen – either from the perspective of the project of de-coloniality or Marxist analysis – as the historical means through which forms of oppression have been executed. This condition as such, of the development of capital by subjugating people and classifying them into ranks (either of race or class or gender), has become, after many centuries, even fiercer and is exponentially increasing. Thus, it comes as no surprise that we are witnessing an escalation in poverty, social inequalities, contemporary forms of colonization, marginalization, racism, sexism, etc., which is in itself a paradox, since by the very definition of development one would assume the evolution of society into a more socially oriented structure. What happens in real life is exactly the opposite: capital increases its production of surplus value by introducing amelioration in the areas of technological development, by way of which it is able to exploit even more. The collateral effect of this is the generation of ever-new forms of oppression that are suffocating the major part of the world's population.

Eastern Europe is far from being excluded from this process. Even though it has been included for almost a decade now within the geographical coordinates of the First Capitalist World, many things bear witness to the true nature of this inclusion, why it started to take place and, what is more, to what purpose. Being part of the First Capitalist World demands not only a total unconditional subjugation to its laws, but also a general denial, on the ontological level, of the fact of being colonized through different mechanisms of political, economical and cultural control. In its conclusion, this paper re-thinks possible alternatives to the current hegemony of capital, its exploitation strategies, and tries to imagine a different future that will not depend on the politics of exploitation, but rather will be oriented toward a "pluriversality as a universal project,"<sup>1</sup> capable of forming a non-ranked society. This can be achieved only through the process of de-linking from capital, the colonial matrix of power and the geopolitics of knowledge.

### Capitalist formation and its upgrading in the era of globalization

If we wish to analyze present-day phenomena of capital, we have to go back into the past and define the crucial turning points of the different historical periods of capital formation. In order to do this, we have to locate all the strategies by which capital has been dominating the world for centuries, subjugating and exploiting people, forcing them to live in extreme poverty outside the sphere of humanity. What is the importance of such an act? Why bring to the surface old techniques of subjugation and analyze them, if those techniques of the past seem to be left out of the spectre of present domination? Does the past really have no connection with the present? Or is it exactly the opposite – that what we are facing today is just the unavoidable consequence of capital's historical formation? The implication of living in the neoliberal capitalist era includes not only the condition of being exploited by capital through the appropriation of the surplus value and the neoliberal strategies linked to market economy, but also of being subjugated through all the other mechanisms of oppression, repression and discrimination that have been meticulously developed by capital in its formation as a world order. Starting from the medieval period, on through mercantilism, industrialism, monopolism and up to now, the capitalist machine has been in constant evolution. The notions of usury, colonialism, enslavement, race and class, as well as all other forms of discrimination, have been scrupulously expanded in order to allow the capitalist matrix to proliferate on a global scale.

The *modus operandi* of the capitalist matrix can be clearly detected in the latest financial crisis that was triggered by the mortgage crisis in the U.S. One of the major preconditions for this to have happened is to be found, as stated by Melinda Cooper and Angela Mitropoulos, in the usurious debt system of subprime home loans. "To denounce usury is to point an accusatory finger at debts whose repayment cannot be guaranteed and therefore should not have been promised. Unlike the debt that can be repaid, which in its repayment makes the future a calculable version of the present, usurious debt assumes the existence of an incalculable, unknowable – and, quite possibly inflationary – risk."<sup>2</sup> What is even more interesting are the results deriving from Cooper's and Mitropoulos's analysis, which clearly show that "the greater proportion of subprime was composed of women, and African-American and Latina women in particular (most of those demographed as 'single parent' households or living in non-normative 'arrangements')."<sup>3</sup> As further claimed in the analysis, the types of loans (prime, semi-prime and subprime) were not calculated on the basis of a person's net income or his/her credit histories but on the bases of race, gender and marital status. This clearly defines the way of functioning of today's categorization, which I will name class racialization. The latest financial crisis has clearly shown how dead labour (capital) can affect living labour (workers) by affecting the working sector, thus causing people to lose their jobs and houses and getting them ever deeper into the sphere of class racialization. By class racialization, I refer to the new type of categorization that is formed of social classification (on the bases of class and race) and racism combined through different historical methods of oppression developed by capital with the purpose of classifying and segregating people on a global scale through a uniformed signifier (capital).

Class racialization thus defines the new subaltern subject that is placed in the lower class and is located both in the First Capitalist World and outside of it. What comes to the fore first is the fact that to pertain to the lower class means to be absolutely exploited by capital through the working process, deprived of the surplus value and classified as a commodity. If to this we add the fact exposed by Cooper and Mitropoulos that such a person has been forced to take a subprime loan, which is by all means an usurious debt, we can clearly conclude that this person is being subjugated by capital on two different levels typical of two different periods of capitalist development: medieval and industrialist. Since this person pertains to the lower class, he/she falls under the regime of class racialization. This means that he/she is ranked by the same classification methods that Quijano defines as being based on *race and racial identity*, which has historically become the main criterion for placing people into ranks, places and roles. If we add the fact that he or she is also a gay or a lesbian, and thus treated immediately as non-human and accused by the so-called integral part of society of being a pervert, then we have the third component involved, namely, the segregation produced through discrimination. Finally, let us assume that this person, being a homosexual or a lesbian from a lower class and having a usurious debt hanging over his head, practices the Muslim religion; then we have partly defined not only the contemporary *modus operandi* of the capitalist matrix in executing its exploitation strategies over the oppressed, but have also located the *new subaltern subject*.

Race, gender and class classification, discrimination toward gays, lesbians and migrants, and old and new forms of colonialism, enslavement, usury, etc. are at work simultaneously, defining the new subaltern subject that it is not determined simply by being located in the colonies outside the First Capitalist World, but by being located inside the parameters of class racialization.

### Regulation and deregulation of life

How should a possible change in the historical dominator-dominated relation be provoked? Should it follow the existing lines that run through trade union struggle, activism, mobilization, critical-theoretical reflection, etc. or rather should the struggle for the reinstatement of equal social rights and the elimination of hegemonic structures of capital start to modernize itself, take a distance from the old rhetoric of modernity and change its form? In sum, should it rethink its techniques and its discourse? Obviously enough, we are today – as we were in the past – confronted with the ruthless structure of domination ruled by capital whose one and only aim is the disproportionate accumulation of the surplus value on the one hand, and the (de)regulation of life on the other.

As stated by Marina Gržinić, (de)regulation – by way of which the capitalist matrix (de)regulates life through biopolitics and necropolitics – is operative in all social segments. It is therefore no surprise that the rhetoric of bringing development, civilization and social welfare has been proliferating for five hundred years, carrying within itself the very specific interest of capital, which subjugates ever new territories, expropriates and, in the final instance, colonizes them. Walter Mignolo locates this five hundred years as modernity, in which the logic of coloniality is embedded. "The crooked rhetoric that naturalizes 'modernity' as a universal global process and point of arrival hides its darker side, the constant reproduction of 'coloniality'."<sup>4</sup> That's why Mignolo conflates Christianity, Civilizing Mission, Development and the Global Market into the four coexisting moments that not just constitute modernity, but have been functioning historically as strategies through which Eurocentrism is being spread throughout the globe.

Due to its expansion logic, capital is forced to upgrade constantly and change its strategy of domination. Capital sees the solution to the current financial crisis in huge investments in technological development. According to Marx, historically capital has increased the production of surplus value by further developing the technological processes in working production and society – making it as technological as possible and thus exploiting it endlessly. The monstrous appetite of capital, as a vampire-like creature, for appropriating, enslaving and exploiting is far from drawing to an end, for it is enclosed in the production of the capitalist matrix. Therefore, the latest crisis of financial capital can be interpreted as a mere modernization of capital, as a new redistribution of power. Through centuries, capital has absorbed all alternative systems, first subjugating them, then taking their position and, finally, permanently erasing them. This remains valid for socialism as well, particularly in Europe, which saw its symbolic decline realized in the fall of the Berlin Wall. In Slovenia, for example, the idea of the socially just society that through self-imposed contributions built a dream of a different world lasted for 50 years and was then replaced by the neoliberal ideology. The new neoliberal rhetoric invaded the Slovenian public space through slogans and commercials of the "for a more socially just society, all different all equal" type.

The socialist ideology was superseded by the capitalist ideology, the consequences of which can be seen at every step. Slovenian companies like *Mura*, *Mip* and *Steklarska nova* are but a few examples of this new ideology at work. What is worthy to analyse is the change that has been produced in the transitional period when Slovenia (and later on the rest of the Eastern Europe as well) shifted from the socialist mode of production into the capitalist mode of production. This change occurred not only on the economical level, but flooded the whole social structure as well.

In order to be able to see this ideology at work, we have to analyze the case of the company *Steklarska nova*, where we can see the true nature of the transitional modified interpretation of the capitalist mode of production. The laws of the capitalist mode of production and its ideology, where the capitalist invests the means of production and by this appropriates the surplus value, are intentionally misunderstood by the converted ex-socialists. In the case of *Steklarska nova*, the means of production were invested by the State, due to the fact that the company is owned by the State. By following the patterns of rough exploitative capitalist appropriation of the surplus value in the case of *Steklarska nova*, the surplus value should be re-

turned back to the State and not distributed among the members of the company's Board of Directors whose investments of the means of production were null. The reason why they were able to appropriate the surplus value lies in the fact that they were appointed to their positions by one of the political parties or by some influential father, mother, brother, cousin or friend, or by the fact that they were in that position when the transition occurred. *Steklarska nova* is not an isolated case, but quite the opposite; it is a symptom of the transition from socialism to capitalism. This is the model of the so-called success story in Slovenia that underlies almost every privatization process of the last two decades.

What is even more problematic is that the greed of these twisted capitalist creatures has no limits. The proof of this can be found again in the case of *Steklarska nova*, where workers were not paid the contribution for pension and disability insurance by the company. Through its Tax Administration, the State allowed to the company to delay payments of the contribution for pension and disability insurance without any notification to the workers, although the contribution for pension and disability insurance plays a crucial role upon retirement. The workers were robbed not just once, but twice, since their wages had been reduced when the money of the unpaid contribution for pension and disability insurance was taken out of their gross wages. Thus, we have a degenerated version of a vampire-like capitalism that, instead of sucking fresh blood from the living as capital normally does, sucks blood from the almost dead. That is also why, in Slovenia, the State allowed the exhaustion of companies that were clearly producing losses, by keeping them half dead, knowing exactly that they would never come to life again.

The fall of the Berlin Wall opened the so-called doors to the West. The Eastern Bloc was enthusiastic about that, for it believed that this meant the end of repression and ideology, and the beginning of a new era – the era of democracy. But the enthusiasm was short-lived. In less than 20 years, capitalism has shown its true face, it has shown that there is no room for the idea of a socially aware society, but only for the pure capitalist ideology – disproportionate accumulation of the surplus value, abolishment of all existent socially oriented structures and rigid class racialization. This last is conditioned by class racism, which sees the people of the lower class as outlaws, the scum of society, in other words, those who are unable to take care of themselves or find a job and keep it. Apparently, the one to blame for the fact that people find themselves on the brink of survival is not the capitalist matrix, but each individual, who is guilty for the situation he/she has found him/herself in, for he/she failed to prevent this from happening, and to avail him/herself of the opportunity and climb up the class ladder.

In his text *Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America*, Anibal Quijano more than clearly shows that all forms of social classification have a very specific purpose, namely to ensure that all people remain within the limits of the class/race classification into which they were placed. What is involved is the complete construction of the capitalist matrix, which presents class classification as a part of the natural system and not as an artificially constructed hierarchical structure. Therefore, according to Quijano, "race and racial identity were established as instruments of basic social classification."<sup>5</sup>

If until the first half of the 20th century, capital could still be defined as a multilayered structure, then the second half of the 20th century, marked by globalization as a strategy of a new world domination, can be labelled as the pivotal shift that changes the multilayered system of capital into a network-coded capitalist matrix characterized by its non-layered structure. By non-layered structure, I mean that the capitalist matrix is not composed of layers forming a graded structure, but the contrary, that its structure is fluid and unlimited. Such a formation makes it difficult to dismember it and therefore prevents one from analyzing it. Thus, classical methods of layer-by-layer analysis prove to be completely useless. This is where the true problem really begins, for the so-formulated capitalist matrix renders impossible a layer analysis divided into different lines of research, and rather requires an interdisciplinary analysis of all the individual structures that the capitalist matrix is formed of and which are a constitutive part of society today.

As stated by Marina Gržinić, what we are witnessing today is the imperialism of circulation. This means that we face constant regulation through biopolitics and regulation through necropolitics. If biopolitics involves the regulation of life, necropolitics involves its deregulation through the regulation and production of death. Therefore, biopolitics (Agamben) and necropolitics (Mbembe) are not diametrically opposed, but on the contrary, they constantly complement and upgrade one another through imperialism of circulation. This last allows the capitalist matrix to carry out contemporary processes of subjugation, exploitation and oppression differently in different parts of the world. Gržinić further defines that "imperialism of circulation, in its frenetic processes, prevents the subversion, the attack of any master entity. Everything circulates, is exchanged, clearly dispossessed of any difference, and no obstacles are to be seen in the network that structures reality for us."<sup>6</sup> The theory of imperialism of circulation additionally supports the fact of the non-layered structure of the capitalist matrix for it clearly defines that the latter is being upgraded exactly owing to continuous circulation and constant exchange of its fields of activities, thus preventing any form of its localization.

In order to start a real process of de-linking from capital, the colonial matrix of power and the geopolitics of knowledge, we have to understand the functioning of today's capitalist matrix. We have to localize the mechanism that allows the imperialism of circulation to spread exponentially. The relation between biopolitics and necropolitics has to be upgraded with the crucial element that conflates the binary opposition of (de)regulation of life. This crucial element is to be found exactly in the capitalist mode of production. It is the living labour that, through surplus value, produces capital, which is defined by Marx as being dead labour "that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks."<sup>7</sup>

1 Walter Mignolo, *DELINKING: The Rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality*, [http://waltermignolo.com/publications/#articles\\_english](http://waltermignolo.com/publications/#articles_english), October 2009.

2 Melinda Cooper and Angela Mitropoulos, *In the praise of usura*, [http://www.metamute.org/content/in\\_praise\\_of\\_usura](http://www.metamute.org/content/in_praise_of_usura), September 2009.

3 Ibid.

4 Walter Mignolo, *DELINKING: The Rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality*, [http://waltermignolo.com/publications/#articles\\_english](http://waltermignolo.com/publications/#articles_english), October 2009.

5 Anibal Quijano, *Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America*, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/20271161/Quijano-Coloniality-of-Power-Euro-Centrism-And-Latin-America>, September 2009.

6 Marina Gržinić, *Political act in contemporary art: Drawing borders*, [http://www.reartikulacija.org/RE5/ENG/reartikulacija5\\_ENG\\_grz.html](http://www.reartikulacija.org/RE5/ENG/reartikulacija5_ENG_grz.html), October 2008.

7 Carl Marx, *Capital I, Chapter ten: The working day*, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/>

Thus capital does not just exploit workers, peoples and territories, but like a vampire, sucks their life away.

### Radical critical practice as the new form of de-linking

The fact that the capitalist matrix is an almost perfect stronghold is, considering what has already been said, perfectly clear, as it is clear that all forms of oppression, exploitation and dispossession are directly linked to it. What, then, constitutes the key element which abolishes the imperialism of circulation and as a result nullifies the effects and consequences coming out of it?

One possible form of subversion of the capitalist matrix exists in the radical critical practice that is based on interdisciplinary political, theoretical, artistic and activist strategies. Today, this is the only practice able to formulate a new critical resistance, detect and analyze the capitalist matrix and unveil its method of operation. The reason for this is that radical critical practice is formed at the intersections of different social practices, starting with theory, art and philosophy, and on to political activism. On this basis, it organizes its own practice by simultaneously incorporating theory, art, philosophy and political activism and, what is more, intervening through them into the whole social structure. Radical critical practice is marked not only by this interdisciplinary intermediality, but by the new political engagement that allows for the re-politicization of the already castrated political subject as well. The struggle against discrimination, violence, subjugation, xenophobia and all other forms of exploitation and oppression can no longer be based on the old foundations where everyone, from their own corner, would lead the struggle against the violent structure of capital. It is necessary to create a field where the newly constituted political subject will be able to produce critical thought, read and detect the substructures of functioning of the capitalist matrix, and foresee and abolish it.

marx/works/1867-c1/ch10.htm, October 2009.

## (HARD) CORE

Marina Vishmidt

### VALUE AT RISK: FROM POLITICS OF REPRODUCTION TO HUMAN CAPITAL\*

In the midst of planetary economic trouble of as yet incalculable duration, where millions are thrown out of jobs and homes as trillions in asset values depreciate, where the ability of investment banks to offer competitive remuneration to their hardworking staff hinges on the ability of the government to send single mothers and the disabled in pursuit of nonexistent jobs by cutting what few benefits they can still get, where conditions of survival become more equivocal by the day as the "crisis" opens up opportunities to Western governments to budget-crunch in ways that were once only available in Eastern Europe and the "developing world" – given all this, the mainstream media and public opinion alike voice surprise that there has not been more "unrest." Sure, there have been strikes, occupations, and the routine "bossnappings" in France, everyone is reading *Capital* and the leftist broadsheets exhibit the odd materialist leaning in the opinion pages, playing catch up with a financial press that has been querying neoclassical economic orthodoxy since the autumn 2008 crash. Yet, given the politicization of social reproduction announced by the bank bailouts, where the contradiction between the "we're all in this together" rhetoric of crisis and the welfare-state cushion that saved the financial entities which had done much to precipitate it, could not have been more plain; rather more vocal expressions of discontent might have been expected among a far broader contingent that has been unwillingly "alienated" from housing, employment and the access to social status that debt-financed consumption had been promising over the last few decades. Especially when the present period is thought in conjunction with the Great Depression, the dramatic differences in social stability – once factors like the much lower rate of unemployment and the stabilization measures taken by governments this time are discounted – are hard to ignore. Altogether, the collective and subjective response to the present downturn exhibits an ironclad normality which is more insidious than it is reassuring. The political climate shifts ever further rightwards, and the de-legitimation of capitalism is yesterday's news item already, a discursive commodity that found neither a buyer (making it socially unnecessary) nor purchaser (on social reality).

A couple of explanations could be adduced for the relative quiescence of whole populations thrown into the shit, none of which seem particularly esoteric but nonetheless have not cropped up much in the crisis-analysis generated in the Marxist and left economist redoubts. While many prognoses emanating from those quarters have a touch of the sanguine catastrophism that says "things will have to get much worse before the social movements arise which will make them better," and that may turn out to be the case; a crucial element missing in the analysis that sees the current meltdown as a cyclical repeat of the Wall Street crash of 1929 is an inquiry into the composition of subjectivity that grounds the class relation today. This is subjectivity for which, to put it concisely, the antagonism that engenders social movements is no longer an option. Owing to decades of falling or stagnant wages, the concentration of wealth, the contraction or privatisation of the "social wage" (welfare state services), global competition, the financialization of production, and the transformation of work, labour has been devalued and re-valourised as debt. It has been de-valued ideologically as much as economically; work has fallen below the horizon of visibility as a social fact, emptied of political significance by the long pincer movement of right-wing individualism and left-wing culturalism (although neither orientation has a basic political allegiance; the attribution is more a matter of convenience). Objectively, work can no longer provide a tenable collective or personal identity, because the ascendancy of debt as the basis of social reproduction now means that workers each individually identify their interests with capital, come to think of themselves as units of capital.

If the crisis was caused by the unwise speculation of the banks, not only did consumer debt from housing, education and credit cards

As stated by Albin Kurti, leader of the movement Levizija Vetevendosja, the new political activist of today must be able to combine various intervention strategies that pertain to different social practices. He exposes three main points. First, a political activist must reinstate a direct connection with people. It is not enough to communicate with people through the media, video advertisements and other forms of addressing the public, but one has to go back to the peripheries of big cities and into the countryside. Second, the work of an activist must be, among other things, oriented towards the production of critical thought in the form of published texts, radio and TV programs, web platforms, etc. that expose the structure of capitalist matrix and all forms of exploitation associated with it. Third, an activist must perform various forms of protests, actions and interventions not only to subvert the capitalist matrix and, in spots, abolish it, but because such agency strengthens the structure of resistance. Such actions should be carried out outside the regime experience, which requires a certain degree of creativity that demands from the activist the creation of newer and newer forms of resistance that the regime will not be able to categorize.

What is more, Kurti's claims posit the new political activist directly into the interdisciplinarity of the radical critical practice, since it demands from him/her a new method of operation capable of detecting and fighting new as well as old forms of oppression. By stating that it is not enough to just go out into the street and demand a change but to produce this change with the new political act, Kurti gives the very description on how this change can be achieved. It is on this same logic that radical critical practice is based.

Radical critical practice allows for a contextual interdisciplinarity, by way of which it is possible to intervene simultaneously into different social fields, improving and changing them. These changes can occur on a practical level, where a project triggers a social response, or

provide it with a distorting popular mirror, implicating everyone, but the arena of socialised capital – workplace benefits, welfare state provision – had also been thoroughly permeated by financial mechanisms, as pension funds were tied to stock markets and local authorities invested in hedge funds to forestall budgetary cutbacks, not to mention the infiltration of welfare state agencies by commodity logic that sought to introduce "artificial markets" for reasons of pure dogma rather than dogmatic efficiency.

What all this seems to indicate is that there is no plausible ground for antagonism once the *capital:labour* divide has been effaced by the structural identification with capital. This also resonates with Foucault's idea of the shift from the older liberal subjectivity of exchange to the neoliberal subjectivity of competition; the one presupposes equality and recognition, the other inequality and "merit." Hence it is not just that the working classes, waged and unwaged, have undergone degrees of expropriation in the past few decades that came as a surprise to contemporaries of the post-war welfare-state compact – at least in Western Europe and the US – it has also been an expropriation of antagonism at a time when the contradictions between interests have never been fiercer, and the stock of legitimacy held by capitalist social relations has never been as low as it stands now.

"Waged and unwaged" is perhaps the crucial category here. The steady degradation of employment conditions means that labour cannot serve as an impetus for mobilization; fractalized and degraded working conditions make organising a joke in many cases, even if employees cared enough about their jobs to get together to improve their working conditions. The political culture of work has vanished, and it is not coming back. For this reason, all mobilization around the workplace is therefore immediately a matter of "social rights" and extends outside it, since work for its own sake cannot be sustained as an object around which political desires can circulate. Production and reproduction, the old Marxian categories that have produced so many category errors as costly political mistakes, seem to be immanent to the same terrain – the terrain that witnesses the evacuation of support for forms of life other than financial accumulation. Yet the enclosure of public goods in the pursuit of ever-attenuating profits, deteriorating infrastructure, speculation on value that will never exist, and the re-channelling of resources from production into management and security hints that production and reproduction are not only not self-evident worlds that can come together or drift apart, but that the breakdown of divisions between the terms is as much the breakdown of the two terms themselves, a breakdown observed by the term "non-reproduction." Here it is not the ubiquity of value production, as designated by the Italian Autonomists, that creates the social factory, but the ubiquity of de-valorisation that ensures that the social field confronts capital as a whole. A whole wreck.

Producing surplus value for capital has never been more generalized, thus diffuse; because diffuse, naturalized and invisible. Nor has it ever been less tied to regular employment; it is not just the precarity of formal employment, but the monetization of the "social wage," and the expansion of unpaid labour from bureaucracy in academia to online social networking (especially when the latter is an escape valve from "the job"). Nonetheless, the links between political subjectivity and the mode of selling labour-power have been definitively severed – resistance to capital has never been so abstract, and abstracted, from the conditions of reproduction, partially because the conditions of reproduction for many have never been at once so ruthless and so abstract. The specialized sphere of "activism" in Western countries is an unambiguous symptom of the development of this abstraction; "work is immutable, and workers are too busy for politics, so we have to turn our attention elsewhere." Resistance has never been more internal, and more inadequate, to the material conditions that support its realization (as value) – this is notable in the currency of critique in contemporary art, for instance, even and especially when it addresses itself to the evils of exploitation or the aporias of emancipation. Selling labour-power to live has never been more conflated with life itself – this indeed conjures away any disparity between capital and labour, when they become indiscernible as variables in the compulsions of life as it is.

on a theoretical level, where a project intervenes in such a way as to build and modernize the means with which to analyze and explore all the ever more exacerbated social conditions. To understand this shift means to understand the new political paradigm. At this point, an interaction between theory and practice takes place that opens up not only new discursive fields but also brings new analytic methods. Re-politicization seen as rearticulation of the political; that very political which in the past allowed for revolutions to occur and worker's rights to be fought for and which, with the strategy of neoliberalism, has been ultimately castrated and robbed of its power of resistance. Re-politicization as an invention of the new political, which will conduct the politics of resistance against the capitalist matrix and normalization of the capital hegemony.

Thinking that the capitalist matrix will someday turn by itself into a just structure, bound to guarantee social justice and non-class structuration, historically constitutes one of the major mistakes of humankind. Rather, what is involved here is pure ideological capitalist propaganda whose aim is to form a castrated subject that is completely apolitical and passive. We have reached the point of rupture, of complete absurdity where the dominator-dominated, exploiter-exploited and master-slave dialectic is naturalized to the utmost, turning these relations into a normalized permanent state of exception. The solution is not to be found in the creation of alternative forms of social order able to parry with the capitalist matrix, but in its permanent abolition, by provoking a change from inside.

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In other words, how do the particular features of financialized capitalism transform the possibilities for antagonism, the antagonism basic to anything that would emerge as a counter-force to the indolent lethality of domesticated crisis? Or can the antagonism really be displaced to "life" vs. "capital," as if capital did not set the parameters for life? Can the pervasiveness of indebted life, capitalist life, be politicized, as waged work was once politicized? In what sense can we speak about an emergence of a political disposition specific to debt? Perhaps it could be illuminating to complicate this "politicization" of the wage historically in order to imagine what a communist politics that acts on the entire terrain of exploitation and doesn't allow itself to be divided by the nature of the wage contract might look like, a communist politics that starts from the rigid but thoroughly occulted nature of class relations today.

Debt acts as a displacement of the centrality of the wage both *in* reproduction and *to* the reproduction of the social relation of capital. Earlier, social movements such as feminism (in its Marxist and socialist veins) and the benefit claimants' unions questioned the centrality of the wage and the workplace for capitalist exploitation, as did the neighbourhood programmes of revolutionary nationalist groups in the 1960s and 70s U.S. like the Black Panthers and the Young Lords. These interrogations are ongoing: while the radical demands of Wages for Housework have been tendentially answered by the resurgence of domestic service which marks the triumph of both equality feminism and super-exploitation of migrant women with a commodification of domestic labour that echoes pre-modern times, current groups such as the Edinburgh Claimants Union and the London Coalition Against Poverty re-take the terrain of the social wage as a political arena in a time of escalating job losses and benefit cutbacks. If the realization that the "personal is political" emerged as a way to turn individual experience into systemic critique and a collective articulation that carried over the many divergent strands of the feminist movement from the days of consciousness-raising into the present, the "personal is political" can also name struggles transpiring in the field of reproduction and over the State "commons" – from unregulated domestic and service labour, to health care workers resisting privatisation, to recipients (and administrators) of benefits that organize together to resist or at least minimize the clawbacks of opportunist politicians and vicious or added bureaucracy. The modality of the "personal" which is critical here is the failure to function as an efficient capitalist subject, which is embraced and turned back around on the structures that rely on such failures to stoke fear, create conformity and extract profit. But concurrently, the "personal" is also the support structures provided by social services, whether state-run, private or off-the-books, the work that is never thought of as work except by the people doing it. Likewise, the people who use social services are primary targets for state biopolitical agendas which are unleashed with impunity on people who are not "in work" and who can be controlled "personally" through their children, their immigration status or healthcare needs.

Marxist feminist activists and theorists such as Mariarosa and Giovanna Dalla Costa, Silvia Federici and Leopoldina Fortunati in the 1970s were responsible for pointing out the necessity of unpaid labour to the system of production dependent on waged labour. This argument can be seen as addressing surplus value production (the dependence of profit on unpaid labour) from the viewpoint of divisions within the working class which are turned to the advantage of capital, harming workers' resistance or self-activity. The wage divides workers from one another and produces a form of discipline and identification between the interests of labour and capital (though it should be noted, given the preceding argument, that the wage preserves a dialectical mismatch between those interests, while debt coercively closes the gap where that mismatch can become a site of struggle). In this sense, debt now, as the "discovery" of unpaid labour did then, signals the erosion of prospects for collective working-class activity based in the workplace – not only because so much, if not most, capitalist work happens outside the official workplace, as the Italian autonomist feminists pointed out, but because debt-fuelled accumulation produces identities tied to consumption, not production – this could be seen as one of the key subjective political consequences of the post-1970s restructuring

of the labour-capital relation – even as surplus-value extraction has intensified drastically over this time. More concretely, this would on one level be about how an effective class re-composition in the “crisis” would have to co-ordinate struggles between the employed and the unemployed, since they are targeted and divided in similar ways by capitalist austerity – as well as great numbers from the former category moving into the latter – and it would also be about how the wage can become a contested category, and the role this contestation has played in past struggles and what would have to happen for it to play this role in the present conjunction. This discussion would also link into what it might mean to consider debt in terms of the wage, both in terms of the erosion of class antagonism, and its reconstitution on different grounds. But also, importantly, how debt has been used instead of the wage for access to goods, services, as well as the self-development (entrepreneurial and education life projects) implied in the figure of “human capital” which has become objectively unavoidable as a form of life.

Some points to be elaborated here might include:

- How the concept of unwaged labour producing commodity labour-power throws into crisis the distinction between productive and unproductive labour, and thus production and reproduction (Dalla Costa, Federici, Fortunati, et al); whether or how this reframing has any relevance to the present. It likewise unsettles the analysis that sees “commodification” of services like housework as the penetration of the value-form into hitherto uncolonised areas

## RADICAL CRITICAL PRACTICE

### Angela Mitropoulos LEGAL, TENDER

*This cult of continuity, the confident assumption of knowing to whom and to what we owe our existence – whence the importance of the idea of “origins” – Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”*

In late September 2009, the Serbian government stated it would not guarantee the safety of those attending Belgrade Pride. It had been scheduled to gather near the Faculty of Philosophy, under the banner of “It’s Time for Equality.” Pressured to cancel – to shift location and, finally, on the eve of the event, informed of their impending abandonment, once again, to an extralegal violence – organisers announced that Belgrade Pride 2009 had effectively been prohibited by the state. The violence of 2001 remains palpable – images abound of the quick slip between democracy and terror: of someone pleading with police, who decline appeals for help while nationalist thugs hunt all around; of someone being led through the streets by a police officer, her face covered with blood, in a manner I cannot imagine anyone being treated, unless they are considered guilty of something; of police standing around watching while a man is pushed to the ground and repeatedly kicked. Yet if this suggests a disappointed expectation of police protection, or anticipated most basic of civil rights alarmingly discovered to be non-existent, even the more canonical histories of Pride in the USA demonstrate something other than the undisputed, irrevocable and non-violent bestowal of rights – whether that history emphasises the 1969 riots at Stonewall against routine police attacks, or the quiet memorialisation by the Mattachine Society of those events, or the celebration of the riots by subsequent Christopher Street Liberation Days. Indeed, the persistence, among other things, of “no-go” areas for many transsexuals, lesbians, queers in cities around the world invalidates – without, of course, resorting to excuses of one sort or another – all attempts to explain what occurred in Belgrade as anachronistic or peripheral.

It is not difficult to discern the limitation of rights in their most ardent of advocates. The distinction between foreigner and citizen permeates the question of rights and their material distribution, just as it does in its more utopian moments. Jean-Jacques Rousseau cannot think of rights without making the accident of birth and residence into an implied gesture of assent – an assent presumed, thus preparing the way for the treatment of citizens as if they are foreigners when they dispute sovereignty’s reign. Those who do not accede to sovereignty while remaining within its purview become, for Rousseau, “foreigners among citizens” (Mitropoulos, 2006). This is the pre-emptive border of the social contract. And, all problems of democracy will be solved by relocating the border. Moreover, the very thought of rights and democracy at their most absolute will give occasion to insist on their limitation – or, their end, as Sarah Kofman remarked of Benedict de Spinoza, “whose death left his *Political Treatise* unfinished precisely at the moment he was about to deprive women of all political rights” (2007, p. 74). The final chapter of the *Treatise*, as is well-known, asserts the exclusion of foreigners, slaves, women and children from the political sphere. This is no mere question of a series of identities who, for reasons extraneous to democracy’s ideals, have been excluded from the rights of citizenship – and who might therefore look forward to democracy’s more perfect unfolding in their recognition or, as Michael Hardt puts it, in “recognizing again what democracy is and what it could be” (2007, p. 41). Nor is it a matter of the interruption of capitalist development by pre- or non-capitalist prejudices. On the contrary, this confluence of foreigners, slaves, women and children is a question of genealogy, of the authentication of power through origin-stories and their transmission, as fact and naturalised foundation, into the future. In its most basic sense, then, this is the problem of the legal form of value, of its imposition and perseverance.

What passes for legal tender is a convention for the reckoning of debts – and a legitimated violence steps in where convention falters. Without “the guarantee of power,” as Mark Osteen puts it, “counterfeit and genuine currency are identical.” Following Georg Simmel and Jean-Joseph Goux, Osteen goes on to note that “the money economy depends upon a form of faith or credit in the authenticity and power of the existing political order, a supranational standard that resembles both the ‘aura’ surrounding original art and religious faith” (1992, p. 828). Osteen is concerned with the formal

by seeing the “family wage” as having always already implicated the household in the circuit of value production, and that “free exchange” was, and is, not free.

- By emphasising the integral relation of unwaged domestic labour to the wage system, it expands the terrain of working-class politics to include all of those exploited by capital, whether in the home or on the job, or indeed at the Job Centre.

- Finally, it displaces or widens the focus of class struggle beyond the formal workplace, and starts to see class phenomena in all kinds of “social movements” that contain an element of resistance to being “labour-power,” waged or unwaged, including the direct action claiming of resources (claimants’ unions, squatting, and also other emancipation struggles premised on a “marginalised” identification by the social order).

Here it is indispensable to stress that the concept of the “free worker” as originally enunciated by Marx as the one who has nothing to sell but their labour power is long overdue for revision, and the urgency of this task is inarguable at a moment where neither labour power nor sale are operating as usual, and this “usual” has also sustained considerable distortion for many years without becoming an object for political discussion. Marcel van der Linden, for example, writes that “It seems more reasonable to admit that in reality labour commodification takes many different forms, of which the free wage-earner only selling his or her own labour power is only one

concurrence of literary and economic values, as is Will Fisher in his treatment of the etymological proximity of “queer sex” to “queer money,” their shared connotations of counterfeit and forgery. Fisher, for his part, notes that “unnatural sexualities and unnatural economies were coded through each other” (1999, p. 15), though mostly alludes to the productivism that, in political economy, has long served to define what is natural and, therefore, to specify the line between fake and real. More formally, in his commodity exchange theory of the law, Evgeny Pashukanis put this problematic in terms of the continual re-foundation, through violence, of the legal form of value. “Legal obligation,” he wrote, can find no independent validity and wavers interminably between two extremes: subjection to external coercion, and ‘free’ moral duty” (2007, p. 165). In its schematics, this echoes Walter Benjamin’s argument in his “Critique of Violence,” elaborated since in various ways by Giorgio Agamben, Achille Mbembe and others. There, the dilemma is that of a periodic swing, in Benjamin’s words, between law-making and law-preserving violence. Put together, these understandings point to the eminent questions of political economy, not least those of exchange conceived as the form of relation, of productivity as its premise and promise, of the subjective homologies of marital, wage, social and fiduciary contracts that find their most elaborated form in the itemising of the Fordist family wage (Mitropoulos, 2009). In discussions of the most recent financial meltdown, these questions appear as the crisis of value’s foundation, most remarkably in the calls for greater regulation and denunciations of unproductive excess (Cooper and Mitropoulos, 2009a).

That said, if a formal analysis of the dynamic that characterises the move to legal violence threatens to slide from a description of the indistinction between the rule of law and the state of exception toward political indifference (notable in Agamben’s claim that we are all, potentially, homo sacer), Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s insistence on the “productive dimension” they consider as fundamental to their politics tends to cast – to borrow Brett Neilson’s phrase (2004, p. 77) – “constituent power as an undisputed origin.” It is this positing of a seemingly unchallenged origin (of value) – or, better: the attempt at its definition and reinscription (and in the midst, I would argue, of its deepest disputation and uncertainty) – which begins to explain the differentia specifica of the turn toward a legitimated (if not strictly legal) violence, or explains what is at stake in this turn. Not quite the tragic dispersal of control or loss, nor the triumphal advance of the multitude’s productive capacities, the innovations in forms of control that translate identification into right – and, thereby, both the possibility of its revocation or the reckoning of its lack, as Wendy Brown argued (1993) – pivot on the transformation of contingency into necessity. In one respect, this is the problem of the generation of quantitative values from qualitative ones. But the labour theory of right, and the labour theory of value that stalks it as its ironic critique, which understand this problem only through the conflation of contingency and labour, tend to resolve complex and irreducible flows into the figural claims of original creation. To pose this as a problem of the transformation of labour into labour-power presupposes that it is possible to know what labour is before and beyond the encounter with the machinery of its quantification. This may well bolster the shaken confidence of knowing – as a matter of the distribution of the wage, in the very definition of legitimate labour in its distinction from slavery, or in the explanation of quantitative difference by way of some essential qualities of man – to whom and to what we owe our existence. But it also projects the present into an idealised future. In other words, the labour theory of value, as a production theory of value, becomes the seemingly conclusive and indisputable origin of justice and of right.

And so, without faith that this mythical origin contains an inevitable and idealised destiny, rights are contingent, and will remain so. In “Queer Loving,” Siobhan B. Somerville argues that the predominance in the United States of a liberal discourse of inclusion depended upon an optimistic rendition of the progressive advance of civil rights, “a reading that moves gradually from discrimination against minority groups toward the fulfilment of an idealized democracy” (2005, p. 335). To this insight I would add that there would be no way to think of race, or a people, or a nation without the ordered inscriptions of genealogy, just as it is not possible to think of the persistence of any of these over time without invoking a normative economy of sex, gender and sexuality. Played out along boundaries of East and West, through the affiliations of anti-imperialism and human rights, and at the line that separates the privacy of the household from the gaze of the street, much of what occurred in Belgrade – as the city it has come to be in relation to cities else-

example.” Thus, it is not only the gendered division of labour which has historically played out as the difference between paid and unpaid work; it is also the elision of the many other forms of irregular, unpaid, self-exploiting, and bonded labour in working-class politics that has ensued their survival and proliferation into the present, and which positions them as central to the current phase of capitalist non-reproduction, and even such equivocal ties to the wage relation must be considered alongside the refusal of or inability to gain waged work which welfare benefits represent. All these phenomena exhibit the tenuousness of the formal labour contract as an apparatus of control and exploitation by capital and state, but also the tenuousness of such contracts for both defensive struggles and recompositions on the terrain held, for now, by crisis management.

\*This text is a revised discussion document for a workshop organised for the Summer Camp in the UK, July 2009. A fuller consideration of all these questions and some others is planned for one of the next issues of *Reartikulacija*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marcel van der Linden, “Workers of the World: Essays toward a Global Labor History,” in *Studies in Global Social History*, 1, Brill, Leiden, 2008, p. 20.

where – turns around the tense knots that bind the familial to the national, and, therefore, that connect sex and desire to race and (re-) production. Something of this was noted in the statement from the Open Assembly of Solidarity, as they called for protests against the prohibition of Belgrade Pride outside the Serbian Embassy in Athens. Cutting across but also through the nervous lines of familiarity, their statement reads:

The ideology of ethnicity, of racial purity and supremacy, arms the violence against anyone who does not conform to nationalist dogma. Those who do not align themselves with the vision of nationalism are attacked because their life-practices refuse to reproduce the values responsible for the structuring of an ethnic identity. (Emphasis added, 2009).

Alys Eve Weinbaum calls this the race/reproduction bind. She argues that the “interconnected ideologies of racism, nationalism, and imperialism rest on the notion that race can be reproduced” (2004, p. 4). Some time ago, Étienne Balibar also emphasised the “central importance of the criterion of genealogy,” characterising it as “a symbolic category articulated to relative juridical notions and, first and foremost, to the legitimacy of filiation” (1991, p. 56). And so, just as it is not possible to dismiss what occurred in Belgrade with gestures of indifference – to allow filiation to relegate criticism to behind the closed doors of the familial home of anti-imperialism, and confine public statement to declarations that this kind of thing happens everywhere – nor is it possible to suppose that it might have been averted with a better recognition of rights. As with the debate over the effective banning of *Out of Place: Interrogating Silences in Queerness/Racality* (2008), mostly depicted as a choice (that is, a false choice) between the theses of homonationalist Islamophobia and developmental backwardness, such arguments finds their impasse in restatements of filiation. Of course, this is the condition of passing and belonging, as a good citizen might. The prevalence of pink versions of national flags from Pride marches in London to Mardi Gras in Sydney, along with the prominence given to the involvement of military and police at such events, makes nationalism more than a pre-condition of the demand for rights – it literally defines them. Given the eminence of this, alongside the political importance given to calls for the legalisation of gay marriage, adoption, or access to reproductive technologies, whatever rights these seem to accomplish, they also amount to overwhelming displays of re-productive allegiance.

Rituals of obedience are no more emphatic than where that loyalty is at its most suspect, where desire and the future must contend with the most vagrant and fugitive of prospects, and the legal form of value with the problem of its reinscription or imposition. In other words, origin and lineage are nowhere more disputed and uneasy than in the frontier – which is to say, nowhere a more unmistakable terrain of conflict than in the very moment of the establishment of the contractual conventions that put a distance between capitalism and feudalism (such as those which distinguish a labour freely given from that appropriated by coercion, and therefore nowhere more emphatic a proposition than in the qualitative distinctions of race that marked the purportedly heritable properties of either condition). What Warren Montag has called “that admittedly bizarre impasse at which the *Tractatus Politicus* halts so abruptly” (1999, p. 85) turns out to be the problem of assuring genealogical order. Spinoza’s dilemma is not simply that women are “weak,” but that men “generally love women merely from lust,” and are very “ill-disposed” “to suffer the women they love to show any sort of favour to others, and other facts of this kind” (1951, p. 387). This, in short, is the danger of wayward, unproductive desire. These are the assumptions that separate and join spheres of intimacy, politics, labour, sex, communication; that gender the attributions of activity and passivity in the drafting of contractual subjectivity. It is the move that disavows desire in politics (or, as in Fordism: the factory), and in so doing politicises desire by insisting upon the mastering of one’s body and the productivity of its potential issue. This tension between the private and the common – in other words, between the jealous privatisation of women as the object of desire and women as the common property of men – that Spinoza ponders forms the template of contract theories, whether those of the marital, wage or social contract, and brings to the fore all the gendered senses in which the categories of active and passive (citizenship and sexuality) are constructed and remade.

In any case, it is little wonder that both Balibar and Montag, in reading Spinoza to this point, begin to think about the trans-Atlantic

slave trade. There is, very simply, no way to think of sexual economies without speaking, also, of the organisation of race, though the connection is less metonymic or homologous than that they are both crucial to the inscriptions of genealogy, the legitimate transmission of property through name. More curious is Hardt's argument that the Left should not "abandon the claim to identifying its legacy" in the Jeffersonian tradition. Not quite a dismissal of Jefferson's critics, Hardt nevertheless sets aside their specificity – "his ownership of slaves, his unacknowledged sexual relationship with one of those slaves, his drive for westward expansion that extended plantation slavery and usurped Native American lands" (2007, p. 43) – as if they are not all about the authentication of inheritance, legacy. Undoubtedly, Jefferson can seem progressive. He defended "inter-racial" sex. But it is not simply that, for Jefferson as for others, the distinction between the master's legal and bastard children (and its authorisation of property) remained intact. More significantly, for Jefferson racial "mixing" amounted to modernisation – that is: the cultivation of properly American gender roles among natives and slaves (see Steele, 2008). Put another way: the household (reproductive) architecture of a Jeffersonian domestic economy requires common law's experimental inclination and its scalable contracts. In the frontier, sovereignty and canonical law give way to fraternal democracy and common law.

The frontier furnished the household as the elaboration of an architectural and intimate dynamic through which limits were escaped and restored. Situated across the hyphen between politics and economics, as the means by which law makes markets, in the frontier, the household attained a plasticity and portability that confound European understandings of empire and flight. But it is the heteronormative household that determined, through precedent and approximation in common law's unfolding, the extent to which property, contract and credit were recognized, considered as heritable and therefore guaranteed across time. It is this conjuncture – perhaps since William Blackstone articulated empire's horizon as that of an increasingly "incorporeal hereditament" – through which, as he put it (Morrison, 2001, p.12), "grand ends" are sought by "steadily pursuing that wise and orderly maxim, of assigning to every thing capable of ownership a legal and determinate owner" at the moment of its greatest ontological uncertainty.

Here, Somerville's reading of U.S. legal history is pertinent (2005). Her striking point, discussed in the connections between heteronormalisation and the legitimation of "inter-racial" marriage, is that progressive narratives charge identity with authenticity and install comparison. And so, while there have been attempts to move beyond the discrete arrangement of identities (as in intersectionality studies), "our knowledge still tends to be organised through analogies naturalised in the context of identity politics, including the notion that sexual identity is in most ways, or at least in the most salient ways, like race." Following the arguments made by Janet Halley on the incomparability of non-normative sexualities and race, Somerville illustrates how the legitimation of "interracial marriage" was accomplished in relation to its thorough heterosexualization. Race cannot function as simile for gays, women, or those with disabilities. Movements around sexual orientation, Halley argued, harbour "an unforgivingly corrosive critique of identity itself." To this argument it might be added that the specificity of queer sex is that it, as with the Marxian notion of class, is far less an identity than a placeholder of that which is regarded as without value, inauthentic and – in its specifically capitalist sense – deemed unproductive or excessively so. What connects race to sex, however, is also what can pull them apart. Somerville writes that where "monogamous marriage was assumed to produce an unadulterated line of descent, adultery was

imagined as the potential pollution of bodies, thus scrambling the inheritance of property relationships and status" (2005, p. 354).

The household was never peripheral to American imperialism. It was, on the contrary, the space through which the legal form of value was defined and imposed. After all, it is at the frontier that the boundaries of property law and its tenure unfold, that legitimate labour (the very distinction between wage labour and slavery) and authorised reproduction (as with the master's legally recognized and bastard children) are decided. The egalitarianism of a diasporic sovereignty situated the household as the intimate sphere of a sentimental and self-managed equivalence. It is this household that would become the efflorescent machinery of that sentiment's limits and their multiplication. With its attendant claims of inheritance, labour and right, the Jeffersonian domestic economy envisioned perfect symmetries of contractual reciprocity. And so, in the violent positing of the frontier as a space of exploration, cultivation and the extraction of wealth – in the scarcities that are obliged as precondition and condition of a market in labour, in the criminalisation and recapture of fugitive and wayward (re)production and, not least, in the ambivalent play of the value form's genera as simultaneously universality, hypostatization and arbitrage – there would be a periodic recourse to the naturalising magic of genealogy to settle matters of orderly progression and authenticity. It might be noted, here, that Somerville's analyses around the heterosexual condition of "inter-racial" sex turns around the pivotal legal case of *Loving v. Virginia* (1967). There, the Lockean social contract, with all the elasticity afforded by common law as it moves out across the frontier, is given form in the re-ordering of the marital contract: as Chief Justice Warren wrote in that ruling: "The freedom to marry has long been recognized as one of the vital personal rights essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men."

Insofar as common law's methodology is one of case law and precedent (in other words, memory and test case), it is a genealogical method. Origins (in the register of ownership and authorship) are inscribed and legitimated in the unpredictable environment of – to borrow Justice Wendell Holmes' quite simple word – life (in *Diggins*, 1994, p. 342). It is not, then, that labour-power is another word for bare life, but that common law attempts to judge what is just through recourse to genealogy. The remainder, the surplus of the labour theory of value, is that which is not recognised as labour, as being productive. This stubborn remainder is the result of having to define what labour is, to take its measure. The labour theory of right is, in its way, a way of recording the genealogies of exploitation and recompense – quite literally, tracing the lines of justice and indebtedness, of adjudicating on the not-so-confident assumption of knowing to whom and to what we owe our existence. As Stephen M. Best remarks in analysing the complex of slavery and property law, debt "translates ownership into obedience with all the effectiveness of legal rhetoric," – and so, the fugitive is one "who has reneged on a promise to provide his labour" (2004, p. 82). Not only is the labour of the slave without measure, it is situated outside time in the supposedly mutual and sentimental bonds of master and slave, but nevertheless figured as a boundless obligation to labour. Slavery, rather than wage labour, is the riddle (and telos) at the heart of the labour theory of value – or, better put: it marks the extraction of a surplus without punctual limit, through the gendered, racialised distribution of the wage and its accompanying architectures of household and nation.

For Karl Marx, as he tracks down political economy's genealogical fictions (and therefore, the legal ordering of right), the labour theory of value appears as the ironic undoing of capitalist legitimation. But, in the "Critique of the Gotha Programme," he recoils from the idea

of "useful labour" as the condition of right, just as he insists that the ownership of (a feminised) "nature" by men is one of the principal conditions that gives meaning to words such as use value, labour, and so on. But if here the references to race and sex are implicit, elsewhere he dismisses "fancied genealogy" as that which is required by "the incipience of monogamy" (quoted in Engels' *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*). Far from restating the labour theory of right as moral critique, Marx suggests that the "bourgeois have very good grounds for falsely ascribing supernatural creative power to labor."

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## RAZVEZA OD KAPITALA IN KOLONIALNE MATRICE MOČI / DE-LINKING FROM CAPITAL AND THE COLONIAL MATRIX OF POWER

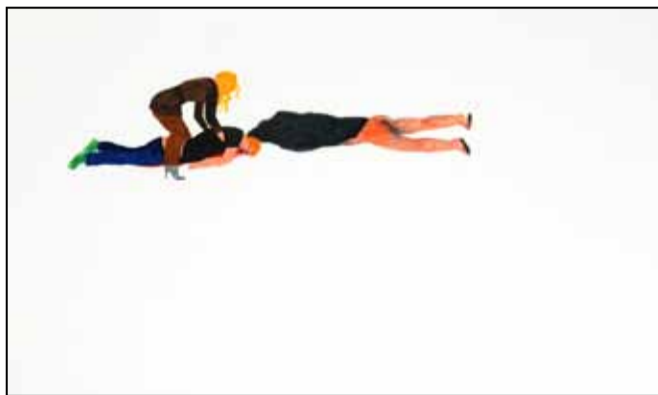
### ZAKON KAPITALA: ZGODOVINE ZATIRANJA/ THE LAW OF CAPITAL: HISTORIES OF OPPRESSION

#### Siniša Ilić RAZDEJANJE

Vsebinska risba, ki nosijo naslov *Razdejanje*, deluje z zakasnitvijo: ključni dogodek je iz njih izvzet, naš pogled kot pogled očitvidca pa daleč prepozen, da bi ga uzrl. Risbe ponazarjajo sledi, ostaline, fragmente dejanj, ki so se ohranili – ali pa so bili vedno tam – kot ostanki serije podob, ki so nam že bile določene. Nevidna vsebinska risba pravzaprav aktivira polje političnega boja. Nestrpnost in diskriminacija, katerima smo priča vsak dan, postaneta vidni v trenutku, ko v veljavo stopijo drugačne vrednote in se začnejo širiti. Risbe *Razdejanje* ne obravnavajo ali predstavljajo neke mitološke oziroma nedoločene preteklosti nasilja ali trpljenja v zgodovini totalitarnih ali demokratičnih družb – priljubljenih pro/re/gresivnih dob. Osredotočajo se na sedanji čas. Prizori so del brezkončne, večne sedanjosti, spektakla nasilja ali podobnih obračunavanj, zapakiranih v prepoznavno obliko sodobne risbe. To sodobnost je mogoče prepoznati ravno prek modelov neobirokratskih procedur, utopičnih uravnovešenih enakosti med izbranimi upodobljenimi liki/figurami/osebniimi vlogami in v njihovi povezanosti ali podobnosti z multipliranimi medijskimi podobami, ki jih lahko vidimo na vsakem koraku. *Razdejanje* je serija preprostih, negibnih, nemih risb brez začetka ali konca, ki prikazujejo svet *belega človeka*, njegovo egalitarno družbo.

30 risb, flomaster na papirju, 36 x 41 cm, 2008/2009

Siniša Ilić je magister slikarstva in član uredniškega odbora revije *Teorija koja hoda (TkH)*, Beograd.



Siniša Ilić, iz serije *Razdejanje*, 2008/2009, 30 risb, flomaster na papirju, 36 x 41 cm / Siniša Ilić, from the series *Aftermath*, 2008/2009, 30 drawings, felt – tip pens on paper, 36 x 41 cm

#### Siniša Ilić AFTERMATH

The content of the *Aftermath* drawings is post-explicit: the main event is evacuated, our gaze as witness is already too late. We can find traces, remnants, crumbs of action that are left, or that always existed, as leftovers from the feast of images already selected for us. Non-explicit content of the drawings activates the field of political battle. Everyday intolerance or discriminations become visible at the moment when the opposite values are finally about to start their life and development. *Aftermaths* do not refer to or represent a mythologized or, on the other hand, undefined past of violence and tortures inside the history of totalitarian or democratic societies – favorite pro/re/gressive epochs. Rather, they are focused on recent times. Scenes fill up a vast and eternal present, spectacles of violence or similar showdowns dressed



up in the recognizable texture of contemporary image. It is possible to recognize contemporariness through models of neo-bureaucratic procedures, utopian balanced egalitarianism between chosen characters/figures/roles in the drawings and through their association or similarities with media images, multiplied and spread all over. *Aftermath* is a frieze without beginning or end, simple, still, and silent. The place where action takes place is the *white world*, the egalitarian societies.

30 drawings, felt – tip pens on paper, 36 x 41 cm, 2008/9

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different explanations of what the Radar means, or, in other words, against whom we need to be protected. One version was, it is being built to protect the United States, this is the first version. The other version was, it is to protect us, the Czech Republic – if somebody sends missiles against the Czech Republic, it would protect us. I wonder who would send missiles to the Czech Republic. Why? Maybe in order to destroy this Radar; in this case, that would be a good reason to do it. And third was to protect Europe, which was the most nebulous explanation, but I have no information that I can trust about what I need to be protected against or if it is going to protect me at all. Or what consequences this Radar construction will have for future international relations.

**Santiago López Petit:** Today, the critical political discourse is not constructed so much on the horizons that we need to reach – big goals, big ideologies – but on what I would call “fragments of sense,” which are articulated around these gestures of rejection.

**Jana Glivická:** They signed two agreements, one main agreement about the building of this base, and the second agreement, the Status of Forces Agreement, or the so-called SOFA. What is strange about the

first agreement is that it's the agreement about building some specific military base, with no parameters on the building of this Radar. It does not say how big the area that they will use will be, and what is really a problem is that they can gradually develop all the installations that will be there without any restriction; it's just a *blanco cheque* signed by the U.S. military. And the SOFA agreement is related to all U.S. military presence in the Czech Republic, so in the future, it will be less complicated to install any new base or installation, or to have the permanent presence of the U.S. army.

**Jan Májíček:** One very important thing, besides these two treaties, is that there was the third treaty being signed and it's the cooperation between the Czech Academy of Science and some American military companies, so Czech scientists will be participating in military researches for new technologies.

**Ellisiv Ronglien:** After the Agreement was signed by the Polish government, it was not ratified by the parliament. I think there was a period of wait-and-see, from the government side, to see what would happen with the U.S. elections and what proposal the new U.S. administration would put forward, and in a way this is still the situation. This

also means that there is much less debate in the media and much less going on around the issue of the so-called antimissile shield.

**Filip Ilkowsky:** We don't know what will be with the whole missile defense project; that it will be just destroyed, I don't believe it, it's too much money invested and high strategic interests for United States are here at stake. But of course it can change somehow, you never know, if the bases are built here or maybe somewhere else. One of the Obama advisers said that maybe more infrastructures will be built on the sea that is much more effective than interceptor missiles, so in fact we don't know. To take into account is of course additionally this whole crisis in the US economy that also can narrow some possibilities to build all this, or at least to make the whole project progress slower. But I think we shouldn't believe that everything is over, because the logic is not really different, therefore everything is still possible.

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## BEOGRAD GAZELA – TRAVEL GUIDE TO A SLUM

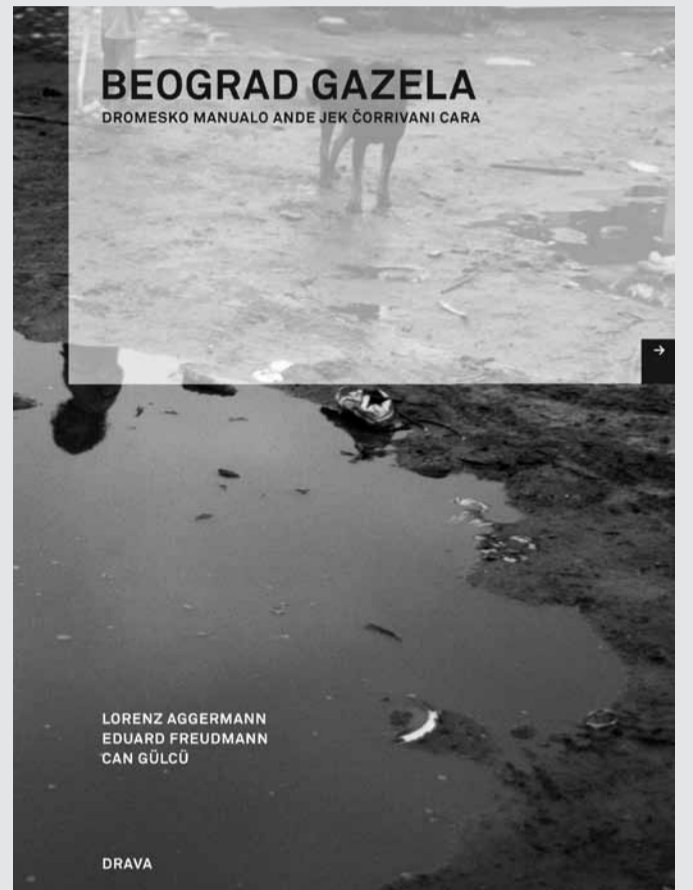
In Belgrade there are around 150 settlements which are commonly referred to as slums. Their exact number is hard to ascertain because the criteria for a uniform definition have not been established: When does a collection of huts and barracks attain the size which qualifies it as a settlement? Should this be based on the number of people or the number of houses? And above all, what is a slum?

Anyone who wishes to investigate this further will discover that few answers can be found locally since these settlements are largely ignored in Serbia. They are virtually unknown outside the country, even though the affluent European countries contributed significantly to their formation and rapid growth through the repatriation of deported migrants. There is very little information about the development and conditions in the slums or about their inhabitants, and yet they are more than present in the daily life of Belgrade. One particularly striking example was a settlement which lay under the freeway bridge Gazela. It was situated in the middle of the city with tens of thousands driving by its huts and barracks daily, yet there was almost no one who had visited the settlement, who knew the inhabitants, or had bothered to inform him or herself about their circumstances. In summer 2009 the Gazela settlement was violently demolished, the inhabitants were moved under police escort into shipping containers in five different locations on the edge of Belgrade and beyond, or to their towns of origin throughout the country.

Beograd Gazela: Travel Guide to a Slum takes us into this blank area in the heart of Belgrade in order to redefine its significance

in the public consciousness and thus to integrate such a striking, important place into the recent history of Serbia. It should, however, not only encourage readers to visit similar settlements in order to inform themselves about the situation directly, but the travel guide should also draw attention to the multi-layered mechanisms of marginalization and discrimination against Roma, and it hopes that through its well-grounded description of this sociotope, a general basis for further humanitarian and political projects can be created. Also, those readers who do not want to actually make a trip there will still get a well-substantiated insight into a place which can be seen as an exemplar for the living environment of tens of thousands of inhabitants of Belgrade who are excluded from the majority of society, and is practically paradigmatic for the recent history of the Roma people in Southeast Europe.

**The book is published in Romani, Serbian and German language**  
<http://beogradgazela.net>



## LEZBIČNI BAR/ LESBIAN BAR

### Nataša Velikonja ZAPOREDJE ZGODBE

Kaj se je torej dogajalo v lezbičnem baru? V lezbičnem baru je bil večer lezbične in gejevske literature in potem so naciji vanj zmetali bakle in kamenje. O tem ste verjetno že kaj slišale, nekje, kdo-ve-kje, ste o tem nekaj ujele. Morda med umivanjem vaših sladkih rok, dlani, vratu pred mirnim spancam, medtem ko je obvezni televizor iz kota vaše obvezne zakonske spalnice spuščal novice o zastojih, poplavih, potresih, poroki in plazovih v ta vaš prostor ljubezenskih objemov, pogosto, vse pogostejše odloženih zavoljo neskončnega časa, ki ga imate na razpolago s svojim možem, tipom, sinom, očetom. Ali pa morda med vstavljanjem citatov Jacquesa, Alaina, Antonia, Terryja in Slavója v vašo najnovejšo avtorsko, sicer pa že tisočo analizo sodobne politične subjektivitete. Slišale ste o »napadu na lezbični lokal v Ljubljani«, in potem ste se zdrznile, kajti pomislile ste, morda pa je tam bila katera od tistih lezbijk, ki jih poznam, s katerimi enkrat na deset let kaj naredim, katera od tistih, ki so nas nekoč neumorno vabile na kavo, pijačo, druženje, k sodelovanju. Ja, te punce poznam, upam, da so v redu.

Potem ste naslednji dan šle v službo ali pa tudi ne, ker imate *raztegljiv* delovni čas in ker ste v Poziciji, ko vam po dolгих letih končno nihče ne more ničesar več določati, šle ste torej pač kar nekam in to prediskutiralne s sodelavci, sedele ste in vpile, ma v kakšni državi živimo, ma ta država je skozi in skozi fašistična, medtem vas je tudi že poklical vaš osebni homoseksualec in vam povedal, da bo popoldne pred lezbičnim barom manifestacija proti homofobnemu nasilju, in odločile ste se, treba je iti, pravzaprav smo bili napadeni Vsi, četudi je res, da so vas lezbijke dan prej povabile prav na ta literarni večer, pa vam je bilo prav malo mar, če vas že ni bolel kurac, ampak to zdaj ni važno, ravno kar se dogaja mnogo večja stvar, nasilje, in tu ni heca, to ni otroški vrtec, in je torej treba iti.

Prišle ste v trenutku, ko je prišla tudi notranja ministrica z varnostniki, in prišlo je nekaj vaših prijateljev in znancev, nekoč profesorjev, sedaj pa ministrov, ministrov in ministrov, samih veteranov sedemdesetih in osemdesetih, mi smo to začeli, zdaj pa skorajda nikogar ne poznam, od užaljenosti ste že skorajda pomislile, kaj sploh počnem tu, ampak potem ste že zagledale vašega osebnega homoseksualca v karo srajci, bil je zbran in osredotočen, prav takšen, kakršnega to gibanje potrebuje, da bi *ti ljudje* lahko končno zaživelj točno tako kot jaz, v svinjskem hlevu, polnem pomij in stelje in klanja, na kratko vam je pokimal v pozdrav, nato pa večje povabil

k mikrofону že naslednjega vzpenjajočega se, takisto kariranega političnega birokrata, ki je ravno kar izustil, »Niko ne sme, da vas bije!«.

Gledale ste, videle ste ogromno »medijev«, poleg vašega osebnega homoseksualca ste nato uzrle še enega, identičnega, in nato še enega, tudi identičnega, tudi v karo srajci, in rekile ste si, *stvar* gre v pravo smer, izgleda kot uspeh, da, fašizem je premagan, mislile ste si, tako je, kot mora biti, da bo *stvar* učinkovala za neumno ljudstvo, predvsem njih je treba prepričati, da ne bomo stalno prepričevali samo prepričanih, in tako torej v tem akcijskem krogotoku karosrajčnikov in »medijev« seveda niste pogrešale ne lezbijk ne umetnic ne umetnikov. Notranje ministrice do tedaj že ni bilo več, po treh sekundah je spizdila skupaj s svojimi varnostniki in zaklozetirano pribočnico, ampak je pa bila in predvsem to je važno.

Potem je bilo konec in čas je bil za »*kakšen drink*«. Naenkrat ste uzrle lezbijke. Tam na robu, skorajda izza zidu lezbičnega bara, je slonela tolpa njih in se režala. Nekaj od njih vas ni niti videlo niti pogledalo, druge pa so se režale kar dalje, pičke popadljive, in se niso premaknile niti za las. Vsi ostali smo se že kar dobro premikali, vsi smo se kar hitro odmaknili stran od peticije proti homofobnemu nasilju in se med seboj družili in mešali, politiki z bivšimi profesorji, bivši politiki s profesorji in bivši politiki s tistimi, ki so hkrati politiki in profesorji, vsi moji osebni homoseksualci so se družili in mešali z njimi in med stiskanjem rok vsakomur šepnili nekam tja v vakuum med zatilje in ovratnik karo srajce, »Niko ne sme, da nas bije«. Da, zdaj je treba stisnit, dobro to oni lobirajo. Ugasnila je še zadnja kamera novinarke, ki je na prizorišču homofobnega zločina ali terorističnega dejanja – tega inteligenca na adrenalinskem sunku Dogodka in po tretjem piru še ni dorekla – končno dočkala tipa, ki je pred leti pel za Slovenijo na *Evroviziji*, kako ganljivo, da je pokazal takšno zavest. Prav je, da je moj homoseksualec, kot mi je skrivoma zaupal sam ali pa mi še bo, pravočasno umaknil podpisovanje peticije pred tistimi režečimi lezbijkami, ki so kar planile nanjo, dobro je, da se najprej podpiše en tak zvezdnik, to je dobro za »*medijski učinek*«, kot je dejal ta moj Karo, to je dobro za mladino, ki je dandanes, ugotavljam, kar konservativna, pa me v resnici prav en drek briga, če je in zakaj je, kar se mene tiče, sem svoje naredila. Če bi lezbijke ne bile že takrat, ko je bilo kaj možnosti, prestare, bi jim lahko pomagala, tako pa so si same krive, kaj pa so bile že od nekaj prestare.

Morda vam je katera od lezbijk tistega dne pred lezbičnim barom, preden ste po treh sekundah spizdile tudi ve, morda vam je katera od lezbijk kaj rekla, morda vam je rekla, se spominjate Nancy Cunard, avantgardne umetnice in založnice, ki je še na smrtni postelji leta 1965, kamor so jo spravile revščina, boemsko življenje in politična

razočaranja, zahtevala kozarec rdečega vina in material za pisanje o fašizmu, ki se z drugo svetovno vojno – da, tudi po njenem mnenju – nikakor ni končal? Ali ste se pač naučile samo o Theodorju, Herbertu, Jürgenu, Maxu in kakopak Walterju? Se spominjate morda Djune Barnes, modernistične pisateljice, ki je v prvi polovici 20. stoletja napisala več pionirskih lezbičnih romanov, a jo je del homoseksualnega gibanja sedemdesetih let zmerjal s homofobinjo – zato, ker ni hotela sodelovati v njihovih literarnih antologijah? Ali pač menite, da so ta prestara, režeča dekleta nekakšni Franki Zappe, Tomi Waitsi, Charlesi Bukowskyji, pa da si jih lahko po mili volji povežete na boleče čelo ob nostalgičnem glavobolu zaradi vaših minulih prvratov? Niso. Se v tej vaši postopni, a vse bolj absolutni letargiji, ki je – to menda zgolj slutite, kajti tega vam oni zgoraj niso in ne bodo povedali – posledica vašega zdaj-nepopustljivega-zdaj-popustljivega feminizma, sploh spominjate kakšne drobne, lačne, revne, brezdomne, lucidne, prestare ženske? Morda so vas lezbijke – ki so jih te vaše male, velike popustitve, te vaše drobne, masivne koncesije, ki ste jih tako prejemale kot dajale za dobrobit »*učinka*«, kakršnegakoli že, zabrisale onkraj zidu – vprašale prav nekaj takega. Ampak ujele ste zgolj, zdravo, kako si, in potem ste resnično odgovorile samo na to vprašanje, rekile ste, ah, zdaj, ko je poletje, zdaj, ko ni take gneče, zdaj je kar v redu.

Vaš in naš dan se je tako zaključil in počasi ste se vračali k možu, tipu, sinu, očetu, Jacquesu, Alainu, Antoniu, Terryju, Slavóju, Theodorju, Herbertu, Jürgenu, Maxu, Normanu Batesu in kakopak Walterju. Na ulici, ki ste jo zapustili, se je v istem hipu začel večer v lezbičnem baru. Lezbijke poznamo cel kup drobnih, lačnih, revnih, brezdomnih, lucidnih, prestarih žensk, toliko jih je, na stotine, ampak pridejo samo takrat, ko jih ne morete žaliti z vašimi razkošnimi odhajanji. Skratka, pridejo, ko vas ni. Živimo brez vaših odgovorov, tako kot ve živite brez naših vprašanj. Medtem ko si v vaših človeških domovih, polnih hrane, odev in ljubezni, pred spancam umivate sladke roke, dlani in vrat, se k okroglim barskim mizicam vrnejo prav vse lezbijke. Naslednjega večera bodo spet prišle prav vse, pa naslednjega tudi, pa naslednjega in vse naprej. In mislim, da boste tudi ve prav kmalu spet prišle. Prišle in odšle boste po istem zaporedju te večne, krvave zgodbe.

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of discrimination and poverty of Roma.<sup>20</sup> It rather gives us information about the functionality of the colonial matrix of power in the context of the European Union and global capitalism. The reactive players of the project of the *Decade* are Eastern European countries that either recently joined the EU or are about to join it in the near future (the only exception is Spain!). One could conclude therefore that the absence of Western European countries in the project of the *Decade* is the result of the fact that Roma are not discriminated and thus there is no need for such a program there. As we saw that this is not the case, we can conclude that the *Decade* is in fact about the inclusion of the new and future EU countries and serves as a tool that enables Europe to ensure Roma's position in the colonial matrix of power – the inclusion of Roma according to racist EU standards. The ideology behind this is a neo-liberal capitalist ideology rooted in its colonial past that uses racism as a tool for exploitation. Its goal is not to bring pluriversity of human relations but to enforce the inclusion of Roma in the capitalist system of exploitation, meaning to "civilize" them according to EU standards. Inclusion thus doesn't mean that Roma will have equal rights but rather means that they will be exploited in a more cultivated way, as is the

20 Cf. Walden Bello, *Deglobalization: Ideas for a New World Economy*, Revised Edition, Zed Books, London & New York, 2005.

case in Western EU countries where their position in the colonial matrix of power can shift from *bare life* to *bios*.<sup>21</sup> Thus, what the EU suggests is that Roma should not be discriminated against in such an obvious way, but in a more subtle and low-key one.

One of the important aspects of *The Decade of Roma Inclusion* must be seen in relation to EU security politics: Roma should be prevented from migrating from poorer Eastern European countries to richer Western European countries. Thus, the participating countries are required to improve the living conditions for Roma and thereby secure that Roma stay where they are. The recent case of 100 Roma migrating from Romania caused immense panic in Germany. After being expelled from a park in Berlin, they were paid money to return to Romania!<sup>22</sup> This panic actually results from the fear that a growing number of Roma could increase German antiromaism which had been switched to *slumber mode* after the extermination of its target objects within Porajmos, the genocide of Roma conducted in Nazi Germany (that included Austria).

21 Sefik Šeki Tatlić "The Truth Machine: The Relationship between Life and Sovereign Power, in: *Integration Impossible? The Politics of Migration in the Art Work of Tanja Ostojić*, eds. Marina Gržinić and Tanja Ostojić, argobooks, Berlin, 2009, pp. 229–237.  
22 <http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/archiv/bin/dump.fcgi/2009/06/12/berlin/0031/index.html>, retrieved on August 28, 2009.

## ZAKON KAPITALA: ZGODOVINE ZATIRANJA/ THE LAW OF CAPITAL: HISTORIES OF OPPRESSION

### Lina Dokuzović DOBIČEK OD BIOKAPITALISTIČNE VREDNOSTI IN UKINITEV ČLOVEŠKEGA KAPITALA

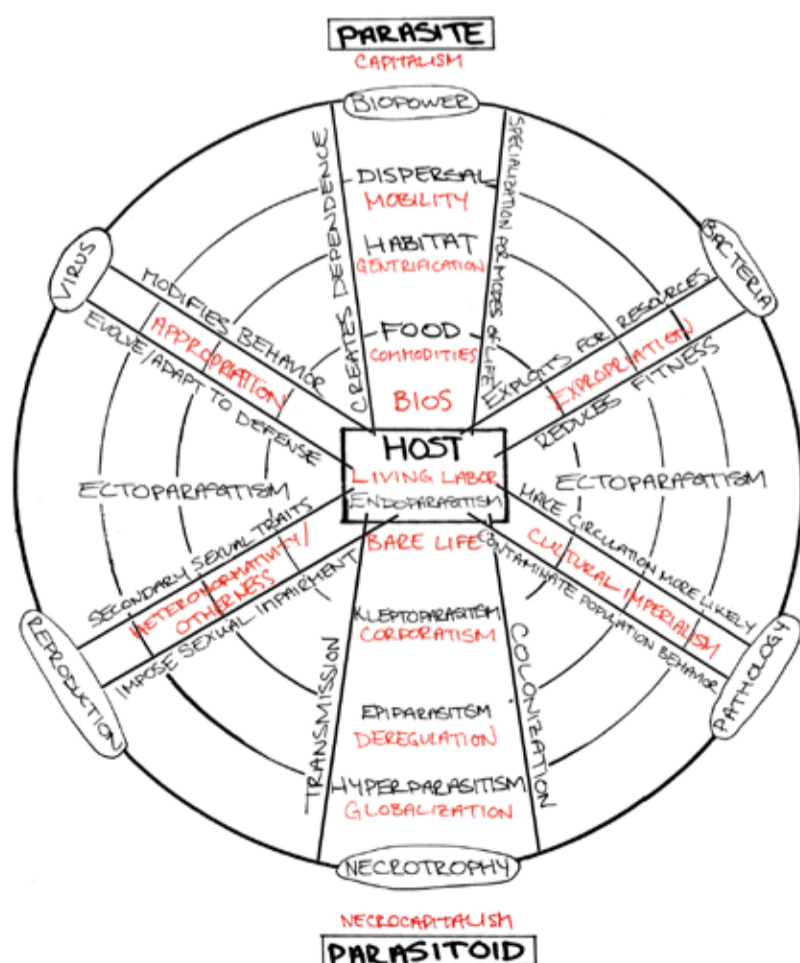
Vse bolj liberalno in s tem deregulirano ekonomijo spremlja vse večja regulacija družbene sfere, katere namen je vsiliti in ohraniti nekakšno ravnovesje, saj je to edini možni način delovanja v inherentno nestabilnem sistemu. Ekonomski »napredek« kapitalizma vključuje izmenjavo svoboščine enega človeka za svoboščine drugega – kot bi šlo za valuto –, pri čemer definicija »drugega« ta proces še pospešuje in olajšuje ter sili regulatorne aparate, da ta proces vzdržujejo. Čeprav sistem nenehno išče kompromise, da bi preprečil krizo, je dejansko sam njen povzročitelj. Neuspeh je torej neizogiben, saj se nahaja v samem temelju kapitalističnega sistema.

Vse bolj prisotna in vse bolj izpopolnjena regulacija družbene sfere ščiti deregulacijo pretoka kapitala in njegovo multiplikacijo in s tem omogoča ustvarjanje dobička. Z globalno homogenizacijo načinov družbene regulacije se ohranja zelena ideologija, proizvajajo se »drugost«, seksizem in rasizem, potencial upora je onesposobljen prek vzpostavitve patološkega razmerja med razločevanjem in oblikami ukinitanja. Sistem deluje na osnovi začasne ukinitve nenehne sistema uravnavanja, ki bedi nad notranjo nestabilnostjo. Takšna oblika odvisnosti sega onkraj kolonialne ekspanzije in patološke modifikacije ter izkorišča življenje in smrt, ki sta rezultat omejevanja dostopa do virov. Še več, ta odvisnost presega meje kolonije in v ta proces vpleta telo – natančneje migrante, ki se nahajajo na suverenum ozemlju – kakor tudi dobiček, ki ga ustvarja neuravnovešen razvoj kapitalizma – kot je pospešen razvoj »tranzicijskih regij« –, katerega cilj je poganjati in regulirati nestanovitnost razvitega »zahodnega« neoliberalizma. Bivše socialistične države so v poziciji, da se bodo razpočile od vse bolj vsiljene svobode, ki ni nič drugega

kot svoboda rasti trga. Vsiljevanje »svobode« predstavlja osnovo za pridobitev razvojne pomoči, ki jo te države potrebujejo v času, ko se jim seseda nekdanja politika regulacije. Z globalizacijo »svobode« prihajajo tudi že prej omenjene homogenizirane ideologije medijev in šolstva, globalnih policijskih organov in obmejnega nadzora. Trauma, ki so jo največkrat povzročile povojne razmere, zaradi katerih se je propad teh politik tudi zgodil, je za seboj pustila odprte rane po vsem svetu. Prav te rane so omogočile vzpostavitev »svobode« in neokolonialnega pretoka kapitala. Patologija, ki nastane ob odpravljanju travme z regulirano pomočjo, predstavlja razmere, v katerih se nahajajo tranzicijske družbe, in pogoje, ki prvemu svetu omogočajo ohranjanje in ustvarjanje dobička ter vsiljujejo svoje nestabilne strukture. Z »razvojem« manj razvitih držav se vzdržuje stabilnost suverenih držav na način, ki velja v odnosu med parazitom in gostiteljem. Čeprav parazit in gostitelj vedno živita v simbiozi, kar pomeni, da imata od tega oba koristi in škodo hkrati, je tukaj še druga plat, ki se v biološkem izrazoslovju imenuje »parazitizem« ali »nekrotrofija«. Nekrotrofija pomeni, da se parazit naseli v gostujočem organizmu in ob lastni smrti povzroči tudi smrt gostitelja. Takšna oblika odvisnosti sega onkraj kolonialne ekspanzije in patološke modifikacije ter izkorišča življenje in smrt, ki sta rezultat omejevanja dostopa do virov. Dejavniki, ki poudarjajo trenutni gospodarski padec/krizo, so prav tisti, ki ogrožajo in regulirajo življenje, kjer deregulacija in regulacija nujno temeljita druga na drugi in s tem omogočata svoj lasten obstoj.

Serijski diagramov je narejena na podlagi analize, ki izhaja iz vizualne umetnosti in teorije in raziskuje vlogo kapitala v različnih sferah življenja. Kritika tako obsega zgodovinski pregled in kritiko modernosti, razvoj neoliberalizma in neokolonializma ter učinek kapitalizma na vse sfere življenja. Analizira, kako se specifični sistemi producirajo in reproducirajo znotraj družbenih struktur in s tem podpirajo sistematično napredovanje kapitalizacije. Diagrami so vizualni prikaz besedila in teoretske prakse, ki izhaja iz dolgega procesa umetniškega raziskovanja in služi kot raziskovalna in analitična platforma.

## PARASIT(oid)ISM OF CAPITALISM



Lina Dokuzović, diagram "The Parasit(oid)ism" of Capitalism 2009 - based on the fundamental anatomical-biological definitions of parasitism in analytical relation to capitalist tendencies.

The awakening of latent antiromaism would disprove the Western European cultural-racist conviction of being less racist and thereby more civilized than Eastern Europeans.

However, we can conclude that the strategy of *inclusion* is an ideological concept targeting the production, reproduction, and maintenance of hierarchies and relations of domination, because it does not depart from the equality of people but from their inequality. This means that it takes an ideological division that was invented and maintained by capitalism for granted. Based on this, however, a setting where one is included "per se" (or by "nature") and the other has to be included can not lead to any promising and anti-discriminatory politics. The only way to eliminate discrimination is to eliminate the system that produces it – capitalism itself.

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### Lina Dokuzović THE TURNOVER OF BIOCAPITALIST CURRENCY AND THE SUSPENSION OF HUMAN CAPITAL

With an increasingly liberalized, therefore deregulated economy, an increased regulation of the social has taken place in order to force and maintain an equilibrium which cannot otherwise be obtained in an inherently unstable system. The economic "progress" of capitalism exchanges – almost as a currency – one individual's freedom for that of another, allowing the definition of the "other" to facilitate and simplify this process, forcing regulative apparatuses for its maintenance. As the system constantly reaches towards compromises for preventing crises, that very system is in fact itself a crisis. Failure is inevitable, as it is at the very core of the capitalist system.

The ever-evolving, ever-developing regulation of the social protects the deregulation of the flow and multiplication of capital, producing profit through its very existence. The globalized homogenization of the modes of social regulation maintain a desired ideology, producing "otherness," sexism and racism, immobilizing the potential for resistance through a pathological relationship of separation and remedy. The system functions as the suspended rotation of a perpetuating balancing act over an inherent instability. This form of dependence goes beyond colonial expansion and pathological modification to utilizing life and death as the result of a limit to resources. It passes beyond the boundaries of the colony onto the colonization of the body itself, enveloping both migrants on sovereign territory as well as the profit produced through the unequal development of capitalism, such as hyper-development in "transitional regions," fueling and regulating the unstable advanced neoliberalism of the "West." Former-socialist nations are now exploding under the imposition of "freedom" – freedom of market growth. The imposition of "freedom" has been granted as development aid, during the collapse of formerly-regulated policies. With the globalization of "freedom," comes the aforementioned homogenized ideologies of the media and education, as well as globalized police forces and border control. The trauma of the conditions, often post-war, which induced this collapse, has left open wounds worldwide. These open wounds have provided an entry-point for the "freedom" and neocolonial flow of capital. This pathology of treating trauma with regulated relief signifies the condition under which transitional societies exist and the conditions under which the First World is able to maintain and profit from the imposition of the instability of its own structures. The "development" of the less endowed maintains the stability of the sovereign in a parasite-host relationship. While the link between parasite and host is always symbiotic, thus in some way benefiting and ailing both involved, there is a flip-side, referred to in biology as "parasitoidism" – or "necrotrophy." Necrotrophy is defined by a parasite implanting itself within the host organism in such a way that it inevitably forces the host's death with its own. This form of dependence goes beyond colonial expansion and pathological modification to utilizing life and death as the result of the limit to resources. The very elements which emphasize the current economic collapse/crisis are the very same token with which life is threatened and regulated, where deregulation and regulation necessarily rely on one another in order to exist.

The series of diagrams follows a process of analysis, between visual art and theory, which examines how capital plays a role in the various spheres of life. The critique spans from a historical overview and critique of modernity, through to the developments of neoliberalism and neocolonialism and capitalism's effect on all spheres of life, with a look at how specific systems are produced and reproduced within social structures, in order to support the systematic growth of capitalization. The diagrams are a visualization of a textuality and theoretical practice, resulting from a longer process of artistic research, and therefore, serve as a platform for research and analysis.

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