

REARTIKULACIJA

UMETNIŠKO-POLITIČNA-TEORETIČNA-DISKURZIVNA PLATFORMA
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ARTISTIC-POLITICAL-THEORETICAL-DISCURSIVE PLATFORM 08

LĚVIZJA
VETĚVENDOSJE!
www.vetevendosje.org

1. Povročitev manjše škode največji škodi: 25. avgusta 2009 je bilo prevrnjenih petindvajset džipov v lasti EULEX-a. Dejanje so ostro obsodili francoski zunanji minister Bernard Kouchner (član Mednarodne usmerjevalne skupine za Kosovo), švedski zunanji minister Carl Bildt (Švedska trenutno predseduje EU), mednarodni civilni predstavnik in posebni predstavnik EU za Kosovo Pieter Feith ter predstavniki misije EULEX. S tem so pritisnili na kosovski pravni sistem, da je za dva meseca priprl dvaindvajset aktivistov, ki trenutno čakajo na sojenje. Policija je 25. avgusta med aretacijo aktiviste brcala in pretepala. Nasilje se je nadaljevalo tudi v policijskih avtomobilih in na sami policijski postaji. Eden od aktivistov je končal na urgentnem oddelku bolnišnice; policisti so ga čakali pred vrati, da ga priprejo. Vseh dvaindvajset aktivistov je obtoženih sodelovanja v zločinu, za kar bodo morali prestati od treh mesecev do petih let zaporne kazni. A obtožba nikjer ne omenja, kolikšna škoda je bila prizadejana vozilom EULEX-a (ki so vsa zavarovana), saj bi na podlagi tega podatka ne mogli upravičiti obtožb zaradi povročitve »ogromne škode« oziroma ogrožanja »splošne varnosti«. Vzrok tako dolgega pridržanja aktivistov naj bi se nahajal v »interesu preiskave«, čeprav se je prevrnitev vozil EULEX-a zgodila v javnosti čez dan, v prisotnosti medijev in ob podpori vseh aktivistov. V celotnem obdobju njihovega priprtja niso bili aktivisti niti enkrat samkrat zaslišani za namene preiskave. To povsem nepotrebno pridržanje očitno služi za politične namene, da se osami aktiviste in tako prepreči nadaljnja nasprotovanja mednarodnemu vladanju na Kosovu. Nihče od aktivistov ni prepoznal sodnikov, ki so jim kazni izrekli. Prav tako nihče ni najel branilca niti sprejel tistega, ki jim ga je dodelilo sodišče. Nasprotno, na sodišču so aktivisti pojasnili svoje politično odklonilno stališče do EULEX-a, ki izjavlja izvršno oblast nad kosovskim sodstvom. EULEX sestavlja 1.900 mednarodnih policistov, tožilcev in sodnikov, ki imajo imuniteto pred kazenskim pregonom na Kosovu. Sebe opisujejo kot »misijo vladavine prava«, medtem ko se sami postavljajo nad zakon. V resnici zavzemajo mesto vladarja prava. Drugo ime, ki si ga je nadela misija EULEX, je »operacija kriznega upravljanja«, ki dejansko ne namiguje na izhod iz krize; kriza je tu, da ostane – treba jo je le upravljati. Osredotočanje na upravljanje krize prej ko ne pomeni, da gre za preprečevanje izbruha krize, kar nenehno ustvarja krizne razmere. V resnici gre za ohranjanje stabilnosti z namenom dodatne destabilizacije. Na Kosovu ne gre za navzkrižje med stabilnostjo in krizo – kriza je tista, ki je stabilna. Naše nasprotovanje misiji EULEX temelji na političnem nasprotovanju njenemu mandatu, ki izhaja iz Resolucije 1244, njeni »statusni nevtralnosti«, njenemu neokolonialnemu značaju in v zadnjem času na nasprotovanju pogajanjem EULEX-a in podpisom protokola o policijskem sodelovanju s Srbijo. Prevrtitev vozil EULEX-a je bila direktna akcija, ki ima dolgo in spoštovano tradicijo gradnje demokratičnih držav. Dejanje, ki je sprožilo mobilizacijo ameriškega boja za neodvisnost, je bilo nezakonito uničenje treh tovornih ladij s čajem s strani protestnikov v Bostonu leta 1773. EULEX je novi UNMIK, le UNMIK-ove bele džipe je zamenjal z modrimi. Džip je simptom neokolonializma: neokolonialisti vidijo Kosovo zdaj kot džunglo drugič kot puščavo, zato džipe nujno potrebujejo. Potem, ko smo z našo akcijo prevrnili džipe, so ljudje (nam neznani) poškodovali še sto drugih džipov EULEX-a po vsem Kosovu. EULEX nenehno izvaja pogajanja s Srbijo. Ta pogajanja zadevajo sodišča in carine, kar bo še bolj ogrozilo suverenost in teritorialno integriteto Kosova. EULEX je javno priznala, da se dogovarja s Srbijo in paralelnimi strukturami o zagotovitvi svoje prisotnosti na severu Kosova. Tako bomo imeli še več protokolov in še več akcij.

2. Manj kot tri mesece po Deklaraciji o neodvisnosti je gibanje Vetevendosija 9. maja 2008 demonstriralo proti srbskim lokalnim in parlamentarnim volitvam na Kosovu. Cilj teh volitev je bil jasen: legitimirati paralelne srbske strukture v 23 občinah na Kosovu in na ta način povzročiti institucionalno delitev Kosova na podlagi etnične pripadnosti. Prek izvolitve svojih struktur je Srbija poskušala doseči svoj namen, in sicer ustanovitev teritorialne srbske entitete znotraj Kosova, ki bi jo podpirale nove občine, predvidene v Ahtisaarijevem načrtu in okrepljene z beograjskimi masovnimi investicijami v infrastrukturo. Okoli 1.500 protestnikov se je udeležilo demonstracije, med katero smo aktivisti dvorišče UNMIK-a ter stavbo kosovske skupščine in vlade obmetali z več sto vrečami odpadkov, stavbe pa poškopili z odplakami. Pred to akcijo smo pojasnili: »Ker nihče ni ukrepal [da bi preprečil volitve, sta] UNMIK in kosovska vlada [...] postala masovni kontejner, ki proizvaja smeti. Te smeti dušijo Kosovo, zato smo smeti iz ulic Prištine, ki so bile zunaj kontejnerja, vrnili tja, kamor spadajo, v največji kontejner za smeti na Kosovem – UNMIK«.

3. Dve največji demonstraciji v povojni Prištini sta se zgodili 19. novembra in 2. decembra 2008. Na tisoče ljudi se je zbralo v Narodni knjižnici in odkorakalo skozi središče mesta v pohodu, ki se je vil v obliki črke »S« kot simbol Suverenosti. Demon-

straciji je organiziralo gibanje Lěvizja VETĚVENDOSJE! (kosovsko gibanje za samoodločanje!) v sodelovanju s še dvajsetimi drugimi civilnodružbenimi organizacijami. Srbija je zahtevala in tudi dosegla institucionalno in teritorialno delitev Kosova na podlagi etnične pripadnosti s tako imenovanim *Six Point Plan*, načrtom, ki ga je predlagal generalni sekretar ZN Ban Ki-Moon. Prav tako na podlagi etnične pripadnosti pa je Srbija dosegla tudi razdelitev policije, carine, sodišč, prevoza, komunikacijske mreže in kulturne dediščine. Po zaslugi načrta *Six Point Plan* je EULEX, ki naj bi vzpostavil pravni sistem in red na Kosovu, postal »statusno nevtralen«, kakor določa Resolucija 1244 Varnostnega sveta ZN, ki ne priznava ustave, ki bi morala zagotavljati temelje pravnega reda na Kosovu.

Lěvizja VETĚVENDOSJE! (gibanje za samoodločanje!) je skupnost ljudi, ki se upira pokorščini in se zavzema za razglasitev neodvisnosti in uvedbo samoodločanja na Kosovem.



Povročitev manjše škode največji škodi: 25. avgusta 2009 je bilo prevrnjenih petindvajset džipov v lasti EULEX-a. / Doing small damage to a big damage: Overturning 25 EULEX jeeps on 25 August 2009.

1. Doing small damage to big damage: overturning 25 EULEX jeeps on 25 August 2009. The action was harshly condemned by Bernard Kouchner, the French Foreign Minister (International Steering Group for Kosovo), Carl Bildt, The Foreign Minister of Sweden (currently in charge of the EU Presidency), Pieter Feith, the ICR/EUSR in Kosovo, and EULEX itself. By doing so, they pressured the Kosovo justice system to hold 22 activists in prison for two months. These activists now await a trial. The police kicked and beat the activists while arresting them on August 25th; the abuses continued in the police cars and in the police station. One activist was sent to the

emergency clinic at the hospital, while the police waited outside to arrest him. All 22 activists are accused of participating in a crowd committing a criminal offence which carries a potential sentence of 3 months up to 5 years imprisonment. At no point in the indictment was the level of damage to EULEX vehicles (which were all insured) specified, precisely because this damage would not be enough to justify the charges of causing "damage on a wide scale" or "general danger." The pretext for keeping the activists in detention for all this time was for "investigation purposes," even though the overturning of EULEX cars occurred in public at midday, in the presence of the media, and was politically defended by all the activists. During the entire period that the activists were held in detention, they were never questioned for investigation purposes. Clearly this entirely unnecessary prison detention was done for political purposes and to isolate the activists in order to prevent further dissent against the international rule in Kosovo. None of the activists recognised the court charging them. They didn't hire defence lawyers and did not accept the ones assigned to them by the court. In court, they instead explained their political opposition to EULEX, which holds executive power over Kosovo's judiciary. EULEX consists of 1,900 international policemen, prosecutors and judges who have immunity from criminal prosecution in Kosovo. They describe themselves as a "rule of law mission," while being above the law. They are *rulers of law*. The other name EULEX has chosen for itself is: a "crisis management operation," signalling in fact not an exit from crisis; crisis is here to stay – it just has to be managed. This focus on managing the crisis means merely preventing an explosion of the crisis, which continuously holds us on the brink of explosion: we are effectively kept stable in the face of utter destabilization. In Kosovo there is no contradiction between stability and crisis; it is the crisis which is stable. Our opposition to EULEX is based upon political opposition to its mandate, which is based on Resolution 1244, opposition to its "status neutrality," opposition to its neocolonial character, and, most recently, opposition to EULEX negotiating and signing a protocol for police cooperation with Serbia. Overturning the EULEX cars was a direct action, which has a long and respected tradition at the heart of democratic state building. The act sparking mobilisation behind America's independence struggle was the illegal destruction of three shiploads of tea by protesters in Boston in 1773. EULEX is a new UNMIK, merely turning UNMIK's white jeeps blue. The jeep is a symptom of neocolonialism; Kosovo seems to them sometimes like a jungle and sometimes like a desert, and jeeps are needed. After our action of overturning the jeeps, around 100 other EULEX jeeps were damaged by people (unknown to us) all over Kosovo. EULEX continues to negotiate protocols with Serbia, now regarding courts and customs, which will further damage the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kosovo. EULEX publicly acknowledges that it is cooperating with Serbia and its parallel structures in order to be present in the north of Kosovo. More protocols to come and more actions to come.

2. On May 9th 2008, less than three months after the Declaration of Independence, Vetevendosija demonstrated against Serbia's local and parliamentary elections being held in Kosovo. The goal of these Serbian elections was clear: legitimisation of the parallel Serb structures in 23 municipalities in Kosovo and thus implying the institutional division of Kosovo on an ethnic basis. Through the election of Serb parallel structures, Serbia tried to approach its goal of creating a territorial Serb entity inside Kosovo, supported by the new municipalities foreseen in the Ahtisaari Plan and strengthened by Belgrade's extensive investment in infrastructure. Approximately 1,500 protestors took part in the demonstration in which activists threw hundreds of bags of rubbish into the front yard of UNMIK, the Kosovo Assembly and Kosovo government buildings. Activists also sprayed the buildings with sewage water. Before the action, we explained: "Because no steps have been taken [to stop the elections], UNMIK and the Government of Kosovo have been transformed into a massive container that produces rubbish. This rubbish is choking Kosovo. So, we are throwing rubbish that we have gathered in Prishtina, from areas outside the containers, back in its rightful place, in the biggest rubbish container in Kosovo: UNMIK."

3. The two largest demonstrations Prishtina has seen since the war took place on November 19th and December 2nd 2008. Thousands gathered at the National Library and walked through the centre of town, a route which formed an "S" to symbolise "sovereignty." The demonstrations were organised by Lěvizja VETĚVENDOSJE! (Kosovo Movement for Self-Determination!) together with around 20 other organisations from the civil society. At this time, Serbia had demanded and managed to gain institutional and territorial partitions of Kosovo on an ethnic basis through the "Six Point Plan" of UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon, including the division of the police, customs, courts, transport, communications and cultural heritage on an ethnic basis. Thanks to this Six Point Plan, EULEX, meant to run Kosovo's system of law and order, also became "status neutral" as based on UN Security Council Resolution 1244, thus not recognising the constitution which should provide the foundation of legal order in Kosovo.

Lěvizja VETĚVENDOSJE! (Movement for Self-Determination!) is a community of people that refuse to submit, and intend to achieve and realize self-determination for the people of Kosovo.

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 posodabljanja 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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Marina Gržinić
CAPITAL, REPETITION

I. Capital

Today, capitalism is clearly biopolitics, a radical institutionalization, control and subjugation of life, that needs, I argue, to be re-politicized – intensified by changes brought with modes of management of life outside the First Capitalist World – with necropolitics. Biopolitics is a horizon of articulating contemporary capitalist societies from the so-called politics of life, where life (it does not matter anymore, following Giorgio Agamben,¹ if it's bare/naked life or life-with-forms) is seen as the zero degree of intervention of each and every politics into contemporary societies. However, today capital's surplus value is based on the capitalization of death (Latin *necro*) worlds. In the text "Necropolitics"² (2003), Achille Mbembe discusses this new logic of capital and its processes of geopolitical demarcation of world zones that are based on the mobilization of the war machine. Mbembe claims that the concept of biopolitics, due to the war machine and the state of exception being one of the major logics of contemporary societies, should be replaced with necropolitics. Necropolitics is connected to the concept of necrocapitalism, i.e., contemporary capitalism, which organizes its forms of capital accumulation that involve dispossession and the subjugation of life according to the power of death. The necrocapitalist capturing of the social space implies new modes of governmentality that are informed by the norms of corporate-intensified rationality and deployed in managing violence, social conflicts, fear and the Multitude. No conflict that challenges the supreme requirements of capitalist rationalization – economic growth, profit maximization, productivity, efficiency and the like – is tolerable. I have argued that with this move, Mbembe gave us the possibility by which to re-politicize biopolitics. It is now the time, I argued, to call for the "necropolitical" intensification of biopolitics, and for its historization as well. If biopower, according to Foucault, is the exercise of the power "to make live and let die," then necropower is the exercise of the power "to let live and make die." To make live (to provide conditions for a better life) and/or to let live (being to abandon to a life without means) present two different biopolitics; the latter is, in fact, pure necropolitics.

I want to continue with an in-depth analysis of global capitalism. In order to do this, I will make reference to Santiago López Petit's book *Global Mobilization. Brief Treatise for Attacking Reality*.³ Petit's book is a militant demand for further politicization of life. But contrary to numerous analyses of globalization seen as a process, Petit claims (through Badiou or, even more so, through Deleuze) that contemporary global capitalism is an event. Petit states that if we think of globalization as the result of a process, we imply a development and a progression (also, temporarily, a regression, a crisis), and therefore, we are not capable of understanding the way capitalism functions. If we think about neoliberal globalization, global capitalism, as a process, we therefore even imply capital emancipation (as it had been stated as throughout the previous decade in numerous exhibitions, symposia, books throughout Europe and the U.S., that capital is social, etc.). In such a situation, we are ready to accept, almost naturally, I would say, fake discourses of morality with which capitalism tries to cover up the outcome of the crisis these days (financialization of capital) by stating that it was all just some sort of a mistake, as capital is noble and that financialization, making money from money without investing into production, is just a single perversion, a mistake. No!

Capitalism, as elaborated by Petit, is not an irreversible process but a reversible and conflictual event. The core of this reversibility is presented by Petit in the following way. He states that in the world today all is brought back to one single event, and this is not the crisis, nor even Obama, but what he calls the *unrestraintment* of capital (in Spanish *desbocamiento*), that can be more colloquially grasped as 'unrestraining' or 'unleashing' of capital. Neoliberal globalization, as stated by Petit, is nothing more than the repetition of this single event, that is, the unrestraintment of capital. Marxism, says Petit, has traditionally connected the critique of capitalism with the defence of the idea of a limit that is accessed by capitalist development and proper to it. To access the limit means to reach the point of its imminent collapse. The hypothesis of the imminent collapse of capitalism is based on this idea. The collapse takes its point of departure from the crisis that is the crisis, on one hand, of over-supply and, on the other, of under-consumption. However, as Petit argues, the over-production of the means of production and over abundance of markets commodities that prevent the realization of profit, is nothing more than an excess of the means of production, that are in a particular present and already-historical moment, not suitable to function as capital. Nothing new, in fact. For what is happening today is the logic that stands at the core of capital: production solely for the benefit of capital in order to generate profit, surplus value, and not for the benefit of social life. Such a situation, that is an antinomy at the core of capital, does produce a living contradiction, but it is not bringing capitalism to an end. On the contrary, as stated by Marx and quoted by Petit "The true limit of the capitalist production is capital itself" (From *Capital*, volume III). Please keep this in mind, I will return to this point later.

The unrestraintment of capital creates a paradoxical spatialization that requires two repetitions: on the one hand, according to Petit, a founding repetition with which a system of hierarchy is re-established, leading to the constant reconstruction of a center and a periphery; and, on the other hand, a so-called de-foundational repetition that presents itself as the erosion of hierarchies, producing dispersion, multiplicity and multi-reality. The unrestraintment of capital, as argued by Petit, implicates both repetitions at once. Thus, not only does repetition produce the "jouissance" of minimal difference, but repetition is also a mechanism of control, subjugation and repression. Repetition of the unrestraintment of capital, repeated vertically and horizontally, rearticulates a global space-time

that repeatedly effectuates the co-propriety of capital and power. The unrestraintment of capital is, as argued by Petit, the only event that – being repeated in any moment and any place – unifies the world and connects everything that is going on within it. Repetition is also de-foundational to the degree with which, according to Petit, capital repeats indifference for equality.

I can propose, therefore, three major fields with which Petit tackles global capitalism. These are: reality, capital/power, and democracy. These segments are linked together through two almost old-fashioned mechanisms that are evidently still operative today: circularity in the way of self-referentiality and empty formalism, on the one side, and tautology that produces obviousness, on the other. Tautology means obviousness. This tautology, as argued by Petit, presents itself today as the complete and total coincidence of capitalism and reality. To say that capitalism and reality totally coincide means that today *reality is reality*. The date of the event that made that reality and capitalism coincide totally is, as argued by Petit, September 11th, 2001. Petit states that the outcome of September 11th, 2001 was the excess of reality, it was the moment when reality exploded. Petit warns us that in the global era, the debate between modernity and postmodernity has become obsolete. The global era is a break with modernity and with the postmodern radicalizations of modernity that were developed by Giddens, Beck and Lash. Petit states that the classical concept of modernity is about modernization. It is presented as an endogenous process that is caused by factors within the system. Modernity is presented as the work of reason itself. Likewise, modernity constructs a rationalist image of the world that implicates the duality subject/object, and the distance is, says Petit, that of man and the world. Postmodernism abolishes the distance and situates man inside the world that is made of signs and ahistorical languages. The global era oscillates this distance between zero and infinity. That is why there is the feeling of the absence of the world and at the same time we witness its over abundance. So it comes as no surprise that most of the theoretical books that have been published recently deal with this oscillation between zero and infinity. The limit of the postmodern discourse resides, therefore, in the contemplation of reality as neutral, that it has arrived today at political neutrality. But what it is necessary to do today is to call for the repoliticization of reality, and to de-link ourselves from its political neutrality.

I will claim, on the contrary, that modernity is important, as it allows the rethinking of two emancipative projects that failed historically: the Enlightenment and communism. The failures are historically clear, on one side we have the brutal history of colonialism, in the recent past we have the Holocaust and in the last decade, so to speak, we have Srebrenica in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Though we could go on and make a list of repetitions: Rwanda, Darfur, Chechnya, Gaza, etc. To be sure, colonialism led directly to Nazism and fascism. The other big project of modernism is communism, which has not been reflected well enough either, due to its past failure of Stalinism. The future of communism is paradoxical though, as it is emptied of its historical context today, in order to be presented as an infinite playground model of jouissance for emancipated Western intellectuals. I suggest, in relation to Alain Badiou, a political act of "FORCING," implying a force that is the result of an approach that insists on a continued analysis of knowledge/coloniality/modernity. This forcing is especially based on the demand to de-link contemporary art and theory from contemporary forms of epistemological coloniality (as defined by Walter Mignolo⁴ and Madina Tlostanova⁵). Contemporary epistemological coloniality presents only the Western matrix of the Enlightenment and does not take into consideration the epistemological breaks and shifts taking place in the so-called "exterior," or rather at the "edges" of Western European scientific thought.

Marina Garcés, in her book *In the Prisons of the Possible*,⁶ states that contemporary capitalism is not circumscribed within the articulation of a determined economic system and its production, but subsumes all spheres of life, thus coinciding with reality itself in the final analysis. The outcome is a political consensus, called democracy, whose institutions do not carry any political status anymore, but are seen as an "environment" that can only be adjusted and improved but not subverted and ousted in any case. Garcés talks about the democracy-market in which anything can pass, or be taken for granted, and where the world is presented in its naked truth. Meaning: this is what it is! It is a terminal obviousness that presents a world not as open, but as closed and without a future, despite seeing such an intensified theoretical reworking of infinity. In the background of the unrestraintment of capital, it is nevertheless necessary to think about the limits of capital. But to say that the unrestraintment of capital means going over the limit is, as Petit stated, not at all what this event is about. Because the only limit of capital is capital itself, so the unrestraintment of capital is not about something outside of it (as is said about the crisis, being something "abnormal," and also something that will bring capitalism to its end); the unrestraintment of capital just means something more than capital.

Petit links capital and power in the following ways: 1. Capital is more (than) capital 2. Capital that is more than capital is power. Such a relation presents a new situation between capital and power, which is named by Petit as the co-propriety capital/power. This co-propriety capital/power needs a medium in order to take place. We have three fundamental media today where capital and power own each other: innovation, public space, and war.

Innovation: new information and communication technologies, biotechnologies, the pharmaceutical industry and science are proposed as fields of innovation with which we will supposedly overcome the present crisis. Public space is increasingly privatized and depoliticized; instead of politics, we talk about catastrophes (ecological, educational). War allows for the management of life through the capitalization of death (Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan).

4 Cf. Marina Gržinić and Walter Mignolo, "De-linking epistemology from capital and pluri-versality," in *Reartikulacija*, Issue No 6, 2009, http://www.reartikulacija.org/RE6/ENG/decoloniality6_ENG_mign.html, accessed on November, 19, 2009.

5 Cf. Madina Tlostanova, "Re(dis)articulating the myth of modernity through the colonial perspective," in *Reartikulacija*, Issue No 6, 2009, http://www.reartikulacija.org/RE6/ENG/transmedial6_ENG_tlost.html, accessed on November, 19, 2009.

6 Marina Garcés, *En las prisiones de lo posible* [In the Prisons of the Possible], published in Spanish by Edicions Bellaterra, Barcelona, 2002.

Petit states that such a situation of the changed relation between capital and power, which is the relation of the co-propriety today, asks for a different relation between globalization and the nation-State. The nation-State is not a victim of globalization, as is constantly argued, rather the nation-State successfully adapts itself to globalization. We see this in the intensified measures that are implemented by the nation-States in terms of the privatization of all public sectors, from education to health and culture, and also in the way that class division and racism are managed in our capitalist contemporaneity. Intensified racism, if we just think about EU legislative policy, presents processes of class and institutional racializations that are supported by new, constantly reinvented neo-colonial structures. For the unrestraintment of capital to handle conflicts, it needs a formal frame, and this is neoliberal capitalist democracy. Democracy articulates two modes of power. As argued by Petit, one is the war-State (governance and violence with brutal exploitation, expropriation, discrimination, repression), and the other is postmodern fascism. They work as a grid of vertical and horizontal forces, and in order to escape Frederic Jameson's old cognitive mapping, we can think, I propose, of their working together as in the case of computed tomography. This also means, as I have already stated in the past, that it is not possible to understand global capitalism if we do not include new media technology, the digitalized mode of programming in its logic of functioning. Computed tomography (CT) is a specialized X-ray imaging technique. It may be performed, as it is stated in medical technical language, as "plain" or with the injection of a "Contrast Agent." This makes a perfect metaphor for analysis, as we can say that it is used as "plain" in Africa, Kosovo, Chechnya, as well on the workers (without any rights and over-exploited) from the former ex-Yugoslav republics in Slovenia, or when "just fixing" the situation with migrants (making them illegal) in the EU through seclusion and deportation. "Plain" means with pure, naked, bare force.

Or it can be used with the "Contrast Agent," as in Iraq or Afghanistan or Pakistan. In these regions, major economic interests are at stake, such as petrol and heroin, vital for the U.S., EU, etc., and therefore, to cover this, it is necessary to have agents. CT creates an image by using an array of small individual X-Ray sensors and a computer. By spinning the X-Ray source, data is collected from multiple angles. A computer then processes information to create an image on the screen. The war-State is one face of democracy and serves for dominance. The other is postmodern fascism. It serves as the dissolution of the democratic state in a multi-reality of social technologies. Postmodern fascism, as stated by Petit, is constructed on the autonomy of each individual. As such, it is a self-governmentality that is based on the self-management of a proper autonomy. The war-State produces coherency. It homogenizes. Its action is propaganda. Think of the mobilization of the masses against terrorism, for example. Postmodern fascism, on the other hand, is informal, non-coherent, as it is based on the autonomy of differences. It produces differences. Its action is communication. These differences are brilliantly described in the book by Petit.

I claim that the war-State, in its verticality – functioning by way of force, violence, fear – is but a pure fascist state. However, it would be too simple if we would use historical fascism for its naming, because we would fail to emphasize what the major logic of dominance in the world today is, and this logic is the logic of war. The war-State definitely has elements of classical fascism: a sovereign leader, people, death as the management of life. While, on the other hand, there is also the neoliberal context of the autonomy of individuals, which is the neoliberal freedom of having rights to just be an individual brand. It is rightly so, as proposed by Petit, to name it postmodern fascism. As Petit says, postmodern fascism sterilizes the "Other," evacuates the conflict from public space and neutralizes the political. It is not strange that we continuously repeat that global capitalism is about depoliticization. Postmodern fascism works through a constant self-mobilization, just think about the last U2 world tour, etc.

Making a reference to the already mentioned founding repetition of global capitalism with which a system of hierarchy is reestablished, leading to the constant repetition of a center and a periphery, it is necessary to emphasize that the former Eastern European states, notably former Yugoslavia and especially Serbia, had to pass through Turbo-Fascism before embracing postmodern fascism. Turbo-Fascism was proposed by Žarana Papić⁷ in order to conceptualize in the 1990s in the Balkans, specifically in Serbia, hegemonistic nationalisms, i.e., national separatisms, chauvinist and racist exclusion or marginalization of (old and new) minority groups that were and are closely connected with patriarchal, discriminatory and violent politics against women and their civil and social rights. In 2000, Žarana Papić argued: "I am freely labelling this as Turbo-Fascism." She continues, "It is, of course, known that Fascism is a historical term; that the history of Nazi Germany is not the same as that of Milošević's Serbia. However, in post-modernist and feminist theory we speak of 'shifting concepts,' when a new epoch inherits with some additions concepts belonging to an earlier one, like, for instance the feminist notion of shifting patriarchy. In my view, we should not fear the use of 'big terms' if they accurately describe certain political realities. Serbian Fascism had its own concentration camps, its own systematic representation of violence against Others, its own cult of the family and cult of the leader, an explicitly patriarchal structure, a culture of indifference towards the exclusion of the Other, a closure of society upon itself and upon its own past; it had a taboo on empathy and a taboo on multiculturalism; it had powerful media acting as proponents of genocide; it had a nationalist ideology; it had an epic mentality of listening to the word and obeying authority. The prefix 'turbo' refers to the specific mixture of politics, culture, 'mental powers' and the pauperisation of life in Serbia: the mixture of rural and urban, pre-modern and post-modern, pop culture and heroines, real and virtual, mystical and 'normal,' etc. In this term, despite its naive or innocent appearances, there is still fascism in its proper sense. Like all fascisms, Turbo-Fascism includes and celebrates a pejorative renaming, alienation, and finally removal, of the Other: Croats, Bosnians, and Albanians. Turbo-fascism in fact demands and basically relies on this culture of the normality of fascism that had

7 Cf. Žarana Papić, "Europe after 1989: ethnic wars, the fascisation of social life and body politics in Serbia," in *Filozofski vestnik*, special number The Body, edited by Marina Gržinić Mauher, Institute of Philosophy ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana 2002, pp. 191–205.

been structurally constituted well before all the killings in the (Balkan/ex-Yugoslav) wars started.⁸

Today, in order to understand the entanglement of capital/power in global capitalism, it is not enough to talk about turbo fascism, but it is necessary to apply the co-propriety of capital/power relations in the form of the neoliberal democratic state that presents itself, as already conceptualized in relation to Petit, as a war-State (governance and violence with brutal exploitation, expropriation, discrimination, repression), and postmodern fascism (that presents a state of pure autonomy of the subject that in the last analysis accepts freely not to do anything, meaning to be satisfied with nothing). I would like to reintroduce, therefore, two concepts in order to attack this situation: de-linking⁹ and de-coloniality¹⁰ (which I have already tackled briefly in this presentation), implicating a certain cut within contemporary processes of capitalist institutionalization, control and subjugation. De-linking means to de-link ourselves from the unrestraintment of capital that does not allow for just a simple opposition, as it does not function as it did in the 1970s as unity capital/power, but as I developed in reference to Petit, as co-propriety capital/power. This new format of capitalism presents an entanglement of capital and power. Therefore, what is necessary is not just to oppose, but to draw a line of division, in order to de-link ourselves from capital and power. De-coloniality on the other hand presents a new position that draws a line inside contemporary processes of coloniality and is not post-colonialism.

I can state that although capitalism has brought the world to its end, it is not the end yet!

II. Repetition

Up to now, I have presented the system of functioning of global capitalism and its reality, exposing a logic of repetition, that has as its outcome, circularity, obviousness and formalization. These points are at the core of the Institution of Contemporary Art today. I name such a mechanism that simultaneously produces and eschews content, leaving us with an empty form – a performative repetitive mechanism. This mechanism will help us to understand what it is that makes more or less all large contemporary exhibitions and projects obsolete in terms of resistance and critique (though they are not obsolete from the side of those who organize and curate them (and maybe take part in them), as it is possible to make some money and get power). To explain this differently: What we have today as part of exhibitions, especially big powerful exhibition projects (biennials, documentas, manifestas, etc.) is a myriad of art works that present as content unbelievable features of contemporary capitalist exploitation, expropriations; these “features” are more and more visible, they show it all, so to speak, *tout court*, without any mediation. These art exhibitions are more and more intensified, they present art works that show capitalist corruption, police repression, massacres of people and animals, all is made visible with more and more drastically elaborated dimensions, reasons, connections of exploitation, expropriation, executions, etc., though all stay, so to speak, impotent.

The content is, at the same time of its presentation, made obsolete through a mechanism that I termed performative repetition and that functions as a process of voiding, emptying, extracting the meaning from these contents. What is left out of the discussion is precisely the ideological form with which the mentioned art works and projects are presented. I claim that this form presents, encapsulates so to speak, a process of emptying (not only of diminishing, but in many cases completely nullifying, etc.), what at the level of content was made visible. In the past, the social reality was presented as “normal,” that means on the level of content, it was displayed precisely differently from what was occurring in everyday life, therefore on the level of its reflection, on the level of the (art) form, it was necessary to produce something “abnormal;” something as a formal invention or as an excess, as an excessive surplus (in accordance with the social and political system in which they appeared, be it socialism or capitalism), in order to say that what was in reality on the level of content a normality, was in fact a lie. But what we have today is precisely the obverse; on the level of the “content;” so to speak, in reality the world is captured as it is, in its full extension of abnormality, monstrosity, exploitation, expropriation, while on the level of the form, this abnormality is normalized, is presented in such a way that the meaning of powerful content becomes empty, obsolete.

Content is abnormal and the form is normal; and moreover, form misrecognition is today presented consciously, snobbishly stylized, so to speak, out of all proportion. In such a situation, the knowledge that is “captured” through a scientific or art work is transformed through a performative politics of repetition into a pure ideological knowledge, but with a proviso saying that therefore we should not be preoccupied as it’s all anyway just a pure process of performativity. Therefore, what we get it is not just an upside (turned) down, but

8 Cf. Ibid.

9 Cf. Marina Gržinić and Walter Mignolo, “De-linking epistemology from capital and pluri-versality,” op. cit.

10 Cf. Madina Tlostanova, “(Re)(dis)articulating the myth of modernity through the decolonial perspective,” op. cit.

(HARD) CORE

Agon Hamza THE SPECTER OF IDEOLOGICAL APPARATUSES

In his “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” Louis Althusser writes about two forms of State Apparatuses; about Ideological State Apparatuses and (Repressive) State Apparatuses, through which the State materializes itself. Althusser names Ideological State Apparatuses “a certain number of realities which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form of distinct and specialized institutions.”¹ He is very careful not to confuse or mix

ideology made today again so to say “unconscious” and presented in the form of a game or a joke that is given a life of its own.

Therefore, if we agree with what Althusser writes in the 1970s regarding the difference between art and science, saying that this difference lies in the specific form, as reported by Agon Hamza, “in which the same object is given in quite a different way: art in the form of ‘seeing’ and ‘perceiving’ or ‘feeling;’ science in the form of knowledge (in the strict sense, by concepts),” then at that time all what was needed was to take a step on the right side in order to understand what was going on. But what in Althusser’s time presented a revolution is today a point of accepted knowledge and not any longer a point of an ideological dispute, and (this is an important difference). What’s additionally important is that today we witness the change between transparency and opacity. The “opacity” of the 1970s, which Althusser made clear by exposing the situation of ideological mystification between science and ideology, is today completely transparent. The specter of transparency is, in fact, as stated by Petit, haunting us. The only abnormal field is the social reality, which is excessive and opaque, while the mechanism of its presentation is totally transparent, framed within processes of total obviousness. This obviousness that presents itself as a performative repetitive mechanism makes ridiculous the abnormal social content.

If we follow Althusser’s definition of ideology as an imaginary deformed representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence (by which he meant the relations of production), we should say that what ideology misrepresents today is not the reality, but itself. In a way, it behaves today as a cognizant post-Fordist mechanism that takes the presented mechanism of ideology’s materiality (that was presented in the 1970s, in the Fordist era, so to speak, if we make a reference to Paolo Virno) as its raw material, as its content. But what does this mean precisely? It makes imaginary today what was already identified as material, it transforms (again) through the repetitive performative ideological mechanism the materiality of ideology, the materiality of its apparatuses onto imaginary levels. The materiality of ideology is made today redundant, nullified and emptied through repetitive (ideological) performative mechanisms. To put it differently, what is clear on the level of content, so to speak, is on the level of form now made to be simply obsolete, ridiculous, not sexy or obvious enough, to the extent of not being attractive enough. But what we have today at work is another misrecognition that is not a misrecognition at all, but a reflected cognition that takes as its basis the ideological misrecognition of the 1970s, and repeats it in a way to make it ridiculous, or maybe better to say, an old knowledge; the materiality of ideology is now taken as raw material to be integrated in performative representations where this materiality is consciously set back to the level of the imaginary.

A perfect example of what has been said up to now is the 11th International Istanbul Biennial in 2009 curated by What, How & for Whom (WHW), a non-profit organization / visual culture and curators’ collective formed in 1999 and based in Zagreb, Croatia. The 11th International Istanbul Biennial had as its title “What Keeps Mankind Alive?,” as proposed by WHW, which is the title of the song that closes the second act of the play *The Threepenny Opera*, written by Bertolt Brecht in collaboration with Elisabeth Hauptmann and Kurt Weill in 1928. As the online text of the 11th International Istanbul Biennial (written by WHW) states, Brecht proposed with *The Threepenny Opera* a transformation of the “theatre apparatus” through an alteration of the existing notions of theatre “genres” and the play’s relationship with the audience. This transformation was based on Brecht’s assertion that “A CRIMINAL IS A BOURGEOIS AND A BOURGEOIS IS A CRIMINAL.” This assertion of Brecht’s, obviously at the core of WHW’s concept, is the main refrain that is at the core of the biennial as well. WHW not only affirms that it is “working for the criminals” (their wording), as stated online, but is also constructing such a framework around the biennial that is taking away the very possibility to intervene critically – transforming the critical discourse “working for the criminals” into a normalized fact, into a constative, making what we know obvious and, even more, taking this obviousness as a side fact (a criminal is a bourgeois and a bourgeois is a criminal).

In short, we can say that today the level of dealing with ideology is a level of transforming it into a commodity, that means into a source of normalization, through processes of performativity and repetition; the ruling ideology is not seen as preoccupying when being perceived as a process of misrecognition (as it was preoccupying for Althusser), but this misrecognition is today taken as the raw material for a stylish play. It is not a ghostly figure anymore, but a terrain for experimentation, invention and infinite imagination.

Making reference to Petit, we can state that the repetitive performative mechanism functions as indetermination, indecision, irresolution or what he calls gelatinization. What was before a solid ground, a materiality of intervention is today a process of multiplication that removes, empties the ground from its materiality. The repetitive performative mechanism functions as gelatinization, becoming opaque precisely through a process of transparency that is per-

Ideological State Apparatuses with (Repressive) State Apparatuses. The first constitutive difference is that there is *only one* (Repressive) State Apparatus, while there is a multiplicity of Ideological State Apparatuses. The second constitutive difference resides in their functions within the social sphere: Ideological State Apparatuses belong (mostly) to the *private* domain, whereas the (Repressive) State Apparatus belongs entirely to the *public* domain. These constitutive differences are very important, but the essential distinction is based on their means of functioning: the (Repressive) State Apparatus functions “by violence,” whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses “function by ideology.”² This is of key importance, as any dominant regime (class) cannot dominate only by repression – it is somehow insufficient; in order to dominate it needs ideology.

2 Ibid. p. 97.

formed today as repetition. Gelatinization corresponds, as argued by Petit, today to global capitalism as reification corresponded to modernity. If reification was in relation to the distinction between the living and the dead, gelatinization requires a triadic model, according to Petit, the living, the dead and the inert. Gelatinization means giving an account of reality that presents itself as being occulted, abstract, and transparent. Reality is at the same time alive and dead and, therefore, as stated by Petit, it is multi-reality. Gelatinization is the solid surrounded by the liquid that is, I will claim, the repetitive performative mechanism. It is a double process, as stated by Petit, of opening and closing. What is even more horrifying, according to Petit, is that closing effectuates obviousness. Gelatinization means reality is covered with obviousness. Politically it presents, as argued by Petit, a catastrophe.

Therefore, in a difference from Marx’s analysis of commodity fetishism, today we do not have something normal on the level of society from which the analysis of the form of its presentation in art, for example, or in theory, will show us that actually what is a normal content situation is in reality the opposite, something strange and different from what is said, etc. Today, in a difference from Marx, that was the point of reference for Althusser, we live in a time in which the social reality is abnormal and the form of its articulation is here not to normalize this abnormality but to intensify it through voiding this abnormality of any content, meaning, etc. This emptying is going on as obviousness. So first the thing is being turned upside down, and then the form is just taking us somewhere else. This somewhere else is part of an obscene performative logic that is not even saying that what we are witnessing in reality is abnormal, but is simply emptying the content through indetermination, indecision, irresolution. Obfuscation is on the level of form practiced precisely with a double obfuscation, and as Marx would say, is also speculative, or as said by Petit, it is the former solid surrounded by the liquid that is the repetitive performative mechanism. The form is not hiding the content anymore, but the way in which it is presented through its formalization makes the content obsolete.

Šefik Tatlić, in his essay “Communication and Mass Intellect,”¹¹ states that one of the major problems of global capitalism today is precisely this process of not only an upside-down, but a complete distortion, of a short-circuit between What, How & for Whom things are done and declared. For this distortion to be kept alive and undisturbed, what matters is not only the structures of events, the spheres of exhibitions that are privatized (this is so normalized today that a critique on this point is almost becoming obsolete), what is a problem is not that various places and infrastructures are monopolized (and that this monopolization is based on almost extreme intimate relations between money and affects, offering the possibility for unknown actors in the field of arts to be awarded with curating international exhibitions as payment for services done in the past), but what is at stake here and now is the very substance of the performative language used for the interaction, presentation and discursive rationalization of the project itself. Global capitalism does colonize life by appropriating language in itself, but not only its colloquial level, but as well its discursive formulations on which society and its different institutions stand upon. Through these appropriations, and being even clearer, with the kidnapping of languages and discourses, structures and activations, we see a system of transformation of these machineries, as pointed out by Tatlić, into mechanisms of normalization of the system. Even more, such a truth is not hidden behind any global conspiracy or some “strange” ideology; this truth is brutal in its banal simplicity, as it was said: “A CRIMINAL IS A BOURGEOIS AND A BOURGEOIS IS A CRIMINAL.” So what? But with reference to Brecht, I can argue, the profit is less banal, and more divinized.

We get necropolitics at its purest. Culture that is being communicated within the necropolitical, is not, as stated by Tatlić (who still refers to the biopolitical), any kind of imitation or fakeness; it is authentic and differential – authentic within the epistemic frame of references provided by the regime. Though through the performative repetitive mechanism it is presented as a kind of playful fake in order to hide its entanglement (the co-propriety capital/power) with the system. Thus, the ideas, theories and discourses born under such circumstances are not any longer schematized cultural production, but consist exactly of “free” subjectivities that are critical of the system that produced them in the first place. As it was stated by Petit, in order to function, a contemporary postmodern fascism needs a proliferation of unbelievable “freedom” of particularities.

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11 Cf. Šefik Tatlić “Communication and Mass Intellect,” in *Pavilion*, Bucharest, 2010 (forthcoming).

In this sense, ideology is the persuasive force for hegemonizing and appropriating the social realm. The Ideological State Apparatuses’ mediation presents the misrepresentation of the economic relations of individuals to their world. Precisely in that “world” does the reality of individuals have a material form. For Althusser, therefore, practice exists only in and by ideology. In this practice, the subject is constituted. That is to say, people’s every day life activity is constituted as social practice.

We can proceed further and repeat Althusser’s statement that “the notion subject is ideological.”³ According to Badiou, the “subject is not the name of a concept, but that of a notion”⁴ which is to say, it is a “mark of an inexistence.” He continues with stating that “there is no

3 Louis Althusser, “Marx’s relation to Hegel,” in *Politics and History: Montesquieu, Rousseau, Marx*, Verso, London/New York, 2007, p.185.

4 Alain Badiou, *Metapolitics*, Verso, London/New York, 2005, p. 59.

subject, since there are only processes.⁵ Each institution is an Ideological State Apparatus, to which legal, class, religious, etc., ideologies correspond. The Ideological Apparatus enacts certain rituals, in the form of practice, that create the “material base” for the ideology to take place. Thereof, Althusser makes it clear that ideology is one and the same for the subject that cynically withdraws from “belief” and for a “fundamentalist” that effectively believes in ideology. The individual “adopts such practical attitudes” and participates in regular practices enacted by Ideological State Apparatuses, – and as we all know, these practices are regulated by rituals “in which these practices are inscribed within the *material existence of an ideological apparatus*.”⁶ But, one should recall Badiou’s reading of ideology, whose material is provided by the Ideological State Apparatuses for whom ideology “is a statist notion, and not a political notion.”⁷ For Badiou, the subject is a function of the State, thus “there will be no political subject, because revolutionary politics cannot be a function of the State.”⁸ In this line, one should recall Balibar’s interpretation of Althusser; according to Balibar, “the subject is clearly foregrounded as the category with which historical materialism must break, precisely in order to think its constitution.”⁹ It is only the dialectical materialism, or more precisely, the concept of “processes without a subject” onto which the “constitution of the subject” can have any meaning. One can grasp that a “process without a subject” is one of the central concepts of Althusser’s theory: class struggle. As Badiou writes, struggle has no object, whereas class has no subject. So, the place of the subject is, as Badiou writes, the place of ideology.

Taking this into account, I want to proceed further in analyzing the function of certain Ideological State Apparatuses in and about Kosovo. The civil society of Kosovo was created from outside, it was one of the neoliberal projects. It was created based on funding programs/projects from abroad, such as multicultural tolerance, human rights, co-existence between different ethnical, cultural, and racial groups, democratization, sustainable development, etc. The so-called needs of Kosovo’s society are being designed (mostly) by EU bureaucrats in Brussels; they design our needs, our future, and our demands. The people of Kosovo and of the Balkans in general are portrayed as an excessively violent, criminalized society, traumatized subjects, etc. The best example of this is the mission of SPANA in Kosovo, the embodiment of colonial racism. SPANA (Society for the Protection of Animals Abroad) is a charity organization from the UK that works in some of the poorest countries in the world. Its aim is to protect animals. But, as they state in their short description on their web page, “we’re not an ordinary animal charity – we know that working animals ensure that families can make a living.”¹⁰ The benevolent charity workers from SPANA are well aware of the crucial importance of animals in the lives of poor families in poor/underdeveloped countries. They’re again very precise: “when a working animal falls sick or becomes injured, there rarely is a qualified vet nearby. If there is one, most people cannot afford the treatment. And as the animal remains sick and untreated, it won’t be earning any money for the family. The family members will be going to bed hungry every night.”¹¹ A SPANA veterinary team was also sent to Kosovo shortly after British troops arrived in the capital. But just like every other benevolent charity team, SPANA activists are not narrow-minded. They also worked with schools to encourage children to respect and care for animals that have been neglected. In one report in *The Times* in July 1999, SPANA activists claim that its experts came to Kosovo “to bring crucial help to war-traumatized animals.”¹² And herein resides the problem. What we should do is analyze the very core of colonialist racism. As we all know, racism is a crucial constitutive part of every colonial regime. If we can learn anything from this project, it is that SPANA as such, in its ridiculously racist configuration, is the noble form of colonialism.

If one reads the Ahtisaari Plan as an ideological document, one wouldn’t encounter one explicit statement that the people of Kosovo

5 Recall Althusser statement: “The concept process is scientific.” Philosophy is the “Theory of theoretical practice.” Or, another definition, in the letter to John Lewis: “Philosophy is, in the last instance, class struggle in the field of theory.”

6 Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy*, p. 114.

7 Badiou, *Metapolitics*, p. 59.

8 Ibid.

9 Étienne Balibar, “Althusser’s Object,” *Social Text*, No.39, Duke University Press, p. 168.

10 <http://www.spana.org/about-us/index.html>

11 <http://www.spana.org/the-big-picture/families-rely-on-animals.html>

12 Quoted from Vanesa Pupovac, “Therapeutising refugees, pathologising populations: international psycho-social programmes in Kosovo,” the paper can be found at: [http://reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/LGEL-5FDDDM/\\$file/hcr-therapeutising-aug02.pdf?openelement](http://reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900sid/LGEL-5FDDDM/$file/hcr-therapeutising-aug02.pdf?openelement)

HARD (CORE)

Lina Dokuzović and Eduard Freudmann SQUATTING THE CRISIS

“We won’t pay for your crisis!” has echoed throughout universities worldwide. The significance of this is that its momentum has not only spread throughout educational institutions, but has also been present in other areas of society, bringing attention to the general failure of neoliberal capitalism and its appropriation of all spheres of life.

What has been defined as the “crisis in education,” which should be remedied through a wave of reforms, has been dealt with in terms of economic crisis-based measures, with measures for increasing profit. A homogenization in the way of a reform wave has taken place through the Bologna Process for establishing the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). Through this regulated norm of educational standards of comparability, Europe aims to enter and be at the forefront of the growing competitive knowledge economy and of research-based profit, through the parallel establishment of the European Research Area (ERA). In Austria, a systematic removal of democratic structure within universities has been taking place. Democratically elected bodies have been degraded to a kind of staff committee while the dean’s office has been upgraded to a CEO-like, singular leading body, which is checked and balanced by a university-external supervisory board, the so-called University Board.

are primitive, unable or incapable of governing themselves due to the so-called lack of “state consciousness,” that we would probably find in some other documents from the classic colonial era. What we get from the Plan itself is something more refined; its technocratic language portrays us as a pathological society, and it doesn’t rely on the category of the subject (“primitive Albanians”) but on its social body being an excessively violent, criminalized society. Kosovo society is portrayed to be excessively violent, to the extent that, it is said, it doesn’t only present a threat for neighboring countries, but it is very dangerous for itself as well. We’re told that NATO troops in Kosovo (KFOR) are here to guarantee a peaceful, secure and stable environment for all people of Kosovo. That is to say, Kosovar society in itself is dangerous for itself, and therefore it has to be tamed. That’s why in all the cities of Kosovo, KFOR has billboards showing us how tolerance, respect and love are the only way forward. But for maintaining peace, security and stability, KFOR uses tanks, helicopters, and armed soldiers in their posters. Calls for tolerance, love, and respect (as ideological categories) show perfectly clear the European white racism at its purest; the political problem of the Albanian–Serbian question is transposed into a cultural one. The problems in and about Kosovo, from their racist optics, consist in cultural/ethnic intolerance. As a result, the EU and other international dominating structures see only ethnicities in Kosovo that are sublimated in Ahtisaari’s Plan.

Europeans think of us as a highly criminalized society. In many embassies of EU countries, among the huge pile of the requested documents, one of the requested documents is a certificate from the court, by which the applicant proves that he/she is not under investigations. If anything, this stands for racism at its purest. In the so-called democratic countries, the basic principle of every criminal trial is that the accused is legally innocent, until his/her guilt is proven. In Kosovo, this principle stands upside down: you’re *presumed guilty until proven innocent*. EULEX stands as a transnational penal state. Therefore, it means that Kosovo as a whole is criminal, and if I am able to prove my innocence, I’m not the rule, but an exception!

Along these lines, one should look at the new video clip released recently by a PR company contracted by Kosovo’s government: the clip is called “Kosovo: the young Europeans,”¹³ which will be aired on world’s biggest TV channels, and whose purpose is to “improve the image of the Republic of Kosovo.” It is 60 seconds long and it shows hundreds of young people in the landscapes, cities and villages of Kosovo *manufacturing* their future. And in the end, the Republic of Kosovo is manufactured, as a “member of the international community.” Explaining the slogan, the PR Company Saatchi&Saatchi said: “This is probably the very first national slogan which turns the spotlight on the people and the human spirit rather than the country, its natural marvels or history.”¹⁴ The clip as a part of a campaign shows that in Kosovo, there are NOT only criminals, but also young, normal people, manufacturing their country – and they’re manufacturing it the way that European or other Western neocolonial structures want it to be. For international colonial structures, Kosovo exists from 1999 onwards. Fanon says it is colonialists that write the history of the colonized. It is true, since Kosovo keeps on being colonized, and its history keeps on being re-written. Many NGO’s and institutes are engaged in projects such as “Branding the nation.” We want new Kosovars; interpolated subjects, people that fit within the ideological coordinates of the State; for Althusser, the subject is always the product of the State. The State is the limit of politics, the limit of the subject, so to speak. Following again Alain Badiou, politics organized as a political party is “the site of an arrogant incapacity.”¹⁵ The same holds true for the subject of the State.

Cultural studies are placed as the highest priority in Kosovo’s academia. The racists of cultural studies tell us that we need to study them in order to understand the ethnic struggles in the Balkans throughout the centuries. Many “critical” liberal scholars come to our countries and study us. They study our culture and they understand it as organic; culture as such is derivative. It belongs to certain classes. There is no such a thing as a culture. Racists of cultural studies reduce the class struggle into cultural differences; they examine history in its most primitive form – as an observation of certain events, based on some facts, data, etc. History as such is re-

13 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gqEUDzJ5CE>

14 Many critical analysts and directors found out that the video clip is a plagiarism from another clip of the Orangen Planet. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eTcSAUz_f6Q&feature=player_embedded

15 Alain Badiou, *Infinite Thought: Truth and the Return to Philosophy*, Continuum, London/New York, 2003, p. 127.

duced to oral history, memory, etc. This is what history is for them. And through this, they want to demystify the history of the Balkans. This is what they think: we, the people of the Balkans, are caught in our thousands of years of myths, and in order to really understand the outburst of ethnic passions that happen every now and then in the Balkans, they, the outside cultural scholars, should demystify our myths. For example, in the so called inter-ethnic relations, it is certainly true that there is a “Serbian-Albanian question” (to say it in Lenin’s terms). But it exists on a political and class level, and not on a cultural or ethnical one, as we’re told. In academia, this “orientation” became very popular. The proper way of counteracting this racist orientation of “demystification of myths,” is to go one step further and propose the concept of “the necessity to demystify the demystification of myths.” This would be the proper emancipatory act.

Today when we talk about “toxic” phenomena as the poisonous elements of our ideal liberal-democratic systems, such as foreign workers/immigrants, religious and national “fundamentalists,” intolerance towards other ethnic or/and sexual orientation or religious groups, are we not effectively talking about the symptoms of the very essence of our liberal-democratic capitalism,¹⁶ which in order to exist, has to continuously produce new forms of apartheid, colonization, racism, new forms of exploitation, and so forth? This follows us everywhere, from politics (alienating real political and economic problems to cultural ones, the other level being that of reducing the idea of governance into administrating things, where-in people qua things/goods) to academia (recall the predominant disciplines in contemporary academia: memory studies, post-colonial studies, cultural studies and so forth). In these conditions, when all of us are obsessed with the idea of “how should we make global liberal-democratic capitalism more functional/effective” we are all caught in reactionary positions; those of accepting the existing order in all its wide and basic coordinates, while our concern is how to improve, refine or reform it. Along these lines, we cannot but insist even more on the effectiveness of the concept of ideological categories – or in Althusserian terms, we should insist more than ever on “scientific knowledge” against mystifications of so-called “ideological knowledge.” As Althusser writes apropos, the difference between art and science lies “in the *specific form* in which they give us the same object in quite different ways: art in the form of ‘seeing’ and ‘perceiving’ or ‘feeling’; science in the form of *knowledge* (in the strict sense, by concepts).”¹⁷ The point is, to abandon each and every approach that enables us *only* to “see” and “perceive” existing phenomena, rather we should insist on the *right* methodology, based on the right concepts (on the form of the scientific knowledge) in order to understand the opacity of our malevolent ideology. Therefore, academia became the centre of “ideological noxiousness,” whereas the political sphere became the centre of “ideological mystification” of our era. Our consciousness is continuously shifted away from our relations of production; therefore we address wrong and mistaken phenomena as the real cause of problems and intrusions in our liberal-capitalist heaven.

Our era requires serious questioning about the existing (political) system. We should ask radical political questions, as Marx knew, questions on/of POLITICAL ECONOMY, questioning the very existence of capitalism and acting directly against it. The whole point is not to return to Marx of the postmodern, liberal or cultural left, or to the melancholy of Marxism as a failed project, or Marxist theoretical enterprise as utopian dream, in the sense of “perfect in theory, materially impossible in practice.” If anything, this argumentation is what Marx was fighting throughout his entire century.

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16 Another thesis has been proposed recently, that of Rastko Močnik, who says that capitalism does not need democracy; quite on the contrary, it is the authoritarian regime that suits capitalism better. According to Močnik, democracy is the precise ideological condition which is injected into countries that have tensions or conflicts.

17 Louis Althusser, *On Ideology*, Verso, London/New York, 2008, p.175.

of increased competitiveness and commodification of the institution and everything within its walls. A list of precisely articulated demands was then read out to the dean. He was called on to fulfill his duty and represent the position of the institution rather than taking a gamble in his own professional and profitable interests in the negotiation of the Budgetary Agreement with the Ministry of Science and Research on the following day. A proclamation of solidarity was then expressed with all the protestors against educational reform around the world, which then included: Bangladesh, Brazil, Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Great Britain, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, South Korea, Croatia, the Netherlands, Serbia, South Africa and the USA. Subsequently, the approximately 250 individuals entered the building and occupied the assembly hall, the most representative space in the institution. The squatters installed a plenum in a grassroots democratic structure, whereupon it was decided that the space would remain occupied until the demands were met.

Two days later, a group of Academy staff and students protested in front of the Ministry for Science and Research, expressing their dissatisfaction and dismissal of the Budgetary Agreement, a legally binding contract that defines the performance of the former in relation to the amount of financing by the latter, which was being negotiated in an entirely non-transparent and non-democratic fashion at that very moment. The demonstrating group continued to several other university auditoria and major spaces presenting the situation, bringing the students and staff present along with them, increasing the group’s size, snowballing, until it ended up in Austria’s

largest lecture hall, where a plenum was held, declaring that space squatted. The representation and size of that space was significant, as it brought immediate media attention, which has focused primarily on the events of that singular space ever since, although over the following days, the protests expanded rapidly to a number of other universities throughout Austria and expanded to or joined those existing across Europe, bringing hundreds of thousands of people into the streets in protest. There are 76 universities in nine countries throughout Europe, with more being continually announced, squatted at this very moment.³

The processes within the context of the protests have taken place through a grassroots democratic structure of collective decision-making, carried out in regular plenums. Tasks and insights are assigned to work groups, which maintain a dynamic fluctuation of participants. The intention of non-hierarchical forms of communication, established through some basic rules, have aimed to encourage all those present to actively contribute in discussions. Since representing the protests are a task which no one person can or should accomplish alone, it is vital that no spokesperson(s) is selected, but rather that a consistent rotation of speakers takes place. The consequence is a low rate of NLP (neuro-linguistic programmed) speeches, presenting the demands and expressions of the groups in a manner which is not trained or conditioned, implying both direct communication, and more importantly, an emancipatory speech act which does not adhere to codes of commodification by rejecting the sale of speech through its very mechanism of presentation. These characteristic structural elements have had a strong effect on the general political practice of the protestors.

Another significant element resonating throughout the protests on all levels has been decentralization. It has derived from the very process of university's de-democratization within which all democratically legitimized regulating bodies have been degraded to a pseudo-democratic facade, and thereby entirely disabled. The fact that the protests have not been led by representatives elected through procedures of representative democracy and have not been associated with parliamentary parties, left politicians, such as deans or the Minister for Science and Research perplexed, not knowing how to handle the protests. The decentralization not only refers to the aforementioned fluctuation, but also to direct actions, such as the temporary squatting of the vice dean's office at the Academy of Fine Arts, squatting the cafeteria at the Ministry for Science and Research or taking over the stage during a play at the Burgtheater, Vienna's most renowned theater.

Overall, the protests have not been limited to de-hierarchization, appropriation of space(s), self-organization and the examination of the conditions of work and study. They have rather been dominated by demands, criticism and claims that go beyond the immediate context of education and universities, expanding to the identification of how neoliberal capitalist market logic has infiltrated all parts of their own lives, commodifying and isolating them through racist and sexist policies of exclusion, deteriorating the very collectivity the protests have aimed to reestablish. The realization that the fight for an improved educational system cannot be made specific but must instead reflect and depend on changing the very structure and system that produce it, not through homogenizing top-down reforms, but through grassroots democracy, evidences the authenticity of the protests. They haven't been asking for a bigger piece of the pie or taking the whole thing, rather the whole damn bakery.

Strategies of appropriation by related political players began two weeks later. They culminated into absurd declarations of solidarity, consisting of groups such as the Burgenland State Government. Such groups, as well as the deans and representatives of various universities, began instrumentalizing the impetus of the protest for their own aims, such as additional budgetary policies and agreements. Even the Minister of Science and Research thanked the protestors as they improved his position within the budget negotiations with the Minister of Finance. However, the violent repressive measures taken in the U.S. and Germany against the peaceful protests⁴ stand in contradiction to the "reformed" measures of appropriation or "non-hostile takeover." The rebellions and protests of the 1968 movement left behind an understanding of how to strategically deal with future protests, resulting in repressive measures becoming counter-productive. The instrumentalization of protests enables the neutralization of all subversion. The appropriative strategies then progressed into the developing neoliberalized system, in which many people from the 1968 generation now hold key power positions. Beyond appropriation, there have been strategies of infantilization, which could be seen as being rather well-meaning. This is inherent in the very structure of traditional education, with the learned master gaining control of the unlearned one through structures of stultification, strategically imparting knowledge when seen fit. Based on their own Marx-to-market-biographies, the system representatives accept a certain dose of rebellion, as they understand it as an educational process in which their assumed successors are being taught political skills and strategies that are fundamental for successfully fulfilling their future functions and handling their future task area – turning the education protests into educationalized protests.⁵

The fact that the protests in education in Austria were initiated within an artistic institution is not to be disregarded. As (neo-)liberalism is based on the freedom of the individual, the artist and his/her artistic liberty perfectly fills its shoes. In fact, not only does the desire and trend of bringing artistic institutions closer to marketable creative industries exist, rather art and the art school can be seen as a paradigm for neoliberal capitalism, with the artist and the cultural producer as role models for an increasingly neoliberalized job market.⁶ The flexibility and infinite creativity, teamed with self-discipline and precarious work relations lie at the core of the artist's profession.

The implementation of Bologna Process-related reforms at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, such as the replacement of the old master class system with the B.A./M.A. structure, was delayed due to a peculiar alliance between the individuals of the older tradition and the more progressive ones, keeping the developments in limbo. Many of the former felt threatened by the reforms due to their orientation towards science and scientific models, an academic sphere which threatened both their knowledge and their refuge in the "autonomy of art." The more progressive generation, however, did not believe in the autonomy of art; but subject to precarious labor conditions and the economized market logic, they opposed the reforms. Thus, a dubious symbiosis stalled the new system.

The story of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, by Goethe, begins with an old master sorcerer leaving his apprentice to do his chores in his workshop. Tired of the tedious task, he makes his water-fetching more efficient by enchanting a broom. Not being skilled enough to control the enchanted broom, he tries to destroy it with an axe, splintering it to pieces. Nevertheless, all of the pieces become new brooms, continuing the tasks, out of control. The progressive brooms turn against their new master. The story ends, however, with the spell being broken as the old master returns, the brooms disenchant and all restored to their old order. Neither the system of the old nor the new master could retain stability without a bit of magic, but the old master's method managed to direct the brooms correctly for the time being.

In the case of the Academy, the cooperation between the old master class system supporters and the more progressive individuals functions, while the uncontrollable enchantment of the new neoliberalized system brings things out of order – not because it is necessarily the worse system, but because those who have depended on the old structure for a long time adapt any progressiveness to their own model. The irony, however, is that this inclination towards artistic "autonomy" tends very closely to the artistic "liberty" that allows the artist to create the perfect neo-liberal mold. The whole logic starts chasing its own tail in circles at that point.

A profession greatly based on individualization, image and uniqueness has come to its own crisis, where the striking students and teachers have stopped training each other and themselves in how to continue a greater individualizing of themselves, at the moment when they joined to collectively resist the structure. After running in circles for years and being seriously endangered by vertigo-induced collapse, it marks a point where the protagonists finally caught what they were chasing, which made them realize that it was in fact their own tails they have been chasing for years. A kind of crisis point is met in which the very structure of art paralleling education has been reached. However, one must not remain in the celebration of that moment, but rather continue to challenge and question this as a moment of transition, instead of utilizing collectivism as a training ground for one's future career as a unique, innovative persona. The structure which has been ruptured and challenged must not support a cycling back to the same structure. In fact, the great irony of how these protests were catalyzed in Austria, thereby surfacing and resurfacing, creating alliances elsewhere internationally, is in the fact that this position of training the art star has exposed the paradox of the entire system being implemented around it.

How can this transition be utilized in a constructive way in order to continue these occupations and resistance, and more importantly to restructure the problematic apparatuses of education and related structures, such as the arts, from the bottom-up for the future? Some protestors have referred to creating an "infinite scenario" model of protest, in which the spaces that were reclaimed and appropriated remain self-organized without compromise. In fact, after the long-lasting history of neoliberal reforms, the deepest point of de-politicization may have been reached, and the worldwide education protests could mark the turning point for a re-politicization to follow. In this regard, similar to its inherent structure itself, the current "crisis" in education is in direct proportion to the economic crisis. It very visibly shows the attempts of making education a new frontier for the capitalist crisis to invest its dwindling assets into, and therefore we repeat... WE WILL NOT PAY FOR YOUR CRISIS!

An economic crisis, which in fact reflects the very failure of capitalism itself – a system fundamentally rooted in inequality, exclusion and the creation of the "other," actually leading to the death of the "other" for profit⁷ – shows a very extreme level of general social crisis. This must be taken into account while battling all related crises, the one in education as well. If this is not taken into consideration, then an undeniable repetition and reproduction of an all-embodying reality will result.

During plenums, interviews, presentations and speeches, people with no prior speaking ability received an opportunity. This has two potentialities, as aforementioned – that of educating better managers and that of creating a decentralized structure of democratic discussion and representation. The benefit to those who are incapable of speaking well by being given a chance to speak is a start. But what needs to be looked at is the difference for those who are incapable of speaking at all, because they are either not allowed to speak (women being sexistically slandered and assaulted, Muslims being booted off of stages, migrants being ignored, etc.), and the difference for those who cannot afford to be present, because they are forced to work precarious illegal or semi-legal jobs at all hours of the day and night as they are subjected to racist immigration laws⁸ and the racist University Law,⁹ while having to uphold the best grades and attain a maximal level of productivity in their studies in order to



The Academy of Fine Arts Vienna is squatted! Students and staff demand the reinstatement of democratic structures during a public meeting in front of Academy's main building. Foto by Rania Moslam

legally remain in the given country. To return to the metaphor of biting one's own tail rather than chasing it: those who spend their time searching for food cannot afford to occupy themselves playing with their tails. The central demand of the protestors, "free education for everyone!" can only be approached and granted if the freedom of movement for everyone exists beyond national or supranational borders.

The last Lisbon Agreement proposed that the upcoming agreement (December 2009) amend education as the fifth freedom of the EU, along with capital, services, goods and citizens, in order to strengthen the grounds of the EHEA. The structure should allow maximal mobility of people throughout the EHEA, supported by the Bologna Process. The profitable goals of creating a European Higher Education Area, which should supposedly bring about the "new Renaissance"¹⁰ in Europe, would begin to crumble if the reality between mobility and migration were confronted.

Accordingly, we would like to amend the statements and demands made until now, stating that until the mentioned social reality is confronted, democracy as such cannot truly function. We, therefore, propose that as a first step, the 34 million euro that was recently "awarded" as an emergency measure to the universities by the Ministry¹¹ be used to create a basic platform for financing and supporting so that EVERYONE – taking those subjected to oppressive racist policies into consideration – can participate in the protests, so the real protest can in fact begin. The next measure would additionally be to use future moneys for creating and ensuring a platform so that that democratic participation is ensured. Only then can we continue to articulate demands and direct moneys towards developing the university structures on other levels. Without directly and primarily battling the structures of oppression, which have consciously been addressed in the protest struggles, a successful advancement, which does not reproduce an unequal and oppressive distribution of advantage, cannot result. The only way to truly accomplish radical change is to link different social struggles, which are all implicated in capital's appropriation of every sphere of life.

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3 www.tinyurl.com/squatted-universities

4 See, for example: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rOISl2_RghQ; <http://ow.ly/Ehjh>; <http://twitpic.com/qb6qu>; <http://tinyurl.com/yglzurr>; <http://edition.cnn.com/2009/US/11/22/california.student.protest/index.html>; <http://www.bildungsstreik-hd.de/2009/11/22/gewaltstamer-polizeieinsatz-gegen-landesweite-bildungsstreik-demonstration-in-stuttgart/>

5 The "educationalization of capital" is a phrase coined by Stewart Martin in "Pedagogy of Human Capital," see: <http://www.metamute.org/en/Pedagogy-of-Human-Capital>

6 See, for example: <http://eipcp.net/transversal/1106/lorey/en>

7 "Necropolitics and necroeconomics, as practices of accumulation in colonial contexts by specific economic actors – multinational corporations for example – that involve dispossession, death, torture, suicide, slavery, destruction of livelihoods and the general management of violence." See Subhabrata Bobby Banarjee, "Live and Let Die: Colonial Sovereignities and the Death Worlds of Necrocapitalism," *Borderlands eJournal*, Volume 5, Number 1, 2006.

8 In Austria, a non-EU/EEC citizen must provide proof of possessing at least €6,210 per year, along with other evidence of successful study, minimal course completion, clean legal record, etc. in order to receive approved or extended legal residence under a student resident permit. However, this quantity is not possible to obtain through legal work as income is strictly regulated and limited to under €300 a month.

9 Although often being referred to as "abolished," tuition fees in Austria are still active. The amendment of the University Law in 2008 merely disburdens selected groups of students, the largest one is Austrian or EU-citizens studying within the prescribed study term, whereas non-EU citizens still pay as if nothing ever happened.

10 See the European Commission's report: "Preparing Europe for a New Renaissance – A Strategic View of the European Research Area": ec.europa.eu/research/erab/publications_en.html. For an analysis of the colonial roots of the Renaissance, see Walter Mignolo "The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Colonization and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition" *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol 45, No. 4 (Winter, 1992), pp. 808–828. 11 This amount, just a drop in the bucket for all Austrian universities on all levels, was granted after having been removed in recent budget cuts. It has been retained as the "Minister's reserve" for disciplinary measures.

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

Ana Vujanović
**TEMPO KONZUMERIZMA:
O filmski kompoziciji Tempo avtorice Marte Popivode**

V glasbeni terminologiji *tempo* (ita. čas) pomeni hitrost izvajanja skladbe. Kratki film »Tempo« (2006) avtorice Marte Popivode se tega izraza poslužuje v dveh smislih. Na eni strani – kar je samo po sebi sugestivno – predstavlja Tempo enega od največjih hipermarketov v Beogradu, ki so se pojavili s tranzicijo po t. i. »srbski oktobrski revoluciji« leta 2000. »Zgodba« (sekvenca hipernakupovanja) se odvija v istoimenskem hipermarketu kot paradigmi nove družbene dobe, ki je nasledila »Miloševićevo Srbijo«. Po drugi strani pa film/kompozicija obravnava postproduksijsko obdelavo neobdelanega dokumentarnega filmskega gradiva, pri čemer daje poseben poudarek prav na tempu kot njegovi temeljni prvini. V skladu s tem je dokumentarnost filma »popačena« in – v brechtovskem smislu – »odtujena« zaradi pospeševanja in upočasnjevanja realnega časa pripovedi in akcije v postobdelanih posnetkih, kar daje občutek umetelnosti, ki pa razkrije ideološke razsežnosti tako pripovedi kot akcije.

Širok izbor blaga za vsakodnevno uporabo (kisla smetana, toaletni papir, sadni sokovi, sanitarni pripomočki ...), razstavljenih na blagajni, je fetišiziran: posnetki od blizu in v tempu *largo* in *adagio* dajejo gledalcu čas za (brezumno?) kontemplacijo. Upočasnjen posnetek naenkrat izgine in v ritmu *accelerando* se razkrije nova podoba. Za »predmeti« (prodajnim blagom) posnetek ujame »dejanje« (ljudi v gibanju). Na daljšem posnetku vidimo množico ljudi, ki bi lahko predstavljala družbeno situacijo ali pa celo revolucionarno množico. Kakorkoli že, to ni to, kar v resnici ta množica je. Na hitrem posnetku, ki se odvrti v *allegro*, taista množica ljudi deluje kot skupina posameznikov, potrošnikov, izmozganih od nakupovanja. Med njimi ni nobene relacije ali komunikacije, pač pa je to na drobce razpršena in depolitizirana množica, zvedena na golo oskrbovanje z osnovnimi življenjskimi potrebščinami. A življenje teče dalje v hitrem, zelo hitrem, pospešenem ritmu. Medtem so obrazi posameznikov zabrisani v *presto* tempu pobesnele kamere, ki se ne more fokusirati na oddaljeno ciljno točko. Nato se slika upočasni in preusmeri drugam, vmesni moment umanjka, v počasnem ritmu pa se znova odvrti posnetek nakupovanja – tokrat pospravljanje plačanega blaga v plastične vrečke, znamke Tempo. V družbenem smislu so hipermarketi tam zato, da vzpostavijo normalnost, prodajno blago stlačijo na eno mesto, da nas – izginjajoče obraze (družbenih subjektov) v gneči – oskrbijo z »življenjem« in nam tako prihranijo dragocen čas. (Čas, ki smo ga potratili na političnih shodih v devetdesetih letih minulega stoletja?)

Posnetek je kontaminiran z zvokom. Spet se vračamo k osnovnemu filmskemu pojmu – tempu. V prvem delu filma, kjer vidimo neskončno množico produktov na tekočem traku, je zvok izrazito političen (Brane Zorman¹). Poznavalci lokalnega konteksta bodo z lahko prepoznali zvoke, značilne za »politična gibanja devetdesetih let«: hrup demonstracij proti režimu, uvodne zahvale in glas novinarjev prvega programa srbske televizije RTS1 med večernimi poročili v prime-timu – glavni ideološki aparat Miloševićevega režima. Skratka, glas nemirov in konfliktov, ki se je širil po mestnih ulicah. Če kdo s specifičnim družbenimi razmerami v Srbiji ni seznanjen, lahko prislunne živahnemu javnemu »zvoku politikov«. Filmska glasba deluje kot kontrapunkt dogajanju – glasni, vznemirjeni, razburjeni glasovi se mešajo, prepletajo, ustvarjajo napetost okoli fetišiziranih predmetov na traku, ki so ujeti v počasni posnetek. Eden najbolj vznemirljivih zvokov prihaja iz neprekinjenega zvonjenja telefona, na katerega se nihče ne oglasi ... Morda se bo »nekdo« (jaz, ti, on, ona, mi ...?) vendarle predramil iz sna. A nič. Telefon še kar zvonji, in ta »nekdo« še vedno tava v snu ...

Ob zamenjavi podobja in tempa se zamenja tudi spremljevalna glasba. Ponovita se postopek kontrastiranja podobe in zvoka in njegova hitrost odvijanja. V drugem delu filma je hiteča množica potrošnikov postavljena nasproti upočasnjenemu tempu izbrane popuspešnice *Wonderful Life* britanske skupine Black. Počasni sprostitvi napetosti, ki pojenja ob zvoku domače lirične popglasbe in ob prehodu s posnetkov od blizu na nekoliko daljše posnetke, se zgodi še eno dejanje ideološke odtujitve. Tokrat odigra zvok (glasba) ključno vlogo. Politična devetdeseta leta 20. stoletja je nasledilo potrošniško tretje tisočletje, ki ni niti postpolitično niti

¹ Filmska glasba je delo skladatelja Braneta Zormana, ki je uporabljena kot spremljiva v performansu *Ballettika Internettikka: BEO Guerrullukka* (Igor Štromajer in Brane Zorman, Beograd, Srbija, 2005).

QUEER

Tatjana Greif
»UŽAS JE MOJA FURKA«¹

Več kot imamo novinarskih etičnih kodeksov, manj imamo novinarske etike. Slovenski mediji si nonšalantno privoščijo odkrite izraze ksenofobije, rasizma in nestrpnosti. Novinar javnega radia je nekega poletnega jutra v nizu neslanih šal povedal: »Naročil sem hrano pri Kitajcu, dostavil pa mi jo je Bosanc. Bodite previdni, koga zaposlujete!« Športni novinar javne televizije je v poročilu o nacističnih izpadih šefa Formule 1, ki so jih tuji mediji takoj obsodili, pristavil prizanesljiv komentar, češ da »mu tega intimno nihče ni zameril«. Javna televizija je na spletni strani objavila intervju z župnikom, ki je v navalu žolčnega nasprotovanja istospolnim porokam izjavil: »Tukaj si pa upam strelja-

¹ Naslov skladbe skupine Azra s plošče *Sunčana strana ulice* (Zagreb, 1981).



Marta Popivoda, *Tempo*, 2006, video / Marta Popivoda, *Tempo*, 2006, video

postideološko. Obratno, konzumerizem nam ne ponuja novih družbenih velikih zgodb, a nekaj nam vendarle obljublja – nekaj otipljivega, preprostega, lahko sprejemljivega, osebnega: obljublja nam »čudovito življenje«. S svojim diskretnim ideološkim manevriranjem nas je neoliberalni kapitalizem dobesedno poneumil. Neskončna izbira prodajnega blaga se ponuja kot alternativa svobodi odločanja o tem, kakšno naj bo naše življenje. O tem, kako lahko ukrepamo kot posamezniki in združno.

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Ana Vujanović
**TEMPO OF CONSUMERISM:
On the film composition Tempo by Marta Popivoda**

The vocabulary of music denotes "tempo" (in Italian *time*) as the cadence in performing a music piece. Marta Popivoda's short film "Tempo" (2006) employs the term on two levels. On the one hand, "Tempo" is – suggestively enough – one of the largest hypermarkets in Belgrade, coming to us with the transition following the "October 5 Revolution" in 2000. The "plot" (hyper-shopping sequence) is situated in the eponymous hypermarket, perceived as a paradigm of the new social era succeeding "Milošević's Serbia." On the other hand, the film/composition engages in a post-production processing of raw documentary footage, focusing on tempo as its basic element. Its documentarism is, accordingly, "spoiled," and – in a Brechtian fashion – "estranged" in the post-produced speeding up and slowing down of the real-time narrative and action, bringing about artificiality which lays bare their respective ideological dimensions.

The assortment of products for everyday use (sour cream, toilet paper, fruit juices, hygiene accessories...) displayed on the cashier's desk are fetishized; they are shot in close-up, with *largo* and *adagio* slow motion, providing enough time for their (senseless?) contemplation by the viewers. The slow tempo is suddenly broken – *accelerando* reveals a new image. In the background of the "objects," merchandise, it is time for people action. The long shot features a multitude of people, possibly signifying a social situation or even, potentially, a revolutionary multitude – however, this is not what they are. In the *allegro* fast-forward mode, they appear as a sum total of individuals, consumers consumed with *shopping*. There are no relations or communication between them, that sum total is atomized and depoliticized, reduced to the sole provision of bare necessities. And life goes on at a fast, very fast, ever speeding pace, while the faces of the individuals get effaced in the *presto* mode of the raving camera failing to maintain its outer point of focalization. Afterwards, the imagery gets pacified, transformed, the liminal moment is missed, and at a walking pace we encounter

ti«. Novinar desničarskega tednika je na medijsko obvestilo lezbične sekcije LL odgovoril, da bi »moralni ustanoviti sklad za zdravljenje«. Rock kritik in kolumnist ljubljanskega dnevnika je kolumno kolega, ki kritizira naciskine, občutil kot »nelagodje« ... Kitajsko hrano torej dostavlja Bosanc, z neonacijem intimno sočustvujemo, homoseksualce streljamo ali vsaj zdravimo, ob kritiki neonacizma pa čutimo nelagodje. Novinarska etika, vredna podrobne diskurzivne analize. Ob izrastke nacistične, mizogine, seksistične, bizarno zabavljake in mrhovinarsko gladiatorske medijske prakse, komentatorstva in kolumnizma se lahko spotaknemo na vsakem koraku. Vse v slogu danes najbolj popularnega desničarskega gesla »Bodi nestrpen, bodi normalen«, ki razsaja po Evropi. Arijski sindrom ni nekaj, kar bi se kradoma priplazilo v medijski prostor, temveč suvereno obvladuje uredniške očetnjave.

Ob izvolitvi Jerzeya Buzeka, bivšega poljskega premiera in člana nazadnjaške Evropske ljudske stranke, za predsednika Evropskega

another image of shopping – the packing of merchandise after passing the cashier, in plastic bags branded "Tempo." In a social sense, hypermarkets are there to establish normality, amassing merchandise at one spot to provide us – those effaced faces (of social subjects) in the crowd – with a "life," while sparing our valuable time (The time we had wasted at political rallies throughout the 1990s?).

The image is contaminated by the sound – here we have to return to the basic concept in the filmmaking – that is "tempo." In the first part of the film, as we are watching an endless stream of products on a conveyor belt, the sound is clearly political (Brane Zorman¹). Connoisseurs of the local context will easily recognize the sounds of the "political 1990s"; noise from the anti-regime demonstrations, the opening credits and voices of anchormen of RTS 1 (Radio Television Serbia) prime time evening news – the basic ideological apparatus of Milošević's regime – namely, the sounds of city streets in turmoil and conflict. As for those who are not acquainted with the specific social situation of Serbia, they are also exposed to the public *animato* "sound of politics." The soundtrack counterpoints the action – loud, irritating, excited, the voices mingle, stir, creating tension around the fetishized objects on the belt featured in slow motion. One of the most irritating sounds comes from a telephone ringing, ringing, and ringing the entire time, while no one is there to answer... Perhaps "someone" (me, you, he, she, we...) will eventually wake up. But, no. The phone keeps ringing, and "someone" is still sleeping...

With the change of imagery and tempo, the soundtrack also changes. The same procedure of contrasting image and sound and their time flow is repeated. In the second part of the film, the accelerating crowd of consumers is counter-posed with the slow tempo of the vintage pop hit *Wonderful Life* by the British band Black. After a temporary relief of tension by introducing a familiar lyrical pop sound and passing from close-up to long shots, another act of ideological estrangement follows, featuring sound (music) in a key role. The political 1990s were succeeded by the consumer 2000s. They are neither post-political nor post-ideological – quite the contrary. Consumerism does not offer us new social master narratives; nevertheless it does promise us something – something quite palpable, simple, easily acceptable, individual: "wonderful life." With that discrete ideological maneuver, the neo-liberal capitalism made us – in the strict sense of the word – "idiots." Endless choice of merchandise as an alternative to freedom of choice about what life might be. Choice about what we can do. What we can do together.

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Marta Popivoda is a video artist and freelance cultural worker mostly engaged within *Walking Theory* (*TkH*) platform from Belgrade (www.tkh-generator.net).

¹ The soundtrack is the work of the composer Brane Zorman featured in the performance *Ballettika Internettikka: BEO Guerrullukka* (Igor Štromajer & Brane Zorman, Belgrade, Serbia, 2005)

parlamenta je bilo slovenskim medijem posredovano tiskovno sporočilo predsednika Skupine za pravice lezbijk in gejev pri Evropskem parlamentu Michaela Cashmana. Cashman je Buzeka javno pozval, naj obsodi sporni homofobični Zakon o zaščiti mladine pred kvarnimi učinki javnih informacij, ki strogo prepoveduje vsakršne informacije o homoseksualnosti, biseksualnosti in poligamiji v šolah in javnih ustanovah in ki ga je junija sprejel litvanski parlament. Poziv novemu predsedniku Evropskega parlamenta že prvi dan po njegovi izvolitvi ni prišel slučajno: v dosedanji karieri je Buzek pogosto aktivno nasprotoval človekovim pravicam homoseksualcev. Verjetno tudi ni slučaj, da slovenski mediji te informacije niso objavili, kakor tudi ni slučaj, da Buzek spornega zakona ni obsodil.

V Litvi, sredi Evropske unije, poleg tega uvajajo izrecno kriminalizacijo homoseksualnosti. Septembra je parlament namreč sprejmal dopolnila h kazenskemu zakonu, po katerih je kazniva javna promocija istospolnih razmerij in financiranje njihove promocije. Na

videz morda »interna zadeva« Litve je v resnici črn scenarij, ki lahko za seboj povleče ostale države. Strašljiva napoved oživljanja lova na čarovnice 21. stoletja.

Julija sta v hladnokrvnem pomoru na sedežu društva za pravice homoseksualcev in lezbijk v Tel Avivu v Izraelu ugasnili dve življenji, deset ljudi pa je bilo ranjenih. Napad z avtomatskim orožjem na sedež društva homoseksualcev v času, ko je tam potekalo srečanje mladih gejev in lezbijk, kaže na načrtovano, namerno morilsko dejanje. Kaže, kam vodi politični sovražni govor in kdo žanje njegove sadove. Zanj kazensko ne odgovarja nihče, zlasti ne tisti izraelski politiki, ki so narod vztrajno ščuvali proti homoseksualcem. Ironično, da so napad obsodili izraelski premier, najvišji politični voditelji, rabini. Zakaj niso podpihovanja nestrpnosti tako odločno zavrnilo že prej, pravočasno?

Organizacija *Human Rights Watch* je v začetku avgusta objavila poročilo *They Want Us Exterminated: Murder, Torture, Sexual Orientation and Gender in Iraq* o sistematičnem pobijanju gejev v Iraku s strani islamističnih milic. Od začetka leta 2009 je bilo pobitih na stotine gejev, iraške oblasti pa niso ukrenile ničesar. Po objavi poročila je cel svet pozival Irak, naj ustavi morilske pohode, izvensodne usmrtitve, mučenje in pohabljanje gejev; skrajneži namreč odvržejo izmaličena trupla na smetišča ali jih obesijo na ulice v opomin. Dogovorni homoseksualni odnosi med moškimi v Iraku niso prepovedani, kljub vsemu pa islamistične »enote smrti« izvajajo teror po vsej državi.

Pridobitve osvoboditve

Letos mineva štirideset let od legendarnega stonewallskega upora, uličnega spopada ob policijski raciji v noči s 27. na 28. junij 1969 v newyorškem baru *Stonewall Inn*, upora proti nasilju policije nad homoseksualci in transskupnostjo. V bitki s policijo so zmagali homoseksualci, lezbijke, transvestiti in transseksualci. Manj znano je, da je stonewallski pretep sprožila lezbijka.

Dogodek v Stonewallu, ki je danes le še destinacija gejevskih turistov, velja za zgodovinsko prelomnico in začetek modernega gibanja za osvoboditev homoseksualcev in lezbijk. V New Yorku so takoj zatem ustanovili *Gay Liberation Front*, podobne organizacije so vzkllile tudi drugje po svetu. Prva moška homoseksualna organizacija *Mattachine Society* je bila v ZDA ustanovljena že leta 1950, prva lezbična, *Daughters of Bilitis*, pa leta 1955. V Evropi se prve organizacije homoseksualcev formirajo še prej – COC na Nizozemskem leta 1946, rvedno tako iz štiridesetih let 20. stoletja izvira gibanje na Danskem in Švedskem. Čeprav so že pred tem obstajala pionirska združenja za pravice homoseksualcev in lezbijk, se šele s Stonewallom pojavita množičnost in globalizacija gibanja.

Ob tem jubileju se poraja dilema o pridobitvah in učinkih več kot šestdeset let prehojene poti za emancipacijo homoseksualnosti. Ta dilema je skrajno resna, primerjave začetnega stanja z današnjim pa težke. Kar je bilo nekoč revolucionarno, radikalno osvobodilno gibanje, je danes vse bolj konservativno, zmerno lobiranje za integracijo in asimilacijo. Ostrina je z leti otopela, izgubil se je politični naboj, izpuhtela je radikalnost. Danes je zahodno gejevsko-lezbično gibanje, ki so ga medtem preimenovali v GLBT, GLBTI, GLBTIQ ali kar Queer gibanje, brez jasnih političnih sporočil. Današnje »agende« – kako sočna evrobiokratska beseda! – so polne konservativnih in celo klerikalnih prioritet; tako je osrednji evropski dogodek homokupnosti letos potekal pod okriljem bogoslovja. 31. konferenca evropske regije svetovnega združenja ILGA je konec oktobra 2009 potekala na Malti pod geslom Premagovanje verskih in kulturnih ovir za LGBT enakost. Njen poudarek je bil na dialogu z verskimi institucijami, na vlogi religije in vernikov pri odpravljanju homofobije. Le kakšna bi lahko bila vloga tiste institucije, ki je, zgodovinsko gledano, najbolj zatirala homoseksualce? Velik del svetovnega gejevskega in lezbičnega aktivizma se dobrika verskim institucijam, nekritično favorizira gejevske poroke in na konferencah prepeva, držeč se za roke. Posnema staro, namesto da bi terjala novo. Osamljene zahteve po odpiranju vprašanja rasizma in ksenofobije znotraj homoaktivizma delujejo v tako zatohli klimi naravnost heretično. Na svetovni prireditvi *World Out Games*, ki je bila julija v Kopenhagnu na Danskem, se je zgodil incident, kjer so nizozemski delegati predstavnike Nigerije zmerjali z opicami.

Sestop v konzervativizmu se jasno odraža v evropskem aktivizmu in Slovenija tu ni izjema. Namesto z vrsto perečih globalnih in lokalnih političnih tem, kot so kriminalizacija homoseksualnosti, smrtna kazen in pregon homoseksualnosti ter lezbištva, svoboda gibanja v EU, svoboda združevanja, sovražni govor, socialne pravice, razredne razlike, socialna izključenost, revščina, marginalizacija, pravice migrantov in azilantov, deportacije, pravica do informiranosti, kulturnega izraza, pravične izobrazbe, pravica do varnosti pred nasiljem in diskriminacijo itd., se evropski in tudi slovenski aktivizem ubadata z integracijo in asimilacijo v večinski sistem. Glavna poanta je normalizacija homoseksualnosti, ki se kaže kot legalizacija porok in otrok ter s tem prevzem vzorcev heteronormativnosti.

Bratje Slovani

Občinski načelnik Moskve Oleg Mitvol se je podal v boj proti razvratu: skupaj s tožilstvom, specialno enoto policije in v spremstvu televizijskih kamer se je lotil »razkuževanja« gejevske scene. V julijski policijski raciji so planili v lokal *Body & Soul* in aretirali več obiskovalcev. Navdahnjena z versko čistostjo oblasti je na križarski pohod proti homoseksualcem krenila tudi Ruska unija evangeličanskih kristjanov in pred klubom organizirala proteste. Kristjani menijo, da »Moskva ni Sodoma«, zato so podprli kampanjo za moraličnost, uperjeno proti klubom, savnam in hotelom, v katerih se menda godi »razvrat«. Načelnik meni, da gejevski klubi, podobno kot igralnice, »vodijo v moralni razkroj državljanov«. Okrivili so celo komunistične poslance ruske dume, ki naj bi bili del komunistično-homoseksualne zarote. Kako vroč je objem med državnim in cerkvenim ultranacionalizmom, kažejo transparenti »*Rusija proti homoseksualcem!*«, »*Družina proti homoseksualcem!*« in »*Bog proti homoseksualcem!*« ... Pravi *Schnellkurs* iz ultranacionalizma.

Koroški režiser Marjan Štikar je v eni od svojih gledaliških predstav briljantno ponavljal slogan »*Sport ist Mort!*«. Kako ironična, tisočkrat preverjena resnica. Potrjuje jo tudi na stotine grafitov »*Smrt pedrima!*« na pročeljih srbskega nogometnih klubov Partizan in Crvena zvezda. Nogometni huligani, taisti neonaciji, ki so leta 2001 v Beo-

gradu krvavo zatrli prvi poskus parade ponosa v Srbiji, se namreč pod grafito pridno podpisujejo. Zaradi javnega pozivanja k pobijanju gejev so srbske nevladne organizacije pozvale vodstvi obeh klubov, naj se od sovražnosti ogradita in obsodita homofobijo. A nogometni lobi se je zavil v molk. Zato so zdaj pozvali Svetovno nogometno zvezo FIFA, naj ustavi pozive k linču ter na srbski nogometni moštvi izvede pritisk, ki bi privedel do javne obsodbe sovražnosti.

Avgusta je Odbor za socialne pravice, ki nadzira izvajanje Evropske socialne listine, obtožil Hrvaško, da v šolskih učbenikih razširja homofobijo in predsodke. Kurikulum spolne vzgoje krši temeljno pravico učencev do informiranosti in celo zavaja z napačnimi podatki: tako učijo, da kondomi ne preprečujejo okužbe s HIV, da so istospolne zveze deviantne in da so nezaposlene matere boljše kot tiste, ki hodijo v službo. Morda bi morali prijaviti tudi Slovenijo, kjer študentje medicine, pa tudi nekateri gejevski aktivisti, zadnja leta vneto razglašajo, da kondomi niso varna zaščita pred virusom HIV, pač pa da edino zaščito predstavljajo abstinenca, monogamija, zvestoba in poroka. V osnovi pa bi bilo treba prijaviti Vatikan.

Poleti so se vrstili napadi na geje in lezbijke – v Zagrebu, Reki, Ljubljani in Beogradu. V Beogradu so evakuirali okrog dvesto obiskovalcev gejevskega lokala *Hrabro srce*, ki so ga neznanci napadli s solzivcem. Priče pravijo, da se je policija smejala. Le nekaj dni zatem je skupina desetih navijačev Crvene zvezde na nočnem avtobusu pretepla tridesetletno lezbijko, medtem ko so jo zmerjali z »*Lezbaška kurba!*« in »*Ubij pedra!*«. Brcali so jo v glavo, trebuh in hrbet, tudi potem, ko je že omedlela. Ne šofer avtobusa ne potniki niso ukrenili ničesar. Namesto da bi policija aretirala napadalce, je v priporu pridržala žrtev, čes da krši javni red in mir. Sele po dvanajstih urah je lahko poiskala medicinsko pomoč.

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Tatjana Greif "UŽAS JE MOJA FURKA"

The more there are Journalists' Codes of Ethics, the less we have journalists' ethics. Slovene mass media nonchalantly take the right to publicly use expressions of xenophobia, racism and intolerance. One summer morning a journalist from a public radio station in a series of practical jokes said: *"I ordered food at the Chinese restaurant, and I had it delivered by a Bosnian. Be wary of who you employ!"* To a report on fascist outbursts of the boss of Formula 1 that were condemned straight away by foreign media, a sports journalist from a Slovenian public TV added an indulgent commentary as if to say that *"no one resented him personally."* A Slovenian public TV channel published on its web page an interview with a priest who in an assault of wrathful opposition against same-sex marriage stated: *"I venture to shoot here."* To the press release issued by the lesbian section LL, ŠKUC, Ljubljana, a journalist of a right-wing weekly paper replied that *"a fund for medical treatment should be raised."* The rock critic and columnist of a Ljubljana daily expressed a feeling of *"uneasiness"* with regard to the column written by his colleague who criticizes Nazi skins.... So, Chinese food is delivered by a Bosnian, we feel sympathy for a neo-Nazi, we shoot homosexuals or at least cure them, and feel uneasy about the critic of neo-Nazism. Journalist ethics need to be closely analysed in terms of discourse. One can stumble upon outgrowths of Nazi, misogynist, sexist, bizarrely faultfinding and predatory gladiator-like media practice, commentary and column writing at every step. All in the style of the most popular right-wing watchword of today: *"Be Intolerant, Be Normal,"* raging in Europe. The Aryan syndrome is not something that slips furtively into the media space, on the contrary it reigns sovereignly over the editorial fatherland.

When Jerzey Buzek, former Polish Prime Minister and member of the reactionary *European People's Party* was elected president of the European Parliament, Slovene media received the press release from the president of *European Parliament's Intergroup for Gay and Lesbian Rights* Michael Cashman. Cashman invited Buzek to publicly condemn the controversial homophobic *Law on the Protection of Minors against the Detrimental Effects of Public Information* which severely prohibits any information about homosexuality, bisexuality and polygamy in schools and public institutions, and was adopted in June by the Lithuanian Parliament. The call upon the new president of the European parliament the first day following his election was not accidental; in his career so far, Buzek has been frequently actively adverse to homosexuals' human rights. It is probably no coincidence that Slovene media have failed to publish this information, just as it is no coincidence that Buzek has failed to condemn the problematic law.

Moreover, in Lithuania, a full member state of the European Union, explicit criminalisation of homosexuality is being introduced. Indeed, in September the Parliament adopted amendments to the Penal Code ruling that public promotion of same-sex relations and financing of such promotion are liable to punishment. An "internal issue" of Lithuania, as it may seem, this is in fact a dramatic scenario that can be extended to other countries, as well. It is a horrific announcement of the 21st Century revival of witch-hunting.

In July, in a cold-blooded killing that took place on the premises of the Society for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Tel Aviv, Israel, two people died, and ten were injured. The attack of the society carried out by means of automatic arms during a gathering of young gays and lesbians points to a planned, intentional act of killing. It points to where politically hostile speech leads and who enjoys its fruits. No one is held responsible for the killing, certainly not the Israeli politicians who have persistently instigated the nation against homosexuals. Ironically, the attack was condemned by the Israeli Prime Minister, senior political officials, and rabbis. But why did they fail to decisively reject the instigation to intolerance beforehand, in due time?

At the beginning of August, the *Human Rights Watch* published a report with the title *They Want Us Exterminated: Murder, Torture, Sexual Orientation and Gender in Iraq* on the systematic killing of gays in Iraq

¹ The title of the song "Užas je moja furka" (Horror is my drive) is from the record *"Sunčana strana ulice"* (*The Sunny Side of the Street*) by the rock band Azra, Zagreb, 1981.

by Islamic militia. Since the beginning of 2009, hundreds of gays have been killed and the Iraqi authorities have failed to do anything about it. After publishing the report, the world called upon Iraq to cease killing raids, out-of-court execution, and the torture and mutilation of gays; extremists either throw the mutilated bodies in a rubbish dump or hang them out in the streets as a warning. Although consensual homosexual relationships among men in Iraq are not forbidden, the Islamic "killing units" execute terror throughout the country.

Benefits of Liberation

This year marks the sixtieth anniversary of the legendary *Stonewall Riots*, the street demonstrations against the police raid on the nights of the 27th and 28th of June 1969 at the *Stonewall Inn* in New York – a rebellion against the police violence against homosexuals and the transgender community. In the fight with the police, gays, lesbians, transvestites and transsexuals won. What is less known is that the *Stonewall Riots* were sparked by a lesbian.

The event in *Stonewall* that is today but a destination of gay tourists stands as a historical turning point and embodies the beginning of the modern gay and lesbian liberation movement. Soon after the *Gay Liberation Front* was founded in New York, analogous organizations emerged in other parts of the world, too. The first male homosexual organization *Mattachine Society* was founded in the USA back in 1950, followed in 1955 by the first lesbian organization, *Daughters of Bilitis*. Europe saw the emergence of the first homosexual organizations even earlier – COC was founded in the Netherlands in 1946, while the homosexual movement in Denmark and Sweden emerged as early as the 1940s. Although there were pioneering associations for the rights of homosexuals and lesbians previously, it was not until *Stonewall* that the movement became massive and went global.

On the movement's anniversary, a dilemma about the achievements and effects of more than sixty years of struggle for the emancipation of homosexuality arises. The dilemma is extremely serious, and a comparison between the initial and today's state of things is hardly an accomplished achievement. What was once a revolutionary, radical liberation movement is today a more conservative, moderate lobbying for integration and assimilation. As years have passed, the sharpness has become torpid, the political charge vanished, radicalness faded. Today the western gay and lesbian movement, which meanwhile has been renamed as the GLBT, GLBTI, GLBTIQ or simply the *Queer* movement, carries no clear political messages. Today's *"agendas"* (what a juicy euro-bureaucratic word) are full of conservative and even clerical priorities: so the main European event of the homo-community this year took place with the theme of *theology*. The 31st Conference of the European Region of ILGA (International Lesbian and Gay Association) took place at the end of October 2009 in Malta under the slogan *Overcoming Religious and Cultural Barriers to LGBT Equality*. It was focused on the dialogue with religious institutions, and the role of religion and the believers in abolishing homophobia. What could be the role of the institution that was, historically, the most prominent oppressor of homosexuals? A huge part of the world gay and lesbian activism movement flatters religious institutions, non-critically favours same sex marriages and sings at conferences, holding hands. It imitates the old instead of demanding new. In such a stuffy climate, sporadic demands to open the issue of racism and xenophobia within homo activism seem straightforwardly heretical. At the *World Out Games* held in Copenhagen, Denmark, an incident occurred in which the Dutch representatives called the Nigerian representatives monkeys.

The descent into conservatism is clearly reflected in European activism, and Slovenia is no exception in this regard. Instead of a series of urgent global and local political themes to be tackled with, such as criminalization of homosexuals, death penalty and prosecution of homosexuality, freedom of movement in EU, freedom of gathering, hate speech, social rights, class differences, social exclusion, poverty, marginalization, right of migrants and asylum seekers, deportations, the right to information, cultural expression, fair education, the right to safety from violence and discrimination etc., the European as well as Slovenian activists think of how to make their integration and assimilation into the most dominant system possible. Their main point is to normalize homosexuality by virtue of legalising marriages and children, taking over the model of heteronormativity.

Brothers Slavs

The Moscow senior official Oleg Mitvol undertook the struggle against debauchery; together with the prosecutor's office, a special police unit and in escort of TV cameras he set about "disinfecting" the gay scene. In a police raid in July they rushed in the bar *Body&Soul* and arrested several guests. Inspired by religious purity of authority, the Russian Union of Evangelist Christians set out on a crusade against homosexuals, organizing protests in front of the club. The Christians believe that *"Moscow is not Sodom"* and have therefore supported the campaign for morality directed against clubs, saunas and hotels that are allegedly home to "debauchery." Mitvol thinks that gay clubs, similarly to casinos, *"lead to the moral degradation of citizens."* Even the Communist deputies of the Russian assembly are supposed to be a part of the communist-homosexual conspiracy. How passionate is the embrace between the state and the church when ultra-nationalism is indicated by banners sporting slogans such as *"Russia against homosexuals!," "Family against homosexuals!"* and *"God against homosexuals!"* ... A real *Schnellkurs* in ultra-nationalism.

In one of his theatre plays, the Carinthian director Marjan Štikar brilliantly repeats the phrase *"Sport ist Mort!"* What an ironic, a thousand times verified truth, one that is confirmed by hundreds of graffiti "Kill the faggots!" on the facades of the Serb capital city. This graffiti is the image of the mental state of the fans of football clubs *Partizan* (Partisan) and *Crvena zvezda* (Red Star). The football hooligans, those same neo-Nazis who in 2001 in Belgrade bloodily suppressed the first attempt at a Pride parade in Serbia, are diligently putting their names under the graffiti. Due to public calls for killing gays, the Serb non-governmental organizations called upon the heads of both clubs to withdraw from the hostility and condemn homophobia. But the football lobby wrapped itself in silence. Therefore the *World Football Association FIFA* has been called upon to press upon Serb football teams and ask them to cease calling for lynching of gays and to publicly condemn hostility.

In August, the *Committee for Social Right* which supervises the implementation of the *European Social Charter* accused Croatia of spreading

homophobia and prejudices in school textbooks. The curricula of sex education violates the pupil's basic right to information by the publishing of books that state condoms fail to protect against HIV, that same-sex relationships are deviant and that unemployed women make better mothers than those who have a job. Perhaps Slovenia too should be denounced for some medicine students, along with some gay activists, fervently argue that condoms are not a safe protection against HIV, but rather abstinence, monogamy, faithfulness and marriage are the only protection. Actually, the one to be denounced is the Vatican.

Goldie Osuri

Goldie Osuri, 2011

DEKOLONIALNOST/ DE-COLONIALITY

Goldie Osuri

IDENTITETA IN SOKRIVDA PRI NEKROPOLITIČNIH ANGAŽMAJIH: PRIMER IRAKA

Iraško ministrstvo za človekove pravice je 13. oktobra 2009 objavilo poročilo, da je »bilo med letoma 2004 in 2008 v bombnih napadih, pobjoh in vojskovanjih ubitih 85.000 ljudi« (Al Jazeera 2009). Poročilo je temeljilo na mrliških listih, ki jih je izdalo Ministrstvo za zdravje. Po poročilu naj bi bilo 147.195 ljudi ranjenih, »čeprav je število nepopisanih ranjenih in smrtnih žrtev lahko tudi bistveno večje« (Al Jazeera 2009). Po oceni iraške raziskovalne skupine *Iraqi Body Count*, ki jo vodijo akademiki in mirovni aktivisti, so številke bistveno večje: 102.071 civilnih smrtnih žrtev od leta 2003. Te podatke, ki so bili pridobljeni s pomočjo »medijskih poročil«, so še dodatno »preverili s podatki iz bolnišnic, mrtvašnic in lokalnih nevladnih organizacij« (Al Jazeera 2009). Po podatkih Al Jazeera pa naj bi študija iz leta 2006, ki jo je opravila britanska medicinska revija *The Lancet*, beležila še več iraških smrtnih žrtev: 601.000 med letoma 2003 in 2006 (Al Jazeera 2009).

Če na to poročilo o smrtnih žrtvah in ranjenih pogledamo skozi teoretski okvir, ki ga je Mbembe zastavil v svojem poglavitnem eseju *Necropolitics*/Nekropolitika, ne moremo mimo dejstva, da kontinuirano nasilje v Iraku temelji na identiteti. Nekropolitični spopad v Iraku se zaradi invazije ZDA kaže v omenjenih smrtnih žrtvah in ranjenih, a pri tem ne gre le za nasprotje med ameriškimi silami na eni in iraškim odporom na drugi strani, čeprav je to ključni dejavnik. Taka razlaga je reduktivna in ne pojasnjuje kompleksnosti sporov, ki so del invazije na Irak. Treba je obelodaniti sokrivdo med identitetami, ki temeljijo na etničnosti in verskih razlikah, in poskusi ZDA, da bi s temi razlikami za/vladale, kot to opisuje Foucault. Da odnos med identiteto in sokrivdo pojasnim skozi nekropolitični teoretski okvir, bom izpostavila povezavo med kolonialnimi pogoji, ki jih opisuje Mbembe, in procesi, ki tvorijo normativno somatehniko, pojem, h kateremu se bom vrnila nekoliko kasneje.¹

Nekropolitika, kakor pojasni Mbembe, izhaja iz posebnosti kolonialnega prava: »[K]olonija je kraj, kjer se suverenost v svoji osnovi kaže kot izvajanje oblasti izven zakona (ab legibus solutus) in kjer 'mir' predstavlja bolj ali manj neskončno vojno« (2003, str. 23). Ob upoštevanju Foucaultovega pojmovanja suverenosti kot odnosa med politiko, življenjem in smrtjo, ki se ogiba konvencionalnemu pojmovanju suverenosti na osnovi avtonomne države ali pravice do samoodločbe, Mbembe nekropolitiko definira s pomočjo Foucaultovega pojmovanja biomoči. Če biomoč pomeni izvajanje moči tako, »da se omogoči življenje in pusti umreti«, (Foucault 2003, str. 241), potem Mbembejeva teoretizacija kolonialne suverenosti zahteva teoretizacijo specifične oblike biomoči: to je nekromoči.

Vprašanje identitete v odnosu do biomoči in nekromoči je prežemajoče tako v Foucaultovih kakor v Mbembejevih zapisih. Za Foucaulta pomeni »rasa način vpeljave razdorov v sfero življenja, ki je pod nadzorom oblasti« ; ti razdori določajo, »kdo naj živi in kdo mora umreti« (2003, str. 254). Za Mbembeja kolonialna suverenost vpeljuje razdor med rasno in kolonialno razliko in tako omogoči izvajanje nekromoči – ki je moč, s katero se »življenje podreja smrti« (2003). Pojem razdora, temelječega na rasi, bom nadalje razvila v pojem, ki bo upošteval kategorizacijo rasnih/kulturnih/verskih ali kolonialnih razlik. Čeprav ni nujno, da so biopolitični razdori, ki so zgrajeni na kolonialnih epistemologijah in tehnikah vladanja, povezani z dejanskimi poboji ali ustvarjanjem mrtvih svetov. Pravzaprav ti biopolitični razdori omogočajo ubijanje. V bistvu so prav pogoji možnosti tisti, ki v obdobjih krize, kot so invazija, vojaška zasedba, vojna, ali celo ko gre za nemir, biopolitično moč spreminijo v nekropolitično, saj navsezadnje kategorije/razdori niso le diskurzivne pozicije, pač pa tvorijo tisto, kar imenujem normativna somatehnika, ki izhaja iz kombinacije kolonialnih epistemologij in tehnik vladanja. Somatehnika ima opraviti z načini konstituiranja telesa prek tehnologij proizvajanja vednosti (npr. pisanje/mapiranje, branje in reprezentacija). Potemtakem je neločljivo povezana s tehnikami vladanja, kjer se telesa prek vedenja konstituirajo kot identitetne kategorije, kot esencializirana bitja, ki so tukaj, da se jim vlada. Takšno kombinacijo somatehničnega, ki nastane na sečišču epistemologije in oblik vladanja, imenujem normativna somatehnika.

Kateri procesi omogočajo kolonialne epistemologije in tehnike vladanja? V kolonialnem kontekstu so te normativne somatehnike prevzele oblike tistega, kar je Appadurai (1993) teoretsko opredelil kot »enumerativne skupnosti«. Appadurai ugotavlja, da je nastanek enumerativnih skupnosti v indijskem kontekstu kot posledica kolonialnega mapiranja skupnosti, ki temeljijo na kastnem in verskem sistemu, povezan z birokratsko proizvodnjo vedenja o Indiji za namene vladanja. Popisovanje teh enumerativnih skupnosti temelji na orientalizmu, kjer se je kolonialno vladanje soočilo s »staroselskim klasifikacijskim sistemom« (Appadurai 1993, str. 318). Britanska obsesija s popisovanjem kastnih, verskih in drugih kategorij

^[1] Za kratko pojasnilo neologizma »somatehnika« glej spletno stran Raziskovalnega centra somatehnike Somatechnics Research Centre (Macquarie University, Australia: http://www.somatechnics.mq.edu.au/). Glej tudi moj poskus opredelitve tega pojma v esejju Media Necropower: Australian Media Reception and the Somatechnics of Mamdouh Habib/Medijska nekromoč: Percepcija medijev v Avstraliji in somatehnika Mamdouha Habiba (Osuri 2006).

This summer saw a series of attacks on gays and lesbians – in Zagreb, Rijeka, Ljubljana and Belgrade. In Belgrade some two hundred guests of a gay bar Hrabro srce (Brave Heart) were evacuated due to attacks with teargas. Eyewitnesses say that the police were laughing at the incident. A few days later a group of ten fans of *Crvena zvezda* on a night bus beat a thirty-year old lesbian, shouting at her with swear words such as "Lesbo cunt!" and "Kill the dyke!" They were kicking her in the head, belly and back, long after she had passed out. Neither the bus chauffeur nor the passengers reacted. Instead of arresting the aggress-

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se je vzpostavila s posebno silo, tako da je izključila staroselske socialne skupine »iz kompleksnih in krajevnih skupinskih struktur in agrarnih praks, v katere so bile te prej vpete« (Appadurai 1993, str. 327). V resnici je prišlo »pri poskusu konstruiranja vseindijske mreže imenovanih in preštetih 'kast' na podlagi sistema popisovanja celotnega indijskega prebivalstva iz sedemdesetih let devetnajstega stoletja do velikih težav in anomalij; nemara tudi zaradi 'kontradiktornih podatkov', ki so jih podajali staroselci« (Appadurai 1993, str. 328). Ashish Nandy je izpostavil, kako so kmetje opisovali svoje večreligiozne prakse s kategorijami, kot je »mohamedanski hindujci« (povzeto iz Vishwanathan 1998, str. xii). Soočena s temi težavami se je kolonialna oblast začela ukvarjati z »numeričnimi večinami«, ki so »se pojavile kot načelo pri popisu prebivalstva« (Appadurai 1993, str. 328). Appadurai povezuje osredotočanje kolonialne imaginacije na številke z »logično osnovo, na kateri temeljijo ideje o 'večinskih' in 'manjšinskih' skupinah, ki so posledično v dvajsetem stoletju pa vse do danes vplivale tako na hindujsko in muslimansko politiko v kolonialni Indiji kakor tudi na kastno politiko« (1993, str. 328). Za šrilanški kontekst velja, kakor trdi Suvendrini Perera, da »so dolgo vzpostavljene, a nihajoče lokalne razlike (jezik, vera, kasta, pokrajina) postale neločljivo povezane in prepletene s pomembnimi kategorijami kolonialne rasne klasifikacije« (2006).

Pomembno pri formaciji enumerativnih in esencialističnih skupnosti je, da se »z uradno uzakonjenimi načini kategoriziranja (prebivalstva) oblikujejo nove oblike sebstva« (Appadurai, 1993, str. 326). Appadurai pa pri tem ne trdi, da so bile kolonialne tehnike popisovanja identitet v Indiji povsem uspešne. Udeležba v teh predstavah o identiteti »se je verjetno razlikovala glede na različno stopnjo vključenosti kolonialnega subjekta«, denimo glede »njene udeleženosti v samem birokratskem aparatu oziroma izključenosti iz njega« (Appadurai 1993, str. 334–335). »Politika reprezentativnosti, to je politika statistike, kjer nekatera telesa lahko predstavljajo telesa drugih na podlagi numeričnega načela metonimičnosti« (Appadurai 1993, str. 332), se je ne glede na to, kaj si o tem mislimo, uveljavila kot del volilne politike, ki je zgodovinsko gledano v indijski kontekst vpeljala esencialistično politiko komunalizma.

Moj namen ni prenesti tega pojmovanja enumerativnih in esencialističnih skupnosti v iraški kontekst brez upoštevanja razlik, saj Appadurai poudarja, da je to specifično mapiranje značilno za indijski kontekst, ker se nanaša na kategoriji, kot sta kasta in religija. Menim pa, da koncept enumerativnih in esencialističnih skupnosti velja tudi v primeru Iraka. Zato je smiselno pojasniti, kako je prišlo do pojava enumerativne in esencialistične normativne somatehnike v iraškem kontekstu.

Mapiranje iraške normativne somatehnike: zgodovinski kontekst
Preden se lotimo mapiranja, si najprej na kratko oglejmo zgodovinski kontekst Iraka v luči razlikovanja med starejšimi oblikami kolonializma in sodobnimi imperiji, kakor jih opiše Partha Chatterjee. Na podlagi kritične formulacije Hardta in Negrija (2000) o decentraliziranem globalnem imperiju, ki podira meje nacionalnih interesov in suverenitet, Chatterjee trdi, da se vrsta »kompetitivnih metropolitanskih interesov, ki so pripeljali do imperialističnih priključitev in sporov in devetnajstem stoletju«, odraža v današnjem poskusu »določanja ozemelj ekskluzivnega nadzora in vplivnih sfer« (2005, str. 494). V tem smislu predlaga splošno definicijo imperija, »ki pa je ne povezuje z nasilno priključitvijo in vojaško zasedbo tujih teritorijev« (2005, str. 495). Na tem mestu velja poudariti, da so ZDA lasten imperializem v Iraku izpeljale prek invazije in vojaške zasedbe tega ozemlja. Kljub temu Chatterjee poudarja, da v kontekstu sodobnega imperializma obstaja »imperialistični prerogativ [...], predvsem v moči, s katero lahko razglasi kolonialno izjemnost« (2005, str. 495). Ali kakor navaja Chatterjee: »Vsi vemo, da obstaja več izvorov mednarodnega terorizma, a kdo je tisti, ki določa, da je treba nemudoma strmoglaviti režim Saddama Husseina v Iraku in ne režima v Savdski Arabiji ali Pakistanu?« (2005, str. 495) In še dodaja: »Tisti, ki odločajo o izjemnosti situacije, so pravzaprav tisti, ki si neupravičeno lastijo imperialistični prerogativ« (2005, str. 495). V primeru ameriške invazije na Irak naj bi bil cilj ZDA – po besedah ameriškega vrhovnega poveljnika in drugih funkcionarjev – »sprememba režima« in ne dolgotrajna okupacija. Kot se zdi, je politika podprla postavitev režima, ki ustreza ZDA, da bi si tako pridobila nadzor nad ozemljem.

Vendar se je ta imperialistični prerogativ izkazal za neprimernega. Kakor poudarja Toby Dodge, politika hitrega vdora in umika, ki naj bi pripeljala do spremembe režima in državnih reform, kot so si to zamislile ZDA, ni šla po načrtu. Imperialistični interesi ZDA, ki so mislili, da bodo imele dostop do iraške državne infrastrukture, na kateri bodo lahko gradile, so trčili ob vrsto nepredvidenih težav, in sicer da bodo morale same »zgraditi tudi temelje (lastne) infrastrukturne oblasti« (Dodge 2005, str. 719) kakor tudi premisliti o politični reprezentaciji. Tareq Ismael in Jacqueline Ismael pa sta manj prizanesljiva glede ameriških imperialističnih interesov v Iraku. Po njunem mnenju je ameriška invazija prek ustvarjanja mrtvih svetov s »šokiranjem in ustrahovanjem« v Iraku povzročila uničenje »velikega deleža iraške kulturne dediščine in infrastrukture« (Ismael in Ismael 2005, str. 616). To je bilo namerno uničenje. »S silovito 'šok terapijo« in brisanjem preteklosti so, trdita Ismael in Ismaelova, »neokonservativci trdno verjeli, da bo mogoče uresničiti 'utopijo' o svobodnem tržnem gospodarstvu, ki ga bodo prinesle ameriške transnacionalne in multinacionalne korporacije« (2005, str. 616). Ta utopija se je udejanjila v odpustitvi 500.000 policijskih in vojaških uradnikov ter državnih uradnikov, pripadnikov stranke Baas, kar je prispevalo k veliki brezposelnosti in propadu državnih podjetij. Paul

sors, the police arrested the victim accusing her of breaching law and order. Only twelve hours later was she allowed to seek medical assistance.

Goldie Osuri

Goldie Osuri, 2011

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Goldie Osuri

Goldie Osuri, 2011

DEKOLONIALNOST/ DE-COLONIALITY

Goldie Osuri

Goldie Osuri, 2011

Bremer je s takšno politiko, kot trdita Ismael in Ismaelova, »čez noč spravil na cesto pol milijona ljudi in s tem odpor proti okupaciji ZDA pravzaprav ponudil kot edino možno alternativo takšni brezposelnosti« (2005, str. 617).

Odpor je eden glavnih razlogov, da so se ZDA umaknile iz Iraka, čeprav so si vplivnost zagotovile s podporo trenutnega iraškega režima. Ta proces spominja na zgodnjo obliko kolonializma v Iraku, kjer je bila za uresničevanje kolonialističnih interesov okupacija neizogibna, neposredno vladanje pa neizvedljivo.

Zgodnji britanski kolonializem, kakor poudarjata Ismael in Ismaelova, je vzpostavil iraško državo na podlagi delitve Osmanskega cesarstva po prvi svetovni vojni. Kot neposredni odziv na britansko nadvlado, ki se ni obdržala, ker ni uresničila obljub o prekinitvi okupacije in je uvedla ostrejši režim obdavčitve kot osmanska nadvlada, je vzniknilo iraško gibanje odpora. To je pospešilo »izvirno doktrino 'šokiranja in ustrahovanja'«, kakor sta to poimenovala Ismael in Ismaelova, kar se je končalo z »zastrupitvijo iraškega civilnega prebivalstva s plinom« (2005, str. 611). »Moški, ženske in otroci, ki so v preplahu bežali iz zastrupljenih vasi, so bili brez usmiljenja postreljeni z nizko letečimi britanskimi letali« (Ismael in Ismael 2005, str. 611). Winston Churchill je izjavil, da ne »razume, od kod zgražanje nad uporabo plina« (Ismael in Ismael 2005, str. 611). Pravzaprav je sam »močno podprl uporabo strupenega plina proti neciviliziranim plemenom« (Ismael in Ismael 2005, str. 611). Ker se je Britancem neposredna kolonizacija zdela neizvedljiva, so leta 1920 postavili monarhični režim, ki je temeljil na verski sorodnosti s predhodnimi vladarji Osmanskega cesarstva. To je bila strategija, da bi upravičili postavitev marionetnega režima. A vendar je Irak ostal še naprej virtualni britanski protektorat, saj je bila iraška nafta glavni interes Britanije vse do leta 1958, ko je bila monarhija z državnim udarom strmoglavljena. Leta 1963 je s pomočjo ameriške obveščevalne agencije CIA prišel na oblast režim Baas, ali kakor je izjavil Ali Salih al-Saadi, član stranke Baas: »Na oblast smo prišli s Cijinim vlakom« (Ismael in Ismael 2005, str. 611). Ta režim se je sprevrgel v totalitarizem, zlasti ko je bil na oblasti Saddam Hussein, ki je Iraku vladal več kot 20 let.

Ta kratka zgodovina Iraka sugerira, da je razlika med prvotnimi in poznejšimi oblikami kolonializma v Iraku bistveno manjša, kot bi si mislili. Prvotna britanska okupacija Iraka je potekala prek marionetnega režima z izvoljenim parlamentom in z omejeno iraško suverenostjo. Zgodovina se ponavlja zato, da bi se postavil režim, ki bo ustrezal interesom ZDA med njihovo okupacijo Iraka. Za podobno ponavljanje zgodovine gre tudi v primeru normativne somatehnike skupnosti. Beverly Milton-Edwards meni, da so leta 1920, čeprav »so bili šiiti demografsko številčnejši, zavzemale drugo mesto v primerjavi s sunitsko elito, ki je koristila privilegije, ki jih je prejela od osmanskih vladarjev« (2006, str. 476). Medtem pa so Britanci, ki so zgradili iraško državo iz treh provinc, za »strateškega staroselskega podpornika« izbrali sunitskega hašemitskega vladarja namesto vladarja iz vrst šiitske večine (Milton-Edwards 2006, str. 476). Tako privilegiranje sunitske oblasti se je nadaljevalo pod Husseinovim režimom in med vladanjem njegove stranke Baas, ki je prišla na oblast s podporo CIE. Husseinova vladavina je veljala za posvetno-avtoritarni režim; Hussein si je prizadeval za odpravo zlorabe islama v politične namene, tako da je zadušil mnoga šiitska gibanja in dal usmrtiti njihove pripadnike, čeprav so bila ta gibanja historično neodvisna od države. A kakor trdi Milton-Edwards, je Saddam Hussein sam izkoriščal versko pripadnost, zlasti po invaziji na Kuvajt, da bi si ponovno zagotovil politično legitimnost. Ta zloraba je potekala v obliki »spodbujanja sunitskih pridigarjev« v mošejah, naj podprejo njegovo vladavino (2006, str. 478). Somatehnika enumerativnih skupnosti je zares prišla do izraza šele z ameriško okupacijo Iraka in z njenim poskusom vzpostavitve iraške vlade. Po mojem mnenju pa je numerični pomen, ki se ga pripisuje reprezentaciji političnih strank – kar ZDA podpirajo –, prav tisto, kar še naprej prispeva k nasilju v Iraku.

Naj izpostavim, da uporabljam izraza suniti in šiiti kot oznako verskih skupnosti v Iraku. Takšen opis bi lahko namigoval na mojo lastno vpletenost pri uporabi teh referenčnih oznak. A izraza uporabljam kot leksikalni rezultat somatehnike enumerativnih in esencialističnih skupnosti. Ker se jima ne morem izogniti, naj poudarim, da nista tako homogena ali enoznačna v smislu doživetih izkušenj, kot nas želijo prepričati vlada in mediji. Še več, kakor poudarjata Ismail in Ismailova, »politična dinamika v Iraku je bolj zapletena od tistega, kar sugerira dihotomija med suniti in šiiti. Fragmentacija vzdolž kurdsko-arabske prelomnice se križa z versko sektaško prelomnico« (2005, str. 626).

Dojemanje sektaških skupnosti kot v osnovi prvobitnih in esencialističnih je bilo del načrta ameriške invazije na Irak. Kakor trdi Toby Dodge, so se ZDA močno zanašale na manjše skupine izgnancev, ki so se pozneje organizirale v iraški nacionalni kongres. Ti izgnanci »so mnenja, da je Irak nepreklicno razdeljen med sektaške in verske skupine, ki jih mobilizira globoko sovraštvo do skupnosti« (2005, str. 712). Tak pogled je postavil temelje sistemu, kar Dodge poimenuje »sektaška matematika«: leta 2003 je namreč začasna koalicijska vlada imenovala iraški vladni svet. Ta svet so ustanovili vodilna koalicija in ZN, začasna koalicijska vlada pa ga je razglasila za »najbolj reprezentativno telo v iraški zgodovini« (Dodge 2005, str. 715). Politiki, ki jih je izbrala, so bili selekcionirani na podlagi vere in etnične pripadnosti; tako so prišli do »13 šiitov, 5 sunitov, enega Turkmena in enega kristjana« (Dodge 2005, str. 715). Taka kalku-

lacija verske in etnične aritmetike, sugerira Dodge, »je povzročila veliko zmedo v iraški politični javnosti. Kritika je bila uperjena v ločevalni selektivni postopek, ki je povzročil odprto sektaštvo, ki pred tem ni bilo ključni predmet političnih razprav v Iraku« (2005, str. 715). Z drugimi besedami, čeprav obstaja zgodovina sunitskega političnega gospostva, politična reprezentacija enumerativnih skupnosti primarno ni temeljila na sektaštvu. Dodge v svoji raziskavi razkrije rezultate javnomnenjske raziskave, ki beležijo »splošno željo po vladavini, ki se bo določila na podlagi strokovnih spretnosti in znanj«, tako da bo zagotavljala nujno potrebne storitve ljudem in ne bo le reprezentacija na osnovi sektaške pripadnosti (2005, str. 717). V tem smislu Dodge sklene, da čeprav so te etnično-verske pripadnosti verjetno obstajale že prej in so bile v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih izkoriščane, temelji metoda sektaške politične reprezentacije na njeni sodobni rekonstrukciji, na normativni enumerativni somatehniko, in je dejansko povzročila in zaostriila sektaško nasilje v Iraku.

Poskus rekonstrukcije normativne somatehniko je izraz ameriške kolonialne politike, temelječe na načelu delitve in vladanja. Aprila 2004 so ameriške vojaške sile med obleganjem mesta Fallujah (mesto severozahodno od Bagdada) izvedle mesečno kampanjo, ki zaradi sodelovanja med sunitskimi in šiitskimi skupinami, ki so se uprle okupaciji ZDA, ni bila uspešna. Po mnenju Ismaela in Ismaelove je bila ameriška vojska »prisiljena ustaviti misijo in se umakniti iz mesta Fallujah« (2005, str. 619), a je nato spremenila taktiko in s šiitskim vodjo Moqtada al-Sadr sklenila sporazum, da bo sodeloval v političnem procesu in se odpovedal podpori sunitskim bojovnikom. Sporazum je še določal, da šiitom ni treba predati orožja in razpustiti čet, tako da je ameriška vojska novembra 2004 izvedla še hujše obleganje – tokrat sunitske skupine niso bile deležne podpore s strani šiitskih nasprotnikov.

Politika delitve in vladanja, ki se je izvrševala prek kolonialne suverenosti, po besedah Mbembeja pomeni »razvrščanje ljudi v različne kategorije, izkoriščanje naravnih virov [...] in ustvarjanje ogromne baze kulturnih imaginarijev«. Ti »imaginariji« dajejo pomen »podeljevanju različnih pravic različnim kategorijam ljudi za različne namene znotraj istega ozemlja« (2003, str. 26). Tako izvajanje kolonialne suverenosti je bilo očitno med obleganjem mesta Fallujah leta 2004, kjer so bile šiitskim vojakom podeljene drugačne pravice za namene izvajanja politike delitve in vladanja – čeprav ta obleganja niso bila uspešna pri zadušitvi iraškega odpora. Oborožen odpor proti ameriški okupaciji je postal večstranski in se je od obleganja mesta Fallujah dalje vse bolj krepil.

Pogajanja s šiitskimi in sunitskimi skupinami ter konstantna politika delitve in vladanja med verskimi in etničnimi identitetami je rezultirala v porastu mrtvih svetov. To je bilo razvidno predvsem iz medijskih poročil v začetku leta 2007. Tedaj je Hamza Hendawi izjavil, da se sunitsko-šiitski spor v Tel Afaru marca 2007 »kaže za najbolj zlovesč znak, da se sektaško nasilje, ki je bilo sprva omejeno na Bagdad, utegne globoko razširiti tudi zunaj glavnega mesta« (2007). »Pobesneli šiitski vojaki in policisti so se zaradi masovnega bombardiranja, ki je v terek terjalo vsaj 63 smrtnih žrtev, 105 pa jih je bilo ranjenih, izven službene dolžnosti podali na morilski potep«; ta »morilski potep« je povzročil »60 sunitskih smrtnih žrtev na ulicah, ustrelih v tilnik. Masaker velja za največje dejanje sektaškega nasilja zadnjih mesecev« (Hendawi, 2007). Mesto Tel Afar »ni poznalo tako razvnetega razdora med suniti in šiiti vse do prekinitve sporazuma o varnosti med ZDA in Irakom« šest mesecev pred pokolom (Hendawi, 2007). Iračan Abdul Kalam je izrazil obžalovanje ob tej spremembi sunitsko-šiitskih odnosov: »Avtomobilske bombe in smrtonosni vodi so razparali družbene tkivo, kjer se ljudje še pred nedavnim niso ozirali na to, kdo je sunit in kdo šiit, in kjer je bila tretjina porok mešanih. Etnično čiščenje je sunite in šiite prisililo, da so zaščitili svoje soseske« (Gibson, 2007).

V tem smislu je normativna enumerativna somatehniko omogočila ameriški nekropolitični angažma v Iraku in spodbudila nastanek mrtvih svetov – »nove in edinstvene oblike družbene eksistence, kjer je široka populacija prisiljena živeti v pogojih, ki ji podeljujejo status živih mrtvecev« (Mbembe 2003, str. 40). Tak opis bi bil primeren tudi za različna območja v Iraku, kjer se je kolonialna nekropolitična angažiranost odzvala na svojo lastno rekonstrukcijo normativne somatehniko, ki je zanetila etnično-sektaško nasilje.

Potem ko so leta 2007 ZDA priznale »državljsko vojno« v Iraku, so spremenile svojo politično strategijo delitve in vladanja. Peter Grier, novinar dnevnega časopisa *Christian Science Monitor*, je učinke teh sprememb opisal tako: »Pomislite takole: V Iraku ZDA igrajo več iger hkrati in proti različnim nasprotnikom, med katerimi so taki, ki skupaj kujejo zaroto, drugi pa bi se med seboj pobili« (2007). Ena od sprememb, ki so jih ZDA uvedle v svojo politiko delitve in vladanja, je, da so zaščitile po njihovem mnenju zmerne sunitske in šiitske skupine pred tistimi, ki so izražale odklonilen odnos – ki so torej nasprotovale ameriški okupaciji. Kakor je povedal Pentagon, so ZDA podpihovale nasilje znotraj sunitskih ali šiitskih skupin. Tak pristop je zanetil smrtonosno igro kolonialne nekropolitike, ki se je nadaljevala pod krinko sektaškega nasilja, ni pa imela nič opraviti z izvajanjem kolonialne suverenosti.

Kolonialna suverenost omogoča kolonizatorju, da zanika relacijsko nekropolitično angažiranost. Krivda za sektaško in etnično nasilje pogosto leti na tiste skupnosti, ki se same razlikujejo med seboj ali ki jih drugi razlikujejo s kategoriziranjem na osnovi verskih, rasnih ali kulturnih značilnosti. Takšno zanikanje je bilo opaziti v poročilu generala Petraeusa leta 2007, ki je »naravo konflikta« v Iraku opisal takole: »[T]emeljni izvor konflikta v Iraku je tekmovalnost med etničnimi in sektaškimi skupnostmi za moč in naravna bogastva. Ta tekmovalnost bo ostala, zato jo je treba nujno odpraviti, da se zagotovi dolgoročna stabilnost v novem Iraku. Vprašanje je, ali bo tekmovalnost bolj – ali manj – nasilna« (2007, str. 2). Taka definicija etnično-sektaškega nasilja v Iraku proizvaja in potrjuje v začaran krog ujeta darwinovsko razumevanje tekmovalnosti, ki se omejuje na naravna bogastva v Iraku, ne upošteva pa kolonialne intervencije in njene politike delitve in vladanja ter izkoriščanja in instrumentalizacije etničnih in verskih razlik v lastno korist. In ker je zapuščina enumerativne somatehniko postala normativna in ločena od kolonialne suverenosti, je pridobila status naturalizirane obmejne politike. Ali kakor trdi Suvendrini Perera v svojem izčrpnem opisu družinskega življenja in etnicizacije v šrilanškem kontekstu, etnična

aritmetika ni le preplavila političnega jezika, pač pa tudi prispevala napolniti »slovnico in besedišče«, s katerima »so se – in se še danes – identitete prvotno koncipirajo, tolmačijo in izkusijo« (2006).

Nekropolitične sokrivde

Če z enumerativno normativno somatehniko začnemo polniti, kar Perera imenuje »slovnico in besedišče«, s katerima »so se – in se še danes – identitete prvotno koncipirajo, tolmačijo in izkusijo« (2006), potem priznanje identitet, ki jih ta tehnika omogoča, generira tisto, kar bom poimenovala nekropolitična sokrivda. V tem smislu ne želim izpostaviti le spleta epistemologije in političnega upravljanja v odnosu do identitete, pač pa tudi sokrivdo staroselcev pri priznavanju esencializiranih in enumerativnih identitet. Pri tej sokrivdi ne gre le za investicijo v kolektivnost kot tako. Identiteta je lahko somatehnični proces prav zaradi tehnike in investicije v zaznavanje lastnega telesa v določenih skupnostih – somareligiozna investicija na primer lahko označuje identiteto, pripadajočo kolektivnosti, ki se izraža prek verskega prepričanja, ali pa označuje pripadnost kolektivnosti, ki se izraža prek izvajanja kulturnih praks. Kakorkoli že, take investicije se lahko tudi popredmetijo in abstrahirajo prek enumerativnih konceptov, kot so večinske identitete ali esencializirani opisi drugosti, ki zanikajo druge načine relacij med kolektivnostmi. Kar želim pravzaprav poudariti, je utelešeno vstopanje in investicijo v normativno enumerativno somatehniko.

Ta normativna enumerativna somatehniko, ki se konstituira kot kolonialna biomoč, se torej sprevača v nekropolitično sokrivdo. A naj poudarim, da mehanizem nekropolitične sokrivde ne vključuje kolaborativnega delovanja na egalitarni ravni med kolonialno suverenostjo in somatehničnimi investicijami in akcijami koloniziranih. Nasilje, ki ga izvaja kolonialno izredno stanje, sili kolonizirane, da igrajo po epistemoloških in političnih pravilih, ki jih določa kolonialna suverenost. Pravzaprav bi bilo namesto karakterizacije razmerja kolonizator/kolonizirani, ki se vselej sprevrže v binarni sistem moči in odpora, nemara bolj smiselno opisati to razmerje kot način delovanja v smislu de Certeauja.²

Nekropolitična sokrivda pri normativni somatehniko deluje na operacijski način, saj je interakcija relacijskih determinant (de Certeau 1988, str. xi) tista, ki omogoča sokrivdo, in ne delovanje posameznikov. Po mojem mnenju način delovanja ne izključuje kolaborativnega delovanja na egalitarni ravni med kolonialno suverenostjo in somatehničnimi investicijami in akcijami koloniziranih. Nasilje, ki ga izvaja kolonialno izredno stanje, sili kolonizirane, da igrajo po epistemoloških in političnih pravilih, ki jih določa kolonialna suverenost. Pravzaprav bi bilo namesto karakterizacije razmerja kolonizator/kolonizirani, ki se vselej sprevrže v binarni sistem moči in odpora, nemara bolj smiselno opisati to razmerje kot način delovanja v smislu de Certeauja.²

Ta vzajemna igra nasilja kolonialne suverenosti in nasilnih načinov delovanja ne proizvaja le mrtvih svetov, pač pa sokrivdo normativno somatehniko identit. Ena od nagrad vlaganja v normativno somatehniko je dostop do moči in reprezentacije v kontekstu na novo vzpostavljene nacionalne države. Nemogoča in težje vzpostavljiva v boju za moč in reprezentacijo pa ni romantizirana predkolonialna enotnost kot taka (saj ta ne obstaja), pač pa predkolonialni odnosi med skupnostmi, ki jih zaznamuje privilegiranje drugih identitet ali drugačnih odnosov vzdolž meja etnično-religioznih razlik.

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² Na de Certeaujev pojem se naslanjam, kakor ga teoretsko obravnava Joseph Pugliese v svojem članku *The Event-Trauma of the Carceral Post-Human*, kjer opiše, kako samooškodovanje beguncev, zapisano v zgodbah o odporu, deluje kot nebrzdana humanistična želja po »predhodno obstoječem humanističnem subjektu«. Gre za položaj, ki je za begunce in prosilce za azil v avstralskem kontekstu »zakonsko in pravno« nemogoč (2007, str. 80).

Goldie Osuri IDENTITY AND COMPLICITY IN NECROPOLITICAL ENGAGEMENTS: THE CASE OF IRAQ

On October 13, 2009, the Iraqi Human Rights Ministry released a report stating that "85,000 people have been killed in Iraq by bombs, murders and fighting from 2004 until 2008" (Al Jazeera 2009). The report was based on death certificates which were issued by the Health Ministry. 147,195 people were deemed to be injured, the report states, "but the number of undocumented injuries and deaths could be much higher" (Al Jazeera 2009). Estimates by The Iraqi Body Count Project, run by academics and peace activists, are much higher: 102,071 civilians since 2003. These numbers have been obtained by "media reports" and further "cross checked with numbers from hospitals, morgues and local non-governmental organizations" (Al Jazeera 2009). But as Al Jazeera reports, a 2006 study by *The Lancet*, a British medical journal, reports a much higher figure, 601,000 killed in Iraq between 2003 and 2006 (Al Jazeera 2009).

Understanding this reportage of death and injury through the theoretical framework of Mbembe's seminal essay, "Necropolitics," compels us to pay attention to the identity-based nature of the continuing violence in Iraq. While a necropolitical engagement in Iraq through U.S. invasion has resulted in these deaths and injuries, the issue is not only about U.S. invaders versus an Iraqi resistance even though this is a major element. Such a characterization is reductive and does not explain the complexity of the contests involved in the invasion of Iraq. The complications between identities based on ethnicity and religious difference and U.S. attempts to governmentalize these differences in the Foucauldian sense of the term need to be unpacked. In order to conceptualize the relationship between identity and complicity through the theoretical framework of necropolitics, I'd like to map a link between the colonial conditions that Mbembe describes and the processes which constitute a normative somatechnics, a concept that I will discuss a little later.¹

Necropolitics as Mbembe has defined it emerges from the difference of colonial rule – the "colony represents the site where sovereignty consists fundamentally in the exercise of power outside the law (ab legibus solutus) and where 'peace' is more likely to take on the face of a war without end" (2003, p. 23). Assuming Foucault's discussion of sovereignty as a relationship between politics, life and death, thus veering away from conventional accounts of sovereignty as state-based autonomy or self-determination, Mbembe uses Foucault's conceptualization of biopower to define necropower. If biopower is the exercise of the power "to 'make live' and let die" (Foucault 2003, p. 241), Mbembe's theorization of colonial sovereignty necessitates a theorization of a specific form of biopower: i.e., necropower.

The question of identity in relation to biopower and necropower is pervasive in both Foucault and Mbembe's accounts. For Foucault, "race is a way of introducing a break into the domain of life that is under power's control;" this break determines "what must live and what must die" (2003, p. 254). For Mbembe, colonial sovereignty introduces the break of racial and colonial difference enabling it to exercise necropower – or the power "to subjugate life to the point of death" (2003). I want to extend this notion of a break based on race to argue for a conceptualization of breaks based on categorizations of racial/cultural/religious or colonial difference. Constructed through colonial epistemologies and techniques of governance, these breaks may not always result in actual murders or the creation of death worlds. However, these biopolitical breaks enable the power to kill. In fact, it is this enabling condition which transforms biopolitical power to necropolitical power in times of crisis such as invasion, occupation, war, or even a riot, precisely because the categories/breaks are not merely discursive positions. These breaks constitute what I would call a normative somatechnics produced by a combination of colonial epistemologies and techniques of governance. Somatechnics has to do with the manner in which bodies are constituted through technologies of knowledge production (e.g., writing/mapping, reading and representation). So it is also inextricably bound up with techniques of governance, where bodies are constituted through knowledge as identity categories, essentialized beings, for the purpose of governance. This combination of the somatechnical, at the juncture of epistemology and governmentality, I name as a normative somatechnics.

What processes enable these colonial epistemologies and techniques of governance? In the colonial context, these normative somatechnics have taken the form of what Appadurai (1993) has theoretically conceptualized as "enumerative communities." Appadurai traces the formation of enumerative communities in the Indian context through colonial mapping of caste and religion-based communities as part of a bureaucratic production of knowledge about India for the purpose of governance. The mapping of these enumerative communities emerged through an Orientalist gaze, where colonial governance encountered "an indigenous system of classification" (Appadurai 1993, p. 318). But the British obsession with mapping caste, religious and other categories took on a special force, unyoking indigenous social groups "from the complex and localized group structures and agrarian practices in which they had been previously embedded" (Appadurai 1993, p. 327). In fact, "there were enormous difficulties and anomalies involved with the effort to construct an all-India grid of named and enumerated 'castes' through the technology of the All-India census taken from the 1870s due to perhaps 'contradictory information' produced by the narratives of the natives" (Appadurai 1993, p. 328). Ashish Nandy has noted the ways in which peasants described their multi-religious practices in categories such as "Mohammaden Hindu" (quoted in Vishwanathan 1998, p. xii). Encountering these difficulties, colonial governance began to concern itself with "numerical majorities" which "emerged as a principle for organizing census information" (Appadurai 1993, p. 328). Appadurai links this focus on number in the colonial imagination to the "logical basis for the ideas of 'majority' and 'minority' groups that subsequently affected Hindu-Muslim politics in colonial India and caste politics during the twentieth century, up to the present" (1993, p. 328). In the Sri-Lankan context, Suvendrini Perera argues that "long established but fluctuating local distinctions (language, religion, caste,

¹ For a quick guide to the neologism "somatechnics," see the Somatechnics Research Centre website (Macquarie University, Australia): <http://www.somatechnics.mq.edu.au/>. See also my attempt to define it in an earlier essay, "Media Necropower: Australian Media Reception and the Somatechnics of Mamdouh Habib" (Osuri 2006).

region) became inextricably entangled with and were folded into the grand categories of colonial racial classification" (2006).

What is significant about the formation of enumerative and essentialist communities is "the creation of new kinds of self by officially enforced labeling activities" (Appadurai, 1993, p. 326). Appadurai does not suggest that colonial techniques of mapping identity in India were completely successful. Participation in these notions of identity "must have varied according to various dimensions of the colonial subject," for instance, "her participation in or distance from the bureaucratic apparatus itself" (Appadurai 1993, pp. 334–335). However, a "politics of representativeness, that is, a politics of statistics, in which some bodies could be held to stand for other bodies because of the numerical principle of metonymy" (Appadurai 1993, p. 332) comes into play as part of electoral politics which has historically spawned an essentialist politics of communalism in the Indian context.

I do not want to transport this conceptualization of enumerative and essentialist communities wholesale to the Iraqi context as Appadurai does make the point that this particular mapping is specific to the Indian context as it concerns caste and religious categories. However, I think the concept of enumerative and essentialist communities is relevant to the contemporary Iraqi context. So, it is necessary to qualify how an enumerative and essentialist normative somatechnics has emerged in the Iraqi context.

Mapping a Normative Somatechnics of Iraq: historical contexts

In order to do this, it is necessary to discuss a brief historical context for Iraq in the light of Partha Chatterjee's distinction between older colonialisms and contemporary empires. Critiquing Hardt and Negri's (2000) formulation of a decentered global empire which erodes the borders of national interests and sovereignties, Chatterjee suggests that the kind of "competitive metropolitan interests that led to the imperial annexations and conflicts in the nineteenth century" are echoed in the current attempt to "stake out territories of exclusive control and spheres of influence" (2005, p. 494). In this sense, he proposes a general definition of empire "that does not tie it with annexation and occupation of foreign territories" as such (2005, p. 495). It is worth emphasizing here that in the case of Iraq, U.S.-led imperialism has had to operate through invasion and an occupation. However, Chatterjee's point is that in the context of contemporary imperialism, "the imperial prerogative . . . is the power to declare the colonial exception" (2005, p. 495). Or as Chatterjee suggests, "We all know that there are many sources of international terrorism, but who decides that it is not Saudi Arabia or Pakistan but the regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq that must be overthrown by force?" (2005, p. 495). So Chatterjee states: "Those who decide on the exception are indeed arrogating to themselves the imperial prerogative" (2005, p. 495). In the case of the U.S. invasion of Iraq, the objective of the U.S. was "regime change" in the words of the U.S. commander-in-chief and other officials rather than a prolonged occupation. The policy appeared to favor the installation of a regime favorable to the U.S., which would give it a sphere of influence.

But this imperial prerogative proved untenable. As Toby Dodge points out, this quick in-and-out policy of regime change and state reform which the U.S. planners envisioned did not quite go according to plan. In fact, U.S. imperial interest in Iraq, which envisioned access to a state infrastructure which it could build on, found itself with a set of problems it had not envisioned, namely having to "build even the foundations of infrastructural power" (Dodge 2005, p. 719) as well as think through political representation. Tareq and Jacqueline Ismael have a less sympathetic view in relation to the interests of U.S. imperialism. Through its "shock and awe" creation of Iraqi death worlds, the U.S. invasion destroyed a "large portion of Iraq's cultural heritage and infrastructure" (Ismael & Ismael 2005, p. 616). This destruction was deliberate. "By applying a pervasive 'shock therapy,'" and in effect erasing the past, Ismael and Ismael argue, "the neoconservatives firmly believed that a new stage could be set to establish a 'utopia' of a free market economy, which would be championed by US transnational and multinational corporations" (2005, p. 616). This utopia was materialized by the sacking of 500,000 Ba'athist police and military officers as well as bureaucrats, thus contributing to large-scale unemployment, and the liquidation of state enterprises. Ismael and Ismael suggest that Paul Bremer, who executed these policies, "created half a million jobless people overnight and made resistance to the US occupation the only viable alternative to unemployment" (2005, p. 617).

This resistance is one of the major reasons for U.S. withdrawal from Iraq even though the U.S. appears to have carved out a sphere of influence with its support for the current Iraqi regime. This process harks back to an earlier form of colonialism in Iraq where occupation appeared to be a necessity, but direct rule proved unworkable for colonial interests.

Earlier British colonialism, as Ismael and Ismael point out, constructed the state of Iraq by carving up the Ottoman Empire after World War I. As a direct outcome of the British rule, which proved to be untenable through the failure of British promises to end occupation and the installation of a regime of taxation which was much harsher than Ottoman rule, an Iraqi resistance movement emerged. This movement precipitated the "original 'shock and awe' doctrine" as Ismael and Ismael term it, which resulted in the "gassing of Iraqi civilians" (2005, p. 611). "Men, women and children fleeing from gassed villages in panic were mercilessly machine-gunned by low-flying British planes" (Ismael and Ismael 2005, p. 611). Apparently, Winston Churchill stated that he did not "understand the squeamishness about the use of gas" (Ismael and Ismael 2005, p. 611). In fact, he proclaimed himself "strongly in favor of using poison gas against uncivilized tribes" (Ismael and Ismael 2005, p. 611). Finding direct colonialism unmanageable, the British installed a monarchical regime in 1920 based on a religious affiliation with earlier rulers chosen by the Ottoman Empire. This was a strategy to gain legitimacy for the puppet regime. However, Iraq remained a virtual British protectorate whose main interest appeared to be Iraqi oil until 1958 when the monarchy was overthrown by a military coup. The Ba'ath regime came into power in 1963 through the aid of the CIA, or as Ali Salih al-Saadi of the Ba'ath party stated, "we came into power on the CIA train" (Ismael & Ismael 2005, p. 611). This regime became totalitarian especially under Saddam Hussein who governed Iraq for more than 20 years.

This brief history of Iraq suggests that the distinction between early and later forms of colonialism in Iraq is less distinct than might be imagined. In fact, earlier British occupation in Iraq functioned through a puppet regime with an elected parliament, and with limited Iraq

sovereignty. This history has been repeated in the attempt to install a regime favorable to U.S. interests in the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq. In terms of the normative somatechnics of communities, there has been a parallel repetition of history. Beverly Milton-Edwards suggests that in 1920, although "the Shi'a were a demographic majority," they "took second place to a Sunni elite, who had benefited from privileges designated to them by the Ottoman rulers" (2006, p. 476). And the British who constructed the state of Iraq out of three provinces chose a Sunni Hashemite monarch as a "strategic indigenous buttress" against a Shi'a majority (Milton-Edwards 2006, p. 476). This privileging of Sunni authority continued during the years of Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist regime, a party which came into power through CIA support. Saddam Hussein's rule was considered to be a secular-authoritarian regime; he attempted to eliminate politicized uses of Islam through the repression and killing of many Shi'a movements. While these movements were autonomous from the state in historical terms, it was the politicized use of religion against his regime that Saddam Hussein attempted to repress. But Milton-Edwards suggests that Saddam Hussein did exploit religious affiliations especially after the invasion of Kuwait in order to regain political legitimacy. This exploitation included "encouragement of Sunni preachers" in mosques to legitimize his rule (2006, p. 478). But it is in the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq, and its attempts to establish an Iraqi government that the somatechnics of enumerative communities appears to have become prominent. Or it is the numerical importance given to representation of political parties, as enabled by the U.S., which I would argue continues to contribute to the violence in Iraq.

I want to point out here that I am using terms like Shi'a and Sunni to describe religious collectivities in Iraq. Such a description might highlight my own complicity in the use of these referential significations. I use these terms as the lexical outcome of the somatechnics of enumerative and essentialist communities. But while I can't avoid using these terms, I want to point out that these terms may not be as homogenous or as one-dimensional in terms of lived experiences as governmental and media sources would have us believe. Furthermore, as Ismael and Ismael point out, "political dynamics in Iraq are more complex than a simple Sunni/Shi'ite dichotomy suggests. Fragmentation along the Kurdish/Arab fault line cuts across the religious sectarian fault" (2005, p. 626).

But a perception of sectarian communities as primordial and essentialist in nature was anticipated during U.S. planning of the invasion of Iraq. According to Toby Dodge, the U.S. relied heavily on a small group of exiles later constituted as the Iraqi National Congress. These exiles "argued that Iraq was irrevocably divided between sectarian and religious groupings, mobilized by deep communal antipathy" (2005, p. 712). Such a view provided the basis to what Dodge calls "sectarian mathematics," where the Coalition Provisional Authority in 2003 set up the Iraqi Governing Council. This council was set up by the Coalition and the U.N., but was claimed to be "the most representative body in Iraq's history" by the Coalition Provisional Authority (Dodge 2005, p. 715). The politicians it chose were selected on the basis of religion and ethnicity – so "13 Shias, five Sunnis, a Turkoman and a Christian" (Dodge 2005, p. 715). This manner of calculating religious and ethnic arithmetic, Dodge suggests, "caused a great deal of consternation across Iraqi political opinion. Criticism focused on the divisive nature of the selection process, arguing that it had introduced overt sectarianism that had previously not been central to Iraqi political discourse" (2005, p. 715). In other words, even though there was a history of Sunni domination in political terms, the sectarian basis of enumerating communities had not been the dominant form of political representation. Dodge's research reveals that opinion polls suggested "a popular desire to be ruled by those appointed for their skills and qualifications" to deliver much needed services to the people rather than representation through sectarian affiliations (2005, p. 717). In this sense, Dodge concludes that while these ethno-religious affiliations may have already existed, and were exploited at different historical periods, the method of sectarian political representation has relied on the contemporary reconstruction, if you will, of a normative enumerative somatechnics, and has indeed created and exacerbated sectarian-based violence in Iraq.

The reconstruction effort in relation to a normative somatechnics manifested itself in the U.S. deployment of colonial divide-and-rule politics. In April 2004, in the siege of Fallujah (a city north-west of Baghdad), U.S. troops conducted a month-long campaign and failed due to cooperation between Sunni and Shi'a groups to resist U.S. occupation. The U.S. military, according to Ismael and Ismael, "were forced to pull back and withdrew from Fallujah" (2005, p. 619). However, the military changed its tactics and focused on a deal with Shi'ite leader Moqtada al-Sadr to participate in the political process rather than support Sunni militants. The deal included not having to give up arms or disband, and so in November 2004, U.S. troops were able to conduct an even more intensive siege – this time Sunni groups were without support from their Shi'a counterparts.

This divide-and-rule politics operated through the exercise of colonial sovereignty, which Mbembe explains is about "the classification of people into different categories, resource extraction . . . and the manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries" – these "imaginaries" give meaning "to the enactment of differential rights to different categories of people for different purposes within the same space" (2003, p. 26). Such an exercise of colonial sovereignty was apparent during the sieges of Fallujah in 2004, where Shi'a militants were given different rights for the purpose of a divide-and-rule politics. However, these sieges were not successful in quelling Iraqi resistance. And armed resistance to U.S. occupation became multi-faceted and increased exponentially since the sieges against Fallujah.

These deals with Shi'a and Sunni groups, and a continual divide-and-rule politics between religious and ethnic identities resulted in the proliferation of death worlds. This proliferation was evident in news reports in early 2007. Then, Hamza Hendawi stated that Sunni-Shi'a strife in Tel Afar in March 2007 "proved the most ominous sign that sectarian violence, which has been primarily confined to Baghdad, may be taking deep root outside the capital" (2007). "Enraged by massive bombings that killed at least 63 and wounded 105 on Tuesday, Shiite militants and off-duty policemen went on a killing spree;" this "killing spree" left "60 Sunnis dead in the streets, executed with a gunshot to the back of the head. The massacre was the biggest single act of sectarian violence in recent months" (Hendawi 2007). The town of Tel Afar "had no history of major Sunni-Shiite strife until the U.S.-Iraqi security crackdown" six

weeks before the massacre (Hendawi 2007). Abdul Kalam, an Iraqi man, voiced the pain of this change in Sunni-Shi'a interrelations: "Car bombs and death squads have torn apart the fabric of a society where not so long ago, people rarely asked or cared if someone was Sunni or Shiite, where one-third of all marriages used to be mixed. Ethnic cleansing has now forced Sunnis and Shiites to protect their own neighborhoods" (Gibson 2007).

In this sense, a normative enumerative somatechnics enabled a U.S. necropolitical engagement in Iraq, and fueled the creation of death worlds – "new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of the living dead" (Mbembe 2003, p. 40). This description could have applied to different areas within Iraq where a colonial necropolitical engagement responded to its own reconstruction of a normative somatechnics which fueled ethno-sectarian violence.

After acknowledgement of "civil war" in Iraq in 2007, the U.S. changed its strategy of divide-and-rule politics. Peter Grier, a journalist writing for the *Christian Science Monitor* described the effects of these changes: "Think of it this way: In Iraq, the U.S. simultaneously is playing different games of chess against several different opponents. Meanwhile, some of those opponents are conspiring together. Some are trying to blow each other up." (2007). One of the changes the U.S. made in divide-and-rule politics is to back what it perceived as moderate Sunni and Shi'a groups against those groups which were considered rejectionist – i.e., rejection of U.S. occupation. Hence, the U.S. armed the violence of Sunni against Sunni or Shi'a against Shi'a as described by the Pentagon. Such an approach fueled the deadly game of colonial necropolitics which continued in the guise of a sectarian violence disconnected from the exercise of colonial sovereignty.

Colonial sovereignty enables the colonizer to disavow the relational engagement of necropolitics. And the blame for sectarian or ethnicized violence often rests only on those communities who differentiate themselves and are differentiated by others through the categories and investments of religion or race or culture. Such a disavowal was evident in the 2007 Petraeus report where the "nature of the conflict" in Iraq was outlined in this manner: "The fundamental source of the conflict in Iraq is competition among ethnic and sectarian communities for power and resources. This competition will take place, and its resolution is key to producing long-term stability in the new Iraq. The question is whether the competition takes place more – or less – violently" (2007, p. 2). Such a statement of ethno-sectarian violence in Iraq produces and confirms in a vicious loop a Darwinian reading of a competition for resources in Iraq without an avowal of colonial intervention and its accompanying divide-and-rule politics, its exploitation and instrumentalization of ethnicized and religious differences for its own purposes. And as the legacy of an enumerative somatechnics becomes normative and disconnected from colonial sovereignty, it acquires the status of a naturalized borderpolitics. Or as Suwendrini Perera puts it in her profound description of family life and ethnicizations in the Sri Lankan context, ethnic arithmetic not only pervaded the language of politics but also supplied the "grammar and vocabulary" in which "identities were – and are – primarily conceptualized, interpreted and experienced" (2006).

Necropolitical Complicities

If an enumerative normative somatechnics begins to supply what Perera calls the "grammar and vocabulary" in which "identities were – and are – primarily conceptualized, interpreted and experienced" (2006), the assertion of identities enabled by this technique generates what I would like to name as a necropolitical complicity. In this sense, what I am emphasizing is not only colonial sovereignty's enmeshment of epistemology and governmentality in relation to identity, but also the indigenous complicity in asserting essentialized and enumerative identities. This complicity is not simply about the investment in a collectivity as such. Identity may be a somatechnical process precisely because of the technique and investment in perceiving one's body in a set of collectivities – a somareligious investment, for instance, may describe an identity belonging to a collectivity expressed through religious belief, or a somacultural investment may describe belonging to a collectivity expressed through cultural practices. However, these investments can also become reified and abstracted through enumerative concepts such as majoritarian identities or essentialized descriptions of otherness which disavow other ways of relating across collectivities. What I am emphasizing here, therefore, is an embodied entry and investment in a normative enumerative somatechnics.

It is this normative enumerative somatechnics constituted as colonial biopower which is transformed into a necropolitical complicity. The mechanism of necropolitical complicity, I want to emphasize, does not entail a collaborative operation on an egalitarian terrain between colonial sovereignty and the somatechnical investments and actions of the colonized. The violence of the colonial state of exception forces the colonized to play by the epistemological and political parameters set by colonial sovereignty. In fact, rather than characterizing the colonizer/colonized relations as always falling into the binary of power and resistance, it may be more useful to describe this relationship as a mode of operation in the de Certeauian sense.²

Necropolitical complicity in a normative somatechnics functions as a mode of operation as it is the interaction of relational determinants (de Certeau 1988, p. xi) which enables this complicity rather than individualized agency. I also want to suggest that a mode of operation does not foreclose the question of resistance. Resistances are always possible through modes of operation even though a mode of operation may not always be read as resistance. However, in the case of a necropolitical complicity, violent struggles becomes appropriated into a mode of operation where somatechnical others must be killed in the logic of survival. This logic of survival confirms a colonial belief that the natives are not ready for self-governance as they are at each other's throats.

This interplay between the violence of colonial sovereignty and violent modes of operation produce not only death worlds, but a complicitous normative somatechnics of identity. One incentive for an investment in a normative somatechnics is access to power and representation in the context of a reconstructed nation-state. What is disabled and harder

² I draw on this de Certeauian notion as theorized by Joseph Pugliese in his article "The Event-Trauma of the Carceral Post-Human," where he outlines how refugee acts of self-harm recuperated into a narrative of resistance function as a liberal humanist desire for a "pre-existing humanist subject," a position that is impossible "legislatively and juridically" for refugees and asylum seekers to occupy in the Australian context (2007, p. 80).

to rebuild in the struggle for the capture of power and representation is not a romanticized pre-colonial unity as such (because this is non-existent), but pre-colonial relationships between communities marked by a privileging of other identities or different relationships across the borders of ethno-religious difference.

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

Ana Hoffner MOVEMENT.PRIVATIZED

Ponovna uprizoritev za gospodarje, državljane, umetnike in nekega psa

Umetnik: Dober večer in dobrodošli. Moj performans je ponovna uprizoritev videopreforma ameriškega umetnika Brucea Naumana iz leta 1968: Hoja z izrazitimi gibi po stranicah kvadrata. Bruce Nauman je v intimi svojega ateljeja raziskoval odnos med telesom in prostorom. Umetnik se je po stranicah kvadrata pomikal nekako takole:

Umetnik se začne gibati po stranicah kvadrata.

Njegovo gibanje je bilo posneto s kamero, kakor je tudi moje, da bi bilo dostopno gledalcem. Gibanje je izrazito – elegantno, poudarjeno ali celo eksistencialistično. Kot mnogi umetniki tedanjega časa tudi Nauman prikazuje umetnost kot proces, kot aktivnost, kot delo. Delo, ki ni samo predstavitev tako imenovane realnosti. Tisto, kar se dogaja, je umetnost. Zato je tudi gibanje Brucea Naumana po stranicah kvadrata lahko umetnost. Umetnik se giba v svojem ateljeju kot gospodar v svoji hiši, kot državljan v svoji državi.

Premor.

Danes, štirideset let pozneje, ponavljam gibanje Brucea Naumana, ker trdim, da se je kvadrat kot simbol abstrakcije in brisanja danes razširil. Kvadrat ni samo del umetniškega dela, ampak označuje tudi način delovanja neoliberalnega kapitalizma. Ta sistem se ohranja prek nenehnega razglašanja samega sebe kot središča, ki absorbira periferije. Deluje procesualno, tako da izmenjuje strategije privatizacije in depolitizacije in s tem briše mejo med središčem in periferijo. Da bi se omogočilo neomejeno gibanje kapitala, so vse razlike, ki so se bile doslej zmožne zoperstaviti središču, postale del njega. Gibanje po stranicah kvadrata ni samo dejanje nekega umetnika v svojem ateljeju, ampak dejanje vseh produktivnih sil, ki upravljajo s kapitalom. Kvadrat normalizira vsako razliko. Vse dokler vse razlike ne postanejo konstitutiven del produktivnega subjekta. Tako formirani subjekt ne potrebuje nobene razlike, saj jo je privzel, zaprl znotraj meja in spremenil v podaljšek lastnega telesa. Zaprl jo je v sistem doma/domovine. Zaprl jo je znotraj reproduktivne heteroseksualnosti, ki tvori temelj doma/domovine. Reprodiktivna heteroseksualnost živi od perverzije. Za gospodarja, državljana in umetnika ni več preprek, ničesar ni več na poti, kar bi oviralo njegov užitek. Ni potrebno biti perverzen, da bi bil sposoben konsumirati vse perverzности. Prav tako ni potrebno biti strejt, da živíš kot strejt. Izbrane lezbijke, homoseksualci in drugi perverznejši naj se vrnejo domov. Njihovo gibanje je lahko delo ali le eleganten gib nekega umetnika, ki hodi po stranicah kvadrata.

Premor.

Leta 1989: Ko je meja padla in se je kvadrat razširil, se nisem premaknil. Bil sem begunec, bil sem ilegalec. Za to ne obstaja dokaz; ni avtentičnosti, ni sledi solz. Ne obstaja dokaz, ki bi potrdil, da sem migrant. Saj se nisem spremenil, od nekdaj sem Drugi. Predal sem se aparatom, ki proizvajajo življenje. Postal sem kot vsi tisti, ki so bili takrat živi.

Umetnik hodi vzvratno po stranicah kvadrata.

To ni gibanje, ampak pobeg. To ni dom, ampak disfunkcionalnost domovine. Ni izhoda in ni prostora zunaj kvadrata. Vse prepreke so padle in zdaj niste več moja publika. Postali ste del moje drame. V tej intimnosti so razlike med nami izginile.

Umetnik izgine, na njegovo mesto pride pes.

V prostoru, ki nima mej, si ti snob in jaz žival. V tej intimnosti si ti konsument in jaz konsumiran. Jaz sem Kulik. Jaz skrbim za čistočo tvojega doma. Jaz sem seksualni delavec vseh tvojih želja. Jaz sem begunec, ki te razglašča za državljana. Moj jezik je organ neformalnega sektorja. Jaz sem pogoj za tvoj obstoj.

Pes liže čevlje gospodarjem, državljanom in umetnikom. Nato začne gristi.

Jaz sem tvoj Kulik! Ne moreš se me znebiti! Ni prostora zunaj kvadrata! Vežan si name. Jaz sem tvoj ... Lahko zadovoljim vsako tvojo perverzijo! Jaz sem tvoj Kulik – v nenehnem begu. Jaz sem tvoj Kulik, ki mora neprestano menjati svoje položaje, države, jezike, telesa in ideologije. Ne moreš se me znebiti. Ne moreš me ustaviti. Ne moreš me ubiti.

Poskusi, da bi ustavili psa, so neuspešni.

Ali naj nadaljujem? Do kod? Do ultimativnega ekscesa? Ali moram odigrati vlogo perverznejša za vsakega izmed vas? KDO mora odigrati vlogo živali, migranta, perverznejša in kdo bo odigral vlogo gospodarja, državljana in umetnika?

Pes prekine svojo vlogo in ne prevzame druge. Na prizorišču ostanejo gospodarji, državljani in umetniki brez funkcije.

KONEC

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

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return to their homes. Their movement can be work or can just be an elegant gesture of an artist walking within the perimeters of a square.

Pause

In 1989, when one border disappeared allowing the square to expand, I did not move. I was a refugee, I was illegal. There is no proof of that; there is no authenticity, no trail of tears. There is no evidence proving me to be a migrant. Because I haven't changed, I have always been the Other. I have surrendered to the apparatuses that produce life. I became just like those who were alive then.

The artist walks backwards within the perimeters of the square.

This is not walking, it's a getaway. This is not a home, it's the disfunctionality of homeland. There is no escape and no space outside the square. All barriers have fallen and now you are not my audience anymore, you have become a part of my drama. In this intimacy any distance between us is gone.

The artist disappears, replaced by a dog.

In the space with no borders you become a snob, and I become an animal. In this intimacy you are the consumer and I am consumed. I am Kulik. I take care of the cleanliness in your home, I am a sexual worker of your desires, I am a refugee declaring you a citizen. My language is the organ of the informal sector. I am the condition for your existence.

The dog licks the shoes of its masters, the citizens and artists. And then bites.

I am your Kulik! You can't get rid of me! There is no space outside of the square! You are bound to me. I am yours... I can satisfy all your perversions! I am your Kulik – always on the run. I am your Kulik compelled to change constantly my positions, states, languages, bodies and ideologies. You can't get rid of me. You can't stop me. You can't kill me.

Attempts to stop the dog are in vain.

Should I continue? Until where, until I reach the ultimate excess? Should I play the pervert for each of you? WHO has to be the animal, the migrant, the pervert, and who will be the masters, citizens and artists?

The dog ceases to perform its part, not taking on another one. On the scene remain the masters, citizens and artists with no function.

THE END

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



Ana Hoffner, *Movement.Privatized*, 2009, reenactment