RCARTIKULACIJA

UMETNIŠKO-POLITIČNA-TEORETIČNA-DISKURZIVNA PLATFORMA 2009 WWW.REARTIKULACIJA.ORG REARTIKULACIJA@GMAIL.COM

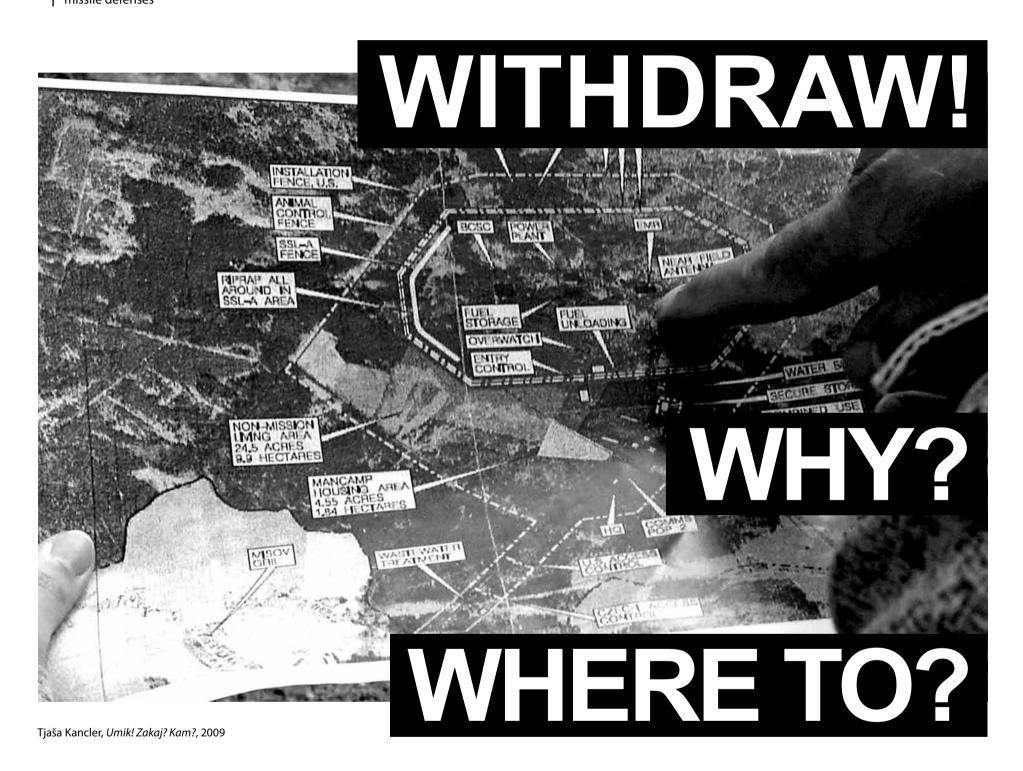
ARTISTIC-POLITICAL-THEORETICAL-DISCURSIVE PLATFORM

07

23/03/1983 09/11/1989 11/09/2001

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

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



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

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

08/07/2008 20/08/2008 17/09/2009

Ameriška in Češka vlada podpišeta Sporazum o raketni obrambi

U.S. and Czech Government sign Missile Defense Agreement Ameriška in Poljska vlada podpišeta Sporazum o raketni obrambi

U.S. and Polish Government sign Missile Defense Agreement Ameriški predsednik Barack Obama je začasno ustavil evropski raketni obrambni program iz leta 2007 in napovedal nov pristop

U.S. President Barack Obama suspends the 2007 European missile defense program and announces a new approach REARTIKULACIJA je umetniško-politična-teoretična-diskurzivna platforma/REARTIKULACIJA is an artistic-political-theoretical-discursive platform

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ZAKON KAPITALA: ZGODOVINE ZATIRANJA

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

V tokratni številkah 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 (neznatnih, 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 radikalnokritičnega 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 *Reartikulacija*

Marina Gržinić in Sebastjan Leban, urednika Reartikulacije

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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 reshape 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 worlds 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 the 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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2 REARTIKULACIJA

Sebastjan Leban

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

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

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

Capitalist formation and its upgrading in the era of globaliza-

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

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

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

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

Regulation and deregulation of life

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

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

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

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

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

4 Walter Mignolo, DELINKING: The Rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality, http://waltermignolo.com/publications/#articles english, Oc

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Walter Mignolo, DELINKING: The Rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the arammar of de-coloniality, http://waltermianolo.com/publications/#articles_enalish. Oc-

² Melinda Cooper and Angela Mitropoulos, In the praise of usura, http://www.metamute.org/content/in praise of usura, September 2009.

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

⁶ Marina Gržinić. Political act in contemporary art: Drawing borders, http://www.rearti-

kulacija.org/RE5/ENG/reartikulacija5_ENG_grz.html, October 2008.

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

Radical critical practice as the new form of de-linking

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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(HARD) CORE

Marina Vishmidt

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some points to be elaborated here might include:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RADICAL CRITICAL PRACTICE

Angela Mitropoulos **LEGAL, TENDER**

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

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

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

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

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

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

And so, without faith that this mythical origin contains an inevitable and idealised destiny, rights are contingent, and will remain so. In "Queer Loving," Siobhan B. Somerville argues that the predominance in the United States of a liberal discourse of inclusion depended upon an optimistic rendition of the progressive advance of civil rights, "a reading that moves gradually from discrimination against minority groups toward the fulfilment of an idealized democracy" (2005, p. 335). To this insight I would add that there would be no way to think of race, or a people, or a nation without the ordered inscriptions of genealogy, just as it is not possible to think of the persistence of any of these over time without invoking a normative economy of sex, gender and sexuality. Played out along boundaries of East and West, through the affiliations of anti-imperialism and human rights, and at the line that separates the privacy of the household from the gaze of the street, much of what occurred in Belgrade - as the city it has come to be in relation to cities elsewhere – turns around the tense knots that bind the familial to the national, and, therefore, that connect sex and desire to race and (re-) production. Something of this was noted in the statement from the Open Assembly of Solidarity, as they called for protests against the prohibition of Belgrade Pride outside the Serbian Embassy in Athens. Cutting across but also through the nervous lines of familiarity, their statement reads:

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

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

Rituals of obedience are no more emphatic than where that loyalty

is at its most suspect, where desire and the future must contend with the most vagrant and fugitive of prospects, and the legal form of value with the problem of its reinscription or imposition. In other words, origin and lineage are nowhere more disputed and uneasy than in the frontier – which is to say, nowhere a more unmistakeable terrain of conflict than in the very moment of the establishment of the contractual conventions that put a distance between capitalism and feudalism (such as those which distinguish a labour freely given from that appropriated by coercion, and therefore nowhere more emphatic a proposition than in the qualitative distinctions of race that marked the purportedly heritable properties of either condition). What Warren Montag has called "that admittedly bizarre impasse at which the Tractatus Politicus halts so abruptly" (1999, p. 85) turns out to be the problem of assuring genealogical order. Spinoza's dilemma is not simply that women are "weak," but that men "generally love women merely from lust," and are very "ill-disposed" "to suffer the women they love to show any sort of favour to others, and other facts of this kind" (1951, p. 387). This, in short, is the danger of wayward, unproductive desire. These are the assumptions that separate and join spheres of intimacy, politics, labour, sex, communication; that gender the attributions of activity and passivity in the drafting of contractual subjectivity. It is the move that disavows desire in politics (or, as in Fordism: the factory), and in so doing politicises desire by insisting upon the mastering of one's body and the productivity of its potential issue. This tension between the private and the common – in other words, between the jealous privatisation of women as the object of desire and women as the common property of men - that Spinoza ponders forms the template of contract theories, whether those of the marital, wage or social contract, and brings to the fore all the gendered senses in which the categories of active and passive (citizenship and sexuality) are constructed and remade.

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

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

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

Here, Somerville's reading of U.S. legal history is pertinent (2005). Her striking point, discussed in the connections between heteronormalisation and the legitimation of "inter-racial" marriage, is that progressive narratives charge identity with authenticity and install comparison. And so, while there have been attempts to move beyond the discrete arrangement of identities (as in intersectionality studies), "our knowledge still tends to be organised through analogies naturalised in the context of identity politics, including the notion that sexual identity is in most ways, or at least in the most salient ways, like race." Following the arguments made by Janet Halley on the incomparability of non-normative sexualities and race, Somerville illustrates how the legitimation of "interracial marriage was accomplished in relation to its thorough heterosexualization." Race cannot function as simile for gays, women, or those with disabilities. Movements around sexual orientation, Halley argued, harbour "an unforgivingly corrosive critique of identity itself." To this argument it might be added that the specificity of gueer sex is that it, as with the Marxian notion of class, is far less an identity than a placeholder of that which is regarded as without value, inauthentic and - in its specifically capitalist sense – deemed unproductive or excessively so. What connects race to sex, however, is also what can pull them apart. Somerville writes that where "monogamous marriage was assumed to produce an unadulterated line of descent, adultery was imagined as the potential pollution of bodies, thus scrambling the inheritance of property relationships and status" (2005, p. 354).

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

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

For Karl Marx, as he tracks down political economy's genealogical fictions (and therefore, the legal ordering of right), the labour theory of value appears as the ironic undoing of capitalist legitimation. But, in the "Critique of the Gotha Programme," he recoils from the idea of "useful labour" as the condition of right, just as he insists that the ownership of (a feminised) "nature" by men is one of the principal conditions that gives meaning to words such as use value, labour, and so on. But if here the references to race and sex are implicit, elsewhere he dismisses "fancied genealogy" as that which is required by "the incipience of monogamy" (quoted in Engels' Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State). Far from restating the labour theory of right as moral critique, Marx suggests that the "bourgeois have very good grounds for falsely ascribing supernatural creative power to labor."

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

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

Siniša Ilić **RAZDEJANJE**

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

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

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





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

Siniša Ilić **AFTERMATH**

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

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

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

Siniša Ilić holds a M.A. in painting and is member of the editorial board of the Walking Theory (TkH), Belgrade.

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

Tjaša Kancler HIT-TO-KILL¹

Poleti 2008 so ameriška, poljska in češka vlada podpisale Sporazum o raketni obrambi za zagotovitev tako imenovane »naše skupne varnosti«

Ameriški predsednik Barack Obama je 17. septembra 2009 opustil načrt o postavitvi raketnih prestreznikov na Poljskem in radarskega oporišča na Češkem. Napovedal je nov pristop, ki naj bi kmalu zagotovil obrambne zmogljivosti, ki temeljijo na preverjenih sistemih in ponujajo boljšo obrambo pred grožnjo raketnega napada kot pa evropski protiraketni program iz leta 2007. Nov sistem vključuje razporeditev manjših raket SM-3 in bo najverjetneje postavljen nekje v Južni Evropi ali Turčiji.

Videoesej *Hit-to-kill* izpostavlja politične in strateške elemente postavitve ameriškega protiraketnega ščita v Evropi in vzpostavlja dialog med pojmi, kot so varnost, globalna nadvlada, demokracija, propaganda in odpor.

Hit-to-kill (2009, 50 min.); scenarij in režija Tjaša Kancler; snemanje Roberto Gant; redakcija Tjaša Kancler; zvok/glasba Bronislaw Szalanski; spletno programiranje Pau Artigas; http://www.p-a-r-a-d-i-g-m-a.net/ www.hit-to-kill.net (začetek decembra 2009)

V nadaljevanju so predstavljene transkripcije nekaterih prirejenih odlomkov iz videoeseja.

Santiago López Petit: Globalna doba pomeni globalni kapitalizem, ki se je simbolno začel 11. septembra 2001; globalni kapitalizem pa pomeni, da je stvarnost postala povsem kapitalistična. Globalna doba je čas negotovosti, ko se lahko v svetu zgodi karkoli, kadarkoli. Diskurz o varnosti je pravzaprav tisti, ki je dovolil rekonstrukcijo nacionalne države v krizi in v obliki »vojne proti terorizmu« omogočil uvedbo nepojmljive zakonodaje. Vse je mogoče storiti; diskurz o zaščiti je v ozadju, druga plat diskurza o nadzoru.

Marina Gržinić: Odnos med ofenzivnimi in defenzivnimi strategijami jasno pokaže – kar potrjuje tudi primer ZDA – na proces popolne deregulacije, ki je del globalnega kapitalizma. Ta vselej deluje na eni strani tako, da nekaj prikazuje v pozitivni luči, na drugi pa, skrivoma, utrjuje politiko vojne. Deregulacija deluje prav nasprotno od tistega, kar dejansko obljublja.

Jana Glivická: Ena od zahtev tako imenovane Žametne revolucije leta 1989 na Češkem je bila tudi ta, da se z ozemlja umaknejo tuja vojska in tuji vojaki. V zadnjih dvajsetih letih se je to postopoma spremenilo; prav taki, kot je bil Václav Havel, prvi češki predsednik, ki je v začetku devetdesetih govoril o razpustitvi zveze NATO (rekoč, da s prenehanjem varšavskega pakta tudi zveze NATO ne potrebujemo več), so dejansko pripeljali do članstva Češke v zvezi NATO. Skratka, zadeve gredo v smeri, ki daje vtis, da je vse to, kar se dogaja, samoumevno in da je Evropa, kajpak, najbližji zaveznik ZDA, ne glede na to, kaj te počnejo. Lahko napadejo Afganistan, napadle so Irak, kjer gre po oceni Združenih narodov za nelegalno vojno, a to ni nikomur mar. V tej vojni sodelujemo brez vsakršnega pomisleka. Vse to se nam zdi samoumevno in to je po mojem mnenju največja nevarnost, saj vendarle vse ni tako samoumevno, kot se zdi.

Erazim Kohák: Amerika je ujeta v zanko svojega lastnega strahu. Klasičen primer tega je bil Stalin, ki je bil močno paranoičen. V nemškem jeziku obstaja za to izraz *Abwehr Psychose*, obrambna psihoza. Stalin se je počutil ogroženega od vsakogar, ki ga ni mogel nadzirati, in bojim se, da tudi ZDA od Reagana dalje gredo v tej smeri – dajejo nam občutek, da je lahko varna samo tista država, v kateri ima Amerika oporišče, ki ga sama nadzira. Busheva administracija se je zelo zavzemala za razkritje zunanjih sovražnikov, ki jih je potrebovala za mobilizacijo javnega mnenja; kadar smo ogroženi, nas vodi mobilizacijski impulz. To se ne bo spremenilo čez noč; stvari se spreminjajo, a tudi Obama ne more prinesti nenadnih sprememb.

Marina Gržinić: Možnost, da se bo v politiki ZDA kaj spremenilo, je lažna, saj se finančni kapitalizem – in to se je zelo jasno pokazalo – krepi prav na račun krize. Taka deregulacija, nestabilnost je nekaj, kar je v samem temelju delovanja globalnega kapitalizma. Vsak segment kapitalističnega sistema je okužen z interesom kapitala. Nestabilnost in dobiček, ki se od tod ustvarja, je nekaj, kar se dogaja na vseh segmentih. To pa pomeni, da tudi množični mediji delujejo z roko v roki s potrebami sistema. Delovanje kapitalizma sem poskušala pojasniti prek procesov deregulacije na eni strani in dezinformiranja na drugi. Menim, da je pomembno razumeti, da Češke republike in Poljske ni mogoče misliti zunaj Evropske unije. Celotna politika konstitucije Evropske unije kot nekakšnega posebnega, izrednega ozemlja je pravzaprav povezana s tem procesom.

Roman Kuźniar: To je najdražji posel v zgodovini oboroževalnih tekem. Seveda obstajajo grožnje, ki so objektivne, vendar so za vsem tem tudi veliki, ogromni ekonomski interesi. Torej, veliki poslovni interesi in ideologija ameriške hegemonije v 21. stoletju so začeli delovati v skupno korist. Začeli so ustvarjati globalni protiraketni sistem, tak, ki bo, ko bo zgrajen, kredibilen in zanesljiv, podelil Ameriki strateško hegemonijo, ne samo prednosti, ampak hegemonijo za desetletja naprej.

Jan Májíček: Obljubili so, da bodo pokrajini Brdy odobrili sredstva v višini ene milijarde čeških kron, namenjena manjšim zaselkom, kjer naj bi postavili radarsko oporišče. A po padcu Topolankove vlade so se zavedli, da ne bodo dobili ničesar; mnogi so zdaj močno zadolženi, ker so že začeli izvajati nekatere projekte.

Katarzyna Puzon: Na to lahko gledamo z dveh stališč. Na eni strani lahko to razumemo kot nekakšno nevarnost, ki preti za vogalom, na drugi strani pa smo se pustili prepričati, da smo med izbranci. Vi, vaše mesto (Słupsk, Poljska) – med tolikimi kraji je bilo izbrano prav vaše mesto. Toliko drugih mest bi lahko imelo od tega koristi, pa vendar je bilo izbrano prav vaše. Mislim, da je ta diskurz prisoten že od vsega začetka, tudi v medijih. Kaj vse so nam obljubljali. Šlo je za vprašanje vize, prijateljstva z velesilo. Porajala so se mnoga vprašanja; poglejte Irak!

1 Prestrezna raketa s tehnologijo ZADENI-IN-UNIČI, op. prev.

Andrew Zebrowski: Vprašanja vojne in miru se je treba lotiti celostno – in protiraketni ščit je zelo pomemben del celotne strategije znotrajimperialističnega konflikta, strategije držav, ki se zatekajo v vojno, ker mislijo, da je to edini način, da postanejo konkurenčne.

Jan Májíček: Dejali so, da nas bo ta ščit varoval pred tako imenovanimi »skrb zbujajočimi« državami, kot sta Severna Koreja ali Iran. V resnici pa gre za načrt, kako razdeliti evropsko ozemlje; da ne bi imeli združene Evrope, pač pa razdeljeno Evropo s temi vojaškimi oporišči. ZDA imajo vojaška oporišča v Nemčiji, v Veliki Britaniji, Španiji, nekaj tudi v Italiji, zdaj pa bi svojo vojaško prisotnost rade razširile še v Srednji in Vzhodni Evropi, ki je strateško zelo pomembna, saj bi s tem obkolile Rusijo. Ne gre toliko za to, da bi postavile ščit, kolikor za zagotovitev vojaške prisotnosti na tem ozemlju.

Roman Kuźniar: Sem strateški analitik in ne verjamem v take neumnosti. Če ne gre za zaščito pred Iranom, se resno sprašujem, pred kom torej? Pred kom? Dobro vprašanje! Nihče nam ne ponudi odgovora nanj. Če je to Rusija, potem nam to povejte, ker če je Rusija, potem gre za strukturalno kolizijo, za navzkrižje z Rusijo; ta želi v območje Kaliningrada pripeljati rakete kratkega dometa, če bi slučajno, saj veste, napadli Rusijo. A to je za nas tvegano. Seveda, če zadenejo vaše oporišče, prav! A če zadenejo mesto (Słupsk), ki je v bližini oporišča, potem smo v težavah, zato se je temu bolje izogniti.

Miroslav Hroch: Na moje mnenje močno vpliva dejstvo, da nimamo informacij, ki bi jim lahko zaupali. Dobili smo vsaj tri pojasnila o tem, kaj radarsko oporišče pomeni, ali z drugimi besedami, pred kom se moramo obvarovati. Ena razlaga je bila, da je oporišče treba postaviti, da bi zaščitili ZDA; to je bila prva. Druga razlaga je bila, da oporišče služi za zaščito Češke republike – ščit bi nas obvaroval, če bi kdo proti Češki izstrelil rakete. Sprašujem se, kdo bi to storil. Zakaj? Mogoče, da bi uničil ta radar. V tem primeru bi bil to dober razlog. Tretja razlaga, ki je najbolj nejasna, pa je, da gre za zaščito Evrope. Vendar nimam informacij, ki bi jim lahko zaupal glede vprašanja, pred čim nas bo radarsko oporišče obvarovalo in ali bo sploh učinkovito oziroma kakšne posledice bo imelo na prihodnje mednarodne odnose.

Santiago López Petit: Danes kritični politični diskurz ne temelji toliko na obzorjih, ki jih zasledujemo – velikih ciljih, velikih ideologijah –, pač pa na tem, kar imenujem »fragmenti razuma«, ki se artikulirajo okrog gest zavračanja.

Jana Glivická: Podpisali so dva sporazuma: enega o gradnji oporišča, drugega pa o statusu oboroženih sil (SOFA). Pri prvem je nenavadno to, da gre za sporazum o gradnji nekega specifičnega vojaškega oporišča brez parametrov o gradnji radarja. V njem ni omenjena velikost območja, kjer naj bi bilo oporišče postavljeno, kar lahko predstavlja velik problem, saj lahko tam postopoma postavijo oporišče brez omejitev. To je bianko ček, ki ga je podpisala ameriška vojska. Sporazum SOFA pa zadeva prav vojaško prisotnost ZDA v Češki republiki, zato bodo ZDA v prihodnje tukaj še lažje postavile nova oporišča ali opremo in si tako zagotovile trajno vojaško prisotnost na tem ozemlju.

Jan Májíček: Poleg teh dveh sporazumov je zelo pomemben tudi podpis tretjega sporazuma, pri katerem gre za sodelovanje med češko akademijo znanosti in nekaterimi ameriškimi vojaškimi družbami, kar pomeni, da bodo češki znanstveniki sodelovali v vojaških raziskavah novih tehnologij.

Ellisiv Ronglien: Potem ko je poljska vlada podpisala sporazum, ga parlament ni ratificiral. Mislim, da se je vlada oprla na načelo previdnosti, da bi videla, kaj se bo zgodilo z ameriškimi volitvami in s kakšnim predlogom bo prišla na dan ameriška vladna administracija. Zaenkrat se zadeve še niso premaknile. To ne pomeni samo, da se o tem bistveno manj poroča v medijih, pač pa tudi, da se posveča bistveno manj pozornosti vprašanju o t. i. protiraketnem ščitu.

Filip Ilkowsky: Ne vemo, kaj se bo zgodilo s celotnim protiraketnim projektom. Dvomim, da bo kar tako uničen; v to je vpleteno preveč denarja in preveliki strateški interesi ZDA. A nekaj se vendar lahko spremeni; nikoli ne veš – oporišče se lahko zgradi tukaj ali pa kje drugje. Obamov svetovalec je povedal, da bodo morda zgradili večjo infrastrukturo na odprtem morju, ki bo veliko učinkovitejša od prestreznih raket. Nemogoče je karkoli predvideti. Pri vsem tem moramo upoštevati tudi celotno krizo ameriške ekonomije, ki bi lahko omejila možnosti gradnje oporišča ali pa vsaj upočasnila napredovanje projekta. A menim, da še zdaleč ni vsega konec, saj se logika ni prav nič spremenila. Marsikaj se še lahko zgodi.

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Tjaša Kancler **HIT-TO-KILL**

In summer 2008, the Missile Defense Agreement was signed between the U.S./Polish and U.S/Czech governments to ensure, as it was termed, "our common security."

On September 17th, 2009, U.S. President Barack Obama suspended the plans for placing missile interceptors in Poland and the radar base in Czech Republic. A new approach was announced that will provide capabilities sooner, built on proven systems and offer greater defenses against the threat of missile attack than the 2007 European missile defense program. The new system will deploy smaller SM-3 missiles, and will be, probably, placed somewhere in Southern Europe or Turkey.

The video essay, *Hit-to-kill*, emphasizes political and strategic elements of the deployment of U.S. antimissile shield in Europe, entailing a dialogue between concepts such as security, global dominance, democracy, propaganda and resistance.

Hit-to-kill (2009, 50 min.); written and directed by Tjaša Kancler; camera by Roberto Gant; editing by Tjaša Kancler; sound/music by Bronislaw Szalanski; web programming by Pau Artigas; http://www.p-a-r-a-d-i-g-m-a.net /www.hit-to-kill.net (active beginning December 2009)

Presented here are some of the transcribed and edited excerpts from the video essay.

Santiago López Petit: Global age means global capitalism which starts symbolically with September 11, 2001; global capitalism means that reality has become completely capitalist. The global age is a time of uncertainty, anything can happen anywhere in the world. The discourse of security is that which has permitted the reconstruction of the Nation-State in crisis and, in the form of "War Against Terrorism," has allowed unthinkable legislation to be introduced. Everything can be done, then; the discourse of protection in the background is the other side of the discourse of control.

Marina Gržinić: The relation between offensive and defensive strategy shows clearly, as it stands by the U.S., a process – part of the neoliberal global capitalism – of complete deregulation. This deregulation is always at work in such a way which, on the one side, promotes something as positive, and on the other, in its background, reinforces the policy of war. Deregulation produces precisely the opposite of what it actually declares.

Jana Glivická: One of the demands of the so-called Velvet Revolution in 1989 in the Czech Republic was, No More Foreign Troops, No More Foreign Soldiers. Over the last 20 years, this gradually changed; and those people like Václav Havel, our first president, who in the beginning of 1990s was talking about the dissolution of NATO (saying that if we do not have the Warsaw Pact anymore, then we don't need NATO), was in fact one of the architects of our membership in NATO. So all this is gradually changing towards some feeling that it is natural, and that Europe is naturally the closest ally of the United States, no matter what the United States does. They could attack Afghanistan, they attacked Iraq, which according to the United Nations is an illegal war, but we do not care about this, we participate in these wars without doubting them. It is understood as something natural, and I think this is the biggest threat in general, because it's really not natural.

Erazim Kohák: America is caught in a trap of its own fear. A classical example of this was Stalin. Stalin was very badly paranoid. Germans have the term *Abwehr Psychose*, the defensive psychosis. Stalin felt threatened by anyone whom he did not control, and I am afraid that the United States, since Reagan, has been going in that direction – the feeling that the only country which is safe is one in which America has a base, which America controls. The Bush Administration was very much committed to finding external enemies, because it used them to mobilize public opinion; we are threatened, therefore, it's a mobilization impulse. This is not going to change over one night; it is changing, but even Obama cannot change it overnight.

Marina Gržinić: The possibility that there will be a change in U.S. politics is actually a fake one, because financial capitalism, and we can see this very clearly, is getting its force precisely through provoking the crisis. So this deregulation, this instability, is something that is at the core of the functioning of global capitalism. Every layer of the capitalist system is infected by capital's interests. Instability, and making profit from it, is something that is happening at every layer, which also means that mass media, as well, is functioning hand-in-hand with the needs of the system. I tried to explain this capitalism function with deregulative processes on the one side and disinformation on the other. I think it is important also to understand that the positions of the Czech Republic and Poland cannot be seen outside of the European Union. The whole policy of the constitution of the European Union, as a kind of extra territory, as an exceptional territory, is connected with this process.

Roman Kuźniar: It is the most expensive business in the history of the arms race. Obviously there are threats which are objective, but then besides that, there are also big economic interests, huge, gigantic incoming interests, which are behind them. So the interest of big business and the ideology of American hegemony throughout the 21st century combined and then they started to develop this. They started to develop the global one, i.e., the global missile defense system, the one which, when constructed, credible and reliable, would give the United States a strategic hegemony, not even primacy, but hegemony for decades to come

Jan Májíček: It was promised to be given – something like one billion Czech crowns – to the region of Brdy, to the small villages where the Radar should have been built. But with the fall of Topolanek's government, they realised that they weren't going to get anything; so now many of them have huge debts, because they had already started to make some projects.

Katarzyna Puzon: It can be seen from two sides. On the one hand, you can see it like a kind of danger that is right around the corner, but on the other hand, you can be persuaded that you have been chosen. It's you, it's your town (Słupsk, Poland), you know, there are so many places, but it's your town, there are so many other towns that could benefit from this, but it's your town. I think this kind of discourse was present from the very beginning, in the media as well. We were just promised so many things, it was a question of visa, of being a friend of a superpower, and many issues were raised, look at Iraq!

Andrew Zebrowski: I think you have to look at the question of war and peace as a whole – and the antimissile shield, it's a very important part of the whole strategy of the inter-imperialist conflict, of countries resorting to war when they think that's the only way they can be competitive.

Jan Májíček: They told us that this system should protect us from so-called *rough states*, like North Korea or Iran. But, basically, this is a division of European territory; it's a plan to divide Europe, to have not a united Europe, but a divided Europe, by these military bases. The United States has military bases in Germany, in Britain, they have them in Spain, some in Italy, and they would like to enlarge its military presence in Central and Eastern Europe, which is quite important for the strategic reason of encircling Russia. It is not about having this system in particular, but just to have any kind of military presence here.

Roman Kuźniar: I am a strategic analyst and I cannot believe in bullshit like that. So, if not against Iran, seriously speaking, then against whom? Against whom? Good question! They do not give us the answer against whom. If Russia, then tell us, because if it's Russia, then that would mean that we are in structural collision, in contradiction with Russia; they want to bring short-range missiles to the Kaliningrad area, just in case, you see, you initiate something against Russia. So that's risky for us, obviously, if they hit your base, fine! But if they hit the city (Słupsk), which is next to the base, then we are in trouble obviously, so it's better to avoid it.

Miroslav Hroch: My opinion is strongly influenced by the fact that we have no information that we can trust. There have been at least three

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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BEOGRAD GAZELA - TRAVEL GUIDE TO A SLUM

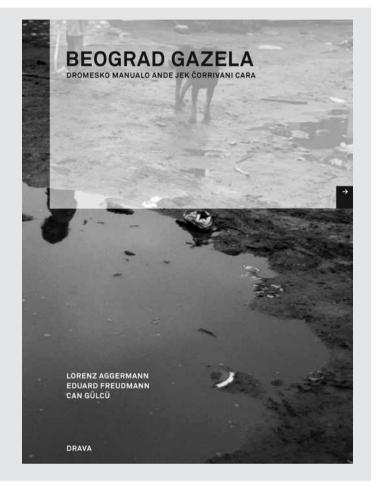
In Belgrade there are around 150 settlements which are commonly referred to as slums. Their exact number is hard to ascertain because the criteria for a uniform definition have not been established: When does a collection of huts and barracks attain the size which qualifies it as a settlement? Should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

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

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

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

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



LEZBIČNI BAR/ LESBIAN BAR

Nataša Velikonja **ZAPOREDJE ZGODBE**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Nataša Velikonja THE SEQUENCE OF THE STORY

What occurred in the lesbian bar? On the night of the lesbian and gay literature event, the Nazis started throwing torches and stones in. You probably heard about it, somewhere, who-knows-where, your ears caught something about it. Perhaps while washing your sweet hands, palms, neck, just before going to bed to get your peaceful sleep, with the must-have TV on in the corner of your must-have conjugal bedroom; while the TV was spreading news about traffic jams, floods, earthquakes, marriage and avalanches into the space of your love caresses that have been often, all too often, missing because of the limitless time you dedicate to your husband, boyfriend, son, father. Or perhaps while quoting Jacques, Alain, Antonio, Terry and Slavoj in your newest, by now already your thousandth, authorial analysis of contemporary political subjectivity. You heard about the "attack on the lesbian bar in Ljubljana" and you flinched, thinking that perhaps one of those lesbians that you might know was there; the one with whom I show up in public with once every ten years, and who were persistently inviting us for a coffee, a drink, to hang out together, to be friends. Yes, I know such girls, I hope they are alright.

Then on the following day, you went to work, or maybe not, because you have *flexible* working hours and because after long years you have finally reached the position in which you are no longer told what to do. So you went to some place and talked about the event with your colleagues, sitting, and yelling, what kind of fucking country we are living in, this is a thoroughly fascistic country. Meanwhile, your personal homosexual gave you a call, telling you that in the afternoon there would be a demonstration against homophobic violence in front of the lesbian bar and you decided, we've got to be there, as we all are attacked, although you had been invited by the lesbians to the literary event the day before, but you didn't care at all, or better, didn't give a fuck about it. But this is not important now, as something bigger is going on, violence, and there's nothing funny about that, this is no kindergarten, and so you've got to go.

You came in at the same moment that the Minister for Internal Affairs turned up accompanied by her bodyguards; and some of your friends and acquaintances also came, one-time professors and now ministers, ministers and ministers, the veterans from the 1970s and 1980s. You said to yourself, it was us who started all this, and now I barely know anybody. Feeling offended, you were at the point of leaving when you caught sight of your personal homosexual in a checkered shirt, concentrated and focused, exactly the kind of a person needed by the movement in order to make these people finally live exactly as we do, in a pigsty full of pigswill, litter and slaughters. He nodded to you briefly in greeting and then skillfully invited the next speaker, who was an equally checkered-dressed, political bureaucrat, who uttered, "Nobody

You watched, and saw a lot of "media." Besides your personal homosexual, there was another one, identical, and then another one, again identical, also dressed in a checkered shirt, and you thought, the thing is moving in the right direction, it looks like a success, yes, fascism is defeated, you thought, this is just how it should be so that things will have an effect on the thick-headed People, for it is they, in the first place, who need to be persuaded so that we won't be persuading the persuaded over and over again. In this action circuit of Checkeredshirts and "media," of course, you missed neither lesbians, nor artists. The Minister for Internal Affairs was already gone by then. She got lost after three seconds, together with her bodyguards and her closeted aide-de-camp. However, she was there and that's what counts.

Then everything was over and the time was ripe for "a drink." At once, you caught sight of the lesbians. There, at the margin, almost around the corner of the wall of the lesbian bar stood the gang, grinning. Some of them either didn't see you or didn't look at you, while the others kept grinning, those biting cunts, and didn't move, not a bit. All of us others were moving, moving fast away from the petition against homophobic violence, socializing and mixing with each other, politicians with ex-professors, ex-politicians with professors and expoliticians with those who are both politicians and professors at once. All my personal homosexuals were socializing and mixing with them and, while shaking hands, they whispered to everyone somewhere in the vacuum between the nape and the collar of the checkered shirt, "Nobody has the right to beat us." Yes, we need to hold on tightly, as they are doing some great lobbying. When the last camera of a female journalist who was at the scene of the homophobic crime or terrorist act - the intelligentsia, carried away by the adrenalin rush of the Event (and after the third beer), couldn't make up their mind on this point went off, even the guy who years ago represented Slovenia at the Eurovision contest showed up; how moving to exhibit such solidarity. It's good that my homosexual, as he secretly told me, or would later, withdrew the signing of the petition just in time from those grinning lesbians who were rushing to get at it. It's better that a star of such magnitude signs the petition first, as it is good for the "media effect," as my Checkered argued, that it's good for the youth, who today, as I gather, is quite conservative, although I don't give a shit if this is so or even why. As far as I'm concerned, I've done my part. Had the lesbians, when there still were some possibilities, not been too old, I could have helped them. The fault is all theirs, for they have been too old since time immemorial.

Perhaps, that day in front of the lesbian bar, just before you, too, got lost after three seconds, perhaps one of the lesbians told you something.

Perhaps she asked you if you remembered Nancy Cunard, the avantgarde artist and editor who, on her death bed in 1965, which she was dragged to by poverty, bohemian life and political disappointments, asked for a glass of red wine and material for writing about fascism, which - yes, she was of this opinion, too - didn't end at all with World War II. Or maybe you have only just learned about Theodor, Herbert, Jürgen, Max and, not to forget, Walter? Do you perhaps remember Djuna Barnes, the modernist writer who in the first half of the 20th century wrote quite a few pioneering lesbian novels, yet was called a homophobe by certain ranks of the homosexual movement from the Seventies – only because she didn't want to collaborate in their literary anthologies? Or do you think that these too-old, grinning girls are some kind of Frank Zappas, Tom Waitses or Charles Bukowskies whom you can slap on their sore foreheads at your own sweet will while having a nostalgic headache due to your past subversions? No, they are not. Do you, in your progressive, but all the more absolute, lethargy, which is - and perhaps you only sense it, as those from above haven't told you so, nor will they tell you – a consequence of your now-unyieldingnow-yielding feminism, remember even one of those tiny, hungry, poor, homeless, lucid, too-old women at all? Perhaps the lesbians who were thrown over the wall by your small, big indulgences, your tiny, massive concessions, which you were receiving and giving for the sake of "effect," whatever that is – asked you something like that. But all that you caught was a hello, how are you doing, and so then this was the only question you answered, saying, oh, now in the summertime, when it's not so crowded, now, it's fine.

The day (ours and yours) came to the end, and you slowly returned home to your husband, boyfriend, son, father, to Jacques, Alain, Antonio, Terry, Slavoj, Theodor, Herbert, Jürgen, Max, Norman Bates and, of course, Walter. At the very moment you left the street, in the lesbian bar the night was only beginning. Lesbians know a whole lot of tiny, hungry, poor, homeless, lucid, too-old women; there are many, hundreds of them, but they only turn up when they cannot be offended by your luxurious departures. In short, they come when you are gone. We live without your answers, just as you live without our questions. While in your dignified homes, full of food, blankets and love, before going to sleep, you wash your sweet hands, palms and neck, all the lesbians gather at the round bar tables. The next night they will be back again, and the night after that again, and so forth. And I think that you, too, will be back some time soon. You will come and go in the same sequence of this bloody, never-ending story.

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GLOBOKO GRLO/ **DEEP THROAT**

Ivana Marjanović

BOJ PROTI ANTIROMIZMU KOT DEL PROCESA DEKOLONIALNOSTI EVROPE

1. Pričujoče besedilo obravnava ukrepe proti Romom, ki so jih beograjski organi oblasti izvedli letos spomladi in poleti, torej pred in med mednarodnimi športnimi igrami Beograjska univerzijada 2009 in med srbskim predsedovanjem mednarodni Dekadi za vključevanje Romov 2005–2015. Te ukrepe bom označila za rasistične, čeprav se v medijih predstavljajo drugače. Trdim, da ti ukrepi predstavljajo okvir, s katerim in znotraj katerega je mogoče analizirati »kolonialno matrico moči« (izraz, ki ga je vpeljal Hanibal Quijano in nadalje razvil Walter Mignolo) v sodobni Evropi. Ta matrica omogoča, da se historični vzorci rasizma (poznani iz časa kolonij) kakor tudi nove oblike sodobnega rasizma danes izvajajo v evropski politiki integracije in varnosti. Ukrepi, ki jih bom analizirala, so pomembni, saj razkrivajo procese diskriminacije in segregacije v EU ter omogočajo drugačen razvoj odnosov med kapitalizmom in »antiromizmom«, ki ga predlagajo Lorenz Aggermann, Eduard Freudmann in Can Gülcü.1 Zaključila bom s trditvijo, da koncept vključevanja, ki se promovira ob Dekadi Romov, temelji prav na izključevanju razlik zavoljo pripadnosti kolonialni matrici moči.

2. Da bi izpostavili procese diskriminacije, s katerimi se danes soočajo Romi, si podrobneje oglejmo paradigmatični primer, ki predstavlja časovno sovpadanje Beograjske univerzijade 2009² in srbskega predsedovanja Dekadi za vključevanje Romov 2005–2015. Ta dva dogodka sta sovpadla z več pojavi, ki danes zaznamujejo realnost v Srbiji in Evropi: Miloševićeva turbofašistična³ vojno-gospodarska elita in trenutna »demokratična« politična elita (imenovana »opozicija«, ki izhaja iz devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja), rasizem in kapitalizem, modernost in »kolonialna matrica moči«, gospodovanje prek vključevanja in izključevanja. Dekada za vključevanje Romov je »prva tovrstna politična zaveza evropskih vlad, da bodo izboljšale socialnoekonomski status in družbeno vključevanje Romov«, kar »bo povezalo vlade, medvladne in nevladne organizacije ter romsko civilno družbo v prizadevanju za pospešitev procesa v smeri izboljšanja blaginje med Romi in za transparenten in ocenljiv pregled tega procesa«.4 Skratka, ne gre zgolj za evropski, pač pa za mednarodni projekt, ki na eni strani povezuje znamenite organizacije, kot so Svetovna banka, Svet Evrope, Organizacija za varnost in sodelovanje v Evropi, Inštitut za odprto družbo, Združeni narodi, na drugi strani pa države, ki so znane po nevključevanju Romov in romskih nevladnih organizacij.

V času od julija 2008 do junija 2009, ko je Srbija predsedovala Dekadi v letni izmenjavi predsedstev, je bilo od srbske vlade pričakovati, da si bo prizadevala za uresničitev v okviru Dekade zastavljenih ciljev in zmanjšala učinke stoletja trajajoče antiromske politike na tem območju. A to se še zdaleč ni zgodilo! V Srbiji smo bili priča popolnemu prezrtju ciljev Dekade in stopnjevanju diskriminacije s strani beograjskih organov oblasti, državljanov in medijev – diskriminaciji, ki jo gre definirati kot strukturalno in institucionalizirano, saj je tako globoko in sistematično zarezala v družbeno tkivo in njene institucije. Ob upoštevanju, da je bila vsa javna pozornost hkrati usmerjena v Beograjsko univerzijado 2009, je postalo jasno, da je imelo stopnjevanje diskriminacije za cilj ustvariti in ohraniti koncepta naroda in rase. Šport je eden ključnih elementov nacionalne povezanosti in nacionalnega ponosa v Srbiji, relativno uspešni narodni športniki veljajo za mednarodne predstavnike srbske superiornosti, medtem ko so Romi predstavljeni kot grožnja srbskemu nacionalnemu telesu, vidnost diskriminatornih procesov proti Romom pa kot nekaj, kar ogroža mednarodno podobo naroda. Zaradi pomanjkljive infrastrukture, ki bi lahko sprejela osem tisoč mednarodnih športnikov in funkcionarjev Univerzijade, je mesto Beograd sklenilo sporazum z zasebnim investitorjem, večnacionalnim konzorcijem Blok 67 Associates, d. o. o., ki ga sestavljata Delta Real Estate, ki je v lasti največjega srbskega tajkuna, in avstrijska Hypo Alpe-Adria-Bank. Mestna občina je zagotovila javno zemljišče, zasebni investitorji so zgradili stavbo, imenovano Belvil (francosko: čudovito mesto), namenjeno nastavitvi mednarodnih gostov med univerzijado. o tem dogodku pa so bila stanovanja, trgovine in pisarne priprav ljene za odkup s strani konzorcija. Belvil je bil strateško postavljen v bližini največjega nakupovalnega središča na Balkanu, Delta City (ta je v lasti Delta Real Estates, katerega lastnik je Delta Holding), to pa je ustvarilo dodaten dobiček, saj so mednarodni gosti univerzijade večino svojega prostega časa namenili nakupovanju v tem središču.

Preden se je sploh začelo graditi objekta Delta City in Belvil, je bilo treba *očistiti* teren, kar je pomenilo odstranitev in uničenje ilegalnih romskih naselij. Izraz »ilegalna (neformalna) naselja« označuje naselja, ki niso vključena v okvir vladnih regulacij, prepoznavna pa so po barakah, neustrezni infrastrukturi in pomanjkljivi oskrbi.⁵ Val priseljencev, ki so ga sprožile jugoslovanske vojne, je povzročil nastanek številnih ilegalnih naselij – predvidoma naj bi ta zasedala 43 odstotkov stanovanjskega območja v Beogradu.⁶ Za razliko od drugih ilegalnih naselij romskim ilegalnim naseljem nenehno grozi rušenje in zanje ne obstaja nikakršna možnost, da bi se v prihodnje v celoti ali delno zakonodaja uredila tako, da bi bila omogočena priključitev na javno kanalizacijo ter na električno in vodovodno omrežje. Ta dejstva in revščina tamkajšnjih prebivalcev so posledica rasistične diskriminacije, zaradi česar se večina romskih ilegalnih naselij spreminja v slume. Čeprav je njihov pravni status enak, se slumi bistveno razlikujejo od ilegalnih naselij, ki jih sestavljajo »beli

Moja teza je, da je ta nemožnost legalizacije pogoj za nastanek sluma in posledica močno rasistične in diskriminatorne politike, ki jo izvajata mesto in vlada. Glavna značilnost slumov in temeljni pogoj za njihov obstoj je pomanjkanje njihove vizibilnosti v javnem dojemanju. Če pa slum po naključju postane vizibilen, ga je treba uničiti. Kot bomo videli pozneje, se tu pa tam zgodi tudi nasprotno: slum postane vizibilen, ker mu preti skorajšnje uničenje. Po prvem pregonu Romov, ki se je zgodil pred gradnjo Delta Cityja, se je nekaj stanovalcev naselilo nekaj sto metrov stran. Po dveh letih so bili pred gradnjo Belvila izgnani tudi s te lokacije. Noben pregon ni pritegnil pozornosti javnosti niti ni sprožil protestov, čeprav so mediji v več člankih poročali o napredovanju gradnje Belvila po odpravi »tehničnih in drugih težav«, to je po odstranitvi sluma, ki je zavzemal tretjino zemljišča, na katerem stoji nova stavba.7 Spomladi 2009 so se organi oblasti odločili dokončno očistiti zemljišče okoli Belvila. Tako se je od začetka leta 2009 pripravljal teren za deložacijo prek značilne medijsko in politično posredovane rasistične propagande, ki je močno podpihovala razširjeni antiromizem v Srbiji. Medtem ko je vlada Beograd polepila z ogromnimi plakati trenutno najpopularnejših srbskih športnikov, ki so mahali z metlo kot s teniškim loparjem in svojim sonarodnjakom glasno vzklikali »Očistimo Srbijo!«, so se mediji osredotočali na izgradnjo nasprotne podobe »Uglyvila« (angleško: grdo mesto, op. prev.) – kakor so predstavili romsko naselje, rekoč, da se je razpaslo čez noč in ušlo izpod nadzora. Sporočilo je bilo jasno: Romi ne bodo onečastili prelepe podobe Beograda in Belvila, ki bosta v svetu predstavljala podobo Srbije.8 S tem so javnosti sporočili, da organizatorji univerzijade narodna univerzitetna športna zveza vztrajajo, da se pr začetkom športnega dogodka odstrani trn v peti.

Potem ko je bilo javno mnenje oblikovano, se je lahko začelo izvajanje ukrepa. Beograjski mestni sekretariat za inšpekcijo se je 3. aprila 2009 pojavil v naselju z nalogom o deložaciji tamkajšnjih stanovalcev zaradi rušenja naselja, predvidenega v prihodnjih 14 dneh. V zgodnjih jutranjih urah naslednjega dne je skupina buldožeristov v spremstvu policistov začela z rušenjem naselja in uničila približno štirideset hiš. Večini lastnikov hiš niso dovolili, da bi pred rušenjem pobrali svojo imovino.9 Kot odziv na to dejanje uničenja pa se je zgodilo nekaj nenavadnega. Na beograjskih ulicah so prebivalci naselij, podprti s strani predstavnikov Romov, nevladnih organizacij, aktivistov in študentov, neodvisnih kulturnih delavcev, umetnikov in drugih državljanov, organizirali javne proteste, ki so se jih vsi našteti solidarnostno udeležili. S tem dejanjem so javno pritisnili na mestne oblasti, da so začasno zaustavile svoj načrt - popolno uničenje

¹ Antiromizem se tukaj uporablja namesto široko rabljenega izraza anticiganizem. Takole pojasnjujejo Lorenz Aggermann, Eduard Freudmann in Can Gülcü: »Za izražanje diskriminacije Romov se zdi nesmiselna raba besede, ki je izpeljana iz diskriminatornega izraza 'cigan'.« »Antiromizem zaobjema tako predsodke do Romov, njihovo odkrito zavračanje, izključevanje in prisilen pregon kakor masovno preganjanje in genocid. Antiromizem ne pomeni le diskriminacije in demonizacije te manišine, pač pa tudi široko glorificirano podobo 'brezbrižnega ciganskega življenja'.« V: Beograd Gazela -Vodič kroz sirotinjsko naselje, ur., Lorenc Agerman, Eduard Frojdman, Djan Gildji, RENDE, Beograd, 2009, str. 198.

^{2 »}Univerzijada« je sestavljenka iz besed »univerza« in »olimpijada«, pomeni pa bienale raznih športnih dogodkov, ki je za olimpijskimi igrami drugi največji bienale v svetu danes. Univerzijada je potekala v Beogradu od 1. do 12. julija 2009.

³ Žarana Papić, »Europe after 1989: ethnic wars, the fascisation of social life and body politics in Serbia«, v: *Filozofski vestnik*, posebna številka Telo, ur., Marina Gržinić Mauhler, FI ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, 2002, str. 191–205.

⁴ http://www.romadecade.org/index.php?content=1, 25. avgust 2009.

⁵ Prim. Beograd Gazela – Vodič kroz sirotinjsko naselje, ur., Lorenc Agerman, Eduard Frojdman, Djan Gildji, RENDE, Beograd, 2009, str. 204.

⁶ http://www.beodom.com/sr/journal/entries/what-are-the-risks-of-building-orbuying-an-illegal-construction, 25. avgust 2009.

⁷ Blic, 13.06.2007, http://www.blic.rs/beograd.php?id=5805&pid=154& results=true and B92, 12. 06.2007, http://www.b92.net/biz/vesti/srbija. php?yyyy=2007&mm=06&dd=12&nav_id=251052, 25. avgust 2009. 8 Politika, 23. 01.2009, http://www.naslovi.net/2009-01-23/politika/uz-luksuzni-kompleks-romska-naseobina/1009277; Danas, 12.02.2009; http://www.naslovi. net/2009-02-12/danas/karton-siti-uz-luksuzni-kompleks/1036712; Večernje novosti, 19.02.2009, http://www.naslovi.net/2009-02-19/vecernje-novosti/belvil-okruzen-ruglom/1047043, 25. avgust 2009.

⁹ Alo! 04.04.2009, http://www.alo.rs/vesti/13801/48_sati_rusenje, 25. avgust 2009.

naselij.¹⁰ Župan je izjavil, da nekaj ducatov prebivalcev ne more držati celotnega mesta za talce in zatrdil, da ne on ne mestne oblasti niso želeli nikogar deložirati, razen tiste, ki ogrožajo razvoj mesta Beograd,¹¹ s čimer je perfidno potrdil svoj naklep.

Pod pritiskom mednarodne humanitarne organizacije in protestnikov so mestne oblasti nekaterim brezdomskim Romom ponudile »nadomestno nastanitev« v predelanih tovornih kontejnerjih v vasi blizu Beograda, ki je poznana po tem, da je bil tam pred leti umorjen mladoletni Rom.¹² Kmalu po tem, ko so se novice razširile med vaščani, so ti začeli protestirati proti morebitnim novim sosedom (kar je med drugim postala splošna praksa v Beogradu, kadarkoli gre za premestitev Romov v novo sosesko!); vaščani so zažgali kontejner in zagrozili, da bodo požgali vse kontejnerje z Romi vred, če se bodo ti preselili v njihovo sosesko. Namesto, da bi beograjski župan obsodil to rasistično gesto, je javno izkazal razumevanje za tako obnašanje vaščanov, vendar načrta o nastanitvi brezdomskih Romov v vas ni umaknil. Nadomestno nastanitev v sirotišnicah in domovih za ostarele je ponudil romskim ženskam in otrokom, medtem ko so bili moški iz tega izključeni. Župan je vztrajal pri porušenju omenjenega naselja in še nekaterih drugih romskih naselij v bližini kraja, kjer je bila predvidena gradnja nove infrastrukture. Napovedal je, da se bodo morali vsi prebivalci, ki nimajo prijavljenega stalnega bivališča v Beogradu, vrniti v kraj stalnega bivališča – mesto pa jim bo plačalo enosmerno vozovnico. Čeprav ne obstaja pravna podlaga za izgon z mestnega ozemlja, je župan obvestil Agencijo ZN za begunce, Organizacijo za varnost in sodelovanje v Evropi in beograjske nevladne organizacije, da se o tej zadevi ne bo pogajal.¹³ Še več, zavrnil je nadomestno nastanitev vsem prebivalcem, katerih otroci se še ne šolajo. S tem je ponovil klasičen odnos kolonialistične misije razsvetljevanja in pokazal popolno nezanimanje za večplastne težave, s katerimi se soočajo prebivalci slumov, ki želijo, da bi se tudi njihovi otroci šolali.¹⁴ Da bi zaustavili proteste, so enega od njihovih organizatorjev aretirali in ga okrivili oddajanja stanovanj v naselju – o tem »prestopku« ne obstaja niti en dokaz.

Bližje kot je bila univerzijada, jasneje je postajalo, da naselja zaradi protestov ne bo mogoče v celoti porušiti. Zato so mestne oblasti ubrale novo strategijo in se odločile prikriti naselja in njihove prebivalce, da bi jih naredile »nevidne«. Dva tedna pred začetkom univerzijade, pod pretvezo, da je zaradi dogodka treba sprejeti nujne varnostne ukrepe, so naselje ogradili s kovinsko ograjo. Zanimivo je, da nakupovalno središče *Delta City* ni bilo ograjeno iz varnostnih razlogov, tržno blago je krožilo in presežna vrednost se je ustvarjala brez ovir. Da bi zakrili naselje, so čez ograjo, ki so jo varovali varnostniki in policija, napeli ponjavo, prebivalcem pa preprečili izhod iz naselja z grožnjami, da jih bodo priprli, če se bodo sprehajali po ulicah Belvila, zlasti če jih bodo zalotili pri brskanju po smeteh. S tem jim ni bila odvzeta le svoboda gibanja, pač pa tudi osnovni vir preživetja, saj niso mogli opravljati vsakdanjega dela na beograjskih ulicah. Ta situacija je povzročila nekaj solidarnostnih odzivov, kot je bil protest Beograjske protifašistične kampanje pred *Delta Cityjem*. Razne nevladne organizacije so medijem poslale svoja stališča v objavo, Beograjska druga scena in Prijatelji (platforma beograjske neodvisne kulturne in aktivistične scene) pa so izvedli nekaj akcij. Slednja je prvič javno izrazila nasprotovanje romski diskriminaciji. Te akcije so mestne oblasti prezrle, a pod pritiskom tiskovne konference, ki je bila organizirana v naselju, so le odstranile ponjavo in s tem znova omogočile vsaj vidnost naselja.

3. Najprej velja jasno izpostaviti, da se pri analizi teh dogodkov ne moremo sklicevati na človekove pravice, ki jih urejajo mednarodne konvencije ali srbska ustava, saj današnji svetovni ustroj ne zagotavlja univerzalnih človekovih pravic. Kar imamo danes sta le moč kapitala in z njim povezana suverena moč, ki določata, kdo ima pravico biti človek in tako pravico do človekovih pravic in kdo si teh pravic ne zasluži. Vztrajati pri človekovih pravicah brez upoštevanja politike bi bilo zavajajoče, saj bi s tem spregledali suvereno moč in njeno reproduciranje. Kot poudarja Giorgio Agamben, »[l]očitev med humanitarnim in političnim, v času v katerem živimo, predstavlja ekstremno fazo ločitve med človekovimi in državljanskimi pravicami. Humanitarne organizacije, ki se danes vse bolj postavljajo ob bok nadnacionalnim organizmom, pa navsezadnje ne morejo razumeti človeškega življenja drugače kot v podobi golega življenja ali svetega življenja, in so zato sebi navkljub na skrivaj solidarne s silami, s katerimi bi se morale bojevati.«15 Evropa bi morala Rome, ki tukaj živijo že stoletja, šteti za njen bistveni del. Tukaj so se naselili dolgo pred nastankom koncepta narodov, zato bi se morali vprašati, na podlagi česa veljajo za nekaj zunanjega narodom, da bi jih sedaj morali vključiti. Koncept vključevanja se zdi paradoksalen, a če si ogledamo, kako deluje moč in koliko je kolonialnost navzoča znotraj kapitalizma, ugotovimo, da sploh ne gre za paradoks.

V svoji raziskavi o sodobnem rasizmu v Evropi Manuela Bojadžijev pojasni: »Kakor antisemitizem je tudi neonacizem ideološka praksa, s katero se konstituira in konstruira njen specifični objekt. Ta predpostavka implicira ključni preobrat: nekaj, kar ne obstaja, kot je npr. rasa, se pojavi zaradi različnih praks posameznikov, skupin, institucij ali držav in posledično neke določene stvarnosti, družbenih odnosov in politike. Fikcija, imenovana rasa, se je porodila iz številnih naracij: gest, ritualov, podob, besedil. Izmišljene zgodbe ustvarjajo idejo o rasi, specifični rasizmi pa so, kot se zdi, le njegova praktična izvedba, medtem ko sta v resnici prav rasizem in njegov fiktivni objekt, tj. rasa, posledica številnih rasističnih tehnik pripovedovanja: etničnost in rasa – če si izposodimo Adornovo metaforo – sta govorici, a včasih so to govorice o Židih, drugič pa o migrantih ali beguncih.«¹6 Da bi razumeli logiko vključevanja, se moramo vrniti nazaj k samemu izvoru kapitalističnega izkoriščanja – v kolonialno zgodovino Evrope

in suženjstvo, ki se je izvajalo na račun kapitalističnega napredka in razvoja belih Evropejcev, saj prav ti mehanizmi še danes zaznamujejo človeške odnose. Skozi stoletja je kolonialno zgodovino normalizirala proizvodnja evropskega vedenja prek knjig v šolah in na univerzah, enciklopedij, umetniških del itd. Kolonializem se prikazuje (in s tem ga tudi upravičujemo) kot modernizacija zaostalih predelov, trgovanje z začimbami, geografska odkritja, misijonarske misije, potovanje zahodnih umetnikov v tretji svet v iskanju navdiha, kot nekaj vsakdanjega, ne priznavamo pa, da mu gre za kruto izkoriščanje, množične usmrtitve, zasužnjevanje in razlaščanje v imenu evropskega napredka in modernosti.

Walter Mignolo je poudaril, da modernost ne obstaja brez kolonialnosti: »[M]odernost brez kolonialnosti; kolonialnost je temeljna sestavina modernosti. Modernost ne označuje zgodovinskega obdobja, pač pa je to retorična fraza, ki jo uporabljajo določene sile za uresničevanje svoje zamisli o osvoboditvi drugih narodov. S to retoriko namreč pripovedujejo svojo zgodbo, s tem pa sebe postavljajo v položaj odrešilnih prinašalcev globalnega zgodovinskega razvoja, ki z zastavo in plamenico v rokah korakajo v svetlejši jutri. Retorika modernosti je od vselej retorika odrešenja: bodisi ko je šlo za spreobrnitev (v španski in portugalski redovniški red), civilizacijske misije (Britancev in Francozov), razvoj in modernizacijo (s strani ameriških izvedencev s področja ekonomije in politike, ki v tretjem svetu uvajajo enake standarde kot v prvem) ali za odrešenje, ki ga prinašata tržna demokracija in potrošništvo. [...] Iz (post)moderne razlage ni izključena njena lastna zgodovina, pač pa vso znanje in oblike življenja, ki bi jih bilo treba vključiti, marginalizirati ali uničiti, da se odrešilna misija modernosti za prevlado nad drugačnostjo lahko nadaljuje kot uničevalna sila. Z drugimi besedami, zgodba modernosti ustvarja in si izmišlja razlike, da bi jih nato uničila ali nadzorovala (kot v primeru multikulturalizma). [...] Modernost, ki se skriva za retoriko odrešitve, opravičuje logiko kolonialnosti: nadzor in prisvajanje zemlje, izkoriščanje delavcev, spreminjanje človeških življenj v tržno blago, nadzor oblasti, nadzor družbenega spola in seksualnosti, nadzor znanja in subjektivnosti ... Vse pravkar omenjeno je med seboj prepleteno in del logike nadvlade in izkoriščanja, ki je logika kolonialnosti. [...] Življenjska in družbena sfera, v katerih deluje logika kolonialnosti, se vzpostavlja na mestu izrekanja, ki temelji na patriarhalnosti in rasizmu.«17

Tako so omenjene sfere življenja in družbe po Mignolovem mnenju temeljne za kolonialno matrico moči, kjer ima rasizem ključno vlogo. Kolonialna matrica moči, skupaj z rasizmom kot glavnim tehnološkim orodjem, ni na delu le zunaj Evrope (v Aziji, Afriki, Ameriki in Avstraliji), pač pa tudi znotraj nje. Podredila si je vse, ki ne ustrezajo kategoriji »belih kristjanov«, ki veljajo za najvrednejše prebivalstvo. Poleg tega kolonialna zgodovina zaznamuje sedanjost – predstavlja se kot normalno stanje, ki se tako v prvem kapitalističnem svetu kakor zunaj njega nenehno ohranja prek migracijskih politik, globalizacije, suženjstva zaradi dolgov, nenehne zaplembe naravnih virov, sodobnih vojn in invazij. Kolonialna matrica moči preganja Rome kot temnopolte in domnevne pogane vse od časov evropske modernosti in razsvetljenstva. Skozi stoletja so kraljevine, sveti imperiji, totalitarni režimi in demokracije v Evropi izdajale številne odloke in zakone, ki so iztrebljali, izkoriščali, zasužnjevali, mučili, diskriminirali, preganjali in masovno uničevali Rome v Evropi. Primeri se od 16. stoletja naprej kar vrstijo; od Anglije, Romunije in nacistične Nemčije do današnje Evrope. Romi so bili sužnji krščanskih samostanov in delno tudi fevdalnih vladarjev do 19. stoletja; bili so izgnani iz mnogih evropskih držav, ožigosani z železnimi žigi, imeli so prepoved uporabe svojega jezika in poročati se med seboj, otroci so jim bili odvzeti, da bi bili vzgajani v katoliških družinah habsburškega imperija, nacisti so jih množično iztrebljali po vsej Evropi, romske ženske so do leta 1980 prisiljeno sterilizirali na Češkoslovaškem, Madžarskem, Švedskem in Norveškem. V Češki republiki so poročali o nedavnih takih primerih in ne bi presenečalo, če se to dogaja tudi v drugih državah. 18 V sodelovanju z državami kandidatkami, ki čakajo na vstop v EU, Nemčija deportira Rome nazaj v te države, ne da bi jih o tem predhodno obvestila, še več, tako rekoč jih prepusti ulici takoj po prihodu na »domače« letališče. V Italiji je bilo razglašeno izredno stanje, da bi lahko popisali vse pripadnike romske skupnosti, vključno z mladoletniki.19 Pred kratkim so bili Romi žrtve pogromov, pobojev in pregona po vsej Evropi: v Avstriji, Češki republiki, Finski, Nemčiji, na Madžarskem, Irskem, v Italiji, Srbiji, Sloveniji, na Slovaškem itd.

Skratka, Romi so v Evropi diskriminirani že več stoletij in so žrtve rasistične politike, katere diskriminatorni ukrepi kažejo na neprekinjeno izvajanje strategij, kot so izkoreninjenje, izgon, asimilacija, integracija in vključevanje kot najnovejša strategija. Sovpadanje Dekade za vključevanje Romov z drugimi dogodki sestavljajo proaktivni in reakcionarni akterji. Prvi so glavne sile sodobnega kapitalizma in tisti, ki vzdržujejo status quo: Svetovna banka, Svet Evrope in njegova Razvojna banka, Organizacija za varnost in sodelovanje v Evropi, Inštitut za odprto družbo (ki je v lasti madžarsko-ameriškega orznega špekulanta Georgeja Sorosa), Razvojni program združenil narodov in druge podorganizacije ZN. Ta angažiranost agencij v procesu globalizacije in evropskih kolonialnih projektih preteklosti in sedanjosti nas svari pred naivnim verjetjem, da gre pri projektu Dekada za odpravo diskriminacije in revščine Romov.²⁰ Prej priča o delovanju kolonialne matrice moči v kontekstu Evropske unije in globalnega kapitalizma. Reakcionarni akterji v projektu/programu Dekade so vzhodnoevropske države, ki so se bodisi pred kratkim ali se še bodo v bližnji prihodnosti pridružile EU (edina izjema je

Španija!). Odsotnost zahodnoevropskih držav iz omenjenega projekta/programa pa naj bi pomenila, da tam živeči Romi niso žrtve diskriminacij, zato tak program tam tudi ni potreben. A kakor smo videli, to ne drži, zato lahko zatrdimo, da gre pri Dekadi navsezadnje za vključevanje novih in bodočih držav EU in da služi kot sredstvo, ki Evropi omogoča Romom določiti mesto znotraj kolonialne matrice moči - vključiti jih na osnovi evropskih rasističnih standardov. Ideologija, ki se za tem skriva, je ideologija neoliberalnega kapitalizma, ki korenini v kolonialni preteklosti in rasizem izrablja kot sredstvo za izkoriščanje. Cilj ni doseči pluriverzalnosti človeških odnosov, ampak uzakoniti vključitev Romov v kapitalistični sistem izkoriščanja, kar pomeni »civilizirati« jih po evropskih standardih. Vključitev tako ne pomeni, da bodo Romom zagotovljene enake pravice, pač pa da bodo izkoriščani na bolj prefinjen, kultiviran način, kar se navsezadnje dogaja v zahodnih evropskih državah, kjer se njihov položaj v kolonialni matrici moči spreminja iz golega življenja v bios.²¹ Skratka, predlog EU je, naj se Romi ne diskriminirajo na tako očiten način, pač pa bolj prekanjeno in pridušeno.

Eden pomembnih vidikov Dekade za vključevanje Romov je mesto tega projekta/programa v okviru varnostne politike EU: Romom bi bilo treba preprečiti preseljevanje iz revnejših vzhodnoevropskih v bogatejše zahodnoevropske države. Zato se od držav članic zahteva, da izboljšajo življenjske pogoje Romov in tako zagotovijo, da ti ostanejo tam, kjer so. Nedavna migracija stotih Romov iz Romunije v Nemčijo je povzročila velik preplah. Po izgonu iz parka v Berlinu so jim plačali pot nazaj v Romunijo!²²Ta preplah je pravzaprav posledica bojazni, da bi preveč Romov utegnilo povečati nemški antiromizem, ki je bil po iztrebljanju ciljnih skupin znotraj Porajmosa, po genocidu torej, ki ga je nad Romi izvajala nacistična Nemčija (pa tudi Avstrija) potisnjen v *mirni spanec*. Prebujenje latentnega antiromizma dokazuje lažnost kulturnorasističnega prepričanja Zahodne Evrope, da je manj rasistična in zato bolj civilizirana od Vzhodne.

Iz povedanega lahko zaključimo, da je strategija *vključevanja* ideološki koncept, katerega cilji so produkcija, reprodukcija in ohranitev hierarhij in odnosov gospostva, saj ne izhaja iz načela enakosti ljudi, pač pa iz načela njihove neenakosti. To pomeni, da strategija vključevanja temelji na ideološki delitvi, ki jo je vpeljal in jo vzdržuje kapitalizem; to jemlje kot danost. Zato stanje, kjer je nekdo »sam po sebi« (ali »naravno«) vključen, medtem ko je treba druge »umetno« vključiti, ne vodi v obetavno in antidiskriminatorno politiko. Edini način za odpravo diskriminacije je ta, da se odpravi sistem, ki jo proizvaja – to je kapitalizem.

Ivana Marjanović je soustanoviteljica beograjske galerije Kontekst. Trenutno je vpisana na doktorski študij na Akademiji za likovno umetnost na Dunaju.

21 Šefik Šeki Tatlić, »The Truth Machine: The Relationship between Life and Sovereign Power«, v: Integration Impossible? The politics of Migration in the Art Work of Tanja Ostojić, ur. Marina Gržinić and Tanja Ostojić, argobooks, Berlin, 2009, str. 229–237.

Jr., ur. Marina drzinic and Tanja Ostojic, argoboks, bernin, 2009, str. 229–257.

22 http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/archiv/.bin/dump.fcgi/2009/0612/berlin/0031/index.html, 28. avgust 2009.

Ivana Marjanović

CONTENTION OF ANTIROMAISM AS A PART OF THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIALITY OF EUROPE

1. This text gives an account of actions against Roma people carried out by Belgrade authorities in spring and summer 2009 prior to and during the international sports games Belgrade Universiade 2009 and during the Serbian presidency of the international Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015. I will term these actions racist, though they are presented in the media differently. I claim that these actions are setting a frame with and within which to examine the "colonial power matrix" (that was coined by Hanibal Quijano and re-proposed by Walter Mignolo) in contemporary Europe. This matrix allows for historical patterns of racism (known from the colonies) and new forms of contemporary racism to be implemented in EU integration and security policy today. The actions I will analyze are important, as they make visible the processes of discrimination and segregation in EU and further more, they allow for a different development of the relation between capitalism and "antiromaism" that was proposed by Lorenz Aggermann, Eduard Freudmann and Can Gülcü. ¹ Finally, I will propose that the concept of inclusion as it is promoted by the Roma Decade is based precisely upon the exclusion of differences for the sake of belonging to the colonial matrix of power.

2. In order to expose the discriminatory processes that Roma are facing today, we will take a closer look at a paradigmatic example, the temporal conjunction of *Belgrade Universiade 2009*² and the Serbian presidency of the *Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015*. At the intersection of these events many phenomena have converged that are defining today's reality in Serbia and Europe: past Milošević's turbo-fascist³ war economy elite and the present "democratic" political elite (called the "opposition" of the 1990s), racism and capitalism, modernity and the "colonial power matrix," domination through inclusion and exclusion. The *Decade of Roma Inclusion* is the "unprecedented political commitment by European governments to improve the socio-economic status and social inclusion of Roma," which "brings together governments, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations, as well as Romani civil society, to accelerate progress toward improving the welfare of Roma and to review such progress in a transparent and quantifiable

¹⁰ Več o protestu glej film *BELLEVILLE* (Biro Beograd, 2009). Kratek dokumentarec o protestih zaradi uničenja romskega naselja v Bloku 67 v Novem Beogradu, Srbija, april

^{2009,} http://www.archive.org/details/BELLEVILLE. 11 Alo! 04.04.2009, http://www.alo.rs/vesti/13801/48_sati_rusenje, 25. avgust 2009.

¹² B92, 30. 01. 2007, http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index. php?yyyy=2007&mm=01&dd=30&nav_category=12, 25. avgust 2009.

¹³ e-novine, 05.04.2009, http://www.e-novine.com/index.php?news=24673, 25. avgust 2009.

¹⁴ Za podrobnejši opis glej *Beograd Gazela – Vodič kroz sirotinjsko naselje*, ur., Lorenc Agerman, Eduard Frojdman, Djan Gildji, RENDE, Beograd, 2009, str. 142.

¹⁵ Prim. Giorgio Agamben, *HOMO SACER, Suverena oblast in golo življenje*, Študentska založba, Ljubljana, 2004, (prev. Samo Kutoš), str. 144. Slovenski citat delno spremenjen

¹⁶ Manuela Bojadžijev, »Does Contemporary Capitalism Need Racism?,« eipcp.net, 2006, http://translate.eipcp.net/strands/02/bojadzijev-strands01en/print, 25. avgust

¹⁷ Marina Gržinić in Walter Mignolo, »Razveza epistemologije od kapitala in pluriverzalnosti«, *Reartikulacija*, št. 4, 2008, http://www.reartikulacija.org/RE4/SLO/dekolonialnost4_SLO_mign.html, 25. avgust 2009.

¹⁸ Prim. Dimitrina Petrova, »The Roma: Between a Myth and the Future«, http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1844&archiv=1; »UN Presses Czech Republic on Coercive Sterilisation of Romani Women«, http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=2626; Vesna Rakić-Vodinelić in Saša Gajin, »Kratka istorija pravnog položaja i diskriminacije Roma u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji i nekadašnjoj i današnjoj Srbiji«, Peščanik, 2009, http://www.pescanik.net/content/view/2965/171/; »The Roma Question 2006«, arhiv Tanje Ostojić, vr. Integration Impossible? The politics of Migration in the Art Work of Tanja Ostojić, ur., Marina Gržinić in Tanja Ostojić, argobooks, Berlin, 2009; str. 152; »Snapshots from around Europe. Report reveals that Romani women were sterilized against their will in Sweden«, http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1521, 25. avgust 2009.

¹⁹ http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=2980&archiv=1; Vladan Jeremić in Rena Rädle, »Anticiganizam i klasni rasizam u Evropi, Pokret za slobodu«, 2009, http://freedom-fight.net/cms/index.php?page=anticiganizam-i-klasni-rasizam-u-evropi; 25, avgust

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

¹ Antiromaism is used here instead of more widespread term Antiziganism as proposed by Lorenz Aggermann, Eduard Freudmann and Can Gülcü: "It seems counterproductive to resort to a word for expressing the discrimination of the Roma which itself is derived from the discriminatory term 'zigan' ('gypsy')." "Antiromaism . . . ranges from prejudices against Roma over open rejection, exclusion and forced displacement to massive persecution and genocide. Anti-Romaism includes not only discrimination and demonization of this minority, but also the widespread glorified picture of the 'carefree gypsy life," in: Beograd Gazela – Vodič kroz sirotinjsko naselje, eds., Lorenc Agerman, Eduard Frojdman, Djan Gildji, RENDE, Beograd, 2009, p. 198.

^{2 &}quot;Universiade" combines the terms "University" and "Olympiad" and designates a multisport biennial event that is today the second largest one in the world behind the Olympic Games. It was held in Belgrade from 1 to 12 July 2009.

³ Žarana Papić, "Europe after 1989: ethnic wars, the fascisation of social life and body politics in Serbia," in: *Filozofski vestnik*, special issue The Body, ed., Marina Gržinić Mauhler, FI ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, 2002, pp. 191–205.

way."⁴ Thus, it is not only an European project but also an international one, assembling on the one hand illustrious organizations such as the World Bank, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Open Society Institute, the United Nations and on the other hand, countries that were noted to lack the inclusion of Roma people, as well as international Roma NGOs.

For the period of July 2008–June 2009, when Serbia was holding the Decade's annually rotating presidency, one would expect the Serbian government to make efforts in approaching the Decade's objectives and decrease the effects of centuries lasting antiromaist politics in the region. Far from it! What we were witnessing was the total disregard of the Decade's goal in Serbia, and even an intensification of discrimination by Belgrade authorities, citizens and media – discrimination that has to be defined as structural and institutionalized, as it traversed so deeply and systematically into the social fabric and its institutions. Taking into consideration that at the same time all public attention was drawn to the Belgrade Universiade 2009, it became obvious that this intensification of discrimination was in order to construct and maintain the concepts of nation and race. Sport is one of the key elements of national cohesion and national pride in Serbia, the relatively successful national athletes are considered as international ambassadors of Serbian superiority, whereas Roma are constructed as threat to the Serbian national body, and the visibility of the processes of discrimination imposed on the Roma endangers the international image of the nation. Because of the lacking infrastructure to accommodate the eight thousand international athletes and officials of the Universiade, the city of Belgrade made a deal with a private investor, the multinational consortium Blok 67 Associates d.o.o. The consortium consists of Delta Real Estate, owned by Serbia's biggest tycoon, and the Austrian Hypo Alpe-Adria-Bank. The city provided public land, the private investors erected a building ensemble called Belville (in French: beautiful city), which was used to accommodate the international guests during the Universiade. After the event, the flats, shops and offices were ready to be purchased from the consortium. Belville was strategically located next to the largest shopping mall in the Balkan, Delta City (owned by Delta Real Estates owned by Delta Holding) which brought extra profit, as Universiade international guests spent their leisure time mostly shopping there.

Before the construction works for Delta City and Belville could start, the land had to be cleansed, meaning that the informal settlements inhabited by Roma people had to be demolished. The term informal settlement designates settlements that are not part of the regulated framework of the government and that are characterized by temporary shelters, inadequate connection to an infrastructure and scant supply.⁵ As a result of the waves of refugees that were a consequence of the Yugoslav Wars, numerous informal settlements emerged – it is said that they cover 43% of Belgrade's residential area.⁶ In contrast to other informal settlements, informal settlements inhabited by Roma are in constant danger of being demolished and have no chance to be fully or semi-formalized in the future regarding gaining access to the public sewage system, electricity and water supply. These facts and the poverty of the inhabitants are resulting from racist discrimination and turn most of Roma informal settlements into slums. Although their legal status is equal, slums differ tremendously from the "white" informal

My thesis is that this impossibility of legalization and the condition of becoming a slum is the result of deeply racist and discriminatory policy effectuated by the city and the government. The main characteristic of slums and the essential condition for their existence is their invisibility in the public perception. But if a slum turns visible for random reasons it has to be demolished. As we will see later, from time to time it also happens the other way around: a slum becomes visible because it is about to be demolished. After the first expulsion of Roma people that happened prior to the building of Delta City, some inhabitants settled a few hundred meters away. Two years later they were expelled once again from that location prior to the building of Belville. Both expulsions didn't cause public attention nor any protests, although the media reported in several articles how successful the building of Belville was proceeding after "technical and other problems" had been removed, i.e. after the removal of the slum that covered one third of the building land.⁷ The authorities decided to accomplish the total cleansing of the territory around Belville in spring 2009. The field for the eviction has been prepared from the beginning of 2009 through typical racist propaganda by media and politicians addressing the broad antiromaist consensus in Serbia. While the government plastered Belgrade with giant billboards depicting one of Serbia's currently most popular sportsmen, swinging a broom like a tennis racket and calling out to his fellow countrymen: "Let's Clean Serbia!," the media was focused on constructing a contrast image of "Uglyville," as the settlement was presented, saying that it just happened to grow overnight and was getting out of control. One thing was made perfectly clear: Roma will not be allowed to pollute the beautiful image of Belgrade and the Belville that was supposed to be sent to the world as the image of Serbia.8 Finally, it was reported that the organizer of Universiade, the International University Sports Federation insisted on the removal of the eyesore before the start of the event.

After the public opinion had been prepared, the operation could start. On April 3, 2009, authorities of Belgrade's City Secretariat for Inspections showed up in the settlement handing the eviction order over to the inhabitants, according to which the settlement would be demolished in 14 days. On the next day in the early morning, a bunch of bulldozers guarded by the police started with the eviction of the settlement and destroyed around 40 houses. Most house owners were not even allowed to take their belongings out before the demolition.⁹ As a reaction to this annihilating act, something exceptional happened. A series of public protests were organized in the streets of Belgrade by

the settlement's inhabitants who were supported by Roma representatives, NGOs, activists, and also students, independent cultural workers, artists and other citizens that protested in solidarity. The actions put a public pressure on the City decision-makers to an extent that they had to momentarily interrupt what they started: the total erasure of the settlement. The mayor stated that a few dozen citizens can not keep the entire city hostage and declared that he and the reigning power did not want to brutally dislocate anybody, but only those who are endangering the growth of Belgrade, which was a perfidious reversal of guilt.

Under the pressure of international humanitarian organizations and the protests, the city authorities offered temporary "alternative accommodation" to some of the now homeless Roma by installing a few modified freight containers in a village near Belgrade that is wellknown because a Roma teenager was killed there few years ago.¹² As soon as the news spread the villagers started to protest against their potential new neighbors (what meanwhile became a common practice in Belgrade whenever it is rumored that Roma should be relocated in the neighborhood!); the villagers burnt one of the containers and threatened that if Roma move in they will burn them together with the containers. Instead of condemning this racist act, Belgrade's mayor publicly expressed his understanding for the behavior of the villagers and did not withdraw the plans of accommodating the homeless Roma in that village. Another alternative accommodation was offered to Roma women and children as to be accommodated in orphanages and homes for old people- men were excluded. The mayor insisted on the demolition of the settlement and a number of other Roma settlements that were situated in locations where infrastructural construction was planned. He announced that all inhabitants who do not hold a residential registration in Belgrade have to return to their hometownsthe city would pay their one way tickets. Although there is no legal basis for an expulsion from the city territory, the mayor sent the message to UNHCR, OSCE and Belgrade NGOs stating that no compromise will be made regarding this issue.¹³ Furthermore, he denied alternative accommodation to all inhabitants whose children did not start to attend school, thereby reproducing the classical colonial enlightening mission attitude and proving his total ignorance of the multiple problems slum inhabitants who want to send their children to school face. 14 Finally, in order to stop the protests, one of the organizers was arrested and accused of having rented houses in the settlement- about such a "delinquency" did not exist a single record.

As the Universiade was approaching, it turned out that the total eradication would not be possible due to the protests. Thus, the new strategy of the city authorities was to hide the settlement and its residents, and thus make them "invisible." Two weeks prior to the opening of the Universiade, under the excuse of the event's necessary security measures, a metal fence was erected around the settlement. Surprisingly, the Delta City shopping mall was not fenced for security reasons, commodities were circulating and surplus value was gained without a barrier. In order to hide the settlement a banner was installed on the fence that was guarded by security staff and police. They prevented the inhabitants from leaving the settlement and threatened them with arrest if they were seen in the streets around Belville, especially if caught searching secondary materials in trash cans. Thereby not only their freedom of movement was withdrawn, but they were also deprived of their existential basis by being prohibited to carry out their regular daily work on the streets of Belgrade. This situation caused a few solidarity actions such as a protest in front of Delta City shopping mall by Belgrade Antifascist Campaign; press releases by different NGO's and several activities by Belgrade Other Scene and Friends (the platform of Belgrade independent cultural and activist scene) were carried out. The latter organization took a public position opposing Roma discrimination for the first time. These actions were ignored by the authorities, except that a press conference that was organized in the settlement pressured the authorities so they removed the banner, thereby making the settlement visible from the outside again.

3. First it has to be put clearly, that in the analysis of these events, we can not refer to human rights regulated by international conventions or the Serbian constitution, because there is no such a thing as universal human rights being guaranteed by the present world order. There is only the power of capital and, related to it, sovereign power that is determining who has the right to be human and thus has human rights, and who does not. Insisting on human rights without taking politics into consideration would lead us in a wrong direction, overlooking the sovereign power and its reproduction. Giorgio Agamben pointed out, "The separation between humanitarianism and politics that we are experiencing today is the extreme phase of the separation of the rights of man from the rights of the citizen, in the final analysis, however, humanitarian organizations – which today are more and more supported by international commissions – can only grasp human life in the figure of bare or sacred life, and therefore, despite themselves, maintain a secret solidarity with the very powers they ought to fight."15 Living in Europe for centuries, Roma have to be considered as a constitutive part of it. They settled long before the concept of nations was made up, thus we could ask on which basis they are regarded as something exterior to the nations that has to be included. Therefore, the concept of inclusion seems paradoxical. But if we take a look at how power functions and to which extent coloniality is embedded in capitalism, we realize that it is not paradox at all.

Exploring contemporary racism in Europe, Manuela Bojadžijev explains: "Like anti-Semitism, neo-racism is an ideological practice, in which its specific object is constituted and constructed. This presumption implies a crucial challenge: something that does not exist, such as race, is coming into being through different forms of praxis by individuals, groups, institutions, or states and therefore a reality, a social relation and a policy. The fiction of race is produced by a vast number of nar-

rations: gestures, rituals, images, texts. The fictional narration creates something as a race, particular racisms then seem as an application, while reversely it is exactly racism and its fictional object, race, that is the effect of a multitude of racist techniques of narrations: ethnicity and race – to take up a metaphor of Adorno – is a rumor, once it is the rumour about the Jews, the other time the rumour about the migrant or the refugee."16 To understand the logic of inclusion we have to go back to the core of capitalist exploitation - the colonial history of Europe and slavery that was conducted for the sake of capitalist progress and the development of white Europeans – because its mechanisms are still defining human relations today. For centuries, colonial history is and has been normalized by European knowledge production such as school and university books, encyclopedias, art works etc. Colonialism is trivialized (and thereby justified) as the modernization of backward areas, trading with spices, geographical discoveries, missionary missions, Western artists traveling in the Third world to find their inspiration, and not as cruel exploitation, mass murder, enslavement and expropriation in the name of European progress and modernity.

Walter Mignolo pointed out that there is no modernity without coloniality: "There is no modernity without coloniality; coloniality is constitutive of modernity. Modernity is not a historical period, but it is a rhetoric grounded on the idea of salvation . . . The rhetoric of modernity has been, since its inception, the rhetoric of salvation: by conversion (Spanish and Portuguese mendicant orders), by civilizing missions (British and French agents); by development and modernization (US experts in economy and politics guiding the Third World towards the same standards as the First); and salvation through market democracy and consumerism . . . What is eliminated by the narratives of modernity (and post-modernity) is not its own past, but all knowledge and lifeforms that have to be integrated, marginalized or destroyed, so the salvation mission of modernity can continue, like a juggernaut, to roll over the differences. In other words, the narrative of modernity constructs and invents differences in order to eliminate them or keep them under control (in multiculturalism) . . . Thus, modernity conceived in terms of a rhetoric of salvation, goes hand in hand justifying the logic of coloniality: control and appropriation of land, exploitation of labor, human lives converted into commodities; control of authority; control of gender and sexuality; control of knowledge and subjectivity. All spheres just mentioned are interrelated and integrated into the logic of domination and exploitation: the logic of coloniality . . . What holds the spheres of life and society, in which the logic of coloniality operates, is a locus of enunciation grounded in patriarchy and racism."1

So, the mentioned spheres of life and society are, according to Mignolo, constitutive for the colonial matrix of power where racism plays a crucial role. The colonial matrix of power, along with racism as its main technology, has not been functional only outside of Europe (in Asia, Africa, America, and Australia) but also within it. It has subjugated all who did not fit into the category of "white Christians," who were constructed as the most worthy. Furthermore, colonial history is determining the present – normalized, it is perpetually maintained in the First capitalist world and outside of it through migration politics, globalization, debt slavery, ongoing confiscation of natural resources, and contemporary wars and invasions. Roma, as people of color and assumed pagans, were from the time of European modernity and enlightenment targeted by the colonial matrix of power. For centuries, kingdoms, holy empires, totalitarian regimes and democracies of Europe issued a great many decrees and laws to banish, exploit, enslave, torture, discriminate, expel, and massively exterminate them in Europe. Examples are numerous from the 16th century on, from England, Romania, and Nazi Germany to contemporary EUrope. Roma were slaves of Christian monasteries and of feudal rulers partly until the mid 19th century; they were banished from many European countries, they were branded with branding irons, they were forbidden to use their own language and marry among each other, children were abducted from their parents to be brought up in Catholic families in the Habsburg Empire, they were massively exterminated by Nazis throughout Europe, Roma women were coercively sterilized till the 1980s in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Sweden, and Norway- recent cases have been made public in the Czech Republic but it would not be surprising if this is going on in other countries as well. 18 In collaboration with EU candidates as part of their application process, Germany deports Roma to their countries of origin without prior notice and leaves them alone on the streets upon arrival. In Italy, the state of exception was proclaimed in order to fingerprint entire Roma communities, including minors.¹⁹ Roma have lately been exposed to pogroms, homicide and expulsion all over Europe in Austria, the Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia, etc.

Thus, Roma have been discriminated against for centuries in Europe, and subjected to racist politics whose discriminatory actions shows the continuation of strategies such as extermination, expulsion, assimilation, integration, and the most recent strategy of *inclusion*. The constellation of the *Decade of Roma Inclusion* consists of proactive and reactive players. The former are the main powers of contemporary capitalism and those that maintain its status quo: the *World Bank*, the *Council of Europe* and its *Development Bank*, the *Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe*, the *Open Society Institute* (belonging to the Hungary-US stock exchange speculator George Soros) and the *United Nations Development Program* as well as other UN sub-organizations. These agencies' engagement in globalization processes and in European colonial projects of the past and the present, warn us against being naïve enough to believe that the *Decade* is about the elimination

on August 25. 2009

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Http://www.romadecade.org/index.php?content=1, retrieved on August 25, 2009. 5 Cf. Beograd Gazela – Vodič kroz sirotinjsko naselje, eds., Lorenc Agerman, Eduard Frojdman, Djan Gildji, RENDE, Beograd, 2009, p. 204.

⁶ http://www.beodom.com/sr/journal/entries/what-are-the-risks-of-building-or-buying-an-illegal-construction, retrieved on August 25, 2009.

⁷ Blic, 13.06.2007, http://www.blic.rs/beograd.php?id=5805&pid=154&results=true and B92, 12. 06.2007, http://www.b92.net/biz/vesti/srbija.

hesing-tide and bg., 12.00.2007, http://www.naslovi.net/2009-01-23/politika/uz-luksuzni-kompleks-romska-naseobina/1009277; Danas, 12.02.2009; http://www.naslovi.net/2009-01-23/politika/uz-luksuzni-kompleks-romska-naseobina/1009277; Danas, 12.02.2009; http://www.naslovi.net/2009-02-12/danas/karton-siti-uz-luksuzni-kompleks/1036712; Večernje novosti, 19.02.2009, http://www.naslovi.net/2009-02-19/vecernje-novosti/belvil-okruzen-ruglom/1047043, retrieved

⁹ Alo! 04.04.2009, http://www.alo.rs/vesti/13801/48_sati_rusenje, retrieved on August 25, 2000

¹⁰ For more about the protest, cf. the film *BELLEVILLE* (Biro Beograd, 2009). Short documentary about the protests due to the demolishing of the Roma settlement at Block 67 in New Belgrade, Serbia, in April 2009, http://www.archive.org/details/BELLEVILLE

¹¹ Alo! 04.04.2009, http://www.alo.rs/vesti/13801/48_sati_rusenje, retrieved on August 25,

¹² B92, 30. 01. 2007, http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.

php?yyyy=2007&mm=01&dd=30&nav_category=12, retrieved on August 25, 2009. 13 e-novine, 05.04.2009, http://www.e-novine.com/index.php?news=24673, retrieved on August 25, 2009.

¹⁴ For a detailed description cf. *Beograd Gazela – Vodič kroz sirotinjsko naselje* eds., Lorenc Agerman, Eduard Frojdman, Djan Gildji, RENDE, Beograd, 2009, p. 142.

¹⁵ Cf. Giorgio Agamben, HOMO SACÉR, Sovereign Power and Bare Life, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1998, p. 133.

¹⁶ Manuela Bojadžijev, "Does Contemporary Capitalism Need Racism?," eipcp.net, 2006, http://translate.eipcp.net/strands/02/bojadzijev-strands01en/print, retrieved on August 25, 2009.

¹⁷ Marina Gržinić and Walter Mignolo, "De-linking epistemology from capital and pluriversality," *Reartikulacija*, Issue No 4, 2008, http://www.reartikulacija.org/pdfs/Reartikulacija4_web.pdf, retrieved on August 25, 2009.

¹⁸ Cf. Dimitrina Petrova, "The Roma: Between a Myth and the Future," http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1844&archiv=1; "UN Presses Czech Republic on Coercive Sterilisation of Romani Women," http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=2626; Vesna Rakić-Vodinelić and Saša Gajin, "Kratka istorija pravnog položaja i diskriminacije Roma u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji i nekadašnjoj i današnjoj Srbiji," Peščanik, 2009, http://www.pescanik.net/content/view/2965/171/; "The Roma Question 2006," archive by Tanja Ostojić, in: Integration Impossible? The politics of Migration in the Art Work of Tanja Ostojić, eds., Marina Gržinić and Tanja Ostojić, argobooks, Berlin, 2009; p. 152; "Snapshots from around Europe. Report reveals that Romani women were sterilized against their will in Sweden," http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1521, all links retrieved on August 25, 2009.

¹⁹ http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=2980&archiv=1; Vladan Jeremić and Rena Rädle, "Anticiganizam i klasni rasizam u Evropi, Pokret za slobodu," 2009, http://freedomfight.net/cms/index.php?page=anticiganizam-i-klasni-rasizam-u-evropi; retrieved on August 25,

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

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

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

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

21 Šefik Šeki Tatlić "The Truth Machine: The Relationship between Life and Sovereign Power, in: Integration Impossible? The politics of Migration in the Art Work of Tanja Ostojić, eds., Marina Gržinić and Tanja Ostojić, argobooks, Berlin, 2009, pp. 229–237.

Marina Gržinić and Tanja Ostojić, argobooks, Berlin, 2009, pp. 229–237. 22 http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/archiv/.bin/dump.fcgi/2009/0612/berlin/0031/index.html, retrieved on August 28, 2009. The awakening of latent antiromaism would disprove the Western European cultural-racist conviction of being less racist and thereby more civilized than Eastern Europeans.

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

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

Lina Dokuzović

DOBIČEK OD BIOKAPITALISTIČNE VREDNOSTI IN UKINITEV ČLOVEŠKEGA KAPITALA

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

Vse bolj prisotna in vse bolj izpopolnjena regulacija družbene sfere ščiti deregulacijo pretoka kapitala in njegovo multiplikacijo in s tem omogoča ustvarjanje dobička. Z globalno homogenizacijo načinov družbene regulacije se ohranja želena ideologija, proizvajajo se »drugost«, seksizem in rasizem, potencial upora je onesposobljen prek vzpostavitve patološkega razmerja med razločevanjem in oblikami ukinjanja. Sistem deluje na osnovi začasne ukinitve nenehnega sistema uravnavanja, ki bedi nad notranjo nestabilnostjo. Takšna oblika odvisnosti sega onkraj kolonialne ekspanzije in patološke modifikacije ter izkorišča življenje in smrt, ki sta rezultat omejevanja dostopa do virov. Še več, ta odvisnost presega meje kolonije in v ta proces vpleta telo – natančneje migrante, ki se nahajajo na suverenem ozemlju – kakor tudi dobiček, ki ga ustvarja neuravnovešen razvoj kapitalizma – kot je pospešen razvoj »tranzicijskih regij« -, katerega cilj je poganjati in regulirati nestanovitnost razvitega »zahodnega« neoliberalizma. Bivše socialistične države so v poziciji, da se bodo razpočile od vse bolj vsiljene svobode, ki ni nič drugega kot svoboda rasti trga. Vsiljevanje »svobode« predstavlja osnovo za pridobitev razvojne pomoči, ki jo te države potrebujejo v času, ko se jim seseda nekdanja politika regulacije. Z globalizacijo »svobode« prihajajo tudi že prej omenjene homogenizirane ideologije medijev in šolstva, globalnih policijskih organov in obmejnega nadzora. Travma, ki so jo največkrat povzročile povojne razmere, zaradi katerih se je propad teh politik tudi zgodil, je za seboj pustila odprte rane po vsem svetu. Prav te rane so omogočile vzpostavitev »svobode« in neokolonialnega pretoka kapitala. Patologija, ki nastane ob odpravljanju travme z regulirano pomočjo, predstavlja razmere, v katerih se nahajajo tranzicijske družbe, in pogoje, ki prvemu svetu omogočajo ohranjati in ustvarjati dobiček ter vsiljujejo svoje nestabilne strukture. Z »razvojem« manj razvitih držav se vzdržuje stabilnost suverenih držav na način, ki velja v odnosu med parazitom in gostiteljem. Čeprav parazit in gostitelj vedno živita v simbiozi, kar pomeni, da imata od tega oba koristi in škodo hkrati, je tukaj še druga plat, ki se v biološkim izrazoslovju imenuje »parazitizem« ali »nekrotrofija«. Nekrotrofija pomeni, da se parazit naseli v gostujočem organizmu in ob lastni smrti povzroči tudi smrt gostitelja. Takšna oblika odvisnosti sega onkraj kolonialne ekspanzije in patološke modifikacije ter izkorišča življenje in smrt, ki sta rezultat omejevanja dostopa do virov. Dejavniki, ki poudarjajo trenutni gospodarski padec/krizo, so prav tisti, ki ogrožajo in regulirajo življenje, kjer deregulacija in regulacija nujno temeljita druga na drugi in s tem omogočata svoj lasten obstoj.

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

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Lina Dokuzović

THE TURNOVER OF BIOCAPITALIST CURRENCY AND THE SUSPENSION OF HUMAN CAPITAL

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

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

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

PARAGIT(010)ISM OF CAPITALISM

