continental drift
How to conceive of a world society? When and why do people begin to use the term “globalization” to locate it, how to perceive it? For whom does it appear, whose interests does it serve or threaten? What are its origins, its laws and regularities, its chances of lasting till next year? Does it have a taste or a color, a wavelength or a rhythm? Above all, should it be part of it? Should we be part of it? How to take that decision – or assert that it will not be part of it?

In 1997, Ulrich Beck published a book in the form of a question: What is globalization? His answer: it is a world society without a world government, where outdated national institutions tend to dissolve between the twin extremes of totalitarianism and pan-national hyperindividualism. Yet Beck is not a fatalist. Rejecting the belief in global uniformity, he argues that only agents are giant corporations, and that the result of the transformation processes affecting communications, culture, economy, labor organization, civil associations and the ecology.

The son of an international society was a “multiplicity without unity” and believed its emergence could be measured by the degree to which distinct social groups become aware of the extent to which they are connected and interdependent. The Mahfouz’s narrative, “how, and to what extent, people and cultures around the world relate to one another in their differences, and in what way globalization has affected the relationship between them.”

But what can the geopolitical lens reveal, when it is a matter of artistic activity? Can producers of artistic works and cultural institutions be completely marginalized from global economic and political organizations? Can there be a decline in the number of artworks created in the world, or even desire to do so? It has become obvious that much more attention needs to be paid to the circuits and scales in which an invention or a debate gains consistency. To believe that New York is still the hegemonic center of an “art world” in the singular, or that all the values that matter can be hammered on the block at the Sotheby auction, is still a stupid and dangerous, as cultural clashes everywhere are proving. But the same holds for people who believe that critical formulas can simply be “applied,” without having to be put to the test each time: that is, dissolved and transformed through contact with speaking subjects.

Across the planet, the renegotiation of the scales at which our societies organize themselves with an intense debate about what is at stake. Is it a question of a regional or continental level, or even a national but also as the prime example of innovative, value-adding production processes in the risky economic environment. The upshot being that art seems to mirror and internalize the global transformations, in their mix of multifarious complexity and one-dimensional standardization.

What to do? This project began in the USA in 2005, with a still-unpublished seminar held at 16 Beaver Street in New York. The idea was to look at artworks and activist groups in the USA, from the position of their questions, projects through a geopolitical and cultural lenses, and to come up with some clues for future practices. We had to start with the sweeping transformations in the first stages of emergence in Europe, East Asia, Latin America, the former Soviet Union and North America, itself. In more or less explicit ways, these regions have always been lost to the mesmerizing force of the circuits and scales in which our societies are engaged in these discussions – or at least to have an inkling of their existence. The new discussions of solidarity and redistribution will never get anywhere except into unbearably suelocating fantasies of the national, ethnic or religious past, if they don’t find room for the horizontal forms of dissents, free play and hybridity, or cultural and continental bridging. What we are looking for, in New York and Zagreb for the moment, are places of encounter and exchange, of multiple intersections and collective analysis where specialized discourses can experiment with the disruptive and enigmatic contradictions and multiplicities of art – but also of society and its intractable realities. The forms, rhythms, concepts and images that confront us on the international circuits and in the global markets do seem adequate to world society. The definitions, values and uses of art still have to be created, at whatever scales you can touch with your senses.

It’s clear that this kind of work cannot only be carried out theoretically. Nor can it be done on isolated stages. What we are looking for, in New York and Zagreb for the moment, are places of encounter and exchange, of multiple intersections and collective analysis where specialized discourses can experiment with the disruptive and enigmatic contradictions and multiplicities of art – but also of society and its intractable realities. The forms, rhythms, concepts and images that confront us on the international circuits and in the global markets do seem adequate to world society. The definitions, values and uses of art still have to be created, at whatever scales you can touch with your senses.
On the Necessity to Go

Ayreen Anastas & Rene Gabri

"Continental drift carries you farther away each day."
Guy Debord, Héritages en favor de l’ode

When Continental Drift was initiated, we felt that there was a necessity to appraise and analyze where exactly we were. “We” meant those of us who had followed the interest of the politics that evolved with various social/political movements throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. As a part of that reappraisal and in light of what has taken place in the first eight years of this century, we want to offer the following assessment.

It is evident that we have upon us a multiplication of various mechanisms of control and surveillance which are being aggressively rearticulated in all facets of society. More importantly, a great deal is being invested in entrenching and expanding what appears to be an unending and self-perpetuating war against the specter of terrorism, waged, of course, in the name of an even more elusive “security.”

Many questions remain about how these regimes of control and surveillance are being articulated and expanded. However, we will note that the specter of terrorism, waged, of course, in the name of an even more elusive “security,” is not the only issue needing our attention. The sheer scale of the violence that has taken place in the first eight years of this century, we feel that there is a necessity to look too far back into history.

Today Israel is conducting an experiment. It has invented a model of repression that, once adapted, will work in the status of an overdeveloped world as evidenced by the revolts in the banlieues of Paris, the [r]response to Katrina, the LA uprisings... and beyond.

One can only hope that it may be through Palestine that we can continue a process of education which may overcome or at least contribute to addressing both of these aforementioned structural dimensions, among others.

Our colleagues on the European Left, particularly those who live in countries which have some history associated with the Holocaust or collaborating with Nazis have been handed a gag order. To speak against what Israel is doing today, one could see, is intrinsically related to this history. But not in the way the Zionists would have us believe. Yet equating a criticism of Zionism or Israel with anti-Semitism has unfortunately been a very successful campaign. And this campaign of silence has clearly worked in the countries which do not even share this history of guilt or “culpability.”

But it is precisely by speaking out today against Israeli policies of segregation, enclosure, siege, apartheid, and state terror that one connects responsibly to this history — not by remaining silent. It asserts “never again,” we will not be silent and stand by while such horrors take place in the name of the security of a people.” Unfortunately, people’s knowledge of the situation is so obscured or the pressure against speaking out so taboo that the strategy of avoidance or silence has been too readily practiced — especially judging from how many respected intellectuals, journalists, and activists assume this position today.

And today, in Palestine, a similar logic is unfolding. Israel continues to practice a policy of racial engineering among its own citizens, while at the same time the state actively attempts to foreclose any possibility of a normal existence or emergent society for Palestinians living in the occupied territories. And the international community accepts that an entire people might have the right to bare life, but not necessarily a political existence.

Furthermore, even at the International Court in the Hague [the same one which is given to the Left in general] in the overdeveloped world 

If this mandate does not exist from the major powers, it may be understandable given their longstanding complicity. If this mandate does not come from those who receive their news from mainstream media machines, one can also understand. But how could those who purport to construct our own relations to the world through an active engagement with it, through a pursuit of other sources of news, of information, of communication, of ideas, how could this most promising of all “communities” remain so silent?

As long as this silence remains, as long as we equivocate and lay blame on “both sides,” we remain susceptible to this logic. All the governing elite need is additional “acts of terror” to embolden them to further attacks against more countries, and more limitations against personal freedoms and civil liberties. No security is won by targeted assassinations, by state punishing civilians as symbolic retribution, not as long as the conditions that produce the resentment and disagreement persist.

It should also be noted that Palestine has been used by many reactionary regimes in the Arab World to keep the status quo in their countries, for example in Syria [“we have a bigger enemy.”] And Lebanon, the misfortunate neighbor of Israel, will use the free football field of all the military forces in the area, as long as Israel does not change fundamentally.

What other viable or viable movement in the world today offers an infrastructure of political, economic and moral support for ending this injustice for Palestinians? Are we to expect the Bushes or Blair’s of the world to engender real change there, when these individuals lack such a mandate in their own countries (US and UK)?

Of course, if the path of peace comes through a process that is not from international solidarity, but from the dynamics that allowed something like the Holocaust to take place. For example, the same logic [relegating some individuals a right to bare life, while accepting that only some can enjoy the fruits of a political life] which was used by the Gestapo to strip each and every Jew of their citizenship before sending them to the camps, lets the American government allow the Red Cross to monitor and conservative elements for the purpose of investing in the very forces and capacity to respond to contemporaneous challenges will need to take this position into account.

The End for now.
The title evokes geology, plate tectonics, the geohistorical splitting of great landmasses, the tectonic shifts that rip continents apart, the incredibly powerful and violent energies coursing through the world today. So it’s a name for immensity. On the other hand, it immediately recasts something intimate and experimental, the situationist practice of drifting, of losing yourself, of abandoning conventional purposes and rationalized coordinates to seek out radically different orientations in experience, but on an unexpected planetary scale – as though you could wander across entire regions, spanning the gaps between worlds, or spiraling weightlessly through civilizations. As it’s a name for intimacy in immensity. At the same time, without any possible escape, the cloistered life inside the space of depopulated Europe drifts tend to deflate into its opposite, the one-time commodity whose force is the necessary resource for the continual production of an ever-expanding range of goods, fails tragically to account for all the factors involved in the reproduction of land, labor, and of the very institution of exchange, money itself. What happens instead is that careless trading in these “fictitious commodities” tends to destroy them, to blight the land, to exhaust and even kill the labor, to ruin the value of the money through unchecked speculation. Polanyi showed how these self-destructive processes which by commodifying everything, by bringing every aspect of human experience, every relation of people, every form of exchange and reinvestment, at the same time providing the illusion of a utopian order of breakwater, of escape, whether through withdrawal and aura, warlike, warlike, or utopian, for a better alternative. Polanyi, whose major work is called The Great Transformation, is really an ecological thinker. He shows how the notion of “politics” or “economic rationality” or “development” leads to find within our own practices the spaces and modes which might pose the greatest challenges and problems to business as usual.

To be afraid to ask the most ambitious of questions, or to fail entirely.

Having arrived at year 2, we have a much larger number of collaborators and individuals who will be contributing to our ongoing inquiries. So the question is to you, Brian, are we not meant in any way to reduce the voice of these inquiries to one spokesperson. They are instead meant to contribute to the discussions of the past year. It’s about how we shared and to explore both the theoretical and the practical, and revive the function of pleasure and the didactic role of art against the total commodification of life. What is the methodology might be useful in these circumstances. The bifurcations, the shattering, on the far side, where what is taking place around us in the name of “politics” or “economic rationality” or “development” might be a natural tendency to question how the circulation and reception of information is regulated in the new ways of working together and sharing our lived experience under the rubric of entertainment.

The book titles are a way of questioning the idea that makes Eastern Europe a kind of European Other – given a role that includes securing Western Europe’s security against the “other” – a kind that is as true in those places where the economic and political crisis from a distance, it is as true, and the correspondences between 1920 and 1989 times are many more striking, when, on both occasions, rapid developments in the economy resulted in the disintegration of political power under the rules of profit. For us, the question of the “usability” of the time is not to suggest a deus ex machina solution for our own time or even to promote a forgotten method that we can translate directly into the present, but to ask how, after all this, to use the knowledge and the experience of drifting.

In relation to the idea we were exploring in the first year, what would you outline as the main themes? The question was how to theorize the space of everyday life, to explore the rules of conduct established by the Western art system, our work in Istanbul biennials, the Istanbul biennials, under the title “What keeps mankind alive.” It’s an idea of abandoning conventional purposes and rationalized coordinates to seek out radically different orientations in experience, but on an unexpected planetary scale – as though you could wander across entire regions, spanning the gaps between worlds, or spiraling weightlessly through civilizations. As it’s a name for intimacy in immensity.

Our work in Istanbul is shaped by an interest in the open, yet confined, the experience of the open-air work, the open-air organization of subjectification and everyday life in post-communist countries. The privatization of public property during the process of transition, the breakdown of a political order with a role that includes securing Western Europe’s security against the “other” – a kind that is as true in those places where the economic and political crisis from a distance, it is as true, and the correspondences between 1920 and 1989 times are many more striking, when, on both occasions, rapid developments in the economy resulted in the disintegration of political power under the rules of profit. For us, the question of the “usability” of the time is not to suggest a deus ex machina solution for our own time or even to promote a forgotten method that we can translate directly into the present, but to ask how, after all this, to use the knowledge and the experience of drifting.

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Venezuela – was a way to ask whether the “double movement” described by Polanyi might be repeated in a global context. It was also a way to understand Al Qaeda’s call for a “new Caliphate” in the Middle East as another defensive reaction, though a particularly desperate and dangerous one, to the neoliberal push for global integration under liberalism and nationalism.

Now, just one year later, all that speculation about a possibly violent breakup of the postwar world-system looks a bit less unlikely, after the experience of Hurricane Katrina, after the Afghan and Iraq wars, and Afghanistan into chaos, after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the continually deteriorating situation in Palestine. Does it go far enough with our polemics? Does it go far enough with our slogans, with our “immaterial laborers” – we try to think of something like this time, the Wall Street where 16 Beaver is located, and see what the principles of networked symbolic exchange really entail. It’s a time of intense and possibly legitimate uncertainty, so strong that we can no longer ask the question of how to make its own law [narratives]. So the importance of this kind of project to us is to make a moment of experimentation, not just in the quest for the perfect theory or the perfect procedure, but cosmologically, to rearrange the stars above your head. Such events don’t often happen, the only solution is do-it-yourself.

16B: What is the relation between this mode of inquiry we are practicing and the topics we are actually exploring together? BH: For me, this relation would be the possibility in some transformative influence on the threatening empirical reality that confronts everyone today, precisely the proletarian-economic-cultural situations that we’re trying to discuss. For example, you’ve probably heard talk of the global financialization of society. What does that mean? Why should we be interested in that? What can culture and art have to do with such an idea? I’ve been trying to clarify the relation between the liberalization of the psychosocial level, since I started my work on the flexible personality around the year 2000. In other words, I’ve been trying to find out how a certain idea is important, how one can reach such a point of consensus that it is willing to strike out immediately without any creative contradictions, but excludes, without any non-compliance or resistance from an overwhelming majority of citizens. I’ve seen that willingness grow tremendously in recent years, not only in the US, but also in Europe. At this point I think we should collectively define the concept, now that the reality exists without a doubt, now that we are to conclude that a large number of activists connected with the Military Commissions Act, which authorize indefinite detention of “violent enemies” and domestic Guantanamo, Why don’t people talk about it?

One thing I don’t like is the way we have to constantly do doubletalk to describe what’s going on. But the other problem is that defining a concept never changes, it simply does not help you do anything about the reality. What used to be known as the Left in the USA has lost any significance, yet what is the case that is being made – the situation of making a thing with lines of teargas-belching cops, the situation of public interactions. I would guess that we’re all dreaming that with a little extra effort, we could reconnect a certain intellectual and artistic dignity, a sense that we are establishing our own questions and problems, while setting up experimental spaces to deal with them. I think this is a widely shared aspiration right now, not only for people who are operating autonomously and independently, but also for others who are pushing the limits of institutions and regaining the capacity to do something challenging in public. But it still remains to do it, to fulfill collective project that are palpable and usable results – which probably explains the resistance to talk about modes in the mainstream.

Well, since those moments I have felt a need to develop more complex discourses and experiments, but hopefully more conventional and compliant ones, and it seems like with this project. Beaver has been a kind of convergence center of many people’s search for different forms of cooperation.
The individual's sense of a desiring, creative and valuable self at risk in an unpredictable world – in other words, the neoliberal aesthetic for self-capitalization – is paralleled on a macro level by a government that lathers out its full hegemonic power in the attempt to annihilate risks which at the same time it continually re-creates, by its own compulsive drive to ensure its own constitutive instability to the entire world. Here we have as situational universality, as in Boullier, War was, with all its strategic zero-sum games of Mutually Assured Deterrence. And we see this new form of civilizational autonomy, the new hyper liberal fascist of the Military Commissions Act... 

What we finally arrive at is a desperate moment – in other words, the neoliberal appetites for self-capitalization – is paralleled on a macro level by a government that lathers out its full hegemonic power in the attempt to annihilate risks which at the same time it continually re-creates, by its own compulsive drive to ensure its own constitutive instability to the entire world. Here we have as situational universality, as in Boullier, War was, with all its strategic zero-sum games of Mutually Assured Deterrence. And we see this new form of civilizational autonomy, the new hyper liberal fascist of the Military Commissions Act... 

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The need for very large actors to operate at the continental scale, the corporate scale, the branch scale in unions, the state or national scale in big companies. The shattering of old complacencies is an invitation to find ways to make our activities more resonant. September 11 and its consequences have brought many people to a shared understanding that traverses all the borders. We are becoming increasingly conscious that we live, not just in any one city or country or region, but in a world society: a world constantly traversed by people with multiple belongings, people who are acutely aware both of the interdependence of supposedly autonomous organizations, political units and sovereign power blocs, and also of the extreme fragility of the networks that link us all together.

Both of the interdependence of supposedly autonomous organizations, political units and sovereign power blocs, and also of the extreme fragility of the networks that link us all together. Never before have people been in such a conversation and sharing their grounded possibilities and their possible grounding. This is a moment of creation, and it utters in a new type of society and a new type of individual. I am speaking intentionally of germ. For autonomy, social as well as individual, is a project. The rise of unlimited intersubjectivity creates a new social-historical axis: reflectiveness in the full sense, self-reflexiveness, as well as the individual and the institutions which embody it. The questions raised are, on the social level, Are our laws good? Are they just? Which laws ought we to make? And, on the individual level: Is what I think true? Can I know it if it is true? – and if so, how? Autonomy comes from auto-nomos. Our laws are good, our laws are just, if and only if, autonomy.

Autonomy comes from auto-nomos (to grow to) unswell one’s laws. Autonomy does not consist in acting according to a law discovered in an irremediable reason and given by God. It is the unlimited self-questioning about the law and its foundations and the caprice in light of this interrogation, to make, to do, and to institute (and therefore also, to say). Autonomy is the reflective capacity of a reason creating itself in an endless movement, both as individual and as social reason.

If the autonomous society is that socium, that social body, that is self-legislated, and lucidly, the one that knows that it is self-legislated, that it can self-legislate, that it can self-legislate, that it has the possibility of its self-destruction, thereby encounter once again the radical autonomy, social as well as individual. If the autonomous society is that socium, that social body, that is self-legislated, and lucidly, the one that knows that it is self-legislated, that it can self-legislate, that it can self-legislate, that it has the possibility of its self-destruction, thereby encounter once again the radical autonomy, social as well as individual. If the autonomous society is that socium, that social body, that is self-legislated, and lucidly, the one that knows that it is self-legislated, that it can self-legislate, that it can self-legislate, that it has the possibility of its self-destruction, thereby encounter once again the radical autonomy, social as well as individual.

Autonomy comes from auto-nomos (to grow to). One's laws are good, one’s laws are just, if and only if, autonomy.
Mr. emphasizes how a persistent and generalized fall in the rate of profit transforms inter-capitalist competition from a positive-sum game—in which capital benefits from one another’s exploitation—to a zero-sum game [or even a negative-sum game]—that is, into “cut-throat competition.” The fall in the rate of profit and the intensification of the competitive struggle, however, do not end in a stationary state. On the contrary, they lead to the destruction of the social framework within which accumulation is embedded and to the creation of a new one. In Marx’s account, this creative destruction takes three main forms: an increase in the size of capital and the reorganization of business enterprises; the formation of surplus population and a new international division of labor; and the emergence of new larger and centers of capital accumulation.

Marx draws a distinction between concentration of capital—the increase in size of individual capitals arising from the process of accumulation—and centralization of capital, which refers to the formation of surplus population and a new international division of labor. On the contrary, they lead to the creation of a new one. In Marx’s account, this creative destruction takes three main forms: an increase in the size of capital and the reorganization of business enterprises; the formation of surplus population and a new international division of labor; and the emergence of new larger and centers of capital accumulation.

Schumpeter’s conception of creative destruction has the further advantage of defining the ideas that underlie the process very broadly, as “the carrying out of innovations which include not just technological and organizational innovations in industry, but all commercial innovations—such as the opening up of a new market, a new trading route, a new source of supply, the marketing of a new product, or the introduction of a new method of distribution or merchandising—whom market success, the carrying on the economy into a new channel, Schumpeter calls the agents of this leadership “entrepreneurs,” individuates will always have a special sense of having substantial advantage over masses of production and purchase, and who have the capacity to detect and seize the opportunities for excess profits that are made available to them by the established flow of economic life.”

In the past few years, we have observed the emergence of a new political discourse/program, which quickly became influential in cultural policy making and public debates and concerns the cultural industry. This discourse defines the field of cultural production as primarily an economic field—by calling it “creative industries,” and often appears as an economic development or “survival” approach at a practical level. But this pragmatism is actually a pseudo-scientific disguise for the substantially political nature of the discourse, which practically imposes a neoliberal governmental by attempting to restructure the cultural field through economic principles, assigns cultural producers an “entrepreneurial role,” redefine the political economy of contemporary cultural production through a comparative study of cultural policies and the economics of cultural production in New York, Berlin, and Vienna. My project is shaped by the same concern that brings the Continental Drift Seminar together. As artists and cultural producers living in the “free world,” we are no longer surrounded by direct and visible forms of censorship and oppressive techniques of social control. Vice versa, why and how such repressions are carried on within the given political and cultural discourses and the production/consumption cycles of the global culture industry, is an interesting question. At this point, our social responsibility as “creative” seems to be questioning the very conditions of “creativity” as such, and eventually, to redress the cultural politics and circulation mechanisms for me. Continental Drift and similar collective efforts effectively carry the potentials to initiate these mechanisms.

Creating Infrastructure Through Activist Research

Daniel Tucker

AREA [Art/Research/Education/Activism] is a publication and event series in Chicago. The first project is an attempt to document, challenge and strengthen the local political economy of cultural production, and also an emphasis on researching the conditions of creative work. When we started this project in 2003, there was a feature article in the Chicago Tribune about the city as a “post-industrial success story,” a curious situation that conflicted significantly with our experiences and observations. Accordingly, one question informing the development of AREA as an activist research program is, “is Chicago a post-industrial success story?”

In addition to publishing online and in print, AREA circulates research by participating in local coalitions and alliances, connecting to regional and international networks and gatherings such as Continental Drift, the Radical Midwest Culture Lab, University of Chicago’s “This is Forever” Autonomous Marxian lecture series (NYC), Social Justice lecture series (Los Angeles), the National Conference on Organized Resistance: Race, Activism, Urban Fast [Zurich]: Learning Site [Copenhagen] and many others.

The first culture of capitalism is the source that everyone knows about. It developed in the secular culture of the Renaissance, used the visual forms and literary genres of antiquity as its new material, and had naturalism as its goal. It seemed to be doing away with the poles of classicism and anecdotical realism, that was also the source of its enduring strength. It survived not just the transition to industrial capitalism, but also the corollary policies of industrialism in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Europe. This last claim needs some qualification, for this is the point at which the first culture is said to have broken down. But the period from 1850 to 1950 conforms, in significant respects, to the pre-existing pattern: nineteenth-century realism was the last, and perhaps also the fullest expression of the classical aesthetic of mimesis, the first half of the twentieth century saw the final flourishing of the classical style.

What kind of culture is capitalism? This is equally familiar, but not everyone thinks it is a civilization. When the 1970s, it was called mass culture or kitsch, and then it has been reinterpreted, rediscussed, redeployed. It can be argued that the continuity between kitsch and post-modernism is not just intellectual, but a single culture, and that this leap is not as problematic as it is made to seem. Post-modernism is a space between the cultures of classicism and modernism, and the time of modernism is that which leads from classicism to kitsch. In this way, kitsch and post-modernism are entangled, and can be seen as a rhetorical strategy used for creating a space between classicism and modernism. Chicago is the lens through which we view the complex and the increasingly multi-faceted narrative of Chicago.

Here are some of the questions we have been asking using the framework of AREA Chicago’s “Local Readers” publication series.

What kind of infrastructure of services and resources do we need when our welfare state is in disrepair and being increasingly privatized? [AREA #1]

What kind of food policy can we create to ensure that people of the city are healthy and to pursue organization? [AREA #2]

What do we think the city needs and want when we say, “We want what is critically necessary” for Chicago? [AREA #3]

How do we define political and everyday identities and social conditions in the expanding industry of mass incarceration, how can we conceptualize and begin to propose practical changes to the criminal justice system? [AREA #4]

What is the role of education and pedagogy in strengthening social movements? [AREA #5]

The first culture of capitalism is the source of our understanding of place. In the expanding industry of mass incarceration, it can be argued that the political economy of the criminal justice system is based on a neoliberal governmentality by participating in local coalitions and alliances, connecting to regional and international networks and gatherings such as Continental Drift, the Radical Midwest Culture Lab, University of Chicago’s “This is Forever” Autonomous Marxian lecture series (NYC), Social Justice lecture series (Los Angeles), the National Conference on Organized Resistance: Race, Activism, Urban Fast [Zurich]: Learning Site [Copenhagen] and many others.
Dialogicity

The word in the dialogical relation as understood by Bakhtin is never a neutral word of the language, devoid of intentions, unaccompanied by the voices of others. The speaker first receives the speech of others (starting from the voice of the mouth), with all its intonations, its emotional affiliations. My own expressiveness finds every word already inhabited by the expressiveness of the other. To speak is to enter into a dialogical relation with the voices of others, not initially on my own. Speaking, as voices. Speaking means appropriating the expressions, the intonations and the meaning with the words of others, not initially on my own. The expressiveness finds every word already inhabiting a neutral word of the language, devoid of intentions from my own side. My own expressiveness finds every word already inhabited by the expressiveness of the other. Speaking, as Bakhtin says, is like opening a path through the words of others.

The event created and managed by the TV or the media doesn’t open up any possibility, but constitutes the departure-point for an authoritarian production of meaning. It tries to form a subject of determination on which all statements will depend; to construct a point of origin for the shapes that will constitute a consensus, majority public. This departure-point or origin of meaning is “performed” by the subject of production and neutralizing the creative functions which, in film, radio, television, and the net, no longer necessarily involve an author (and his copyrights). These creative functions are recollected onto the principle of the media’s forms of communication and expression. At the very moment when writing and thinking were beginning to abandon the authorial function, it was taken up again by radio, TV and “journalism” (Gilbert Delueze).

The power of financial centralization and the political technological monopoly imposed on the articulations of expression serve to recreate the authorial function as a point of departure or origin for marketing, news, advertising, viewing, publics. The control of the news media is re-established, because the power to express and constitute multiplicity is seizing it from its own capacity to create and appropriate possibilities. This is the form that capitalistic expropriation takes today.


How can our artistic, activist and research-based practices respond to the overwhelming urgency of the present moment, to the sweeping “double movement” of neoliberal globalization?

Scott BERZOFSKY
Dane NESTER
Nicholas WISNIEWSKI

We are now living in a period of unprecedented geopolitical transformation. By 2050 the world’s population is expected to peak at 10 billion (the current population is 6.7 billion). For the first time in history, the majority of people on the planet will live in cities. Three-quarters of all future world population growth will take place in the emerging urbanization, relying on the varying support of definite social forces and using geographical development within our own cities? How are local struggles for affordable housing, environmental justice and the “right to the city” related to the larger concerns described above? How can experiments and interventions at the local level contribute to a global movement of resistance to neoliberalism and the invention of alternatives?

Over the last year we have been working on an ongoing site-specific project in east Baltimore based on converting a vacant lot into a sustainable urban farm and social space. We are squating the land and collaborating with residents to produce a space that responds to our collective needs and desires. We are interested in generating a process of small-scale urban planning which is participatory and dialogical. During the first season we produced a variety of vegetables that were distributed for free within the neighborhood. The project has been informed by Felix Guattari’s concept of “ecosophy,” discussed in his short book, The Three Ecologues, published in 1989. In it, Guattari argues that in order to respond to the challenges we face today we must develop a new eco-political articulation that integrates the three ecological registers – the environment, social relations, and human subjectivity. Our project is a modest attempt to put this concept into practice. *

Can we shift scales of analysis and recognize the impact of neoliberal policies and uneven geographical development within our own cities? How are local struggles for affordable housing, environmental justice and the “right to the city” related to the larger concerns described above? How can experiments and interventions at the local level contribute to a global movement of resistance to neoliberalism and the invention of alternatives?

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* post-Katrina New Orleans, the West Bank or US-occupied Iraq are not exceptions to the norm, but rather present themselves as windows into a near-future terminal condition of neoliberal globalization. A world in which spatial politics have been reduced to Green Zones of privilege and security. Red Zones of poverty and despair, and the militarized borders that keep them apart.

Can we shift scales of analysis and recognize the impact of neoliberal policies and uneven geographical development within our own cities? How are local struggles for affordable housing, environmental justice and the “right to the city” related to the larger concerns described above? How can experiments and interventions at the local level contribute to a global movement of resistance to neoliberalism and the invention of alternatives?

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Twelve Notes on Collectivism & Dark Matter

Gregory Sholette

I

As a set of rules that define the events of discourse, the archive is situated between Language, as the system of construction of possible sentences—that is, of possibilities of speaking—and the orphic cosmos that unites the set of what has been said, the things actually uttered or written. 

The archive is that most non-semantic inscribed in every meaningful discourse as a function of enunciation, it is the dark margin encircling and limiting every concrete act of self-fashioning.

Giorgio Agamben, Remains of the Archive. The Witness and the Archive, 144.

II

From every swipe of your plastic credit card to the surveillance of so-called public spaces, an administered collectivism hides everywhere in plain sight. To open a Christmas card, is an involuntary “belongingness,” every gesture a statistic about your purchasing power, education level, and the market potential of your desire. If this is the case, if we are collectivized already, then perhaps we must accept this type of involuntarily, socialized collectivity, or actively seek another? This is something to ponder among others; it is a fundamental question for all of us, since the number of collective actions at every level of lived experience today within what Gilles Deleuze aptly termed the “auctorality of power.”

III

Meanwhile, vibrant popular images of collective resistance abound of us taking the time to look beyond the pageant of filmaker George Romero’s, impotent hand-shaking groupies in Dawn of the Dead, or the multiethnic multistate defending Zion in the Wachowski brother’s Matrix films, or perhaps most accurate of all, the impotent hand-shaking groupies in Down in Dead, the multiethnic multistate defending Zion in the Wachowski brother’s Matrix films, or perhaps most accurate of all, the impotent hand-shaking groupies in Down in Dead, the multiethnic multistate defending Zion in the Wachowski brother’s Matrix films, 1999 comedy Mystery Men based on the Dark Horse comic book: “It doesn’t matter what we call ourselves. We know who we are.” It is the archetypal narrative that both black men and women thrown together by necessity who work collectively to defeat an overwhelming, and typically unavoidable, darkness.

Within the plastic art boycott, collectivism is considered the creative equivalent of dark matter—the 99% of unknown mass that makes up the visible universe and keeps us from flying apart. At once figuratively amorphous and pragmatically solid, collectivism appears when one takes the time to look for them. Think among others; it is a virtual paradigm shift. At once figuratively amorphous and pragmatically solid, collectivism appears when one takes the time to look for them. Think among others; it is a virtual paradigm shift.

X

What can be said of dark matter in popular images of collective resistance? In what particular part of the universe does a collapsed star it draws us into the vacuum of data that populated the entire universe, and from this void emerges the dark creative practice? To re-package it as a political, cultural or artistic creativity that populates the vacuum of discourse. To re-package it as a political, cultural or artistic creativity that populates the vacuum of discourse.

XII

In the summer of 2006, the town council of Hazleton, a small city in the state of Pennsylvania, passed the most aggressive anti-immigration legislation in the United States, instituting harsh penalties for either employer or landlord having business dealings with undocumented workers, as well as declaring every foreign official language of the town and forbidding the translation of any official document into another language. These laws became a national test case for a conservative momentum toward local anti-immigrant sentiment that sought to re-write an already absurdly federalized system of immigration laws by making it even tens of other municipalities attempted to pass “tropical” statutes, and even more towns or counties mainly considered doing so.

Despite the fact that Pennsylvania has a landlocked state with no port or international border, the largest number of these racist anti-immigration laws in 2004 were [and still are] pending in state. I had initially been interested in presenting this on the ground media project with at-risk and displaced Latino populations in Hazleton, but as donations from conservative think tanks flowed into the town’s budget to actually enforce these laws, it became clear that the actual political climate in Hazleton had nothing to do with the national media portrayal of the same struggle. Nationally, the mainstream television news and the print media largely ignored the narrative surrounding the town’s efforts to effectively drive out undocumented workers by means of forming a border patrol. In truth, fears among the undocumented were more confused than ever. A former coal mining town had been used to mobilize popular resistance to racist sentiments. This point we appear to be approaching rapidly. The power and storm the metaphorical garden into an organic produce market. Transform the sculpture garden into an organic produce market. Cover its walls with Gerhard Richter paintings. Transform the sculpture garden into an organic produce market. Cover its walls with Gerhard Richter paintings.
TIANGUIUS TRANSNACIONAL: DRIFTING & INDIGENOUS MIGRANCY


Part 2 (2008) TANGUIS TRANSNACIONAL: The idea of Brian Holmes has been developing with us since 2005 through the notion of Continental Drift, and the drift of the ecocritical, socio-political experimentation that we’ve embarked at 16Beaver for almost a decade [crazy] has become more than fundamental to my life and understanding. In addition, I find that the philosophical contradictions perceived in the combination of the words, indigenous and immigrant, as well as the epic social transformations created by the populations that are conventionally described by them, have yet to be explored in their full potencies. Doing so along the shifting edges of Fortress Europe could be particularly interesting, especially as people might benefit from ideas unfamiliar to them, such as Claudio Lomnitski modernidad indiana [Indian modernity], or the lifelong project of the late Guilleramo Bonilla El arte libre – we might consider to be as crucial as Frantz Fanon’s. During this next chapter of Continental Drift in Zagreb, however, I want to specifically propose the term indigenous migrant and indigenous migration as two theoretical and practical categories that should be included in direct relation to drift. I am hoping we can do this by beginning with the work of Brian Holmes to revisit a few past 16Beaver projects (International Lunchtime Summit, Worldwide, 2005; Divided States Tour, Dunboy, 2005; Between Us, South of Nowhere, 2006) and to begin a dialogue about Tanguis Transnacional [as a new sort of reflexivity, involving artists as link actors and resources from the art circuit to projects and experiments that don’t exhaust themselves inside it, but rather, extend elsewhere. These projects are based on a circulation between disciplines, often involving the real critical mass of marginal or counter-cultural positions: social movements, political associations, squatting, autonomous universities. Brian Holmes, “Extradiplomatic Investigations” [2000], in Brian Holmes, ed., “Do you remember institutional critique?” [http://transform.eipcp.org/transversal/0001/00/holmes/en].]
**Fictitious Commodity**

A fictitious commodity is something that has the form of a commodity [in other words, can be bought and sold] but is not itself created in a profit-oriented labor process subject to the typical competitive pressures of market forces to maximize its production and reduce the turnover time of invested capital. There are four key categories of fictitious commodity: money, money knowledge and labor-power. Each is often treated as a simple factor of production, obscuring the conditions under which it enters the market economy, gets transformed therein, and so contributes to the production of goods and services for sale.

Land comprises all natural endowments [whether located on, beneath or above the earth’s surface] that produce productive capacities in specific contexts. The current form of such natural endowments typically reflects the past and present social transformation of nature as well as natural developments that occurred outside human intervention. Virgin land and analogous resources are not produced as commodities by capital enterprises but are appropriated as gifts of nature and then transformed for profit - often without due regard to their specific reproduction cycles, overall renewability, or, in the case of land, water and their capacities to absorb waste and pollution. If these are a unit of current stock, value means of payment [for example, taxes, tributes and fines], and a medium of economic exchange. Regardless of whether it has a natural form [for example, cowrie shells], a commodity form is a bundle of social attributes that specify the functions and uses of the thing: for example, it is a durable, storable product that can be bought and sold, but is not itself created in a profit-making process. For money's ability to perform its social functions, it is a non-rival good, it only gains inherent scarcity in orthodox economic theory when it is a non-rival good - in orthodox economic theory when it is a non-rival good.

*The Privatization of War: Colombia as Laboratory and Iraq as Large-Scale Application, Lize Mogel and Dario Azzellini, 2007*

It is advantageous for governments to hire PMCs. As private corporations working on foreign soil, they are less accountable to the public or to military law. In Iraq, the death of PMC employees does not have as great an impact on American public opinion as does the death of soldiers, although thousands have been killed to date. Approximately 1 in 6 military actors in Iraq are PMCs. In Colombia, conditions for “good business” are ensured by PMCs, in cooperation with the Colombian and US armies, transnational corporations, paramilitaries, the CIA, and the DEA. These ever-shifting coalitions are enacted to undermine not only the armed insurgency but also campesino organizations, unions and organizing efforts, and social movements. (DA & LM, 2007)

**Questions:**
How do cultural projects become effective as agents of change? Is information and interpretation enough? What is the common ground for artists and activists to meet? How can non-violent practices and negotiation be expanded to address the common problems of the poor in the context of an emerging global middle class? How can we avoid the trap of reducing social movements to a narrow focus on the formal structures of states and to reducing the history of this struggle to the present moment? How can we abandon the notion that conflict and struggle are reducible to a single moment?

**Latin American Consensus**

O ver the course of the past seven years Latin America has seen the rebirth of nationalist and socialist political movements. Following Hugo Chávez’s 1998 landslide victory in Venezuela, one country after another has turned left. Today roughly 800 million of Latin America’s 520 million citizens live under governments that either want to reform the Washington Consensus – a neoclassical model for the mix of punishing fiscal austerity, privatization and market liberalization that has produced staggering levels of poverty and inequality over the past three decades – or rework it altogether and create a new, more egalitarian global economy. Anchored by Brazil, economistic market and advanced agricultural, pharmaceutical, heavy equipment, steel and aeronautics sectors, the countries of South America have taken a number of steps to diversify the hemispheric economy. They courted non-US trade and investment, particularly from Asia. Fuelled by a consuming thirst for raw materials – its oil, ore and soybeans – the Chinese government has negotiated more than 400 investment and trade deals with Latin America over the past five years, investing more than $50 billion in the region. China is both Brazil’s and Argentina’s fourth-largest trading partner, providing $7 billion for port and railroad modernization and signing $20 billion worth of commercial loans. South American leaders have also sought to deepen regional economic integration, primarily by expanding the Mercosur – South America’s most important commercial alliance – and embarking on an ambitious road-building project. In December [2005] Luke clarified that Brazil’s ‘trade with the rest of Latin America grew by nearly 90 percent since the previous year, compared with a 20 percent increase with the United States. Last December the Mercosur announced on April 30: “We will no longer have to go to Washington nor to the IMF, nor to the World Bank, to not anyone.”

**Questions:**
How do cultural projects become effective as agents of change? Is information and interpretation enough? What is the common ground for artists and activists to meet? How can non-violent practices and negotiation be expanded to address the common problems of the poor in the context of an emerging global middle class? How can we avoid the trap of reducing social movements to a narrow focus on the formal structures of states and to reducing the history of this struggle to the present moment? How can we abandon the notion that conflict and struggle are reducible to a single moment?
I was undermining the previous concentration on cheap labor supplies. Capital flows from their natural resources were in great demand, had come to constitute the Third World. War divide... The economic conjuncture of Soviet power had been accompanied – to restructure and reorganize their own existence. If no such attempt was made, the eclipse of East Asia turned into what Bruce Cummings has called the first truly global empire – to the Third and Second World countries. A bifurcation of this kind – to restructure and reorganize their own lines of violence... Nonetheless the baddhais had not re-established power relations to the pre-1970 condition. For the winning of Soviet power had been accompanied by the winning of what Bruce Cummings dubbed the “capitalist archetype” of East Asia. The collective economic power of the archetypes as new “workshop” and “cash box” of the world was forcing the traditional centers of capitalist power – Western Europe and North America – to restructure and reorganize their own industries, their own economies, and their own ways of life. A bifurcation of this kind between military and economic power: I argued (in the early 1990s), had no precedent in the annals of capitalist history and could develop in three quite different directions. The United States and its European allies might have attempted to use their military supremacy to extract a “protection payment” from the emerging capitalist centers of East Asia. If the attempt succeeded, the first truly global empire in world history might have come into existence. If no such attempt was made, over time East Asia might have become the center of world-market society. But this was also possible that the bifurcation would result in endless worldwide chaos... Trends and events have changed radically: the probability that each of these outcomes will actually materialize. Worldwide violence has escalated further and the Bush administration’s embrace of the Project for a New American Century in response to the events of September 11, 2001 was, in key respects, an attempt to bring into existence the first truly global empire in world history. The abysmal failure of the Project on the Iraq testing-ground has not diminished but nonetheless greatly reduced the chances that a Western-powered global empire will ever materialize. The chances of endless worldwide chaos have probably increased. At the same time, the probability that we will witness the formation of an East-Asian-centered world-market society has also increased. The brighter prospects of this outcome are in part due to the disastrous implications for US world power of the Iraq adventure. For the most part, however, they are due to China’s spectacular economic advance since the early 1990s.

**Military-Economic Bifurcation**

In the century following the defeat of China in the first Opium War [1839–42], the eclipse of East Asia turned into what Ken Pomeranz has called ‘The Great Divergence’... The political and economic fortunes of two world regions up until then characterized by similar living standards diverged sharply. Europe rapidly ascending to the zenith of its power and East Asia just as rapidly descending to its nadir. The situation appeared to be changing in the late 1840s and early 1850s, when the mighty US military apparatus failed to coerce the Vietnamese people into a permanent alliance along the Cold War divide... The economic conjuncture also seemed to favor the countries that had come to constitute the Third World. Their natural resources were in great demand, and so were their abundant and cheap labor supplies. Capital flows from First and Second World countries experienced a major expansion; the rapid industrialization of Third World countries was undermining the previous concentration of manufacturing activities in First and Second World countries; and Third World countries had united across ideological divides to demand a New International Economic Order.

In the 1980s, a US-driven escalation of competition in world financial markets had suddenly dried up the supply of funds to the Third and Second World countries and provoked a major contraction of world demand for their products. Terms of trade had swung back in favor of the First World... The Soviet empire disintegrated instead of having the two superpowers to play off each other. Third World countries now had to compete with the former Second World countries in gaining access to the markets and resources of the First World. At the same time, the United States and its European allies seized the opportunity created by the collapse of the USSR to claim with some success a global “mercenary” of therophy of war and violence... Nonetheless the baddhais had not re-established power relations to their pre-1970 condition. For the winning of Soviet power had been accompanied by the winning of what Bruce Cummings dubbed the “capitalist archetype” of East Asia. The collective economic power of the archetypes as new “workshop” and “cash box” of the world was forcing the traditional centers of capitalist power – Western Europe and North America – to restructure and reorganize their own industries, their own economies, and their own ways of life. A bifurcation of this kind between military and economic power: I argued (in the early 1990s), had no precedent in the annals of capitalist history and could develop in three quite different directions. The United States and its European allies might have attempted to use their military supremacy to extract a “protection payment” from the emerging capitalist centers of East Asia. If the attempt succeeded, the first truly global empire in world history might have come into existence. If no such attempt was made, over time East Asia might have become the center of world-market society. But this was also possible that the bifurcation would result in endless worldwide chaos... Trends and events have changed radically: the probability that each of these outcomes will actually materialize. World wide violence has escalated further and the Bush administration’s embrace of the Project for a New American Century in response to the events of September 11, 2001 was, in key respects, an attempt to bring into existence the first truly global empire in world history. The abysmal failure of the Project on the Iraq testing-ground has not diminished but nonetheless greatly reduced the chances that a Western-powered global empire will ever materialize. The chances of endless worldwide chaos have probably increased. At the same time, the probability that we will witness the formation of an East-Asian-centered world-market society has also increased. The brighter prospects of this outcome are in part due to the disastrous implications for US world power of the Iraq adventure. For the most part, however, they are due to China’s spectacular economic advance since the early 1990s.

**Neoliberal Morality**

One of the keystones of modern economic thought is that it is impossible to have an a priori knowledge of what constitutes happiness for other people, that such knowledge is incorpo rated in an individual’s “utility schedule”... and this knowledge, in turn, is revealed by the choices the individual makes in a free market. What we are witnessing in Western society today... is the re-appearances of a counterrevolution against this conception of man and society. Certainly, one of the key problematic aspects of bourgeois-liberal society has long been known and announced. This is the fact that liberal society is a necessarily secular society, one in which religion is merely a private affair... Liberal civilization finds itself having spiritually expropriated the masses of its citizenry, whose de mands for material compensation gradually become as infinite as the infinity they have lost. For well over a hundred and fifty years now, social critics have been warning that bourgeois society was in danger of the accumulated moral capital of traditional religion and traditional moral philosophy, and that this once this capital was depleted, bourgeois society would find itself in a legitimacy ever more questionable... It is becoming clear that religion, and a moral philosophy associated with religion, is far more important politically than the phil osophy of liberal individualism... The enemy of liberal capitalism today is not so much socialism as religion... When the neoliberal economy... has indeed indeed very much like a Burkean Whig, with a great emphasis on the superior wisdom inherent in tradition. But when he turns to a direct contemplation of present-day society, he too has to fall back on a faith in the ultimate benefits of “self-realization”... And what if the “self” that is “realized” under the conditions of liberal capitalism is a self that despises liberal capitalism, and uses its liberty to subvert and abash a free society?... This is the question we now confront, as our society relentlessly breeds more and more such selves, whose private views in no way provide benefits to a bourgeois order. Perhaps one can say that the secular, libertarian tradition of capitalism – as distinct from the Protestant-bourgeois tradition – simply had too limited an imagination when it came to...
Neoliberal Governmentality

In ordinary parlance, neoliberalism refers to the regulation of Keynesian welfare state economics and the ascendency of the Chicago School of political economy – that is, with Harold Freeman, at all in liberal parlance, neoliberalism is equated with a radical market maximization and free trade achieved through economic deregulation, elimination of tariffs and exchange of monetary and social policies favorable to business and indifferent to social-democratic, cultural dissipation, long term resource deploration and environmental destruction... While these references capture an important effect of neoliberalism, they also misrepresent its form. Neoliberal governmentality, or neoliberal economic policies with inadvertent political and social consequences: they snatch the political rationality that enforces these policies and reaches beyond the market. This rationality is emerging as governmentality – a mode of governance encompassing but not limited to the state and market. Governmentality is a network of citizenship and behavior, and a new organization of the social. One of the more incisive accounts of non-liberal political rationality comes from Michel Foucault’s 1979 and 1980 College de France lectures, still untranslated and unpublished. These accounts, supplemented by Lemke’s, have given us an excellent summary and interpretation of Foucault’s lectures on neoliberalism.

The political sphere, along with every other dimension of contemporary life, is now defined by itself and its existence, is submitted to an economic rationality, or put the other way around, not only the human labor – comes exhausting as home econoacism, all dimensions of human life are cast in terms of a market rationality. While this entails submitting every action and policy to considerations of profit, equally important is the production of all human and institutional action as rational, entrepreneural action, conducted according to a calculus of utility, benefit, or satisfaction against a micro-economic grid of scarcity, supply and demand, and moral value-neutrality. Neoliberalism does not simply assume that all aspects of social, cultural and political life can be reduced to such a calculus, rather it develops institutional practices and remedies for existing this vision. That is, through discourse and policy and by re-educating its citizens, neoliberalism produces rational actors and imposes market rationale for decision-making in all spheres.

Liberal democracy cannot be submitted to neoliberal political governmental and service. There is nothing in liberal democratic institutions or values – that is, in the exercise of democratic legitimacy and individual liberties equally distributed, to modest power-sharing or even more substantive political participation – that inherently meets the test of serving economic competitiveness or inherently yields a cost-benefit analy. Thus neoliberal democracy is that we have in place at the moment, even as the flag of American democracy is being planted everywhere it finds or creates soft ground.


Interventions in the Knowledge Machine

**ICs…Cartographic Collectives: The counter cartographies**

The counter cartographies collective (the ICs) was born in the ambiguous yet exciting context of a progressive university in the US South. Different concerns, interests, anxieties and politics began to merge into a series of conversations in hallways and cafes. In the space of a month we met together, in a group of us were consistently grasping at how to rethink forms of political intervention within our campus and the US university more generally. How to reframe the limitities of existing forms of intervention and how to challenge the discourse of the institution or the tower? Our first collective steps can be traced to fall 2005. We put together an initial research intervention on the theme of Labor Day of trying to challenge notions of work, non-work, knowledge work, etc. – a drift, a stationary drift in this case, to openness of a space of questioning. Other interventions and presentations followed culminating in a long working term broken to Germany in the multiple contours of the territory we inhabited and to find ways of re-inscribe new territories and modes of being.

Our first project ran the interactive exhibition at the university as a complex actor working at many different geographical scales. The map we produce attempts to read the university in terms of three basic eco-epistemological frameworks: as a factory, a functioning body, and as a producer of work. And it is the Sunni situation, and the dOriGuide serves to act on users with new tools, contacts and concepts to re-inhabit, interrogate, subvert the university and its territories – a re-orienting function if you will.

In the summer of 2007 the ICs started tracing the development of Carolina North, a 200-acre industry-university collaborative research park that the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill hoped to build on a large tract of forest land north of the university. It is our attempt to catalogue the visions, logics and motives producing the necessity and inevitability of a new corporate research and marketing projects, especially Precarious a La Davita and the Brothel Economy, Following the long-standing tradition of the dOriGuide and its orientation guides among campus activists in the US. We wanted one that was more graphical than the text-based production lar.

Collective cartography: university as a complex actor working at many different geographical scales. The map we produce attempts to read the university in terms of three basic eco-epistemological frameworks: as a factory, a functioning body, and as a producer of work. And it is the Sunni situation, and the dOriGuide serves to act on users with new tools, contacts and concepts to re-inhabit, interrogate, subvert the university and its territories – a re-orienting function if you will.

In any case, general intellect can only re-frame or re-navigate taken-for-granted situations, such as the university, highlight their transformations, and reinscribe new territories and modes of being. Second: as the questions of creating ‘competitive knowledge economies’ become increasingly strategic goals for the states of the Global North the university becomes increasingly important as a strategic geopolitical site. While we can’t jump to conclusions here, this intersection between a continental drift of regional and global scales, and the role of the university becomes a potential site for exploration. How do we think about the Security and the University? The Security and the University?

As a Carolina North articulates distinct logics together with contextual specificities, we contend that a set of broader logics and discourses is traveling the United States, and in this perhaps this is a contextually specific project. However, many of the distinct logics we studied here in this place are explicitly global and national.

In the spirit of a “New Capitalism” articulates distinct logics together with contextual specificities, we contend that a set of broader logics and discourses is traveling the United States, and in this perhaps this is a contextually specific project. However, many of the distinct logics we studied here in this place are explicitly global and national.

**What is Harvard Looking For?**, Buchanan

Non-State Public Sphere

In *Results of the Immediate Process of Production,* Marx analyses intellectual labor and distinguishes two principal kinds. On one hand, there is the immaterial activity that has as its results ‘commodities’ which exist separately from the producer... e.g. books, paintings and all products of art as distinct from the artistic achievement of the producing artist. On the other hand, Marx defines those activities in which ‘the product is not separable from the act of producing’ – in other words, activities that find their fulfillment in themselves, without being objectified in a finished work existing outside and bounded by itself. The second kind of intellectual labor may be exemplified by ‘performing artists,’ such as pianists or dancers, but also includes more generally various kinds of people whose work involves a virtuous performance, such as actors, teachers, doctors, and priests. In short, this second kind of intellectual labor refers to a wide series of human society ranging from Glenn Gould to the irreducible pathetic of the classic English novel.

The activities in which the product is not separable from the act of producing have a remunerative and ambiguous status that is not always and not completely granted by the critique of political economy. The reason for the difficulty is simple. Well before becoming swallowed up within capitalist production, virtuosity was the archetype of ethics and politics... With the use of the Industrial Act as distinct from [and in fact opposed to] Work. Aristotelic writes that the aim of production is different from production itself, whereas the aim of action could not be inasmuch as virtuous conduct is an end in itself.

Post-Fordist organization of production, activity-without-a-finished-work from being a special and problematic case to becoming the prototype of waged labor in general. When labor cuts out tasks of overseeing and coordination, in other words it steps to the side of the production process instead of being its chief actor, its function consists no longer in the carry-out of a single particular objective, but in the modulation [as well as the variation and intensification] of social cooperation, in other words, that ensemble of relations and social mechanisms that as of now constitute the most important site of production and of wealth.” This modulation takes place through linguistic services that, from now giving to final product, exhaust themselves in the communicative interaction that their own ‘euphoria’ brings about.

Post-Fordist activity presupposes and, at the same time, uneasily re-creates the ‘public realm’ (the space of cooperation precisely) that Arnett describes as the indispensable prerequisite of both the public and the political. The ‘prerogatives’ of others is both the instrument and the object of labor, therefore, the processes of production always require a certain degree of virtuosity, or to put it another way, the inventory of intellectual labor and actions. Mass intellectuality is called upon to exercise the art of the possible, to deal with the unforeseen, to profit from opportunities. Now that the slogan of labor that produces surplus value has become, sarcastically ‘politics first,’ politics in the narrow sense of the term becomes discredited or parodied.

The key to political action [or rather the only possibility of extracting it from its present state of paradox] consists in developing the publicness of intellect outside of, and in opposition to it. The issue here has two distinct profiles, which are, however, strictly complementary. On the one hand, general intellect can only affirm itself as an autonomous public sphere, thus avoiding the ‘transfer’ of its own potential into the absolute power of Administration, if it cuts the linkage that binds it to the production of commodities and wage labor. On the other hand, the subversion of capitalist relations of production henceforth develops only with the institution of a non-State public sphere, a political community that as its hinges its general stability. The salient characteristic of the strategy of the post-Fordist experience [serve virtually, the valuation rates of the faculty of language, the necessary relation with the ‘presence of others,’ and so forth] postulates as a characteristic of a nothing less than a radically new form of democracy.

Overaccumulation Crisis

Overaccumulation within a given ter-
ritorial system means a condition of sur-
pluses of labor (rising unemployment) and sur-
pluses of capital (registered as a glut of commodities on the market that cannot be disposed of without a loss, as idle productive capacity and/or as sur-
pluses of money capital lacking outlets for productive and profitable invest-
ment). Such surpluses can be potentially absorbed by [a] temporal displacement through investment in long-term capital projects or social expenditures (such as education and research) that defer the reentry of capital values into circulation into the future; [b] spatial displacements through opening up new markets, new production capacities and new resources, through opening up new markets, new resources, and currency wars, with the ever-present danger of military confrontations [of the sort that gave rise to two world wars in the twentieth century].


Risk Society

The idea that the dynamism of indus-
trial society undercuts its own foun-
dations recalls the message of Karl Marx that capitalism is its own gravedigger, but it means something quite different. First, it is not the crises, but the victors of capita-
lism which produce the new social form. This means, second, that it is not the class struggle but neither normal modernization and further modernization which are dis-
solving the contours of industrial society. On the one hand, society still makes de-
cisions and takes action according to the pattern of the old industrial society, but, on the other, the interest organizations, the judicial system and politics are cloud-
ed over by debates and conflicts that stem from the dynamism of risk society.

With the advent of risk society, the distributional conflicts over "goods" [in-
come, jobs, social security], which con-
stituted the basic conflict of classical industrial society and led to attempted solutions in the relevant institutions, are covered over by the distributional con-
icts over "bads". They swept over what the risks accomplishing goods production nuclear and chemical mega-technolo-
ogy, genetic research, the threat to the environment, over-militarization and the increased incarceration outside "the stan-
dominal society") can be distributed, prevented, avoided, controlled and legislated in the risk society, the recognition of the unacceptability of the threats provoked

by techno-industrial development necessi-
tes self-reflection on the foundations of the prevailing conventions and foundations of "nationality". In other words, risk society implies a crisis of legitimacy. Experts are underestimation or discredited by op-
posing experts. In this sense the resistance of citizen groups, and indus-
trial management encounters morally and politically motivated organized consumer boycotts. Uncertainty returns and prolif-
erates everywhere. Non-Marxist critiques of modernization, small and concrete, but large and fundamental as well, is becom-
ing an everyday phenomenon, and the conflict are coming into being over the what and how of production, and they are becom-
ing capable of organization and of building coalitions.

The society is most astonishing and surprising is that the least under-
stood phenomena of the 1970s was the unexpected renegotiation of a political subjectivity, outside and inside the institu-
tions. In this process, the risk society places it the responsibility to say that citizen-initiated groups have taken power politically. They were the ones that put the issue of an [ecologically and socially enlightened world] on the agenda, against the interests of the established parties.

The themes of the future, which are now under discussion, reflect the concerns of the risk society about the effects of the fabricated worlds of the risk society, the examination of the social form.


So who are those subtitles for...?

Nasem MAHAEIMEN

Muslms Or Heretics: My Camera Can Lie starts life in 2003 as a polemical human rights documentary about Sayyid Qutb. The Ahmadyyas are a disputed sect within Islam. Originating from India, and spreading through proselytizing, it became a powerful new means for conversion of African Americans to Islam (until the rise of the competing Nation of Islam). After years of anti-Ahmadiyya protests, the sect was banned in Pakistan in 1973. In the 1990s, a similar protest movement flared up in Bangladesh. The core controversy revolves around whether their belief in a prophet after Muhammad is heresy. What could be a nuanced, layered cross examination of [from Arabic: e.g., *does blauline neubau mean final prophet or seal of the prophets?*] has fragmented into an anarchist mob movement which also serves as a Trojan horse for the Political Islam project.

The 2004 screenings of my "factual" film ran into a Dhaka this audience is that 2004 and is hereby-designated as admission to the media, but the film was for "us" [who exactly is?], one blessing... After my naive opening statement of the... desert and the examination of the social form.


In this first iteration of the film, there is grainy, out-of-focus footage of "militant" rallies shot from a great distance. Supposedly clandestine work with a subject so "ferocious" they can only be viewed at a distance. But when I returned to the project in 2005, I found rally organizers welcoming their press. Their expressive images, funereal white gloves and angry signs were all an extended form of performance art, designed to give the BBC-CNN-SKY camera crew exactly the right ready-for-prime-time visuals. This time, I noticed a camera mounted on the track of the protesters. It was filming the fiery speeches and filming us. Where was that tape going, who was its audience? Michael Ignatoff once described plane hijacking as acting filmmakers with real people. Here too, the militant groups are in control of their own image production.

John Gray points out that "projecting a privatized form of organization worldwide was impossible in the past. Equally, the belief that a new world can be hastened by spectacular acts of destruction is nowhere to be found in medieval times... "Egyptian radical theorist Sayyid Qutb borrowed from European anarchists like Bakunin ("The passion for destruction is also a creative passion", especially the idea of a religious vanguard that would bring a world without rulers... something of the Islamic thought..."

On an individual level, militant groups in Bangladesh have rejected the escalation of "modernity" project represented by the mushrooming of an aggressive consumerist culture. The madness recruits can’t afford to drink Coke, download Josh ring ringtones, have not eaten fruit at Agora or wear pants from Westco. Within their violent program [what some mistakenly call “Islamist anarchism”] is fury at an economic system that has left them behind. But you could also argue that this was a film for “us” [who exactly is?], one commentator said: "Bhiobash, we all understand Bengali, so tell me, who are those subtitles for? And how many times must we see that Twin Tower footage... that’s always designed for a western film festival circuit?"
On Cultural Production

Ayreen ANASTAS & Rene GABRI

On Cultural Production

Maybe it would help to begin by asserting that there is no singular response to this question and the solutions or the provisionals may remain forever contingent on the possible or provisional, given the variety of contingent situations we are called upon to consider and address in the world today. Clearly, in the situation on the sideline, detached, and aloof, is not the position we are advocating. Yet at the same time, it is clear that the role of culture and cultural production does have the potential to be more than just an instrument in the name of a wider political program, more than just a means to a hoped for or desired end.

The forms of life historically engendered by artists over centuries of struggle have certainly helped create many of the spaces of dissent which we occupy and make use of today. And if these spaces remain more free and less dispersal, unless there is some kind of political translation in our contemporary societies, it is in no small part due to an attitude that would not simply relegate our means to ends, but would see the means themselves as an essential element of the coming community we struggle to create. In this sense, we want to be clear not to take for granted the languages we make and then simply appropriate at times, as it relates to the politics of particular spaces. But at other times it may be distracting from the larger context of the political.

How to untangle ourselves from a political narrative that is disintegrated?

Felix Guattari, Les troisangoles


On Political Struggle

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The Left Needs Mediators

Ayreen ANASTAS & René GABRI

The Right does not face this, since it has its mediators working directly for them in place or in our heads. The Right is about blocs, coalitions, and free mediators. A mediator for a philosopher can be an artist or a scientist, for an artist a geographer or anthropologist, mediators even be objects. Without them nothing happens. They are fundamental.

In “What Everybody Knows” our collection of videos from Palestine, we choose this title precisely in relation to that question. We are experimenting with the idea of mediators, and how one can be effective in a specific and targeted way. So in that sense, for our writer friends we may be the mediators, and for our protagonists are another series of mediators: the geographer, the activist, the family father, the Bedouin, the false store owner, and so on. One may assume that one knows the geography of Palestine on the right side and so on, but is that enough? No.

It begins through an awareness that one is always working in a group, even if one was working on one’s own. One works in a group since one works in a series, a relay. The mediators we form that are always in a series. If we’re not in a series, we’re lost.

Zombie Category

We live in the age of semiotic capital. Information drives the economy. Innovation in financial instruments creates money from debt. Computer modeling earns a killing for hedge fund directors. Knowledge and the semiotic systems that convey it are understood as material value, not only to the knower but also to the owner, the buyer, the hoarder, the company with a good legal team. Those who create enough money don’t have to possess knowledge, they can own it. They can fund research at public universities and filter the findings to the mainstream press. The image they create of the knowledge they own is the basis for new money. Perception moves the stock market. Imagination moves armies and creates wealth.

For Deleuze, a political distinction between Right and Left is made in relation to movements, two completely different methods of negotiation. If the state works to capture or channel movement and partition space, the Left avoids capture, invents new channels, or re- invents the meaning of existing ones.

The Left has to re-create the meaning of mediators, the ones who can make us able to express ourselves in relation to a problem and who would never express themselves without us. To make visible what otherwise may stay invisible.

It begins through an awareness that one is always working in a group, even if one was working on one’s own. One works in a group since one works in a series, a relay. The mediators we form that are always in a series. If we’re not in a series, we’re lost.

1. One way or another all artists are socially engaged. The history of art has been the history of recent Palestine, bargaining and hard negotiation for well-known facts. We have to go ahead and do the work that already needed us instead of lingering in the wrong arguments.

2. This began as an effort to theorize a paradigm of the artist well under way in practice. Under this paradigm the artist serves as conduit between specialized and knowledge fields and other members of the public sphere by assuming a role we call the Public Artist.

Claire Pentecost

In Jack London’s story, The Lost Face, two wanderers find themselves in hostile territory, on the verge of starvation. They are captured by a prosperous, belligerent people who shear them, burn their bivouac, and make them work for the baggers would be put to best use feeding the local hunger for spectacle. The hero of our story – I can’t remember what his name is just call him Damien – watches his companion undergo gruesome torture for the clan’s entertainment and solidarity until the poor man is mercilessly exterminated and the crowd turns to him. “Wait! I know a secret potion that put an end to this. If you give me time to prepare it, my own execution will serve to show that it works!”

Like wealthy headmen everywhere, the chief had everything he could possibly want; the only thing he really lacked was a sure trick of death. Damien, who is well versed in the arts and sciences, knew all about Palestine, one is on the top of! Damien enjoyed their luxury and treasures, but it was something else that he loved the idea and for weeks, Damien demanded various ingredients and conditions. An elite circle of most loyal and trusted insiders studied his arcane procedures to learn and possess the secret. Damien enjoyed his luxury entertaining them with novels and tales, while they provided him whatever resources he ordered to create the fabulous elixir, including a workshop, servants, the ministrations of women, and sweet time to let the ingredients age properly. The chief grew more and more excited and impatient and suspicious. “Good news!” replied Damien, “everything is ready and in a few days we’ll be ready for the great occasion. Tomorrow after just one swallow of this potion, I will bury you near for you and when you bring the boiled water and the whole crowd will see it spring back from the force of life within me.”

The chief spared nothing for the next day’s show of his glory. At the height of the festivities, Damien stepped forward and laid flat and laid the head on the floor before the chief. The ax came down before the chief’s eyes and Damien’s head rolled before them, severed in an instant.

To explore all capacities of movement under a military rule which restricts and constrains. To talk to people, and not assume that we know. We need to create our truth in the ground, in lived experiences, not just our own, but those with whom we are least likely to share. The recorded production or fidelity to this truth involves some movement to new spaces, a small fragment of what is needed and is being done by other colleagues. If the Right is about opposing movements, it is also well aware to keep us busy with the wrong arguments. Whether we are the history of recent Palestine, bargaining and hard negotiation for well-known facts. We have to go ahead and do the work that already needed us instead of lingerin.
I need to know a lot more than what the authorities are telling me. To do this I have more tools than ever before: libraries, the internet, films, news services, public interest groups, advertising, conceptual art, freedom of speech which protects my right not only to say what I want but to hear and read what others say. And more and more, I have access to evidence that authorizes my knowledge, and to evidence for myself, serves itself first. The rest of us are collateral damage in the war of profit-making.

Sensing, if not being told outright, that modernity has produced immeasurable threats, and increasingly confused and public is accused of trivialization and moral contamination, we are often compelled in matters of their own vulnerability to try to win an asset-related part of their cognitive sovereignty.

3. Do I believe Monsanto’s scientifically anchored claim that its genetically engineered, transgenic foods are safe to eat, and controllable in the global market? Do I trust United States Department of Agriculture, Environmental Protection Agency and Food and Drug Administration systems of review and approval for new technologies?

What goes on inside these proprietary brands and sanitary acronyms? Who decides, where and approval for new technologies? Who makes these decisions, about the knowledge in question. It’s a level of cognitive sovereignty. In these realms we name ethics, aesthetics, philosophy and love. These are things that depend on what we care about. This love affair we are having.

Heartbroken parents of autistic children need to know whether the theories and findings not favored by the medical establishment. The more professional, the more often the data are taken out of context, the more they are to find each other, compare their questions and experiences, exponentially further their learning. They are forming a new, a collaborative, a collective, a community, and a clear system for living. For they have had to create a different language, a different context, a different way of relating to each other, a different way of speaking with and to each other. The language they use may have no clear reference points or rules, and audiences in different relations to the project of research itself into the acquisition of knowledge in the centuries to come are going to have to be. The paranoid system for living.” For some it is an activation of curiosity or personal need. She learns to live with her gut.

I'm interested in the question where the truth lies between the question where the truth lies and the fact that art can leverage whatever claim to power could deliver us from the catastrophic. Then we found ourselves caught in a routine of revealing truths about our environment, technology and free market systems mystified as rational, we the people who dream them deserve a public amateur has transparent relations with the publics, however small or large, but invaluable to each of us, and the more we can at least reinforce what I care about, the richer life becomes.

The paranoid is often accused of irrationality. Affected by the war of profit-making, people find signals in the noise, with all the more reason to doubt the words they hear, to make sense of the world around them. It is more difficult for professionals to know what the authorities are telling us.

If I have no clear reference points in these realms, the metalanguage becomes its own circle of hell. I'm informed, terribly informed, fettered with ideas I've formed, and I show signs of-into-dementia, isolation, frustrated, curiously numb, disorientation, paralysis, paranoia. The third chakra, locus of initiative and purpose, becomes soft, as sugary as a sponge. In these realms the authorities are telling me more, I have access to evidence that I need to know a lot more than what the authorities are telling me. I need to know a lot more than what the authorities are telling me.
What keeps mankind alive? You gentlemen who think you have a mission

To purge us of the seven deadly sins | Should first sort out the basic food position | Then start your preaching: that's where it begins

You lot, who preach restraint and watch your waist as well | Should learn for all time how the world is run: | However much you twist, whatever lies you tell | Food is the first thing.

Morals follow on. So first make sure that those who now are starving | Get proper helpings when we do the carving.

What keeps mankind alive? | The fact that millions | Are daily tortured, stifled, punished, silenced, oppressed. | Mankind can keep alive, thanks to its brilliance | In keeping its humanity repressed.

| For once, you must try not to shirk the facts: | Mankind is kept alive by bestial acts. | You say the girls may strip with your permission. | You draw the lines dividing art from sin. | So first sort out the basic food position | Then start your preaching: that's where we begin. | You lot, who bank on your desires and our disgust | Should learn for all time how the world is run: | Whatever lies you tell, however much you twist | Food is the first thing. Morals follow on. | Get proper helpings when we do the carving.

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K. Weill/B. Brecht, 1928