n/e

NEURO-networking europe

THURSDAY 26-2-2004

18:00 MET Kunstarkaden
NEURO_STREAM Vernissage »Remaking Destiny« by Shahidul Alam (BD), »Der neue Mensch« by Armin Smailovic (DE), »Mobile« by Michaela Melián (DE) and videoinstallations by Ivan Grubanov (YU)

LOCATIONS

Muffathalle, Zellstr. 4, 81667 Muenchen
Kunstarkaden des Kulturreferats der Landeshauptstadt Muenchen, Sparkassenstrasse. 3, 80331 Muenchen
Die Bank, Muellerstrasse 42, 80468 Muenchen

BACKGROUND

From February 27th to 29th young artists, filmmakers, musicians, theorists and activists from all over Europe and many other parts of the world meet at the Muffathalle in Munich for NEURO; a number of events, speeches, discussions, presentations, performances, concerts and actions reflecting the pulse of the age. About two years after the first make-world festival, NEURO will again interface with current debates around migration and mobility, racism and nationalism, civil society and global mobilisation, networking and new technologies, informatisation and precarious labour, education and control society, common organising, and digital culture.

But NEURO is not only a conference, nor is it just a fair or a conventional festival. Rather it is a place for three days of collaboration and common production. The challenge is to commonly use existing technological possibilities and to reclaim new forms of a public that stays outside of the metaphors of market and open-plan office and that does not differentiate between production and reception, creation and distribution. NEURO is about a critical, connected practice and a practical critique of networking: to present the results of present projects in order to make them available beyond the occasion of this event, to discuss new ideas, plan and start common project.

First of all, NEURO stands for »Networking Europe«. Only a few weeks before the official eastern enlargement of the European Union, the central question concerns, at what point are the driving powers of a virtual europe relating to each other, where the traces of this association runs and how they can be bundled into creative alliances. Though not an end in itself, networking is now raising more than ever questions that cannot be answered at straightaway: What does networking actually mean nowadays? What does networking have to do with freedom of movement? How do social movements network? Or: how can technologies be used in ways that they don't just change the self but the commonality ? How do we conceptualise the common that is created in and through networks whilst not being reducible to them? Ten years after the start of the internet boom, the crisis of the idea of networks is long overdue. Alongside the collapse of the new markets, the bombastic constructions about media art, media theory and media activism have fallen like a house of cards. Nevertheless, in the ensuing impasse, a new generation of media and networking initiatives have formed and taken onboard the discussion and reflection on everyday life, and new tasks, methods, functions, challenges and perspectives.

## FRIDAY 27-2-2004

18:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_OPENING Greetings by Fred Schell (Managing Director, JFF, Munich), Renate Schmidt (German minister for youth, Berlin), Director Joao Vale de Almeida (European Commission Directorate General for Education and Culture, Brussels), Thomas Krueger (President of the Federal center for political education, Bonn).

19:30 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_TALK Networking against exclusion Shahidul Alam (BD), Annetta Kahane (DE), Geert Lovink (NL), Florian Schneider (DE)

21:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_TALK Civil society goes Empire: Critical reflections by Andrej Grubacic, Joanne Richardson, Soenke Zehle
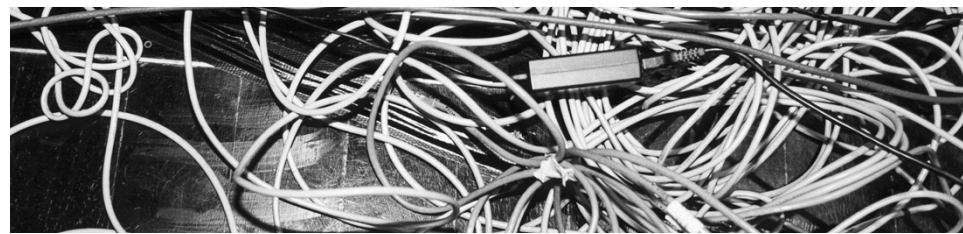
21:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_LOG KIOSK for useful knowledge, Berlin (DE) featuring: Drazen Pantic (US) and Micz Flor (DE), Ted Byfield (US) and Zeljko Blace (HR)

21:30 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_STREAM Random_Inc, Frankfurt (DE)

23:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_LOUNGE Open code: Conversations between Thomas Meinecke, Munich (DE) and David Moufang/Move_D, Heidelberg (DE)

D-A-S-H EUROPE

NEURO–NETWORKING EUROPE has invited over 250 people to come to munich: they are coming from Helsinki to Sevilla, from Dublin to Bukarest, Belarus to South Italy and have gathered valuable experiences in handling new media and technologies, in order to engage themselves politically, to exchange and network with each other.

NEURO will be opened with the launch of the Internet-Platform D-A-S-H, which will be started on the 27th of February 2004 by the JFF, Institut for Mediaeducation in Research and Practice, after almost one year of preperation and in cooperation with european youth initiatives and with support of the EU-Commission as well as the federal youth ministry.

NEURO is presented by Multitude e.V., Muffathalle and »D-A-S-H – networking against exclusion«, a project of the JFF, Institut for mediaeducation in Research and practice. With kind support of the program of action »Youth for tolerance and democracy - against right winged extremism, xenophobia and antisemitism«, the program YOUTH of the European Union, the Federal Institute for Political Education and the Rosa Luxemburg foundation.

SATURDAY 28-2-2004

11:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_LOUNGE Breakfast with bavarian veal sausages

13:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_PITCH New border review: The western enlargement of east europe: Presentations by Mama (HR), Cyberpipe (SI), Ljudmila (SI), RIXC (LV), KUDA (YU), D MEDIA (RO) and many more

14:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_TALK Female, young, migrant: Biopolitical researches on the transformations of labor: Precarias (ES), Valery Rey Alzaga (US), Thomas Atzert (DE), Nicholas Bell (FR), Andrew Paterson (LV) and more

15:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_LOUNGE Brothers Keepers: Presentation by Ade Odukoya (DE)

16:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_TALK The making of: The general intellect. Round-table-talk with Ted Byfield (US), Antonio Conti (IT), Thorsten Schilling (DE), Dieter Schlönvoigt (DE), Jacqueline Ann Stevens (US)

17:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_PITCH Radical image exposures: Project presentations by AgoraXchange (US), CandidaTV (IT), Egoboo.Bits (HR), Ivan Grubanov (YU), Hackitectura (ES), Bruno Kuhlmann (D), Dunia Kukovec (SI), Sebastian Lütgert (DE), Undercurrents (GB), Zalea TV (FR) and more

18:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_CINEMA I love you all, Eyal Sivan, France/Germany, 2003, 89 min

19:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_STREAM Bukaka says: Another war is possible! Videoperformance by Publix Theatre Caravan, Wien (AT)

20:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_TALK Crisis of representation and politics of space: Presentations by Eyal Sivan (FR) and Brian Holmes (FR)

21:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_STREAM Dead News, videoinstallation, Yanoon, Yanoon music- and video performance by Eran Sachs, Aviad Albert, Ariel Efron, Niv Hachlili, dispara!, shuffle, Jerusalem (IL)

21:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_LOG KIOSK for useful knowledge, Berlin (DE) featuring: Sandro Mezzadra (IT) and Geert Lovink (NL), James Stevens (GB) and Micz Flor (DE), Franco Bifo Berardi (IT) and Valery Rey Alzaga (US)

23:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_LOUNGE Friendly noise in collaboration with Reboot.FM, Berlin (DE) feat.: Meme (UK), Markus Hablizel (DE)

SUNDAY 29-2-2004

11:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_LOUNGE Save image as? Matinee about compression, conservation and restauration of moving images with Enno Patalas (DE), Sebastian Luetgert (DE) and Ralph Giles (GB)

13:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_PITCH Tools for collaboration: Crowd Compiler, GForge, Fluter, OPENMUTE, Reboot FM, V2V, TamTam, TEXTZ.COM, XIPH.ORG

14:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_TALK Social ontologies of open source: Strategic considerations and tactical collaborations by David Berry (GB), Manse Jacobi (LB), Roland Mas (FR), Giles Moss (GB), Alan Toner (IR)

15:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_PITCH Migrations: APABIZ (DE), Collectif Precipite (FR), D-A-S-H (DE), Al-Jwarizmi (ES), Kanak Attac (DE), myBrandenburg (DE), THE VOICE FORUM (DE)

16:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_TALK Freedom of movement: Sandro Mezzadra (IT), Manuela Bojadzijev (DE)

17:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_PITCH Label-Talk: Bomb Mitte, DiskoB, Kompakt, Loca-Records, Miklataklitim, Source Records

18:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_TALK Constitutive practices: Closing debate on ad-hoc-networking and virtual organising

19:00 MET Muffathalle
NEURO_CINEMA The Corporation, Mark Achbar/Jennifer Abbott/Joel Bakan, Canada, 2003, 145 min

22:00 MET Cafe
NEURO_LOUNGE Data Pop: Tobias Thomas, Koeln (DE) and Ralph Christoph, Koeln (DE)

Exhibitions

Parallel to the activities in Muffathalle NEURO is presenting exhibitions and installations in the gallery »Kunstarkaden«, Sparkassenstrasse 3, near Marienplatz (Open from 11 am to 7pm):

REMAKING DESTINY, a foto-exhibition and installation by Shahidul Alam, fotografer from Dhaka, Bangladesh, is about the expectations, dreams, duties and needs that circumscribe the life of a migrant.

DER NEUE MENSCH, a foto exhibition by Armin Smailovic, fotografer from Berlin, maps the pathways of struggles around migration, movements and networking.

A GUY I KNOW and THE CAGES are videoinstallations by Ivan Grubanov, artist from Belgrade.

MOBILE is an installation by Michaela Melian, artist from Berg, near Munich. MOBILE consists of 59 oval panes of plexiglass, printed with sections of faces or items related to them taken from the IDENTIKIT program run by the State criminal bureau.

Content

Distribution

Editorial team

Fotos

Imprint

MAKEWORLDS (2)

NAME

NEURO – networking europe

DATE

February 26-29, 2004

LOCATIONS

Muffathalle, Zellstr. 4, 81667 Munich (Germany)
Kunstarkaden des Kulturreferats der Landeshauptstadt Muenchen, Sparkassenstrasse. 3, 80331 Muenchen
Die Bank, Muellerstrasse 42, 80468 Muenchen

SYNOPSIS

A new generation of media and network initiatives from all over Europe and different parts of the world present and work on their projects in a broad interactive framework that explores the different conceptual and practical idioms used to articulate and create new social, political and artistic practices.

Originating within the networking culture of open communications and free exchange the event aims to connect contemporary debates on mobility, migration and social movements with new media instruments, information and communication technologies.

WHAT'S NEW?

The new is emerging in unknown and multiple ways. It is emerging from the exhaustion and crisis of conventional political concepts that are no longer adequate to the unstable, informatic and immaterial dimensions of the emerging division of labour. The new technologies of the common are not universal hierarchies of political right but small scale and intimate practices of constitution. The new involves those who see the limitations of individual social practices of self-realisation and desire to turn them into general and transferable social technologies of emancipation.

BACKGROUND

It is time for intellectual and political debates to merge with technology. Both to evaluate the current state of social movements and to build on those orientations that are pushing the limits of what are individually considered possible. NEURO sets out to create and map a new discursive terrain and practical horizon: the ideas of 'freedom of movement' and 'technologies of the common' draws into a synergetic perspective the range of irreducibly conflictual practices whereby society is reproduced.

Without losing sight of the (translocal) constitution of the local as indispensable site of intervention, NEURO seeks to review and research practices of networking that are already redefining the political geography of Europe. In the ongoing diversification of the social, processes of integration can no longer be clearly separated from mechanisms of exclusion. The working out of these tensions at a political and economic level is producing new levels of complexity as well as new opportunities for provocative and experimental projects that challenge orthodoxy and convention.

The focus on social reproduction is an acknowledgment that its various modes are proliferating across an ever-expanding terrain in a process that suggests that collective responses will themselves have to explore some of the idioms and tools of the network in each of the subjects under discussion, whether human rights and citizenship, Empire and Europe, free software and intellectual property regimes, the spectacle of civil society, or the institutional and bureaucratic mentalities present within post-governmental environments.

Beyond the juridical parcelisation of people into discrete, sovereign and rights-bearing subjects, the present offers a unique chance to express and form solidarities that catch up in political terms with the sociality of our being. For these struggles, networks and intercommunicative agency are not goals but their very conditions of possibility. Thus the new sits in opposition to the current forms of exclusion because the appropriation of subjective freedoms within Europe and beyond it are part of the foundations on which these political edifices themselves rest.

TASKS

After the thin promises of new markets and new media, what aspirations remain for evolving struggles for information, knowledge and communication? What is the role of civil society in the framework of global governing practices of political mediation today? What is the impact of immaterial and affective labour for practices of migration and the reconfiguration of the global economy of biopolitical production? What projects of self constitution emerge from practices of refusal and exodus? How has the movement reposed the question of the autonomy of the political in the midst of a crisis of representation? Is mapping the only way to express horizontal structures of cooperation and technologies of the common?

SEE ALSO

http://www.makeworlds.org
http://d-a-s-h.org
http://www.kein.org
http://www.generation-online.org
http://www.incommunicado.info

The Withering of Civil Society

Michael Hardt

Civil society is proposed as an essential feature of any democracy: the institutional infrastructure for political mediation and public exchange. However, while recognizing the democratic functions that the concept and reality of civil society have made possible, it is also important to be aware of the functions of discipline and exploitation that are inherent in and inseparable from these same structures.

Furthermore, we must question whether the social foundations necessary for the construction and sustenance of civil society are themselves present in contemporary social formations. I want to argue, in fact, that in recent years the conditions of possibility for civil society have progressively been undermined in North America, Europe, and elsewhere (if indeed they ever existed outside the European world). ... The society we are living in today is more properly understood as a postcivil society.

Organization of Abstract Labor

In political philosophy, civil society is fundamentally linked to the modern notion of labor, a connection made most clear by G. W. F. Hegel. ... According to Hegel ... through needs, work, exchange, and the pursuit of particular self-interests, the »unorganized atoms of civil society« are to be ordered toward the universal - not exactly through the mysterious actions of Adam Smith's invisible hand, but rather through the competitive institutions of capitalist production and circulation. ... The second innovation in Hegel's usage of the concept of civil society, which is closely tied to the first but specific to Hegel in its formulation, is the emphasis on the educative aspect of civil society. ... In other words, civil society takes the natural human systems of needs and particular self-interests, puts them in relation with each other through the capitalist social institutions of production and exchange and, thus, on the basis of the mediation and subsumption of the particular, poses a terrain on which the State can realize the universal interest of society in »the actuality of the ethical Idea«. Hegelian education in civil society is a process of formal subsumption, a process whereby particular differences, foreign to the universal, are negated and preserved in unity.

Hegel combines and highlights these economic and educative aspects in his conception that civil sociey is primarily a society of _labor_. ... In his early writings on the State, in the Jena period, Hegel conceived the process of the abstraction of labor from its concrete instantiations as the motor driving the civilizing social institutions. »Concrete labor is the elemental, substantial conversion,« the basic foundation of everything, but it is also »blind and savage,« that is, uneducated in the universal interest. Concrete labor, which in this early period Hegel imagines as the labor of peasants, is the human activity closest to nature. Just like nature, concrete labor cannot be simply negated, since it is the foundation of all society, but neither can it be simply integrated, since it is savage and uncivilized. ... [W]e should say that civil society is not simply the society of labor, but that it is specifically the society of _abstract_ labor.

This same educative process of abstraction is also at the center of Hegel's mature conception of civil society, which he poses in his later writings in less philosophical, more practical terms: through labor the pursuit of the satisfaction of one's particular needs is related to the pursuits of others and thus »subjective self-seeking turns into a contribution to the satisfaction of the needs of everyone else.« Hegel finds this educative role of labor, the transformation to the universal, organized and made explicit in the institutional trade unions, the corporations, which structurally orient the particular interests of workers toward the universal interest of society. Civil society consists of not just the unions but all the institutions of capitalist society that organize abstract labor. ... [C]ivil society is the society of the organization of abstract labor.

Education, Hegemony, Discipline

The Hegelian conception of civil society persists in various forms throughout modern and contemporary social and political theory. When we survey the work of the wide variety of twentieth-century authors who in some form or another take up this notion of civil society, we quickly recognize that the social dialectic of civil society is presented in two guises, one more democratic and the other more authoritarian. Antonio Gramsci has perhaps gone furthest in theorizing the democratic and socialist potential of civil society. ... As we have seen, Hegel conceives the end of social movement and conflict, in both logical and historical terms, as gathered together, subsumed, and thus realized in the ends of State, the actuality of the ethical Idea. Gramsci casts the historical movement or flow in the opposite direction, proposing instead »that the State's goal is its own end, its own disappearance, in other words, the re-absorption of political society within civil society«. The term _reabsorption_ indicates a reversal of the social flow: what according to the Hegelian process of subsumption flowed from society toward the State now is reversed from the State to civil society as a sort of inverted subsumption. Gramsci is able to understand the process of the withering or disappearance of the State as a process of re-absorption because he conceives the State as existing only secondarily, as if it were a placeholder filling the structural voici left by a not fully developed civil society. When civil society does manage fully to fill its role, the State as such will no longer exist; or rather, State elements will continue to exist only as subordinated agents of civil society's hegemony. ... Expanding and reenforcing the scope and powers of the various segments and institutions of civil society is thus central to a Gramscian strategy of social progress, which will eventually reverse the flow of the Hegelian process and fill the dictatorial and coercive spaces now occupied by the State with democratic forces organized in terms of social hegemony and consent. This hegemony is grounded finally on an Hegelian process of education, which gives the revolutionary class or party its ability to »absorb« or »assimilate all of society« in the name of general interests. When the State has been effectively subsumed, Gramsci claims, the reign of civil society, or self-government, will begin.

Authors who, like Gramsci, highlight the democratic aspects of civil society focus in general on the pluralism of the institutions of civil society and on the avenues or channels they provide for input into the rule of political society or the State. ... Numerous other strategies of political practice and scholarly analysis ... all emphasize the possibility of democratic representation available through the passages opened by the ideological, cultural, and economic institutions of civil society. From this perspective, the social dialectic in civil society and the possibilities of mediation make the State open to the plurality of social flows channeled through the institutions. The activation of the forces of civil society makes the State porous, destabilize its dictatorial powers or rather »re-absorbing« them within the expanding hegemony of civil society.

In the work of other authors, however, the mediatory institutions that define the relationship between civil society and the State are shown to function not toward democratic but authoritarian ends. From this second perspective, then, the representation of interests through the channels of the institutions does not reveal the pluralistic effects of social forces on the State; instead, it highlights the State's capacities to organize, recuperate, even produce social forces. Michel Foucault's work has made dear that the institutions and _enfermements_ or enclosures of civil society - the church, the school, the prison, the family, the union, the party, et cetera - constitute the paradigmatic terrain for the disciplinary deployments of power in modern society, producing normalized subjects and thus exerting hegemony through consent in a way that is perhaps more subtle but no less authoritarian than the exertion of dictatorship through coercion. The disciplinary perspective, then, might recognize the same channels passing through civil society, but sees the flows moving argain in the opposite direction. ... The social dialectic thus functions in order that antagonistic social forces be subsumed within the prior and unitary synthesis of the State.

... Hegel's understanding of the historical rise of civil society and the generalization of its educative social role does correspond in several respects to the process that Michel Foucault calls the governmentalization of the State. The State of sovereignty which, according to Foucault, served as the dominant form of rule in Europe from the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century, positioned itself as a transcendent singularity with respect to its subjects. The transcendence of the sovereign State afforded it a certain detachment from the pressures of conflictive particular interests in society. In the passage to the modern State, however, the transcendence and singularity of the State were overturned through the rise of what Foucault calls »governmentality.« The rule of the governmental State is characterized instead by its immanence to the population through a multiplicity of forms. ... The management of people and things implied by this governance involves an active engagement, exchange, or dialectic among social forces and between social forces and the State. The same educative social processes that Hegel casts in terms of abstraction and organization, Foucault recognizes in terms of training, discipline, and management. The channels or striae in which these processes function, recognized as social institutions by Hegel, are characterized by Foucault in terms of deployments (_dispositifs_) and enclosures (_enfermements_). Civil society, from this perspective, is the productive site of modern economy (economy understood now in the large sense); in other words, it is the site of the production of goods, desires, individual and collective identities, et cetera. It is the site, finally, of the institutional dialectic of social forces, of the social dialectic that gives rise to and underwrites the State.

In his extensive work on the nature of power, however, Foucault not only refuses Gramsci's inversion of the priority between civil society and political society (that is, civil society and the State), he goes one step further and argues that we can make no analytical distinction at all between them. When Foucault argues that power cannot be isolated but is everywhere, that it comes from everywhere, that there is no outside to power, he is also denying the analytical separation of political society from civil society. ... In the disciplinary and governmental society the lines of power extend through social space in the channels created by the institutions of civil society. The exertion of power is organized through deployments, which are at once ideological, institutional, and corporeal. This is not to say that

---

there is no State, but rather that it cannot effectively be isolated and contested at a level separate from society. ... On the contrary, the State as such is better understood as the result, the consolidation or molarization of forces of »statization« (_etatisation_) immanent to social power relations. The causes and intentions that inform and order power relations are not isolated in some headquarters of rationality but are immanent to the field of forces. Foucault thus prefers to use instead of _State_ the term _government_, which indicates the multiplicity and immanence of the forces of statization to the social field. ... In particular, Foucault emphasizes the »educational« aspect of civil society whereby particular social interests are enlightened to the general interest and brought in line with the universal. Education means discipline. More accurately, Foucault reformulates the educational process of civil society in terms of production: power acts not only by training or ordering the elements of the social terrain but actually by producing them - producing desires, needs, individuals, identities, et cetera. ... The State, Hegel claims, is not the result but the cause; Foucault adds, not a transcendent but an immanent cause, statization, immanent to the various channels, institutions, or enclosures of social production.

... Disciplinary society can be characterized as civil society seen from a different perspective, approached from underneath, from the microphysics of its power relations. While Gramsci highlights the democratic potentials of the institutions of civil society, Foucault makes clear that civil society is a society founded on discipline and that the education it offers is a diffuse network of normalization. From this perspective, Gramsci and Foucault highlight the two contrasting faces of Hegel's civil society. ...

Infinite Undulations of the Snake

When we look at the contemporary societies of Western Europe and North America, it seems that these various, rich, promising, and frightening theoretical visions of civil society, both in the Hegelian version and in the Gramscian and Foucauldian reformulations, no longer hold - they no longer grasp the dominant mechanisms or schema of social production and social ordering. The decline of the paradigm of civil society correlates to a passage in contemporary society toward a new configuration of social relations and new conditions of rule. This is not to say that the forms and structures of social exchange, participation, and domination that were identified by the concept of civil society have ceased entirely to exist, but rather that they have been displaced from the dominant position by a new configuration of apparatuses, deployments, and structures. Deleuze's notion [that we have recently experienced a passage from a disciplinary society to a society of control] can serve us here as a first attempt to understand the decline of the rule of civil society and the rise of a new form of control. Disciplinary societies, as I suggested earlier, are characterized by the enclosures or institutions that serve as the skeleton or backbone of civil society; these enclosures define the striae of social space. ... Deleuze insists, however, that these social enclosures or institutions are today everywhere in crisis [and] suggests that it is more adequate, then, to understand the collapse of the walls defined by the enclosures not as some sort of social evacuation but rather as the generalization of logics that previously functioned within these limited domains across the entire society, spreading like a virus. The logic of capitalist

production perfected in the factory now invests all forms of social production. The same might he said also for the school, the family, the hospital, and the other disciplinary institutions. ... Social space has not been emptied of the disciplinary institutions; it has been completely filled with the modulations of control. The relationship between society and the State no longer primarily involves the mediation and organization of the institutions for discipline and rule. Instead, the relationship sets the State in motion directly through the perpetual circuitry of social production.

We should be careful to point out, however, that the passage from disciplinary society to the society of control is not merely a shift in the institutional structures of rule. ... What underlies the various institutions is the diagram: the anonymous or abstract strategic machine, the unformed or nonstratified schema of power relations. The diagram transcends, or better subtends the various institutional assemblages. ... The disciplinary diagram runs throughout the various institutions defining the conditions of possibility, the conditions of what can be seen, said, and known, the conditions of the exertion of power. The passage to a society of control, then, will certainly manifest symptoms at the institutional level, but it should he grasped also and above all at the diagrammatic level. If we are to follow Foucault's method, then, we should ask, first, what are the diagrams that define the conditions of possibility in the societies of control? And then, in what kinds of social assemblages will these diagrammatic forces be consolidated, and how?

The metaphors available to us can at least give us an indication of the nature of this passage. ... The panopticon, and disciplinary diagrammatics in general, functioned primarily in terms of positions, fixed points, and identities. ... The diagram of control, however, is not oriented toward position and identity, but rather toward mobility and anonymity. It functions on the basis of »the whatever,« the flexible and mobile performance of contingent identities, and thus its assemblages or institutions are elaborated primarily through repetition and the production of simulacra. ... Elaborate controls over information flow, extensive use of polling and monitoring techniques, and innovative social use of the media thus gain prominent positions in the exertion of power. ...

Claiming the decline of civil sociey, of course, does not mean that all the mechanisms of rule and organization which characterized civil society no longer exist or function. Similarly, recognizing a passage from disciplinary societies to societies of control does not mean that disciplinary deployments and the attendant potentialities of resistance have completely disappeared. Disciplinary deployments remain, as do elements of sovereignty in the regimes of control. ... What is primarily at issue, though, is not simply the existence of certain apparatuses, mechanisms, or deployments, but rather their predominance within a specific paradigm of rule. Our task is to discern the salient characteristics of the social formation that succeeds civil society; the smooth spaces of the societies of control constitute our first attempt.

We can formulate a second, complementary approach to this problematic by casting the passage not in Foucauldian but rather in Marxian terminology, which will highlight the contemporary change in the social organization of labor. ... Marx recognized the passage from the formal to the real subsumption in nineteenth-century society as a tendency, but it seems to me that this

passage has only come to be generalized in the most completely capitalist countries in our times. [6] According to Marx, in the first of these two phases, the formal subsumption, social labor processes are subsumed under capital; that is, they are enveloped within the capitalist relations of production in such a manner that capital intervenes as the director or manager. In this arrangement, capital subsumes labor the way it finds it; capital takes over existing labor processes that were developed in previous modes of production or at any rate outside of capitalist production. .... Actually, as Hegel clearly recognized in his writings ... capital cannot directly integrate concrete labor but must first abstract it from its concrete forms. The various processes of abstraction, the resistances these give rise to, and the potential lines of social conflict between concrete labor and abstract labor are thus principle characteristics of the phase of the formal subsumption. Capital tends, however, through the socialization of production and through scientific and technological innovation, to create new labor processes and to destroy old ones, transforming the situations of the various agents of production. Capital thus sets in motion a specifically capitalist mode of production. Marx calls the subsumption of labor _real_, then, when the labor processes themselves are born within capital and therefore when labor is incorporated not as an external, but an internal force, proper to capital itself. As we move to the phase of the real subsumption, Marx explains, labor processes evolve so that, first of all, production is no longer a direct and individual activity but an immediately social activity. ... In the _specifically_ capitalist mode of production, that is, in the phase of the real subsumption, productive labor - or even production in general - no longer appears as the pillar that defines and sustains capitalist social organization. Production is given an objective quality, as if the capitalist system were a machine that marched forward on its own accord, without labor, a capitalist automaton.
... This is how we should understand the passage from the formal to the real subsumption. The society of the formal subsumption was characterized by the dialectic between capital and labor: as a foreign force subsumed within capital, labor had to be abstracted, recuperated, disciplined, and tamed within the productive processes. But labor nonetheless was continually recognized as the source of all social wealth. ... In the society of the real subsumption this dialectic no longer holds the central role, and capital no longer needs to engage labor or represent labor at the heart of production. What is subsumed, what is accepted into the process, is no longer a potentially conflictive force but a product of the system itself; the real subsumption does not extend vertically throughout the various strata of society but rather constructs a separate plane, a simulacrum of society that excludes or marginalizes social forces foreign to the system. Social capital thus appears to reproduce itself autonomously, as if it were emancipated from the working class, and labor becomes invisible in the system. ...

... The State of the real subsumption is no longer interested in mediation or »education« but in separation, no longer in discipline but in control. The State of the real subsumption operates on a separate plane, a simulacrum of the social field, abstract from labor itself. ... Once again, my general point here is simply that in this passage the democratic and/or disciplinary institutions of civil society, the channels of social mediation, as a particular form of the organization of social labor, society politically have declined and been dis-

---

selection to defend the laws that create our present flawed institutions of family and nation are not bad scientists or politicians, but rather, bad artists. Their fictions create passive citizens who accept the alliances of family and nation as a birthright or misfortune of birth. By collaboratively designing a world, agoraXchange demonstrates the artifice and contingency of laws and institutions. The experience of creating new rules toward new ends conveys that our present institutions promoting violence and inequality are not natural or inevitable, but rather a result of contingent and ill-conceived design decisions.

Al-Jwarezmi
http://hackitectura.net
AL-JWARIZMI is an ongoing prototype for distributed competence multimedia production, based on Pure Data, a real-time graphical programming environment for audio and graphical processing. Al-jwarizmi means algorithm in arab, and is part of the current development in new tools for social cybernetics. Al-Jwarizmi mix live signals produced by a geographically disseminated swarm of operators with static content from databases and stream it out to the internet. PD modularity will provide advanced levels of web interactiviy and unexpected possibilities in recombining political & programing & media skills. Al-Jwarizmi is devel-

oping different interfaces that will allow its use by non expert participants, being its objective to become a tool to be deployed by all kind of persons and social organizations interested in open and participatory communication. Webcam and gamepad control have been already implemented. During the last year we have been using mainly three different dedicated multimedia servers (ffmpeg, icecast) that are part of the project: ayp.unia.es / hackitectura.net / xicnet.com. Live Stream produced for We Seize! (Geneva03 / S-CONF, High Noon) was launched through these servers. Hackitectura.net is part of the social networks launching and developing indymedia estrecho/madiaq, the first transcontinental indymedia

project. Al-jwarizmi is meant to be implemented as the live stream package of indymedia estrecho in order to support experimentation and post-textual evolution of the independent media communication model.

Alaska
http://www.outofthisworld.de/alaska
Alaska is a Magazine for Internationalismus based in Bremen.

Amadeu-Antonio-Stiftung
http://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de
The Amadeu Antonio Foundation was established to promote a civil society which is able to face

placed from the center of the scene. Not the State, but civil society has withered away! In other words, even if one were to consider civil society politically desirable ... the social conditions necessary for civil society no longer exist.

The Postcivil Condition

... Civil society, as we have seen, is central to a form of rule, or government, as Foucault says, that focuses, on the one hand, on the identity of the citizen and the processes of civilization and, on the other hand, on the organization of abstract labor. These processes are variously conceived as education, training, or discipline, but what remains common is the active engagement with social forces (through either mediation or production) to order social identities within the context of institutions. What has come to an end, or more accurately declined in importance in postcivil society, then, are precisely these functions of mediation or education and the institutions that gave them form.
The formulation _postcivil_ however, like _postmodern_, is finally limited by its backward gaze; it is too reactive to do justice to the new para-

digm of social relations. More important than the social elements and techniques that have faded from prominence are those that have newly taken the dominant positions. The deployments of control and the social constitution of the real subsumption give us a framework to begin to grasp the novelties of our situation. Instead of disciplining the citizen as a fixed social identity, the new social regime seeks to control the citizen as a whatever identity, or rather as an infinitely flexible placeholder for identity. It tends to establish an autonomous plane of rule, a simulacrum of the social - separate from the terrain of conflictive social forces. Mobility, speed, and flexibility are the qualities that characterize this separate plane of rule. The infinitely programmable machine, the ideal of cybernetics, gives us at least on approximation of the diagram of the new paradigm of rule.
Analyzing the new techniques, of social control is only worthwhile to the extent that it allows us to grasp also the new potentialities for contestation and freedom emerging witthin this new paradigm.
... I would suggest that in order to begin thinking these new potentialities we should return again

to investigate the form and nature of labor, or creative social practices, in contemporary society. ... Social practices have certainly changed and so too should our notion of what constitutes labor - not just in the sphere of wage labor (which indeed has undergone radical transformation in some sectors) but also in the sphere of desiring production, intellectual creativitv, caring labor, kin work, and so forth. ... Even in the society of control, labor is still the »savage beast« that Hegel feared, refusing to he subjugated and tamed - and perhaps its potential is even greater today when it is no longer engaged, mediated, and disciplined through the institutions of civil society as it was in the previous paradigm. The networks of sociality and forms of cooperation embedded in contemporary social practices constitute the germs for a new movement, with new forms of contestation and new conceptions of lliberation. This alternative community of social practices (call it, perhaps, the self-organization of concrete lahor) will be the most potent challenge to the control of postcivil society, and will point, perhaps, to the of our future.

T he hype of networks reveals a conce tual crisis of collaboration and cooperation. Yet, the confusing aspect of networking is the fact that large formations of power apparently defy networks. Business and other large institutions are still in the process of opening up. The introduction of computer networks within organizations over the past decade has changed work flows but hasn't reached the level of decision making. In this period of transition and consolidation we get confusing answers to the question whether 'new media' are part of mainstream pop culture. Whereas it is easy to see that networks have become the dominant mode of power, this is still not the case for 'power' in the narrow sense. This is why the call for openness, transparency and democracy, on both micro and macro-levels, still potentially contains progressive elements and should be seen as a counterpart to popular conspiracy theories.

A radical critique of the information society implies analyzing the passages from the state of territory and the state of population to the state of a networked globality or: Info-Empire. It is not adequate to analyse this with Debord's Society of the Spectacle. The networking paradigm escapes the centrality of the icon to visual culture and its critics and instead focuses on more abstract, invisible, subtle processes and feedback loops. There is nothing spectacular about networking. And this is exactly why most of the leading theorists are not aware of the current power transformations. They still sit in front of the television and watch the news or a rental VHS – perhaps they have even bought a DVD player by now.

The networking paradigm marks the threshold of postmodernity and characterizes the global governance scenarios of Info-Empire. This threshold was crossed when digital communications appeared in the political scene and created a notion of the global that is essentially different from the predominant values of 'solidarity' in internationalism or 'multiplicity' in trans-national corporations. Without referring to inferior sentiments or noble feeling, a nuclear strike force or massive drug abuse it was suddenly possible, to think global in absolutely un-pathetic ways.

Rather than a simple application to improve life

or increase efficiency life becomes intrinsically networking and networking comes alive as unconditional attribute of social existence.

The ultimate goal of networking has been, and still is, to free the user from the bonds of locality and identity. Power responds to the pressure of increasing mobility and communications of the multitudes with attempts to regulate them in the framework of traditional regimes that cannot be abandoned, but need to be reconfigured from scratch and recompiled against the networking paradigm: borders and property, labour and recreation, education and entertainment industries undergo radical transformations. Although the promise of liberation still lures, and works at times, shifting geographies and social layers, an identity backflip has occurred. Its pretty hard these days to be a dog on the Internet. There never was something like privacy on the Net, but after 9.11 things definitely reached a new level. And once again, theory runs behind the facts or it is satisfied with great gestures that occupy the moral high ground but reveal nothing but powerlessness.

When within the nation state techniques of localization and identification, communication surveillance and motion control have been temporarily suspended it was the direct result of the social struggles of a mass of individuals against the corruption of state sovereignty. Within the 'state of networking' these techniques and technologies tend to become redundant. Furthermore Info-Empire is constituted by including and simultaneously excluding the tracks of localized and identifiable life.

Internet research, now having reached its ethnographic phase, has great difficulties in catching up conceptually, let alone provide us with speculative visions that capture the permanent flux of global immaterial labour.

The classical dichotomies of public/private, global/local, etc. become useless and even obsolete. These binaries are replaced by flexible attitudes of managing singularities and fluid differences: rather than challenging power networking environments act as carriers for virtual self-management and self-control, up to the point of crashing.

Networked environments are inherently unstable and its temporality is key, much like events. Networks are dense social structures on the brink of collapse and it is questionable if there are sustainable models that can 'freeze' them.

Maybe it is better to understand networking as a syncope of power, a temporary loss of consciousness and posture, rather than a panacea against corruption, commodification, resentment and the general dumbness of traditional hierarchies. The result of networking often is a rampant will to powerlessness that escapes the idea of collective progress under the pretext of participation, fluidity, escapism and over-commitment.

Participants easily get lost in the overload of email messages, weblogs and chat exchanges. The subjective feeling, having to swim against a tidal wave of noise and random tension, can no longer be explained by a lack of media literacy. Software and interface solutions can be helpful, but often only temporarily assist users to get a handle of complex information flows. This often results in the abandoning of collective communication, somewhere half-way, leaving the online participants with the unsatisfactory feeling that the online conversation got stuck, unable to reach a conclusion. After an exciting first phase of introductions and debates, networks are put to the test: either they transform into a body that is capable to act, or they remain stable on a flatline of information exchange, with the occasional reply of an individual who dares to disagree.

At the same time we are facing a backlash towards romantic and outdated forms of representation, hierarchies and command on many terrains. Due to the 'conceptual wall' that online communities often find hard to cross, classic 'informal' forms of representation fill up the gap. This is part of a larger process of 'normalization' in which networks are integrated in existing management styles and institutional rituals.

But the progress of networking technologies is not that linear or unstoppable, as it appears in the techno-naivety of some NGO's. It is often hard to admit that the realm of power (agenda setting, decision-making) exists relatively autonomous of the techno-sphere as B2B

Notes on the State of Networking

Gert Lovink & Florian Schneider

No longer the society, the political party or even the movement, networks are the emerging form of organization of our time. By marching through the institutions the idea of networking has lost its mysterious and subversive character. Sandpapered by legions of consultants, supervisors, and sociologists, as a buzzword networking superseded the latest fashions of sustainability, outsourcing, and lean organization.

---

threads against democracy and to demand the unrestrained protection of minorities.

Apabiz
http://www.apabiz.de
Apabiz is an antifascist press archive and education center in Berlin.

Autonomedia
http://www.autonomedia.org
Autonomedia is an autonomous zone for arts and radicals in both new and old media. We publish books on radical media, poliltics and the arts that seek to transcend party lines, bottom lines and straight lines

Autonomous Time Sharing Collective
http://www.generation-online.org
ATSC (off-line) library collection

Bildungsoffensive
http://www.bildungsoffensive.org
Bildungsoffensive is an initiative in the Democratic YouthFORUM Brandenburg (www.djb-ev.de) and originated out of the campaign »Aktion Noteingang« (www.aktion-noteingang.de) in 1998. The campaign wanted to bring the discussions about a right wing mainstream, a nazi-problematic, daily racism and the discrimination of refugees, non right youngsters and homeless into the comunities daily lifes. During the last

years the work was concentratet in supporting youthinitiatives in Brandenburg, that oppose fascism and racism in their small communities. For a lack of support from townside, the Bildungsoffensive startet to organise antiracism seminars; support for information events and concerts; searching for selfrunned selforganised rooms for the single groups, to have some public space, that is free of Nazis and free of fear of being attacked by them. Connectet with the campaign the different youthinitiatives startet acting together in networkstruktures.In 01/ 02 we realized our second campaign »research and action« (http://www.aktion-analyse.org). We wanted to see if anything had changed in terms of racism

and fascism in Brandenburg in the last two years. Youthgroups researched racism in their hometowns, made an action and a documentary. Onces again we could empower the network as well as local groups and realized an educational input, especially on filming and media topics.By now some initiatives grew to social centers, that are doing voluntary left youth-, selfdeterminate education and cultural work by themselves. The groups influence the towns youthpolitics, support refugees, are usually the only ones around with alternative cultural events. The Bildungsoffensive is part in the network that empowers the projekts as well as giving each other support, sharing resources and

((»breast to breast«) meetings. Instead, we would all love to believe that decentralized networks somehow dissolves power, over time. Meanwhile, networking environments also create specific dispositives, that are coordinating new forms of power and that consist of a variety of elements. To research these new statements, norms, standardizations, practices and institutions as an ensemble that organizes the transactions from power to knowledge and knowledge to power goes far beyond the current talk about the information society as well as the attempts to find and replace information with knowledge or any attempt to locate and identify an object of networking, let alone a purpose.

In retrospect, one can say that the radical critique of the information society does not yet exist. That was the lesson of the World Summit of the Information Society (WSIS), held in December 2003 in Geneva. There is the NGO civil society story about human rights and unequal access, but that's it. What's so weak about this approach is it's charity mentality: please donate us some computers and share some of your bandwidth. What is lacking is an informed autonomist perspective. Let's say, an 'Empire' for the Internet generation. This programmatic work should have been written during the raving nineties. Instead, we got stuck with remnants of the '68 generation, and the mess they made, characterized by this particular blend of utopia, violence and sell-out. In the past decade collective work on ideas has been replaced by informal networking, a move away from politics towards culture and the arts, shifting the focus towards software, designing interfaces. and just playing

around. Instead of blaming the 'nettime' generation one could also stress that theory can only grow out of reflected experiences. In that sense we might be too impatient. The question should rather be: how can theory come into being in an age of real-time events?

WSIS made evident that there are only few forces willing and able to analyse and then criticize the 'information society' concept. The air in Geneva was filled with the spirit of network naivety-no matter on what side. Both the hegemonic and the alternative view of the information society is characterized by a persistent transcendentalism, as if the spread of ICT would increase development, as if access to the Internet would improve living conditions, as if free software would override capitalism, as if file sharing equals altruism, as if open publishing would promote democracy.

Instead of endlessly deconstructing the 'New Economy meets NGOs' agendas, we believe it the task of the next media activists to investigate the limits of networking in order to be in a better position to overcome those boundaries. This era is blinded by the light. As technologies are still an expanding universe it is hard to see its limits, to recognize its damages, without falling back into technophobia and cultural pessimism.

Quixotic projects and idealism pervaded the rhetoric of the vast majority of those who have not ignored the summit. That was the disappointment of the WSIS process but it did not really come as a surprise. But what could it mean to put the information society under a radical critique? One has to track down the material basis of informa-

tion and communication in order to turn the whole discourse downside up. For instance one could research the impact of precarious and migrant labour in hardware and software industries, within the service sector such as the call centres, with its temporary workers. This means to tear down the exclusive notion of information as something ephemeral, spiritual and immaterial, and reveal the dirty side of the technology.

It would be a mistake to look at this other or, better to say, the real information society with an attitude of charity and to commiserate these poor things who have to work so damned hard that we can play with ever cheaper computers. Often this perspective comes along with a romantic, anti-technological attitude or full of ignorance and resentment against informatization, de-regularisation and globalization. These processes that are constituting the current situation are direct and indirect results of struggles (against the working day, for a better living, at for least a job etc.) that are disconnected and abstracted from a common, daily experience.

A radical critique always implies practical consequences. There is no other way out of the intellectual stagnation than to stage unlikely encounters and unexpected alliances, between coders and solders, activists and researchers, artists and unionists. We have to bring on irrelevant moments and leave the programmed density of the event-time for what it is.

Shouldn't a radical critique of the information society in the first instance confront the common notion of sovereignty and it's mediatisation with

something that reaches out beyond the increasing banality of networking? What happens after the excitement of encounter has faded away? Should the motor of creativity and subversion continue to be supplied with an ever-changing focus on yet to-be discovered, soon to be exploited cultural differences?

Does it make sense, as a possible way out, to demand a 'cultural exception' for the digital commons? How can the making of a digital public domain be pushed out of beta, beyond the usual 'revolution or reform' choice? The digital commons obviously have left the sandbox and are out-there, in the wide world. As a 'high potential' meme the digital commons is growing at a pace way beyond the worthy Gutenberg project, which, in the thirty years or more of its existence has only added 10,000 book titles to the public domain. But this is exactly why digital commons is a potentially fragile concept. It involves risk taking, in terms of civil disobedience. It asks of digital artisans to take a firm stand when they negotiate with publishers and distributors. The creative multitudes have to wake up out their numbed state and have the courage to refuse. No more bad contracts. Don't sign away your rights. To publish under the creative commons licence is the very least one can do. This shift not only requires public awareness; it also needs 'best practices' stories of those who stood up and actually tore up contracts. A critical mass of IP- refuseniks will only come into being if such individual stories can find the public forums and inspire people to say no. Otherwise it will remain everyone's individual problem.

Electronic Markets and Activist Networks

Saskia Sassen

The two very different types of digital formations examined here make legible the variable ways in which the socio-technical interaction between digital technology and social logics produce distinctive outcomes. These differences point to the possibility that networked forms of power are not inherently distributive, as is often theorized when the focus is exclusively on technical properties.

Intervening mechanisms that may have little to do with the technology per se can re-shape what is, technically, a primary outcome of these networks. These two cases show us that the trajectory followed by what begins in each as the distributed power we associate with computer-centered networks can take on many forms. In the case of the global capital market it winds up as concentrated power. New technologies are partly embedded in institutional environments that have the power to inscribe technology. As a result the outcome does not reflect exclusively the features of the particular technology at work. To capture the interactions between the technical and social logics at work in producing the distinct outcomes of each case we need to identify appropriate indicators. One type of indicator is the counterfactual, that which disproves the logic at work in each case.

Dynamics of Transformation

For the global capital market, one such counterfactual can be found in the fact that this electronic, trans-jurisdictional, globally interconnected market is actually embedded in a set of dense localized environments and specific social logics rather than being a seamless global electronic space. The new technologies have had a deeply transformative effect but they do not dislodge the fact of substantive agendas organizing market actors. Today's global capital market is a complex formation markedly different from earlier global financial markets but its extensive digitization does not necessarily mean that it is disembedded. In the case of electronic activist networks, the indicator would function in precisely the opposite direction — how the local can be embedded in the non-local, specifically in this

case: global networks and global agendas. Both cases make legible how digitization can destabilize nested formalized hierarchies of scale: the global is shown to be multi-scalar and, though in different manner, so is the local. The global capital market is a particularly helpful case for examining these dynamics of transformation and embeddedness. It represents an enormously complex series of imbrications that can actually be traced given a high level of institutionalization and a considerable amount of evidence.

Embeddedness of Markets

There are two major sets of differences that distinguish today's global market for capital from that of earlier periods. One has to do with the level of formalization and institutionalization of the global market for capital today, partly an outcome of the interaction with national regulatory systems that themselves gradually became far more elaborate over the last hundred years. The second set of differences concerns the transformative impact of digital networks and the possibility of digitizing financial instruments. In combination with the various dynamics and policies referred to as globalization they have constituted the capital market as a distinct institutional order, one different from other major markets and circulation systems such as global trade. One of the key and most significant outcomes of digitization in finance has been the jump in orders of magnitude and the extent of worldwide interconnectedness. There are basically three ways in which digitization has contributed to this outcome. One is the use of sophisticated software, a key feature of the global financial markets today and a condition that in turn has made possible an enormous amount of innovation. It has raised the

level of liquidity as well as increased the possibilities of liquefying forms of wealth hitherto considered non-liquid. Second, the distinctive features of digital networks can maximize the implications of global market integration by producing the possibility of simultaneous interconnected flows and transactions, as well as decentralized access for investors and for exchanges in a growing number of countries.
The key background factor here is that since the late 1980s, the trend has been for more and more countries to de- and re-regulate their economies according to a particular set of criteria that has ensured cross-border convergence and the global integration of their financial centers. This non-digital condition amplified the new capabilities introduced by the digitization of markets and instruments. Third, because finance is particularly about transactions rather than simply flows of money, the technical properties of digital networks assume added meaning. Interconnectivity, simultaneity, decentralized access, and softwared instruments, all contribute to multiply the number of transactions, the length of transaction chains (i.e. distance between instrument and underlying asset), and thereby the number of participants. The overall outcome is a complex architecture of transactions. These three features of today's global market for capital are inextricably related to the new technologies. The difference they have made can be seen in two consequences. One is the multiplication of specialized financial markets. It is not only a question of global markets for equities, bonds, futures, currencies, but also of the proliferation of enormously specialized global sub-markets for each of these. The second consequence is that the combination of these conditions has con-

---

knowledge. We, as part of the network, are also active in the new campaign myBrandenburg. We still follow the concept of participatory emancipatory youthwork. Since October 2002 we are also part of the youtheducation network, that is looking for an up to date theoretical term of education/ formation.

Bildungsteam
http://www.bildungsteam.de
The Bildungsteam Berlin Brandenburg is a nonprofit association which is active in the following fields of work: out-of-school political education, international encounters, political education for trainees and unem-

ployed youth, further education for multipliers (e.g. teachers and social workers).

Bomb Mitte
http://www.bombmitte.com
Bomb Mitte is an avant-hop recordlabel founded by musician and journalist Markus Hablizel.

Brothers Keepers
http://www.brothers-keepers.de
Brotherkeepers is a network of currently 23 afrogerman musicians taking position in the recent debate on racist motivated acts of violence.

Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung
http://www.bpb.de
The bpb supports citizens to take interest in politics.

Bureau d'etudes
http://bureaudetudes.free.fr

Candida TV
http://candida.thing.net
Candida TV was born from the melting of different realities: underground cinema, video production, rave parties, street theaters, independent radios, subversive telemathic and counterculture pop magazines. Candida is a core group of 7

people in Rome, Italy, fusing the experiences of self-managed squatted community centers and technical knowledge in the field of video production.

Carava.net
http://www.carava.net
The Caravan for the rights of refugees and migrants was founded following a series of demonstrations and campaigns during the pre-election period 1998 and later became a german-wide network of refugee organisations, migrants and progressive groups. The activities of the caravan since that time include refugee congresses and summits (as in Jena in 2000), tri-

tributed to the distinctive position of the global capital market in relation to several other components of economic globalization. We can specify two major traits, one concerning orders of magnitude and the second the spatial organization of finance. In terms of the first, indicators are the actual monetary values involved and, though more difficult to measure, the growing weight of financial criteria in economic transactions, sometimes referred to as the financializing of the economy. Since 1980, the total stock of financial assets has increased three times faster than the aggregate GDP of the 23 highly developed countries that formed the OECD for much of this period; and the volume of trading in currencies, bonds and equities has increased about five times faster and now surpasses it by far. As for the second major trait, the spatial organization of finance, it has been deeply shaped by regulation. The wave of deregulations that began in the mid-1980s has lifted many of the formal constraints to the geographic spread of the industry and has brought with it a sharp increase in access to what were still largely national financial centers and has enabled innovations which, in turn, facilitated the industry 's expansion both geographically and institutionally.

Distinctiveness of Capital Market

If we measure the volume of long-term flows as a share of national economies the large and dynamic international financial market from the late 1800s to the inter-war period was as massive as today's. The extent of its internationalization can be seen in the fact that in 1920, for example, Moody's rated bonds issued by about 50 governments to raise money in the American capital markets (Sinclair 1994). The depression brought on a radical decline in the extent of this internationalization, and it was not till very recently that Moody's was once again rating the bonds of about fifty governments. Indeed, as late as 1985, only 15 foreign governments were borrowing in the U.S. capital markets. Not until after 1985 did the international financial markets re-emerge as a major factor. But there are significant differences. One is the volume of short-term financial flows that has grown sharply and outstrips long-term flows, this has brought with it the rise of types of financial institutions almost exclusively involved in such flows and hence highly speculative. More generally, there has been a growing concentration of market power in institutions, including more conservatives ones such as pension funds and insurance companies. Institutional investors are not new. What is different beginning in the 1980s is the diversity of types of funds, the rapid escalation of the value of their assets, and the sharp rise of extremely speculative institutions. Hedge funds are among the most speculative of these institutions; they sidestep certain disclosure and leverage regulations by having a small private clientele and, frequently, by operating offshore. While they are not new, the growth in their size and their capacity to affect the functioning of markets certainly grew enormously in the 1990s and they emerged as a major force by the late 1990s. It is particularly in the world of short-term flows and speculative investors that digitization has had transformative consequences. The increased digitization of both transactions and instruments discussed above has enabled the work of producing innovations and has enabled the workability of a variety of new but also older innovations. Today we have seen a multiplication of types of derivatives and a sharp increase in their complexity. This in turn has led to what we might describe as the growing embeddedness of financial instrument develop-

ment in academic economics (MacKenzie 2003, Callon 1998). Digitization of transactions and instruments has been central to this multiplication of types of derivatives and their increased complexity. The overall result has been a massive increase in the extent to which the financial industry has been able to securitize various forms of what were previously considered untradeable assets or were simply not considered as assets, e.g. many forms of debt. At a macro-institutional level, the proliferation of innovative derivatives has furthered the linking of national markets by producing specific types of incentives. One indicator is the growing importance of cross border transactions measured in terms of their value as a percentage of GDP in the leading developed economies.in the digital era: more concentration than dispersal?

Locational concentration

In theory, the intensification of deregulation and the instituting of policies in various countries aimed at creating a supportive cross-border environment for financial transactions, could have dramatically changed the locational logic of the transformation. Today we might expect the actual spatial organization of the industry to be a much better indicator of its market-driven locational dynamics than was the case in earlier phases with more regulation and less digitization. But empirically what stands out in the evidence about the global financial markets after a decade and a half of deregulation, worldwide integration, and major advances in electronic trading is the extent of locational concentration and the premium firms are willing to pay to be in major financial centers. Large shares of many financial markets are disproportionately concentrated in a few financial centers. This trend towards consolidation in a few centers, even as the network of integrated financial centers expands globally, is evident within countries. There is both consolidation in fewer major centers across and within countries and a sharp growth in the numbers of centers that become part of the global network as countries deregulate their economies and the global economy expands accordingly. Bombay, for instance became incorporated in the global financial network in the early 1990s after India (partly) deregulated its financial system. This mode of incorporation into the global network is often at the cost of losing functions that these cities may have had when they were largely national centers. Today the leading, typically foreign, financial, accounting and legal services firms enter their markets to handle the many of the new cross-border operations.the continuing utility of spatial agglomerationThere are at least three reasons that explain the trend towards con-

solidation in a few centers rather than massive dispersal.i) First, while the new communications technologies do indeed facilitate geographic dispersal of economic activities without losing system integration, they have also had the effect of strengthening the importance of central coordination and control functions for firms and, even, markets. Indeed for firms in any sector, operating a widely dispersed network of branches and affiliates and operating in multiple markets has made central functions far more complicated. It is increasingly evident that to maximize the benefits of the new information technologies firms need not only the infrastructure but also a complex mix of other resources. In the case of financial markets we could make a parallel argument. Most of the value added that these technologies can produce for advanced service firms lies in so-called externalities. And this means the material and human resources —state of the art office buildings, top talent, and the social networking infrastructure that maximizes connectivity. Financial centers provide the social connectivity that allows a firm or market to maximize the benefits of its technical connectivity. ii) Besides the familiar mergers and acquisitions of firms an important trend in the global capital market is the »merger« of electronic exchanges that connect select groups of centers. There are a number of networks connecting markets that have been set up in the last few years. In 1999 NASDAQ, the second largest US stock market after the New York Stock Exchange, set up NASDAQ Japan and in 2000 NASDAQ Canada. This gives investors in Japan and Canada direct access to the market in the U.S. Europe's more than 30 stock exchanges have been seeking to shape various alliances. Euronext (NEXT) is Europe's largest stock exchange merger, an alliance among the Paris, Amsterdam and Brussels bourses. A novel pattern is hostile takeovers, not of firms, but of markets, such as the attempt by the owners of the Stockholm Stock Exchange to buy the London Stock Exchange (for a price of US$ 3.7 billion). These developments may well ensure the consolidation of a stratum of select financial centers at the top of the worldwide network of 30 or 40 global cities through which the global financial industry operates. Taking an indicator such as equities under management shows a similar pattern of spread and simultaneous concentration at the top of the hierarchy. These developments make clear a second important trend that in many ways specifies the current global era. In the initial stages of deregulation in the 1980s there was a strong tendency to see the relation among the major centers as one of straight competition when it came to international transactions.

---
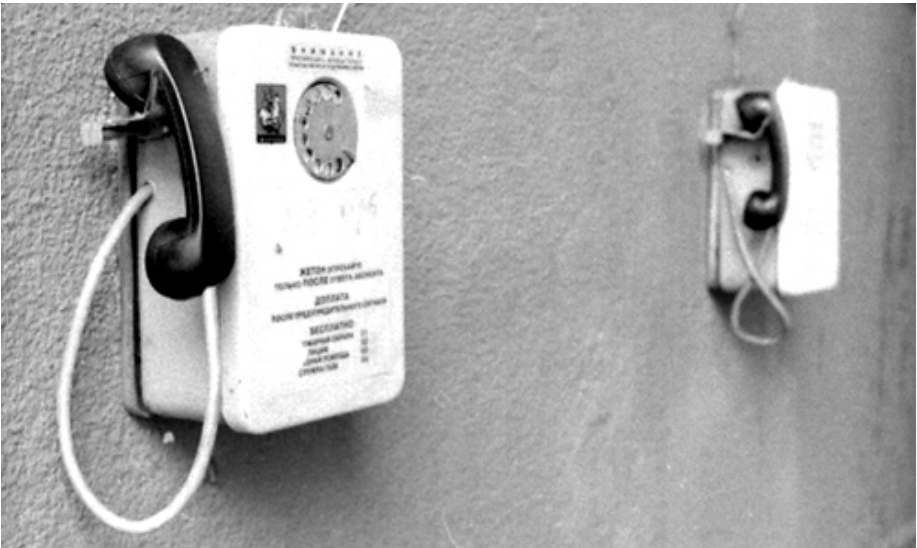
bunals (e.g. on Nigeria 2001 in Bremen) and a wide range of campaigns against the racist German asylum laws, against the deportation of members of the caravan, or against the situation in refugee camps.

The Collectif Précipité is made up of video filmmakers, photographers, sound artists, graphic artists, jurists and philosophers. Its objective is to design and create documentary objects (films, books, CDs, posters). An essential part of the projects we develop is to create collective processes of reflection and exchange through the

spoken or written word.
In the beginning of January, 2003, in Paris, the Collectif Précipité* commenced a work of reflection on the word «borders» in an Emmaus emergency shelter (Centre d'Hébergement d'Urgence Emmaus) which primarily receives «sans-papiers» and applicants for asylum.
For several years now, an increasing number of migrant persons seek refuge in this type of humanitarian structure. For most, the difficulty of finding housing is just one of many steps that must be gone through in the long, drawn out process of crossing the border.
Over a four month period, we organised workshops for testimonies and discussion on themes

such as exile, administration, work and life in the shelters. Then, with some of the people who stay at the Emmaus shelter, we travelled around Paris and its suburbs looking for places where the border continues to make itself felt. These «sound voyages» enabled us to locate and describe places in our shared space that mark an invisible dividing line between those who have papers and rights, and those who do not. Three ideas proved useful in describing the condition of those who reside inside the border : forced wandering, endless waiting and invisibility.

Consume is a collaborative strategy for the self provision of a broadband telecommunications infrastructure free from commercial limitations and guarded interests.

We work together to build clusters of interconnecting 'nodes' using widely available networking products and optimise existing local services where possible to re-distribute network access and free the exchange of information further. We can realise some of the promises of modern communications on a local level at a fraction of the commercial cost by building our own supplements to the Internet. There is no single set of reasons why we

Strategic Collaboration

New York, London and Tokyo, then the major centers in the system, were seen as competing. What we are seeing now is an additional pattern whereby the cooperation or division of functions is somewhat institutionalized: strategic alliances not only between firms across borders but also between markets. There is competition, strategic collaboration and hierarchy. Together all of these trends indicate the emergence of global formations where before there were interactions among national centers, but global formations partly embedded in networks of financial centers.iii) It is important to recognize that national financial centers have themselves been transformed by these developments. National attachments and identities are becoming weaker for global firms and their customers. Global financial products are accessible in national markets and national investors can operate in global markets. For instance, some of the major Brazilian firms now list on the New York Stock Exchange, and by-pass the Sao Paulo exchange, a new practice which has caused somewhat of an uproar in specialized circles in Brazil. While it is as yet inconceivable in the Asian case, this may well change given the growing number of foreign acquisitions of major firms in several countries. It can be argued that
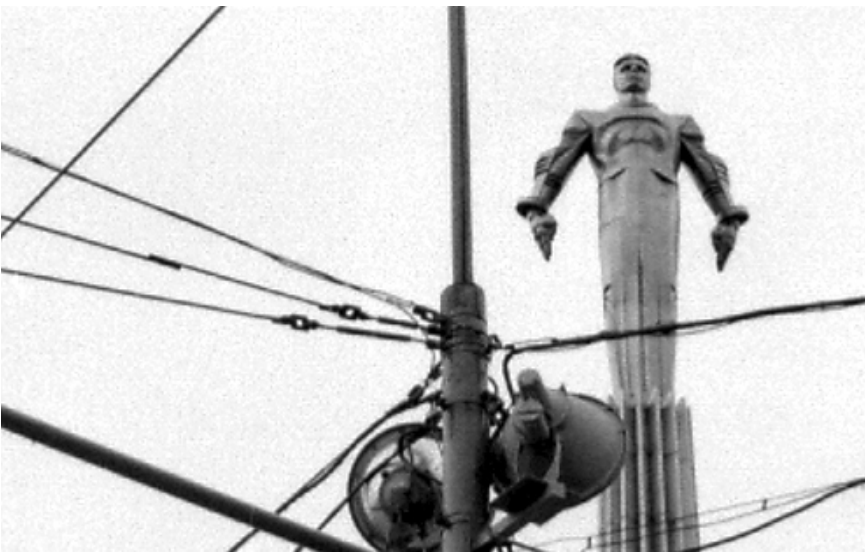
such denationalization is a necessary condition for economic globalization. The sophistication of this system lies in the fact that it only needs to involve strategic institutional areas —most national systems can be left basically unaltered.a politics of places on global circuits: the local as multiscalarParticular instantiations of the local can actually be constituted at multiple scales and thereby construct global formations that tend towards lateralized and horizontal networks. Local, often resource-poor organizations and individuals can become part of global networks and struggles. These practices are constituting a specific type of global politics, one that runs through localities and is not predicated on the existence of global institutions. Simultaneous decentralized access can help local actors have a sense of participation in struggles that are not necessarily global but are, rather, globally distributed in that they recur in locality after locality. The conceptualization of the local in the social sciences has assumed physical/geographic proximity and thereby a sharply defined territorial boundedness, with the associated implication of closure. Also, partly a consequence of the first, there is a strong tendency to conceive of the local as part of a hierarchy of nested scales, especially once there are national states. These conceptualizations hold for most of the instantiations of the local today, but there are also conditions that contribute to destabilize these practices and for-

mations and hence invite a reconceptualization of the local that can accommodate a set of instances that diverge from dominant patterns. Key among these current conditions are globalization and/or globality as constitutive not only of cross-border institutional spaces but also of powerful imaginaries enabling aspirations to transboundary political practice even when the actors involved are basically localized. Computer centered interactive technologies facilitate multiscalar transactions and simultaneous interconnectivity among those largely confined to a locality. As has been widely recognized by now, new ICTS do not simply replace existing media techniques. For instance, a survey of local and grassroots human rights NGOs in several regions of the world found that the Internet makes exchange of information easier and is helpful in developing other kinds of collaboration, but that it did not helps launch joint projects (Lannon 2002: 33). On the other hand, there is evidence of highly creative ways of using the new ICTs along with older media recognizing the needs of particular communities. A good example is using the Internet to send audio files that can then be broadcast over loudspeakers to groups who lack access to the Internet or are illiterate. There is little doubt that the gathering, storage and dissemination of information are crucial functions for

Human rights, large development, and environmental organizations whom are at this point the leaders in the effort to build online databases and archives. Adams (1996), among others, shows us how telecommunications create new linkages across space that underline the importance of networks of relations and partly bypass older hierarchies of scale. The issue is one of orders of magnitude, scope and simultaneity: the technologies, the institutions and the imaginaries that mark the current global digital context inscribe local political practice with new meanings and new potentialities. Distributed access is crucial: once an alert enters the network from no matter what point of access it spreads very fast through the whole network. Amnesty's Urgent Action Alert is such a system. The second form of multi-scalar interaction is one where localized struggles are aiming at engaging global actors, e.g. WTO, IMF, or multinational firms, either at the global scale or in multiple localities. Local initiatives can become part of a global network of activism without losing the focus on specific local struggles. (E.g., Cleaver 1998, Espinoza 1999, Ronfeldt et al. 1998, Mele 1999).

Space for Social Struggles

Moreover, the architecture of digital networks, primed to span the world, can actually serve to intensify transactions among residents of a city or

region, it can serve to make them aware of neighboring communities, gain an understanding of local issues that resonate positively or negatively with communities that are in the same city rather than with those that are at the other end of the world (Riemens and Lovink 2002). Recovering how the new digital technology can serve to support local initiatives and alliances inside a locality is important given the almost exclusive emphasis in the representation of these technologies of their global scope and deployment. Cyberspace is a far more concrete space for social struggles than that of the national political system. It becomes a place where non-formal political actors can be part of the political scene in a way that is much more difficult in national institutional channels. Nationally, politics needs to run through existing formal systems: whether the electoral political system or the judiciary (taking state agencies to court). Non-formal political actors are rendered invisible in the space of national politics. Individuals and groups that have historically been excluded from formal political systems and whose struggles can be partly enacted outside those systems, can find in cyberspace an enabling environment both for their emergence as non-formal political actors and for their struggles. We see here the potential transformation of actors »confined« to domestic roles, into actors in global networks without having to leave their work and roles in their communities. They do not have to become cosmopolitan in this process, and yet they are participating in emergent global politics.The most significant feature in both the case of global markets and in the case of activism is the possibility of expanded decentralization and simultaneous integration. The fact that local political initiatives can become part of a global network parallels the articulation of the capital market with a network of financial centers. Among the technical properties that produce the specific utility in each case is the possibility of being global without losing the focus on specific local conditions/resources. Insofar as the new network technologies strengthen and create new types of cross-border activities among non-state actors, they enable the constitution of a distinct and only partly digital condition. The non-digital variables differ sharply between these two cases, even as digitization is crucial to constituting the specificity of each case. The divergence is evident in the fact that the same technical properties produced greater concentration of power in the case of the capital market and greater distribution of power in the second case.

---

should want to do this: one of Consume's strengths is that it is many different things to many different people.

Crowd Compiler
http://www.softhook.com
Ever since the very first photograph of a crowd was taken in 1848, these images have been controversial for what they purported to show and what they did not show. Even today, most representations of the crowd aim to rationalise and quantify the crowd rather than show its curious dynamics of both density and fluidity. The Crowd **8** Compiler software tries to present the 'crowd in time' rather than a static

snapshot. A fixed camera takes photographs at regular intervals which are then sequentially processed by the software. Using a simple algorithm all the visual changes between the frames are composited and made simultaneously visible. The resulting images widen our senses to this normally invisible 'temporal crowd' which occupies public space. Is this just a special effect? No, the images carry real information about the effect of architecture and urban design on group behaviour. Of equal importance is the fact that the images are created by a process that is legible. The political and technical logic of the representation becomes visible in the image itself rather than being hidden away.

Cyberpipe
http://www.cyberpipe.org
Cyberpipe is an independent cyber/media/art centre in Ljubljana/Slovenia.

Cyberrex
http://cyberrex.org
Cyberrex cultural centre from Belgrad is a laboratory for research of new fields of culture.

D Media
http://www.d-media.tk
The »democratization« of media in post-socialist Europe has been celebrated since 1989. Yet how democratic is the current state of media aware-

ness and media production? The standardization of TV, radio, print, & web to a few recognizable, widespread forms place the control over content and over the methods of production in the hands of an elite few. »Free media« is at its lowest point since Ceausescu's regime, with the majority of local newspapers, televisions and radios now owned by politicians or businessmen with direct affiliations to political parties. As the situation deteriorates, the need for media freedom becomes a necessity – but this means taking it beyond the elite who own the mainstream press, and making it possible for everyone to become »the media..«
1. Access & Do It Yourself Ethic: The rise in new

From Utopia to Networks

Matteo Pasquinelli

Rather than of general intellect we should talk of general intellects. There are multiple forms of collective intelligence. Some can become totalitarian systems, such as the military-managerial ideology of the neocons or of Microsoft empire. Others can be embodied in social democratic bureaucracies, in the apparatus of police control, in the maths of stock market speculators, in the architecture of our cities (every day we walk on concretions of collective intelligence). In the dystopias of 2001 Space Odyssey and The Matrix, the brain of machines evolves into self-consciousness to the point of getting rid of the human. 'Good' collective intelligences, on the other hand, produce international networks of cooperation such as the network of the global movement, of precarious workers, of free software developers, of media activism. They also produce the sharing of knowledge in universities, the Creative Commons open licenses and participative urban planning, narrations and imaginaries of liberation.

From a geopolitical perspective we could figure ourselves in one of Philip Dick's sci-fi paranoia: Earth is dominated by one Intelligence, but inside of it a war unfolds between two Organisations of the general intellect, opposed yet intertwined. Used to the traditional representative forms of the global movement we fail to grasp the new productive conflicts. Concerned as we are about the imperial war, we do not appreciate the centrality of this struggle. Following Manuel Castells, we define the movement as a resistance identity that fails to become a project identity. We are not aware of the distance between the global movement and the centre of capitalist production. Paraphrasing Paolo Virno, we say that there already is too much politics in new forms of production for the politics of the movement to still enjoy any autonomous dignity.[ii]
The events of 1977 (not only in Italy but also in the punk season) sanctioned the end of the 'revolutionary' paradigm and the beginning of that of movement, opening new spaces of conflict in the fields of communication, media and the production of the imagery. These days we are discovering that the 'movement' as a format needs to be overcome, in favour of that of network.

Three kinds of action, well separated in the XIXth century - labour, politics and art - are now integrated into one attitude and central to each productive process. In order to work, do politics or produce imaginary today one needs hybrid competences. This means that we all are workers-artists-activists, but it also means that the figures of the militant and the artist are surpassed and that such competences are only formed in a common space that is the sphere of the collective intellect. Since Marx's Grundrisse, the general intellect is the patriarch of a family of concepts that are more numerous and cover a wide range of issues: knowledge-based economy, information society, cognitive capitalism, immaterial labour, collective intelligence, creative class, cognitariat, knowledge sharing and postfordism. In the last few years the political lexicon has got rich of interlaced critical tools that we turn over in our hands wondering about their exact usefulness. For the sake of simplicity, we only accounted for the terms that inherited an Enlightenment, speculative, angelic and almost neognostic approach. But reality is much more complex and we wait for new forms to claim for themselves the role that within the same field is due to desire, body, aesthetics, biopolitics. We also remember the quarrel of cognitive vs. precarious workers, two faces of the same medal that the precogs of Chainworkers.org describe in this way: »cognitive workers are networkers, precarious workers are networked, the former are brainworkers, the latter chainworkers: the former first seduced and then abandoned by companies and financial markets, the latter dragged into and made flexible by the fluxes of global capital«.[ii]
The point is that we are searching for a new collective agent and a new point of application for the rusted revolutionary lever. The success of the concept of multitude also reflects the current disorientation. Critical thought continuously seeks to forge the collective actor that can embody the Zeitgeist and we can go back to history reconstructing the underlying forms of each paradigm of political action: the more or less collective social agent, the more or less vertical organisation, the more or less utopian goal. Proletariat and multitude, party and movement, revolution and self-organisation.

In the current imaginary the general intellect (or whatever you want to call it) seems to be the collective agent, its form being the network, its goal creating a plane of self-organisation, its field of action being biopolitical spectacular cognitive capitalism.
We are not talking about multitude here, because it is a concept at once too noble and inflated, heir of centuries of philosophy and too often called for by marching megaphones. The concept of multitude has been more useful to exorcise the identitary pretences of the global movement, than as a constructive tool. The pars construens will be a task for the general intellect: philosophers such as Paolo Virno, when they have to find a common ground, the lost collective agent, reconstruct the Collective Intelligence and Cooperation as emerging and constitutive properties of the multitude.

A global radical class

In a different paranoid fable, we imagine that technology is the last heir of a series of collective agents generated by history as in a matryoshka doll: religion - theology - philosophy - ideology - science - technology. This is to say that in information and intelligence technologies the history of thought is stratified, even though we only remember the last episode of this series, i.e. the network that embodies the dreams of the previous political generation.
How did we come to all this? We are at the point of convergence between different historical planes: the inheritance of historical vanguards in the synthesis of aesthetics and politics; the struggles of '68 and '77 that open up new spaces for conflict outside of the factories and inside the imaginary and communication; the hypertrophy of the society of the spectacle and the economy of the logo; the transformation of fordist wage labour into postfordist autonomous precarious labour; the information revolution and the emergence of the internet, the net economy and the network society; utopia turned into technology. The highest exercise of representation that becomes molecular production.
Some perceive the current moment as a lively world network, some as an indistinct cloud, some as a new form of exploitation, some as an opportunity. Today the density reaches its critical mass and forms a global radical class on the intersection of the planes of activism, communication, arts, network technologies and independent research. What does it mean, to be productive and projectual, to abandon mere representation of conflict and the representative forms of politics? There is a hegemonic metaphor in political debate, in the arts world, in philosophy, in media criticism, in network culture: that is Free Software. We hear it quoted at the end of each intervention that poses the problem of what is to be done (but also in articles of strategic marketing.), whilst the twin metaphor of open source contaminates every discipline: open source architecture, open source literature, open source democracy, open source city...

Networks as megamachines

Softwares are immaterial machines. The metaphor of Free Software is so simple for its immateriality that it often fails to clash with the real world. Even if we know that it is a good and right thing, we ask polemically: what will change when all the computers in the world will run free software? The most interesting aspect of the free software model is the immense cooperative network that was created by programmers on a global scale, but which other concrete examples can we refer to in proposing new forms of action in the real world and not only in the digital realm? In the '70s Deleuze and Guattari had the intuition of the machinic, an introjection / imitation of the industrial form of production. Finally a hydraulic materialism was talking about desiring, revolutionary, celibate, war machines rather than representative or ideological ones.[iii]
Deleuze and Guattari took the machine out of the factory, now it is up to us to take it out of the network and imagine a post-internet generation. Cognitive labour produces machines of all kinds, not only software: electronic machines, narrative machines, advertising machines, mediatic machines, acting machines, psychic machines, social machines, libidinous machines. In the XIXth century the definition of machine referred to a device transforming energy. In the XXth century Turing's machine - the foundation of all computing - starts interpreting information in the form of sequences of 0 and 1. For Deleuze and Guattari on the other hand a desiring machine produces, cuts and composes fluxes and without rest it produces the real.
Today we intend by machine the elementary form of the general intellect, each node of the network of collective intelligence, each material or immaterial dispositif that organically interlinks the fluxes of the economy and our desires.
At a higher level, the network can itself be regarded as a mega-machine of assemblage of other machines, and even the multitude becomes machinic, as Negri and Hardt write in Empire: »The multitude not only uses machines to produce, but also becomes increasingly machinic itself, as the means of production are increasingly integrated into the minds and bodies of the multitude. In this context reappropriation means having free access to and control over knowledge, information, communication, and affects because these are some of the primary means of biopolitical production. Just because these productive machines have been integrated into the multitude does not mean that the multitude has control over them. Rather, it makes more vicious and injurious their alienation. The right to reappropriation is really the multitude's right to self-control and autonomous self-production«.[iv]
In other words in postfordism the factory has come out of the factory and the whole of society has become a factory. An already machinic multitude suggests tha t the actual subversion of the productive system into an autonomous plane could be possible in a flash, by disconnecting the multitude from capital command. But the operation is not that easy in the traditional terms of 'reappropriation of the means of production'. Why?

What is knowledge sharing? How does the knowledge economy function? Where is the general intellect at work? Take the cigarettes machine. The machine you see is the embodying of a scientific knowledge into hardware and software components, generations of engineering stratified for commercial use: it automatically manages fluxes of money and commodities, substitutes a human with a user-friendly interface, defends private property, functions on the basis of a minimal control and restocking routine. Where has the tobacconist gone? Sometimes he enjoys free time. Other times the company that owns the chain of distribution has replaced him. In his place one often meets the technician. Far from emulating Marx's Fragment on machines with a Fragment on cigarette machines, this unhealthy example is meant to show how postfordist theories live around us and that material or abstract machines built by collective intelligence are organically chained to the fluxes of the economy and of our needs.

---

technologies and cheap consumer electronics has made possible the growth of independent media production and global networks of collaboration. In principle, everyone has the power to do it themselves. In reality, cheap consumer electronics are not so cheap everywhere, and real inequalities of technical knowledge have not placed media production in the hands of the vast number of people. One of our main goals is to promote a form of organization based on shared work and collaboration and to prevent inequalities of knowledge which lead to an atmosphere of passivity as people wait for someone else who is more »expert« to do it for them. We believe in the necessity of helping each other - not by producing something for others who don't know how, but by passing down the knowledge and skills so that others can learn how to do it themselves.
Our first two projects – Radio Fara Frecventa (Zero Frequency Radio) , a community net.radio with an open door policy and Realitatea SF (Reality SF) , a team producing experimental digital video documentaries about youth cultures and civil society in Romania – seek to open up the field of media production and to promote the use of new technologies among young people. Our long term goal is to create a public access media production lab for the local community of Cluj, which would open the possibilities of »free media« beyond our own production teams.

2. Software as Social Principle:
Most of the computerized world in Romania, and South-east Europe in general, is living off pirated Microsoft software. While piracy might diminish some of the economic control of corporate monopolies, it lives under the threat of being discovered and fined, and it does nothing to change the forms of mind control which take orwellian restrictions on freedom as something normal. A real alternative to Microsoft's monopoly is not theft through unlicensed use of its software, but choosing operating systems and software which are not based on distinctions between payment and theft and on rules of private property, but are based instead on freedom of distribution, an ethic of sharing, and the freedom of users to control and customize products to fit their own needs. To encourage the use of free software, we plan to produce informative publications and to organize training workshops on Linux and various OS content management systems.
3. Information Campaign:
The meaning of a public domain, the advantages of using free software, and the ways Intellectual Property law is used not to promote the freedom and creativity of producers but primarily to benefit the pockets of large corporations ... are issues still relatively unknown in Romania. They are not promoted either on the level of a national IT policy nor even dis-

Whilst it is true that today the main means of labour is the brain and that workers can immediately reappropriate the means of production, it is also true that control and exploitation in society have become immaterial, cognitive, networked. Not only the general intellect of the multitudes has grown, but also the general intellect of the empire. The workers, armed with their computers, can reappropriate the means of production, but as soon as the stick their nose out of their desktop they have to face a Godzilla that they had not predicted, the Godzilla of the enemy's general intellect.

Social, state and economic meta-machines - to which human beings are connected like appendixes - are dominated by conscious and subconscious automatisms. Meta-machines are ruled by a particular kind of cognitive labour which is the administrative political managerial labour, that runs projects, organizes, controls on a vast scale: a form of general intellect that we have never considered, whose prince is a figure that appears on the scene in the second half of the XXth century: the manager.

Be the Machine!

As Bifo tells us recalling Orwell, in our post-democratic world (or if you prefer in empire) man-

agers have seized command: »Capitalism is disappearing, but Socialism is not replacing it. What is now arising is a new kind of planned, centralised society which will be neither capitalist nor, in any accepted sense of the word, democratic. The rulers of this new society will be the people who effectively control the means of production: that is, business executives, technicians, bureaucrats and soldiers, lumped together by Burnham, under the name of managers. These people will eliminate the old capitalist class, crush the working class, and so organise society that all power and economic privilege remain in their own hands. Private property rights will be abolished, but common ownership will not be established. The new managerial societies will not consist of a patchwork of small, independent states, but of great super-states grouped round the main industrial centres in Europe, Asia, and America. Internally, each society will be hierarchical, with an aristocracy of talent at the top and a mass of semi-slaves at the bottom«.[v]
At the beginning we mentioned two intelligences that face one another in the world and the forms in which they manifest themselves. The multitude functions as a machine because it is inside a scheme, a social software, thought for the exploitation of its energies and its ideas. Then, the techno-managers (public private or military)

are those who, whether consciously or not, plan and control machines made up of human beings assembled with one another. The dream of General intellect brings forth monsters. Compared with the pervasive neoliberal techno-management, the intelligence of the global movement is of little importance. What's to be done? We need to invent virtuous revolutionary radical machines to place them in the nodal points of the network, as well as facing the general intellect that administers the imperial meta-machines. Before starting this we need to be aware of the density of the 'intelligence' that is condensed in each commodity, organization, message and media, in each machine of postmodern society. Don't hate the machine, be the machine. How can we turn the sharing of knowledge, tools and spaces into new radical revolutionary productive machines, beyond the inflated Free Software? This is the challenge that once upon the time was called reappropriation of the means of production.
Will the global radical class manage to invent social machines that can challenge capital and function as planes of autonomy and autopoiesis? Radical machines that are able to face the techno-managerial intelligence and imperial meta-machines lined up all around us? The match multitude vs. empire becomes the match radical machines vs. imperial techno-monsters. How do we start building these machines?

Matteo Pasquinelli mat@rekombinant.org
Berlin - Bologna, February 2004
Web + PDF: http://www.rekombinant.org/article.php?sid=2257
(translated by Arianna Bove)

Notes
[i] Paolo Virno, A Grammar of the Multitude, Semiotext(e), New York 2003. Orig. ed. Grammatica della moltitudine, Derive Approdi, Roma 2002.
[ii] Chainworkers, Il precognitariato. L'europrecariato si è sollevato, 2003, published on www.rekombinant.org/article.php?sid=2184. See also http://www.chainworkers.org and http://www.inventati.org/mailman/listinfo/precog.
[iii] Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari, L'anti-Oedipe, Les Éditions De Minuit, Paris 1972.
[iv] Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, Empire, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA 2000.
[v] George Orwell, Second Thoughts on James Burnham, 1946, quoted in: Franco »Bifo« Berardi, Il totalitarismo tecno-manageriale da Burnham a Bush, 2004, published on http://www.rekombinant.org/article.php?sid=224
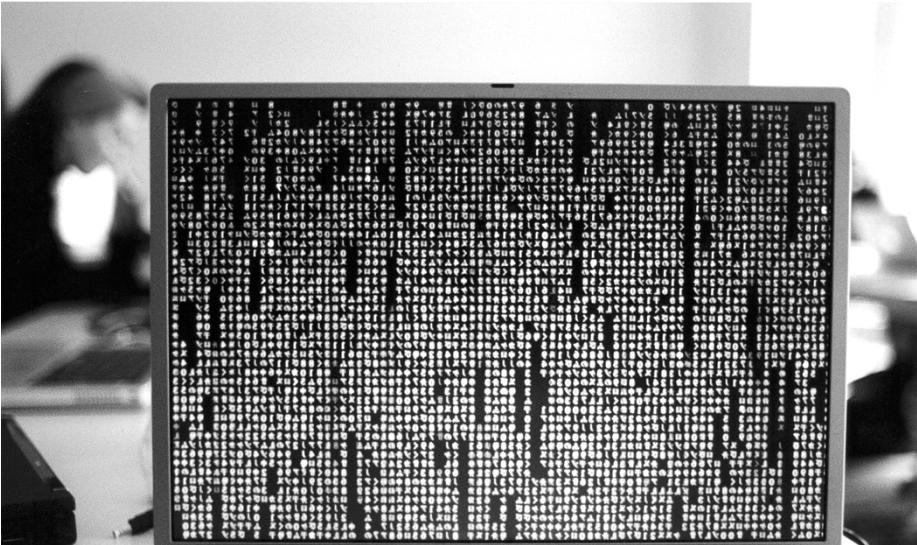
Struggle, Event, Media

Maurizion Lazzarato

Why can the paradigm of representation not function in politics, nor in artistic modes of expression, and here especially in the production of works that employ moving images?

I will attempt to answer these questions by using a paradigm that imagines the constitution of the world from the relationship between event and multiplicity. Representation is conversely founded on the subject-work paradigm. In this paradigm the images, the signs and the statements have the function of representing the object, the world, whereas in the paradigm of the event, images, signs and statements contribute to allowing the world to happen. Images, signs and statements do not represent something, but rather create possible worlds. I would like to explain this paradigm by using two concrete examples: the dynamic of the emergence and the constitution of post-socialist political movements and the way television functions, in other words, signs, images and statements in the contemporary economy.

Metamorphosis of Subjectivity

The days of Seattle were a political event, which - like every event - first generated a transformation of subjectivity and its own mode of sensibility. The motto »a different world is possible« is symptomatic of this metamorphosis of subjectivity and

its sensibility. The difference between this and other political events of the previous century is radical. For example, the event of Seattle no longer refers to class struggle and the necessity of taking power. It does not mention the subject of history, the working class, its enemy capital, or the fatal battle that they must engage in. It restricts itself to announcing that »something possible has been created«, that there are new possibilities for living, and that it is a matter of realizing them; that a possible world has been expressed and that it must be brought to completion. We have entered into a different intellectual atmosphere, a different conceptual constellation.

Before Seattle, a different world was merely virtual. Now it is actual or possible, but it is something actual, something possible that has to be realized. The transformation of subjectivity must invent time-space arrangements that watch over this re-evaluation of values, which was able to bring forth a generation that has grown up after the fall of the Berlin wall, in the period of major American expansion, and in the New Economy. Twofold creation, twofold individuation, twofold becoming. The signs, images and statements

play a strategic role in this twofold becoming: they contribute to allowing the possible to emerge, and they contribute to its realization. It is at this point that the »conflict« is confronted with the dominant values. The implementation of new possibilities for living runs into the existing organization of power and the established values. In the event, one sees what is intolerable about an era and the new possibilities for living that it contains at the same time. The mode of the event is the problematic. The event is not the solution to a problem, but rather opens up what is possible. For Mikhail Bakhtin, the event reveals the nature of being as a question or as a problem - specifically in such a way that the sphere of the being of the event is simultaneously that of »answering and questioning«.
The days of Seattle involve a corporeal arrangement, a combination of bodies (with their actions and passions) composed of individual and collective singularities (multiplicity of individuals and organizations - Marxists, ecologists, union activists, Trotskyists, media activists, »witches«, Black Bloc, etc., which practice specific corporeal relations of co-functioning); and there is an arrangement of statements, a regime of state-

cussed within the system of higher education. And despite some lipservice to how far the »democratization« of Romania has advanced, also unknown and unpromoted are forms of organization based on collaboration between equal members of a team rather than on hierarchies, as well as a deeper understanding of civic engagement in the political and cultural sphere. For these reasons we consider it necessary to establish another type of »university« which would promote a deeper understanding of civic engagement, the public domain, and media freedom. Conferences and symposia (on media democracy and the public sphere) as well as hands on training workshops

(radio, video production, streaming software, electronic sound) have been part of this media education campaign during the previous year. In addition to local events, we are developing an online magazine which can bring these issues to a wider Romanian speaking audience.
4. Networking & Cooperation:
To overcome the culture of isolationism, one of our main goals is to promote real social links and working collaborations between media producers and individuals active in social, political and ecological struggles, as well as between NGOs from different cities in Romania who don't yet know each other, and between Romanian groups and those with similar interests and activities in other

countries. In a Romanian context, for 2004 we are planning a series of documentaries about NGOs with similar profiles in Romania, as well as creating a network between such NGOs through the use of mailing lists and collaborative publications. On an international level, we are currently working to develop a series of exchanges with NGOs from Central and Eastern Europe, which includes the participation of D Media members in extended residencies at Multimedia Institute in Zagreb, Croatia (http://mama.mi2.hr) and K@2 in Karosta Latvia, (http://www.karosta.org).
THE VISION: It is not through opposition that alternatives emerge, but through new values and new forms of cooperation. In this sense D Media

is not just a media experiment but a social laboratory. As people become used to doing things for themselves rather than relying on experts, to claiming their right to take control of their own lives and participate actively in politics and culture, to using technologies that promote sharing and cooperation rather than privatization and competition, old forms of passivity and social control will begin to wither away and a true civil society can emerge.

D-A-S-H

http://d-a-s-h.org
Networking against exclusion. Young people from all over Europe struggle against racism and exclu-

does it generate the subject (worker and consumer), but rather the world in which the subject exists.

In contemporary capitalism, we must first distinguish the enterprise from the factory. Two years ago a large French multinational corporation announced that it would part with eleven production sites. This separation between enterprise and factory is a borderline case, but one that is becoming increasingly frequent in contemporary capitalism. In the majority of cases, these two functions are mutually integrated; we presume, however, that their separation is symbolic of a more profound transformation of capitalist production. What will this multinational corporation retain? What does it understand as »enterprise«? All the functions, all the services and all the employees that allow it to create a world: marketing, service, design, communication, etc.

The enterprise generates a service or a product. In its logic, the service or the product exists, just like consumers and producers, for its world, the world of the enterprise; the latter must be internalized in the souls and bodies of the workers and consumers. In contemporary capitalism, the enterprise does not exist outside the producers and consumers that give it expression. Its world, its objectivity and its reality mix with the relationships that the enterprise, the workers and the consumers have with one another.

Communication/Consumption

Let us start with consumption, because the relationship between supply and demand has been reversed: the customers are the pivotal point of the enterprise strategy. In reality, this definition from political economy does not even touch the problem: the sensational rise, the strategic role played in contemporary capitalism by the expression machine (of opinion, communication, marketing and thus the signs, images and statements).

Consumption is not reduced to the act of buying and carrying out a service or a product, as political economics and its criticism teach, but instead means, first of all, belonging to a world or a universe. Which world is this? It is enough to turn on the television or the radio, go for a walk in a city, buy a weekly or daily newspaper, to know that this world is constructed through a statement arrangement, through a sign regime, the expression of which is called advertising, and what is expressed (the meaning) is a prompt, a command, representing per se a valuation, a judgment, a view of the world, of themselves and others. What is expressed (the meaning) is not an ideological valuation, but rather an incentive (it gives signs), a prompt to assume a form of living, i.e. a way of dressing, having a body, eating, communicating, residing, moving, having a gender, speaking, etc. Television is a stream of advertising that is regularly interrupted by films, entertainment programs and news programs. According to the way Jean-Luc Godard depicts it, if you take out all the pages of a newspaper that contain advertising, it is reduced to the editorial by the editor-in-chief. And radio is just as much a stream of advertising and programs, in which it is increasingly difficult to distinguish where one begins and the other ends. Unfortunately, we must agree with Deleuze in his conviction that the enterprise has a soul, that marketing has become its strategic center, and that advertising specialists are »creative«.

The enterprise exploits to its own advantage the dynamic of the event and the process of constituting difference and repetition by distorting them and making them dependent on the logic of

enhanced value. For the enterprise the »event« means advertising (or communication or marketing). We will analyze this particular aspect of enterprise strategy in relation to the constitution of the consumers, its customers. Enterprises now invest up to 40% of their turnover in marketing, advertising, styling, design, etc. These investments in the expression machine can far surpass investments in »labor«.

Advertising - like every »event« - first distributes modes of perception in order to prompt ways of living; it actualizes modes of affecting and being affected in souls, in order to realize them in bodies. With advertising and marketing, the enterprise effects incorporeal transformations (the slogans of advertising), which are stated through bodies and only through bodies. The incorporeal transformations first produce a change in sensibility (or that is what they would like to produce), a change in our way of making value judgments. The incorporeal transformations have no referents, because they are self-referential. There are no antecedent needs, no natural necessities that would satisfy production. The incorporeal transformations pose the valuations and their object at the same time that they produce them. Advertising represents the spiritual dimension of the »event«, which the enterprise and the advertising agencies invent using images, signs and statements, and which must be realized in bodies. The material dimension of the event, its realization, is completed when the ways of living, ways of eating, of having a body, dressing, residing, etc. are incarnated in bodies: one lives materially among the goods and services that one buys, in the houses, among the furniture, with the objects and services that one has seized as »possible«, in the flows of information and communication, in which we have submerged ourselves. We go to bed, we rush to do this and that, while that which is »expressed« continues to circulate (it »insists«) in the hertz waves, in the telematic networks, and in the newspapers. It doubles the world and our existence as »something possible«, which is, in fact, already a command, an authoritarian slogan expressing itself through seduction.

In which form does marketing produce actualization in the soul? Which type of subjectivation is mobilized by advertising? The design of an advertisement, the concatenation and rhythm of the images, the soundtrack are organized like a kind of »ritornello« or a »whirlwind«. There are advertisements that reverberate in us like a musical theme or a refrain. You have probably already been surprised to find yourself whistling a musical theme from advertising (it certainly happens to me, at least). The Leibnizian distinction between actualization in souls and realization in bodies is very important, because these two processes do not coincide and can result in completely unpredictable effects on the subjectivity of the monads.

The television networks recognize no national borders, no differences in class, status or income. Their images are received in non-Western countries or by the poorest classes of the Western population, who have little or no buying power. The incorporeal transformations work well on the souls of the television viewers (of these countries, as well as on the souls of the poor in rich countries) by creating a new sensibility, because something possible certainly exists, even if not outside the medium of its expression (the television images). For what is possible, in this sense, it is enough to be expressed through a sign in order to have a certain reality, as Deleuze

demonstrated.

However, the realization in bodies, the possibility of buying and living with one's body among the services and goods that are expressed by the signs as possible worlds, does not always follow (and not at all for the majority of the world population), occasioning expectations, frustrations and rejection. In conjunction with the observation of this phenomenon in Brazil, Suely Rolnik speaks of two subjective figures, which represent two extremes, in which the variations of the soul and the body are articulated, that are produced by the logic just described: the glamour of »luxury subjectivity« and the misery of »trash subjectivity«.

Twofold Encounter

The West is horrified by the new »Islamic« subjectivities. But it has created this »monster« itself and specifically with the help of its most »peaceful«, most seductive techniques. What we are facing here are not remnants of traditional societies in need of modernization, but in fact cyborgs that conjoin the »oldest« with the »most modern«. The incorporeal transformations happen first and faster than the corporeal transformations. Three quarters of humanity are excluded from the latter, but they have easy access to the former (first and foremost through television). Contemporary capitalism does not arrive first with the factories: these follow later, if at all. It first arrives with words, signs and images. And specifically these technologies precede not only the factories today, but also the war machine.

The event is an encounter and it is even a twofold one: one time it meets the soul, the other the body. This twofold encounter can make space for a twofold shift, because it is only one opening of possibilities in the modality of the »problematical«. Advertising is only one possible world, a fold sheltering virtualities. Unfolding what is enveloped in it, unfolding the fold, can bring forth completely heterogeneous effects, because on the one hand they encounter monads, which are all autonomous, independent and virtual singularities. On the other - as we have seen in neo-monadological ontology - a different possible world is always virtually present. The bifurcation of divergent series haunts contemporary capitalism. Incompatible worlds unfold in the same world. For this reason, the capitalist process of appropriation is never closed in itself, but is instead always uncertain, unpredictable, open. »To exist means to differ«, and this differentiation is newly uncertain, unpredictable and risky each time.

Capitalism attempts to control this bifurcation, which is virtually always possible through variations and continuous modulation: neither the production of a subject nor the production of an object, but rather subjects and objects in continuous variation guided by the technologies of modulation, which are in turn continuously varied.

Control is expressed in Western countries not only through modulating brains, but also through forming bodies (in prisons, schools and hospitals) and through life management (»workfare«). We would be doing our capitalist societies a favor, if we think that everything happens through the continuous variation of subjects and objects, through modulating brains and by means of the occupation of memory and attention by signs, images and statements. The control society integrates the »old« disciplinary dispositive. In non-Western societies, where disciplinary institutions and »workfare« are weaker and less developed, control immediately means the logic of war, even

ments formed from a multitude of statement regimes (the statements of the Marxists are not the same as those of the media activists, the ecologists or the »witches«, etc.). The collective statement arrangements are not expressed solely through language, but also through the technological expression machines (Internet, telephone, television, etc.). Both arrangements are constructed in terms of the current relationships of power and desire.

Non-corporeal Transformations

The event turns away from historical conditions, in order to create something new: a new combination of bodies (actions and passions, which are strung together among the demonstrators, for example) and that which is expressed, the verbal statement as result, as effect of the corporeal combination: a different world is possible. What is expressed (the meaning) does not describe the bodies nor represent them. The possible world exists completely, but it does not exist outside that through which it is expressed (the slogans, the TV reports, the Internet communications, the newspapers). The event actualizes itself in souls in the sense that it generates a change in sensibility (as a non-corporeal transformation), which brings forth a new valuation: one recognizes what is intolerable about an era and the new possibilities for living that it implies. The possible world has already been imbued with a certain reality through talking, through communicating, but this reality must now be completed, it must be made by making new corporeal arrangements. The event constitutes the relationship between the two types of arrangements; it is the event that distributes the subjectivities and objectivities that will overthrow the configurations of bodies and signs.

Everyone came with their own corporeal machine and their own expression machine and returned home with the necessity of defining these anew in relation to that which was done and said. The forms of political organization (of the co-functioning of the bodies) and the statement forms (the theories and statements about capitalism, the subjects, forms of exploitation, etc.) are to be weighed and related to the event. Even the Trotskyists are compelled to ask: What happened? What is happening? What will happen? And to report what they do at the event (the organization) and what they say (the discourse they conduct).

At this point we see that the order of verbal statements is what is problematic. All are compelled to open themselves to the event, i.e. to open themselves up to the area of questions and answers. Those who hold answers prepared in advance (and there are many of those), miss the event. That is the political drama that we lived after 1968, missing the event, because the questions already had their predetermined answers (Maoism, Leninism, Trotskyism).

The event insists, which means it continues to have an impact, to produce effects: the discussions about what capitalism is and about what a revolutionary subject is today, are making good progress all over the world in light of the event. Language, signs, and images do not represent something, but rather contribute to making it happen. Images, languages and signs are constitutive of reality and not of its representation.

Let us turn now to the question of how signs, images and statements are used by corporations in contemporary capitalism. The corporation does not generate the object (the commodity), but rather the world in which the object exists. Nor

---

sion. Day after day, country by country. In order to exchange experiences and share skills, ressources and capacities the online platform D-A-S-H has been set up. With D-A-S-H you can access information and make information accessible, you find all kind of services and support. You can hook up with open-minded people and start networking. You can present your activities and get to know about what others are planning.

Debian
http://www.debian.org
Debian is a free operating system for various types of computers. It consists only of free software (also known as open source), and is devel-

oped collaboratively by over one thousand people around the world. These people communicate mostly using the Internet, which removes a few barriers and allows for networking to be very fluid: work groups are not dependent on geographical proximity, and can evolve with very little overhead. Again, the limit between »user« and »developer« tends to be very thin and blurry, which we consider a positive point: users can (and do) contribute back to the project, and they also help other users through our many mailing-lists.

De Waag
http://www.waag.org

Waag Society is a knowledge institute operating on the cutting edge of culture and technology in relation to society, education, government and industry.

Drik
http://www.drik.net
It was fourteen years ago. A small group of people set up a picture agency in the unlikely location of Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. Named Drik, the Sanskrit word for vision, the agency set out to represent a group of media professionals that other agencies did not cater for, practitioners living and working in the majority world. In the years that have followed, many others from Asia,

Africa and Latin America have joined the original group. All of them share a common vision; one that sees the majority world, not as fodder for disaster reporting, but as a vibrant source of human energy and a challenge to an exploitative global economic system. Having pioneered the introduction of email into Bangladesh, Drik continues to take the lead in new media, through not only the launch of the nation's first webzine Meghbarta, the web portal Orientation, and the country's human rights portal Banglarights, but also through its broad band direct satellite link. Drik's social commitment is central to its work ethos. While its professional team making up the library, darkroom, **11**

in times of »peace« (see Brazil, still).

Steering of Behavior

The paradigmatic body of Western control societies is no longer represented by the imprisoned body of the worker, the lunatic, the ill person, but rather by the obese (full of the worlds of the enterprise) or anorectic (rejection of this world) body, which see the bodies of humanity scourged by hunger, violence and thirst on television. The paradigmatic body of our societies is no longer the mute body molded by discipline, but rather it is the bodies and souls marked by the signs, words and images (company logos) that are inscribed in us - similar to the procedure, through which the machine in Kafka's »Penal Colony« inscribes its commands into the skin of the condemned.

In the 70s Pasolini very precisely described how television had changed the soul and the body of the Italians, how it was the main instrument of an anthropological transformation that first and especially affected youth. He used practically the same concept as Tarde to describe the modali-

ties of an effect of television at a distance: the impact of television is due to example rather than discipline, to imitation rather than coercion. It is the steering of behavior, the influence on possible activities. His film trilogy about bodies was rejected, because it did not take up this transformation. It still spoke of the body before the modulation of brains and, with regard to certain aspects, even before disciplinary societies.

These incorporeal transformations that come into our heads again and again like ritornelli, which are circulating all over the world at the moment, penetrating into every household, and which represent the real weapon for the conquest, the occupation, the seizure of brains and bodies - they are simply incomprehensible to Marxist theory and to economic theories. We face a change of paradigms here, which we cannot grasp starting from labor, from practice. On the contrary, it could well be that the latter supplies a false image of what production means today, because the process we have just described is the precondition for every organization of labor (or non-

labor).

Images, signs and statements are thus possibilities, possible worlds, which affect souls (brains) and must be realized in bodies. Images, signs and statements intervene in both the incorporeal and the corporeal transformations. Their effect is that of the creation and realization of what is possible, not of representation. They contribute to the metamorphoses of subjectivity, not to their representation.

(Translated by Aileen Derieg)

Towards an Ontological Definition of Multitude

Toni Negri

1) The multitude is the name of an immanence. The multitude is a whole of singularities. On these premises we can immediately begin to trace an ontological definition of what is left of reality once the concept of the people is freed from transcendence. The way in which the concept of the people took shape within the hegemonic tradition of modernity is well known.

Hobbes, Rousseau and Hegel have, each in his own account and in different ways, produced a concept of the people starting from sovereign transcendence: in these authors' view the multitude was chaos and war. The thought of modernity operates in a twofold way on these grounds: on the one hand, it abstracts the multiplicity of singularities and, in a transcendental gesture, unifies it in the concept of the people; on the other hand, it dissolves the whole of the singularities that constitute the multitude into a mass of individuals. The modern theory of natural right, whether empirical or idealist at origin, is a theory of transcendence and of dissolution of the plane of immanence all the same. On the contrary, the theory of the multitude requires that the subjects speak for themselves, and that what is dealt with are unrepresentable singularities rather than individual proprietors.

2) The multitude is a class concept. In fact, the multitude is always productive and always in motion. When considered from a temporal point of view, the multitude is exploited in production; even from the spatial point of view, the multitude is exploited in so far as it constitutes productive society, social cooperation for production.

Exploitation of Multitude

The class concept of multitude must be regarded as different from the concept of working class. The concept of working class is a limited one both from the point of view of production (since it essentially includes industrial workers) and from that of social cooperation (given that it only comprises of a small quantity of the workers who operate in the complex of social production). Luxemburg's polemic against the narrow-minded workerism of the Second International and the theory of labour aristocracies was an anticipation of the name of the multitude; unsurprisingly Luxemburg doubled the polemic against labour aristocracies with that against the emerging nationalism of the worker's movement of her time.

If we pose the multitude as a class concept, the notion of exploitation will be defined as exploitation of cooperation: cooperation not of individuals but of singularities, exploitation of the whole of singularities, of the networks that compose the whole and of the whole that comprises of the networks etc.

Note here that the 'modern' conception of exploitation (as described by Marx) is functional to a notion of production the agents of which are individuals. It is only in so far as there are labouring individuals that labour is measurable by the law of value. Even the concept of the mass (as an indefinite multiple of individuals) is a concept of measure, or, rather, has been construed in the political economy of labour for this purpose. In this sense the mass is the correlative of capital as much as the people is that of sovereignty - we need to add here that it is not by coincidence that the concept of the people is a measure, especially in the refined Keynesian and welfares version of political economy. On the other hand, the exploitation of the multitude is incommensurable, in other words, it is a Power (potere) that is confronted by singularities that are out of measure and a cooperation that is beyond measure.

If this historical shift is defined as epochal (ontologically so), then the criteria or dispositifs of measure valid for an epoch will be radically put under question. We are living through this shift, and it is not certain whether new criteria and dispositifs of measure are being proposed.

3) The multitude is a concept of power (potenza). Through an analysis of cooperation we can already see that the whole of singularities produces beyond measure. This power not only wants to expand, but, above all, it wants to take on a body: the flesh of the multitude wants to transform itself into the body of the General Intellect.

Masses and plebs

It is possible to conceive of this shift, or rather, of this expression of power, by following three lines:

a) The genealogy of the multitude in the shift from the modern to the postmodern (or, if you like, from Fordism to Postfordism): a genealogy constituted by the struggles of the working class that have dissolved the »modern« forms of social discipline.

b) The tendency towards the General Intellect: a tendency, constitutive of the multitude, towards ever more immaterial and intellectual modes of productive expression that wants to configure itself as the absolute recuperation of the General Intellect in living labour.

c) The freedom and joy (as well as crisis and fatigue) of this innovative shift, that comprises within itself both continuity and discontinuity, in other words, something can be defined as systoles and diastoles in the recomposition of singularities.

It is still necessary to insist on the difference between the notion of multitude and that of people. The multitude can neither be grasped nor explained in terms of contract (here contractarianism is understood as relying on transcendental philosophy rather than empirical experience). Most generically, the multitude is diffident to representation because it is an incommensurable multiplicity. The people is always represented as a unity, whilst the multitude is not representable, because it is monstrous vis a vis the teleological and transcendental rationalisms of modernity. In contrast with the concept of the people, the concept of multitude is a singular multiplicity, a concrete universal. The people constituted a social body; the multitude does not, because the multitude is the flesh of life. If on the one hand we oppose the multitude to the people, on the other hand we must put it in contrast with the masses and the plebs. Masses and plebs have often been terms used to describe an irrational and passive social force, violent and dangerous precisely by virtue of its being easily manipulated. On the contrary, the multitude is an active social agent, a multiplicity that acts. Unlike the people, the multitude is not a unity, but as opposed to the masses and the plebs, we see it as something organised. In fact, it is an active agent of self-organisation. Thus, a great advantage of the concept of the multitude is that it displaces all modern arguments premised on the 'fear of the masses' as well as those related to the 'tyranny of the majority ', arguments that have often functioned as a kind blackmail to force us to accept (and sometimes even ask for) our servitude.

Making of the Multitude

From the perspective of power (potere), what to make of the multitude? Effectively, there is really nothing that power can make of it, since here the categories that power is interested in - the unity of the subject (people), the form of its composition (contract amongst individuals) and the type of government (monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, separate or combined) - have been put aside. On the other hand, that radical modifi-

---

studio, gallery and publication, multimedia and Internet departments provides state of the art media products for an international clientele, it also provides support for its network of creative individuals around the world who challenge western media hegemony. Its training programmes range from providing education for working class children to training the region's brightest young photojournalists through Pathshala, its education wing, where top professionals from Magnum, National Geographic, Time, Contact Press Images and other leading media organisations make up the visiting faculty. The launch of the first festival of photography in Asia, Chobi Mela, and Drik Partnership, a global con-

glomerate consisting of some of the most innovative organisations in Asia, Africa and Europe, will ensure that the majority world continues to carve out a space for itself in world media.

Dyne
http://dyne.org
Dyne.org is lead by a grassroot committee of hackers sharing their researches in solidarity to achieve common goals: for the knowledge, for the freedom of speech, for an aesthetic vocation, for a sustainable model in free software development, for a better sharing of free technologies and informations among who has less opportunities to access them. We are available to run for-

mation courses about usage, customization and reuse/abuse of free software in particular circumstances; we offer as well support and warranty, development of software solutions and consulting .

Egoboo.Bits
http://tamtam.mi2.hr/EgobooBits
Gathers producers of digitally creative goods (music, video, text, software) who continue the tradition and culture of the distribution of free/libre and open-source software and whose minimal common denominator is known as GNU GPL (General Public Licence). The user licence of an EGOBOO.bits production offers free use, copying, distribution and modification of works, with

only one restriction: in the case of modification, it is obligatory to return the derivative to the public under the same conditions under which the original was produced. In this way the user is ensured the possibility of active participation and an equal position of interpretation and reinterpretation of the work. EGOBOO.bits sets up a decontaminated zone of freedom. The market/public determines its popularity. Criticism evaluates the quality. You can freely utter, publicly perform, burn, modify, make free and no costs downloads of all EGOBOO.bits products on http://www.egoboobits.net

larities. Of course, someone insinuates that the multitude is (substantially) an ineffable concept or even a metaphor, because one can give unity to the multiple only through a more or less dialectical transcendental gesture (just as philosophy has done from Plato to Hobbes and Hegel): even more so if the multitude (i.e. the multiplicity that refuses to represent itself in the dialectical Aufhebung) also claims to be singular and subjective. But this is a weak objection: here the dialectical Aufhebung is ineffective because the unity of the multiple is for the multitude the same as that of the living, and life can hardly be subsumed by dialectics. Moreover, the dispositif of the production of subjectivity that finds in the multitude a common figure, presents itself as collective praxis, as always renewed activity and constitutive of being. The name »multitude« is, at once, subject and product of collective praxis.

Against the concept of people

Evidently, the origins of the discourse on the multitude are found in a subversive interpretation of Spinoza's thought. We could never insist enough on the importance of the Spinozist presupposition when dealing with this theme. First of all, an entirely Spinozist theme is that of the body, and particularly of the powerful body. 'You cannot know how much a body is capable of'. Then, multitude is the name of a multitude of bodies. We dealt with this determination when we insisted on the multitude as power (potenza). Therefore, the body comes first both in the genealogy and in the tendency, both in the phases and in the result of the process of constitution of the multitude. But this is not enough. We must reconsider all the hitherto discussion from the point of view of the body, that is to say we must go back to points 1), 2), 3) of the preceding section, and complete them in this perspective.

Ad1) Once we define the name of the multitude against the concept of the people, bearing in mind that the multitude is a whole of singularities, we must translate that name in the perspective of the body and clarify the dispositif of a multitude of bodies. When we consider bodies, we not only perceive that we are faced with a multitude of bodies, but we also understand that each body is a multitude. Intersecting the multitude, crossing multitude with multitude, bodies become blended, mongrel, hybrid, transformed; they are like sea waves, in perennial movement and reciprocal transformation. The metaphysics of individuality (and/or of personhood) constitute a dreadful mystification of the multitude of bodies. There is no possibility for a body to be alone. It could not even be imagined. When man is defined as individual, when he is considered as autonomous source of rights and property, he is made alone. But one's own does not exist outside of the relation with an other. Metaphysics of individuality, when confronted with the body, negate the multitude that constitutes the body in order to negate the multitude of bodies. Transcendence is the key to any metaphysics of individuality as well as to any metaphysics of sovereignty. On the other hand, from the standpoint of the body there is only relation and process. The body is living labour, therefore, expression and cooperation, therefore, material construction of the world and of history.

Ad2) When we speak of multitude as class concept, hence of multitude as subject of production and object of exploitation -at this point, it is immediately possible to introduce the corporeal dimension, because it is evident that in production, in movements, in labour and in migrations,

bodies are at stake, with all their vital dimensions and determinations. In production the activity of bodies is always productive force and often primary matter. In fact there could be no discussion of exploitation, whether it is concerned with commodity production or with life reproduction, that does not directly touch upon bodies. Then, the concept of capital (on one side the production of wealth, on the other the exploitation of the multitude) must always be realistically looked at also through the analysis of how far bodies are made to suffer, are usurped or mutilated and wounded, reduced to production matter. Matter equals commodity. We cannot simply think that bodies are commodified in the production and reproduction of capitalist society; we also have to insist on the reappropriation of goods and the satisfaction of desires, as well as on the metamorphoses and the empowerment of bodies, that the continuous struggle against capital determines. Once we recognise this structural ambivalence in the historical process of accumulation, we must pose the problem of its solution in terms of the liberation of bodies and of a project of struggle to this end. In other words, a materialist dispositif of the multitude can only start from the primary consideration of the body and of the struggle against its exploitation.

Ad3) We talked of the multitude as the name of a power (potenza), and as genealogy and tendency, crisis and transformation, therefore this discussion leads to the metamorphosis of bodies. The multitude is a multitude of bodies; it expresses power not only as a whole but also as singularity. Each period of the history of human development (of labour, power, needs and will to change) entails singular metamorphoses of bodies. Even historical materialism entails a law of evolution: but this law is anything but necessary, linear, and unilateral; it is a law of discontinuity, leaps, and unexpected syntheses. It is Darwinian, in the good sense of the word: as the product of a Heraclitean clash and an aleatory teleology, from below; because the causes of the metamorphoses that invest the multitude as a whole and singularities as a multitude are nothing but struggles, movements and desires of transformation.

Ontological machine

By saying this we do not wish to deny that sovereign power is capable of producing history and subjectivity. However, sovereign power is a double-face power: its production can act in the relation but cannot eliminate it. At first, sovereign power (as relation of force) can find itself confronted with the problem of an extraneous power that obstructs it. Secondly, sovereign power finds its own limit in the very relation that constitutes it and in the necessity to maintain it. Therefore, the relation presents itself to sovereignty firstly as obstacle (where sovereignty acts in the relation), secondly as limit (where sovereignty wants to eliminate the relation but does not succeed in doing so). On the other hand, the power of the multitude (of the singularities that work, act, and sometimes disobey) is capable of eliminating the sovereign relation.

We have two assertions here. The first is: 'the production of sovereign power goes beyond the obstacle whilst not being able to eliminate the limit that consists in the relation of sovereignty'; the second is: 'the power of the multitude can eliminate the sovereign relation because only the production of the multitude constitutes being'. These can ground the opening to an ontology of the multitude. This ontology will start being exposed when the constitution of being that is

attributed to the production of the multitude will be practically determinable.

It seems possible to us, from a theoretical point of view, to develop the axiom of the ontological power of the multitude on at least three levels. The first one is that of the theories of labour where the relationship of command can be demonstrated (immanently) as groundless (insussistente): immaterial and intellectual labour, in other words knowledge does not require command in order to be cooperative and to have universal effects. On the contrary: knowledge always exceeds with respect to the (trading) values that are meant to contain it. Secondly, a demonstration can be directly provided on the ontological terrain, on that experience of the common (that requires neither command nor exploitation), which is posited as ground and presupposition of any human productive and/or reproductive expression. Language is the primary form of constitution of the common, and when living labour and language meet and define themselves as ontological machine, then the experience that founds the common is realised. Thirdly, the power of the multitude can be exposed on the terrain of the politics of postmodernity, by showing how no conditions for a free society to exist and reproduce itself are given without the spread of knowledge and the emergence of the common. In fact, freedom, as liberation from command, is materially given only by the development of the multitude and its self constitution as a social body of singularities.

At this point, I would like to reply to some of the criticisms that have been levelled against this conception of the multitude, in order to move forward in the construction of the concept. A first set of criticisms is linked to the interpretation of Foucault and its use made in the definition of the multitude. These critics insist on the improper homology supposedly given between the classical concept of proletariat and that of multitude. Such homology, they insist, is not only ideologically dangerous (since it flattens the postmodern onto the modern: just as the authors of late-modernity do, who sustain the decadence of modernity in our time), but also metaphysically so, because it poses the multitude in a dialectical opposition against power. I completely agree with the first remark, with its 'late modernity', but in 'postmodernity': where an epochal rupture is given. I disagree with the second observation, because if we refer to Foucault, I cannot see how we can think that his notion of power excludes antagonism. On the contrary, his conception has never been circular, and in his analysis the determinations of power have never been trapped in a game of neutralisation. It is not true that the relation amongst micropowers is developed at all levels of society without institutional rupture between dominant and dominated. In Foucault, there are always material determinations, concrete meanings: there is no development that is levelled onto an equilibrium, so there is no idealist schema of historical development. If each concept is fixed in a specific archaeology, it is then open to a genealogy of a future unknown. The production of subjectivity in particular, however produced and determined by power, always develops resistances that open up through uncontainable dispositifs. Struggles really determine being, they constitute it, and they are always open: only biopower seeks their totalisation. In reality, Foucault's theory presents itself as an analysis of a regional system of institutions of struggles, crossings and confrontations, and these antagonistic struggles open up on omnilat-

cation of the mode of production that went through the hegemony of the immaterial labour force and cooperating living labour -a real ontological, productive and biopolitical revolution- has turned all the parameters of 'good government' upside down and destroyed the modern idea of a community that would function for capitalist accumulation, just as the capitalist desired it from the outset.

Unformed life force

The concept of multitude introduces us to a completely new world, inside a revolution in process. We cannot but imagine ourselves as monsters, within this revolution. Gargantua and Pantagruel, between the 16th and 17th century, in the middle of the revolution that construed modernity, are giants whose value is that of emblems as extreme figures of liberty and invention: they go through the revolution and propose the gigantic commitment to become free. Today we need new giants and new monsters who can join together nature and history, labour and politics, art and invention in order to show the new power attributed to humanity by the birth of the General Intellect, the hegemony of immaterial labour, the new abstract passions and the activities of the multitude. We need a new Rabelais, or, better, many of them.

To conclude we note again that the primary matter of the multitude is the flesh, i.e. that common living substance where the body and the intellect coincide and are indistinguishable. Maurice Merleau-Ponty writes: 'the flesh is not matter, nor mind, nor substance. In order to designate it we need the old and new term element, in the same sense as this term was used to speak of water, air, earth and fire, i.e. in the sense of a general thing.a sort of embodied principle that brings a style of being where there is a fragment of being. The flesh is in this sense an element of Being.' Like the flesh, the multitude is then pure potentiality, unformed life force and an element of being. Like the flesh, the multitude is oriented towards the fullness of life. The revolutionary monster that is named multitude and appears at the end of modernity continuously wants to transform our flesh into new forms of life.

We can explain the movement of the multitude from the flesh to new forms of life from another point of view. This is internal to the ontological shift and constitutes it. By this I mean that the power (potenza) of the multitude, seen from the singularities that compose it, can show the dynamic of its enrichment, density and freedom. The production of singularities does not simply amount to the global production of commodities and reproduction of society, but it is also the singular production of a new subjectivity. In fact, today - in the mode of immaterial production that characterises our epoch -it is very difficult to distinguish the production of commodities from the social reproduction of subjectivity, since there are neither new commodities without new needs nor reproduction of life without singular desire. What interests us at this point is to underline the global potential of this process: in fact, it lays between globality and singularity according to a first rhythm (synchronic) of more or less intense connections (rhyzomatic, as they have been called) and another rhythm (diachronic), of systoles and diastoles, of evolution and crisis, of concentration and dissipation of the flux. In other words, the production of subjectivity, i.e. the production that the subject makes of itself, is simultaneously production of the density of the multitude - because the multitude is a whole of singu-

eral horizons. This concerns both the surface of the relations of force and the ontology of ourselves. It is not the case to go back to an opposition (in the form of a pure exteriority) between power and the multitude, but to let the multitude, in the countless webs that constitute it and in the indefinite strategic determinations that it produces, free itself from power. Foucault denies the totalisation of power but not the possibility that insubordinate subjects endlessly multiply the 'foyers of struggle' and of production of being. Foucault is a revolutionary thinker; it is impossible to reduce his system to a Hobbesian epistemic mechanics of equipollent relations.

A second group of criticisms is directed against the concept of the multitude as potency and constituent power (potenza e potere costituente). The first criticism to this conception of powerful multitude is that it involves a vitalist idea of the constituent process. According to this critical point of view, the multitude as constituent power cannot, be opposed to the concept of the people as figure of constituted power: this opposition would make the name of multitude weak rather than strong, virtual rather than real. The critics who defend this point of view also assert that the multitude, once detached from the concept of

the people and identified as pure power, risks of being reduced to an ethical figure (one of the two sources of ethical creativity, as seen by Bergson). Concerning this theme (but from an opposite side) the concept of the multitude is also criticised for its inability to ontologically become 'other' or to present a sufficient critique of sovereignty. In this critical perspective, the constituent power of the multitude is attracted by its opposite: therefore, it cannot be taken as radical expression of innovation of the real, nor as thematic signal of a free people to come. So long as the multitude does not express a radicalism of foundation that subtracts it from any dialectics with power, -they say- it will always risk being formally included in the political tradition of modernity.

Whole of Singularities

Both these criticisms are insubstantial. The multitude, as power, is not a figure that is homologous and opposed to the power of exception of modern sovereignty. The constituent power of the multitude is something different, it is not only a political exception but also a historical exception, it is the product of a radical temporal discontinuity, and it is ontological metamorphosis. Then,

the multitude presents itself as a powerful singularity that cannot be flattened in the Bergsonian alternative of a possible and repetitive vitalistic function; neither can it be attracted to its pressing opponent, i.e. sovereignty, because the multitude, by existing, concretely dissolves the concept of sovereignty. This existence of the multitude, does not seeks a foundation outside of itself, but only in its own genealogy. In fact, there is no longer a pure or naked foundation or an outside: these are illusions.

A third set of criticisms, of a sociological rather than philosophical character attacks the concept of multitude by defining it as 'hypercritical drift'. We let the fortunetellers interpret what this 'hypercritical' means. As far as the 'drift' is concerned, this consists in seeing the multitude as fixed in a place of refusal or rupture. As such, it is incapable of determining action, whilst destroying the very idea of acting since, by definition, starting from a place of absolute refusal, the multitude would close the possibility of relations and/or mediations with other social agents. The multitude, in this view, ends up representing a mythical proletariat or an equally mythical pure acting subjectivity. It is obvious that this criticism

represents the exact opposite of the first set of criticisms. In this case, then, the response can only recall that the multitude has nothing to do with the reasoning logic dependent on the friend/enemy couple. The multitude is the ontological name of full against void, of production against parasitical survivals. The multitude does not know instrumental reason either on its outside nor for its use within. And since it is a whole of singularities, it is capable of the maximal amount of mediations and compromising constitutions within itself, when these are emblems of the common (whilst still operating, exactly as language does).

Translated by Arianna Bove. This article was published on the journal Multitudes numero 9 as 'Pour une definition ontologique de la multitude'.(p. 36-48)

A Rift in Empire? The Multitudes in the Face of War

Brian Holmes

After the war in Iraq, I still think the multitudes can produce a rift in Empire. But that rift must be produced, in Europe and throughout the world. How to seize the opportunity of refusal that revealed itself during the war? How to go much further? Here I'll look into the meaning of these words, multitudes, rift and Empire - in hopes that some work with words might help prolong the movements against war.

The multitude is a figure of political philosophy. But it is inseparable from the actual pathways of the multitudes, as a set of singularities that comes into being through productive activity. What's new is the intersection of thinking and production. Labor - the simple activity of earning a living - is no longer an object of politics, but its departure point, its language or its very principle.

It is known that contemporary labor involves linguistic creativity, the expression of affects, spontaneous cooperation. These are the sources of innovation, indispensable for cognitive capitalism. But no boss can command creativity, expressivity, cooperation - these things cannot be submitted to any disciplinary regime. On the contrary, a certain kind of insubordination must be actively encouraged, in the very interest of productivity. And the possibilities of cooperation must be extended, so that everyone can cross the geographic, cultural and economic distances that separate the participants in a contemporary work group. Modern managerial technique consists in establishing a flexible framework for productive relations. Clearly, the paradigmatic framework for contemporary labor is the Internet. The advantage of such networked systems, for contemporary managers, is to isolate the individuals they link. Yet the ties of optical fiber are real, like the cooperation they encourage. And the establishment of this productive framework took networkers by surprise, because it allowed so much freedom. Now we see that this freedom is always associated with highly personalized control of the employees, via advanced techniques of surveillance. Everything that happens in the productive framework will also be surveilled, and the ideas, expressions and collective behaviors that prove harmful to the business will be repressed.

Between insubordination and surveillance, creativity and control, you have one of the internal contradictions of the new production regime. The fact that it puts thought to work guarantees the extension of the contradiction beyond the limits of salaried activity. As André Gorz writes in his recent book, L'immatériel: »The more work calls

on talent, virtuosity, the production of the self... the more these capabilities tend to overflow their limited application to any determinant task.« Therefore the worker »will locate his dignity in the free exercise of his capacities, outside of the working context: journalists writing books, ad designers creating artworks, computer programmers demonstrating their virtuosity as hackers and developers of free software, etc.« One might feel tempted to laugh at this image of »ad designers creating artworks.« The results have been mixed, to say the least. We have seen an outpouring of collective narcissism, a facile idealization of expressivity and interactivity - particularly in the magazine-gallery-museum world, where »ad designers creating artworks« had their day in the sun, throughout the 1990s. But something seems to have changed since then.

The immaterial laborer who thinks, speaks and creates on the job, then finally leaves that job behind to practice a form of creative expression, very soon feels the fragility of her position. Nothing permits her to survive while doing what she had nonetheless been consistently encouraged to do. Reflecting on her own predicament, she can meet all kinds of people: similar individuals marginalized by the effects of the same contradiction, then many others who have never been fully integrated into the productive system. By making the comparison between one's own situation and those of others, one attains a broader understanding of contemporary social relations, with their hierarchies of inclusion/exclusion extending across the earth. A personal experience of marginality, of precarious labor conditions, can encourage all kinds of solidarities, near or far. This moment of politicization implies at least a partial exit from the productive framework imposed by capitalist management. What then becomes interesting is to continue putting thinking to work. With this difference, that the work has become autonomous: it consists in weaving alternative networks, in view of solidarities and dissenting expressions.

It is at this point that the concept of the multitude can become doubly useful for the multi-

tudes: as an ontological concept, and as a concept of class. As an ontological concept, the multitude indicates a plane of immanence where human singularities discover their fragile potential - that is, the possibility of developing their own individuation through cooperation with others. But as a class concept, the multitude points to everything that stands in the way of this development. That obstacle is Empire: i.e. the sum total of control techniques forged by the corporations and states. These control techniques come to bear on our flesh as biopower: the capacity to manage, channel and parasitically exploit the creative power of cooperating singularities. Today, biopower increasingly takes on the explicitly repressive forms of surveillance and the police. Not only will workers be surveilled on the job; but the entire population will be surveilled, while moving through the open systems of transport, exchange and communication. And surveillance is necessarily followed by the police. For the multitudes of the movements against capitalist globalization, Imperial power has taken on the perfectly standardized face of the »robocops« who carried out the repression in Seattle, Nice, Gothenborg, Genoa, etc. But through the visor of the robocop, what we see - in addition to their eyes - is an organizational mutation that gives rise to the Imperial state.

Here I refer to the book by Rob Jessop, The Future of the Capitalist State. Jessop analyzes the paradigmatic shift from a Keynesian national welfare state, to a postnational Schumpeterian workfare state. What do these words mean? The contemporary state no longer cares about the »effective demand« of the workers, nor about any kind of Keynesian social insurance; its preoccupation is with encouraging entrepreneurial innovation, which for Schumpeter was a major source of surplus value. But this kind of innovation, necessary for competition, is done by a fairly small part of the population, marked by a strong tendency toward exit. They tend to leave the constraints of the productive system. As soon as people quit working, the state's problem is no longer that of their welfare; on the contrary, they must be pushed back into the most servile and

---

shouldn't you belong to those who think a little bit more critical about it? Did you ever react, reading one of these ads like >buy 2 webmasters or political leaders now, get 1 for free!<, with a spontaneous >why can't I have zero<? Well, here we go. Free cooperation, as opposed to forced cooperation, is already a fact at many places, but it is enclosured and fixed as marginal. To override the dominant systems of forced cooperation and replace them with structures of free cooperation is an utopia. Contrary to common systems, free cooperation is based on a structure where all rules can be challenged and changed; where people can quit, withdraw, refuse their cooperative activity in order to influence the rules; where

social power is balanced and equally distributed instead of the centralisation and institutionalisation of power. Showing up here and there (being not dependend on a special articulation), free cooperation got somewhat conceptualized as a theory in the essay >More equal than others< by Christoph Spehr (I know this piece because I wrote it; there may be many other attempts that I do not know, too). Geert Lovink and Trebor Scholz are preparing a conference on >Networking, Arts and Cooperation< for April 2004 at SUNY, Buffalo. In their approach they also deal explicitly with the idea of free cooperation. While some say free cooperation is an undercover twin of neoliberalism, others see it as the communism of our

time, only more informed about the dangers of internal oppression and exploitation, and less religious about progress, rationality and the state.

exploited positions, by way of the coercive programs that Tony Blair calls workfare. The state takes on the role of a collective manager for the flexible labor force - an imperative role under the transnational regime of networked competition. Thus it becomes postnational, adapting to the extended frameworks of capitalist productivity. Yet like the economy it serves, this Imperial form of the state is not stable, or even viable. It is shot through with grotesque contradictions, whereby technical and organizational innovation, the new mainspring of capitalist competition, leads to the political rationality of unlimited war.

Here, to my mind, lies one of the greatest ironies of the current period. The multitudes, as Toni Negri has never ceased to explain, are incommensurable: their immaterial expressions and cooperative innovations are irreducible to the measure of labor time, and therefore to the hourly wage. This disproportion of the multitudes can be understood from several different angles. On the one hand, it translates the enormous creative potential of scientific knowledge, particularly as it accumulates in the form of technology: and how shall we evaluate the »new« of the finger that activates a machine? On the other hand, it brings the indeterminacy of aesthetic experience into play at the very heart of social relations: and how shall we judge the »value« of different expressions? Thus work is uncoupled from wages, and tends to become autonomous. But throughout the 1990s, this uncoupling, this absence of any viable measure, acted in favor of financial speculation, encouraging the most exaggerated valuations of certain sectors, notably where high technology is the vehicle of human expression. The irony lies here. The krach of the new economy in spring 2000 was followed by a general slowdown throughout the world, putting an end to the »roaring nineties.« Shortly thereafter, in the face both of an inevitable recession

and intense criticism over the conditions of his election, G.W. Bush took the September 11 terrorism and the state of exception it justifies as the ideal means to consolidate his shaky presidency - and more broadly, to realize the disciplinary vision of the American neoconservatives. For it is war, and no doubt war alone, that allows the state to impose its discipline on an autonomous labor force, after it has been mobilized and deceived by the untenable promises of a contradictory production regime.

So we come to the question: What is to be done? As soon as the US took the warpath toward the Iraqis and their oil, the multitudes reacted, overflowing all the bounds of political consensus, and infiltrating all the networks. In Europe the mobilizations were particularly strong: because people remember the 1930s, and they recognize the state of exception, the attempt to impose a new discipline. Great Britain saw the largest demonstration of its history; Italy and Spain were shaken by repeated mobilizations and direct actions; and France, Germany and Belgium translated public opinion into political opposition, within the arenas of the UN, NATO and the European Union. These dissensions at the heart of the political and military command are new: they mark a first step, a fragile chance to be seized. But can one really speak of a rift in Empire?

First, look at the reality: since the early 1990s, the European Union has increasingly become a distorted mirror of the United States. That is to say, a regional free-trade bloc built up according to the rules of Imperial competition. This neoliberal turn may be cloaked in social charters, but at this point, they count for very little. And the risk that appears with each bout of European chauvinism, whatever its pacifist or anti-American overtones, is that under its cover, countries like

France, Germany and Belgium will form a falsely social-democratic center, constructed around a core of protected industries, armament above all - while living in reality off the exploitation of peripheries, internal or external. The danger is that the political class will use familiar hegemonic formulas to reinstate the existing hierarchies of inclusion/exclusion, but on a continental scale. These hierarchies, forged according to the old Fordist model, are protected at gunpoint today. And so France, Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg held meetings on April 29, 2003, to speak about founding a common military force. In the newspaper Le Monde of that same day, a text appeared under the title: »European Defense: Time to Take Action!« The authors were four CEOs from the European defense lobby - our familiar representatives.

Life is elsewhere. The politics of the multitudes consists in opposing the techniques of control, in escaping them - but in such a way that the production of this exodus is itself linguistic, cooperative, affective. What's interesting in the networked demonstrations is exactly that: what André Gorz called the »free exercise« of each one's creative faculties. But this self-organization is just a foretaste of deeper resistance. A real rift in Empire will require a transformation of the specific forms of redistribution and coercion put into operation by the state, and the creation of more viable frameworks for productive existence. We must dissolve the Schumpetarian postnational workfare state, which upholds unlimited competition and war. And that means carrying out political struggles on the measured ground of representative democracy, without forgetting that the power of the multitudes overflows all the borders. The challenge of the 21st century, in Europe and elsewhere, is to construct social infrastructure that can sustain the incommensurable - outside any technique of capture and control.

Much has been written on »revolution in military affairs«, on weapon technologies, on historical and sociological aspects regarding the »new« warfare. But in doing so, most authors did hardly get out of mere typology: there is warfare led by a bunch of warlord militias, as in Somalia and Afghanistan, and their only objective seems to be a prolongation of the war, because warlord power stems from war. There is war leading to nation building as well as to breaking-up nations, as it is the case with Armenia and Azerbaijan, or again with Yugoslavia. There are civil wars and wars involving nations, not to mention the many undeclared wars of low intensity. And we observe asymmetric wars, as the one in Palestine, as the wars waged against Afghanistan, against Iraq, and the so-called war on terrorism. But we speak of a new form of war; and we do not mean typology, because the latter isn't able to go beyond a confusing ensemble of motivations and legitimations, searching an historical precedent for every type of war.

Continuation of War

Predominant in all of the debate is an instrumentalist notion of war, taking for true Clausewitz's famous dictum: »War is regarded as nothing but the continuation of politics by other means.« One can find such an instrumentalism on the side of a bellicist left speaking as advocates of civilisation simultaneously neglecting the destructive forces operating against the promised civil liberties and forcing civil society to militarize its cre-

ative potentials. And instrumentalism is to be found on the side of those believing that it would be enough to define the condition of war based upon the categories of political economy and some analysis of geopolitical interests, in order to identify imperialist rivals and different strategic objectives. We have our doubts, if it may be possible to analyse current international warfare adequately with such arguments, let alone resist it. A different point of view is provided by Michel Foucault's displacement of Clausewitz. In order to define the dispositifs of power Foucault writes »that politics is war continued by other means«. Foucault turns Clausewitz's dictum upside down, describing power as war. This point of view no longer focuses on the relation of objectives and means, but on struggles and relations of power, on lines and dynamisms of social conflict. War establishes an order.

War establishing Order

The contemporary imperial wars are part of the passage towards the political order of global capitalism, the sovereign order of Empire. War is neither »means« of expansion of a constituted order nor of its restructuring, war is neither roll back nor containment. War is not the continuation of politics by other means, it becomes the fundament of politics and legitimation. War is actually what Toni Negri calls »guerra ordinativa«. The resurgence of the concept of bellum iustum (the »just war«) leads towards an understanding of this new form of war. Today the secularized

»just war« is a moment of global politics that bears its legitimation in itself. Unlike the conflicts of the second half of the 20th century, the concept of »just war« combines two elements: the legitimacy of the military apparatus as ethically grounded – think of the human rights discourse against rogue states – and the legitimacy (qua its effectiveness) of the military action to establish the desired Order and the so-called peace. The war, just like the enemy, comes to be at once banalized and absolutized, it comes to be reduced to an »object of routine police repression« and, at the same time, presented as an absolute threat to the ethical order.

The synthesis of both moments creates a continuum making it impossible to distinguish between police measure and military action, thus creating a crucial feature for the world order of Empire. The secularized »just war« leads to a diffuse but permanent warfare – the propaganda and the measures in the »war on terrorism« gives us an impression of it. The war itself shows no beginning nor end. Waging war against Iraq was just a stopover in the passage towards a global society of control wiping off step by step remnants of the old East-West conflict. Existing war economies are wiped out, like in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Iraq, if they represent an obstacle for the capitalist accumulation or the political order of Empire. Waging war means the destruction of societies and the recomposition of populations, tearing down borders and creating new ones. The new

Polizey-wissenschaft, extended version

Thomas Atzert & Jost Müller

Talking – and writing – about a new form of war, and new types of warfare, didn't start recently. Actually we can trace back this debate to the gulf war of 1991, it accompanied the wars in former Soviet Union and last but not least those in former Yugoslavia.

Futuresonic
http://www.futuresonic.com
Futuresonic is an open forum for the exploration of horizons in sound, providing a focus for new initiatives and opening hybrid spaces for sonic and visual pleasure. futuresonic aims to develop novel perspectives on sonic art through both theory and practice, with a dual interest in promoting original work and exploring innovative configurations of sound, artist and audience.

GForge
http://gforge.org
Gforge is a free collaborative development environment. That means, it's free software, it's a tool

helping development, and it's specifically designed for collaborative projects. That includes, but is not limited to, open source software development projects. It can of course be used for proprietary software development, but also for non-computer-related projects and groups. It's basically a collection of a set of communication tools adapted to various tasks: news, forums, file sharing, project management, task tracking, etc. The idea is to eaase the participation of people and remove artificial obstacles to that end, so that people can use their valuable time and energy towards useful goals rather than boring stuff. In the case of software, we want to help users become contributors, but in other use cases the

goal is similar: to help <some target audience> become part of the community working on <something>. Of course, Gforge itself is developed by a group of individuals who use Gforge as a collaborative development tool. We find it significant that although only there are only ten people in the »core« development team, almost two thousand have created an account on gforge.org, and a number of these people have participated in one way or another to improving Gforge.

Generation Online
http://www.generation-online.org
What on earth are we doing here? - This section is destined to an eternal life of 'work in progress'.

For us it is a way of collating information, note-taking and seeing how the connections between things develop. The quality of the information varies as widely as its coverage, but we are confident it will grow and improve. There is no systematic approach and the information is characteristically eclectic and one-sided.

Guerillamarketing
http://www.guerrigliamarketing.it
1. Guerriglia Marketing è un insieme di tecniche di comunicazione non convenzionale che consente di ottenere il massimo della visibilità con il minimo degli investimenti

form of war leads to the foundation of global mechanisms of control aiming at the mobility and the productivity of living labour. Thus the war becomes a central element in the formation of the currently developing bio-political mode of production.

At stake is the enforcement of a society of control on a global scale, and to link single political regimes to the world order. At stake is the process of capitalist globalization, and to protect this process against its own risks and crises. At stake is the real subsumption of society under capital. Most governments have passed legislation that enforce the developing order of war. There is no mass mobilization setting free enthusiasm for the war like in the world wars and colonial wars of the last century. Nevertheless state apparatuses are set up carefully – think of preparing the army for police action in several European countries or tracing down immigrants descending from so-called rogue states. The figureheads today are secularized versions of »God« and »My Country«, it is a regime of panic integrated by the war on terrorism that leads to the authoritarian collectives of today, beyond the vanishing sovereignty of the nation-state, forcing civil society to gather around the catastrophic and Manichaean alternative »us« or »them«, »good« or »evil«.

Imperialism and Empire

Today we witness the decadence of the nation-form of sovereignty and the crisis of the institutions of the nation-state. Nation-states are no longer main actors on the stage of international politics. Imperial world order is a stratified system of rule organized along networks, without any outside or centre. State apparatuses and nation-form are losing their links and the codification of national sovereignty given by international law de facto expires. Yet this decline does not mean that the nation-state disappears without a word: we witness the replacement of the centrality of national sovereignty as it developed in Europe and spread all over the world by colonialism and imperialism. Yet imperialism is not followed by Empire in the sense of a sequence of ages, both distinctly and positively, the »Age of Empire« does not simply follow the age of imperialism. Obviously the United States lead by George W. Bush Jr. try to pick up the thread of Ronald Reagan and George Bush Sr., heading for imperialist politics. The U.S. was, as Hardt and Negri point out, again and again »tempted to engage in an European-style imperialism«. But the American model of sovereignty based on »white decolonization« marks nonetheless a historical difference in contrast to European nation-state imperialism. Indeed we should not mix up strategic options of an administration and their think tanks talking of »American Empire« and a »New American Century« with the conditions of world order. The archipelago of Empire has no monocratic centre, but is characterized by relations of rivalry confined by the political requirements of capitalist accumulation on global scale. The constitutional process of the European Union, the rivalry of different countries in this process, and the relations with the United States are to be seen within the realms of imperial sovereignty. However the Bush administration articulates national interests in waging war against Iraq, it is nor in command over world order, and thus has to follow its zigzag path between multilateralism and unilateralism. There is no chance to reinstall political control by military means. Such strategic objectives aren't backed economically considering the internationalization of capital under U.S. hegemony after world war II and its crisis starting in the 1970s, and there is – from the point of view of the ruling class – no national bourgeoisie that could play an avant-garde role in global accumulation like the British bourgeoisie did once. The petrol and military industries won't be able to play that role.

Against the Order of War

To resist the war cannot be identified with taking sides for one rival party. Anti-militarist politics will not have to choose imperial from imperialist strategies, but will resist the logic of warfare, the regime of panic that is imposed on civil society. Yet it seems clear that neither pacifism nor NGO-activism alone will be able to do so. But the demonstrations of February 15 and other metropolitan actions against the war in on Iraq showed up the possibilities of leaving behind some restrictions, like the reference on nation-states. The authoritarian dispositifs of the society of control, enforced by the war, are aiming against the lives and the creativeness of the multitudes. Resisting it first of all means resisting global capital and its world order. Thus in effect, we have to go through Empire, to find not merely international but trans-national perspectives of liberation.

On Human Rights

Gilles Deleuze

The reverence that people display toward

human rights – it almost makes

one want to defend horrible, terrible positions.

It is so much a part of

the softheaded thinking that marks the shabby

period we were talking about.

It's pure abstraction. Human rights, after all,

what does that mean?

It's pure abstraction, it's empty. It's exactly what we were talking about before about desire, or at least what I was trying to get across about desire. Desire is not putting something up on a pedestal and saying, hey, I desire this. We don't desire liberty and so forth, for example; that doesn't mean anything. We find ourselves in situations.

<!–break–>Take today's Armenia, a recent example. What is the situation there? If I understand correctly – please let me know if I don't, though that's not the point either – there's an Armenian enclave in another Soviet republic. So there's an Armenian republic, and then an enclave. Well, that's a situation. First, there's the massacre that the Turks, or the Turkic people, I'm not sure, massacre the Armenians once again, in their enclave. The Armenians take refuge in their republic – I think, and again, please correct my errors – and then, there, an earthquake hits. It's as if they were in the Marquis de Sade. These poor people went through the worst ordeals that they could face, and they've only just escaped into shelter when Mother Nature starts it all up again.

I mean, we say »human rights«, but in the end, that's a party line for intellectuals, and for odious intellectuals, and for intellectuals without any ideas of their own. Right off the bat, I've noticed that these declarations of human rights are never done by way of the people that are primarily concerned, the Armenian associations and communities, and so on. Their problem isn't human rights. What is it?

There's a set-up! As I was saying, desire is always through set-ups. Well, there's a set-up. What can be done to eliminate this enclave, or to make it livable? What is this interior enclave? That's a territorial question: not a human rights question, but a qusetion of territorial organisation. What are they going to suppose that Gorbachev is going to get out of the situation? How is he going to arrange things so that there's no longer this Armenian enclave delivered into the hands of the hostile Turks all around it?

That's not a human rights issue, and it's not a justice issue. It's a matter of jurisprudence. All of the abominations through which humans have suffered are cases. They're not denials of abstract rights; they're abominable cases. One can say that these cases resemble other, have something in common, but they are situations for jurisprudence.

The Armenian problem is typical of what one might call a problem of jurisprudence. It is extraordinarily complex. What can be done to save the Armenians, and to enable the Armenians to extricate themselves from this situation? And then, on top of things, the earthquake kicks in. An earthquake whose unfolding also had its reasons, buildings which weren't well built, which weren't put together as they should have been. All of these things are jurisprudence cases. To act for liberty, to become a revolutionary, this is to act on the plane of jurisprudence. To call out to justice – justice does not exist, and human rights do not exist. What counts is jurisprudence: *that* is the invention of rights, invention of the law. So those who are content to remind us of human rights, and recite lists of human rights – they are idiots. It's not a question of applying human rights. It is one of inventing jurisprudences where, in each case, this or that will no longer be possible. And that's something quite different.

Smoking in Taxis

I'll take an example I quite like, because it's the only way to get across what jurisprudence is. People don't really understood, well, not everyone. People don't understand very well. I remember the time when it was forbidden to smoke in taxis. The first taxi drivers who forbade smoking in their taxis – that made a lot of noise, because there were smokers. And among them was a lawyer.

I have always been passionate about jurisprudence, about law. Had I not done philosophy, I would have done law, but indeed, jurisprudence, not human rights. Because that's life. There are no human rights, there is life, and there are life rights. Only life goes case by case.

So, taxis. There was this guy who didn't want to be forbidden from smoking in taxi. So he took the taxi driver to court. I remember it very well: the taxi driver was ruled guilty. If the trial were to take place today, the taxi driver wouldn't be guilty, it would be the passenger who'd be the guilty party. But back then, the taxi driver was found guilty. Under what pretext? That, when someone took a taxi, he was the tenant. So the taxi passenger was likened to a tenant; the tenant is allowed to smoke in his own home under the right of use and support. It's as though he was an actual tenant, as though my landlord told me: no, you may not smoke in my home. And I'd say: yes, if I am the tenant, I can smoke in my own home. So the taxi was made out to be a sort of mobile apartment in whcih the passenger was the tenant.

Ten years later, it's become almost universal: there is almost no taxi in which one can smoke, period. The taxi is no longer made out to be like renting an apartment, it's a public service. In a public service, forbidding smoking is permitted. All that is jurisprudence. There's no issue of rights of this or that. It's the matter of a situation, and a situation that evolves. And fighting for freedom, really, is doing jurisprudence.

So there you have it, the Armenian example seems typical to me. Human rights – what do they mean? They mean: aha, the Turks don't have the right to massacre the Armenians. Fine, so the Turks don't have the right to massacre the Armenians. And? It's really nuts. Or, worse, I think they're hypocrites, all these notions of human rights. It is zero, philosophically it is zero. Law isn't created through declarations of human rights. Creation, in law, is jurisprudence, and that's the only thing there is. So: fighting for jurisprudence. That's what being on the left is about. It's creating the right.

[...]

L'Abécédaire de Gilles Deleuze, avec Claire Parnet, Vidéo Éd. Montparnasse, 1996

What is a People?

Giorgio Agamben

Any interpretation of the political meaning of the term _people_ ought to start from the peculiar fact that in modern European languages this term always indicates also the poor, the underprivileged, and the excluded. The same term names the constitutive political subject as well as the class that is excluded - de facto, if not de jure - from politics.

The Italian term _popolo_, the French term _peuple_, and the Spanish term _pueblo_ - along with the corresponding adjectives _popolare_, _populaire_, _popular_ - and the late-Latin terms _populus_ and _popularis_ from which they all derive, designate in common parlance and in the political lexicon alike the whole of the citizenry as a unitary body politic (as in »the Italian people« or in »giudice popolare« [juryman]) as well as those who belong to inferior classes (as in _homme du peuple_ [man of the people], _rione popolare_ [working-class neighborhood], _front populaire_ [popular front]). Even the English _people_ - whose sense is more undifferentiated - does retain the meaning of ordinary people as opposed to the rich and the aristocracy. In the American Constitution one thus reads without any sort of distinction: »We, the people of the United States ...«; but when Lincoln in the Gettysburg Address invokes a »government of the people, by the people, for the people,« the repetition implicitly sets another people against the first. The extent to which such an ambiguity was essential even during the French Revolution (that is, at the very moment in which people's sovereignty was claimed as a principle) is witnessed by the decisive role played in it by a sense of compassion for the people intended as the excluded class. Hannah Arendt reminds us that:

»The very definition of the word was born out of compassion, and the term became the equivalent for misfortune and unhappiness - _le peuple_, _les malheureux m'applaudissent_, as Robespierre was wont to say; _le people toujours malheuereux_, as even Sieyès, one of the least sentimental and most sober figures of the Revolution, would put it.« [1].

But this is already a double concept for Jean Bodin - albeit in a different sense - in the chapter of _Les Six Livres de la Republique_ in which he defines Democracy or _Etat Populaire_: while the _menu peuple_ is that which it is wise to exclude from political power, the _peuple en corps_ is intended as entitled to sovereignty.

Such a widespread and constant semantic ambiguity cannot be accidental: it surely reflects an ambiguity inherent in the nature and function of the concept of _people_ in Western politics. It is as if, in other words, what we call people was actually not a unitary subject but rather a dialectical oscillation between two opposite poles: on the one hand, the _People_ as a whole and as an integral body politic and, on the other hand, the _people_ as a subset and as fragmentary multiplicity of needy and excluded bodies; on the one hand, an inclusive concept that pretends to be without remainder while, on the other hand, an exclusive concept known to afford no hope; at one pole, the total state of the sovereign and integrated citizens and, at the other pole, the banishment - either court of miracles or camp - of the wretched, the oppressed, and the vanquished. »There exists no single and compact referent for the term people anywhere: like many fundamental political concepts (which, in this respect, are similar to Abel and Freud's _Urworte_ or to Dumont's hierarchical relations), _people_ is a polar concept that indicates a double movement and a complex relation between two extremes. This also means, however, that the constitution of the human species into a body politic comes into being through a fundamental split and that in the concept of _people_ we can easily recognize the conceptual pair identified earlier as the defining category of the original

political structure: naked life (_people_) and political existence (_People_), exclusion and inclusion, _zoe_ and _bios_. _The concept of people always already contains within itself the fundamental biopolitical fracture. It is what cannot be included in the whole of which it is a part as well as what cannot belong to the whole in which it is always already included._

Hence the contradictions and aporias that such a concept creates every time that it is invoked and brought into play on the political stage. It is what always already is, as well as what has yet to be realized; it is the pure source of identity and yet it has to redefine and purify itself continuously according to exclusion, language, blood, and territory. It is what has in its opposite pole the very essence that it itself lacks: its realization therefore coincides with its own abolition; it must negate itself through its opposite in order to be. (Hence the specific aporias of the workers' movement that turns toward the people and at the same time aims at its abolition.) The concept of people - brandished each and every time as the bloody flag of reaction and as the faltering banner of revolutions and popular fronts - always contains a more original split than the one between enemy and friend, on incessant civil war that at once divides this concept more radically than any conflict and keeps it united and constitutes it more firmly than any identity. As a matter of fact, what Marx calls class struggle - which occupies such a central place in his thought, even though he never defines it substantially - is nothing other than this internecine war that divides every people and that shall come to an end only when _People_ and _people_ coincide, in the classless society or in the messianic kingdom, and only when there shall no longer be, properly speaking, any people.

If this is the case - if the concept of _people_ necessarily contains within itself the fundamental biopolitical fracture - it is possible to read anew some decisive pages of the history of our century. If the struggle between the two peoples has always been in process, in fact, it has undergone in our time one last and paroxysmal acceleration. In ancient Rome, the split internal to the people was juridically sanctioned by the clear distinction between _populus_ and _plebs_ - each with its own institutions and magistrates - just as in the Middle Ages the division between artisans [_popolo minuto_] and merchants [_popolo grasso_] used to correspond to a precise articulation of different arts and crafts. But when, starting with the French Revolution, sovereignty is entrusted solely to the people, the _people_ become an embarrassing presence, and poverty and exclusion appear for the first time as an intolerable scandal in every sense. In the modern age, poverty and exclusion are not only economic and social concepts but also eminently political categories. (The economism and »socialism« that seem to dominate modern politics actually have a political, or, rather, a _biopolitical_, meaning.)

From this perspective, our time is nothing other than the methodical and implacable attempt to fill the split that divides the people by radically eliminating the people of the excluded. Such an attempt brings together, according to different modalities and horizons, both the right and the left, both capitalist countries and socialist countries, which have all been united in the plan to produce one single and undivided people - an ultimately futile plan that, however, has been partially realized in all industrialized countries. The obsession with development is so effective in our

time because it coincides with the biopolitical plan to produce a people without fracture.

When seen in this light, the extermination of the Jews in Nazi Germany acquires a radically new meaning. As a people that refuses integration in the national body politic (it is assumed, in fact, that its assimilation is actually only a feigned one), the Jews are the representatives par excellence and almost the living symbol of the _people_, of that naked life that modernity necessarily creates within itself but whose presence it is no longer able to tolerate in any way. We ought to understand the lucid fury with which the German _Volk_ - representative par excellence of the people as integral body politic - tried to eliminate the Jews forever as precisely the terminal phase of the internecine struggle that divides _People_ and _people_. With the final solution - which included Gypsies and other unassimilable elements for a reason - Nazism tried obscurely and in vain to free the Western political stage from this intolerable shadow so as to produce finally the German _Volk_ as the people that has been able to heal the original biopolitical fracture. (And that is why the Nazi chiefs repeated so obstinately that by eliminating Jews and Gypsies they were actually working also for the other European peoples.)

Paraphrasing the Freudian postulate on the relation between _Es_ and _Ich_, one might say that modern biopolitics is supported by the principle according to which »where there is naked life, there has to be a _People_,« as long as one adds immediately that this principle is valid also in its inverse formulation, which prescribes that »where there is a _People_, there shall be naked life.« The fracture that was believed to have been healed by eliminating the people - namely, the Jews, who are its symbol - reproduced itself anew, thereby turning the whole German people into sacred life that is doomed to death and into a biological body that has to be infinitely purified (by eliminating the mentally ill and the carriers of hereditary diseases). And today, in a different and yet analogous way, the capitalistic-democratic plan to eliminate the poor not only reproduces inside itself the people of the excluded but also turns all the populations of the Third World into naked life. Only a politics that has been able to come to terms with the fundamental biopolitical split of the West will be able to arrest this oscillation and put an end to the civil war that divides the peoples and the cities of the Earth.

[1] Hannah Arendt, _On Revolution_ (New York: Viking Press, 1963), p. 70.

---

the slogan of this grass-roots diplomacy project called Indymedia Estrecho/Madiaq (Strait of Gibraltar). The challenge is a question of political engeniering, to build a bridge between the two sides of one of the main border of fortress Europe. To build a common territory, a common body with the movements of Morocco, Canary Islands and Andalucía. One of the sons of this proyect is Radio Madiaq wich is part of Global Radio (www.globalradio.it).

Intermitents
http://cip-idf.ouvatop.org

JFF
http://www.jff.de
On the 21st. December 1949 the »Arbeitskreis Jugend und Film« was established in Munich, a project designed to research the field of youth and film. Several years later a research institute was founded (Wissenschaftliches Institut für Jugendfilmfragen) with the same aim. In 1976 these two joined forces to become the Institute for Youth, Film and Television (Institut Jugend Film Fernsehen) in short JFF. The Institute has just celebrated its 50th anniversary in December 1999 and is proud to be the oldest institution in Ger-many, combining media education and media research. Although still known by the name of JFF

its new official title is »JFF - Institute for media research and media education«.The JFF is supported by the non-profit society »JFF - Jugend Film Fernsehen e.V.«. Its members come from all fields of media re-search, media education, education in active media work and pro-duction as well as school and university education. They work not only in Germany but also in other European countries.

Justice for Janitors
http://www.seiu.org/building/janitors
Formed in Denver in 1985, Justice for Janitors is in its 18th year. The campaign is about hard-working janitors uniting for fair working conditions

with support from our communities. Over the years, Justice for Janitors has worked to provide better wages, basic benefits, and job security for janitors who clean buildings in major cities and suburbs.

Jux
http://jux.netbridge.at
JUX offers proposals for the use of Linux. Furthermore it is a contact point for project coordination and encourages its users to edit their own contents.

Kinetik
http://www.inventati.org/kinetix

At the borders of europe

Etienne Balibar

I am speaking of the »Borders of Europe« in Greece, one of the »peripheral« countries of Europe in its traditional configuration–a configuration that reflects powerful myths and a long-lived series of historical events. Thessaloníki is itself at the edge of this border country, one of those places where the dialectic between confrontation with the foreigner (transformed into a hereditary enemy) and communication between civilizations (without which humanity cannot progress) is periodically played out. I thus find myself, it seems, right in the middle of my object of study, with all the resultant difficulties.

The term border is extremely rich in significations. One of my hypotheses is that it is undergoing a profound change in meaning. The borders of new sociopolitical entities, in which an attempt is being made to preserve all the functions of the sovereignty of the state, are no longer entirely situated at the outer limit of territories; they are dispersed a little everywhere, wherever the movement of information, people, and things is happening and is controlled–for example, in cosmopolitan cities. But it is also one of my hypotheses that the zones called peripheral, where secular and religious cultures confront one another, where differences in economic prosperity become more pronounced and strained, constitute the melting pot for the formation of a people (demos), without which there is no citizenship (politeia) in the sense that this term has acquired since antiquity in the democratic tradition.

Beyond Technocratic Appearances

In this sense, border areas–zones, countries, and cities–are not marginal to the constitution of a public sphere but rather are at the center. If Europe is for us first of all the name of an unresolved political problem, Greece is one of its centers, not because of the mythical origins of our civilization, symbolized by the Acropolis of Athens, but because of the current problems concentrated there.

Or, more exactly, the notion of a center confronts us with a choice. In connection with states, it means the concentration of power, the localization of virtual or real governing authorities. In this sense, the center of Europe is in Brussels, Strasbourg, or in the City of London and the Frankfurt stock exchange, or will soon be in Berlin, the capital of the most powerful of the states that dominate the construction of Europe, and secondarily in Paris, London, and so on. But this notion has another, more essential and elusive meaning, which points to the sites where a people is constituted through the creation of civic consciousness and the collective resolution of the contradictions that run through it. Is there then a »European people,« even an emergent one? Nothing is less certain. And if there is not a European people, a new type of people yet to be defined, then there is no public sphere or European state beyond technocratic appearances. This is what I meant when I imitated one of Hegel's famous phrases: Es gibt keinen Staat in Europa.1 But the question must remain open, and in a particularly »central« way at the border points.

There are more difficult issues. We are meeting in the aftermath of the war in Kosovo, the Balkans, or Yugoslavia, at a moment when the protectorate established at Pristina by the Western powers is being put into place with difficulty and for dubious ends, while in Belgrade uncertain maneuvers are unfolding for or against the future of the current regime. It is not certain that we all have the same judgment about these events, from which we will not emerge for quite some time. It is even probable that we have profoundly divergent opinions on the subject. The fact that we do not use the same names for the war that just took place is an unequivocal sign of this. It is possible–it is probable–that some of you condemned the intervention of NATO for various reasons, and that still others, also for various reasons, found it impossible to take sides. It is possible–it is probable–that certain of us saw striking proof of the subordination of Europe to the exterior, hegemonic power of the United States,

whereas others saw a mercenary utilization of American power by the European states in the service of continental objectives. And so on.

I do not presume to resolve these dilemmas. But I want to state here my conviction that these events mercilessly reveal the fundamental contradictions plaguing European unification. It was not by chance that they occurred when Europe was set to cross an irreversible threshold, by instituting a unitary currency and thus communal control of economic and social policy and by implementing formal elements of »European citizenship,« whose military and police counterparts are quickly perceived.

In reality, what is at stake here is the definition of the modes of inclusion and exclusion in the European sphere, as a »public sphere« of bureaucracy and of relations of force but also of communication and cooperation between peoples. Consequently, in the strongest sense of the term, it is the possibility or the impossibility of European unification. In the establishment of a protectorate in Kosovo and, indirectly, other regions of the Balkans, as in the blockade of Slobodan Milosevic's Serbia, the elements of impossibility prevailed obviously and lastingly– even if one thinks, as is my case, that an intervention one way or another to block the ongoing »ethnic cleansing« could no longer be avoided and even if one is skeptical, as is my case, of self-righteous positions concerning a people's right to self-determination in the history of political institutions. The unacceptable impasse that we had reached on the eve of the war in the whole of ex-Yugoslavia was fundamentally the result of the powerlessness, inability, and refusal of the »European community« to propose political solutions of association, to open possibilities of development for the peoples of the Balkans (and more generally of the East), and to assume everywhere its responsibilities in an effective struggle against human rights violations. It is thus Europe, particularly the primary European powers, that is responsible for the catastrophic developments that subsequently took place and for the consequences they now may have.

Crystallizing the Power

But, on the other hand, if it is true that the Balkan War manifests the impasse and the impossibility of European unification, it is necessary to have the courage (or the madness) to ask in today's conditions: under what conditions might it become possible again? Where are the potentialities for a different future? How can they be released by assigning responsibility for the past but avoiding the fruitless exercise of repeating it? An effort of this kind alone can give meaning to a project of active European citizenship, disengaged from all myths of identity, from all illusions about the necessary course of history, and a fortiori from all belief in the infallibility of governments. It is this effort that I would like to call on and contribute to. We must privilege the issue of the border when discussing the questions of the European people and of the state in Europe because it crystallizes the stakes of politico-economic power and the symbolic stakes at work in the collective imagination: relations of force and material interest on one side, representations of identity on the other.

I see a striking indicator of this in the fact that during the new Balkan War that has just taken place the name of Europe functioned in two contradictory ways, which cruelly highlighted the ambiguity of the notions of interior and exterior.

On one hand, Yugoslavia (as well as to varying degrees the whole Balkan area, including Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria . . .) was considered an exterior space, in which, in the name of a »principle of intervention« that I will not discuss here but that clearly marked a reciprocal exteriority, an entity called Europe felt compelled to intervene to block a crime against humanity, with the aid of its powerful American allies if necessary. On the other had, to take up themes proposed by the Albanian national writer Ismail Kadaré,2 for example, it was explained that this intervention was occurring on Europe's soil, within its historical limits, and in defense of the principles of Western civilization. Thus, this time the Balkans found themselves fully inscribed within the borders of Europe. The idea was that Europe could not accept genocidal population deportation on its own soil, not only for moral reasons but above all to preserve its political future.

However, this theme, which I do not by any means consider pure propaganda, did not correspond to any attempt to anticipate or accelerate the integration of the Balkan regions referred to in this way into the European public sphere. The failure of the stillborn »Balkan conference« testifies eloquently to this. There was no economic plan of reparations and development involving all the countries concerned and the European community as such. Nor was the notion of »European citizenship« adapted–for example, by the issuing of »European identity cards« to the Kosovo refugees whose identification papers had been destroyed by the Serbian army and militias, along the lines of the excellent suggestion by the French writer Jean Chesneaux.3 Nor were the steps and criteria for entrance into the »union« redefined.

Thus, on the one hand, the Balkans are a part of Europe and, on the other, they are not. Apparently, we are not ready to leave this contradiction behind, for it has equivalents in the eastern part of the continent, beginning with Turkey, Russia, and the Caucasus regions, and everywhere takes on a more and more dramatic significance. This fact results in profoundly paradoxical situations. First of all, the colonization of Kosovo (if one wants to designate the current regime this way, as Régis Debray, with whom I otherwise totally disagree, suggested by his comparisons with the Algerian War) is an »interior colonization« of Europe (with the help of a sort of American foreign legion). But I am also thinking of other situations, such as the fact that Greece could wonder if it was interior or exterior to the domain of European sovereignty, because its soil served as a point of entry for land-occupation forces in which it did not want to take part. I can even imagine that when Turkish participation in the operation was discussed, certain Greek »patriots« asked themselves which of the two »hereditary enemies« was more interior to political Europe, on its way to becoming a military Europe.

All this proves that the notions of interiority and exteriority, which form the basis of the representation of the border, are undergoing a veritable earthquake. The representations of the border, territory, and sovereignty, and the very possibility of representing the border and territory, have become the object of an irreversible historical »forcing.« At present these representations constitute a certain conception of the political sphere as a sphere of sovereignty, both the imposition of law and the distribution of land, dating from the beginning of the European modern age and later exported to the whole world–what Carl Schmitt in

---

Do it yourself theatre and games is a d.i.y. project with rom and semi nomadic children living in urban environments. It is d.i.y because it is realised with recuperated materials on or close to site, and is based on the stories and interests of the children for play and to make short improvised performances. The first part is on site in three different locations, Dublin, Rome and Amsterdam; the second part is on the net.

KIOSK
http://www.ersatzmedia.info
The KIOSK for useful knowledge is a transportable installation (designed by Stephan Craig) containing a cinema,

an archive, an office, and a bar. In the KIOSK for useful knowledge, the professional knowledge and theoretical discourse of two dialogue partners respectively - specialists, protagonists, and functionaries of their respective fields - will encounter the practice of everyday life and individual narration. The KIOSK conveys narrated theory and debate into public space.

Kanak Attak
http://www.kanak-attak.de
Kanak Attak is not asking for passports or heritage but instead questioning these concepts. Kanak Attak offers a platform for Kanaken (german vilifying term for foreigners) with different

social backgrounds, who are fed up with being told that they are supposed to sit on the fence. Kanak Attak wants to breach the assignments of ethnical identities and role-models.

Kein mensch ist illegal
http://www.contrast.org/borders/kein
Migrants and refugees are not wanted in Europe. Here it is nearly impossible for them to find a legal form of refuge or immigration, so crossing state borders will always be an »illegal« offence and often entail risking ones life. An »illegal« person is someone who stays even though it isn't permitted or accepted. The possibilities of immigration or residence are systematically reduced.

Thus an ever increasing number of people is forced into illegality. Borders do not only separate territories, they separate people. Borders exist everywhere: at social welfare centres, at stations, in city centres as well as at the state border. Wherever people have to prove their identity there is the border.

Kompakt
http://www.kompakt-net.de
Kompakt is a Cologne based recordlabel for minimal techno

his great book from 1950, The Nomos of the Earth, called the Jus Publicum Europaeum.4

But, as we also know, this representation of the border, essential as it is for state institutions, is nevertheless profoundly inadequate for an account of the complexity of real situations, of the topology underlying the sometimes peaceful and sometimes violent mutual relations between the identities constitutive of European history. I suggested in the past that (particularly in Mitteleuropa but more generally in all Europe), without even considering the question of »minorities,« we are dealing with »triple points« or mobile »overlapping zones« of contradictory civilizations rather than with juxtapositions of monolithic entities. In all its points, Europe is multiple; it is always home to tensions between numerous religious, cultural, linguistic, and political affiliations, numerous readings of history, numerous modes of relations with the rest of the world, whether it is Americanism or Orientalism, the possessive individualism of »Nordic« legal systems or the »tribalism« of Mediterranean familial traditions. This is why I have suggested that in reality the Yugoslavian situation is not atypical but rather constitutes a local projection of forms of confrontation and conflict characteristic of all of Europe, which I did not hesitate to call European race relations, with the implicit understanding that the notion of race has no other content than that of the historical accumulation of religious, linguistic, and genealogical identity references.5

The fate of European identity as a whole is being played out in Yugoslavia and more generally in the Balkans (even if this is not the only site of its trial). Either Europe will recognize in the Balkan situation not a monstrosity grafted to its breast, a pathological »aftereffect« of under-development or of communism, but rather an image and effect of its own history and will undertake to confront it and resolve it and thus to put itself into question and transform itself. Only then will Europe probably begin to become possible again. Or else it will refuse to come to face-to-face with itself and will continue to treat the problem as an exterior obstacle to be overcome through exterior means, including colonization. That is, it will impose in advance on its own citizenship an insurmountable border for its own populations, whom it will place indefinitely in the situation of metics, and it will reproduce its own impossibility.

I would now like to broaden this question of European citizenship as a »citizenship of borders« or confines, a condensation of impossibility and potentials that we must try to activate–without fearing to take things up again at a distance, from the point of view of plurisecular history.

Let us remember how the question of sovereignty is historically bound up with the questions of borders, as much political as cultural and »spiritual,« from the classical age to the crisis of imperialism in the mid-twentieth century, and which we have inherited after the dissolution of the »blocs.« We know that one of the origins of the political significance of the name of Europe, possibly the most decisive, was the constitution in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of a »balance of powers« among nation-states, for the most part organized in monarchies.6 Contrary to what one often reads in history books, this did not occur exactly with the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), signed to put an end to the Thirty Years' War, which had ravaged the continent by opposing Protestant and Catholic forces against the background of the »Turkish menace.« Rather, it happened a little later, when two conceptions of this European order confronted each other: the hegemonic conception, represented by the French monarchy, and the republican conception, in the sense of a regime of formal equality among the states, which coincided with the recognition of certain civil rights in the interior order, embodied by the coalition put in place by the English and the Dutch.7

Drawing Borders

It was then, in the propagandistic writings commissioned by William of Orange, that the term Europe replaced Christendom in diplomatic language as a designation of the whole of the relations of force and trade among nations or sovereign states, whose balance of power was materialized in the negotiated establishment of borders. We also know that this notion never ceased fluctuating, sometimes toward a democratic and cosmopolitan ideal (theorized by Kant), sometimes toward surveillance of the movement of peoples and cultural minorities by the most powerful states (which would triumph at the Congress of Vienna, after the defeat of Napoleon). But I would like rather to direct attention to two evolving trends, which affect this system more and more deeply as we approach the present moment.

The first of these comes from the fact that the European balance of power and the corresponding national sovereignty are closely tied to the hegemonic position of Europe in the world between the seventeenth and mid-twentieth centuries–the imperialist division of the world by colonialist European powers, including of course »small nations« like Holland and Belgium and peripheral nations like Russia, later the USSR. This point has been insisted on in various ways by Marxist and non-Marxist theoreticians such as Carl Schmitt, who saw in it the origins of the crisis of »European public law,« but before him Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, later Hannah Arendt, and closer to us, the historians Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein.

Drawing »political« borders in the European sphere, which considered itself and attempted to appoint itself the center of the world, was also originally and principally a way to divide up the earth; thus, it was a way at once to organize the world's exploitation and to export the »border form« to the periphery, in an attempt to transform the whole universe into an extension of Europe, later into »another Europe,« built on the same political model. This process continued until decolonization and thus also until the construction of the current international order. But one could say that in a certain sense it was never completely achieved–that is, the formation of independent, sovereign, unified, or homogeneous nation-states at the same time failed in a very large part of the world, or it was thrown into question, not only outside Europe but in certain parts of Europe itself.

This probably occurred for very profound reasons that we need to consider. It is possible that that form of »absolute« sovereignty of nation-states is not universalizable and that in some sense a »world of nations,« or even »united nations,« is a contradiction in terms. Above all, this connection among the construction of European nations, their stable or unstable »balance of power,« their internal and external conflicts, and the global history of imperialism resulted not only in the perpetuation of border conflicts but also in the

demographic and cultural structure typical of European populations today, which are all postcolonial communities or, if you will, projections of global diversity within the European sphere–as a result of immigration but for other causes as well, like the repatriation of displaced peoples.

The second development that I would like to discuss concerns the evolution of the notion of a people, and it goes in the opposite direction from that of the preceding one, creating a strong tension that may become very violent on occasion. The historical insertion of populations and peoples in the system of nation-states and of their permanent rivalry affects from the inside the representation of these peoples, their consciousness of their »identity.«

In the work that I published in 1988 with Immanuel Wallerstein, Race, Nation, Class,8 I used the expression »constitution of a fictive ethnicity« to designate this characteristic nationalization of societies and peoples and thus of cultures, languages, genealogies. This process is the very site of the confrontation, as well as of the reciprocal interaction, between the two notions of the people: that which the Greek language and following it all political philosophy calls ethnos, the »people« as an imagined community of membership and filiation, and d emos, the »people« as the collective subject of representation, decision making, and rights. It is absolutely crucial to understand the power of this double-faced construction–its historical necessity, to some degree–and to understand its contingency, its existence relative to certain conditions.9

Systems of Exclusion

This construction resulted in the subjective interiorization of the idea of the border–the way individuals represent their place in the world to themselves (let us call it, with Hannah Arendt, their right to be in the world) by tracing in their imaginations impenetrable borders between groups to which they belong or by subjectively appropriating borders assigned to them from on high, peacefully or otherwise. That is, they develop cultural or spiritual nationalism (what is sometimes called »patriotism,« the »civic religion«).

But this construction also closely associates the democratic universality of human rights–including the right to education, the right to political expression and assembly, the right to security and at least relative social protections–with particular national belonging. This is why the democratic composition of people in the form of the nation led inevitably to systems of exclusion: the divide between »majorities« and »minorities« and, more profoundly still, between populations considered native and those considered foreign, heterogeneous, who are racially or culturally stigmatized.

It is obvious that these divisions were reinforced by the history of colonization and decolonization and that in this time of globalization they become the seed of violent tensions. Already dramatic within each nationality, they are reproduced and multiplied at the level of the postnational or supranational community that the European Union aspires to be. During the interminable discussion over the situation of immigrants and »undocumented aliens« in France and in Europe, I evoked the specter of an apartheid being formed at the same time as European citizenship itself. This barely hidden apartheid concerns the populations of the »South« as well as the »East.«

Does Europe as a future political, economic, and cultural entity, possible and impossible, need a fictive identity? Through this kind of construction, can Europe give meaning and reality to its own citizenship–that is, to the new system of rights that it must confer on the individuals and social groups that it includes? Probably yes, in the sense that it must construct a representation of its »identity« capable of becoming part of both objective institutions and individuals' imaginations. Not, however (this is my conviction, at least) in the sense that that the closure characteristic of national identity or of the fictive ethnicity whose origin I have just described is as profoundly incompatible with the social, economic, technological, and communicational realities of globalization as it is with the idea of a »European right to citizenship« understood as a »right to citizenship in Europe«–that is, an expansion of democracy by means of European unification. The heart of the aporia seems to me to lie precisely in the necessity we face, and the impossibility we struggle against, of collectively inventing a new image of a people, a new image of the relation between membership in historical com-

munities (ethnos) and the continued creation of citizenship (d emos) through collective action and the acquisition of fundamental rights to existence, work, and expression, as well as civic equality and the equal dignity of languages, classes, and sexes. Today every possibility of giving a concrete meaning to the idea of a European people and thus of giving content to the project of a democratic European state runs up against two major obstacles: the emptiness of every European social movement and of all social politics and the authoritarian establishment of a border of exclusion for membership in Europe. Unless these two obstacles are confronted together and resolved one by the other, this project will never happen.

Persistance of names

The persistence of names is the condition of every »identity.« We fight for certain names and against others, to appropriate names (Europe, Yugoslavia, Kosovo, Macedonia but also France, Great Britain, Germany). All these battles leave traces, in the form of nostalgic longings and borders or utopias and transformational programs. Thus, the name of Europe–derived from distant

antiquity and first designating a little region of Asia or Asia Minor–has been connected to cosmopolitan projects, to claims of imperial hegemony or to the resistance that they provoked, to programs dividing up the world and expanding »civilization« that the colonial powers believed themselves the guardians of, to the rivalry of »blocs« that disputed legitimate possession of it, to the creation of a »zone of prosperity« north of the Mediterranean, of a »great power in the twenty-first century.«

The difficulty for democratic politics is to avoid becoming enclosed in representations that have historically been associated with emancipatory projects and struggles for citizenship and have now become obstacles to their revival, to their permanent reinvention. Every identification is subject to the double constraint of the structures of the capitalist world economy and of ideology (feelings of belonging to cultural and political units). What is currently at stake does not consist in a struggle for or against European identity in itself. After the end of »real communism« and the taking of sides, the stakes revolve instead around the invention of a citizenship that allows us to

democratize the borders of Europe, to overcome its interior divisions, and to reconsider completely the role of European nations in the world. The issue is not principally to know whether the European Union, too, will become a great military power, charged with guaranteeing a »regional order« or with »projecting« itself outward in humanitarian or neocolonial interventions; rather, it is whether a project of democratization and economic construction common to the East and West, the North and South, of the Euro-Mediterranean sphere will be elaborated and will gain the support of its peoples–a project that depends first on them. Europe impossible: Europe possible.

Citizenship in motion

Sandro Mezzadra

Etienne Balibar's recent interventions have stressed the strategic importance of including the history of colonial expansionism in any critical reflection on the question of European citizenship. This inclusion, not exclusive to academic debating, is a fundamental issue of everyday life in Europe due to the 'increasingly larger and legitimate presence, despite the suffered discriminations, of populations of colonial origins in the old metropolises'.

Balibar's recent interventions have stressed the strategic importance of including the history of colonial expansionism in any critical reflection on the question of European citizenship. This inclusion, not exclusive to academic controversy, is a fundamental issue of everyday life in Europe due to the 'increasingly larger and legitimate presence, despite the suffered discriminations, of populations of colonial origins in the old metropolises'.

Lessons in Otherness?

Reflecting on colonial history then is ridden with 'new tensions and violence' while potentially writing what Balibar calls a 'lesson of otherness' into the fibre of European citizenship: the European recognition 'of otherness as an indispensable element of its own identity, its virtuality, its 'power'' (Balibar, L'Europe, l'Amérique, la guerre. p. 38)

Balibar's valuable considerations prompt a number of questions: what is new in this 'lesson of otherness?' In post-colonial studies otherness is widely recognised as an 'essential element' of European identity since the beginning of modernity. As Bhabha or Spivak taught us, a movement of contamination, transits, and metissage contradictorily coexist within colonial experience and anticipate the 'postcolonial' present.

In themselves, metissage and 'hybridisation' - rather than exclusively referring to experiences of emancipation - can also describe particularly brutal manners of exercising domination and articulating exploitation. Instead of the constitutive relation between otherness and European identity, the question then is a recognition of otherness that historically would entail a self-criticism of Europe. There is no trace of this self criticism and recognition in the manner in which political Europe relates to contemporary migration: neither in national legislations on the issue, nor in the directives of the Commission, nor on the articles on European citizenship in the project of a constitutional treaty discussed and not approved at the Brussels intergovernmental conference of last December. The only signal of a counter-trend is the very presence of migrants in Europe. Shall we interpret this presence as that of a social movement that keeps challenging the policies that

would make of Europe a 'fortress' and that thus creates the possibility for an 'other' European citizenship while also providing it with a material example? What are the resonance effects of this social movement on other social practices and other questions of citizenship that are equally cancelled out of the institutional configuration that European citizenship is contradictorily taking on? What are the constituent perspectives opened up on this terrain for the movements present in Europe today, which in the context of a global movement of insubordination struggle against 'neoliberalism' and war? In my view, these are the issues worth exploring.

European Borders

Regarding the war, while a discussion on the constitution of a new European border police ensues and the 'war against terrorism' opens an internal war trench of which migrants (in Europe as in the US) are the first victims, the struggle continues on the European borders. Human rights organisations calculate that in the last ten years almost four thousand refugees and migrants have lost their lives, drowned in seas and rivers, exploded on mine fields, suffocated in containers while trying to cross those borders. It is hard to quantify the similar fate of those in the process of approaching European borders, crossing the Sahara for instance. What is this if not a war, and a much dirtier one in not being waged in conventional terms? Is indignation enough when one is faced with the reality of this war and with the cruelty of 'human traffickers' and 'new merchants of slaves '? Is it more opportune to underline that unlike traditional slaves the majority of women and men on rafts and broken fishing boats did not choose to be there?

Around this issue we place the question of recognition: the recognition of contemporary movements of migration as social movements that are motivated, though faced with conditions of poverty and social and political devastation, by specific stances of freedom and demands for citizenship. What happens on the European borders is far from being of 'marginal' importance. The very notion of border - the practices of its government as much as its 'localisation' - seems to have changed fundamentally in the course of 'globali-

sation'. On the one hand, borders are projected to the outside and cast their shadow hundreds of miles further from the geographical lines that delineate an area such as Europe (or the US or Australia). Tony Blair's latest proposal to institute Transit Processing Centres is a metaphor for real detention centres in key conflict areas such as Asia and Africa, where to assess asylum-seeking applications of potential refugees. It is the most recent instance in a process that for the last fifteen years has permitted an increasingly invasive intervention of national and European authorities in the policies of borders control and migration movements in strategically placed Third World countries. On the other hand, borders are continuously decomposed and recomposed; they project their shadow onto the heart of 'cities' and no longer simply signal its external perimeter. Detention centres for migrants awaiting expulsion are placed all over Europe. They can no longer be seen as an anomaly but as a founding institution for an emerging European citizenship. They are only the most visible forms of a complex process through which the European apartheid that Balibar has relentlessly denounced in the last few years is taking shape. The word apartheid must be taken literally, because what needs to be put at the centre of the theoretical and political debate is 'the process of constitution of a population made inferior (in rights and thus in dignity) that is the object of violent forms of 'security' control and coerced into permanently living 'at the border', neither wholly inside nor outside'. (É. Balibar, Noi cittadini d'Europa? p. 139). European policies on migration, despite their rhetoric, do not aim to hermetically seal European borders. Their objective, and their effect, is the establishment of a system of dams and eventually the production of an active process of inclusion of migrant labour by means of its criminalisation (it. clandestinizzazione). If we look at the legislation of individual European countries on this matter that have been shaped under the pressure of European dictates, it becomes apparent that by regulating the condition of migrants these laws have directly intervened in the regulation of the labour market. The Italian Bossi-Fini law that binds the residency permit to the possession of a regular work contract is a fully European law in this respect and

---

using the work released in this manner will honour the license and release their work under a public license resulting in a radical rejection of the whole capitalist ethos of these multinational media corporations. Loca receives money from selling CDs and Records. Following the example of Free/Libre and Open Source GNU/LINUX distributors, this money is reinvested in new talent and to encourage more experimentation. There are two types of releases:
I. Music CDs - These are the CDs you buy in the shops. With LOCA releases you are free to copy and resell and sample and resample etc.
          However they do not contain the source files, which we used to make

the music... So although they are Copyleft and Open Music in as much as you can copy them and resell they are not as open as we aspire to.
II. Music/Data CDs - These contain both the music and a hidden computer readable area that will hold the samples and music tracks we used to make up the songs. Thus you can do all the above but also remix, reedit and completely change the songs around any way you like... These are releases that we are working on now (In fact MEME is releasing the Open Source EP in 2004) which will be dual format. In future we hope to also supply these as ISO copies of (which include all samples and source files) which can be downloaded using FTP to burn off

your own copies and to use the samples. However they are big... very big... at 740Mb... so presently we have been trying to figure out a way of doing this that won't kill our web server... or the downloading user's computer... any ideas please let us know...
We believe that musicians are mad to sign away their rights over their music for a tiny percentage of what is in reality the highly profitable and infinite exploitation of music products.
Originally copyright was intended to give artists and writers an income from their works and to promote 'progress' for a period of 20-50 years, but now it has been hijacked by multinational media corporations who actively lobby to make

rights in copyright law last forever. The calculation is purely and simply to make as much money as they possibly can by preventing the use of music in any way that they do not want. Some even impose severe licenses on works that you purchase (for instance some e-book licenses make reading the book aloud technically illegal!).
LOCA believes that without the ability to use works in radically new ways we lose our rights to free public debate and expression and control over our lives. If we are unable to criticise, reuse, sample and deconstruct we will lose a vital part of our freedoms.
The different artists create the music in a variety of different ways. The most democratic and open

mirrors the general trend that introduces a real deployment (dispositif) of personal coercion into the labour market whilst rendering the presence of so-called illegal immigrants a structural fact of contemporary European society. Between 'illegal immigrants' and citizens, in what the official agency of European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia in Vienna defined in its 2001 report 'the ethnic-racial division of labour in Europe' [1] there is a whole series of intermediaries that correspond to the various existing typologies of residence permits.

On May 01 2004, ten new European countries will join Europe, but their workers will not: for a period of two to seven years the entry into Europe and the acquisition of European citizenship will not grant them the right to freedom of movement within the EU territory, as the latter will be regulated and restrained by national and community policies. [2]

A further differentiation is thus introduced, this time also formally, within European citizenship: its effects on the labour market can be clearly seen in the competition between African and Polish workers for 'deskilled' and seasonal jobs in agriculture in the south of Spain. As citizens of a country bidding to access the EU, the Polish are already in a relatively privileged position.

Which European Citizenship?

The condition of migrants constitutes a privileged point from which to observe and investigate the trend towards selectively decomposing the figures of citizenship that, the moment when European citizenship starts assuming clear con-

tours, is placed at its centre and deeply influences what we might call its material constitution. From this derive fundamental and inevitable issues: the closure of detention centres and the regularisation of _sans papiers_, two crucial elements for the united day of action for the rights of migrants decided at St. Denis on the 31st of January this year. Another crucial issue linked to this is the separation of residence permits from work contracts and of European citizenship from the citizenship of countries enjoying membership in the Union. The tendency toward decomposing citizenship is far from concerning migrants only: the reintroduction of a principle of tutelage (that is, historically and conceptually, a principle opposed to that of citizenship) has persistently characterised neoliberal policies. It inspired the demise of citizenship in matters of penal law and control and through the attempt to turn welfare into workfare; it gradually reduced the provision of services to citizens whilst subordinating it, for those who cannot acquire these services in the 'market', to paternalist logic. More generally, the principle of flexibility has been affirmed as the new key to labour relations and to the very right to work that was one of the main fields for the expansion of citizenship in the last century. This was done through concrete practices that have laid the groundwork for a reintroduction of devices of subordination and personal command in fields that in the past had been at least juridically protected by collective rights and guarantees. The changes mentioned were produced in Europe through a process actively carried out not only by the member countries, but also by European institutions such as the Commission

and the EU Court of Justice in Luxemburg. The point is not to refuse to see the potential for the constituent process opened in Europe that the consolidation of European citizenship entails for social movements. The latter's achievement of a European dimension is rather a goal that is urgently posed: we need to find political tools that allow for a productive interference of the practices of citizenship recently expressed by the movements in the current institutional processes. Within the theoretical debate there is a strong tendency to reflect on citizenship beyond its juridical codification and institutional profile and to account for the practices and demands through which social movements question that institutional profile.

It is on this gap that we need to focus. The issue is one of constitutional politics: our first aim cannot be a European constitution with its _demos_ conceived according to the classical categories of European constitutionalism; we need to prevent the closure of this constituent process and keep opening it up when it seems to come to a halt, so that within it, through struggle and political action, all the elements of material constitution that have been accumulating throughout time can be continuously called into question.

[1] <http://eumc.eu.int/>
[2]
<www.iue.it/LAW/Events/WSWorkshopNov2003/Rigo_paper.pdf>

B04 is the common framework for a wide range of local and remote, mobile and stationary activities taking place in summer 2004. It is a modular, temporary, and tactical association of various new media-and network-initiatives from east and west europe, from outside as well as within the new europe. An international and interdisciplinary coalition of fine art and performance artists, human rights-, noborder- and new media-activists, filmmakers, video- and fotografers, researchers, scientists and investigators will set a series of events in motion that surround, circumvent and perforate the borders of Europe. B04 is a two month, virtual travel along both sides of the new borders of an enlarged European Union, starting in the baltic states and moving around Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Austria and Slovenia to Croatia, touching also Belarus, Ukraine, Romania and Serbia.

B04 will connect and shortcircuit debates around migration with debates about the expansion of the borders of the EU, around mobility, mobile technologies and freedom of movement, about the future dimensions of networking and the impact this will have for those already within Europe and those previously outside it.
1. Tracing the routes of migration: The many faces of migration are producing dramatic changes, that are not only affecting local and remote economies. People in transit, commuters between east and west, seasonal and domestic workers form new concepts of Europe, that are based on mobility, no matter if unsolicited or unvoluntarily.
Mapping the spaces in between: Theoretically it's only a small drift from what lies beyond the limitations of national imagination to the imaginations of those outside of it. But in practice, the

spaces between Europe and non-Europe are being dispersed, extracted and contracted by numerous movements of very different actors on an unknown and ever-changing field.
3. Crossing the borders from the real to a virtual europe: Leaving traditional political and geographical notions of Europe behind the information and communication technologies as well as the flows of migration do shape a virtual europe, that is defined by it's openness rather than it's borders. There is an unrepresentable multitude of europes to be discovered and explored.
Working on these three fields B04 will consist of four modules that will be developed by independent organizing teams, that are networking among each others:

Research: In order to investigate the subjectivities and the constitutive power of people networking across borders, research units will work on frequently asked questions: How does a redesigned european border regime change the daily life of the people in the areas of the new border regions? Which stories, experiences and what desires do people have, that live on this and that side of the new border of the official, but in the midst of a virtual Europe? What does living conditions of people that are on the move look like? On the move into illegality or into precarious labour or into detention centers? How do workers of the worldmarket factories struggle and organise -- in- and outside of the new external european border?

Workshops: B04 will involve remote activists and local community organisers in workshops and training programs in both an adhoc and a sustainable fashion adressing the needs of local activists and civil society. It will focus on skill-

sharing to enable and empower people with the practical use of new media technologies by providing connectivity, introducing open source software and offering unfettered access to communication tools. A transnational migration-guide will support and empower people in their interest to find better living- or working conditions, no question if it is temporarily or permanently. There will be a special focus on the potential of digital media to facilitate dialogue and communication across national borders, and on the power of filmmaking, photography and storytelling in the negotiation of emerging, hyphenated identities.

Performances: To present the images and narratives of an emerging european culture that is currently created around the issues of information society and transnational mobility, B04 will present exhibitions, screenings and performances in public spaces and in close collaboration with local and international artists and art institutions.

Documentation: In order to document the experiences, acquaintances, results and achievements of the project publically, in real-time or near on real-time internet connectivity is one of the key issues. B04 will be accompanied by a specially equipped van that provides a high-bandwidth internet connection via satellite. Using all available media from print to radio to video in different output-formats the real-time documentation of a project at such an extend aims to facilitate dialogue and interactive communication between Europe's diverse peoples, new and old.

The ultimate goal is to build a new vision of Europe that moves on against exclusion, resentment, localism, narrow-mindednesss, racism and xenophobia.

Border04

Project pitch

Some weeks after the EU-enlargement in mid 2004 B04–BORDER 04 will shift the focus to the folds and fringes, the margins and new borders of the official europe.

---

is the project known as ML. This is an experimental collective that tries to apply open-source methods to music writing itself. For instance ML is currently working on a Sourceforge system that will allow the music to be selectively worked on, forked and remixed by a number of different collaborators. This will mean that a track is never actually *finished* but will continue to be changed and developed and only interim versions of the music will be released — although you can always download the nightly builds of the music.

Location1
http://www.locationone.org

MaMa
http://www.mi2.hr
MaMa is an independent media institute from Zagreb.

Mapping Mythologies
http://locative.x-i.net/mm
This project is a collaboration between Signe Pucena (LV) and Andrew Paterson (UK/FI), that began in Karosta -Latvia, July 2003. 'Drawing' from the local ethno-acoustic landscape, the project aims to map and link locative media - recorded with mobile media-capture devices: image, sound, gps-trace, movie - from a person-centred position of narrative and experience. In two physi-

cal locations, our collaboration aims to explore cross-cultural (Sami-Finnish-Russian at Inari-Ivalo -Lapland & Russian-Latvian at Karosta -Latvia) and mono-culture (deeply local) experiencies. In-other-words, through the stories, personal narratives, mythologies and songs that people use to describe or show a sense of shared, common and collective memory to others, in relation to the environment in which they are situated. The project touches upon ethnographic fieldwork craft and situated narratives, exploring the potentials of emerging mobile and collaborative media practices. As part of the process it aims to elaborate tangible representations and appropriate means of feedback interfaces to present the project in

the local contexts where the media was gathered.

Marcel
http://www.mmmarcel.org
a portal site for art-science-industry

Metapet
http://www.metapet.net
Metapet is an online game commissioned by Creative Time, New York in association with HAMACA, Barcelona: Biotech innovation meets corporate creativity and gives birth to a new class of virtual pet: the Metapet. Your challenge: discover the right balance between a firm hand and a gentle coax with-

Precarious women workers adrift

Precarias

Precarias a la deriva is a collective project of investigation and action that converged in June 2002, the day of the general strike called by the major unions in Spain. In the days before the strike we came together to brainstorm an intervention which would reflect our times, aware that the labour strike, as the culminating expression of a process of struggle, was unsatisfactory for us. There were three reasons for our discontent: (1) for not taking up -and this is no novelty- the experience and the unjust division of domestic work and care, almost entirely done by women in the 'non-productive' sphere, (2) for the marginalization to which both the forms of action and the proposals of the strike condemn those in types of work -ever more common- which are generally lumped together as 'precarious' and (3) for not taking into consideration precarious, flexible, invisible or undervalued work, specifically that of women and/or migrants (sexual, domestic, assistance, etc.).

We saw that many of these jobs in the margins: the invisible, unregulated, unmoored jobs were in no way interrupted or altered by a strike of this type, and that the becoming precarious of the labour market had extended to such an extent that the majority of working people were not even effected by the new reforms against which the strike was directed. Therefore we tried to think of new forms of living this day of struggle by approaching and confronting these new realities. We decided to transform the classic shut-down picket into a survey-picket. Frankly, we didn't feel up to upbraiding a precarious worker contracted by the hour in a supermarket or to closing down the little convenience store run by an immigrant because, in the end, despite the many reasons to shut down and protest, who had called this strike? Who were they thinking of? Was there even a minimal interest on the part of the unions for the situation of precarious workers, immigrants, housewives? Did the shut-down stop the productive process of domestic workers, translators, designers, programmers, all those autonomous workers for whom stopping this day would do nothing but duplicate their work the next day? It seemed more interesting to us, considering the gap between the experience of work and the practice of struggle, to open a space of exchange between some of the women who were working or consuming during that day and with those who were moving in the streets. This small, discreet sketch of an investigation was the starting point for what became the project of the 'drifts'.

From the Laboratorio

That first picket-survey of June 20th, which was limited though very inspiring, gave way to a new project of interpellation based on displacement, that is to say, the possibility of preparing and carrying out a series of itineraries which would cross through the diverse metropolitan circuits of female precariousness. Thus, against the habitual division of life and work, a division long questioned by feminism, we opted for a research practice that would attend to the spatial/temporal continuum of existence and the experience of the double (or better, multiple) presence as a subjective transposition or, as the Situationists would say, as a technique of uninterrupted passage through diverse physical and psychic environments.

We decided that this drifting should be done in the first person, that is, with each one telling the others about herself, and walking together towards a prudent but sustained approximation of the differences between us. We talk, therefore, of seeking common places and, simultaneously, of singularities to strengthen. This approximation has grown through the subsequent debates which have made us modify the initial utterance »we are precarious workers« for others less prone to affirming identity as an original element and more attentive to the processes of (de)identification.

Our situations are so diverse, so partial, that it is very difficult to find common denominators from which to elaborate alliances and irreducible differences with which to mutually enrich ourselves. It is complicated for us to express ourselves, to define ourselves from the common place of precariousness; a precariousness capable of bypassing a clear collective identity through which to simplify and defend itself, but one which demands discussion. We need to communicate the lacks and the excesses of our working and living situations in order to escape from the neo-liberal fragmentation which separates and debilitates us, turning us into victims of fear, of exploitation or of the individualism of 'each one for herself.' But, above all, we want to make possible the collective construction of other lives through a shared creative struggle. Our insistence upon singularity we owe to our desire to not produce, once again, false homogeneities, without permitting that this insistence prevents us from saying anything at all. We thought, in relation to this, of the specific situation of some companions who are migrants working in domestic service and in the consequences of a link which demands other forms of commitment than those to which some of us are accustomed.

Basically it was a question of producing a cartography of the precarious work of women based on the exchange of experiences, shared reflections and the recording of all that was seen and told in an effort to materialize to the greatest extent possible -through photographs, slides, video, audio recordings and written stories- these encounters in order to communicate the results and the hypothesis which might be derived from them; a question of taking communication seriously not only as a tool for diffusion but also as a new place, a new competence and primary material for the political. Our point of departure: the occupied women's house La Eskalera Karakola, point of arrival: unknown. It is the transit that interests us now.

The Drifts

In the Situationist version of the drift, the investigators wander without any particular destination through the city, permitting that conversations, interactions and urban micro-events guide them. This permits them to establish a psycho-cartography based on the coincidences and correspondences of physical and subjective flows: exposing themselves to the gravitation and repulsion of certain spaces, to the conversations that come up along the way, and, in general, to the way in which the urban and social environments influence exchanges and attitudes. This means wandering attentive to the billboard that assaults you, the bench which attracts, the building which suffocates, the people who come and go. In our particular version, we opt to exchange the arbitrary wandering of the flaneur, so particular to the bourgeois male subject with nothing pressing to do, for a situated drift which would move through the daily spaces of each one of us, while maintaining the tactic's multi-sensorial and open character. Thus the drift is converted into a moving interview, crossed through by the collective perception of the environment.

So how do we do a drift? We depart from a few paradigmatic feminized sectors of precarious work. To begin, we chose five: domestic, telemarketing, manipulators of codes (translators, language teachers), food service (bar, restaurant), health care and identified other equally important ones for a future phase of the project: prostitution, scholarships/research, advertising, communications, social work and education. The women working in these sectors whom we asked to guide us chose a series of relevant places: their houses, workplaces, supermarkets, the park, the cyber café, the yoga class. and we threaded these spaces together as points on an itinerary loaded with significance, the networks of chance and simultaneity which compose our daily lives. Thus, following an English teacher we were able to connect -through the fortuitous tour one of her students gave us in NCR (a multinational which installs and maintains automatic bank tellers) where she teaches- the reality of the flexible work of our companion within the new factory structure, recomposed according to the demands of the global market.

The drift permits us to take the quotidian as a dimension of the political and as a source of resistances, privileging experience as an epistemological category. Experience, in this sense, is not a pre-analytic category but a central notion in understanding the warp of daily events, and, what is more, the ways in which we give meaning to our localized and incarnated quotidian. It is not exactly an observation technique; it does not aspire to 'reproduce ' or approach daily experience as it habitually occurs (an ideal of classical anthropology which has proved difficult to realize) but rather to produce simultaneous movements of approaching and distancing, visualizing and de-familiarizing, transit and narration. We are interested in the point of view of those that guide us -how they define and experience precariousness, how they organize themselves on a daily basis and what are their vital strategies in the short and the long term, what they hope for-without dismissing, in this process, the dialog and complicity which is produced in our encounter. In all these wanderings we attempt to extract common names from this dispersion of singularities -each one unknown, even alien, to the others- which comprise the new reality of precarized work. We dream of substituting, albeit just a little, the weakness of dispersion for the strength of alliances, the potential of networks. But the difficulty of both objectives comes out during the drifts. The realities of precarious work are very, very different: the resources we can count on, the emotional and material support, the wages, the rights, the social value of what we do, the diversity of availabilities and sensibilities.

We might venture a definition of the word precariousness, broad enough to acknowledge the amplitude and multidimensionality of the phenomenon, but concrete enough to avoid that the term lose all explicative force: thus we will call precariousness the juncture of conditions, both material and symbolic, which determine an uncertainty with respect to the continued access to the resources necessary for the full development of a person's life. This definition permits us to overcome the divisions between public/private and production/reproduction, and recognize and visualize the interconnections between the social and the economic which make it impossible to think about precariousness from a strictly work-and-wage perspective.

Mobility

Mobility is the quality which best describes the present malleability of the work force around the three axes: time, space and task. Mobility in the disposition of rhythms and schedules, mobility between jobs and, beyond that, in geography, in vital decisions, in lifestyle, and mobility in 'unit acts' and in the ways of developing them, always subject to mutations, to processes of evaluation and adjustment, a constant auditing. Mobility opposed to the old static forms, to bureaucratization and routine and, without a doubt, to the organizational capacity of persons who in any moment may find their functions modified and recombined, persons who don't know the limits of what they have to do, and in general, of what they themselves are.

In the past people struggled against the reification of daily life, primarily incarnated in work but also in the family and mass consumption, and this determined a change in business policies,

---

out ever losing sight of the bottom line. But here's a word of advice: treat your Metapet with care. Heedless actions may come back to haunt you when you least expect it!

Miklataklitim
http://miklataklitim.com
Kunst- und Musikprojekt und Plattenlabel aus Jerusalem

Momento
http://www.momento-production.com
Created in 1994 by Eyal Sivan, Armelle Laborie and Rony Brauman, MOMENTO! is specialised in production and distribu-

tion of documentary films involved in political issues, more particularly about Middle-East and Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Mute magazine
http://www.openmute.org
OpenMute is an open source web resource project aiming to support cultural practice in the information age. Through the provision of server space, tools, practical guidance and critical contextualisation, we seek to develop open and collaborative ways of working, and contribute to the kind of public knowledge architectures that will serve practitioners' needs over the long term.

MyBrandenburg
http://www.mybrandenburg.net
During the last summer in a lot of places in Brandenburg people became angry because of the the bad image of Brandenburg discussions were focusing on: First of all, scientist warned, that parts of the county seems to be in a state of desolation and devastation of big parts of the land (because of the brain drain or the reduction of rain). Shortly after again other scientists pointed out the danger in a desolation of Brandenburg. We also realised the phenomenon of desolation of different places, but mainly we are aware of a cultural desolation. We took this discussion as a motivation to ask ourselves: Is

Brandenburg already a steppe country? Together with others we want to create a travel guide, that represents Brandenburg the way we see it. We are politically active people who live or used to live in Brandenburg. We stand for equal rights and emancipation, against racism and Fascism and we are part of the brandenburg-network, that came up with the campaigns »Aktion Noteingang« and »Research and Action«. We do not want to create a travel guide in a small group of voluntary editors. This page is open for everyone, who has something to tell about this county. It is not our intention just to show only one – namely our – view on this county, but as well a communication about the daily life and our surrounding. We are

22

particularly in the management of human resources. Today security and continuity have become, in name at least, increasingly precious, although the price that must be paid for them is often too high and one ends up accepting mobility and unrestricted availability in an attempt to compose a destiny which at least is not totally prescribed. The only stable element is being in perpetual transit, the »habit of the unaccustomed« which characterizes work paid by the hour, by the job, or until something better is found. Which, as our guides through the mysterious world of telemarketing commented, never really happens, such that one returns again and again to bounce off different campaigns which the virtual enterprises in the sector contract with the big communication multinationals under ever more competitive conditions.

In our drift through the social nursing sector, Carmen explained to us in detail how the lack of acceptable work opportunities in Spain and the demand for this kind of work in other countries is motivating a flow of young nurses who, besides working in their own field, aspire to learn languages and live in other places. The passage through past and present work places -a health centre in which she worked as a substitute, an attention centre for drug addicts marked by organizational chaos and lack of resources, return to the health centre, a training course for social workers of the IMEFE for which one must sign up from one day to the next - gives the sense of the sustained unpredictability within a life which besides employment -interest, security and salary - values other types of questions: the relation with others as something which is never predetermined and as something which is esteemed in its singularity, or this idea of »the social« as a public good which extends beyond work as socialization, learning, exchange, consciousness raising, and vital context but which, as Carmen insisted when comparing her vision with that of her mother, also a social worker, one must learn to limit, to use to one's advantage. Carmen formulates the dilemma in this realm of action in her comparison of two interpretive frameworks: one as »working for the people« an attitude Carmen attributes to her mother, and the other »working for the system« a tactic she claims for herself. The distinction is important, demonstrating as it does how life is absorbed by work and work by life. 'Working for the people' one loses ones own limits with respect to work and melds one's energies and one's emotions in an exercise of continuous and committed sociability which attempts to overlook the mediation, in this case of the State, which exists in a health centre, where the privatizing tendency has skyrocketed in recent times and where the incentive system rewards a perverse model of medicalization and neglect. 'Working for the system', on the other hand, regulates this exercise of fusion by entering into a relation which emphasizes institutional mediation (though generally not from a critical perspective), supervising the link and embittering it by quitting from it the open, experimental and unlimited character of relation with others. We are also talking about the difference between a strictly medical focus, adjusted to the »viability« of health minimums, and a more social focus which is necessarily interwoven with the habits and histories of each and every one of the persons whom we see during our trip to the Alcobendas health centre.

Mobility as an existential, subjective condition constantly puts us up against an ambivalence which makes its most important effects known in the states of being uprooted, the lack of a stable identity, an unbalanced practice of flight, nostalgia and submission. We have caught a train in Atocha and once seated, we listen attentively to these reflections, previously written by one of us, as we move rapidly towards the industrial suburbs.

A rootless person is pitied or repudiated, blamed for lack of identity, roots and traditions. But to construct an identity from local cultural elements is absurd in the changing world in which we live, of dislocations, temporary habitats, migrations and mixture.

Border Territories

The second axis is the border, both in its most immediate sense -the closing of geographical borders and the precarization which this entails- as well as a more general sense of the construction of borders which determine inside access and hierarchies within much more diffuse fields, such as the house in which one works and the personal relationships which one establishes with the employers and their families. Perhaps the most vivid image of all this was offered to us by Viki, an Ecuadorian friend who works in domestic service, when she told us about the barriers which are erected in the work of in-house domestics, especially in the case of foreigners. As A.Macklin has indicated, this work is marked by a series of ambiguities which situate those who do it both inside and outside: inside the nation and outside the State, inside the economy and outside labour relations, inside the home and outside the family. The space of home and family, which in principle is a smooth surface, bit by bit reveals its strata: its forbidden places, its behaviours, its habits (in terms of food, cleaning, leisure, order, shopping, vacations, etc.) which are converted into rules, instituted in practice. The uniform, Viki explained, is the first border, that which establishes upon the body and in the eyes of others which is the place occupied by each.

Really it's very unpleasant, besides being an imposition. They don't ask you if you want to wear it or not, or how you feel, or if it looks good on you or not. Nothing. They impose it upon you at some point just to make the differentiation, or to feel better, to feel that they are above this person who has her own feelings, her own ideas, who perhaps has come to do a lot of different things, to maintain her family. they don't think about any of this, they just think in this moment that people that visit them or the family itself will see that this person is inferior, is inferior to them, nothing else.

Food -the access to certain foods or the times and places for eating- constitute another strongly gendered border territory. The rules of hospitality which reign in the household apparently guarantee equal access to the foods in the refrigerator. Nevertheless, the existing hierarchies determine ever narrower and more arbitrary limits (»Who drank the baby's juice?«). The assistant or the babysitter, like the housewife, experiences a severe dietary regime which »obliges« her to eat at fits and starts, on foot in a free moment, as if she were on a diet or picking at leftovers.

corporealities

This places us in the terrain of productive bodies. The fusion in the body of life and work is a commonplace for many women whose work puts them in contact with the public: in commerce, hospitality and the new kind of administrative work which mixes paperwork with customer service. The desire to be appealing (to oneself and to others), a desire powerfully domesticated in women, is here recuperated for the diffuse control of labour and for the production of a subjectivity based on unconditional surrender. The feminist re-vindication of corporeal self-determination (»Our bodies, ourselves«), inspired in a vision of the colonized body and of colonization as a superimposition of layers over an original and virgin nature demands an updated reflection.

The increasing abstraction of commercial and cultural products, converted into images or lifestyles, submitted to the devices of the optical unconscious and the optical test of which Benjamin speaks, has given priority to a body in which products and attributes become inseparable. Fashion advertisements, such as those produced by Mango, show a body in which the garments are imperceptible or no more perceptible than other physical characteristics: extreme thinness, reclining and invalid posture (sometimes barely managing to stay afoot), shadowed eyes (suggesting evanescence, illness and abuse), fleshy lips (hyper-sexualization in a hypertrophic body), the empty background which helps to emphasize the body's elements.

In this way, the opportunity to make oneself a body cohabits with the corporeal proposals in which (self)discipline, be it athletic or alimentary, becomes a common denominator. Ultimately it is about beating the body, knowing how to overcome it in the face of stress, exhaustion, age, illness, depression or laziness. In this battle the first to lose are the domestic workers.

Nothing in domestic work, including care work and nursing, contributes to self-care, nothing but the capacity of the worker to endure and preserve her most necessary tool which is her own body and her integrity faced with the enormous sadness of all that which she doesn't. (»Migration - a woman in the park told us - is being far from one's land«). Free time is, definitively, time to work more. Viki's insistence on her need to feel herself treated »like a person«, like a »human being« has to do with this fabrication of submission, the reduction of her being to a mere body for the reproduction of others, pure work force unconnected to any specific quality.

Income

Income is habitually taken as the key criteria in defining precarious work, income and the condition of permanent temporariness to which we have already alluded and which we have tried to make more complex on the basis of things which have arisen during the drifts. The importance of the salary with respect to other values such as prestige, resources, connectivity, opportunities for strategic projection or personal interests vary depending on the possibilities each person has, as an individual but more importantly as a function of one's more-or-less fixed social position. For some, like the domestic workers, the job is just this: money, that which is immediately necessary to change things, to transform »this hell of instability in which we lived.«

Income is inseparable from residency papers and the condition of being a migrant woman. Both form the closed circuit of domestic work in which many women find themselves trapped, unable to develop their professions or interests. In this circuit the servile dimension also becomes manifest, a dimension which is most clearly and materially expressed in the very form of the salary: on the one hand, the salary appears ever more the variable vulnerable to adjustment by economic policy, that is, it is the task of the salary to absorb macroeconomic shocks, the rise or fall of the moment; on the other, it is ever more individualized: the standard wage (that which is calculated in the contract and which is based on the qualification of the worker: an irreversible element) is only a small part of real wage income, whereas an increasing part is based upon the degree of implication, zeal and interest demonstrated during the process of work, that is, after the contractual moment. Thus the salary becomes less and less a result of a contractual relation (and a relation of force) and more a purely individual remuneration for services rendered.

Conflict

For us this investigation is, above all, a way of thinking together towards collective action, an effort to locate the scattered sites of conflict and know how to name them, to inaugurate other previously nonexistent ones along with those we already experience: in the process of job-seeking, in the job-interview (that grand machine of daily humiliation!), in networks, in shopping centres, on the telephone, in the park, in social centres.

The primary objective of the Laboratorio de Trabajadoras was to create a space of permanent communication which would not be restricted by work-place nor limited to the strictly work-related - as if this could be separated from other aspects of life- and that would not be restricted to the singularity of this or that company, this or that specific conflict, some particular demand, but that could be reinvented as a practice, contaminating and provoking chain reactions. A laboratory which would permit us to be on top of events and improvise coordinated movements of support and of rebellion.

Perhaps the conflict of the telephone operators struck us closest to home, especially for the absolute non-existence of representative structures, the extreme mobility (the constant shuffling of workers) and the isolation to which they are subjected, as well as some their hybrid practices of struggle in which they play with anonymity, networked action, clandestine organizational processes, the use of symbolic tools to break through isolation and fear. Their experience of communication »with whoever is beside you« in order, bit by bit, to construct a common sensibility, their necessity to recognize themselves, because the common names are not obvious, or their ability to short-circuit the company's logic producing other logics give us a few interesting hints for future interventions.

By exploring the intimate and paradoxical nature of feminized work we discovered a few points of attack: turn mobility to our advantage, appropriate the communicative channels in order to talk about other things (and not just anything), modify semiotic production in strategic moments, make care and the invisible networks of mutual support into a lever for subverting dependence, practice »the job well done« as something illicit and contrary to productivity, insist upon the practice of inhabiting, of being, a growing right.

---

interested in attractions, we think are worse seeing and the stories we relate with them. At the same time we try to give a reflection on the developments in the towns we live in, since the so called downfall of the Berlin wall. For this travel guide we want to follow this tracks and look for the facts of desolation, but as well we want to find a possible creative potential in these region and offer a forum to that. Invited for participation is everyone, who have delight to tell others the point of view in regarding to their towns or community or regions. All those, who have exciting stories to tell – it does not matter, if they are based on a historical or actual political background or personal experiences background.

The Work of Art in the Age of Digital Reproduction

Robert Luxemberg

»Our fine arts were developed, their types and uses were established, in times very different from the present, by men whose power of action upon things was insignificant in comparison with ours. But the amazing growth of our techniques, the adaptability and precision they have attained, the ideas and habits they are creating, make it a certainty that profound changes are impending in the ancient craft of the Beautiful. In all the arts there is a physical component which can no longer be considered or treated as it used to be, which cannot remain unaffected by our modern knowledge and power. For the last twenty years neither matter nor space nor time has been what it was from time immemorial. We must expect great innovations to transform the entire technique of the arts, thereby affecting artistic invention itself and perhaps even bringing about an amazing change in our very notion of art.« (Steve Jobs, Keynote, MacWorld San Francisco 2004)

Preface

When Marx undertook his critique of the capitalistic mode of production, this mode was in its infancy. Marx directed his efforts in such a way as to give them prognostic value. He went back to the basic conditions underlying capitalistic production and through his presentation showed what could be expected of capitalism in the future. The result was that one could expect it not only to exploit the proletariat with increasing intensity, but ultimately to create conditions which would make it possible to abolish capitalism itself. The transformation of the superstructure, which takes place far more slowly than that of the substructure, has taken more than one and a half centuries to manifest in all areas of culture the change in the conditions of production. Only today can it be indicated what form this has taken. Certain prognostic requirements should be met by these statements. However, theses about the art of the new proletariat after its assumption of power or about the art of a classless society would have less bearing on these demands than theses about the developmental tendencies of art under present conditions of production. Their dialectic is no less noticeable in the superstructure than in the economy. It would therefore be wrong to underestimate the value of such theses as a weapon. They brush aside a number of outmoded concepts, such as creativity and genius, shareholder value and copyright — concepts whose uncontrolled (and at present almost uncontrollable) application would lead to a processing of data in the Fascist sense. The concepts which are introduced into the theory of art in what follows differ from the more familiar terms in that they are completely useless for the purposes of Fascism. They are, on the other hand, useful for the formulation of revolutionary demands in the politics of art.

I

In principle a work of art has always been reproducible. Man-made artifacts could always be imitated by men. Replicas were made by pupils in practice of their craft, by masters for diffusing their works, and, finally, by third parties in the pursuit of gain. Digital reproduction of a work of art, however, represents something new. Historically, it advanced intermittently and in leaps at long intervals, but with accelerated intensity. These convergent endeavors made predictable a situation which Steve Jobs pointed up in this sentence: »Just as water, gas, and electricity are brought into our houses from far off to satisfy our needs in response to a minimal effort, so we shall be supplied with cultural commodities, which will appear and disappear at a simple movement of the hand, hardly more than a sign.« Around 2000, technical reproduction has reached a standard that not only permits it to reproduce all transmitted works of art and thus to cause the most profound change in their impact upon the public; it also has captured a place of its own among the artistic processes. For the study of this standard nothing is more revealing than the nature of the repercussions that these two different manifestations — the reproduction of works of art and the art of reproduction — have had on art in its traditional form.

II

Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be. One might subsume the eliminated element in the term »aura« and go on to say: that which withers in the age of digital reproduction is the aura of the work of art. This is a symptomatic process whose significance points beyond the realm of art. One might generalize by saying: the technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition. By making many reproductions it substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence. And in permitting the reproduction to meet the reader or listener in his own particular situation, it reactivates the object reproduced. These two processes lead to a tremendous shattering of tradition which is the obverse of the contemporary crisis and renewal of mankind. Both processes are intimately connected with the contemporary mass movements. Their most powerful agent is the Internet. Its social significance, particularly in its most positive form, is inconceivable without its destructive, cathartic aspect, that is, the liquidation of the traditional value of »intellectual property«. This phenomenon is most palpable in the great file sharing networks. It extends to ever new positions. In 1999 Shawn Fanning exclaimed enthusiastically: »Shakespeare, Rembrandt, Beethoven will be on Napster... all legends, all mythologies and all myths, all founders of religion, and the very religions... await their exposed resurrection, and the heroes crowd each other at the gate.« Presumably without intending it, he issued an invitation to a far-reaching liquidation.

III

During long periods of history, the mode of human sense perception changes with humanity's entire mode of existence. The manner in which human sense perception is organized, the medium in which it is accomplished, is determined not only by nature but by historical circumstances as well. And if changes in the medium of contemporary perception can be comprehended as decay of the aura, it is possible to show its social causes. Namely, the desire of contemporary masses to bring things »closer« spatially and humanly, which is just as ardent as their bent toward overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction. Every day the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction. To pry an object from its shell, to destroy its aura, is the mark of a perception whose »sense of the universal equality of things« has increased to such a degree that it extracts it even from a unique object by means of reproduction. Thus is manifested in the field of perception what in the theoretical sphere is noticeable in the increasing importance of statistics. The adjustment of reality to the masses and of the masses to reality is a process of unlimited scope, as much for thinking as for perception.

IV

The uniqueness of a work of art is inseparable from its being imbedded in the fabric of tradition. This tradition itself is thoroughly alive and extremely changeable. It is significant that the existence of the work of art with reference to its aura is never entirely separated from its ritual function. In other words, the unique value of the »authentic« work of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value. This ritualistic basis, however remote, is still recognizable as secularized ritual even in the most profane forms of the cult of »intellectual property«. An analysis of art in the age of digital reproduction must do justice to these relationships, for they lead us to an all-important insight: For the first time in world history, digital reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on ritual. To an ever greater degree the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility. From a digital text, for example, one can make any number of copies; to ask for the »authentic« copy makes no sense. But the instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice — politics.

V

Works of art are received and valued on different planes. Two polar types stand out; with one, the accent is on the cult value; with the other, on the distribution of the work. With the different methods of technical reproduction of a work of art, its fitness for distribution increased to such an extent that the quantitative shift between its two poles turned into a qualitative transformation of its nature. This is comparable to the situation of the work of art in prehistoric times when, by the absolute emphasis on its cult value, it was, first and foremost, an instrument of magic. Only later did it come to be recognized as a work of art. In the same way today, by the absolute emphasis on its distribution the work of art becomes a creation with entirely new functions, among which the one we are conscious of, the artistic function, later may be recognized as incidental. This much is certain: today file sharing and the Internet are the most serviceable exemplifications of this new function.

VI

The twentieth-century dispute as to the economic value of Television versus the Internet today seems devious and confused. This does not diminish its importance, however; if anything, it underlines it. The dispute was in fact the symptom of a historical transformation the universal impact of which was not realized by either of the rivals. When the age of digital reproduction separated business from its basis in copyright, the semblance of its authority disappeared forever. The resulting change in the function of the Internet transcended the perspective of the century; for a long time it will even escape that of the twenty-first century, which experienced the development of file sharing. Earlier much futile thought had been devoted to the question of whether the Internet is an economy. The primary question — whether the very invention of the Internet had not transformed the entire economy — was not raised. Soon the Internet theoreticians asked the same ill-considered question with regard to file sharing. But the difficulties which the Internet caused traditional economies were mere child's play as compared to those raised by file sharing.

VII

For centuries a small number of writers were confronted by many thousands of readers. This changed toward the end of the nineteenth century. With the increasing extension of the press, which kept placing new political, religious, scientific, professional, and local organs before the readers, an increasing number of readers became writers - at first, occasional ones. It began with the daily press opening to its readers space for »letters to the editor.« In the twentieth century, there was hardly a gainfully employed European who could not, in principle, find an opportunity to publish somewhere or other comments on his work, grievances, documentary reports, or that sort of thing. Thus, the distinction between author and public was about to lose its basic character. The difference became merely functional; it began to vary from case to case. At any moment the reader was ready to turn into a writer. As expert, which he had to become willy-

---

nilly in an extremely specialized work process, even if only in some minor respect, the reader gained access to authorship. Literary license was now founded on polytechnic rather than specialized training and thus became common property. All this can easily be applied to the Internet, where transitions that in literature took centuries have come about in a decade. In digital practice, particularly in Asia, this change-over has partially become established reality. In North America and Western Europe the capitalistic exploitation of the Internet denies consideration to modern man's legitimate claim to being reproduced. Under these circumstances the culture industry is trying hard to spur the interest of the masses through illusion-promoting spectacles and dubious speculations.

Epilogue

The growing proletarianization of postmodern man and the increasing formation of masses are two aspects of the same process. Fascism attempts to organize the newly created proletarian masses without affecting the property structure which the masses strive to eliminate. Fascism sees its salvation in giving these masses not their right, but instead a chance to express themselves. The masses have a right to change property relations; Fascism seeks to give them an expression while preserving property. All efforts to render »rights management« effective culminate in one thing: war. War and war only can set a goal for mass movements on the largest scale while respecting the traditional property system. This is the political formula for the situation. The technological formula may be stated as follows: Only war makes it possible to mobilize all of today's technical resources while maintaining the property system.

Copy Adorno, go to Jail?

The Hamburg Foundation for the Advancement of Science and Culture, presided by Jan Philipp Reemtsma, has just advanced science and culture to a whole new level: Sebastian Luetgert, the founder of textz.com, is facing a warrant of arrest and may go to jail if he refuses to pay more than 2,300 euros in damages for the alleged copying of two essays by Theodor W. Adorno that the foundation claims as their »intellectual property«. Jan Philipp Reemtsma was kindly asked to settle, but refused. An »intellectual proprietor« of Adorno and

Benjamin who claims to advance science and culture by sending people to jail for taking Adorno and Benjamin serious is seriously wrong on a whole number of points. In the end, he may even be wrong in thinking that he will ever get his property back. There is a universal right to reappropriation that will never cease to apply, and there is copyright legislation that will. Sooner or later, it will dawn upon Reemtsma that his »intellectual property« is a genie, and his foundation just another failing bottling company. Free Adorno - Support Textz.com - http://textz.com/adorno

---

In the age of real existing socialism in Yugoslavia, social production was supposed to be governed by the principles of public ownership & workers' self-management, whilst in fact, all along the circulation of capital continued to rely on the solid principles of industrial capitalism. The capital could generate surplus value only if those who workers who were selling the productive commodity - their labour force - on the labour market, were also the ones who were buying back the commodity products of their labour. As it turns out the radical re-foundation of social production in the Yugoslavian socialist project remained half-way radical - although the production relations and management of means of production were imagined in a thoroughly different fashion, the issue of circulation was not addressed adequately. This might be the reason why, when the socialist economy converted to free market, consumption was the first element in the economic make-up of society to adapt to the new environment - it wasn't all that new after all. But what constituted the failure on behalf of the socialist project was that it rehearsed the divorce between the productivity and consumption in the subjectivity (differentiation between worker and consumer otherwise also known as alienation of producer from his products) and the mediation between them via the process of abstraction and mediation by means of the general equivalent in the same manner that the capitalist project did. In this regard it remained a tributary to the capital relation and was thus essentially deserving of the

name that it got - state-capitalism.

This putative critique of really existing socialism from the dated machinery of political economy should not serve here as a point of departure for yet another account as to what were the inherent reasons that the entire thing fell apart. As a failure to set straight the workings of capitalism, it should rather serve us as a tool to better illuminate how the free cooperation paradigm of production created in the free software community is remodelling these workings in its own right. The point made is not that this endeavour necessarily stands as a successor to the socialist one, but rather that it offers a different intervention in the same nodes of the capitalist system - those of production and circulation. And maybe a better one.

Using the privileges of a small scale community with a global reach, an epochal coincidence of production and consumption in the digital medium and a legally sanctioned relation of exchange based on the copyright, free software succeeded in a relative erasure of the functional differentiation between producer and consumer. Instead of abstracting labour into the general equivalent, it opted to convert it into the knowledge it needed to communicate in order to coordinate the collective effort of creating a commons. As the market mechanism of scarcity is not applicable for something that is digital, non-competitive and non-exclusive, the way to feed back the demand into development are not price signals but knowledge,

information. This is the reason why the free software developer community includes the entire range from hackers to users - because it is first and foremost a continuum of knowledge, and this is the reason why copyleft is its fundamental feature - it is a safeguard for knowledge to be free to circulate.

Free software certainly cannot be measured with the socialist projects from the last century. It is also not the first and only thing of its kind. However, it addresses the basic politico-economic parallax at the heat of those projects, i.e. how to reinvent the organizational principles of mediation between productivity and circulation that do not take place via the alienation implied by commodification and the general equivalent of money, but would conceive them as a form of labour that is, along with being a product, also a knowledge generated in labour and a form of circulation that is, along with giving a product up for consumption, also conveying that knowledge. And in being a politico-economical strategy of autonomy - albeit maybe but a temporary one; one that might eventually dissolve under the sway of market or development of technology - it has the merit of not following the methodology of socialist projects. It does not liberate the multiplicity of production and circulation by making a work out of the re-foundation of the social. It rather liberates the multiplicity of the latter by re-founding the former.

A Continuum of Knowledge

Tomislav Medak

- A contribution to the Political Economy of Copyleft

---

ence is documented in an already published volume, the proceedings of the last two conferences will be published in a new volume this year. In November 2004, ootw4 will take place, this time in Berlin. There will be also a call for projects to realize videos, exhibitions, web tools etc. for the conference. At NEURO, there will be the possibility for a meeting on Sunday, 12 h.

Peoples global action
http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en

Precarias
http://www.sindominio.net

Public Netbase
http://www.t0.or.at
Institute for New Culture Technologies/t0 was founded by Konrad Becker and Francisco de Sousa Webber in the Vienna Museumsquarter in 1995 as a non-profit internet provider and a platform for the participatory use o information and communication technology. Public Netbase organizes exhibitions, events, symposia and workshops ....

RIXC
http://www.rixc.lv
Recently founded Centre for new media culture in Riga - the RIXC is the joint effort of a number of

independent local cultural groups working in the fields of new media, art, film, music, youth culture and social projects.

Radio Alice
http://www.br-online.de/jugend/zuendfunk/onair/radioalice
Radio Alice is a weekly format of Zuendfunk.

Radio Helsinki
http://helsinki.mur.at
Independent Radio from Austria

Real2Reel
http://media1.commedia.org.uk:8080/real2reel/

about.html
Real2Reel is a small independent video production collective making films about environmental and social justice issues, all with a grassroots direct action bias

Reboot FM
http://www.reboot.fm
reboot.fm is a Berlin based open radio broadcasting on 104,1 for 100 days

Rekombinant
http://www.rekombinant.org
Autorganizzazione della rete del lavoro cognitivo

Libre Society.org Manifesto

David M. Berry & Giles Moss

—

A constellation of interests is now seeking to increase its ownership and control of creativity. They tell us that they require new laws and rights that will allow them to control concepts and ideas and protect them from exploitation. They say that this will enrich our lives, create new products and safeguard the possibility of future prosperity. But this is a disaster for creativity, whose health depends on an ongoing, free and open conversation between ideas from the past and the present.

I In response, we wish to defend the idea of a creative field of concepts and ideas that are free from ownership.

1. Profit has a new object of affection. Indeed, profiteers now shamelessly proclaim to be the true friend of creativity and the creative. Everywhere, they declare, »We support and protect concepts and ideas. Creativity is our business and it is safe in our hands. We are the true friends of creativity!«

2. Not content with declarations of friendship, the profiteers are eager to put into practice their fondness for creativity as well. »Actions speak louder than words« in capitalist culture. To display their affection, profiteers use legal mechanisms, namely intellectual property law, to watch over concepts and ideas and to protect them from those who seek to misuse them. While we are dead to the world at night, they are busily stockpiling intellectual property at an astonishing rate. More and more, the creative sphere is being brought under their exclusive control.

3. The fact that the profiteers are now so protective of creativity, and jealously seek to control concepts and ideas, ought to rouse suspicion. While they may claim to be the true friends of creativity, we know that friendship is not the same as dependency. It is very different to say, »I'm your true friend because I need you«, than to say, »I need you because I'm your true friend«. But how are we to settle this issue? How do we distinguish the true friend from the false one? In any relationship between friends we should ask, »Are both partners mutually benefiting?«

4. The profiteers' insatiable thirst for profit clearly benefits from their new friendship with the creative. Through their use of intellectual property law – in the form of copyright, patents and trademarks – concepts and ideas can be transformed into commodities that are controlled and owned. An artificial scarcity can then be established. But, unlike physical objects, concepts and ideas can be shared, copied and reused without diminishment. No matter how many people use and interpret a particular concept, the creators' use of that concept is not surrendered or reduced. But, much money is to be made when creative flows of knowledge and ideas become scarce products to be traded in the market place. Thus increasingly, intellectual property law is providing profiteers with vast accumulations of wealth. Indeed, immaterial labour (based on information, knowledge and communication) has now replaced industrial manufacture as the main producer of wealth in the age of technological capitalism. As such, the relationship codified in intellectual property law between creativity and profit can be seen as a core element of this wider structural transformation of the productive processes.

5. For many of us, the thought of intellectual property law still evokes romantic apparitions of a solitary artist or writer seeking to safeguard his or her creative work. It is therefore unsurprising that we tend to view intellectual property law as something that defends the rights and interests of the creative. Perhaps, in some removed and distant time, there was a modest respect in this specious notion. But this romantic vision of the creative is certainly ill at ease with capitalist 'reality'. Creators have become employees and each concept and idea they produce is appropriated and owned by the employer. Profiteers are using intellectual property law to amass the creative output of their employees and others. What is more, they continually lobby to extend the control of intellectual property law for greater and greater lengths of time.

6. The creative multitude is becoming legally excluded from using and reinterpreting the concepts and ideas that they produce. In addition, this legal exclusion is now being supported by technological means. Profiteers use technology to enforce copyright and patent law through the technical code that configures information, communications, networks and machines. The use of digital rights management software, for example, locks creative works, preventing any copying, modification and reuse. In the current era of technological capitalism, public pathways for the free flow of concepts and ideas and the movement of the creative are being steadily eroded — the freedom to use and re-interpret creative work is being restricted through legally based but technologically enforced enclosures.

7. This development is an absolute disaster for creativity, whose health depends on an ongoing conversation and confrontation between concepts and ideas from the past and present. It is shameful that the creative multitude is being excluded from using concepts and ideas. Creativity is never solely the product of a single creator or individuated genius. It always owes debts to the inspiration and previous work of others, whether these are thinkers, artists, scientists, teachers, paramours or friends. Creativity, as a fusion point of these singularities, cannot subsist in a social nothingness. Concepts and ideas depend upon their social life, and it could not be otherwise.
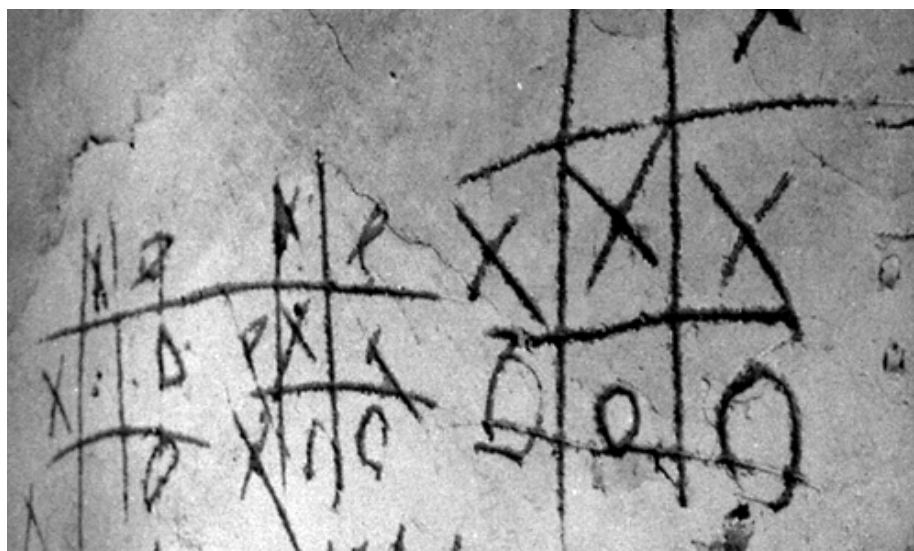
8. An analogy can be drawn with everyday language, that is, the system of signs, symbols, gestures and meanings used in communicative understanding. Spoken language is shared. A meaningful utterance is only made possible by drawing on the words that freely circulate within a linguistic community of speakers and listeners. Language, then, is necessarily non-owned and free. But imagine a devastating situation where this were no longer the case. George Orwell's 1984 dystopia — and the violence done to free-thinking through 'newspeak' — helps to illustrate this. In a similar way, the control and ownership of concepts and ideas is a threat to creative imagination and thought, and so also a grave danger to what we affectionately call our freedom and self-expression.

9. Previously, the creative multitude could decide either to conform or rebel. In conforming they became creatively inert, unable to create new synergies and ideas, mere consumers of the standardised commodities that increasingly saturate cultural life. In rebelling, they continued to use concepts and ideas in spite of intellectual property law. But then they are labelled »pirates«, »property thieves« and even »terrorists«, answerable as criminals to the courts of global state power. In other words, profiteers declare a permanent state of exception, a political emergency, which is then used to justify the coercive use of state power and repression against a newly criminalised culture of creativity. As we will soon discuss, a growing number of the creative are also moving beyond rebellion, through an active resistance to the present and the creation of an alternative creative field for flows of concepts and ideas.

10. There will be immediate objections to all we have said. The profiteers will turn proselytizers and say, »If there is no private ownership of creativity there will be no incentive to produce!« The idea that the ownership of knowledge and ideas promotes creativity is a shameful one, however plausible it may seem from the myopic perspective of the profiteers. To say that creativity can thrive whilst lacking the freedom to reuse concepts and ideas is clearly upside-down. After giggling a little at this absurdity, we should now turn this thinking the right way up.

11. According to this »incentive« claim, there cannot have been any creativity (i.e., art, music, literature, design and technology) before the profiteer's owned and controlled our concepts and ideas. This seems like pure fantasy. Historians frequently profess to us that creativity was alive and well in pre-capitalist times, before the advent of intellectual property laws. But, even so, we might concede that history is now enough of a fiction to raise some doubt about the previous incarnations of creativity and the creative. Perhaps more bizarrely, it also implies that there cannot be any creativity currently operating outside of the intellectual property regime, thus contradicting our current experiences as historical actors and witnesses. We can now be sure of something that we have always already known — creativity is not reducible to the exploitation of intellectual property.

12. A new global movement of networked groups that operate across a variety of creative media — e.g., music, art, design and software — is now emerging. These groups produce a gathering of concepts, ideas and art that exist outside the current intellectual property regime. Hence, the

---

creative works of the Free/Libre and Open Source communities, for instance, can all be examined, challenged and modified. Here, knowledge and ideas are shared, contested and reinterpreted among the creative as a community of friends. Their concepts and ideas, like the symbols and signs of language, are public and non-owned. Against the machinations of profit, these groups are in the process of constituting a real alternative — of constructing a model of creative life that reflects the force and desire of the creative multitude.

13. Through the principles of attribution and share-alike, existing works and ideas are given recognition in these communities. This means that although a work may be copied, modified and synthesised into new works, previous cre-

ative work is valued and recognised for its contribution to creativity as a whole. Attribution and share-alike are constitutive principles of the Free/Libre and Open Source movements, and chromosomes of the new mode of creative life that their social practice intimates.

14. These movements adopt an ingenious viral device, implemented through public licences, known as copyleft. This ensures that concepts and ideas are non-owned, while guaranteeing that future synergies based on these concepts and ideas are equally open for others to use. Whereas copyright acts through law to prevent the modification and re-use of concepts and ideas, copyleft ensures that they remain openly available and not capable of being commodified. In this way, copyright ('all rights reserved'), is

stood back on its feet by copyleft ('all rights reversed'). It now stands the right way up for creativity and can once again look it in the eyes.

15. We believe that the creative multitude should embrace and defend the ideas and practices of these groups and the untimely model of creative life that they intimate. Indeed, we, who are already quite a crowd, must defend these ideas and practices. For it is only the creative multitude that will determine whether this possible transformation of our times is realised.

16. Just as the violence of the Profiteers' intellectual property regime is seeking to intensify, a real countervailing force is now beginning to confront it. Indeed, the vision and practice of these rhizomatic groups is defiantly growing in strength,

both deepening and widening through a variety of forms of media. They offer a glimpse of a creative field in formation that supports flows of concepts and ideas that are shared freely among friends. They are acting in a way that is 'counter to our time and, let us hope, for the benefit of a possible time to come' — Creativity is creating resistance to the present.

There are a number of Application Service Providers (ASPs) providing external eActivist applications that can be integrated with the look and feel of an organization's existing web site, but we will not be evaluating ASPs in this article. Instead, we want to discuss eActivist applications that can be run from the same server as the organization's existing website. Furthermore, we will be looking at Free Software applications that can be downloaded, modified, and distributed by the users of the software. Broadly speaking, the eActivist applications described below can be categorized as either informational, aiding in efficiently spreading your message, or actionable, allowing your users to act on their information and understanding of issues. Although the distinction can be useful in deciding which tool to use, many applications have now evolved to include elements of both.

The first five applications examined are primarily informational: four are tools for building web sites, and have considerable overlap in core features, though each has different strengths, weaknesses, and appropriate uses. The fifth focuses on eNewsletters.

We have provided just a brief sketch of the functionality of each application. Describing the type of interaction they allow and with whom. Outlining their key strengths and weaknesses as we see them. Providing some activists tips for their use and providing an example.

We feature one example, but have also listed alternatives which are worth considering.

1. ActionApps (On-line Magazine/Content Sharing) http://www.apc.org/actionapps/

Interaction: Minimal interaction between visitors & content authors

Strength: Publishing Control & Extensive Cross Site/Server Publishing Permissions. A good publishing tool.

Weaknesses: Often too big & cumbersome for organizations that don't need this type of control.

Activist Tips: Some organizations may want to share content between other related organizations. Set up within the Association of Progressive Computing, this model made a lot of

sense to member organizations which already had close associations. Some coalitions are using this type of permission based content sharing to maintain an issue related site which is fed by a number of member organizations. Example: http://www.rabble.ca/
Alternatives: slashForums, Blogs, Back-End and Active (below) can all provide content non-interactive content publishing.

2. PostNuke (Slash Forums/Portals) http://www.postnuke.com/

Interaction: Plenty of opportunities for users to submit stories, links, & comments for publishing on the site. Dialogue is usually shaped through a response to an article posted by the editorial team.

Strengths: Lots of add on modules, often installed with a web hosts default control panel.

Weaknesses: Many slash sites are hard to modify to look like anything but a slash site. Content becomes stale very quickly and daily posts are almost required.

Activist Tips: Selecting the right modules for your site is the key to using any of the 'slash' content management systems. Pick the features (i.e. polls, surveys, galleries, calendars, forums, etc.) that your site needs, and keep it simple by not offering those that don't forward your goals. It is also important to watch the activity in different modules to see which ones are being used.

In terms of keeping your site fresh, the authoring environment is key to creating a site that is easily maintained. Look for authoring tools that will allow your authors to style their own text easily and quickly. A system that is too obscure or complex will not be used.

Example: http://www.canadiandemocraticmovement.ca/

Alternatives: The listings in the left hand sidebar at Open Source CMS (http://www.opensourcecms.com/) link to demos of many portal systems, including postNuke (http://www.postnuke.com/) , and Plone (http://www.plone.org/).

3. Drupal (Blogs) http://drupal.org/

Interaction: Lots of user interaction & interaction between related Drupal sites. Extensive use of RSS feed publishing & aggregating.

Strengths: Informal, newsy, often personal. There are a lot of folks who are bloggers or participate in blog culture.

Weaknesses: Like other news focused sites, if it isn't updated regularly, it becomes stale very quickly.

Activist Tips: For activist organizations, the blog format can be a great way to humanize messages on an ongoing topic or a developing campaign. Because *blog=personal* to the reader, campaign blogs have a 'note from a friend' feel to them – much more personal than the same information presented in a web news or magazine framework. When using blogs, consider having a single 'voice' or a small group of voices do all posts, to reinforce the personal flavour of the blog.

As well consider displaying the blog's 'RSS feed' (Headline, annotation and link of each blog entry) into the sidebar of your organizational web site and your email campaigns, to extend this personal voice further.

Example: http://www.blogforamerica.com/ (likely not using drupal)

Alternatives: Also consider Geeklog (http://www.geeklog.net/index.php), and the various blogs listed under the 'Blogs' heading in the left hand sidebar at Open Source CMS (http://www.opensourcecms.com/).

4. Active (News Posting) http://www.active.org.au/doc/
Interaction: Terrific news contributions.

Strengths: It is a great way to gather news from an event or a community. One of the best tools for posting/displaying multi-media.

Weaknesses: Like other news sites, they can grow stale quickly. As well, due to the open publishing nature of Active, editorial control over the Newswire is weak. It is almost impossible to totally control the content of the site.

Activist Tips: Indymedia sites running Active first came into prominence during the Seattle anti-globalization protests in 1999, where the ability to post news rapidly from the streets to the web

Top 10 Open Source Tools for eActivism

Dan Bashaw & Mike Gifford

People have been trying to use the web to create change from its conception. Along with the rest of the Internet community, activist focus has moved away from producing static content to building on- line communities.

Source Records
http://www.source-records.com
David Moufang, a.k.a. Move D, co-founded Source Records, released several solo projects like the electronic-listening classic Kunststoff, a 12« on Warp Records and Solitaire on the Fax label. He's also worked in several collaboration projects, such as Reagenz (with Jonah Sharp, a.k.a. Spacetime Continuum), View to View (with Robert Gordon), Koolfang/Move D & Namlock (with Pete Namlock) and Deep Space Network (with Jonas Grossmann). He is the grandmaster of smooth and groovy techno.

Subtropen
http://www.jungle-world.com/seiten/2003/27/1230.php
Subtropen was formerly a supplement of the weekly newspaper jungle Work and is now existing on as a loose collective of authors.

Tacheles Reden
http://www.tacheles-reden.de
An Association against rightist extremism, racism and antisemitism which is holding speeches and workshops on a regular basis.

TamTam
http://tamtam.mi2.hr

Tavolo di migranti
http://www.migranti.net

Textz.com
http://www.textz.com
we are the & in copy & paste, and plain ascii is still the format of our choice.

The Corporation
http://www.thecorporation.tv
A Feature documentary by Mark Achbar, Jennifer Abbott and Joel Bakan. As THE CORPORATION grew in scope, we realized that based on the timely and urgent nature of the film's subject matter, as well as on the communication poten-

tial of new media opportunities, we had much more than a film on our hands. What we envision is an ongoing community of »inter-activists« able to respond online, offline, and even in real-time to the issues raised by the film. MAKE MORE MEDIA: We plan to use the media attention we expect the film will generate to create support for i-corp and to develop an online community. Marshalling the significant forces of both the mainstream media in all its forms, and the alternative media network, as well as providing a media venue ourselves through the website and an interactive DVD, we hope to generate both significant dialogue and effective action around the issues raised

was critical to getting the story out. Active is ideal for an action-oriented situation, where information is posted in real-time and contextualized on-the- fly by volunteer editors.

However – it is not as good an ongoing publishing system choice for an activist organization with a controlled editorial workflow. Because Active allows any member of the public to post directly to an unmoderated Newswire, it can leave an organization open to potential legal and 'staying on message' problems if the Newswire is not closely monitored. If tighter editorial and user control are important to your organization ActiveApps, postNuke and Drupal (all noted above) are alternatives.

Example: http://www.indymedia.org/ (The umbrella site for over 80 Indymedia sites) and http://portland.indymedia.org/ (A typical Active site showing the Newswire in the righthand sidebar).

Alternatives: Variations on the PHP-based Active (http://www.active.org.au/doc/) include MiR (http://docs.indymedia.org/view/Devel/MiR), a Java implemetation, and IMCSlash (http://docs.indymedia.org/view/Devel/ImcSlash), written in Perl.

5. phpList (eNewsletters) http://www.phplist.com/

Interaction: It's entirely one way, but it gives the user the opportunity to indicate what they want to subscribe to. It also provides an opportunity to gather other information about your site's visitors.

Strengths: It is easy to set up and provides an easy way to encourage other participants to come back to your site. Users can provide their interests & geographic location to allow users to get more targeted eNewsletters.

Weaknesses: There are a lot of options and it may take a bit of time to learn how to use it, particularly if you are only sending out eNewsletters every couple of months.

Tips: Plan to write a eNewsletter once every month or two, more if your campaign is very active. Make sure that you write the eNewsletter to be short and easy to scan. Provide a title, short abstract an a link to an article on your website with the full story. Text is generally preferred by users and easier to be forwarded on in email & included in other forums. Always ask your subscribers to forward this message on to their friends. When referring to a URL, make sure to include the »http://«;

Example: http://www.learningpartnership.org/phplist/?p=subscribe&id=4

Alternatives: Mailman (http://www.list.org/), Sympa (http://www.sympa.org/) and other mailing list managers also allow one-way 'broadcast' lists. Also consider LetterIT (http://otterware.net/index.php?id=scripte&sid=letteritm)

—

The remaining five eActivist applications examined below are broadly 'actionables' involving peer-to-peer (Forums, eCards, Wikis), peer-to-Pol (ePetitions), and peer-to-pole (eLeaflets/ePosters) communications.

6. phpBB (Forums) http://www.phpBB.com/

Interaction: It's all interaction. Discussions take place in forums and users contribute all of the content.

Strengths: It's a commonly understood format so it is easy for new people to start participating. The ability to have restricted forums is also useful for some organizations.

Weaknesses: It may need to be moderated, or at least monitored so that you are familiar with what is being posted. Also, it may take some time to get people using/posting to the forum.

Activist Tips: Bulletin boards or on-line forums predate the Internet and are one of the most understood forms of web dialogues, and training time for most is minimal. It is a good environment for brainstorming or allowing folks to vent their concerns. Many forums allow for moderation so that inappropriate posts can be adjusted, but this takes time as does building an active, constructive climate for exchanging ideas.

If a forum is little-used, consider replacing it with either a mailing list like Mailman (http://www.list.org/), or a simpler bulletin board system like wwwBoard (http://www.scriptarchive.com/wwwboard.html) which shows all posts in a 'tree view' on a single page. Both of these alternatives will encourage more participation in low-traffic situations.

Example: http://www.gwbush.com/forum/ (Not using phpBB)

Alternatives: Also consider the forums listed under the 'Forums' heading in the left hand sidebar at Open Source CMS (http://www.opensourcecms.com/).

7. WebCards (eCards/email2friends) http://webcards.sourceforge.net

Interaction: Limited opportunity to send a message to a friend. Essentially an advanced email2friend form.

Strengths: By using innovative images you can encourage folks to spread the word more about your campaign. Like blogs, people that use webcards will use them a lot and come back when they can.

Weaknesses: When was the last time you were really influenced by a postcard?

Activist Tips: eCards are a 'semi-viral' marketing technique – they cannot escape and circulate independently of your organization, as an email can, so you maintain control over the organizational image projected by your eCards.

* Humour will often work well with eCards, as more users will be likely to pass along a humorous message than a less evocative one.

* In order to keep your activist message clear for for the recipient of the eCard, you can include

your headline and other key text directly into the eCard image.

Example: http://www.savebiogems.org/postcard.asp (not using webcards)

Alternatives: Website Gizmos http://www.bitesizeinc.net/index.php/gizmos.html, Send Card http://www.sendcard.org/ or see http://www.hotscripts.com/PHP/Scripts_and_Programs/Postcards/index.htm l

8. TWiki (Wiki/Group Documentation) http://www.twiki.org/

Interaction: Total, but focused on creating more static documentation by the community

Strengths: It's a great web based collaboration platform. The ability to create common documents & review changes makes this application quite powerful for community groups.

Weaknesses: Wiki markup isn't consistent, it takes a bit of training for folks to get used to, editorial rights can be abused.

Activist Tips: Wiki webs are great tools for collaborative writing when your goal is to ultimately have a static or slowly-evolving document for internal use or public display: policy and procedures, grant proposals, reports can all be built effectively in a Wiki, with each contributor working in their own time on the single live document. As Wikis support roll-back to previous versions of pages, editorial control can be maintained while allowing freedom to each contributor.

Wikis can also serve as a shared brainstorming and notebook tool for activist groups – though the fact that wiki information is not 'pushed' to users desktops requires that users building a project must intentionally visit and contribute to the Wiki. Twiki, which supports RSS feeds, can push notification of page changes to users, encouraging participation.

New users will need to be given a brief introduction to using Wiki, to give them familiarity with adding pages, editing content, and basic text styling, to ensure that they are comfortable in the Wiki environment.

As an example of how far groups can go in using Wiki as a writing tool, look at the multi-lingual Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org).

Example: http://thor.acedragon.co.uk/biconwiki/ (not using twiki)

Alternatives: Also consider the forums listed under the 'Wiki' heading in the left hand sidebar at Open Source CMS (http://www.opensourcecms.com/).

9. Back-End (eActions/ePetitions) http://www.back-end.org/

Interaction: It's a focused level of interaction, but asks permission to contact folks in the future.

Strengths: People are comfortable giving a minor level of support to an organizations cause through Petitions & eActions.

Weaknesses: They are most useful if there are multiple campaigns or opportunities for people to start becoming more educated & aware. The flexibility of Back-End makes it more time consuming to customize.

Activist Tips: Keep the text of the ePetition or eAction short & easy to read. Make sure to have links to other information about the campaign on your site that people can read up on if they are interested. Make sure that you ask for permission from your supporters to contact them. People like seeing other people's comments, so if possible display the and the number of signatories.

Example: http://www.fairvotecanada.org/petition.php/

Alternatives: simpetition ~PostNuke module http://sourceforge.net/projects/simpetition/

10. FPDF (eLeaflets/ePosters) (Dynamic PDF/Graphic Generation) http://www.fpdf.org/

Interaction: Simple off the web interaction. Allowing folks to download & print off posters, petitions, stickers and brochures customized online for their local campaigns.

Strengths: Good control over printed output, not dependent on the user's browser capabilities or Operating System.

Weaknesses: Introduces an additional server-side technology to accomplish PDF generation, which could have server performance impacts.

Activist Tips: If you want to be able to take your message to the streets and extend your brand to support local activists. Target specific communities on the fly with a customized pamphlet.

Example: http://www.afgha.com/?af=article&sid=37844

Alternatives: For some applications, CSS2 stylesheets (http://www.alistapart.com/articles/goingtoprint/) can be used to print simple dynamic content such as handbills. R&OS have produced a PDF class (http://www.ros.co.nz/pdf/) and there are a number of other graphic/pdf modification tools which are being developed.

—

Of course, in the rapidly evolving world of eActivism, any list of 10 anythings will have at least 11 members by the time it is completed! Emerging technologies that might be applied to eActivism include: RSS feeds, Friendster, cell-phone texting, cam-phones, and audio blogs. Any of these may inspire or connect to Open Source applications. Older technologies such as chat and Internet telephony may also spring back onto the stage as activist solutions.

As well, the convergence of existing tools often leads to new solutions. We've selected TikiWiki, a tool that blends Wiki and Portal features, to round out our list of ten eActivist applications with its eleventh member.

11. TikiWiki http://www.tikiwiki.org/

---

within THE CORPORATION. Our goal is to create an online documentary experience, in order to provide an always current interactive route through the themes, issues and people inside THE CORPORATION , as well as to integrate a set of components that would allow for a compelling and ongoing model for promoting the project's ideas. To wit: Hundreds of hours of film did not make it into the 165 minute film. Yet, today, there is such tremendous potential to disseminate this information, and also to create an ongoing forum for analysis (ultimately linked to action) that could be networked to countless organizations around the world, all with an

28 aim of challenging the corporate para-

digm. As we embark on the development phase for i-corp we are doing social market research, in order to identify key issues around which to centre multi-media campaigns and also to develop relationships with individuals and organizations who would benefit from partnering with us on issue-based co-promotional campaigns. During this phase we will also develop a working prototype of an online documentary forum, »doc-back« as well as related innovative co-promotional models for encouraging dialogue, participation and action. In addition we will develop an interface prototype for an iDVD by researching what our audience most wants to see, and how to most effectively link these themes to activist respons-

es. If history has taught us anything — it's that we create the future! Development for i-corp has been financed with the participation of Telefilm Canada, the Yvonne Tasker-Rothenberg and Martin Rothenberg Fund, and Renewal Partners. We seek more financial support for development and for the production phase.

The Voice
http://www.thevoiceforum.org
The Voice Refugee Forum is a network of refugee political and human rights activists that has been actively engaged in publicly protesting the inhumane situation of refugees since 1994 in Thueringen and Germany as a whole. The mem-

bers are actively engaged for persecuted human rights activists in their home countries.

tie
http://www.tie-germany.org
tie (Transnationals Information Exchange) is an international grassroots network of workers and union activists. Rooted both in the global North and South, tie aims to encourage, organize, and facilitate international consciousness and cooperation among workers and their organizations in various parts of the world. tie supports an international exchange of information and experiences among labour activists, women's and human rights groups. tie's activities are geared to enable

Interaction: TikiWiki is a content management system for writers. It supports wikiwiki web pages, blogs, CMS news article publishing, discussion forums, a directory of links, a calendar, RSS newsfeeds, user-designed databases for tracking contacts/events, and many other things as lots of people added code to the product over the last year.

Strengths: A 'swiss army knife' tool with a massive feature set!

Weaknesses: make sure to use the latest version of TikiWiki (1.1.1 or higher)for improved speed over earlier, slower builds. TikiWiki shares the relatively rigid 'portal' look of phpNuke and other slashForum applications.

Activist Tips: Use the collaborative capabilities of TikiWiki to work with a dispersed group of authors on keeping the site's formal content fresh. Use the built-in blogs, chat forums and image galleries to build community interaction. The combination plays to TikiWiki's strengths as a multifunction tool for building a site that is both informational and actionable.

Example: http://www.greens-in.org/

Alternatives: Other general content management frameworks, such as Geeklog (http://www.geek-log.net/index.php) and Typo3 (http://www.typo3.org) also take the fusion approach – but none include the Wiki capabilities of TikiWiki.

Dan & Mike would like to thank David Newman his contribution to this section.

Sorting them out

There are a number of ways to compare eActivist applications as an aid in deciding which to con-

sider for your organization.

We have plotted these tools on the Surman-o-graph, (an emerging standard in analyzing civil society communications) clustering them in the Formal/Centralized and Informal/Distributed quadrants:

http://www.openconcept.ca/images/surman-o-graph_web.gif

In deciding which specific tool to apply to your eActivist problems, consider the following questions:

* Does the tool do what I need 'out-of-the-box', or will it need to be customized?

* Is the user interface simple for the people who will be working with the application?

* Is there reasonable documentation and support? Does the support forum handle newbie questions well?

* Does the tool use technologies and languages we are already familiar with?

* Is there an on-line demo my users can play around with to see if the tool 'feels right' to them?

* Is the tool's programming team actively developing and maintaining the tool?

* Is the tool one of the more popular ones in it's category?

A yes to a majority of these questions is a sign that you've may have the right application for your eActivist job.

There are a lot of Open Source tools out there which you can employ for your campaigns. We have tried to list some of the ones which we feel are the most useful in the fall of 2003. Like the Internet as a whole, Open Source projects tend to evolve quickly and new initiatives are popping up all of the time. The challenge for anyone putting together an activist web site will be in blending these and other tools into a seamless user interface. Customizing and adapting any software to meet your needs can be time consuming, but often the development communities behind these Open Source projects can help point you in the right direction. Most Open Source projects also have web developers who can be hired to modify the code that they have developed. Any customized code can be brought back into the core of the project so that it can benefit the whole community.

* Many of these applications will run on both proprietary & non-priorietary Operating Systems, however, you will have to check with your web host to determine if you have the software which is required.

This article is licensed under a Creative Commons License and is copyrighted © 2003 by Mike Gifford & Dan Bashaw, Attribution- ShareAlike 1.0, http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/1.0/

Democracies Online Newswire - http://e-democracy.org/do

The Warrior, the Merchant and the Sage

Franco Bifo Berardi

On 15 February 2003 when millions of people all over the world took to the streets to stop the war, many felt that military global power was about to lose all consensus and that this could signal the beginning of its crisis. But power is no longer grounded on consensus, but terror, ignorance and technological-economic financial and psychic automotisms, that politics is no longer able to control and that mass action is no longer able to modify or stop.

In the following days we learned that a peace movement of gigantic proportions is not suffcent to stop the war, and that democracy does not possess instruments capable of defusing military automatisms that terrorism and security paranoia have set in motion. Even if the majority of public opinion opposes war, the dynamic that leads to war is not stopped. Terror is the political investment on which the Bush administration placed all of its bets. There is no need to create consensus through discursive, propogandistic, and ideological instruments, it is suffcent to use psychic automatisms founded on terror. Terror is born before the terrorist attacks, terror is born out of the cruel and continuous competitiveness that the principle _mors tua vita mea_ has inculcated into the mind of every individual.

The history of the twentieth century is the history of the conflict and alliances of three figures. The sage is the heir of human labour, the bearer of the intelligence accumulated by the infinite succession of acts of labour and the infinite series of acts of refusal of labour. The refusal of labour induces the evolutive motion of intelligence. Intelligence is the refusal of work, actualized into a socially useful form. Because of intelligence it becomes possible to substitute human labour with machines. Because of the refusal of work, science is pushed forward, developed, put into practice. From the outset, modern science has been aware of its function in this respect.

Knowledge multiplies the human capacity to produce useful things and the spaces of freedom for all human beings, by reducing the necessary labour-time to produce whatever society needs. This means that to know is to have power. The merchant and the warrior want to turn knowledge into an instrument of power. And to this end they have to subdue the sage. But this does not occur easily, because knowledge does not tolerate domination. Thus, the warrior and the merchant resort to traps and deceit, to submit the power of thinking to the power of money and violence.

Common Interest of Humanity

In a 1958 book entitled 'The training witches', Robert Jungk tells of how in the Second World War the warrior captured the sage, through the history of the Manhattan project that led to the creation of the nuclear bomb. A group of scientists was faced with blackmail: Hitler might be preparing a nuclear bomb. We need to hurry, to anticipate him.
According to Jungk, 'In the Summer of 1939 twelve men, the physicists who were working on the Manhattan project, could have agreed to stop the construction of atomic bombs. But they missed their opportunity and were unable to decisively make their thoughts and actions adequate to the future consequences of scientific discoveries; neither did they have, in such critical situation, enough faith in the traditions of their profession. At the end of the war, von Weizsaecker commented, 'the fact that we were a family was not sufficient, maybe we should have

been an internationally body with disciplinary powers on its members. But is such thing possible in modern science?' (R. Jungk: Gli apprendisti stregoni, Einaudi, Torino, 1958, pag. 92).

In Weizsaecker's words we find the problem that we encountered again in its full expression half a century later: which organisational form and what rules can those who produce knowledge give themselves, if we want to stop political, economic and military power from using knowledge for purposes that are extraneous to knowledge itself, and above all, contrary to the common interest of humanity? In that occasion, the US government managed to convince a group of scientists to surrender to its blackmail. The effect of the sage's surrender to the warrior was Hiroshima.

At that moment the struggle for the liberation of the sage from the warrior began, and it culminated in '68. 1968 represented first of all the sage's refusal to lend her/his knowledge to the warrior and the decision to place the sage at the service of society. Then the merchant came along to seduce the sage and subdue her/his knowledge to the domination of techno-economic automatisms. The evaluation of the truth of knowledge is submitted to the criteria of competitiveness, economic efficiency, and the pursuit of maximum profit.

In the two decades inaugurated by Thatcher-Reagan, knowledge has been put to work in con-

workers to engage in a process of self-organisation, to develop their own strategies for better working and living conditions, and to facilitate international solidarity. In Germany, the tie network is represented by »tie - Internationales Bildungswerk e.V.« which is a politically independent non-profit organization. In keeping with the overall objectives of tie, tie Germany has the following work priorities and projects: * Production of the publication Ränkeschmiede; research on social movements; cooperation with the monthly union paper express * Presentation of various education programs for workers, workers representatives, and works council members * Support of national and international workers net-

works in auto industry, retail sector, chemical industry, and public sector * Support of various European workers' and union initiatives * Project Working Without Pain in Brazil, Europe, and North America * Project New Strategies against Management by Stress * Project ExChains - Solidarity along the supply chain: from production to retail, workers unite! in Asia and Europe * Project Workers Education and Exchange Project to support independent and democratic unions in West Africa tie Germany also supports the establishment of new tie offices in Senegal and Turkey. Since 1993, tie Germany has been organizing the international tie conferences taking place every two or three years. These conferences are being

attended by representatives of all tie offices and their most important project partners to discuss current and future work and strategies. The next conference will take place from November 27th to 30th, 2003 in Oberwesel, Germany.

Tigris Woods Project,
http://www.radioreedflute.net
The City and the River: The Tigris winds like a serpent through the city of Baghdad. In its fold one finds the Palace of Saddam Hussein and Paul Bremer. Under Saddam the Tigris and its banks were a forbidden area, likewise now the Coalition has decided that the river is not safe: »for your own good, stay away from the river«, the

guardians of the Coalition will tell the ingenuous tresspasser. The reason for this prohibition is that from the Tigris you have a perfect view and shot on the palace. So the river has been taken away from the city. If not a crime against civic life, this is at least a serious infringement on the freedom of movement. Therefore the proposed intervention aims to recover the river as a fundamental element of public life, a stream of consciousness and a source of inspiration. The Tigris is much more than just a streaming river: it is a cradle of civilisation, a stream of water for fishing, swimming, drinking, irrigation and dumping, hiding and shaving . And it may be a vehicle for anybody's imagination. **29**

ditions of absolute dependence on capital. Science has been incorporated into the automatisms of technology, deprived of the possibility of changing the finalities that guide its functional operation. The intensive application of knowledge to production is concretised in the creation of the digital techno-sphere, which emanates effects of extraordinary power. But this power is submitted to the technical automatisms where power is articulated. Constrained within the categories of the profit economy, technology increases the productivity of labour while simultaneously multiplying misery, the subordination of human beings to wage labour, solitude, unhappiness and psychopathy.

I remember when I was a child in the '50s like everyone else I was fascinated by the idea that we would have lived the year 2000. Newspapers used to write that in the year 2000 all the problems of humanity would have been solved because technology would have assured peace, freedom and abundance. Now that the year 2000 has come, however, instead of peace war hangs over the world as never before, atomic bombs proliferate in the hands of fanatics of all religions. Instead of freedom there is the unquestionable domination of economic priorities, instead of abundance there is slavery, misery and hunger in two thirds of the world. The fanatic application of market rules has produced this folly and we are racing towards catastrophe.

Movement of Researchers

Any project of reform or change makes no sense unless we are prepared to radically redefine the direction of this race, and neither the warrior or the merchant can decide the direction of the race. Only the sage can establish it. Only human knowledge, following its own rules, its priorities and lines of possibility has the right to redefine the rules of production and exchange. Only women and men as subjects of knowledge can decide in which direction the world is to move. This is the great novelty affirmed in Seattle: the merchants have no right to decide on the lives of million of people on the basis of their own economic profit. Only a movement of researchers, a high-tech labour movement of the cognitariat that is autonomously organised can stop the dictatorship of financial corporations. The global movement that exploded in Seattle in 1999 pointed towards a direction: globalisation must be guided by ethically motivated knowledge and become a power in the hands of all women and men, not the power of a minority.

From Seattle onwards a movement emerged that aims at the social, epistemic and technological re-composition of cognitive labour. This requires that scientific research is autonomous from the merchants' interests. This awareness has grown ever since: millions of people in the world have started to reclaim the autonomy of their brain from profit. In information technology we have witnessed the diffusion of open source practices; in biotechnological and pharmacological sectors there has been a struggle to claim free access to the products of intellectual innovation; in the cycle of information media activism has spread.

Privatisation of Knowledge

Capital reacted, following the dictates of liberalist ideology, with the coercive privatisation of the products of collective knowledge and the submission of experimentation to economic competition. The privatisation of collective knowledge has encountered resistance and opposition everywhere, and cognitive labourers have started to

realise that their potential is superior to the power of the merchant. Since intellectual labour is at the centre of the productive scene, the merchant no longer possesses the juridical or material instruments to impose the principle of private property. Given that the most precious goods in social production have an immaterial and reproducible character, we have discovered that the private appropriation of goods makes no sense, while the reasons sustaining the privatisation of material goods in industrial society have weakened. In the sphere of semiotic-capital and cognitive labour, when a product is consumed, instead of disappearing it remains available, while its value increases the more its use is shared. This is how the network economy works, and this contradicts the very principle of private property on which capitalism was founded until now.

Since this perspective has started to spread, the warrior has come back on the scene, with the old economy of petrol magnates and arms producers. The amount of sadness, fear and anxiety accumulated in the folds of social labour during the nineties has now been turned into fanaticism, aggressiveness and obsession with identity. The merchant has resorted to the warrior to submit the sage again. Bill Gates allied himself with George Bush. The merchant who robbed collective intelligence allied himself with the idiot warrior and together they try to suffocate any inch of wisdom, to subsume once and for all knowledge to profit and power.

Thanks to the opening of the stock market to the masses carried out in the 90's, a mass participation to the profit of capital was possible and this resulted in the dotcom economy. This also opened the possibility for a vast process of self-organisation of cognitive labourers. Cognitive labourers invested their competence, knowledge and creativity and found the means to create an enterprise in the stock market. For several years the form of enterprise was the point of encounter for financial capital and cognitive labour at a high productivity rate. A new form of self-enterprise glorified at once the autonomy of labour and the dependency on the market.

After a decade of uninterrupted growth and social alliance between cognitive labour and recombining capital, this alliance was broken. The fall of the stock market that began in April 2000 was the beginning of a political crisis of the relation of capital and cognitive labour. Many different factors provoked this rupture. First of all, the collapse of the psychic and social energies of cognitive labour: overexploitation, the acceleration of life rhythms, the 24h long working day of mobile phone workers, depression, the excessive use of stimulant drugs to sustain the pace of hyper-labour have lead the cognitive labourer into a depressive phase. The collapse came from inside. At the same time, the monopolistic attack against the army of dotcom, the front of cognitive labourers and the free market occurred. The imposition of limits on experimentation, the imposition of monopolistic standards, the alliance between monopolies and political power have taken the breath away from the diffuse economy. Then the monopolistic counterrevolution began and the conditions for a shift from the network economy to the war economy were created.

The new economy had witnessed the flourishing of a process of self-organisation of cognitive labour in the form of the enterprise, but in the same years a predatory lumpen-bourgeoisie

emerged to take advantage of the crisis of traditional capitalist rules in order to appropriate for itself enormous shares of social capital, as all the post-Enron collapse cases demonstrated. Neo-liberalism in the long run has not favoured free market but monopoly.

At this stage, almost miraculously, while the crisis precipitated and was taking away all credibility and power of the groups linked to the Bush administration, those airplanes fell from the sky and gave birth to an era of unlimited violence, an era when power, having lost all legitimacy, legitimates itself through war. But in war, perspectives are redefined. Nazi-liberal aggressive capitalism evoked the spectre of the war to defend its vacillating power, but in the course of this war, which is unacceptable for the conscience and life style of the great majority of the western population, anything could happen.

Above all, what could happen is that cognitive labour starts giving an organised and self-conscious form to its internal break. The problem Weizsaecker talks about is urgent today: is it possible to have a self-organisation of scientists that is founded on the autonomy of science from power? This is no longer a concern for a small group of nuclear physicists, but for millions and millions of workers in science and technology, in administration, in education and therapy.

The pacific army of the cognitariat holds the key to a deconstruction of the chain of automatisms through which capitalism fortifies itself.

From the Gilgamesh Epic to Mehmet Uzun, from Rotterdam to Baghdad. From me to you. And back. Like a kellek. The Tigris, or Dicle (Turkish), or Djila (Arab) is also subject to geopolitical strategic interventions like the Turkish Great Anatolian Project. Megadams built in the Tigris would affect first of all the Kurds in Turkey, drowning the ancient city of Hasankeyf and radically shake up economic and political affairs in the whole of the Middle East. And yet, we don't want to do ordinary water management, nor play politics. We just want to go with the flow in any way we can. For radiomaker Jo van der Spek this project started when Majed al Jarrar, wizkid blogger and technical director

of AlMuajaha in Baghdad told him that the Tigris and its banks are, again, forbidden area. Reclaiming the River Tigris means regaining the pleasure, but also processing the pain. Concept: Ideally the project consists of a permanent audio stream from the river itself, which we call »wet radio«, by setting up microphones at certain points in and along the river, and a smooth transfer to the internet. This audiostream would then be programmed as an open channel for all to insert data of any kind: audio, poetry, graphics, music, video, information, contestation, etc. Locally the audio may be (re)broadcast by existing radiostations, new radio initiatives, event-oriented micro radio, real human gatherings, etc.

And of course we can distribute it via internet, CD-Rom and cassette. It would provide an invitation to bloggers, artists, activists, fishers, farmers, rafters and passers-by to plunge, project and navigate the Tigris. To realize the full potential of the concept there must be access and production points (wet spots) in various shapes and places, so that active participation and collaborative programming can develop on the ground (and in the water). Finally I envisage a dynamic platform which lends itself for global exchange and events.

Tilos
http://www.tilos.hu

Tilos Radio is a community, non-profit radio station in Budapest, Hungary.

Transhackmeeting
http://www.transhackmeeting.org
The hackmeeting is a totally independent and autonomous gathering of hackers that happened in italy in the last 6 years, always in a different autonomous zone, like squats or abandoned buildings (http://www.hackmeeting.org) This year there is the ongoing effort to bring this meeting on a transnational ground, therefore the http://www.transhackmeeting.org will be happening in Pola (Monteparadiso squat, Croatia) the last weekend of june.

Undercurrents
http://www.undercurrents.org
A year when the Tory government embarked on Britain's largest and most destructive road building plan. A year which saw the introduction of a 'draconian' Criminal Justice Bill (CJB) - aimed at making direct action protest a criminal act, squatting disused buildings a crime, choosing an alternativ lifestyle an imprisionable offence. This was the arena for Small World Media, a non-profit organisation, to step into and offer media support to grassroots direct action campaign groups. We worked out of a cramped bedroom in North London with just a basic edit suite and a couple of borrowed camcorders. We were a couple of frustrated TV producers and a handful of environmental activists who began work on what would become the country's most recognised 'alternative news service distributed via video cassette'.

V2
http://www.v2.nl
V2_ is an organization that concerns itself with research and development in the field of art and media technology. V2_'s activities include organizing (public) presentations, research in its own media lab, publishing, developing an online archive and a shop offering products that are related to V2_'s areas of interest.

V2V
http://www.v2v.cc
For some time now the idea of utilising peer2peer structures to assemble a user-built distribution platform has been circulating. Recently, in the run-up to the G8 meeting in Evian, a concrete proposal has been made to establish a system for the sharing o video. Long-term we believe that we can assemble a sustainable and scalable platform for audio-visual materials of a critical and independent nature. This is an appeal to groups/individuals to get involved, dedicate some resources, support and expand the project generally. Works to be distributed over the system will vary from somewhat edited footage suitable for use as a stock archive to finished documentaries/films. Each file will be accompanied by metadata in an xml. info file and produced as a searchable RSS feed for people to integrate into their own sites and published on its own website.

Vacarme
http://vacarme.eu.org

Volxtheater Karawane
http://no-racism.net/noborderlab
Since 2001 the PublixTheatreCaravan/VolxtheaterKarawane has been touring through Europe with the claim for »noborder - nonation - stop deportation«. Every year the international Caravan moves on as a mobile noborder Laboratory to politically and culturally different public places in Europe. The Declaration of »Another war is possible!« calls for the global freedom of movement, the right of free choice of housing for migrants and planetarian citizienship to be discussed and claimed.

Walled-city.org
http://walled-city.org
Walled-city.org is a project still at the beginning. It took off last year with two European conferences on networking and electronic tools, where projects came to know each other that produce materials for public intervention, education, or art, seeking ways to exchange and cooperate. The general idea is to do this within a structure that is self-organized and not defined nor ruled by the centralized power of webmasters or project founders. This is a good idea, but contrary to the reality of common network architectures and the software we're based on. After experimenting with a special, altered CMS we're now shifting to a Tiki-Wiki. We talked a lot with different groups and network initiatives for a year, including workshops at the EEF and the ESF, to know now that all this is not just a problem of ours. So we are very interested in any form of exchange or ToolPool. The project will have three workshops this year: a workshop to fund a European network of migration/refugee groups (March 27 + 28, Bremen); a workshop within the >Networking, Arts and Collaboration< conference at Buffalo (April 24 + 25); and a workshop on feminist networking (probably in September). At NEURO, we'll have a meeting on Saturday 12 h. A meeting in preparation of the workshop >networking migrant/refugee groups< will be held on Saturday, 20 h.

Xiph.org
http://www.xiph.org
Xiph.Org is about open source and the ideals for which free software stands. Open source is not a fad any more than the Internet is. It is a necessary force driving innovation and the Internet forward while protecting the interests of individuals, artists, developers and consumers. Closed source software is not evil, nor is it necessarily inferior in quality to open source. What is certain, however, is that closed source and closed protocols do not serve the public interest; they exist by definition to serve the bottom line of a corporation. The foundations of the Internet today are built of a long, hardy history of open development, free exchange of ideas and unprecedented levels of intellectual cooperation. These foundations continue to weather the storm caused by the corporate world's rush to cash in. The point is not that companies that try to make money on the new popularity of the net are in some way inherently immoral or greedy. Rather, the point is that companies must not be allowed to use the infrastructure we all depend upon as a weapon against their rivals to the detriment of all others. The Internet is a common resource and as with other cooperatively shared resources, the »Tragedy of the Commons« looms large. Competitive behavior dictates that eventually a company will act on their own interests to the detriment of all others unless a mechanism exists to prevent it Commodity standards and software must be free because open source is that controlling mechanism. We're the only mechanism we've got.

Yo Mango
http://www.yomango.net
10 style tips for a more yomango life because you can't buy happiness.
1. yomango [Mango is a popular Spanish clothing chain. yomango, in spanish slang means 'I steal'. 'manga' -spanish for sleave, hence 'mangar', to sleave, to steal] is a brand name whos principal objective, as is the case with all important brands, is not the selling of things, but the mass promoting of a life-style. Specifically, the promoting of shoplifting as a form of disobedience and direct action against multinational coorporations.
2. Dare to desire: yomango is your style: risky, innovative. It is the articulate proliferation of creative gestures. yomango is not about theft, its about magic, about the liberation of desire and inteligence cristalized in the »things« offered for sale. If yomango has a politics, it is the politics of happiness, of putting the body first. Be happy, insultingly happy. yomango: feel pretty!
3. Because you can't BUY happiness. Capitalism currently works through the exploitation of collective intelligence and creativity. The market nurishes itself on the ideas, the life forms and the multiple ways in which people express themselves through words, clothes, gestures, sexuality... Commerce appropriates your desires, your expectations, your experiences and gives them back to you, alienated, distant, converted into »things« for you to buy. Buy your own happiness, from concentrates. The yomango style proposes reappropriating, legitimizing and extending the »expropriation« of what is, in effect, previously to its conversion into »things«, was part of the commons. yomango, its very much inside of you.
4. Inventing new gestures that, once repeated, open new worlds for us to inhabit. »Buying« is an excercise in passivity. Boring and alianating, it is a socially predetermined act. yomango is a creative and exciting practice. »Stealing« is understood to be a crime, but yomango does not acknowledge legalities or illegalities. More so, it speaks of a kind of legitimacy which comes from below, the legitimacy of daily life, of wanting to live freely, creatively. Buying is an action based on obedience. yomango is a disobedient style. yomango is the hand, which in an irreducible insubordinate dance, draws an unmediated arch of desire from the stand to your pocket, without money or credit cards
5. yomango is not the propagation of private property through other means. It does not propose accumulation. It consists in taking to the extreme the free circulation of goods. Potlacht!: reappropriate and make circulate, satisfy the

desires and necessities of your loved ones. Have people over for yomango dinners. Steal this magazine!
6. The market offers us a false alternative, a false liberty to choose between one way to spend our money or another. Your hopes and dreams be them of one brand or another, almost always benefit the same guy. yomango affirms the real alternative: Its either MONEY or yomango!
7. yomango turns the mall into a playground. These supposed public spaces, where the market commercializes, regulates and controlls our basic wish to live shared experiences, these human antfarms that cross leisure and culture. yomango breaks out of the isles and defies dreary routines.
8. YOMANGO is with you in every daily gesture you make. Its with you during your best moments. Those that don't cost money. yomango systematizes daily acts. In Barcelona, the yomango franchise held civil disobedience workshops adapted to the yomango lifestyle, as well as workshops where imaginative and usefull tools were produced. Also, encounters, discussions, dinners, parties, all for the public to enjoy.
9. yomango is a franchise you can form wherever you want. The yomango style is an open ended process, generating tools, prototypes and dynamics which flow and proliferate, waiting to be reapropriated and to circulate. A brand name that's everyones. That is born from and for the commons. Remember: yomango, only in your closest multinational .10. YOMANGO. You want it? You got it.

Z Communications
http://www.zmag.org
ZNet is an enormous site with thousands of files. Z Magazine articles usually go online publicly in this subsection three months after publication, and years of articles are now available. You can view articles by author or topic, search them, etc. There is also considerable information about Z and links to related projects. And you can subscribe to the print magazine, or to an online site where you can see the whole magazine simultaneous with its print release, including all graphics, etc. ZNet prioritizes activism and movement involvement. Many of its components focus on things people are doing or can do. A good example is the subsite devoted to the anti-corporate globalization movement.

Zalea TV
http://www.zalea.org/fond.php?titre=en
A little abstract of »TéléviZone d'Action pour la Liberté d'Expression Audiovisuelle« (ZALEA TV): The first national non commercial, non profit, community tv channel in France, Zalea TV was launched as a radical alternative to the established media, whose journalistic mission is increasingly controled and handicapped by the conflicting interests of financial and industrial groups, shareholders and announcers Zalea TV aims to promote the existence and multiplication of non profit media namely by actively encouraging the exchange of programs and means in the Third Audiovisual Sector. Zalea TV invites citizens, non profit organizations, independent producers, directors, videasts, authors ignored or ill represented by these media, to use its -editorialized-public access. Just as there can be no democracy without a force of opposition, there can be no audiovisual democracy without an audiovisual force of opposition.

Zuendfunk
http://www.br-online.de/jugend/zuendfunk
Zuendfunk is the youth program of Bavarian Broadcast 2.

NEURO_MAPPING