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## tektonik

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*New social onthology in the time of total communication*

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# tektonik

Nova društvena ontologija u vreme totalne komunikacije  
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## **tektonik**

Nova društvena ontologija u vreme totalne komunikacije

Pred nama se nalazi zbirka tekstova koji su transkript predavanja i intervjua naučnika, teoretičara, umetnika i aktivista koji su bili gosti programa kuda.lounge od 2001. do 2004. u Centru za nove medije kuda.org. Odabrani tekstovi, predavanja i intervjui u ovom izdanju predstavljaju intersekciju istraživanja u domenu novih tehnologija, kulture i društva, istraživanja fenomena kao što su globalizacija, tehnološki sistemi kontrole, masovne komunikacije i Internet, novi društveni pokreti, novi proleterijat i nova ekonomija, problem intelektualne svojine, biotehnologija. S obzirom na to da je društvo početka XXI veka visoko medijalizovano globalno društvo, poseban aspekt je usmeren ka problemu medijacije informacija koje kreiraju današnju realnost.

Od samog početka kuda.lounge je platforma za razgovor, argumentaciju i dijalog, u okviru koje je organizovano više od pedeset prezentacija, predavanja i radionica. Pozivajući značajna imena kritičke misli i društvene teorije i prakse, namera kuda.org je bila da lokalnoj publici pruži uvid u savremena društvena pitanja u svetu i da uspostavi stalnu komunikaciju i saradnju lokalnih teoretičara i aktivista sa internacionalnom mrežom. Publika u kuda.org je imala prilike da sluša predavanja Saskie Sassen, Steve Kurtza, Geerta Lovinka, Konrada Beckera, Cindy Cohn i mnogih drugih.

Razvoj informacijskih i komunikacijskih tehnologija doneo je i novu društvenu ontologiju koja se manifestuje na političkom, kulturnom, ekonomskom i psihološkom planu. U vreme kada se obećanja tehnoutopije pretvaraju u visoko operacionalizovane inteligentne mašine koje služe ekonomskim interesima ili u trenažne virtualne jedinice za buduće sukobe (paralelna edukacija i trening preko kompjuterskih igara kao simulacije borbi, bespilotne letelice – predatori), pitanje je koliko se nove tehnologije mogu upotrebiti i za ostvarenje nekih od obećanja koja su bila aktuelna osamdesetih i početkom devedesetih u jeku tzv. kalifornijske ideologije? A ta obećanja su društvo blagostanja, kreativni rad, povećanje broja radnih mesta, skraćivanje radnog vremena, globalni mir u eri globalne prosvećenosti uzrokovane tehnologijom.

Kroz tekstove u ovoj zbirci uočavamo upozoravajuće projekcije dehumanizovane budućnosti podređene interesima kapitala, koja je u stvari kritika tehnonauka kao ultimativnog generatora kapitalističke mašine. S druge strane, videćemo modele koji pokazuju kako se potencijal kao što su nove informacijske i komunikacijske tehnologije može zaista iskoristiti za demokratizaciju i ostvarivanje projekta “boljeg društva”.

Tokom devedestih godina Balkan je upravo bio poprište gde su ove globalne teorije “padale na zemlju” i ukrštale se sa lokalnim partikularnim interesima.

Posebna specifičnost lokalnog konteksta u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije je kompromitovanje ideje socijalizma, neposredno ili indirektno okruženje ratne opasnosti, život u

autoritarnom centralizmu ili neoliberalnom okviru divlje tranzicije, koji je uslovio i nepoverenje u širu društvenu akciju. U Srbiji se paralelno sa ratovima devedesetih, vršio i model ubrzane privatizacije javnog prostora i “ubrzanog kraja” industrijskog društva, posle čega se društvo u Srbiji našlo u limbu između industrijske prošlosti i informatičke budućnosti, čekajući da se ponovo otvore fabrike koje se nikada neće otvoriti.

Predavanja i razgovori su imali za cilj da se određeni društveno-politički fenomeni kritički analiziraju, da se ukaže na izvor problema i da se to predstavi široj javnosti. Centar kuda.org otvara mogućnosti i prostor za različita tumačenja i modele prošlog, sadašnjeg i budućeg društvenog konteksta i mapira one procese koji potencijalno mogu ugroziti ljudske slobode sofisticiranim metodima visokotehnološkog društva u vremenu ekonomije znanja. Publikacijom ove zbirke zaključujemo jedan ciklus u kom se integrišu teme koje detektuju opštu društvenu problematiku i u jednom “klasičnom” štampanom mediju predstavljaju širokoj publici.

kuda.org

## Globalizacija ili denacionalizacija? Ekonomija i politika u globalnom digitalnom dobu

Promenjivi ishodi, višestruke destrukcije, višestruke prilike

Saskia Sasen

Bavila sam se pronalaženjem načina učenja i teoretisanja o globalizaciji koji ne podrazumeva pretpostavku globalnog pogleda, globalnog posmatrača. Jer, to je jedan imperijalni pokret, a naročito za SAD ta pretpostavka je živa i zdrava. Oni zaista veruju da ne samo da moraju biti globalni da bi razumeli globalno, već i da oni mogu biti globalni. I naravno, to na neki način i jesu. Ukoliko želimo da shvatimo globalizaciju, moramo se postaviti u neku globalnu poziciju. Mnogi ljudi u svetu su isključeni iz bilo kakvog znanja o globalnom. Pa tako, kroz način na koji pričam i na koji sam pisala o globalizaciji, na neki način zagovaram tu ideju, a to znači kritikovanje globalnog, detektovanje i otkrivanje što je moguće više okruženja u kojima se globalno formira. To takođe znači da sve dok globalno postoji duboko unutar onog što mi proizvodimo i doživljavamo kao lokalno, nacionalno, da ljudi svuda u svetu mogu pretpostaviti, mogu pokušati da steknu znanje, da uče o globalnom, što povlači sasvim drugačiju temu istraživanja, teoretisanja i političku agendu. Ovde delimično aludiram ne na poricanje postojanja imperijalnih geografskih globalnih institucija, već na pokušaj da se na mapu doda čitava raznovrsnost elemenata o kojima obično ne mislimo da pripadaju globalnom. Uvek sam veoma zainteresovano učestvovala u razgovorima sa kustosima, umetnicima, zato što imaginacije različito funkcionišu i zato što su oni vrlo bitni instrumenti u periodu promena. Kada govorim o globalizaciji, ne mislim da ću moći da prikažem celu “životinju” svojim jezikom. Sebe vidim kao kopača koji kopa ašovom i ne zna tačno šta ću pronaći – kopač i kartograf – predstava na dva nivoa.

Prva stvar koja mi se učinila veoma bitnom, je pitanje nemoćnih, jer se najveći deo priče o globalizaciji tiče moći: moći multinacionalnih kompanija, SAD i telekomunikacija. U stvari, postoji nešto u vezi sa društvenom promenom što je neka vrsta crne kutije, nešto hermetično što nismo u stanju da shvatimo. Svaka značajnija tranzicija i destabilizacija postojećeg sistema moći ima u sebi nešto što kao društveni naučnici istoričari nismo u stanju da prikažemo u nekoj od naših kategorija ili termina. Odsustvo moći veoma je kompleksno stanje i mi ga ne razumemo. Mi imamo varvarsko poimanje moći: “Ili je imaš ili je nemaš!” A ukoliko je imaš, ti možeš nametnuti svoju volju. To izostavlja iz slike moć nemoćnih u vremenu krupnih promena i globalizacije koja se dešava poslednjih petnaestak godina kao jedna vrsta krupne promene. Međutim, delovanje isključenih je jedan od faktora koji uvodi promenu. Francuska revolucija je poznat slučaj i sasvim je jasno da to nisu bili samo plebejci, rulja koja se obušila na Bastilju, bilo je tu mnogo drugih stvari koje su se desile pre nego što se sam događaj odigrao. Isto tako, na pamet pada mi pada Pokret za građanska prava u SAD iz 60-tih godina. Činilo se kao da je

kongres jednog lepog dana prosto odlučio: "O, 'ajde da damo prava crncima i ženama!" Oni su se organizovali trideset godina! Postoji nešto u ponašanju isključenih, onih koji nemaju moć, nešto što postaje faktor transformacije. Ako posedujemo varvarsko poimanje moći, onda ovo ne možemo videti. U samom pitanju globalizacije danas uloga nemoćnih je od suštinske vrednosti za razumevanje onoga što se događa, a to donekle možemo videti kod anti-globalističkih aktivista itd. Druga ideja posmatranja istorije, koja postaje vrlo jasna, jeste da nijedan formalan sistem moći ne traje zauvek. Izuzev katoličke crkve koja deluje kao da će večno trajati. Međutim, istina je da ni američka imerija, niti ovo trenutno ustrojstvo neće trajati večno. Promena i transformacija koji čine destabilizaciju su deo njih. Suština je da su nemoćni učesnici. Isključen je deo onoga što tada postaje formalno uključivanje.

Prvo pitanje koje bi se moglo postaviti je: "Šta mi pokušavamo da imenujemo terminom globalizacija?" To nije samo reč. Imam istu dilemu sa još jednom temom na kojoj radim – imigracija. Koristimo termin imigracija misleći da znamo o čemu pričamo. To je reč puna naboja. To je poziv da se prestane misliti. Čujete reč imigracija ili globalizacija i mislite da to već znate. Mislim da ima moći u globalizaciji takođe, mada postoje višestruke globalizacije. Mislim da smo još uvek u njenoj ranoj fazi razvoja, da bismo joj daval i ime. Mislim u stvari da pokušavamo označiti dva različita tipa procesa/dinamika.

Postoje dve jasno razdvojene dinamike:

A: Formiranje institucija i procesa globalnih razmera: Svetska trgovinska organizacija (WTO), globalna finansijska tržišta, Novi kosmopoliti, Tribunal za ratne zločine itd. Ovo se obično pomisli kad se spomene globalizacija. Ali, uvek volim da otkrivam polivalentnost u svemu tome u smislu da nije sve uvek samo dobro ili loše, ili ni dobro ni loše. Tu je čitav niz mogućnosti. Na ovom prvom nivou, a to je nivo koji je sam po sebi globalan, za mene postoje vrlo pomešane pretpostavke. Postoje pitanja koja su bila u vezi sa globalnom ekonomijom, ali i ona koja su u vezi sa Tribunalom za ratne zločine koji je znatno drugačija oblast globalnog od onog što je finansijsko tržište. U svom istraživanju volim da tumačim obe.

B: Drugi niz procesa koji nisu obavezno deo globalnih razmera. To podrazumeva specifičan rad država kao što su posebne monetarne, fiskalne ili zakonske politike, upotreba instrumenata ljudskih prava u nacionalnim sudovima, ne-kosmopolitski oblici globalnih politika i imaginacije. To se odvija na vrlo specifične načine unutar nacionalnog i lokalnog. I to je takođe polivalentno u tom smislu da se istovremeno odvijaju i pozitivne i negativne stvari. Na drugom nivou trudim se da obuhvatim čitav niz aspekata koje kodiramo, doživljavamo, definišemo i koje vidimo kao nacionalne. A ideja nije da se svi nacionalni elementi denacionalizuju i globalizuju, već samo neki, a to se odvija u mnogim različitim oblastima. Na primer, pomenula sam specifične oblike delovanja država, specifične monetarne, fiskalne i pravne politike, kao i oblike koji doprinose pojavljivanju globalnih firmi i formiranju globalnih, finansijskih tržišta. Takođe sam sves-

tan činjenice da sudije u nacionalnim sudovima danas koriste instrumente međunarodnih ljudskih prava. Dakle, to je takođe primer nečeg globalnog što se širi u nacionalnom, institucionalizovanom svetu, a formiraju se uz pomoć nacionalnih elemenata. Takođe, navodim i svoju zabrinutost za ulogu nemoćnih i ideju nekospolitskih oblika globalne politike.

Dosta se bavim istraživanjem finansijskih tržišta i finansijskih elita. Kada finansijske elite obavljaju posao finansijskih elita, one više nisu kosmopolitske. Zastupam tezu da borci za ljudska prava i zaštitu životne sredine, koji su zabrinuti i opsednuti lokalnim mučiteljem, lokalnom firmom koja kvari lokalno snabdevanje vodom, mogu postati deo oblika globalnosti, ali da oni nisu kosmopolitski oblici globalnosti. Globalnost proističe iz stalnog pojavljivanja ove vrste borbe iz mesta u mesto, po celom svetu. Ali, oni su opsednuti svojom lokalnošću, lokalnom verzijom problema. I u tom smislu zastupam oblik globalnosti koji je horizontalan, koji je formiran kroz ponavljanje, a ne uvećavanje, kao kod Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda (IMF). Kroz ponavljanje kao mreže aktivista koja je globalna, oni počinju da vide sebe kao deo globalne mreže, ali to, ni u kom slučaju, nije kosmopolitski. Isto tako, kada kažem nekospolitski, ja ne mislim samo na loše momke, poput finansijera. Mislim, isto tako, i na mnoge druge. Jedna od posledica razmišljanja o globalnom je nešto što se delimično formira unutar nacionalnog. Ako globalno planira da postane gusto, kompleksno stanje, koje je sve više strukturirano, moraće neizbežno da uključi i nacionalno. Moraće da se pojavi unutar nacionalnog, jer najgušće stanje koje imamo danas je stanje nacionalnog. U poređenju sa nacionalnim, globalno je prilično retko, a najpoznatiji oblik globalnog je na nivou potrošnje – globalne industrije zabave, Mek Donalds itd.

### Prema početku denacionalizacije "nacionalnog"

Zaista verujem da se stvara nova epoha i da je sve to počelo pre petnaest godina sa jasnoćom i nekom vrstom heuristike vezane za nju, događa se promena koju stvara znanje o samoj toj stvari. U tom smislu, neke karakteristike globalizacije mogu se posmatrati kao heuristički prostor koji čini transformaciju vidljivom. Da bi taj proces bio epohalan, nacionalno mora biti uključeno, jer je ono "najgušće" stanje. Veći deo literature o globalizaciji zadržava se na prvom nivou – IMF, WTO, globalna finansijska tržišta itd. Ovo je snažna tendencija da se globalno posmatra u smislu razmera na globalnom nivou. A smatram da time izostavljamo veliki deo slike. Taj drugi deo je ono što nazivam početnom, delimičnom, često vrlo specijalizovanom denacionalizacijom onog što je formirano kao nacionalno. Veći deo ovog mi još uvek doživljavamo, kodiramo i predstavljamo nacionalnim izrazima. A ima još puno posla oko istraživanja koje treba da se obavi na lokalnom nivou, od zemlje do zemlje. Ovo istraživanje, teoretisanje i politički globalni projekat su globalni, ali globalni na horizontalnom nivou. A njegove pojedinosti će varirati od zemlje do zemlje. Ali, postoji mnogo više toga osim IMF, WTO i multinacionalnih kompanija. Postoji još nešto što se dešava, a u čemu učestvuju nacionalni akteri. Sa globalizacijom postoji delimična promena orijentacije nacionalnog delovanja država

koje su u velikoj meri bile orijentisane ka nacionalnom. Ne u smislu da država nestaje (mislim da će se država održati još neko vreme), već da se deo posla države orijentiše ka globalnim planovima, a pre toga bio je orijentisan ka nacionalnim planovima. To ne znači da je država gora nego što je bila, iako ni tada nacionalni planovi države nisu bili sjajni. Postoje mnoge dobre stvari koje se mogu napraviti kad se nacionalne države orijentišu ka globalnim planovima u oblastima kao što su ljudska prava, životna sredina, prava radničke klase po celom svetu itd. Momentalno, istorija poslednjih petnaestak godina je bila orijentisana ka globalnoj kompaniji, globalnim finansijskim tržištima i globalnom trgovinskom sistemu.

Zadržala bih se još malo na počecima denacionalizacije, pod kojom podrazumevam nešto što se tek pojavilo, a čija putanja nije sasvim jasna. Može se nastaviti, a može i propasti. Početna faza je specifičan način imenovanja procesa koji je parcijalan, a vrlo često može biti veoma specijalizovan. Pokušaću da navedem nekoliko različitih komponenti u našim društvima koji su mesto ovih dinamika:

- Globalna finansijska tržišta zahtevaju vrlo konkretne specijalizovane promene orijentacije u monetarnim politikama sve većeg broja država.
- Nacionalni sudovi koristeći instrumente ljudskih prava uvode ne-nacionalne kriterijume, dok je pre toga isključivo važila normativnost nacionalnih država.
- Razvoj globalne svesti (ljudska prava, životna sredina, borba za opstanak siromašnih, zahtevi ljudi prve nacije za direktnim predstavnicima) dovodi do razdvajanja nacionalnog državljanstva, do formalnog gomilanja prava koja su zajednička svim nacijama.

Globalna finansijska tržišta ne zahtevaju samo elektronska tržišta koja mogu globalno da funkcionišu u celom svetu istovremeno. Ona takođe zahtevaju da vlada svake države uvede određene vrste monetarnih, fiskalnih i drugih politika. Nacionalni sudovi, koristeći instrumente ljudskih prava, uvode ne-nacionalne kriterijume, dok je pre toga isključivo važila normativnost nacionalnih država. Ovo je takođe vrlo značajna transformacija. I konačno, treći elemenat: razvoj globalne svesti izvora, globalnih imaginacija, različit jezik koje se može koristiti sa ovim itd. To su takođe prakse državljanstva, identiteta i lokacija vezanih za državljanstvo, a ta vrsta identiteta ne bi trebala biti ograničena na nacionalno. A dobar primer je ono što danas zovemo "alter globalisti". Ubeđena sam da su ljudi zapamtili ovaj naziv, a ne "anti". Ovo potiče od Svetskog društvenog foruma (World Social Forum) u Porto Alegre i pojmova "alter" i "druga" globalizacija.

Posvetiću se više globalnim finasijama, stvarima koje su uništile i nekim od mogućnosti koji takođe proističu iz globalizacije. Treba posmatrati finansije ne kao nešto što je vezano za novac, već kao mogućnost. Ta mogućnost je da se "rastopi" bogatstvo: nacionalno bogatstvo, ekonomske komponente za koje smo smatrali da su nepokretne itd. Globalna trgovina 2002. godine iznosila je oko jedanaest trilijardi dolara, a to je

puno novca. Kada pogledate globalno strano ulaganje – još jedna ključna komponenta globalizacije koja se užasno razvila – to je sada osam trilijardi dolara koje su kapital. Ali, to nije novac, već nešto drugo. Jedan od načina na koji na to možete posmatrati je kao na mogućnost. I kao što je demonstrirano u proteklih dvanaest godina, finansije imaju ogromnu moć da unište različite komponente svih vrsta nacionalnih ekonomija. Dakle, finansije su veoma moćne. One su duboko povezane i delimično su oblikovale infrastrukturu za globalizaciju, ali takođe desi se da ih koriste i teroristi, trgovci i narkodileri itd. Finansije u velikoj meri vode implementiranje infrastrukture tehničkog transporta, imigracije i vizni sistem koji koriste drugi učesnici. Nešto što ljudi ne znaju jeste da je u poslednjih 25 godina bilo više od sto finansijskih kriza. Mi saznamo samo za one velike: meksička kriza, južnokorejska, argentinska itd. Ove krize odraz su prilagođavanja nacionalnih sistema novom globalnom finansijskom sistemu. One su veoma destruktivne, uništavaju čitave ekonomije, ali su neophodne. Kada se desila kriza u Južnoj Koreji mnoge firme koje su imale tržište za izvoz su zatvorene. To nisu bile loše firme, ali pošto su finansirale ove ekonomije, nisu mogle dobiti zajmove. Moć finansija da uništi i stvori nove koncepte ekonomije ogromna je poslednjih petnaest godina.

Veoma je važno razumeti da naše legalne arhitekture sadrže skrivena pravila dozvole. A to nije zavera. To je zato što su u vreme kada su se formirale ove legalne arhitekture, postojala brojna pitanja na koja niko nikada nije ni pomislio. Tvorci našeg zakona nisu razmišljali o tome. To su skrivena pravila koja nisu objašnjena. Multinacionalne kompanije veoma vešto koriste ova pravila. Ali, tvrdim da nemoćni ljudi i organizacije, kao i nevladine organizacije takođe mogu da koriste ova skrivena pravila dozvole. To uključuje i skandal koji se desio u SAD zbog ovih skrivenih pravila. Podsetiću vas da kada je "Enron" skandal stvarno buknuo, razne druge firme, sam grad, ujedinjeni građani globalnih ekonomija, a ne male firme, iznenada su revidirale svoje procene, a "Enron" je sve znao. Jedan način na koji to može da se tumači jeste taj da su advokati i računovođe postali neverovatno kreativni. Iskreno govoreći, oni su kreativniji nego neki umetnici koje poznajem (nemam ništa protiv umetnika). A oni su to učinili u okviru legalne arhitekture, a zbog ove bučne mašinerije u koju su uključeni inovativnost, sposobnost finansija i mnoge druge karakteristike, a ne samo finansije u ekonomiji. Na taj način, ono što zovemo krizom zapravo je jedno prilagođavanje promeni. Ova kriza nije izobličavanje! Kada milioni radnika zaposlenih u fabrici muzičke opreme u Južnoj Koreji izgube posao, to nije izobličavanje, već razvijeni kapitalizam. Izložila sam ovaj argument kada sam pričala o globalnom gradu gde raste nejednakost. Suština je da skrivena pravila dozvole omogućavaju čitav niz novih pojava. Kratko ću se pozabaviti i pitanjem digitalnog, jer to je jedna vrlo moćna tehnologija. Mogućnost novih političkih modela i raznovrsnih lokalnih oblika borbe, s tim da se danas međusobno prepoznaju, počinju da se vide kao deo globalne mreže u koju su uključene i druge, vrlo siromašne organizacije. Postoji shvatanje da se može biti globalan samo ako se putuje. Smatram da postoje oblici globalnosti koji su uobličeni, ali koji podrazumevaju nepokretnost, ili zbog toga što su im organizacije siromašne ili zato što su progonjeni. No, ipak moramo osloboditi ideju globalnosti ove ideje da "mora da se kreće, da prelazi granice, jer inače nije reč o global-

nom". Ovo je takođe način da se ukaže da i oni, koji su suviše siromašni da putuju, suviše progonjeni da bi se kretali, suviše zauzeti borbom za čistu vodu i njihovu zajednicu gde god ona bila, oni koji ne žele da postanu kosmopolite, koji cirkulišu po svetu, da su i oni učesnici u ovoj novoj globalnosti koja se pojavljuje oko nas.

### Imperija u usponu

Neko bi mogao da primeti da ovde postoji malo šire pitanje, slika koja govori šta se desi kada moć padne na zemlju. Postoji izvesna politička tema koje se uvek dotaknem, a tiče se pitanja Iraka i SAD, na šta gledam kao na "ujedinjeno vreme I" i "vreme II". Vreme I je kada su SAD odlučile da bombarduju Irak. Čak i tokom bombardovanja, SAD su imale vrlo razrađen vojno-zabavni kompleks. Čitav rat je bio simulacija. Ja to ne zovem ratom, već bombaškom ekspedicijom. Posle bombardovanja, ranjavanja i ubijanja hiljada čistokrvnih Iračana, rat je bio završen. To je trenutak kada to postaje heuristička zona za pitanje koje postavljam: "Šta se dešava kada moć padne na zemlju?" A, to ne znači da su SAD manje jake. Ono što postaje jasno su granice ovog oblika moći, u tom smislu da se kreću ka propadanju ove imperije. To ne znači da će SAD da nestanu, niti da će izgubiti svoju moć. Ono što se vidi su ograničenja ovog modaliteta vlasti. Na konferencijama za štampu često me pitaju: "Šta je sledeća imperija?" Ja zaista verujem da će imperija opstati, ali ne ova. Zaista verujem da je nova verzija imperije "meka" evropska imperija u koju se pretvara Evropska unija kroz interesne sporazume, kroz načine proširenja itd. Doduše sa malo rasizma i malo ugnjetavanja koji su, u suštini, prebrođeni uz pomoć zakona. U uvodniku koji sam pisala za "Gardijan", novine iz Londona, Buša sam opisala kao "modernog lorda rata". Dobar pištolj je uvek bolji od dobrog zakona. Ali zaista verujem da je Evropska unija ubeđena da je dobar zakon bolji od dobrog pištolja. Dakle, u tom smislu, to je sledeća faza imperije. Ono što sam htela da kažem je da se mnoge stvari dese kada moć padne na zemlju. Pomenula sam slučaj Iraka pošto je toliko očigledan i jasan, ali još jedan način gledanja na to je pitanje urbanog prostora. To je nešto što je blisko svima nama. Svi mi, na neki način, živimo u gradu, i bez da se upuštamo u temu imperije i moći, možemo stvoriti naš urban prostor i heurističku zonu koja nam daje znanje o ovim dinamikama.

### Granične teritorije unutar gradova

Polivalentnost je karakteristična za ove globalne gradove, koji su i strateško mesto za korporacijski kapital, ali i koji postaju neka vrsta nove granične zone. Istorijska granica nije u bivšim kolonijama, niti u novim neo-kolonijalnim zonama sveta, već se premestila u razvijene metropole – Pariz, Njujork i Tokio. Postoji nova vrsta granice koja postaje njen sopstveni istorijski trenutak koji se razlikuje od ideje koju mi imamo o granici kao granice širenja kolonijalne imperije. Globalni grad je neverovatna strateška lokacija za globalni kapital, ali, takođe i za nove vrste političkih projekata koji napuštaju stanja nemoći i siromaštva. Imigranti su ključni učesnici u ovom procesu – oni koji traže utočište, izbeglice. Ali, oni nisu jedini. To mogu biti nacionalne manjine, feministkinje,

homoseksualci, lezbijke i ekcentrici koji se ne mogu u potpunosti poistovetiti sa nacionalnim, jer to je društvena grupa koja se širi. Dakle, to znači da jedna od dinamika koja se dešava pred našim očima jeste rast globalnog nivoa koji je sačinjen od pod-nacionalnog, čak ne ni nacionalnog.

Ovo su neki od elemenata koji se tiču granica u okviru gradova: operativni, analitički i politički.

Činjenice vezane za a) urbane fragmente na transurbanim krugovima i b) gradski prostor ispresecan ovim kružnicama povlače pitanja o:

- topografskom predstavljanju gradova
- značenju konteksta, okruženja
- građanskim strukturama
- iskustvima i reakcijama na umnožavanje unutrašnjih graničnih teritorija.

Urbani prostor menja svoj oblik. To ne znači da se mora ponovo izgraditi da bi se shvatilo, već da menjanje oblika urbanog prostora može da se desi i u gradu gde se nijedna nova zgrada nije podigla. To znači da se značenje urbanosti i urbanog prostora promenilo i da to više nije samo urbana teritorija. Kada govorimo o organizacijama sa siromašnim sredstvima i njihovim načinom razmišljanja, treba misliti i o tome da mnogostrukie komponente gradskog prostora postaju fragmenti širih, vangraničnih krugova. Grad ima administrativno uređenje koje na nivou pretpostavke na jednoj krajnosti ima globalnu elitu, međunarodne borbe za ljudska prava, a na nivou finansija posebne distrikte grada koji su sve globalniji, sve više deo materijalnosti grada i sve više orijentisani ka globalnim pitanjima. Na taj način, urbani prostor ima čitav niz komponenti koje administrativno izgledaju kao jedna celina, ali čitava debata je kako ovu administrativnu jedinicu lišiti uprave i podeliti centar predgrađa. Mislim na razmeru u kojoj su ove materijane komponente grada locirane na mnogim drugim globalnim kružnicama. To, na neki način znači da postoje nove urbane specifičnosti. Posmatram globalnu ekonomiju kao više kružnica, a onda pokušavam da shvatim koje druge grupe grada su ključne lokacije u tim različitim kružnicama. Ako posmatramo zlato kao finansijski instrument, Cirihi i London su, npr., dve ključne lokacije. Ako posmatramo zlato kao mineral, onda su tu Johanezbura, Sao Paolo i Sidnej i dobija se drugačija geografija. Kada sam putovala po svetu i pričala o ovim temama, ljudi su me obično pitali: "Kako se mi uklapamo u tu priču, naša zemlja ili naš grad?" Odgovarala sam im da moraju da ukinu podelu svoje ekonomije i da moraju prepoznati globalne kružnice u okviru kojih se ona nalazi. Postoji ogromna specifičnost u svemu ovome. Sve to se ne dešava na ovim veoma koncentrisanim nivoima, i njihovi koreni su mnogi odvojeni elementi i jedinice. Drugi način da na to gledate je da krenete od urbanog prostora i da shvatite globalne kružnice koje presecaju taj grad. I otuda grad sadrži fragmente određenih kružnica. Oni se mogu spojiti u nove oblike urbane specifičnosti. Ako posmatramo kružnicu Bijenala, to je niz fragmenata, sve više gradova danas ima ovaj umetnički bijenale, a to čini njegovu ličnu urbanu posebnost. Postoje spajanja, kombinacije komponenti koje pripadaju različitim



gradovima, koji su privremena kombinacija ovih specifičnih elemenata.

Takođe smatram da postoje globalni projekti moći, kao što su globalne finansije, i postoje globalni projekti otpora koji su takođe omogućili ove nove vrste specifičnosti. To je jedna veoma haotična zona. Granica se umnožava i ima mnogo lokacija unutar grada. Gradovi su oduvek sadržali vidljive zidove i granice. To takođe znači da su brojni i da u stvari postoji proliferacija graničnih teritorija unutar gradova.

Drugim rečima, možete uzeti mapu grada i videti: ovde je siromašan deo grada, ovde je sistem gradskog prevoza, grad je zatvoren na neki način i mogu se opisati sve različite komponente. To je svakako trenutak onoga što grad predstavlja, ali to nije dovoljno da bi se prikazalo šta se dešava u gradu. Topografsko predstavljanje ima sve manje smisla danas, jer postoje mnoge druge stvari koje se dešavaju, a koje se ne mogu topografski predstaviti. Topografsko predstavljanje grada takođe kreira sledeće podele: ovde su siromašni, ovde su bogati, ovde je finansijska četvrt, a ovde fabrike, dok u stvari postoje ovi interni krugovi koji ih takođe presecaju. Razmišljanje o gradu kao mestu ispresecanom ovim globalnim krugovima menja i značenje konteksta, značenje okruženja. Kada razgovaram sa arhitektama obično potegnem to pitanje, jer kada imate finansijsku četvrt ona u nekoj meri pripada više ovim globalnim krugovima, gde su i druge finansijske četvrti, nego samom gradu. Dakle, pitanje konteksta, kontekstualne arhitekture i planiranja načini su da se prikrije brutalna realnost pogrešne artikulacije. Šta to znači za građanski sektor društva? Grad je već dugo pun nejednakosti. Ali ono što se danas dešava je mnogo kompleksnija vrsta nejednakosti i fragmentacije. Ukoliko je granica danas zaista unutar grada, a ne u neokolonijalnoj zoni, kako to utiče na građansku strukturu društva? I na kraju, kako mi doživljavamo ove fragmentacije, ovaj urbani prostor ispresecan globalnim krugovima, i kako reagujemo na množenje ovih unutrašnjih graničnih teritorija. To postavlja novu vrstu problema vezanih za pojam urbanog, koji proističu iz nekih od transformacija stvaranja epohe koje primećujemo kod globalizacije. Veći deo ovog je već dugo deo istraživanja grada, ali to je pitanje norme. Ono što se danas dešava je da to prelazi prag i postaje druga vrsta stanja. A to je ono što je bitno.

Moj zaključak biće usmeren ka rezimeu pitanja razmera globalnog i kako ga razumeti. Posmatrajući grad, jedan od načina je da se istražuje, da se pokušava pronaći globalno u podnacionalnom prostoru, a ne u globalnom prostoru, a u smislu veoma haotičnih pitanja koja nisu prosto deo binarnog – ili je globalno ili nije. Veći deo literature o globalnom pretpostavlja da je globalno nenacionalno, a ono što pokušavam da pokažem je da velik deo onog što je globalno nije obuhvaćen ovim binarnim. Nije u pitanju ono što je međusobno isključivo, bilo da je nacionalna država ili podnacionalni prostor koji je u stvari grad. Način na koji gledamo na globalno kao na decentralizovano, pored toga što je koncentrisano na nivou IMF-a, je druga značajnija tema; na taj način, globalno podrazumeva specifičnosti, lokalnost vezanu za različite države, gradove, regije, okruženja i otuda različite potkulture itd. Na kraju, imamo vrlo rasuto stanje, ali i veoma centralizovano stanje, i to stanje u kome granice nisu jasne. Nekome se može činiti da imamo

množenje graničnih teritorija, granica. Međutim, to je deo transformacija izgradnje jedne epohe koju proživljavamo. I pored toga, verujem da je to manje značajan deo onog što je i dalje iskustvo političkog, ekonomskog i socijalnog. To može biti manje značajno, ali pak strateško u svojim posledicama. Kada posmatram budućnost, vidim puno mešanja – globalno koje se sve više formira na različitim nivoima, sa različitim kodovima, mnogo širi niz primera nego što mi to obično mislimo. Ali istovremeno, dešava se aktuelno čekanje starijih načina doživljavanja starijih oblika koji su često nacionalni, ali ne samo to – sada dolazi do uspona prve nacije i digitalne kulture, koje nam daje nove, osvežene dimenzije. Prema tome, ovo je jedan vrlo haotičan prostor, a prikazivanjem ovog nereda, brojnih nivoa, kao i činjenice da siromašni mogu biti deo globalnog, ja zapravo obavljam svoj posao. Nadam se da će moj rad uticati na omogućavanje ovih globalnosti, globalnih pretpostavki koje su horizontalne, gde su sastavni elementi ljudi bez moći, bez sredstava, oni koji ne putuju, a koji takođe mogu učesnici na ovoj globalnoj sceni, jer zaista smatram da su nam potrebni raznovrsni tipovi učesnika.

(Predavanje je održano tokom "Trans-global Art-ground" seminara u Muzeju savremene umetnosti u Beogradu, 6.-13. decembar 2003.)

Transkripcija predavanja nije autorizovana.

## Ubij objekat, zadrži proizvod

Mič Flor

Ovim predavanjem ću pokušati da vam pružim uvid u uspon i pad tzv. *Nove ekonomije*, tako što ću pokazati kako je malo 'novog' tu zaista i bilo. Ove opservacije će se odnositi na društvene aspekte, kao i na razumevanje proizvoda koji se dobro prodaje. Predavanje ću zaključiti promenom fokus sa nadživljene ideje 'proizvoda', ka nevidljivim oblastima između komponenata proizvoda, standarda i interfejsa koji različitim segmentima/modulima proizvoda omogućava da međusobno komuniciraju. Po mom viđenju ova nevidljiva područja su ključ 'nove' ekonomije, jer ona obuhvataju i prirodno uspešnog pakovanja softvera i društvenu prirodu zajedničkog rada unutar mreža.

### Duh montažne linije

Čini se da su rani dani razvoja softvera i umrežavanja derivat *Stare ekonomije*, ekonomije pokretne trake, ekonomije čiji su ritam i montaža bazirani u fabrici. Tek se poslednjih nekoliko godina sa padom prvog talasa Internet popularnosti ovaj temelj počeo menjati. Prvobitna teorija montaže je dokazano lišena bilo kakvog očiglednog uspeha: ne postoji jedan siguran način da se sastavi uspešna operacija na mreži. U svetlu ove realnosti, čini se da će održiviji metod umrežavanja tek uslediti, a izgledi za gladak, samoiniciran uspeh su iluzorne kao i uvek. Međutim, verujem da je moguće uočiti neke stvarne promene i u ekonomskom modelu umrežavanja kao i u celokupnom značaju stavljenom na proizvod nastao operacijama baziranim na mreži.

Postoji čitava gomila knjiga sa temom *kako uraditi ovo ili kako postati ono*; savršen mamac za poslovne ljude pod velikim stresom koji se nalaze u trci između intervjua za posao, fokusirani na pronalaženje najbolje i najfunkcionalnije strategije za sebe i svoje ideje. Jedna od tih knjiga nosi naslov "*Rukovođenje projektom (Project Management)*"<sup>(1)</sup>. Na svojih sedamdesetak stranica ona vas uči svemu što ste oduvek želeli da znate o rukovođenju projektima. Jednom, dok sam čekao na voz, ova knjiga mi je zapala za oko. Nešto u samouverenosti onoga što je tvrdila me je nateralo da je kupim, ali sam ipak, kada sam je pročitao bio razočaran. Nijedna od situacija opisanih u knjizi nije bila stvarna. Njen sadržaj se nije odnosio na mene, a koncept decentralizovanih projekata koje autori predstavljaju se činio pogrešnim i u svetlu mojih iskustava potpuno je promašio temu. Koristiću neke delove iz ove knjige u mom predavanju upravo iz tog razloga.

### Nova imena za nove poslove u novoj ekonomiji

Jedan važan faktor za razumevanje mogućnosti umrežavanja podrazumeva analizu novih medija. Postoji izvesna 'nevidljivost' u ovim novim načinima rada: *titula i kancelarija* postaju drugačije realnosti u svetu na mreži. Primarna briga je opšta i odnosi se na

kulturu, ali je stvarnost mnogo intimnija: morate naći način da uočite detalje ove široke perspektive tako da održite količinu posla i interesovanje za posao. Morate naći modele i metode rada u grupi koji najbolje predstavljaju vaše jedinstvene ideje istovremeno praveći ravnotežu u interesu posla grupe ili kompanije koja vas je unajmila.

Ovo najbolje reflektuje mentalitet koji je potreban kao preduslov za rad u novim medijima. On se dosta razlikuje od smisla za posao koji je bio bitan nekoliko generacija ranije. Dosta mladih iz zapadne Evrope uviđaju da im je taj specifičan kontrast dobro poznat: jaz između njih i njihovih roditelja je ogroman. Roditelji mogu da prihvate i razumeju zvanja kao što su *nastavnik*, *bankar*, *komičar*; ali jezik novih medija, gde se zvanja često menjaju, gde su ona čudna i nova, predstavlja jezik koji roditelji tek treba da razumeju, a ne još i da podrže. Koncept 'temelja' se promenio: starijoj generaciji se čini da temelj u ekonomiji novih medija i ne postoji. Stvari se ne čine dovoljno čvrstim, a vrednost mreže u sistemu vrednosti "stare ekonomije" tek treba da se javno odredi.

Institut za tehnologiju u Masačusetsu (MIT) je razvio Radnu grupu za izradu scenarija koja pokušava da objasni ove jedinstvene napretke vezane za razvoj medija u XXI veku. Ova studija pruža veoma vredan uvid u uslove i mogućnosti kompleksnog poslovnog sveta na mreži. MIT je uspostavio dva ekstremna scenarija na granicama ovog novog poslovnog okruženja koja je nazvao Virtualne države i Mrežna ekonomija (Virtual countries and Network economy).<sup>(2)</sup>

### **Virtualne države: više ne postoje ni države ni granice**

*Virtualne države* predstavljaju globalno aktivan konglomerat – mešoviti proizvod tih globalnih, već uspostavljenih multinacionalnih poslovnih poduhvata koji se ponašaju kao esencijalan deo ekonomskog pejzaža. Interesantno je to da ove korporacije često imaju minimalnu odgovornost prema državi. One mogu da se kreću i uz pomoć svog multinacionalnog identiteta prilagođavaju kako god hoće. Iako postoje zakoni, takse i pravna ograničenja ovih entiteta, pravila koja upravljaju njima se razlikuju od normalnih procedura i tumačenja zakona koji važi za sve van ovih konglomerata. Pošto postoji drugačiji model rasuđivanja, često je lakše zaobići probleme na koje nailazi neko ko radi u normalnom sistemu.

I dalje, sudeći po MIT studiji, ove Virtualne države često veoma dobro vode računa o svojim zaposlenima. Ovo je slično feudalnom dobu, kada su oni koji su vodili računa o zemlji bili njoj lojalni pa se čak i lično vezivali za nju.<sup>(3)</sup> Na isti način i zaposleni ovih Virtualnih zemalja mogu imati osećaj zavisnosti i lojalnosti prema onome što ih izdržava i okružuje. Poređenja radi, korporacija postaje samoodrživa, skoro potuno zatvoren i samodovoljan sistem sa svojim jezikom i zakonima. Da odemo i korak dalje, možemo zamisliti da se ovaj tip kompanije širi i preuzima odgovornost nad svim ostalim delovima društvenog života zaposlenog: obrazovanje dece zaposlenih, njihov pristup zabavi, vestima itd. Zatim kompanija obezbeđuje sredstva za brigu o porođaju, obrazovanju,

zaposlenju i penziji u životu svojih zaposlenih. Na ovaj način to postaje sveobuhvatna operacija.

### **Mrežna ekonomija: nema više ni blagostanja ni hijerarhije**

*Virtualne države* su jedan ekstrem studije. Na drugom kraju spektra, MIT raspravlja o Mrežnoj ekonomiji. Ovaj model je predstavljen nezavisnim, decentralizovanim timom koji se sastoji od najviše deset članova. To je svet nezavisnih poslovnih ljudi (freelancer) i malih preduzeća: nema strukture u okviru koje se sve odvija već umesto toga postoje male centralne jedinice koje se međusobno povezuju po principu umrežavanja jedan na jedan. Životni vek ovih organizacija uglavnom zavisi od projekta: ove jedinice se mogu brzo sastati, proizvesti nešto, a onda se razići. Akcenat se postavlja na sam projekat više nego na trajnost strukture.

Jedan od primera ovog tipa *Mrežne ekonomije* je trenutna poslovna situacija u Nemačkoj<sup>(4)</sup>. Na primer, u ovom trenutku, 41% svih novih preduzeća u Nemačkoj se sastoji od jedne osobe: pojedinac jednostavno sebe proglasi kompanijom (ovo se kasnije može dobiti prefiks multinacionalna, globalna, itd.). Postoji trend koji naginje ovoj vrsti poslovnog mentaliteta i koji većinu IT poslova u Nemačkoj ostavlja izmeštenim iz ovih malih jedinica i različitim formi umrežavanja između njih.

### **Vizije za novu generaciju**

Možete imati osećaj sigurnosti da ukoliko posao koji ste sami započeli propadne, uvek možete ponovo naći posao u nekoj većoj firmi. Ali to više nije tako jednostavno. U ranijem prihvatanju ovakvog stava postojale su direktnije posledice koje su domišljato menjale celokupan poredak operacija koje su se obavljale na mreži. Citirajući nemački časopis *De:Bug*: "Sada je super – sve odluke možete donositi sami. Potrebno je malo hrabrosti, uvek se možete vratiti stalnom zaposlenju – ili smo tada barem mislili da možemo."<sup>(5)</sup>

Ovo odslikava stav onih koji žive u Nemačkoj i koji su radili za velike kompanije kao što je "Pixelpark", ali su se onda predomislili i rešili da postanu nezavisni i da *sve odluke donose samostalno*. Tada je, činilo se, uvek bilo moguće vratiti se u veću firmu; međutim, te veće firme su se vremenom raspale, a ono što je ostalo su bile pojedinačne male funkcionalne jedinice. Ekonomija je postala takva da je *zahtevala* te male jedinice, grupe nezavisnih i fleksibilnih ljudi. Preduzetnički duh nove generacije, životni stil koji je došao sa ovom promenom je čak bio poželjan.

Nepopularno je (Out) imati *plaćen odmor* i *trinaestu platu*. Penziono i zdravstveno osiguranje su stvari koje pripadaju prošlosti (čak i kada su bazirane samo na svojoj nemogućnosti). Ovakav luksuz je nepotreban u mladom, fleksibilnom svetu novih medija. Sve se radi se na minimalistički način, a takva filozofija i oslikava takve uslove:

najčešći razlozi za poslednju generaciju koja ide na posao (sigurnost, zdravstveno osiguranje, obezbeđivanje budućnosti, itd.) se često vide kao staromodni ili vredni žrtvovanja zarad obavljanja *posla koji se voli*. “Kul etiketa” kojom su obeleženi takvi poslovi omogućava onima koji ih obavljaju da se osećaju malo lagodnije u pogledu svojeg izbora. Pojedinaac se nalazi u zajednici koju čine slične osobe, ili osobe koje prihvataju slične “norme”. Očigledno postoji čudna strana žrtvovanja u svemu ovome: “In” strana je često preokupiranost. Veoma je “in” prenočiti na poslu. “In” je raditi vikendom, mesecima renovirati prostorije i dovoditi ih u radno stanje, ostajati kasno noću na poslu, raditi, ne izlaziti na pauzu za ručak, naručiti picu umesto toga.

Iskustvo armije koja se sastoji od jednog čoveka je zajedničko za radnike u ovoj Ekonomiji novih medija. To je okruženje koje zahteva skoro neograničeno znanje i razumevanje polja rada. Da upotrebim neke od zvučnih fraza iz knjige “Rukovođenje projektom” koju sam ranije pomenuo: morate znati kako *rukovoditi projektima*, imati na umu da je *klijent uvek na prvom mestu*. Morate imati dobre *komunikacione sposobnosti* i jaku sposobnost da *izdržite promenu*. Sve se neprestano kreće, raste, menja u zavisnosti od najnovijih informacija, a one stižu brzinom munje. Morate se neprestano obrazovati: it dana u dan se pojavljuju najnoviji štampači, drajveri, nova konkurencija, novi operativni sistemi, potražnja novih sposobnosti, novo sve.

Prvobitan razlog zbog kojeg ste osnovali kompaniju (recimo, vešti ste u radu na polju PHP-a npr.) postaje samo jedan deo onoga što je za ostvarenje i razvoj nekog projekta potrebno. Morate biti sposobni da stvorite i vodite tim ljudi koji mogu raditi zajedno i ostvariti zajednički cilj. Morate naći odgovarajući način da obuhvatite bezbrojne sposobnosti i veštine sa veoma ograničenim resursima i brojem ljudi.

### Realnost nove generacije

Da opet citiram *De:Bug*, “Jedna strategija opstanka stvara mikro grupe ljudi koji obavljaju posao. Nakon toga se ponovo razilazimo.”<sup>(6)</sup> Ova ideja reflektuje MIT scenario umrežavanja u okviru Mrežne ekonomije: mali timovi se sastaju, obavljaju određen posao, a onda su primorani da se kreću i traže nov projekat. U mnogim situacijama se čini da ova ideja funkcioniše, ali moramo se zapitati koliko je ovaj model umrežavanja pravedan i produktivan za same učesnike.

Postoji opasnost da se “male kompanije vezuju ugovorom i muzu na ad hoc bazi”<sup>(7)</sup>. Na primer, sa jedne strane imamo slobodu trgovine i povećanu fleksibilnost. Sa druge strane, imamo ravnodušnost i nedostatak brige svojstven procesu koji oslikava vreme industrijske revolucije. Odradite posao za pet dana, plaćeni ste za to, a onda ste napušteni kao da je projekat kome ste posvetili svoje vreme i trud mogao i bez vas. Morate pronaći način da postupate u ovim situacijama, osećajući se malo nehumano u odnosu na potrebe koje ispunjavate u društvu. Postoji osećaj anonimnosti, individualne samoće i preispitivanja svoje *stvarne slobode* jer ste sada neizvesno prepušteni na milost drugih.

Iako imate slobodu da sami sebi pravite plan rada, u određenom smislu, istovremeno radite ceo dan, svaki dan i vikendom, a na kraju niste trajni deo neke operacije većeg obima. To vas ponovo podseća na pokretnu traku gde radnik obavlja posao za koji je specijalizovan, a proizvod nastavlja svoje kretanje bez obzira na vaš doprinos. Ali ovo poređenje sa industrijskom revolucijom nije baš najbolje: pojedinac *poseduje* određena znanja i sposobnosti i on stvara nešto zasnovano na svojim ličnim sklonostima. Možda bi se trebalo vratiti još više u prošlost. Moguće je da se ovaj novi model posla bolje može uporediti raspoloženjem radnika pre industrijske revolucije. U toj situaciji, svaki radnik obavlja specijalizovan posao i na kraju dana se može desiti da se, iako ne rade na istom mestu, oni koji imaju zajedničke interese i društveno zbližavaju. Oni se makar i na ovakav način identifikuju kao grupa. Pojedinačni detalji po kojima se razlikuju njihove sposobnosti i mesto na kojem ih koriste se mogu razlikovati; međutim, postoji zajednička ‘osnova’ koja ih povezuje kao zanatlije.

“Kraj sindikata kaže da se samozaposleni organizuju u mreže, samozaposleni se organizuju po zanatima.”<sup>(8)</sup> Ovo je skoro ironično, ali se čini da je istinito. U Berlinu se na primer, svi oni koji se bave HTML programiranjem sastaju u jednom baru, dok oni koji se bave Linuxom preferiraju drugi. Ovo ponašanje je slično istorijskim modelima (pre industrijske revolucije) gde bi kamenoresci izlazili u jedan bar, dok bi stolari na primer češće odlazili u drugi. Postoji ogromna potreba za razmenom informacija i lobiranjem onih politički uticajnih ljudi koji su najbliži ideji ili poslu kojim se neko bavi. Ovakav način grupisanja se nalazi u srcu modela umrežavanja, a isto tako je i nerazdvojan deo čovečanstva. To je takođe aspekt koji se mora posmatrati i analizirati kada govorimo bilo kakvom obliku novih medija u budućnosti.

### Vrsta koja je preživela da bi stvorila novu generaciju: Digitalni zanatlija

To je koncept koji je u ranim danima modela Mrežne ekonomije razvio istraživački centar Hipermedija (Hypermedia) na Vestminster Univerzitetu u Londonu. Ričard Barbruk i Pit Šulc (Richard Barbrook, Pit Shultz) su došli na ideju veoma futurističkog, idealizovanog scenarija koji su oni nazvali “Digitalni zanatlija (Digital Artisan)”<sup>(9)</sup>. Ovo je vezano za druge ideje koje se naslanjaju na *mentalitet pre-industrijske revolucije*. Koncept se bazira na ideji po kojoj ste, pre nego što je izmišljena masovna proizvodnja, imali posao koji ste dobro poznavali, radili ga najbolje što ste mogli i bili plaćeni za taj trud. To bi bila idealna situacija. Da bi se ova ideja razradila, potrebno je uzeti “Digitalnog zanatliju” kao najmanju jedinicu: to je naziv orijentisan ka projektu, gde se grupa ljudi sastaje zbog određenog zadatka i radi samo na izvršenju tog zadatka. Pored toga, “Digitalni zanatlija” ima pravo na pristup sa pozicije koja je fokusirana na sposobnosti. Ne radi se o pukom popunjavanju praznina između mašina, već obavljanju posla kao da ste specijalizovani deo same mašine. Posao je samoodređen u smislu da pojedinac sam odlučuje o svom slobodnom vremenu – kada radi i koja je najbolja strategija za ostvarivanje datog cilja. Više ne radite monotone fabričke smene obavljajući posao za koji naizgled nije potrebna neka veština. Umesto toga, pojedinac mora biti deo grupe,

i *saraduje u okviru radnih grupa* ka ostvarenju zajedničkog cilja, koristeći svoje sposobnosti i znanje. Svako poseduje znanje iz neke oblasti koje doprinosi zajedničkom projektu. *Hijerarhijska struktura je horizontalna*. Igralište je zajedničko: svako iz grupe je neophodan da bi se zadatak obavio. Kao što je i očekivano, ovakve hijerarhijske strukture imaju kratak vek trajanja; sam proces obično izgleda tako što se grupa sastaje na određeni, kratak vremenski period, rade projekat, a zatim se ponovo razilaze i rade nešto novo.

“Digitalni zanatlija” je takođe orijentisan ka sposobnostima i umeću, što znači da o nečemu diskutujemo na kompleksnijem nivou “*post Fordizma*”. Ovo je suprotno “Fordizmu” – termin koji se odnosi na kompaniju Ford, proizvođača automobila. Kompanija Ford je uvek služila kao primer za staromodni primer modela fabrike. Ovaj stari model se bazira na pokretnoj traci: postoji jedan dugotrajan proces izgradnje, a izgradnja svakog posebnog dela zahteva odvojenu operaciju. Tu je reč o popunjavanju praznina, obavljanju onih radnji koje mašina ne može da izvede. To nema veze sa znanjem i umećem.

Kada je reč o novim medijima nailazimo na nešto drugo – post fordizam. Još uvek je prisutna ideja jedne velike mašine; međutim samu mašinu čini zajednički napor pojedinaca sa određenim znanjem i sposobnostima. To je ogromna razlika. Ljudi rade uz pomoć računara koji je univerzalna mašina, a na Internet se gleda kao na vezivno tkivo ili organizovano telo; međutim, čak i kod ove mašinski baziranih funkcija, *ljudi su odgovorni za mogućnosti računara*: zvuk, slika, štampa, programiranje teksta, itd. Ne radi se samo o popunjavanju praznina nespecifičnim radnjama, već o korišćenju nečijih sposobnosti u stvaranju same mašine.

Još jedan aspekt modela “Digitalnog zanatlije” je onaj koji se odnosi na dinamičan životni stil. U projektima baziranim na mreži, zahtevi su uvek drugačiji tako da je dinamična grupa koje se sastaju u okviru projekata takođe uvek drugačija. Potrebno je stalno menjanje, rast i korišćenje svojih sposobnosti u novim kontekstima. Postoji ideja *doživotnog učenja*, konstantnog sticanja novih znanja i informacija i učenja iz razlika i promena u svojim postavkama i projektima.

Ričard Barbruk je posebno naglasio jedan aspekt “Digitalnog zanatlije” koji odslikava uslove koji trenutno vladaju u mrežnoj ekonomiji: *klizno radno vreme*. Najvažnije od svega je da se posao završi u zadatom roku, a ne da radnik sedi u kancelariji od 9 do 5 svaki dan. Možete raditi u ponoć ili vikendom, izlaziti i piti u podne, kako god vam odgovara, sve dok do kraja nedelje grupa završi započeti posao. Ovo je pomalo idealistično, ali je lako shvatiti poentu: struktura je mnogo slobodnija.

Na više načina se čini da je istinito reći *da je digitalna revolucija ubila pokretnu traku*. Kada je Internet bio u začetku, nije postojao alat uz pomoć kojeg bi se lako konstruisao web sajt. Trebalo je biti kreativan i koristiti različite resurse kako biste bilo šta postavili na mrežu. Imali ste osećaj posebnosti u svemu tome. To je bila ogroman

napredak od modela pokretne trake i ruke robota. Odjednom je postojalo novo polje rada i interesovanja, a ljudi su imali potebu da to razumeju i nađu način da to produktivno koriste, praveći na taj način put za fleksibilnije tržište. *Fleksibilno tržište teži da ubije fabriku*.

### Pad Digitalnog zanatlije

Ove optimistične promene su ubrzo promenile smer. Činilo se da Internet ima neograničen potencijal i nije trebalo dugo pa da i drugi ljudi to uoče, obrazuju se i uključe u tržište. Konačno je postavljeno i iznureno pitanje intelektualne svojine. Ljudi su počeli da preispituju prava vlasništva i novčana pitanja. Bilo je teško razumeti kako neko može pružiti validan dokaz o vlasništvu za posao kome je doprineo. Računovodstvena strana ovih veštih nastojanja je počela da živi svojim životom, a *administrativni troškovi* (teško da je to sinonim sa “Digitalnim zanatlijom”) su ubrzo počeli da prednjače. Bilo je sve više oblasti koje je bilo potrebno pokriti. Potrebno je bilo misliti o režijskim troškovima, satnici, planiranju, finansiranju, itd.

Pored toga, *ekskluzivnost znanja* je ubrzo nestala. Više nije postojala *jedna osoba* koja je razumevala način funkcionisanja mreže. Jedno vreme ste bili jedina osoba u Londonu koja je znala kako da odradi potreban posao, a sada odjednom postoje hiljade takvih kao vi u celom svetu. Sve je postalo specijalizovano. Nije više teško naći timove ljudi u New Yorku koji odrađuju *fleš animacije i varijacije fontova*. Kursevi za multi-mediju se sada lako pronalaze: više nije teško pronaći forum za učenje principa funkcionisanja Interneta.

Što je više ljudi videlo Internet kao posao budućnosti, globalna konkurencija je bivala sve jača. Komunikacije su se proširile i tehnologija je postajala sve pristupačnija i usko-ro unajmljivanje ljudi i prihvatanje poslova više nije bilo ograničeno geografskim prostorom i ekskluzivnošću samog zanatlije. Ova bujica je na kraju i bila razlog dramatičnog sloma tržišta. Okruženje je bilo isuviše prolazno da bi se ovo održalo, a interesovanje ljudi (kao i broj ljudi koji su odjednom bili uključeni) je u velikoj meri premašio sopstvenu potražnju. Ovo je uzrokovalo slom, a onda je usledila prirodna nivelacija i promena fokusa. Ipak, Internet je danas mnogo važniji nego što je bio u vreme pred sam slom, iako su se očekivanja u pogledu novca i stila života drastično promenila.

### Ono što čini proizvod se više ne nalazi u samom proizvodu

Iako se sa Internetom i umrežavanjem promenilo sve u pogledu komunikacija i raspoloživosti posla, ljudi su još uvek fokusirani na proizvod. Proizvod još uvek čini ili poništava radnika. Proizvod demonstrira sposobnost radnika, i konačno proizvod dikтира kada su neke sposobnosti određene osobe potrebne. Čini se da se definicija proizvoda proširila kako bi uključila okruženje ili označila konturu oko stvarne jedinice koja se stvara ili prodaje. Fokus treba biti postavljen na *razvoj proizvoda*: web sajtovi, rešenja

za baze podataka, itd. Na neki način, ponovo se može napraviti poređenje sa fordizmom: vrednost radnika se procenjuje po broju sajtova ili CD-a koje je napravio, kao što se nekad gledalo na broj automobila koji napravi ili proda.

Iako neki delovi još uvek važe, teorija "Digitalnog zanatlije" ne obuhvata dovoljno toga da bi se mogla primeniti i na današnju situaciju: više nije moguće razmišljati u tako intimnim okvirima, stvari su se jednostavno isuviše razvile. Stari obrasci su dobili novo ruho: toliko se brine o proizvodu – a ne o sredstvima (zanatliji) – i potražnji i načinu na koji se izlazi u susret takvoj potražnji. Postoje izvesne oblasti oko samog proizvoda koje su od ključnog značaja za njegov uspeh.

Danas postoje timovi koji rade na razvoju konkurentskih proizvoda. Sam proizvod se razvija u mrežnom scenariju. Ovakav način proizvodnje ne odslikava ni staru ekonomiju ni model "Digitalnog zanatlije".

### Učinite da sistemi međusobno komuniciraju, kao ljudi

Proizvod se neće održati ukoliko tim koji ga je proizveo prvo nije ustanovio *standarde* i *interfejs* koji određuju taj proizvod, prostor oko srži, između modula i slojeva kernela. Slično društvenim i komunikacijskim procesima uspostavljenim u mrežama već opisanih mikro-poslova, sami paketi softvera više nisu ogromni monolitski spomenici koda, već su postali *mikro-jedinice* koje međusobno komuniciraju. Ključ uspešnog softverskog proizvoda danas je njegova otvorenost ka spoljnom svetu, lakoća sa kojom komunicira sa drugim softverom i transparentnost njegovog nacrtu za ostale koji se bave razvojem i teže da sakupe karakteristike i module koji ispunjavaju njihove potrebe.

Ovo važi za medija plejere na primer. Nullsoft uspešno proizvodi Winamp plejer. Drugi ljudi prave audio kodek<sup>(10)</sup> ili razvijaju spoljni izgled (skin) koji čine Winamp interesantnim i održivim. Umesto proizvodnje jednog audio plejera iz kojeg se sve može slušati, Nullsoft je rešio da napravi kostur koji je jasno definisan i dopušta drugima da razvijaju i dodaju svoje module. Linux je još jedan, ali primer većih proporcija. Imati standardizovane pake- te unutar kojih ljudi mogu dodatno razvijati je bitna stvar za uspeh proizvoda.

Tako da je fokus još uvek na proizvodu, ali se definicija proizvoda promenila u jednu mrežno baziranu formu. Okruženje proizvoda je u stvari pravi proizvod sada, ili njegov esencijalan element. Ne radi se više o pesmi ili CD-u, nego o području i poretku koji okružuje taj artikal, onome što ga čini održivim. Upravo to područje i poredak su postali najvažniji aspekt Internet operacija. Morate imati odgovarajuće okruženje ako želite biti uspešni. Kompatibilnost u ovim okvirima obuhvata dogovor o standardima, interfejsu i softveru. To je ono gde sada leži interesovanje, gde se donose najvažnije odluke u pogledu projekata. Projekat se sam po sebi može menjati, ali ta procedura određivanja kompatibilnosti i okruženja ostaje konstantna bez obzira na grupu ili projekat.

Oni koji su još uvek fokusirani na originalni objekat su skloni neuspehu. Moramo ubiti objekat, a zadržati proizvod, što znači da moramo shvatiti da se sama definicija proizvoda proširila. Objekat više nije proizvod; pre će biti da je proizvod ta oblast ili okruženje tog objekta.

(tekst priredila Andrea Khiott)

U kuda.org, 12. 06. 2002.

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## **Duboka Evropa i kosovski konflikt: Istorija mreže V2\_East/Syndicate i šire**

Hert Lovink

Evropska kulturna mreža i mejling lista, zajednica Sindikat (Syndicate), eksplodirala je i podelila sa na dva dela avgusta 2001. Osnovana početkom 1996. kao “post 1989” istočno-zapadna mreža razmene između umetnika novih medija, Sindikat lista je izrasla u mrežu od 500 članova iz cele Evrope i šire. Neću pokriti sve aspekte njenog petogodišnjeg postojanja. Umesto toga, razmotriću tri elementa njene istorije. Pre svega, daću pregled stvaranja mreže. Drugo, fokusiraću se na eksploziju poruka na Sindikatu za vreme kosovske krize 1999. U poslednjem delu, analiziraću propast liste, pošto Sindikat nije mogao da reši pitanje moderacije. Razvijen kao neformalna mreža umetnosti novih medija, Sindikat nije preživeo polarizaciju debata u koje je zaronio. Njegova otvorena arhitektura bila je ranjiva na izazove hakera, trolova i kvazi-automatskih botova, koji su na kraju doveli do raspada Sindikata kao društvene mreže.

Intenzitet prometa na listi – kao i argumenti i emocije koji su bili u opticaju – za vreme rata na Kosovu (mart-jul 1999) osnovna su tema ovog teksta. Debate o NATO bombardovanju Jugoslavije ispostavile su se prekretnicom za širu zajednicu umetnosti novih medija. Do tada, takve žestoke debate i takva gorčina nisu viđeni. Izveštaje uživo i debate treba posmatrati kao svetle trenutke Sindikata. Dok je na drugim mestima dotcom-a besnela pohlepa, u štampi se govorilo o Kosovu kao “prvom Internet ratu”. Bilo je vreme da se ode dalje od normalnosti i istraže krajnosti mreže. Slučaj Sindikata mogao bi se čitati kao alegorija umetnosti i politike u zalazećim “urlajućim devedesetim” koja je istovremeno otelovljavala i odražavala tehnološki intenzitet. Zajednice na mreži ne samo da odražavaju događaje nego imaju i potencijal da stvore sopstveni autopoietički sistem i izazovu događaje. Za glavne medije i njihove profesionalne kritičare, diskusione liste su skoro nevidljivi kulturni fenomen, pa ipak one igraju ključnu ulogu u životu njenih učesnika. Mnogo događaja se desi na listi koji posle postanu vidljivi i pojave se u drugačijem obliku. Priča o Sindikatu je poučna zbog mržnje koja se manifestovala u medijumu koji je prvobitno zamišljen da bude kolaborativan i demokratski. Ona nam može otkriti nešto o pojavi ekstremnih kultura, o ustanovljavanju kulture nesigurnosti i kontrole, koja deluje daleko izvan paradigme racionalnog konsenzusa.

### **Istočno-zapadni odnosi**

...Od početka do sredine 1990-tih mnogo uzbudljivih medijskih/umetničkih inicijativa poteklo je ne sa recesijom-preplavljenog Zapada već sa “divljeg” Istoka, koji se tada tek bio otvorio. Stvoriti mrežu umetnika i organizacija novih medija iz 15 zemalja na Istoku bilo bi skoro nemoguće pre 1989. Bilo je vreme da se to uradi. Ali kako bi funkcionisala ravnopravna istočno-zapadna mreža, naročito ako bi se vodila iz Zapadne Evrope? Teori-

je zavere su bujale, naročito u okruženjima preplavljenim novcem špekulanta sa Vol Strita – filantropa Džordža Sorosa.<sup>(1)</sup> Da li je postojao skriveni neo-kolonijalistički program, koji bi krenuo od umetnosti novih medija? Istočnjake je bilo teško organizovati. Iz istorijskih razloga, prednost se davala neformalnim okupljanjima nad zvaničnom retorikom sledeće ture spasa, ovog puta nazvane “novi mediji”. Postojala je neizgovorena skepsa prema razmenama koje se planiraju odgore – i prema dobrim namerama uopšte. “Zajednica” je bio zagađen koncept koji se opasno približio “komunizmu”.<sup>(2)</sup> Sa druge strane, to nije bilo vreme da se bude dogmatičan i da se odbijaju prilike. Čeznja za “normalizacijom” istočno-zapadnih odnosa decenijama je bila iskrena želja. Istočno-evropski sindikalisti suočili su se sa dilemom između samostalnog izlaska u veliki svet globalnih mreža sa rizikom da se lako izgube, i pridruživanja “cool” mreži koja će privući dovoljno uzbuđenja da zadobije kritičku brzinu da udje u drugu orbitu, oslobođena poznate geografije (i inferiornih pasoša). Poslednja stvar za kojom su čeznuli bila je udobni kolektivni identitet. Program Sindikata izgledao je dovoljno pragmatičan da bi bio vredan pokušaja, uprkos opasnosti da se ograniči na umrežavanje umetničkih birokrata.

Mreža Sindikat morala je da započne nenametljivo i da svojim učesnicima pruži korisne informacije, konkretnu pomoć i saradnju na bazi jednakosti. Izgradnja takve neformalne mreže zasnovane na poverenju nije bila tako laka. Brojne neformalne razmene dogodile su se iza scene da bi se Sindikat pokrenuo. Godine 1996. godine rat u Bosni se upravo završio, a čečenski konflikt je još trajao. Ali u većini istočno-evropskih zemalja uspostavila se neo-liberalna “reformaska” klima, podržana od strane raznih političkih snaga, od pragmatičnih post-komunista do novopečenih konzervativaca i tvrdokornih etno-nacionalista. Euforija 1989-te i očekivanja darežljivog Maršalovog plana za Istok su izbledeli. SAD i pojedinačne evropske sile, kao što su Velika Britanija, Francuska i Nemačka, nastavile su svoju poznatu kontradiktornu balkansku *realpolitiku*. Sa bezbrojnim inspirativnim novim radovima umetnika iz “regiona” u opticaju, klima u Istočnoj Evropi kretala se između opreznog optimizma i sive realnosti rastućeg siromaštva i uzajamnog nepoverenja (ako ne i etničke mržnje). Zemlje bivšeg istočnog bloka još nisu pristupile NATO-u niti EU. To su bile godine “tranzicije”, kako su evro-američki zvaničnici nazvali taj proces na tako čist i neutralan način...

### Duboka Evropa

... Tačno poreklo termina “duboka Evropa” ostaje nejasno. Moguće je da je postojalo više izvora... Za moderatorku mejling liste Inke Arns, duboka Evropa izražava “novo shvatanje Evrope, shvatanje koje nas odvraća od horizontalnog/homogenog/binarnog koncepta teritorije (npr. Istok/Zapad) i koje nas – putem vertikalnog preseka kroz teritorijalne entitete – vodi ka novom shvatanju različitih heterogenih, dubinskih, kulturnih slojeva i identita koji postoje jedan do drugog u Evropi” ...<sup>(3)</sup>

... Članovi Sindikat liste organizovali su skoro dva ili tri sastanka godišnje. Prvi sastanak

Sindikata odigrao se u Roterdamu u septembru 1996. za vreme festivala V2\_DEAF i okupio je 30 medijskih umetnika i aktivista, novinara i kuratora iz 12 istočnih i zapadnih evropskih zemalja. Usledilo je više sastanaka Sindikata, od kojih je većini prisustvovalo nekoliko desetina ljudi. Ove radionice obično su se dešavale na rubovima festivala i konferencija... Između njih, bilo je mnogo manjih sastanaka i zajedničkih projekata, prezentacija i radionica. Objavljena su tri readera, u uredništvu Inke Arns, sa najvažnijim tekstovima sa mejling liste....<sup>(4)</sup>

### NATO bombardovanje i eksplozija liste

Marta 1999. kada je počelo bombardovanje Srbije, lista je potpuno eksplodirala, sa brojnim razmenama izveštaja iz Novog Sada, Beograda i iz mnogih delova sveta... Dve nedelje pre toga, na amsterdamskoj konferenciji Next Five Minutes, ta situacija nije bila urgentna tema, iako su nezavisni medijski producenti iz Beograda, Prištine, Skoplja i drugih gradova na Balkanu bili prisutni. Mirovni pregovori u Rambujeu između NATO-a, jugoslovenskih vlasti i kosovskih Albanaca nisu doveli do sporazuma. Sa masovnim ubijanjem i oružanim otporom koji su se izmicali kontroli, Kosovo je bilo na putu da postane naredna Bosna. U slučaju Bosne, zapadnim silama trebalo je tri i po godine da ozbiljno intervenišu, nakon godina mlake diplomatije, prekinutih prekida vatre i ograničenih UN mandata. Američko bombardovanje vojnih pozicija bosanskih Srba konačno je dovelo zaraćene strane za dejtonski pregovarački sto. U slučaju Kosova, sa približavanjem proleća i zaraćenim stranama koje su se zahuktavale za novu veliku turu pomahnitalog ubijanja, NATO je odlučno preuzeo akciju, što je prouzrokovalo čitav niz posledica. “Najozbiljniji rat u Evropi od 1945.” (Michael Ignatieff) započeo je 24. marta 1999. NATO bombardovanje Jugoslavije trajalo je 78 dana, sve dok se jugoslovenska vojska nije povukla sa Kosova početkom juna 1999.<sup>(5)</sup>

Do tog događaja, Sindikat se pretvorio u jedinstveni nefiltrirani kanal građana, prelazeći geografske i političke granice, koje su se pretvorile u neprijateljske linije. Ne samo da su ga koristili ljudi odavde, već su mnogi počeli da šalju ono što su videli na televiziji ili iz svojih specifičnih perspektiva u svojoj zemlji. Razmena u toku tog perioda od dva-meseca bila je zapanjujuća i količina poruka dostizala je čak brojku od 50 dnevno. Nakon tri-četiri nedelje od početka rata, napetost je porasla između onih koji su se slagali sa strategijom NATO-a i onih koji se nisu slagali, i to je preokrenulo celu listu. Ono što je započelo kao razmena između umetnika pretvorilo se u veoma žestoku debatu na mreži o političkoj situaciji. Krajem aprila, održan je sastanak Sindikata u Budimpešti na koji su došli ljudi sa raznih mesta. Mnogo ljudi se uključilo u podršku nezavisnim medijima i medijskim umetnicima u Jugoslaviji, ali i drugde. To nije bilo samo usmereno na situaciju tamo već je bilo šire od toga. Ali, što se više konflikt razbuktao u maju i junu, lista je nekako postajala sve očajnija. Ogroman broj novih članova pristupio je listi, a da nisu imali pojma o prošlosti ove specifične virtuelne zajednice. Verovatno i nisu bili medijski umetnici, već ih je više zanimala politička situacija. Tako da se u roku od nekoliko meseci celokupna priroda virtuelne zajednice promenila i količina poruka bila je



ogromna. Zbog toga su se mnogi ljudi ispicali, jer više nisu mogli da izadju na kraj sa količinom informacija. To je sasvim sigurno dovelo Sindikat listu u jednu potpuno novu situaciju. Sa pretovarom informacija i mnogo novih učesnika, sama lista je skoro propala. U julu, avgustu i septembru 1999. situacija se nekako stabilizovala, ali lista je još uvek bila veoma aktivna. Izrasla je skoro van svojih okvira i prilično je zanimljivo videti tu iznenadnu promenu.

... Argument o nezavisnim medijima kao delu rešenja razvio se tokom tri meseca u različitim akcijama širom sveta. Međutim, oni koji su odbili potrebu da se opredele između NATO-a i onih koji su se protivili bombardovanju bili su u opasnosti da budu ignorisani, smrvljeni između dve strane. Internet filozofija globalizma nije pružila dovoljan politički program da bi mogla da deluje kao dovoljno jaka alternativa. Globalna komunikacija nije bila dovoljna. Zapadni diskurs racionalnog inženjeringa, koji pretpostavlja da ljudi mogu da razreše konflikte razgovorom (ili, još bolje, slanjem mejla), nije imao sredstvo za rešavanje oružanog konflikta ove jačine. Kada oružje progovori, pozivanje na ljudski racionalizam se obično ne čuje. Uobičajena nadmoć racionalnog diskursa je grubo odbijena, inženjeri (i ostali tehno vernici) bili su primorani da se ili opredele i učestvuju ili učute. Tehnološki program nije bio nikakav vodič u vanrednom stanju. Godine 1999. rastuća sfera Interneta nije dovoljno duboko doprla u društvo da bi mogla imati uticaj u trenutku istine. Gledajući unazad, kosovski konflikt se ispostavio kao gorka provera realnosti za članove Sindikata i Net arta uopšte, godinu dana pre nego što će dotcom preduzetnici dobiti svoju proveru.

Ubrzo nakon toga, lista je postala interesantna novoj generaciji net umetnika. Oni su koristili ono što nazivam informacionim ratnim sredstvima da šalju poruke na listu. Najpoznatija je Netochka Nezvanova, polu-automatski bot. To je neka vrsta ličnosti na mreži koja je pokušala da zaplaši mnoge učesnike, a drugi umetnici su slali mnogobrojne net i ASCII umetničke radove. Netochka Nezvanova se predstavlja kao aplikacija. Pravi termin koji se za to koristi je "trol". Nalik je na osobu koja pokušava da privuče mnogo informacija, da odvuče informaciju od diskusije koja se vodi, pokušavajući da postane centar zajednice. To je upravo ono što se desilo Sindikatu nakon 1999. Mnogi net umetnici pokušavali su da preuzmu listu i da postanu njen centar. Teško je bilo reći da li se radilo o auto-made-u ili softveru. To je neka vrsta kompjuterskog pisanja koda. Osoba tipka na uobičajen način, ali ono što se pojavljuje na ekranu liči na govor mašine. Neko može pomisliti da je prva pojava kompjuter koji izbacuje skoro nasumični kod, ali ono što zbunjuje ljude je da to zapravo ima smisao. Ono što trol pokušava da uradi jeste da vas uvuče u sebe tako što ćete pokušavati da shvatite šta je rečeno. Količina buke na listi je neizmerno rasla, a istovremeno i dalje su bili prisutni ostaci političke napetosti, koja se nagomilala tokom rata na Kosovu.

U to vreme bilo je mnogih drugih koji su bili aktivni na ovoj listi, koji su imali sopstvene načine privlačenja pažnje i pokušavanja da monopolizuju listu. Količina poruka je vodila eksploziji. Ti trolovi su se nazivali medijski ASCII ili ASCII teroristi. Nekima su

se dopadali, nekima nisu, ali u to vreme Sindikat je još uvek bio neka vrsta zajednice koja se držala svojih prvobitnih namera. Namera je bila da se izgradi most između Istočne i Zapadne Evrope, da se razmenjuju informacije, da se razmenjuju resursi, uslužni prostor, da se održavaju radionice za umetnike iz Istočne Evrope itd. Ali osnivači, u ovom slučaju Andreas Brokman (Andreas Broeckmann) i Inke Arns, koji su oboje radili van Berlina, nisu moderisali listu. Lista je bila otvorena, svako je mogao da pošalje kakvu god poruku, tako da je lista postala pretrpana i veoma bučna. Lista je, manje više, radila samo dve godine nakon kraja kosovskog rata. Ali krajem 2000. postala je toliko bučna da su se mnogi od prvobitnih učesnika, posebno iz Istočne Evrope, ispicali, i više nisu bili vidljivi. Nisu ni pokušali da se bave svom net umetnošću koja se dešavala na listi, niti su želeli da učestvuju u pitanju "Da li Sindikat treba da bude kontrolisan ili ne?". Nettime mejling lista je prošla kroz veoma bolnu diskusiju još 1997. o tome da li lista treba da bude zatvorena ili ne. Sindikat se nikada zapravo nije bavio tim pitanjem i do sredine 2001, cela zajednica se raspala.

Avgusta 2001. lista je eksplodirala u vezi sa pitanjem: Šta uraditi u vezi sa svom tom ASCII umetnošću? Treba li te ljude isključiti sa liste ili ne? Sindikat jednostavno nije mogao da reši to pitanje i lista se podelila na dva dela. Male grupe su nastavile Sindikat listu i prenele je na server u Norveškoj. A neki su pokušali da rekonstruišu zajednicu osnivanjem nove mejling liste pod nazivom Spectre (Bauk). Ova lista osnovana je avgusta 2001. To je još uvek otvorena lista, ali ima prilično striktna pravila o tome šta se može poslati, a šta se ne može raditi, kako bi se izbeglo ono što se ranije desilo. Istovremeno, mora se reći da se Spectre više ne fokusira na istočno-zapadnu Evropu. Ta lista zapravo više i nema fokus, mada pokušava da nastavi sa idejom nove medijske kulture u Evropi. Više ne održava sastanke, nema publikacija, ne bih rekao da je mrtva lista, ali sigurno nije preterano aktivna zajednica. Sindikat je bio zajednica u jednom trenutku, naročito u periodu između 1997. i 2000. To je još uvek jasan primer onoga što se može desiti zajednici u slučaju naivne medijske umetnosti koja je pokušala da vodi dijalog, da radi zajedno i stvori evropsku mrežu. Na neki način, sukobila se sa situacijom rata u Evropi, gde se kontekst umetnosti novih medija odjednom skoro nasilno otvorio ili rascepio. I povrh svega, umetnici koji apsolutno nisu zainteresovani za dijalog, zajednički rad i kulturnu razmenu, pokušavali su da monopolizuju taj kanal i upotrebe ga kao platformu za svoj rad.

### Mejling liste i web logovi

Sindikat je klasičan primer zajednice koja ne može da uspostavi konsenzus oko osnovnih pitanja: Želite li da imate otvorenu komunikaciju? Želite li da verujete u racionalnog građanina/građanku koji/a sa sobom donosi svoje političke argumente i informacije? Jer mnoge net umetnike nije interesovala debatna strana priče. Bili su zauzeti otkrivanjem načina funkcionisanja ASCII umetnosti, mejling lista i neverbalnih načina izražavanja. Te stvari su se žestoko sudarile. Sindikat je klasičan primer kako mejling liste i njihov softver dosežu svoje granice, jer ova zajednica nije mogla da dodje do konsenzusa oko

pitanja “Treba li da budemo otvorena lista gde svako može da pošalje bilo šta ili treba da imamo moderatora?” Mislim da se mnoge od ovih tenzija polako menjaju i da za celu novu generaciju umetnika i aktivista mreže ovo pitanje više nije važno. Njihova pažnja se premešta ka web logovima ili blogovima, gde tok komunikacije ne ide preko emaila nego kroz sisteme zasnovane na mreži.

Dobra strana razmene komunikacije zasnovane na mreži je to što više nemamo hronologiju i veoma sinhronizovanu komunikaciju. Ono što je moguće na mreži je neograničeno, jer mreža nam daje mogućnost da sve diskusije vodimo paralelno kroz različite tokove, što nam daje ogromnu mogućnost da idemo dalje. Jedan od prvih i najčuvenijih web logova razvijen za Linux zajednicu zove se Slashdot.org. To je web sajt koji je čuven po razvijanju novih pravila za otvoreno izdavaštvo. Slashdot daje mnogo naznaka o tome kako možemo prevazići mejling liste i njihova ograničenja. Daje mnoge mogućnosti za filtriranje. To nije tako demokratska platforma kao što biste mogli pomisliti, jer ne može svako da pošalje originalni prilog. Ali, kada se to jednom desi, svako može da pošalje svoje komentare na tu priču. Na primer, postoji priča “Kako biste započeli svoju radio stanicu?” koja ima 157 odgovora gde ljudi nude ideje i informacije, stvarajući različite pristupe toj temi.

Za razliku od mejling liste, ovde možete postaviti različite pragove za količinu poruka koje želite, ne cele već samo najznačajnije odgovore itd. Dobra strana web logova je što je sve dostupno na mreži. A to ni na koji način ne remeti inbox vašeg emaila. To je nov i potpuno drugačiji način pristupanja istom problemu koji Sindikat lista nije mogla rešiti. Nažalost, Sindikat se nikada nije suočio sa pitanjem softvera i onim što softver danas ima da ponudi. Skoro dogmatski se definisao kao glavni majordomo, mejling lista, softver, zajednica i nije mogao da razmišlja van veoma rigidnih parametara koji su bili zacrtani u tom specifičnom softveru razvijenom negde početkom 80-tih. Danas postoji mnogo načina na koji možemo rešiti ta pitanja. Ne kažem da bi se kosovski konflikt mogao rešiti sa boljim softverom. Konflikta su stvarni, ali sigurno je da postoje drugi načini zajedničkog upravljanja tokovima informacija.

Slashdot je dao interesantan doprinos stavljajući svoj softver na raspolaganje tako što se može preuzeti sa Interneta. To je veoma napredan softver koji se preporučuje samo naprednim korisnicima kompjutera. Na suprotnoj strani priče, postoji softver koji se zove “Blogger”, koji je dobar za diskusije ili forume na mreži i idealan je za početnike.

Ranije su ljudi imali svoje lične Internet stranice, a sada se sve stranice polako pretvaraju u web logove, gde ljudi i dalje postavljaju svoj lični poziv, ali istovremeno pozivaju druge da odgovore na ono što kažu. Odgovoriti je moguće instaliranjem vrste softvera koja omogućava da neko drugi postavlja svoj prilog. Taj proces se naziva otvorenim izdavaštvom. Ali, u okviru umetnosti novih medija, web logovi još uvek nisu rasprostranjeni. U našim zajednicama još uvek u velikoj meri zavisimo od komunikacije zasnovane na emailu i mejling listama. Ali, od kraja 1999. i bitke kod Sijetla (protesti aktivista

protiv Svetske trgovinske organizacije), medijski aktivisti su razvili sajt za otvoreno izdavaštvo pod nazivom Indymedia. To je klasičan oblik sistema web loga i otvorenog izdavaštva. Indymedia su postali toliko veliki i popularni da se na neki način suočavaju sa istim problemom kao i Sindikat mejling lista. Ovde pojedinac ima mogućnost da postavi šta god želi. Takođe, tu se nalaze najave i vesti sa drugih Indymedia sajtova u drugim gradovima, u zemljama po celom svetu. To je jedan od najvećih decentralizovanih alternativnih medijskih sajtova na Internetu koji se dešavao tokom dve godine. Ali interesantan aspekt Indymedia je da više nisu mogli da se bave aspektom otvorenog izdavaštva. Za razliku od Slashdota, gde ljudi i dalje šalju stotine i stotine komentara, Indymedia su skoro propali zbog količine odgovora. Pored toga, više nisu mogli da izadju na kraj sa neonacistima i anti-cionistima, ljudima koji su stalno zloupotrebljavali sajt. Stvarno je prilično interesantno da je Indymedia morala da odustane od mnogih aspekata otvorenog izdavaštva i iako još uvek nekako opstojava, više nije vidljiva. Još uvek je moguće postaviti nešto, ali te poruke više ne ulaze odmah na početnu stranicu. To je izgleda slično pitanje sa kojim se i Sindikat suočio, ali oni još uvek nisu potpuno nestali.

Važno je videti šta može da se dogodi takvim zajednicama, kakvu ulogu igra softver i gde su granice sredstava otvorene komunikacije. Ne želim da budem naročito pesimističan, jer mislim da u isto vreme ima mnogo novih uzbudljivih sredstava na raspolaganju za pristup konfliktima koji se javljaju na netu.

(Tekst nastao na osnovu predavanja održanog 21. 09. 2002. u kuda.org u Novom Sadu i odlomaka iz knjige “Moja prva recesija” Herta Lovinka)

#### Beleške:

- (1) Strahovanja od preuzimanja Istoka vođenog od strane Zapada možda su potpirile istorijske prethodnice. Uloga odvratanja pažnje koju je apstraktni ekspresionizam igrao za vreme hladnog rata i otkrivanje činjenice da je američke izložbe finansirala CIA nisu bili samo govorkanja. Članci koji rekonstruišu takve slučajeve, autora Maxa Kozloff i Eve Cockcroft, pojavili su se u *Artforumu*. Vidi takodje: Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- (2) Na primer, “aktivista” za vreme komunizma bio je član partije nižeg ranga koji je širio propagandu na poslu, špijunirao, uvek bio spreman za izdaju ako je potrebno. Stoga ne iznenadjuje činjenica da je zapadni “medijski aktivizam” na Istoku dočekan sa određenim prezirom.
- (3) Inke Arns, “Beyond the Surfaces: Media Culture versus Media Art or How we learned to love tunnel metaphors”, *Syndicate*, August 23, 1999, written for Stephen Kovats (ed.), *Media Revolution*, Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus Verlag, 1999.
- (4) The three Syndicate publications:
  1. *Reader of the V2\_East/Syndicate Meeting on Documentation and Archiving Media Art in Easter, Central and South-Eastern Europe*, colossus.v2.nl/syndicate/synr0.html.
  2. *Deep Europe: 1996 – 97 edition*. Selected txts from the V2\_East/Syndicate mailing list, Berlin, October 1997, colossus.v2.nl/syndicate/synr1.html.
  3. *Junction Skopje*, selected texts from the V2\_East/Syndicate mailing list 1997 – 98, *Syndicate*

*Publication Series 002*, Skopje, October 1998, published by SCCA Skopje, colossus.v2.nl/syndicate/synr2.html.

- (5) O pregledu kosovskog konflikta, vidi: Ivo Daadler and Michael O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly*, Washington DC: Brooking Institution Press, 2000; Wesley Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Future of Combat*, New York: Public Affairs, 2000; *The Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

## Kultura i tehnologije kontrole

Konrad Beker

Uvod u priručnik za obaveštajnu delatnost u sferi kulture: "Rečnik taktičke realnosti"

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"Šta je to?" Samjuel Mors (Samuel Morse)

Kultura nije samo izražavanje ličnih interesovanja i opredeljenja koji se realizuju u okvirima grupa u skladu sa pravilima i navikama. Ona podrazumeva i identifikovanje sa određenim sistemom vrednosti. Tradicionalni model inženjeringa kulture podrazumeva konstruisanje kulturološkog pamćenja i utvrđivanje simboličkog poretka aktiviranjem mentalnih i ideoloških prostora. Simbolički sistemi kreiraju stvarnost prenošenjem implicitnih političkih sadržaja i logike. U tu svrhu se, kao kognitivna sredstva, koriste mape sveta koje zrače aurom objektivnosti i koje ističu određeni način života. Slika sveta kao simulacije ili mape stvarnosti može biti vrlo podsticajna i upravo to je objašnjenje za investiranje u predstavu o kulturi. Od istoriografije do obrazovanja percepcija je pod uticajem mentalnih modela na osnovu kojih je formiran simbolički poredak. Edvard Bernejz (*Edward Bernays*), pionir savremene teorije o odnosima sa javnošću, tvrdi da je stav jedino po čemu se razlikuju obrazovanje i propaganda. "Obrazovanje je zagovaranje onoga u šta verujemo." Propaganda je zagovaranje onoga u šta ne verujemo." Razvoj elektronske komunikacije i digitalnih medija omogućava globalno teleprisustvo vrednosti i normi ponašanja. Ubrzavanjem protoka ubeđivačke komunikacije taj razvoj takođe pruža sve veći broj mogućnosti kontrolisanja javnog mnjenja. Informacije je sve teže razlikovati od propagande koja se definiše kao "manipulisanje simbolima koji se koriste kao sredstva za uticanje na mišljenje drugih ljudi". Ko god kontroliše metafore, kontroliše i misli.

Sveprisutni protok informacija odvija se isuviše brzo da bismo mogli sve da svarimo, a sistem vrednosti u manipulisanju ljudskom pažnjom se postiže isturanjem nekih aspekata u prvi plan da bi neki drugi ostali u senci. Sve veće usmeravanje pažnje na određeni događaj od značaja briše sve ono što se ne kreće u njegovim unapred definisanim okvirima. Manipulacija u sferi informacija se takođe ostvaruje dubokim zadiranjem nosioca određenih uticaja u polja komunikacije. Veliki poduhvati u cilju upravljanja javnim mnjenjem, podsticanja motivacije za psihološko usmeravanje i režiranja postizanja dogovora ili ostvarivanja uticaja u kreiranju politike, nisu isključivo obeležja 20. veka. U srednjem veku, na primer, nalazimo obilje dokaza o lažnoj rekonstrukciji kulture. Široku pažnju i interesovanje medija privlače nedavna otkrića o masovnosti falsifikata, lažiranja genealogije, zvaničnih dokumenata i normi. U 12. veku, naročito u Evropi, veoma mnogo su korišćena pseudoistorijska dokumenta kao instrumenti političke legitimnosti i psihološke manipulacije. Prema nekim konzervativnim procenama, većina dokumenata iz pomenutog perioda bila je lažna. U retrospektivi sve imperije bi mogle da ispadnu proizvod inženjeringa kulture. Štaviše, autori poput Martina Bernala (*Martin Bernal*), koji je napisao *Fabrikovanje Antičke Grčke*, jasno pokazuju u kojoj meri su propaganda u sferi kulture i istorijske dezinformacije prisutne u delima evropskih naučnika. Utemeljeni na rasisističkim idejama i prikrivenim političkim koncepcijama istorijski događaji su fabrikovani, a kulturni tokovi izobličavani da bi se održavala ideološka hegemonija evropske elite.

Sve veća informatizacija društva i ekonomije uzrokuje porast važnosti kulture i softvera iz sfere kulture u uticajnim psihopolitičkim strukturama. Pitanja vezana za kulturnu hegemoniju bila su od značaja i za vreme tzv. hladnog rata. Dela kao što su *Hladni rat u sferi kulture (The Cultural Cold War)* i *Kako je Amerika ukrala Avangardu (How America stole the Avant-garde)* autora Frensis Stonora Sondersa (*Frances Stonor Saunders*) i Serža Gilboa (*Serge Guilbaud*) pružaju pogled iza kulisa u mašineriju za kulturnu propagandu i predočavaju dozu ekstravagancije sa kojom je čitava misija bila izvedena. Ono što je zanimljivo je to da je bilo konkretnih pokušaja da se podrže progresivne i liberalne pozicije koje bi imale funkciju mostobrana u zaštiti od "komunističke najezde". Ako je verovati nekim savremenim istorijskim analitičkim istraživanjima, stiče se utisak da je skoro svaki veći, napredni časopis iz kulture tokom pedesetih i šezdesetih osnovala i finansirala neka tajna obaveštajna organizacija ili su, pak, ljudi iz takvih organizacija bili infiltrirani u redakcijama pomenutih časopisa. U svetlu pomenute opservacije, tvrdnja Kube na svetskoj konferenciji UNESKA u Havani 1998. godine u kojoj se kaže da je kultura "oružje 21. Veka" zvuči sasvim utemeljeno.

U vrlo opsežnoj vojnoj literaturi na temu informacionog rata, održavanje mira uz pomoć informacija opisano je kao "najčistiji oblik rata". Konstruisanje mitova, koje za cilj ima usklađivanje subjektivnih doživljaja okruženja, korišćeno je u svrhe integracije i motivacije u rešavanju konflikata. Dok "obaveštajne delatnosti" često shvatamo kao virtualnu zamenu za nasilje u informatičkom društvu, održavanje mira uz pomoć informacija i kontrolisanje psihokulturoloških parametara uticaja koji na podsvest vrše definicije u procesu posredovanja i tumačenja, smatraju se najsavremenijim oblikom rata.

## Društvo dezinformacije

Ovo je vreme procvata obaveštajnih delatnosti – i to ne samo državnih, već i privatnih. Nadzor nad masama, nadziranje podataka i obrada informacija prerasli su u obaveštajnu industriju krupnih razmera. Dok su državne obaveštajne službe zaštićene tajnošću u službi nacionalne bezbednosti, preventivne takse i ogromna novčana sredstva koja samo velike kompanije mogu da plate čuvaju pristup obaveštajnim delatnostima iz sfere ekonomije.

Kompanije, klijenti obaveštajnih službi, redovno pospešuju medijsko sjedinjavanje informacija iz sfere štampe sa odnosima koje korporacije imaju sa javnošću. Program kapitala koji je stečen kroz privatno poslovanje ima podršku trusta mozgova (think tank) koji objavljuje ideološki obojene i prikrivene programe pod maskom nezavisnog akademskog sadržaja. Za razliku od industrije ideja, u koju je uloženo milijardu dolara, ne postoje fondacije obaveštajnih službi iz sfere kulture namenjene nasleđu za budućnost, nema instituta koji bi se bavili predviđanjem i istraživanjem višedimenzionalnog potencijala eksperimentalne komunikacije među ljudima – osim na planu potrošača. Stiče se utisak da je kontrolisanje društvenog razvoja u rukama tehnokratske elite, dezinformisanih birokrata i prikriivenog, ali agresivnog lobiranja. Plan komunikacije u budućnosti pravi se iza zatvorenih vrata.

Tehnološki determinisan svet sve više oblikuje društvo, ali je demokratski potencijal sve više isključen iz javne debate. Mnoge nade koje su u početku postojele, a tiču se emancipacije u društvu koje se oslanja na razmenu informacija, zauvek su nestale. Za razliku od toga, potencijal informacionih i komunikacionih tehnologija u svrhe političkog kontrolisanja i represije kao da nema granica, pošto njihova praktična primena postaje sve "normalnija" i svakodnevno nam predočava stvarnost. Upotreba informacione tehnologije za sprečavanje građanskog protesta otvara nova vrata kontroli u sferi politike i kulture.

Do 2002. godine, otvoreno mešanje u privatnu sferu na velika vrata ulazi u vladajuće društvene tokove. Iako je 11. septembar izazvao burna previranja, ovaj pokret je nekoliko godina bio u punom zamahu. Efopol – pokret Evropske unije za sprečavanje komunikacije među državama – i uredba Ujedinjenog kraljevstva o Zakonu o ovlašćenjima u toku istrage, koji policiji daje pravo da spreči svaku komunikaciju u kojoj se koriste "javni komunikacioni sistemi", spadaju u prva pravna sredstva koja su utrla put porastu apsolutnog nadzora u društvu. Iako je 1998. godine Evropski parlament ukinuo Ešalonski sistem sprečavanja komunikacije koji je bio uspostavljen 1948. godine, on je i dalje jedan vid tajne obaveštajne delatnosti zapadnog sveta i ne spada u domen demokratske odgovornosti.

Porast upotrebe tehnologije za nadzor i kontrolisanje od koristi je ne samo zbog toga što obuhvata segmente društva koji ne uspevaju da se uklupe u ekonomiju mašinske manipulacije simbolima nego su, i na duže staze gledano, posledice društvene homogenizaci-

je uz pomoć tehnologije upravljanja i kontrolisanja izuzetno poželjne za razvoj globalizovanog tržišta i upravljanja mišljenjem.

### Kultura budućnosti

Situacija postaje potencijalno opasnija s obzirom na činjenicu da novim medijima sve više dominira dramatična koncentracija kapitala privatnog interesa, kao i odsustvo zaštite javnog interesa od strane političkih predstavnika društvene zajednice u celini. Javna sfera se može najbolje razvijati nezavisno od države i dominantnih poslovnih interesa. Logika iza kontrole medijskog tržišta snažno se protivi negovanju i formiranju javne sfere, a disfunkcionalnost medijskog tržišta proizvodi ključni nedostatak sudelujuće medijske kulture. Društvo oblikovano tehnološkim sistemima i digitalnom komunikacijom trebalo bi da zadrži stanovište u kojem se sloboda u sferi kulture može aktivno koristiti, a upotreba i vrednosti nisu isključivo podređene profitu. Zbog toga je, čini se, potrebno proširiti osnovu razumevanja, podržati široku diskusiju o političkim implikacijama informacione i komunikacione tehnologije i podići nivo svesti o spornim pitanjima. Potrebno je sa velikom pažnjom nadzirati događaje koji se tiču napada na privatnost i baze podataka, digitalne diskriminacije, ovisnosti o Internetu i pogoršanja uslova na radnom mestu, nestanaka javne sfere u digitalnom svetu, proširenja autorskog prava koje donosi korist industriji sadržaja i IP lobiju i koje je protiv javnog interesa, ustanovljavanja jednostranih tehnoloških standarda, militarizovanja sajberspejsa i novih mogućnosti za širenje dezinformacija.

U svetlu ovih prilično neohrabrujućih činjenica, postoji iznenađujuće veliki broj primera emancipovane upotrebe informacione i komunikacione tehnologije koja se može naći širom sveta i koja je nesumnjivo postala osnovno oruđe u rukama aktivista za ljudska prava i prava u sferi politike i kulture. Te grupe i pojedinci održavaju duh društvene upotrebe komunikacionih mreža i daju primer opunomoćenja putem nove tehnologije.

### Rečnik taktičke stvarnosti:

Dvosmislene informacije  
 Uslužna relevantnost  
 Modeli ponašanja  
 Mreže verovanja  
 Prinudni kontinuum  
 Kognitivno ukrupljivanje  
 Stalne iluzije  
 Šeme kontrolisanja  
 Korporativna obaveštajna delatnost  
 Kritički hedonizam  
 Kontraobaveštajna delatnost u sferi kulture  
 Obaveštajna delatnost u sferi kulture  
 Obaveštajna delatnost za upravljanje i kontrolu sajber zavera

Obmanjivačka komunikacija  
 Obmanjivačka obaveštajna delatnost  
 Dekognitivna obuka  
 Digitalna ekologija  
 Digitalna ljudska prava  
 Dimenzionalno ukalupljivanje  
 Nacija iz snova  
 Električna osećanja  
 Ugrađene komande  
 Prošireni e-skapizam  
 Ekspertske sistemi  
 Primoravanje na objašnjenja  
 Klimava logika  
 Nasleđe za budućnost  
 Hiperpolitika  
 Hipertopologija  
 Indukcioni kodovi  
 Napad infotela  
 Modulacija biološke reakcije infotela  
 Inteligentni Pandemonijum  
 Nevidljiva obaveštajna delatnost  
 Predstave znanja  
 Levijatanski supersistemi  
 Magnetsko mesečarenje  
 Mekverovanje  
 Manipulativni modeli  
 Robovi pamćenja  
 Konstruisanje pamćenja  
 Stanja pamćenja  
 Hipnotisani podaci  
 Mikrotalasna diskomunikacija  
 Modifikacija uma  
 Modeli uma  
 Uvrežene slike  
 Nesmrtonosna akcija  
 Otkrivanje modela  
 Prepoznavanje modela  
 Upravljanje opažanjem  
 Opažajna očekivanja  
 Ubeđivački uticaj  
 Ubeđivačka internalizacija  
 Projekat propagandnog pogona  
 Psihotronička simulacija

Inženjering stvarnosti  
 Čulno-lingvistički programi infiltracije  
 Društveni stajling  
 Provera pravopisa  
 Državna kontrola  
 Stukturalna obmana  
 Simbolički poredak  
 Sinhronijski Izopraksis  
 Sintetički kultovi  
 Sintetički svetovi  
 Taktička istina  
 Taktički sinrealizam  
 Teleprisutna zarazna stanja  
 Veliki, aktivni i živi sistem obaveštajne delatnosti  
 Virtuelna patrola  
 "Ko je Ko" anonimnost

## Izvodi iz knjige "Rečnik taktičke stvarnosti"

### Manipulativni modeli

Glavne potkategorije propagande su komandna propaganda, koja zahteva određen i brz odgovor (kupi, uradi, glasaj, pridruži se, bori se), i subpropaganda ili propaganda uslovljavanja, koja ima za cilj oblikovanje javnog mišljenja, pretpostavki i stavova na jednoj du-goročnoj i širokoj osnovi. Osnovni manipulativni modeli društvenopolitičke grupe "Cause" mogu se opisati putem modela: pretnja, povezivanje, uzrok, reakcija. Modeli društvenopolitičkog ubeđivanja su slični potrošačko-marketinškim kampanjama: osnovni model komercijalnog reklamiranja je jednostavna formula u pet koraka kako doći do vrha: skrenuti pažnju, izgraditi poverenje, podstaći želju, naglasiti hitnost, tražiti reakciju.

Tehnike za ubeđivanje su sistematski napor da se ubedi grupa ljudi da podrži ili prihva-ti određeni proizvod, mišljenje, stav ili smer, ali i pokušaj da se na stavove utiče upotrebom simbola, a ne sile. Konstantno u svakoj komunikaciji, verbalnoj ili neverbalnoj, neki as-pekti su pojačani, a neki umanjeni. Manipulacija se snažno zasniva na intenziviranju infor-macionih elemenata ponavljanjem, asocijacijom i kompozicijom, i na umanjivanju značaja izostavljanjem, odvracanjem ili zbunjivanjem. U analizi ubeđivanja možemo izdvojiti nekoliko modela modifikacije ponašanja i tehnika uticaja, a svest o ovim modelima pomaže pri analizi složenih emocionalnih argumenata, iako ne obaveštava o pouzdanos-ti priloženih dokaza. Programi društvenog uticaja teže da u ciljnoj grupi izazovu poslušnost sa što manje razmišljanja. Impuls za akciju dolazi direktno iz dubina nesvesnog, a upotre-ba dubinskog ubeđivanja je instrument koji postiže ovaj efekat. Transformacija jezika kao instrumenta uma u simbole koji direktno izazivaju osećanja i reflekse, gde reči posta-

ju "čisti zvuk", namerno je devalviranje misli kao osnovnog uslova za društvenu organi-zaciju, što izaziva ozbiljne poremećaje asocijativnih procesa. Jedan od najintrigantnijih uticaja izvan naše svesti je nesvesna psihodinamička aktivacija. Prosti efekat izlaganja jedva marginalnog opažajnog stimulusa, još poznatog kao podsvesno perceptivno usmera-vanje, efekat je na naš izbor prilikom odabira kratko prikazane slike u testu. Tome ide u prilog i što varijacije prostog efekta izlaganju aktiviraju emotivne centre u mozgu, bez svesti o tome.

### Digitalna ljudska prava

Digitalna ljudska prava su proširenje i usvajanje univerzalnih ljudskih parava u skladu sa potrebama društva zasnovanog na informacionoj tehnologiji. Informaciono društvo sve više koristi napredne informacione i komunikacione tehnologije koje su vojnog porekla. Ova sredstva su proširena na tehnologiju nesmrtonosnog oružja i mogu se lako zlo-upotrebiti u rukama vlada ili korporacija i koristiti protiv interesa opštve javnosti na vrlo opasan način. Nove strukture moći se pojavljuju, sa potencijalom da dominiraju onima kojima nedostaju sposobnosti ili pristup sredstvima komunikacije. Zbog toga će ostvare-nje digitalnih ljudskih prava omogućiti da svaki čovek može da učestvuje u ovom medi-ju i da koristi njegov potencijal slobodno i bez ograničenja.

Digitalna ljudska prava se zasnivaju na shvatanju komunikacije kao pokretača civilizaci-je i osnove za individualnost, kao i za društvo. Osnovna ljudska prava uključuju pravo na pristup elektronskom domenu, pravo na slobodu izražavanja i onlajn povezivanja i prava na privatnost. Digitalna podela između onih koji imaju pristup novim kanalima elektronske komunikacije i onih koji to nemaju, narušava prava na obrazovanje i veš-tine u novim tehnologijama infosfere i pravo na osnovni nivo informacija putem državnih institucija i servis provajdera.

Slobodno onlajn izražavanje neće biti ograničeno direktnim i indirektnim metodama, kao što su cenzura ili restriktivne vladine ili privatne kontrole nad hardverom i softverom, telekomunikacionom infrastrukturom ili drugim osnovnim komponentama elektronskih mreža. Pravo na privatnost, anonimnost i sigurnost uključuje zaštitu od proizvoljnog praćenja bilo sadržaja bilo onlajn povezivanja, kao i pravo izbora tehnologije za privat-nost, npr. kriptografije, da bi se zaštitila komunikacija. Napori koji vode razvoju komu-nikacione infrastrukture za nadzor, individualizovani korisnički profili, otkrivanje trago-va podataka ili presretanje onlajn komunikacije u cilju nadzora ili u marketinške svrhe, predstavljaju kršenje ovog prava.

## **Bio-otpor: o problemima biotehnologije, kloniranja i genetskog inženjeringa**

Stiv Kurc, Critical Art Ensemble

Počecemo sa dve stvari o kojima bi trebalo razmišljati kada govorimo o međusobnoj isprepletenosti informacionih i komunikacionih tehnologija i restrukturiranja tela tj. onoga što bi to moglo nama da znači i što nam zasigurno već znači, posebno u Zapadnoj Evropi i Severnoj Americi. Prva stvar je način sagledavanja teorijskog aspekta ove teme, tj. pretpostavljanje principa efikasnosti i racionalizacije vezanih za kapitalističku ekonomiju. To je uvek bilo pitanje pritiska i jedna od stvari koje bi ova specifična politička ekonomija težila da ispuni, ne samo u smislu opštih sila proizvodnje, nego posebno u smislu stvaranja radne snage. Kako će radna snaga delati i kako će ispuniti prateće radne aktivnosti? Oni kojima je poznat klasični marksizam znaju za princip povećanja intenziteta rada. To je jedan od najjednostavnijih načina za prikupljanje profita. On je ukorenjen u samom stvaranju i strukturiranju tela. Kako naterati nekoga da radi više, duže i intenzivnije unutar zadatog vremenskog perioda?

Toliko mnogo tehnologija danas, bilo da je informaciono-komunikaciona tehnologija u pitanju bilo pak biotehnologija, stvara neku vrstu virtuelnog okruženja u kojem se dešava proces re-kreiranja i restrukturiranja tela. Mesto gde smo počeli razmišljati o ovoj temi je koncept kiborga (cyborg), koji je nejasan i često pogrešno tumačen, smeštan u posebnu kategoriju koja nije odgovarajuća. Teorijski gledano, kiborg predstavlja međusobnu povezanost i zavisnost tela i tehnologije na bilo koji način. Obično postoji neka vrsta implanta koji stvara interakciju između tela i same tehnologije. Počeli smo sa podelom kiborga na dva uopštena tipa: kiborzi prvog i kiborzi drugog reda. Kiborzi drugog reda su oni koji su kratkog veka tj. nastaju kada se tehnologija na neki način koristi da konstruiše telo ili da ga normalizuje. To su npr. medicinske tehnologije koje vraćaju telo u normalan režim rada, uspostavljajući važeće norme. Prema tome ne gajimo prevelike simpatije, jer to ne stvara novu klasu kiborga, nego održava klasu tela, pre-kiborga. Ako stvari posmatramo na taj način, vidimo da to uopšte nije "kiborški" i upravo zbog toga izdvajamo kiborge prvog reda, gde dolazi do veoma različitih faza interakcije između tela i tehnologije na raznim nivoima. Počeli smo sa poslovnim kiborgom, odnosno kiborgom rada. Viđam ih kako sve vreme rade za svojim kompjuterom, sa telefonom u jednoj i mišem kompjutera u drugoj ruci, ali oni nisu kiborzi najvišeg reda. Postoji neka vrsta produžetka tela koja je tu da ih učini moćnijim nego što sami zaista i jesu. To je Mekluanova (Marshall McLuhan) definicija – telefon smanjuje udaljenost i omogućava telu da pređe određene razdaljine. To bi isto tako mogla biti i web kamera u smislu kompresije razdaljine. Tehnologija osposobljava telo da radi efikasnije, počevši od tastature, računara i najjednostavnijeg kreiranja tekstualnih dokumenata, pa do mnogo kompleksnijih nivoa povezujući telo što više sa tehnologijom. Tu počinje prvi red kiborga, a veza je neraskidiva zbog čega i imamo određene nivoe. Ne možete tek tako

ostaviti vaš telefon i lap top kod kuće i otići na odmor, osloboditi se na izvestan način kiborg-iskustva makar i na kratko. Ono je i dalje u i oko vas, nasuprot stvarima kao što su implantirani GPS čipovi koji mogu biti stavljani u decu kako bi njihovi roditelji uvek znali gde im se dete nalazi. Ove primere takođe možemo iskoristiti kao ilustraciju, i tu zapravo počinje viši nivo, prostor postaje nejasna kategorija, prostori se stapaju, i što se kiborga tiče, radni prostor može nastati bilo gde. Možete sedeti u kafeu i razgovarati sa prijateljem, ali u trenutku kada telefon zazvoni osoba koja je do malopre bila u “prijateljsko-ljudskom” modalitetu prelazi u modalitet “radni kiborg”. Promena je momentalna i prizvana je samom tehnologijom. Sama činjenica posedovanja tehnologije uzrokuje ovaj način njenog manifestovanja. Zatim mozete ići i korak dalje, što je u ovom trenutku i “ultimativna” tehnologija. Nasuprot poslovnom sistemu/osobi imamo sistem naoružanja koji je poprilično uznapredovao u ovom trenutku. Oni koji su gledali prenos bombardovanja Iraka videli su američko naoružanje. Više ne postoji odnos prema vojniku na bojnopolju – oni su potpuno ogoljeni, bez ikakvih atributa čovečnosti, oni su sistem koji je potrebno premestiti na jedan niži nivo. Postoje mali podsistemi oružja i oni mogu biti zaista mali. Od onih u kojima vojnik komunicira sa integrisanim sistemom naoružanja i pronalaženja mete pa sve do izuzetno prefinjenih sistema kao što su različite vrste autopilota koji prate psihološke reakcije pilota u borbenom okruženju i u slučaju da pilot pokaže znake koji ukazuju na moguću psihozu ili uznemirenost, koja je iznad granice dozvoljenog, kontrolu preuzima autopilot kako vojnik ne bi ugrozio misiju. Ovde dolazimo do najvišeg nivoa kiborga.

Toliko toga pozitivnog i utopijskog je rečeno o mitologiji kiborga. Međutim, kada je ona stavljena u okvir kapitalizma, jer se brine o još nečemu osim o efikasnosti i pukom izvršavanju posla, činilo se da ljudski element koji bi mogao biti od moguće koristi u tehnološko-telesnoj interakciji, nestaje velikom brzinom. Čini se da nema dovoljno sredstava za finansiranje utopijskih projekata, posebno u najkompleksnijim društvima odakle sva sredstva i dolaze. Unapred je određeno, od strane onih koji su donatori, koje istraživanje će se finansirati. Ne postoji slobodna oblast istraživanja koja bi služila za iznalaženje drugih mogućnosti. Velika kontradiktornost leži u tome što tehnologija kiborga prvog reda napreduje mnogo brže nego što telo može prihvatiti. Ako se vratimo malo unazad i razmislimo, u evolucionom smislu, mi smo stvoreni da budemo veoma spora bića. Nije predviđeno da prelazimo velike razdaljine i da radimo pod tako žestokim tempom. To za nas nije normalno. Kapitalizam dostiže tačku krize kada organska platforma nije sposobna da održi tehnološku superstrukturu koja se nad njom nadvila. Svi vidimo te neobične “bodlje” u obliku raznih fizioloških i mentalnih oboljenja. To nije samo slučaj sa Amerikom. Na primer, u Nemačkoj je stopa rasta psihijatrijskih oboljenja u proteklih deset godina povećana za otprilike 500%, od 1993. godine kada je Internet lansiran. To je veoma zanimljiva korelacija. Isto tako se povećao broj prepisanih antidepresanata. Zadatak biotehnologije danas je da dobije na vremenu i da otkrije koje vrste lekova mogu održati infrastrukturu tela, dok se ne otkrije kako pomeriti granice normalnog. To je u stvari prava kriza današnjice: kako “popraviti” naše telo? Ratna mašinerija je potpuno razvijena, mašinerija nadzora je potpuno razvijena i radna mašinerija je

potpuno razvijena. Nismo ni pretpostavljali da će situacija biti još gora. Još 1993. dok sam posmatrao stopu rada u Japanu, prosek im je bio malo veći od 50 sati nedeljno, mislio sam da je tu kraj, da ne može biti više od toga. Amerika je nedavno nadvisila ovu stopu sa prosekom od skoro 66 sati nedeljno što znači da neki ljudi rade i više od toga. A to je samo prosek. U takvim uslovima niko ne može raditi toliko dugo. Taj nivo produkcije je ipak previsok. Postoje neki primeri koji pokušavaju da to promene, i od strane Japana i od strane SAD-a. Pokušalo se sa kombinovanjem zabave, odnosno okruženja zabave i okruženja posla, kako bi se stvorila neka vrsta relaksacije u toku radnog vremena. Zamka je naravno u tome što provodite više vremena na poslu: dolazite ranije da bi ste otišli do teretane i ostajete kasnije iz bilo kog razloga, da igrate igrice itd. U isto vreme ste uvučeni i potpuno izmešani sa radnim, tehno okruženjem. To nije dalo najbolje rezultate. Posebno ako pogledamo do koje mere lekovi koji održavaju telo radno sposobnim uspevaju u tome, a pri tome ne mislim na ljude izložene dodatnom stresu u bolnici ili institucijama za mentalno oboleme, već na ljude koji obavljaju svakodnevnne obične poslove, a koji su pod velikom količinom stresa. Fiziološki gledano, stopa upotrebe lekova se takođe povećala. Uzmimo na primer kortizon koji pomaže u raznim slučajevima problema sa mišićima, koji su postali simptomatični za tehnokratske i birokratske vrste poslova. To je opet pokazatelj kolapsa jednog od elemenata kiborga.

Postavlja se pitanje šta učiniti? Šta da radimo? Upravo je zbog ovoga poslednjih godina razvoj telesne mašinerije postao rastuća grana industrije koja za sobom ostavlja informacione i komunikacione tehnologije. Najbrže se razvija biotehnologija – kako poboljšati platformu (telo) da ne bi došlo do kolapsa. Evidentno je da će lekovi pomagati do izvesne granice, različite vrste fizioterapije isto tako, ali će posle toga ipak doći do kolapsa kiborga. Više nećete moći kucati na tastaturi i tu je kraj – više nikada nećete kucati. Oštećenje mišića i hrskavice će biti tako ozbiljno da se neće moći popraviti. U skladu s tim, dolazi do povratka starom konceptu eugenike iz 20. veka. I tu mi stupamo na scenu identifikujući ovu krizu, uviđajući da je sve ostalo manje-više privedeno kraju. Naravno da će biti napretka u ICT-u, ali neće biti tako temeljnih promena kao u proteklih deset godina. ICT u stvari predstavlja centralizovanu vrstu tehnologije koja je odmah i direktno uticala na relativno mali deo populacije, sve do danas kad skoro svako ima lični kompjuter u okviru složene ekonomije, a to se sve više širi prema ostalim nacijama.

Ono što nas je dovelo do ovoga, i pored cele teorije o kiborgu i krizi koju telo doživljava u tehno okruženju, jeste jedna sasvim lična stvar. Bio sam na konferenciji u Kanadi i na pauzi za ručak krenuo sam sa ženom koja me u jednom trenutku pitala da li želim da vidim fotografije njenog deteta. Naravno da sam pristao i ona mi je pokazala sliku dečaka tri godine starog. A onda me je pitala da li hoću da vidim njeno dete u stadijumu od osam ćelija? Izvadila je iz novčanika sliku, mikro-snimak nečega što će biti njeno dete u fazi deobe na osam ćelija, neposredno pre nego što će biti implantirano u njenu matericu. Tada sam pomislio kako se u ovom trenutku nešto sasvim drugačije dešava – novi nivo reprezentacije, novi nivo konstruisanja tela. Umesto jednostavnog očekivanja da će tehnologija ili različiti lekovi pomoći njegovom kreiranju, ispostavilo se da je



moguće učiniti nešto drugo. To nešto je bio povratak na model nastajanja koji bi mogli da kontrolišemo od molekularnog nivoa pa na više. Razlozi velike krize, u smislu primene i preispitivanja ideologije, oduvek su bili u tome što se nije uspevalo dospeti do same srži. Sa jedne strane, tu ogromnu mašineriju nadzora činio je sistem nadgledanja, osećanje da vas neko posmatra i stalno preispitivanje koje je proizilazilo iz toga – veliki brat vas posmatra. Sa druge strane imamo oblik virtualnog paketa koji je započeo Gi Debor (Guy Debord) kada je govorio o “Društvu spektakla”, toj baražnoj paljbi slika koje su sve vreme oko nas, od kojih ne možemo pobeći i koje govore na određen način o postojanju u ovom svetu. Nemoguće je odupreti im se, jer se ne može izbeći taj oblik prezentacije.

Dakle, kako ići dalje? Očigledno je da ako želite bilateralno preispitivanje ideologije više nego unilateralno i ako se predodređenost može otkriti na nivou molekula, da bi to u velikoj meri pomoglo ubrzanje i intenziviranje preispitivanja ideologije, pogotovo onih njenih delova koji bi bili od koristi kapitalističkim sistemima. To nije ništa novo. Ova ideja postoji još od kasnog XIX veka, posebno u Engleskoj i SAD. Počeli su sa njenom razradom oko 1920, tako da su i ostale evropske zemlje počele time da se bave, Nemci posebno. Oni su veoma spori kada je reč o nekim stvarima, ali kada ih se jednom dočepaju daju sve od sebe. Ono što je ubrzo postalo vrlo jasno je to da su znali šta je potrebno učiniti, ali nisu imali mehanizam ni naučno razumevanje potrebno za takav poduhvat. Ono što su oni uradili jeste neverovatno surova primena agrarnih tehnika i uzgoja životinja. To baš i nije dobar način pokušaja rekonstrukcije tela kada manje-više možete računati sa stopom i tipom promena koje nastaju. Faktor pouzdanosti je veoma nizak. Takođe je potrebno i dosta vremena. Prikupljanje tog potrebnog vremena trajalo bi vekovima. Sa jedne strane, sterilizacija, abortusi, u najgorem slučaju genocid ili sa druge strane, pozitivna eugenika (rasna higijena) i podsticanje onih koji imaju predispozicije koje bi kapitalisti reprodukovali. To jednostavno nije moglo funkcionisati, zbog potreba većine u Zapadnoj Evropi i SAD koja je htela da se distancira od holokausta i ostalih genocidnih surovosti u vezi sa eugenikom.

Mašinerija tela (The Flesh Machine) je na trenutak stala. Svi su prešli na ekonomiju informacija. Ali mašinerija tela se lagano vratila, jer je informaciona ekonomija potpuno spoznala sebe upravo zbog krize tela, zbog krize radne snage kao proizvodne sile. Ovo nas vodi do jednog interesantnog mesta gde ideja militarizovanog upravljanja telom nije prihvaćena i gde su rane teorije na ovu temu došle od strane jednog od eugeničara, Fredericka Osborna (Frederick Osborne), koji je veoma rano polemisao da ideja militarizacije bilo kakve vrste genetskog istraživanja nije dobra. To bi, po njemu, trebalo raditi dobrovoljno, a vi se sada pitate ko bi na to pristao. Njegova ideja je bila da će post-radničko formiranje društva samo vršiti pritisak na ljude da dobrovoljno pristaju na to. Ne bi ni bili svesni na šta pristaju, ali bi to i dalje činili. Razlog leži u tome, kako on kaže, što su se posle II svetskog rata javile dve stvari. Prva je kolaps proširene porodice i uspon nuklearne porodice. Reprodukcijska nuklearna porodica postaje sve važnija, neće više biti potrebno da imate gomilu dece i neće biti bitno to ako je jedno lekar što je drugo

potpuno retardirano. Stvari će teći svojim tokom, jer će te se za to pobrinuti kvantitetom, radije nego osiguranjem “kvaliteta”. Ako ljudi misle o tome da postoji konačan (određen) interes da se stekne što više putem nadmetanja, to je ono što kapitalizam želi i to je u stvari njegov mehanizam. To je i motivacija za njegove radnike. I ako to osećanje spojite sa potrebom za održanjem klasne pozicije i prestiža, ne možete pogrešiti u smislu reprodukcije. Takođe, ako postoji ekonomija ispunjavanja želja koja će pružiti usluge koje su u potražnji, kao što je stabilizacija faktora pouzdanosti kod reprodukcije, imate proizvod koji će se prodavati. I na taj proizvod se neće gledati kao na nešto loše – on će jednostavno biti nov medicinski proizvod među mnoštvom drugih koji su tu da bi pomogli čoveku da bi došao do onoga što želi. Ovo je bilo prilično pronicljivo i Ozborn je, u većem delu onoga što je tvrdio bio u pravu. To je delimično zbog preokreta koji se desio unutar ključnih institucija, a koji ljude vodi do mesta do kojih sami inače ne bi nikada otišli. Javlja se potraga za boljim genetskim proizvodom. Smešna strana ovoga je to da, na primer, možete otići u banku sperme i kupiti spermum nobelovca, ali vam to ne garantuje da će vam dete biti nadprosečne inteligencije. Još uvek ne postoji ta vrsta korelacije. Podjednako dobro bi ste prošli i da nasumično odaberete spermum. Ali, ono što je bitno je to da postoji priprema eugeničke svesti i lagano postavljanje temelja tržišta, da stvaranje želje za veštački strukturiranom oplodnjom počinje samu sebe da kreira. Javlja se jedna čudna stvar, nešto potpuno drugačije od prvog talasa. Zamorčići u ovom eksperimentu su ljudi iz bogatog sloja društva i ne samo da oni dobrovoljno pristaju na ove eksperimente nego i plaćaju za njih. Ono što se dešava na polju pronalazanja novih tehnika oplodnje je to da su one dosta skupe. U SAD minimalna cena je oko 10.000\$ po pokušaju i to je moguće izvesti samo na najboljim klinikama. Stopa uspešnosti je 30% pod najboljim uslovima. Možda na nekim ekskluzivnim klinikama dostiže 38% ali su ti podaci uglavnom veštački napumpani, jer takve klinike biraju samo one pojedince kod kojih su prilično sigurni u uspešnost. Kada pratite statističke podatke, treba ih uzimati sa rezervom, jer postoje razne vrste vešto napravljenih stopa uspešnosti u zavisnosti od populacije sa kojom se radi.

U kuda.org, 17. 04. 2003.

## **Postanimo deca!**

### **Obuka, simulacije i deca**

Kristian Lukić

Bilo je puno teorija i analiza u vezi sa aktuelnim ratom protiv terorizma, i rasprava o ratu protiv suverenih država, smanjenju ljudskih prava, nesigurnosti i mnogim drugim pitanjima. Tokom ratovanja, "normalno" je da državna bezbednost praktikuje cenzuru i da je na neki način medijska i novinarska sloboda umanjena. Takođe, javni mediji primaju informacije na konferencijama za štampu vojske i njenih portparola, potpuno neobjektivne i pretenciozne. Ratna propaganda nije ništa novo. Još od davnih ratovanja do danas, propaganda služi potrebi da se ojačaju borbene linije, da se ohrabre ratnici i ljudi, te da se demorališu neprijateljske snage. A sa usponom nacionalnih država, ideološki elemenat postaje važan u vremenu velikih nacionalnih mobilizacija.

Interesantno je primetiti kako se određena ratna propaganda danas materijalizuje, kroz koji medij, kao i na koga cilja. U današnjem globalizovanom, mrežnom kapitalizmu, kada tautologija "sve je povezano sa svim" pokušava da relativizuje bilo koju vrstu dubokog istraživanja i praćenja, važno je bolje se usredsrediti i čitati između redova.

### **Priča**

U oblasti kniževnosti, Hari Kunzru je u eseju "S one strane dobra i zla" (Beyond Good and Evil)<sup>(1)</sup>, pisao o vezi između procvata fantastične literature i rata protiv terorizma (pisao je o serijalu knjiga JK Raulinga "Hari Poter" (JK Rowling's Harry Potter), o oživljavanju popularnosti Tolkinovog "Gospodara prstenova" (Lord of the Rings) i o manje poznatoj knjizi Filipa Pulmana "Njegovi mračni materijali" (Philip Pullman's His Dark Materials). Na primer, oživljavanje popularnosti Tolkinovog "Gospodara prstenova" dešava se posle trideset godina, odnosno vremena kada je bio popularan u kontrakulturi šezdesetih sa svojim jednostavnim etičko-političkim kategorijama. Nihilizam Saurona, zagađivanje teške industrije od strane Sarumana, grozničava produktivnost, a otuđene azijske horde su analogne zloj dehumanizovanoj industriji, sa druge strane, lako je prepoznati Šajer (Shire) kao organsku pastoralnu zajednicu pod pretnjom. Kunzru naglašava "potpuno ukidanje spekulativnih fantazija, metalna glava pod zemljom". On objašnjava da ovaj procvat fantastične kniževnosti, alternativnih reči i vizionarske romantike crpi svoju energiju iz savremene potrebe za moralnom čistotom u situacijama jasno traženog konflikta

Bušova fraza "osa zla" slična je onima iz II svetskog rata. Bler takođe tvrdi da više nema moralnih nejasnoća u današnjem "ratu protiv terorizma". Takoreći, ne možemo se baviti time da li je naša odluka ispravna ako smo apsolutno odlučni da porazimo neprijatel-

ja. Teroristi Bin Laden, Sadam Husein, Orci (Orcs), Voldemort (Waldemort), Azbakan (Azbakhan)... sve je to isto. U "Hari Poteru" zli mađioničar Valdemort, opsednut čistoćom krvi, želi da uništi "mešance". Na strani dobrog je Dumbldor (Dumbledore), čarobnjak koji je za demokratske principe, interkulturni dijalog, protiv smrtne kazne i represivnih metoda. Fanatičnost koja karakteriše Valdemorta i njegove sledbenike, sa druge strane, odgovara čestim predrasudama o Islamu kao religiji isključivanja i radikalno religiozne fanatičnosti.

Filmska industrija već jedan vek snažno je psiho-ideološko oružje države koja često koristi sofisticirane metode u oblikovanju određenih ideoloških okvira. "Gospodar prstenova" i "Hari Poter" obaraju rekorde prodaje sa stotinama miliona dolara samo od bioskopske distribucije, ali tu su i DVD distribucija kao i drugi načini reklamiranja. Finansijska komponenta ovih filmova je sumnjiva. Oni su izuzetno dugi (na primer "Gospodar prstenova" treći deo traje 3 sata i 40 minuta), oni su, na neki način, velike savremene priče, sage poput Wagnerovih opera koje ponekad traju, takođe, više od nekoliko sati.

Sadržinski, interesantno je da je zlo prikazano sa velikom energijom i opsesijom. Izuzetno moćno i brutalno. U vezi sa traumom 11. septembra, lavina fantastične književnosti i filmova doveli su teme do duboke egzistencijalne zabrinutosti: Mi ili oni? U trilogiji "Gospodar prstenova" zli neprijatelj je pročišćen i može se reći da je zlo u ovim vizuelizacijama tako potpuno u svakom smislu i tako opisano da ne možemo komunicirati sa njim. Pripovedačka logika nam ne dopušta da se približimo silama zla. Zlo je verovatno na neki način i transcendentno, takvo da ga ne možemo doživeti, niti realno posmatrati i razumeti. Zlo je toliko snažno i sveprisutno da je nemoguće zaustaviti ga i uništiti. Nemoguće ga je posmatrati sa racionalnom logikom.

Nešto slično desilo se na početku rata u Jugoslaviji devedesetih. Kada je počela da slabi zvanična socijalistička ideologija osamdesetih, počelo se pojavljivati sve više literature koja je objašnjavala zlu prošlost i buduću sudbinu balkanskih naroda. Iznenada, ljudi su shvatili da su Srbi žrtve već jako dugo, od čuvenog poraza na Kosovu 1389, od zlih Turaka do genocida koji su počinili Hrvati i drugi tokom II svetskog rata. Godina 1389. bila je poput 11. septembra za Ameriku, prekretnica u istoriji kada je linearnost kontinuum vremena i prostora prekinuta.

Posle toga, sve se promenilo i osveta zbog užasa i patnji bila je dozvoljena. Kada je Slobodan Milošević došao na vlast sve je više različitih okultnih, pseudoreligijskih grupa i pojedinaca počelo da se pojavljuje na nacionalnoj televiziji, objašnjavajući univerzalnu poziciju srpskog naroda u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti bez jasnih granica među njima. Ovo je bilo mešanje realnih globalnih i lokalno sociopolitičkih činjenica i ljudi, vojnih tradicija, svetaca, heroja, kraljeva iz nacionalne istorije i mitskih likova poput zmajeva i vampira. Astrolog Milja Vujanović objašnjavala je da je Pentagon simbol za Pentagram, a G7 simbol sedmoglavog zmaja iz Jovanovog jevanđelja. Slikar Milić od Mačve proglasio se baronom lepenskim, vođom sveta vampira. Optužio je Ameriku da

želi da uništi Srbe i pretio da ukoliko Amerika ne pomogne Srbima, da će poslati vod vampira da ih unište.

Astrolog Milja Vujanović imala je svoju emisiju u špicu gledanosti na nacionalnoj televiziji. Milić od Mačve bio je prvi živi slikar koji je imao samostalnu izložbu u Nacionalnom muzeju u Beogradu. Njegovu izložbu otvorio je ministar za kulturu Republike Srbije. Izložba je obišla celu Srbiju, a posetilo ju je oko 350.000 ljudi (Srbija ima oko 10 miliona stanovnika), što je oko 3,5 % od ukupnog broja stanovnika. Nijedna druga umetnička izložba, ni pre toga, ni posle toga nije imala toliku posećenost.

Svoj prvi veliki uspešan miting Slobodan Milošević održao je na Kosovu polju 1989. gde se, simboličnih 600 godina ranije, odigrala legendarna Kosovska bitka. Ovaj miting okupio je Srbe iz svih delova Jugoslavije i sveta, oko dva miliona ljudi bilo je tada na jednom mestu.

Činjenica je da je fantastična književnost postojala u zapadnoj civilizaciji od ranih srednjevekovnih dela, od fantazija o kralju Arturu i svetom gralu do Tolkinovih svetova. Ali od kraja devedesetih ova književnost iznenada postaje izuzetno popularna. Tolkinov "Gospodar prstenova" bio je poznat, ali ne na način na koji je to danas. Poslednje tri ili četiri godine situacija je sledeća: armije čitalaca čekaju novo izdanje Raulingovog "Hari Potera", a cela planeta čeka nastavak "Gospodara prstenova". Čini se da je ovo zaista globalizovan film.

Šta je toliko posebno u ovim knjigama, filmovima i stvarima vezanim za priče o velikoj borbi protiv zla? Ova vrsta stvari, gde se dobro bori protiv zla oduvek je bila prisutna. Šta povezuje filmove i "Matriks" i "Terminator" (izgleda da je poslednji terminator III postao guverner Kalifornije)? Producent svih ovih filmova je "Warner Brothers" kompanija koja je sada podružnica velike integracije AOL – Time Warner.

### Obuka

Svedoci smo da se kompjuterska tehnologija danas rapidno razvija i da se tehnički proizvodi vrlo brzo menjaju. Ljudi koji koriste kompjutere susreću se sa poteškoćom sticanja dodatnog tehničkog znanja neophodnog za obavljanje svakodnevnih aktivnosti, njihovo obučavanje je smanjeno, posebno ako se služe raznim, zastarelim aplikacijama koje ne funkcionišu u novim operativnim okruženjima. Sistemu su potrebni ljudi koji brzo uče i odlučno deluju.

Danas klinici odrastaju ispred kompjutera (deca koja žive u razvijenim državama), dok ga samo neki od roditelja koriste. Deca su deo populacije koja najbrže stiče znanje, dečja kreativnost je univerzalna i svuda prisutna kategorija. U oblasti sajberspejsa deca su u prirodnom okruženju, često istražuju i testiraju mogućnosti tehnologije. Najbrojniji u kategoriji hakera i krepera su ili deca ili mladi ljudi.

U današnje vreme, kada se često mogu čuti sintagme poput “revolucija u ratovanju”, “sajber rat”, rat sa razvijenim tehnološkim aparatima i sredstvima postaje mantra savremenog ratnika. Osetljiva sigurnost u umreženom svetu postaje slaba tačka nacionalne bezbednosti kada su povezani kompleksni sistemi i kada napad može biti brz i gotovo nevidljiv. Ta deca bi mogla biti od koristi u skupljanju informacija, dešifrovanju, upadanju u neprijateljske bezbednosne sisteme ili pak u presecanju neprijateljske komunikacije. Za sve ove informacije, misije i ciljeve postoji web sajt CIA KIDS gde se mogu pronaći mnoge korisne informacije o agenciji, njenim ciljevima, budućim aktivnostima i smerovima. Postoji isto tako dobar film “Spy Kids” I, II, III deo (Twentieth Century Fox...), u kome su deca agenti koji rade za agenciju, rešavaju probleme i naravno spašavaju planetu od fanatastičnih stvorenja. U filmu “Gospodar i Zapovednik” (Master and Commander, Twentieth Century Fox), postoji jedna sekvenca kada u kriznom momentu mladi oficir (dečak), u bici na moru preuzima odgovornost, puca iz topa i pogađa neprijateljska jedra.

Deca kao i delfini mogu biti od koristi u odbrani nacionalne bezbednosti. Delfini se koriste da prenose bombe i da samovoljno poput kamikaza, uništavaju neprijateljske brodove. Delfini su pametni, nevini i verni. Poput dece.

Kao Frodo Bagins i Hari Potter, doći će vreme kada će deca moći odlučivati da li žele da postanu aktivnija i da preduzmu konkretne korake u suzbijanju zla na svetu. Tada će on ili ona (uglavnom on) izabrati različite aplikacije za simulaciju obuke. Obuka dece je vrlo razvijena i kompleksna teorija i praksa koja podrazumeva brojne različite discipline kao što su: psihologija, stručnjaci za borbu i letenje, strateški savetnici za borbu, geopolitika, geografija, istorija, nauka o oružju, logika, religija, vojna snaga i sastav raznih svetskih armija, položaj i trgovinska putanja nafte i drugih energetskih bogatstva. Čitava vojska stručnjaka i profesionalaca vodi računa o ovom procesima.

Takozvane kompjuterske igre poput “Mortal Combat” ili “Ultimate fight” uče decu kako da se tuku prsa u prsa, “Wolfenstein”, “Quake”, “Doom” ili “Perfect Assassin” kako da se bore kao pojedinci u situacijama stvarne ratne borbe. Za druge organizacijske tipove i potencijalne buduće menadžere ili vojnike postoje igrice kao što su “Command and Conquer – Generals”, “Tiberian Sun”, “Generals”, “Age of Empires”, “Civilization”, “Cezar”. U ovim igricama deca stiču sposobnosti da organizuju građane, trupe i izgrade gradove. Morate poraziti sve svoje neprijatelje, zarobiti njihove strukture, zgrade, gradove, radnike... Pre svake misije prima se cilj misije. Ovo je na primer, cilj jedne misije (Tiberian Sun, © Westwood, Electronic Arts) : “Hasan komunicira sa bratstvom kroz obližnju televizijsku stanicu. Pošto je bratstvo u haosu, javlja se prilika da se Hasan podeli od svojih sledenika. Okupirati televizijsku stanicu a oni lojalni Kejn tehnologiji mira će se vratiti do planine. Što se tiče jasnih Hasanovih čuvara– slomite ih.”

Posebno poglavlje je obučavanje navigacije. Postoje razni programi obuke i nastave kao

što su: F/A-18 Korea, F-22 Air Dominance Fighter, F-16 Fighting Falcon”, Euro Fighter 2000, Back To Baghdad or Flashpoint Kosovo – za simulacije ratnih sukoba, Armored Fist 2 – M1A2 Abrams – za tenkove, 688(I) Hunter/Killer – za nuklearnu podmornicu... Sve ove korisne stvari mogu se pronaći u svakoj prodavnici video igara u komšiluku.

Mnogo pre nego što su se pojavili u filmovima i književnosti, fikcija i fantazija postojali su u prirodnom okruženju. Od prvih igrica kao što su “Warcraft”, “Heroes of Might and Magic” do sada je stvoreno na hiljade fantazija, mitoloških igri. Neke od njih su: “Lands of Lore: Guardians of destiny”, “Realms of Arkania”, “Diablo”, “Legacy of Kain”, “Warlords”, “Lords of Magic”, “Blood & Magic”, “Lords of Realm”, “Warhammer”, “Dark Omen”, “Arthur’s Knight’s – Secrets of Merlin”. Ne smemo takođe zaboraviti sport kao zamenu za rat, gde je dominantna kompanija Electronic Arts : /FIFA Soccer series, NBA, NHL, Formula 1/...

Kao što je Izabel Smađa (Isabel Smadja) u svom tekstu “Hari Potter i sile zla” (2) istakla, bilo je puno primera ekonomije spasa u judejsko hrišćanskoj istoriji. Ono što je drugačije danas to je što zadatke, komande i misije u ovim romanima izvode deca. U “Gospodaru prstenova” mladi Hobit ima zadatak da ovlada svojom voljom, spasi svet i porazi neprijatelja. U “Hari Potteru” i Pulmanovom “Njegovi mračni materijali” isto tako. Kao i u mnogim novim interesantnim filmovima kao što su “Terminator III”, “Gospodar i Zapovednik”, “Spy Kids I, II, III. Zašto odjednom tako puno insistiranja na deci i u tako brutalnim kontekstima?

Posle 11. septembra, izgleda da se Amerika dosta promenila. To je bilo prvi put posle Perl Harbora da su SAD bile toliko ugrožene. Današnje generacije ne sećaju se II svet-skog rata, a većina se ne seća ni Vijetnama, tako da nemaju realno iskustvo rata (ratovipozorišta po svetu u 80-im i 90-im bili su legitimne policijske akcije za američke građane). Prave posledice po spoljnu politiku SAD tokom devedesetih bile su nepoznate američkim građanima. Iznenada i to im se dogodilo. Dok su ljudi vodili svoje uobičajene živote, radili, išli u kupovinu ta užasna stvar se desila. Zli ljudi napali su miroljubive ljude, miroljubive i poštene ljude koji ni mrava ne bi zgazili. Zašto? Može li se ovo racionalno objasniti? Ponašaj se dobro i milostivo čitav svoj život i neko te napadne? Sve vreme se zalažeš za demokratiju i mirna rešenja na celoj planeti, a vraća ti se na takav način!? To mora biti kažnjeno, osvete mora biti! Da bi se osvetili, oko za oko, zub za zub, morate napustiti razumno demokratsko nasleđe, morate se ponašati kao dete, sa srcem, iskreno i bez skrpuća. Morate postati dete. Dete koje ima pravo osvete, koje ima privilegiju da ljutito reaguje. Ali dete koje ume da preuzme odgovornost, odgovornost da u određenom trenutku izvrši svoj zadatak ne bi li zaštitio svoju zajednicu.

(1) Hari Kunzru <<http://mondediplo.com/2002/12/>> – Beyond Good and Evil, Mute Magazine, May 2002.

(2) Isabelle Smadja – Harry Potter and the forces of Evil

<<http://mondediplo.com/2002/12/>>, Le Monde Diplomatique, December 2002 \_  
<http://mondediplo.com/2002/12/>

## Logistika pobune

Relja Dražić

U jednoj iscedenoj, zapuštenoj zemlji bez kredibilnih institucija, samoosuđenoj na večno vraćanje istog, u kojoj nema društvenog konsenzusa ni o jednom od suštinskih političkih pitanja, zemlji čija uticajna poluinteligencija samozadovoljno ustrajava na slici otadžbine kao “nečeg između” Istoka i Zapada, pri čemu se nije primetilo da se i Istok promenio, zemlji u kojoj su ljudi izloženi zastrašujućem medijski posredovanom delovanju robnih marki, a da im nisu omogućene ni elementarne mogućnosti da dovoljno zarade, što opet ima za posledicu duboku moralnu krizu, u takvoj jednoj zemlji kakva je naša – otvarati temu legitimacije poznog kapitalizma možda je i neukusno. U svakom slučaju, interes bi neminovno bio nikakav. Da bi društvo osetilo smisao poziva u borbu za autonomiju – protiv sistema čiji je duh potrošnja, a sloboda – sloboda izbora na gondolama hipermarketa, moralo je prethodno da se izživi stanje i osećanje potrošačkog blagostanja, sa svim njegovim stranama – i dobrim i rđavim. Ovo važi i za intelektualne i kulturne elite. Bilo bi naivno potceniti snagu poriva na čijoj se eksploataciji kapitalizam izvanredno uspešno održava, uprkos svojim očigledno katastrofalnim posledicama. Pogotovo ako se još ima na umu da na podgrejavanju tog poriva (želja) rade armije utreniranih plaćenika, opskrbljene krajnje sofisticiranim tehnikama za skeniranje duše.

Međutim, većina Srba izgleda da već živi i radi u nekoj vrsti kapitalizma (doduše ne poznog) i sita je svega, a da još nije ni osetila blagostanje. Ako je dakle nezadovoljstvo ono što možemo da delimo sa drugima onda je možda poučno saznati šta drugi već znaju i kako se vođeni tim znanjem organizuju i opiru. S druge strane, bez obzira na to što na početku tranzicije živimo u nekoj vrsti divljeg kapitalizma, odnosi uspostavljeni u svetu spolja neminovno se preslikavaju i na odnose unutra (čim smo ponovo stupili u veze sa svetom) tako da znanje koje možemo dobiti o načinu funkcionisanja savremenog svetskog ekonomskog poretka može jako pomoći da razumemo i ovaj naš, kakav da je.

Nedavno je u Novom Sadu u organizaciji “KUDA centra” boravila aktivistička grupa “Bureau d’ Etudes” (Biro d’etid) iz Pariza i zainteresovane jednim predavanjem upozнала sa svojim radom. Grupa radi već više godina, izvorno je umetničke provenijencije, ali je brzo evoluirala do jednog čisto političkog aktivizma. Jedan od članova je informisao o radu grupe, a drugi o njihovoj saradnji sa drugim sličnim grupama.

Okosnicu njihovog rada čini oblikovanje informativnih karti (mapa) čija je svrha pružanje *preglednih* slika funkcionisanja savremenog kapitalizma, odnosno u krajnjoj liniji, da, preko utvrđivanja odnosa *kontrole* pokažu kako se vlada svetom. Mape predstavljaju vidljivi rezultat raznolikog istraživanja preduzeća, korporacija, industrijskih i finansijskih, kao i funkcionisanja uticajnih grupa, ispitivanja gde se pripadnici različitih elita sasta-

ju i donose odluke. Karte su oblikovane kao mreža piktografa koji predstavljaju odgovarajuće uticajne jedinice (korporacije, vlade, vojni sektor, finansijski centri i investicione grupe, granski konglomerati, tajna društva, porodice, uticajni pojedinci itd.). Veze između piktografa mahom su praćene odgovarajućim tekstualnim objašnjenjima i predstavljene su kao simbolička *arhitekturna struktura odnosa posedovanja* u kojoj prikazane jedinice s jedne strane poseduju manje jedinice, a, s druge strane, bivaju posedovane od većih. Vodeća ideja rada ekipe Biro d'etid na kraju krajeva jeste stvaranje jedne obimne, ali pregledne, pouzdane i upotrebljive i, ne na poslednjem mestu celom svetu dostupne baze podataka o tome ko je s kim, gde su centri iz kojih stvari kreću, kako se distribuiraju direktive i gde se na kraju sliva glavna lova.

Oslanjaju se na podatke o vlasništvu korporacija, koriste novinske članke koji svedoče o odnosima preduzeća u domicilnom okviru, kao i na širem, evropskom, odnosno globalnom nivou, isto tako koriste usluge dokazano pouzdanih opservatorija koje putem Interneta ažurno izveštavaju o svojim nalazima. Tu su i podaci o ekonomskoj snazi (veličini kapitala), broju zaposlenih itd.

Ako su u pitanju uticajni pojedinci, onda link može da ukaže na neku bračnu vezu sa članom neke druge uticajne porodice itd.

Dobar izvor su i berzanski izveštaji koji pokazuju ko šta prodaje i u kom trenutku. Koliko ovo poslednje može da bude od informativnog značaja pokazuje okolnost da je u danima koji su prethodili "11. septembru" vanredno i neuobičajeno živa bila trgovina akcijama američkih avio-kompanija.

Važno je naglasiti da se Biro d'etid ne bavi *konstruisanjem* nego *otkrivanjem* informacija, jer bi to unelo senku subjektivizma u njihov rad. Doduše, u radu im se dešavaju i propusti kao posledica nepotpunosti pribavljenih podataka pa je neophodno barem jednom godišnje ažurirati karte.

Razumljivo je da te informacije nisu lako dostupne, pa je njihovo činjenje vidljivim i puštanje u opticaj vredno samo po sebi. Ipak, vredniji od rada na otkrivanju je rad na postavljanju tih informacija u okvir koji ih objašnjava i na taj način čini opipljivijim za ljude podvrgnute kontroli. A u krajnjoj instanci karte pokazuju kako su različiti tipovi kontrole zapravo povezani.

Recimo, upečatljiv je primer povezanosti između zakonodavne vlasti i lobija koji je uspeo da progura privatizovanje neke javne službe: u jednom broju američkih država, pošto su privatizovani zatvori, naknadno je toliko pooštreno nekoliko zakona da se broj prekršilaca učtetvorostučio. U odgovarajućoj razmeri je povećana i dobit zakupaca zatvora.

Drugi primer pruža sad već čuveni Bušov "patriotski akt" koji je za ne verovati koliko pomerio granice dopustivosti "virenja" državnih službi u privatnost pojedinca. (To ide

tako daleko da su čak i javne biblioteke dobile obavezu da na zahtev "službi" pruže informacije šta neki od njihovih članova čita). Istim zakonom se takođe drastično pooštavaju bezbednosni standardi što je bio džek pot za odgovarajuću industrijsku grupu, odnosno odgovarajuću finansijsku koja je poseduje. Da li bi nekog onda začudilo kad bi saznao da čovek koji faktički vodi SAD, Dik Čejni, drži lepi paketić akcija u vojno-industrijskom konglomeratu. I da ga je prodao baš kad su te akcije skočile u danima posle 11. septembra.

Naredni primer pruža vid kontrole koju vrše etablirane normativne organizacije koje su dobrim delom privatizovane.

To su organizacije koje se najčešće bave raznim standardizacijama koje zahvaljujući svom značaju uspevaju da ih nametnu kao opštevažeće, tako da ih kao svoje preuzimaju i državna zakonodavstva – pri tom se zaboravlja da ti standardi svoje poreklo imaju u nekom privatnom interesu. Recimo interesu za licenciranje laboratorija koje daju sertifikate za industrijske standarde: ISO, CE itd.

Sad bi možda bilo umesno referirati o našim prilikama u pravcu odnosa privatnog interesa i recimo tako neprikosnovenih vlasti kakve su zakonodavna i sudska: Ali pošto bismo tako odmah kročili u živo blato dnevne srpske politike radije bih ispričao jednu skasku koja će plastično pokazati na koji način dešavanja spolja mogu imati reperkusije na život iznutra.

(Skaska o građaninu koji je otišao po vizu)

Predizborno je vreme i puno se priča o budućnosti. Pa hajde da zamislimo jednu situaciju u nekom doglednom vremenu.

Još je daleko do 2014. kad Srbija ulazi u Uniju i potreba za putovanjem u jednu od onih zemalja u koju već Srbi rado odlaze zatiče vas u redu ispred ambasade. Tražite vizu. Došli ste na red i službenica vam nudi dve opcije:

"Možete tražiti uobičajenu, oročenu, ili trajnu vizu. Za uobičajenu vizu morate pribaviti devetnaest dokumenata sa ovog spiska, a za trajnu treba da popunite ovaj formular – koju vizu biste želeli?"

"Ima li neka razlika u ceni?" pitate.

"Ima. Trajna je besplatna" odgovara vam službenica.

"Oprostite, nije mi jasno", kažete neobavešteni, jer ne shvatate.

"Dugujem vam objašnjenje. Kao prvo, trajna viza predstavlja dozvolu neograničenog broja ulazaka u šengensku zonu, ali ne i dozvolu boravka. Uslov za trajnu vizu je da se podvrgnete bezopasnoj medicinskoj intervenciji", objašnjava ona.

"Ali ja sam zdrav, uopšte, mi Srbi smo uprkos svemu zdrava nacija", kažete.

"Nije u pitanju vaše zdravstveno stanje", odgovara ona. "Pa šta je to onda?", pitate.

“Ništa, samo mali nevidljivi implantat, čipić, sve je potpuno neškodljivo i ne osećate ga ni vi ni vaš organizam. Osim toga, viza vam automatski više neće biti potrebna ni za SAD”, objašnjava službenica.

“A šta će taj čipić u meni?”, pitate. “Razlozi su bezbednosne prirode i ne možemo davati nikakva objašnjenja osim jemstva neškodljivosti”, kaže ona.

Češete se po glavi. Vaši tamnopotiji sunarodnici redom psuju pri izlasku i vi sada već znate o čemu se radi. Sa trajnom vizom postaćete trajni lokator. Pri tom ovako razmišljate:

“Ionako ne nameravam da ih varam, i barem više neću morati da se svaki put maltretiram. A, sine, u pitanju je i kinta!” “Dobro, gde biste mi ga stavili?”, pitate pristajući. “Mesto implantata je konfidentalno. Kada se probudite posle intervencije na vašem telu neće biti nikakvih tragova”, stiže vam odgovor.

### Jeftina naučna fantastika? Dosije X?

Za vašu informaciju – manje ili više sve fundamentalne tehničke pretpostavke za uvođenje sistema globalnog nadgledanja **već postoje**. Možda najvažnija, IPv6 verzija Internet protokola koja omogućava da se adresira 340 milijardi milijardi milijardi objekata ( $340 \times 10^{36}$ ) funkcioniše. GPS uveliko fercera. Razume se da su čipići takođe već spremni. Ono što ne postoji to je, za sada, politička klima potrebna za masovno implantiranje. Ali, još jedan ili dva 11. septembra i ... klima bi se mogla lako promeniti. A međuvremene ne protiče u neaktivnosti. Implantati se ugrađuju zatvorenima i kućićima, modeli se usavršavaju kako bi do momenta sazrevanja političke klime bili dovoljno interaktivni da pružaju i informacije o domaćinovim navikama, recimo potrošačkim. A na kraju, u tome će se kriti i ključ čitavog poduhvata, zar ne? I veliki vrtuljak će se nastaviti da se vrti.

Da zaljučimo ovaj osvrt i jednom ocenom rada grupe Biro d'etid u široj perspektivi praktikovanja pobune protiv novog svetskog poretka. Pre svega, jasno je da njihov aktivizam dobija svoj smisao tek u kontekstu saradnje sa drugim aktivističkim grupama kojima pružaju informativnu podršku. Ta saradnja se ostvaruje na globalnom nivou, pri čemu to nije antiglobalistički pokret. (Ideja i praksa globalizacije kakvu su gurali Kinton i Rubin i inače je prestala da bude aktuelna – faktički je zamenjena prebacivanjem težišta na regionalne blokove – tri velika konkurentna bloka s perspektivom napetosti među njima, a u situaciji nesigurne zakonske i diplomatske infrastrukture za globalnu trgovinu). Štaviše, može se reći da pokret koji predstavlja aktivističku mrežu koja održava živom ideju i praksu pobune, zapravo zagovara globalizaciju, ali globalizaciju odgovornosti za svet u kome živimo i koji treba da ostavimo našim potomcima. Međutim, za razliku od klintonke globalizacije, ovo je globalizacija od dole, globalna mreža koja ili nastaje sama od sebe ili ne nastaje uopšte, jer nema centra koji bi je nametao. Čak se i teorijska utemeljenja (reklo bi se da je kod grupe Biro d'etid u odgovarajućim dozama konzumiran Fuko, Marks i Kant) ovih aktivizama tendenciozno povlače u pozadinu, jer

predstavljaju izraz moći od gore.

Ovo je jako poučno za nas koji smo odrasli u sistemu koji je od gore nametao “emancipaciju” zagažujući pri tom samu njenu ideju toliko da već i pominjanje antikapitalističke prakse budi kose poglede. Zato za ove dane u kojima srećemo lica ozarena adrenalinom izlučenim u novogodišnjoj potrošačkoj groznici preporučujem perfektu medicinu: čitati Ursulu Legvin, *Čovek praznih šaka*. (The Dispossessed ili što bi Bačvani kazali – gologuzi.)

Tekst je napisan povodom gostovanja grupe Biro d'Etud (Bureau d'Etudes) u kuda.org, 18.12. 2003.

## Koncizni leksikon digitalnih dobara RAQS MEDIA COLLECTIVE

### ACCESS = PRISTUP

Mogućnost priključenja, pristupa prostoru ili mreži gde se ljudi i razmišljanja okupljaju. Biti prisutan, imati mogućnost, ključ, dešifrovati signal, otvoriti vrata, biti u mogućnosti preuzimanja/predavanja (download/upload) u okviru bilo kog sistema znakova ili signala – Internet, knjige, umetnički radovi ili večera. Ne postoji suvišnost pristupa (excess of access).

### BANDWIDTH = ŠIRINA PROPUSNOG OPSEGA

Opisuje dimenzije koje su neophodne da bi protok poruka, signala i komunikacije bio moguć. Što je veća širina opsega sistema, veći je broj poruka i količina informacija koje može da propusti u bilo kom vremenskom periodu. Proizilazi da je pristup (access) funkcija širine opsega (bandwidth). Više ljudi može međusobno komunicirati kada postoji prostorija u kojoj mogu pričati i slušati druge. Širina opsega, bandwidth prevodi protok videa, audio signala i tekstova u sadržajno bogate informacije, koje plove jedne drugima u susret. Istovremeno ih u trenu prevodi u novac. U novac i kontrolu koja proizilazi iz prodavanja slika, zvukova i brojeva sve većem broju ljudi.

### CODE = KÔD

Ono što nosi u sebe utisnut znak. Kôd je uvek način da se kaže nešto što znači nešto drugo od onoga što je samo rečeno. Kôd može biti 'otvoren', u smislu da mu se može pristupiti i u njega ući, nasuprot 'provaliti' ga. Kultura otvorenog, slobodnog pristupa komunikaciji 'otkriva izvor' svojih kôdova. Kultura zatvorene komunikacije blokira pristup svojim kôdovima. 'Slobodan, otvoren kôd' je kôd koji je otvoren za promene. 'Slobodan, otvoren kôd' se mora podeliti sa svima da bi se razvijao. Kôd označava zajednicu, zajednicu 'kôdera, dekôdera i onih koji dele kôd'. Kao i jaje, kôd je nekada najbolji kada se od njega napravi kajgana.

### DATA = PODACI

Informacija: može značiti sve, od brojeva i slika, od belog šuma do šuma i zvuka. Vremenska prognoza, portret, senka u snimku nadzora, izjava o zaradi, statistike rađanja i smrtnosti, prebrojavanje prisutnih pri okupljanju prijatelja, privatna elektronska pošta, signali ultra visoke frekvencije, transakcije prodaje i kupovine i putanje koje prave pešaci krećući se gradom – sve ovo može biti podatak. Podatak, kao ugalj, uranijum i drugi minerali neophodni za vođenje svetske ekonomije je iskopan, obrađen, pročišćen i prodat po visokoj ceni. Bojna polja, lični, međusobni odnosi ranog dvadeset prvog veka i novčane berze su poznati kao izuzetno osetljivi na saobraćaj podataka. 'Iskopavanje' podataka je industrija u razvoju u Delhiju. 'Rudari' provode veoma mirne dane i duge noći kodirajući u zonama niskih temperatura pod nazivom "Centri za proizvodnju podataka" (Data Outsourcing Centres). Nasuprot tome, reč Data (dātā) na Sanskritu znači 'onaj koji daje', što ukazuje na to da osoba uvek mora biti velikodušna kada su informacije u pitanju i da je poželjno da kôd, sliku i ideju deli kao poklon. Biti oskudan u deljenju podataka je kršenje tajnih



i svetih dogovora homofonih reči iz različitih kulturno/prostornih orbita (data na Sanskritu i 'data' na engleskom jeziku) kada se sreću u jedva osetnoj zoni između jezika, u mnoštvu zvukova svakodnevnih omaški jezika. Greške u transmisiji i razumevanju, takođe sadrže poklone i podatke.

### ENSEMBLE = ANSAMBL = GRUPA

Poimanje ili zadovoljstvo u zajedništvu u svetu koji postaje sve više otuđen i podeljen. Igrati se ili raditi zajedno da bi se stvarali završeni ili nezavršeni radovi. Kamerni muzičari, kriminalci, hakeri kôda i dokumentaristi mogu činiti ansambl. Umetnici takođe pokušavaju. Efektivni ansamblu su grupe širokog opsega, koji u sopstvenu arhitekturu ugrađuju portale da bi mogli imati nasumični pristup sebi samima. Kada su u svom najboljem izdanju, oni su otvoreni sistemi koji postavljaju premiju na deljene informacije prema samima sebi. Oni mogu da održavaju visok nivo tajnovitosti, dok se predstavljaju kao transparentni. Ovde je poverljivost pokazatelj praksi u začetku. Pronađeni podatak se, ponekad, vraća u prirodno stanje informacijske entropije u ansablama prevrtljivih podataka, koji postoje da bi najbolje radili noću u medijskim laboratorijama. Raks Medija Kolektiv (Raqs Media Collective) je jedan ansambl i sve što radi predstavlja jedan skup postojećih ili očekivanih praksi.

### FRACTAL = FRAKTAL

Samo-organizujuća struktura ponavljanja, struktura koja se replicuje, često se može pronaći u snežnim pahuljama, u strukturi grananja drveta, strukturi molekula i slobodnog, otvorenog kôda. Svaki deo obrasca fraktala nosi u sebi pečat strukture celokupnog fraktala. Jedno ponavljanje u fraktalu u sebi sadrži suštinu, jezgro (kernel) svih ostalih iste vrste. Svaki fraktal je rescenzija/prepričavanje svakog drugog fraktala koji je nastao iz njega. Na isti način na koji slobodan kôd ili slobodan kôd kulture sadrži bezbroj mogućnosti sopstvene reprodukcije i rasprostiranja na deljeni simbolički i informacijski prostor. Fraktali najbolje opisuju geometriju matrica, koje su nastale deljenjem podataka, a ne samo pronalazanjem i dostavljanjem podataka u zajednici ili među koderima. Fraktali su poput vočki nesvesnog dizajniranja uma.

### GIFT = DAR

Nešto što se daje i uzima bez naplate, poput slobodnog kôda. Oni koji dobijaju dar i oni koji ga daju su obavezani mrežama nasumičnog i pre-posredovanog akta simbolične razmene. Kôd proizvodi dar kao formu sopstvenog preživljavanja tokom vremena. Na ovaj način, dar je tihi meme (životni oblik ideje). Reciprocitet proizilazi iz reciprociteta. Princip dara zahteva da su stvari koje se daruju neprocenjive, drugim rečima tako vredne da bi bilo nemoguće izmeriti ih u smislu mogućnosti apstraktne generalizacije razmene. Istovremeno, dar mora biti jednostavan za podneti i zadržati, jednostavan za upotrebu i ne sme postojati griza savesti kada dođe do njegove destrukcije ili rasprostiranja, kada se njegova upotrebna vrednost menja ili zahteva redistribuciju da bi bio efektivniji. Darovi otvaraju vrata našim sopstvenim mogućnostima velikodušnosti. Na ovaj način oni omogućuju pristup stvarima za koje čak nismo znali da postoje. I, postoji i takva stvar kao što je besplatan ručak, iako zahteva potragu za specijalanim receptom.

### HETEROGENOUS = HETEROGEN = RAZNORODAN

Onaj koji počinje u mnogim mestima, kao čovekova životna priča. Različit, disperzivan, rasprostranjen, kao u autorstvu kulture i u putanjama ljudi koji dolaze na određeno mesto (site). Interpretacije i ideje obuhvataju veću slobodu samo kada sadrže heterogenost, raznorodnost. U ovome, oni su kao većina intimnosti i neka vrsta voćnog kolača. Što su bogatiji, imaju više slojeva.

### ITERATION = PONAVLJANJE

Ponavlanje je artikulacija koja je viđena kao događaj. Govori, šaputanja, manifesti, grafiti, priče, glasine i delovi poezije koja se može pronaći na ulici – svaki od navedenih predstavlja ponavljanje. Organizovana predaja elastičnosti kôda je takođe ponavljanje. Ponavlanje podrazumeva volju da se kaže nešto, pristup značenju izgovaranja toga i vreme u okviru koga to može biti rečeno. Svako ponavljanje odzvanja kroz orbitirajućim meme, koji je postavljen na svoj smer govornim činom. Ponavlanje je suština rescencije. Mora biti izgovoreno, i onda izgovoreno ponovo.

### JOURNAL = DNEVNIK

Beleške dana. Anali različitih i svakodnevnih stvari. Podaci iz dana u dan u dan. Na krajevima i komadićima bilo kog materijala koji može nositi duh vremena. Materijal može varirati od dnevne štampe, videa i zvuka do binarnog kôda, ili kombinacije istih, a dnevnik može potpuno izmeniti svoju poziciju svedoka u položaj učesnika u onome što je zabeleženo. Obim i skala "učestvovanja" zavisi od učestalosti unosa u dnevnik i od broja učesnika koje može okupiti. Što je veća učestalost unosa ili broja korespondenata, veći je intenzitet zapisivanja vremena u dnevniku. Gusto ispisan dnevnik je obično onaj koji je ima otvoren pristup, u smislu pisanja, čitanja i objavljivanja. Zbog čega bi inače neki stranac želeo da piše za njega? Otvoreni dnevnik očekuje da bude objavljen bilo gde. Otvoreni žurnal aktivno praktikuje ksenofiliju ili privlačnost ka strancima. Kada dnevnik postane više od atlasa trenutka, postaje istorija. Tada počinje da dobija svest o sebi, kao što poseduje svest o kratkom vremenskom trenutku. I obrnuto, svaka istorija počinje život kao dnevnik.

### KERNEL = JEZGRO

Sušтина rada ili ideje. Centralno prepričavanje priče, kôda, seta znakova ili bilo koje druge structure koja poziva na modifikaciju, istraživanje i interpretaciju sopstvenim postojanjem. Ovde, termin suštine ne sme biti pomešan sa terminom "korena" ili bilo kojim drugim atributom postojanja, koje bi značilo malo prema sistemu otvorenog pristupa. Skoro je nemoguće odrediti korene kôda, jer što dublje idemo u konstitutivne elemente kôda, sve se više grana na seriju jedinica ka i van zadanog sistema znakova. Ima mnogo više smisla govoriti o "tutorstvu", nego o "korenima" bilo kog sistema znakova. Jezgro je često tutor linije ideja koji predstavlja trenutnu jedinstvenu konfiguraciju. Jezgro otelotvoruje materijale u stanje intenzivne koncentracije. To je zato što ono mora da obuhvati mnogo informacija, ili svoju hranu, ili materijale koji grade structure, u okviru vrlo ograničenih dimenzija. Gustina informacija u jezgru je ključ sopstvenog proširenja. Što je niz koegzistentniji, manje je ranjiv. Jezgra su po svojoj ograničenosti i kompaktnosti prenosiva, a ne predstavljaju teret. Kao u jezgru nekog voća, mogu biti teška za slomiti, ali kada se jed-

nom otvore, ona pružaju divne i hranjive stvari. Jezgra su pogodna za laku reprodukciju, ali su osetljiva i često im je potrebna zaštita. Ova zaštita može biti u formi spoljašnjeg sloja interpretacije, koji izražava svrhu i prirodu jezgra, tako da nije preodređena da otvoreno odgovara na svako osnovno pitanje o sebi.

### LIMINAL = JEDVA OSETNO, koje se odnosi na prag nadražaja

Intersticijalno, vestibularno i periferno. Udaljeno od centra, blizu granici. Zona, istovremeno između i bez većih struktura. Liminalni prostori i trenuci su oni u koje procuri animirani podatak o velikim, stabilnim strukturama i svetu. Stvari se dešavaju u liminalnim zonama. Grad sa sobom nosi kontradiktornost liminalnih zona lociranih u njegovom centru, jer su središnji delovi grada njegova najudaljenija granična područja. Liminalne ivice su često najpovoljnija okruženja za kulturu memova (životnih oblika ideje). To je zato što se izgnane slike, ideje i značenja iz različitih stabilnih struktura, mešaju u koridorima između njih. Ovde, lišeni identiteta i drugih izvesnosti, slobodni su da budu različiti i reproduktivni. Oni utiču jedni na druge rekombinirajućim svojstvima misli i slike. Istovremeno, perspektiva liminalnosti donosi intimnost, koja utiče na izuzimanje. Biti liminalan znači biti blizu, ali ipak van mesta granice bilo kog stabilnog sistema znakova, gde je značenje iskidano nagriženim ivicama. Ništa ne može poznavati centar bolje nego pogled sa strane na periferne vizije. Liminalnost se može steći produženim izlaganjem vazduhu u foajeu za odlaske na aerodromu, prekuvanom čaju na internacionalnim autobuskim terminalima u Delhiju, ili pod-liminalnom poigravanju kursora u jednoj e-mail poruci.

### MEME

Životni oblik ideja. Loša ideja je mrtav meme. Prolaznost, kao i širenje ideja se može objasniti činjenicom da se oni umnožavaju, reprodukuju i šire velikom brzinom. Ideja, u svom "zaraznom" stanju je meme. Meme može biti povezan sa slikama, mislima i načinima bavljenja i razumevanja stvari, koji sebe priključuju, poput virusa, događajima, uspomena i iskustvima, da često njegov domaćin nije potpuno svestan činjenice da obezbeđuje lokaciju i transport za meme. Ideje koje mogu da prežive i da budu plodne na najsurovijem terenu su sklone tome, jer su spremne da dozvole svoje replike, ili da dopuste frekventne i dalekosežne pozajmice svojih elemenata u kombinaciji sa materijalom uzetim od drugih memova. Ako dovoljno novih memova uđe u sistem znakova, oni mogu radikalno izmeniti ono što je označavano. Gradovi su istovremeno plodno tlo i granični kvart za meme. Biti meme je stanje da svaki rad sa slikama i zvukom može stremiti nadalje, ukoliko želi da bude "zarazan", i putovati. Rasprostiranje i uticajnost su ključ preživljavanja bilo koje ideje. Rad sa slikama, zvukom i tekstom mora biti prenosiv i osvojit, a ne statičan i imun, da bi bio živ. Mora se lako analizirati i sastaviti, i mora se lako prevesti, ali teško parafrazirati, i lako derivati. Mrtav meme je loša ideja.

### NODES = ČVORIŠTA

Svaka struktura koja je sačinjena od koncentrisanih masa i ponaša se kao tačka susreta za širenje rastegljivih delova celog sistema, može biti opisana kao čvorišna. Koncentracije i tačke susreta su čvorišta. Čvorišna struktura je rizomatska struktura, koja polaže koren (koji se širi bočno) dok se kreće. Ovde, čvorišta mogu takođe biti povezana sa

tačkama intersekcije fraktalnih sistema, sa preciznim lokacijama gde se javljaju nova fraktalna ponavljanja iz postojeg obrasca. Rad čija je unutrašnjost sastavljena od memova je prirodno čvornovat. Svaki meme je tačka susreta ili čvorište za bočno širenje van putanje jedne ideje. U radu sačinjenom od međusobno povezanih čvorišta, konačna struktura koja se pojavljuje je struktura mreže, u kojoj svaki vektor bar jednom prođe kroz svako čvorište u svojoj orbiti kojom se kreće kroz strukturu rada. U takvoj strukturi, postaje nemoguće potisnuti ili ubiti ideju kada se jednom pokrene, jer joj njeni vektori omogućavaju brzo putovanje kroz čvorišta do drugih lokacija unutar sistema, lančano pokrećući jeku pri svakom čvorištu koje detektuje povratni put ka suštini ideje. Ovi odjeci su rescenzije, a svaki čvor je konačno direktna rescenzija najmanje jednog čvora u sistemu i indirektna rescenzija svake raskrsnice unutar celog mnoštva ostalih čvorova. Čvorište, napisano, možda pogrešno kao 'no-des' umesto 'node' čine intrigantan hibrid Englesko/istočno-Hindi neologizma, pratioca starih reči – des i par-des. Des (u nekim istočnim dijalektima Hindija, koji govore mnogi migranti u Delhiju) je jednostavno domovina ili rodno mesto; par-des označava egzil ili stranu zemlju. 'No-des' je vid postojanja, u des ili u par-des, gde teritorija i strepnja o pripadnosti ne idu jedno s drugim. Čvorišta (nodes) su u digitalnom domenu 'No-des'.

### ORBIT = PUTANJA

Put koji opisuje konstantno kretanje bilo čega unutar strukture. Zbog toga što je kretanje neprestano, putanju je takođe nemoguće definisati u smislu početka ili destinacije. Ono što je moguće odrediti u bilo kom trenutku je pravac putanje. Kada meme orbitira u strukturi znakova, ono se niti kreće od svog početka, niti putuje prema nekoj destinaciji. Zbog toga je u sistemu otvorenog pristupa koji sačinjavaju memovi, besmisleno govoriti o autorima i publici, već se pre može govoriti o čvorištu, mestu gde se dobija ideja i o tački gde ona izlazi, da bi možda ušla u putanju drugog orbitirajućeg mema. Neka da dela interpretacije, kao što su izvesne komete ili drugi kosmički objekti, mogu imati ekscentričnu putanju. Ovo znači da uvek postoji verovatnoća da grupa znakova i slika iz daleka, uklanja prošle objekte sa svoje putanje, ulazeći u orbite drugih konstelacija, kada se to najmanje očekuje. Nebo značenja je puno zvezda padalica.

### PORTABILITY = PRENOSIVOST

Svojstvo sistema ili dela koje najbolje opisuje njegovu sposobnost da se kreće brzo kroz različite prostore i medije. Znak ili meme koji se može dobro kretati između slika, zvukova i tekstova je prenosiv. Delo koje, dok se govori o jednom mestu je razumljivo na drugom, je prenosivo. Delo koje opisuje brojne lokacije na kursu svoje interpretirajuće orbite, je takođe prenosivo. Prenosivo delo je bogato memovima, koji se ponašaju kao pogon njegovog kretanja i opskrbljeno je kompaktnim jezgrima, tako da se može dobro kretati bez opasnosti otvorenog kraha. Tašne, jezici, razglednice, švajcarski nožići, kompjuteri, šale, priče i cipele su prenosivi. Dar, jer uvek prelazi iz ruke u ruku, uvek mora biti prenosiv. Spomenici to nikada ne mogu biti. Životne priče nekih (lutajućih) pojedinaца i (nomadskih) zajednica čine se bliskim stanju prenosivosti.

**QUOTIDIAN = SVAKIDAŠNJI**

Obično, ali ne beznačajno. Nezaboravna priroda svakidašnjice. Memorija koje ide ulicom i skreće iza ugla. Memorija koja bruji u hard disku. Sveprisutna, prljavština mesta, magla u liminalnoj zoni koja je zgusnuta ponavljanjem. Mleko, kompjuteri, luk, kompjuteri, pižame, kompjuteri, sindrom oslabljenih nerava, kompjuteri, saobraćajne nesreće, kompjuteri, seks, kompjuteri, hleb, kompjuteri, noć, kompjuteri, razred, kompjuteri, koža, kompjuteri, ljubav, kompjuteri, novac, kompjuteri, glavobolje, kompjuteri, policija, kompjuteri, autobusi, kompjuteri, biciklovi, kompjuteri, radio, kompjuteri, horoskop, kompjuteri, venčanja, kompjuteri, sahrane, kompjuteri, keksi, kompjuteri, razgovori, kompjuteri, tišine, kompjuteri. Svakidašnje je ono što čini da dnevnik vremenom prelazi u istoriju, jer izaziva potragu za obrascima i značenjima u inače komplikovanoj masi vremena, u memovima koji se ponavljaju preko razumnih ganica. Rutina, i dalje slučajna, svakidašnja priroda bilo čega zahteva brze momente lucidnog angažmana sa stvarnim svetom, koji je sada podrazumeva svet koji se stvori svaki put kada prsti naprave svoj ples po tastaturi. Svakidašnje je mera svih stvari, retkih i beznačajnih.

**RESCENSION**

Ponovno pripovedanje, reč uzeta da označi istovremeno postojanje različitih verzija usmene priče, i od sada ubuduće, digitalnih kultura. Tako da neko može pričati o "južnim" ili "severnim" recenzijama mita, ili o "ženskoj" ili "muškoj" recenziji priče, ili o mogućnosti (započinjanja) Delhi/Berlin/Teheran recenzije digitalnog rada. Koncept recenzije je suprotan značenju hijerarhije. Recenzija ne može biti poboljšanje, niti može značiti umanjenje vrednosti. Recenzija je ona verzija koja se ne ponaša kao zamena bilo koje druge konfiguracije ili konstitutivnog materijala. Postojanje više recenzija je garancija sveprisutnosti ideje ili rada. Ovo uverava da je konstelacija priče, znaka ili slike koje rad otelotvoruje prisutna, i da čeka na pojavljivanje na više od jednog mesta u bilo kom vremenu. Recenzije su prenosive i u prostoru se mogu kretati po orbitirajućim jezgrima. Recenzije zajedno konstituišu ansamble koji mogu formirati međusobno povezanu mrežu ideja, slika i znakova.

**SITE = MESTO, PREDEO**

Lokacija, i kao stanje boravka negde, i kao odgovor na pitanje "gde" je to "negde". Zatim, situacija. U sistemu znakova, mesto (site) – u značenju jezgra situacije – nije obavezno mesto, iako je lokacija uvek mesto. Mesto može biti situacija između i kroz lokacije. Web site je adresa na Internetu koja uvek nagoveštava odnos želje između domaćina i posetilaca. Drugim rečima, ono ne znači ništa kao mesto (virtuelno), ukoliko ostane neposećeno. Na ovaj način, mesto može biti dvojako i locirano i liminalno. Stvarno, kao i potencijalno. Sistem znakova (delo) koje sadrži markirana mesta na mapi, može biti postavljen u istom odnosu koji mapa ima prema svetu. Može biti situiran između mape i sveta. Ova situacija može biti posebna karakteristika prenosivosti dela, iako se mobilno delo uvek obraća odnosu između mesta koja padaju na putanju. Na ovaj način, markiranje mesta kao adrese poziva na crtanje relacija između lokacije i sveta. Mesto je lokacija gde se nalazi adresa. Mesto je lokacija kojoj delo pripada. Situacija između ove dve lokacije (gde delo jeste i gde pripada) je mesto gde delo orbitira. Mesto je takođe lokacija gde ljudi moraju da nose šlemove da bi se zaštitili od slučajnog padanja tela koja putuju ekcentričnim putanjama.

**TOOLS = ALATI**

Stvari koje pomažu da se naprave stvari. Ideje, instrumenti, koncepti, načini na koje se rade stvari i načini postojanja ili zajedničkog delovanja koje je korisno za kreativan rad. U kontekstu Internet okruženja, zajednica ili ansambl ljudi je podjednako alat, instrument kao što je to softverska aplikacija. Obrnuto, alat nastaje kada grupa ljudi otkrije metod koji im pomaže da rade zajedno na kreiranju nečega. Opet, delo koje se ponaša kao pomoć pri navigaciji, pregledač (browser) ili interfejs u mreži memova je takođe alat kojim se otvaraju i traže drugi alati.

**UBIQUITY = SVEPRISUTNOST**

Biti svugde. Sposobnost da se bude prisutan na više od jednog mesta. Jednostavna činjenica raznorodne, heterogene situacije, prikaz načina na koje grupa memova, paketi podataka, orbitiraju i ostaju živi u nekoliko čvorišnih tački u sistemu. Sklonost mema prema sveprisutnosti raste svakim ponavljanjem, i uvek već postoji ponovo i bilo gde. Počinje da postoji i da bude aktivan (čak i ako je uspavan) u osobi kojoj se govori, ali i u osobi koja govori. Priče i suštine, jezgra ideja se kreću na ovaj način. Zona u kojoj se ukrštaju dve putanje je obično mesto aktivne razmenene i prenosa značenja. Svaka recenzija nosi u sopstvenoj putanji memove svog druga. Na ovaj način, kroz susret recenzija, ideje se šire, kreću se i teže sveprisutnosti. Ono što se nalazi svuda je teško cenzurisati, onome što se nalazi svuda ne nedostaju saveznici. Biti sveprisutan znači biti prisutan i rasprostranjen u čvorištima. Ponekad, sveprisutnost je jedini efektan odgovor cenzuri i izolaciji.

**VECTOR = PRAVAC**

Pravac po kom se objekat kreće, na koji utiče brzina njegovog kretanja. Ideja koja se brzo okreće i ubrzava u isto vreme. Intenzitet njegovog kretanja je atribut sklonosti da se poveže sa i dodirne druge ideje. Ovo daje veći značaj funkciji pravca. Pravac memova je uvek prema drugim memovima, drugačije rečeno, tendencija pravaca kretanja podataka je da budu sveprisutni u što većoj meri. To znači da slika, kôd ili ideja mora privući druge da uđu u odnos koji obezbeđuje njegovu prenosivost i brz transfer kroz različita mesta i zone. Pravci različitih memova, posmatrani zajedno, formiraju mobilne mreže kôdova.

**WEB = MREŽA**

Otvorena struktura tkana vlaknima i čvorovima u obično regularnim, ali isto tako moguće neregularnim intervalima. Ispreplitanjem struktuirana, dostupna i obskrbljena kompleksom mreža kôdiranih poruka. Svetom rasprostranjena mreža (world wide web) je zona u kojoj digitalna akonstelacija memova može naći putanju. Mreža kôdova služi da se prikupe značenja, kao što mreža od konca služi da se upeca riba.

**XENOPHILLY = KSENOFILIJ**

Druželjubivost i gostoljubivost prema drugima, ljudski kvalitet koji najbolje opisuje moralnu ekonomiju idealnog digitalnog domena. Potraga za povezivanjem, i želja da se kreće duž pravaca bilo gde. Značenje veze koja transformiše "čvorišta" u pozitivne vrednosti.

**YARN = NIT**

Tkanine i priče su sačinjene od niti. Nit je ščepana stvarnost koja putuje rečima. Ili se prenosi sa dosta html (Hypertext Markup Language) tovara. Kaže se da svaki deo kôda sadrži glasine ili nit priče o kreatoru tog kôda. Delovi priče sakupljeni u podrumu sajber kafea, na sedištima bioskopa, u govornicama i iza tamnih površina zidova apartmana čija je adresa Error 404, koji može biti bilo gde i svugde u isto vreme. Na ovim mestima, sakupljači delova priča povezuju različite elastične delove niti kôda, da bi napravili setove podataka, koje zatim rastavljaju hakeri i distribuiraju ih u različite orbite. Niti mogu podesiti količinu informacija koje nose u odnosu na širinu propusnog opsega. Zbog toga su niti dobra jezgra.

**ZONE = ZONA**

Mesto, lokacija ili delo koje zahteva istančanu svest zbog poroznosti linija koje razgraničavaju njegovo postojanje. Zona se razlikuje od mreže koja ograničava mesto, jer su njene granice fluidne i dostupne, ili zato što prisustvuju gustom saobraćaju. Teško je razlikovati centar od liminalne periferije zone. Svest o tome gde se stoji je preduslov za ulazak u bilo koju zonu. Zona takođe može biti opisana kao preklapanje orbita, gde memo-vi prenose materijal od jedne do druge orbite, gde logika voli da nestaje. Zona dela se proširuje van kruga orbite njene ideje. Zone su mesta gde sudbina može biti beznačajna, i beznačajno sudbonosno. U njih je najbolje ući i izaći u sumraku gde napuštene pruge povezuju različite stanice podataka. Vreme sumraka može varirati i zavisi od geografske dužine, ali sumrak traje duže u zoni mreže.

**Saskia Sasen (NL/SAD)**

**Saskia Sasen** je Ralf Luis profesor sociologije na univerzitetu u Čikagu, i gostujući profesor na londonskom ekonomskom fakultetu. Trenutno završava svoju četvrtu knjigu "Denacionalizacija: Ekonomija i politika u globalnom digitalnom dobu (Princeton University Press 2003) zasnovanom na petogodišnjem projektu o upravljanju i odgovornosti u globalnoj ekonomiji. Njene novije knjige su "Gosti i Tuđinci" (Guests and Aliens (New York: New Press 1999) i novo dopunjeno izdanje njene knjige "Globalne mreže/ Povezani gradovi (Global Networks/Linked Cities (New York and London: Routledge 2002). "Globalni grad" (Global City) je izašao u novom dopunjenom izdanju 2001. Njene knjige su prevedene na deset jezika. Ona je jedan od direktora na Odeljenju za ekonomiju globalnog čikaškog projekta, član naučnog panela o urbanim podacima Nacionalne akademije, član veća za spoljne poslove, predsedavajući novoformiranog odbora za računarstvo, međunarodnu saradnju i globalnu sigurnost.

**Mič Flor (DE)**

**Mič Flor** je kulturni producent i istraživač medija, koji je posebno zainteresovan za video i medije za striming. Živi u Berlinu, gde je pokrenuo projekat "Redaktion und Alltag" (zajedno sa Tanjom Lej), razvija i održava politički Internet magazin "fluter". Flor takođe razvija projekte i konsultant je u "Center for Advanced Media – Prague", gde je instalirao "Campware". Trenutno, Flor producira (zajedno sa Merle Kruger i Filipom Šefnerom) ES EXPRESS, seriju dokumentaraca za "Substitute City" u Narodnom pozorištu u Berlinu. Zajedno sa Filipom Šefnerom radi na dokumentarnom filmu o nezavisnim radijskim mrežama u Indoneziji, Nepal u Armeniji.

<http://www.mi.cz>

**Hert Lovink (NL)**

**Hert Lovink** (1959, Amsterdam) je jedan od najznačajnijih savremenih teoretičara medija i Internet aktivista. Zajedno sa Pitom Šulcom, 1995. je osnovao internacionalnu mejling listu "Nettime" (na engleskom, holandskom, francuskom, španskom, portugalskom, rumunskom i kineskom). Studirao je političke nauke na univerzitetu u Amsterdamu. Član je grupe "Adilkno" (Foundation for the Advancement of Illegal Knowledge), asocijacije koja se bavi fenomenom medija osnovanom 1983. Uređivao je časopis o medijskoj umetnosti "Mediamatic" (1989-94) i držao je predavanja teoriju medija u centralnoj i istočnoj Evropi. Su-osnivač je amsterdamske mreže nezavisnih medija "Digital City" i kampanje za podršku nezavisnim medijima u jugoistočnoj Evropi "Press Now". Bio je jedan od organizatora konferencije "Wetware" (1991), "Next Five Minutes" 1-3 (93-96-99), "Metaforum" 1-3 (Budimpešta 94-96), "Ars Electronica" (Linc, 1996/98) i "Interface 3" (Ham-

burg 95). Organizovao je konferenciju "Tulipomania dotcom" u Amsterdamu (2000), sa kritičkim osvrtom na tzv. Novu ekonomiju. Jedan je od pokretača "Fibre Culture" foruma za Internet istraživanje u Australiji (2001).

#### Konrad Beker (AT)

**Konrad Beker** je osnivač Instituta za nove kulturne tehnologije Public Netbase/ t0, direktor centra za nove komunikacione tehnologije posvećenog kulturi i mladoj populaciji. Producent je izložbe World-Information.Org (Svet informacija), internacionalnog projekta koji na popularan način prikazuje hronološki razvoj novih medija i tehnologija. Konrad Becker je aktivan i kao umetnik koji se bavi elektronskom umetnošću, kurator, organizator i producent. Učestvovao je i organizovao brojne intermedijalne događaje i izložbe za internacionalne festivale i institucije, TV stanice, muzeje i galerije, od 1979. godine. Objavljuje medijske radove, elektronske audio-vizuelne proizvode i teorijske tekstove. Učestvuje na raznim konferencijama i simpozijumima, radio i TV programima i predavanjima na internacionalnim univerzitetima. Član je brojnih komisija koje se tiču informacionih i komunikacionih tehnologija i kulture (UNESCO, Grad Beč, ECB itd.). Takođe je radio i kao konsultant za austrijsko ministarstvo i javnu administraciju.

[www.to.or.at](http://www.to.or.at)  
[www.world-information.org](http://www.world-information.org)

#### Stiv Kurc (SAD)

**Stiv Kurc** je professor na odseku za umetnost univerziteta u Bafalu, SAD. Kurtz ima doktorat iz interdisciplinarnе humanistike, i pre nego što je došao da predaje na UB, bio je professor na Karnegi Melon univerzitetu (Carnegie Mellon University). On je jedan od osnivača i članova internacionalne umetničke i teorijske grupe Critical Art Ensemble (CAE). CAE je kolektiv koji čine pet osoba različitih specijalizacija koji istražuju taktičke medije i intersekciju između umetnosti, kritičke teorije, tehnologije i političkog aktivizma. Kolektiv je producirao i izveo brojne projekte za internacionalnu publiku na raznim lokacijama, počev od ulice, muzeja, do Interneta. Critical Art Ensemble je objavio pet knjiga. Njihova poslednja knjiga je "The Molecular Invasion" (Autonomea, 2002).

<http://www.critical-art.net>

#### Kristian Lukić (SCG)

**Kristian Lukić** je kulturolog i istraživač. Osnivač je "Eastwood" – Real Time Strategy Group. On je urednik programa u Centru za nove medije – kuda.org, Novi Sad, Srbija i Crna Gora.

<http://www.eastwood-group.net>  
<http://www.kuda.org>

#### Relja Dražić (SCG)

**Relja Dražić**, rođen 1954. Diplomirao na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu, smer filozofija. Od 1980. do 1990. je bio zaposlen na Filozofskom fakultetu u Novom Sadu kao asistent u naučnom radu, obavljajući i nastavne aktivnosti vezane za oblast Marksove kritičke teorije, klasične nemačke filozofije i filozofije jezika. Objavljivao je radove u časopisu za kulturu i umetnost Polja, intenzivno se bavio prevođenjem sa nemačkog jezika. Početkom teških 90-ih godina raskinuo radni odnos sa fakultetom i uskočio u neizvesnu egzistenciju privatnog preduzetnika u izdavačko-štamarskoj branši. Osnovao i vodi tvrtku za izdavaštvo i štampu Futura publikacije koja uspešno radi već 15 godina.

#### Sindi Kon (SAD)

**Sindi Kon** je pravni direktor "Electronic Frontier Foundation". Ona je odgovorna za nadgledanje celokupnih pravnih strategija ove organizacije. EFF je aktivno angažovana u skoro svim sferama u kojima je izražen uticaj Interneta na građanske slobode. U poslednjih nekoliko godina, EFF se fokusirao na dva glavna izazova – prvi je uticaj promena u zakonu nakon tragedije 11. septembra i drugi je izazov koji se tiče prava Internet korisnika nakon nedavnih promena u zakonima o intelektualnom vlasništvu.

<http://www.eff.org/>

#### Sarai, the New Media Initiative, Indija

Novomedijska inicijativa Sarai je program Centra za studije društva u razvoju. Sarai je alternativni, ne-profitni prostor za kreativnu rekonstrukciju urbane, javne kulture, nove/stare medijske prakse, istraživanja i kritičkih intervencija u kulturi. Okvir Sarai-a podrazumeva analizu i kreativan rad u domenu filma & videa, kompjutera, telefona, kulture štampe, radija, multimedije i Interneta. Inicijator Sarai-a je grupa ljudi iz Centra za studije društva u razvoju i Raqs Media Collective.

<http://www.sarai.net>

## **kuda.org – društvene implikacije novih medija**

Centar za nove medije kuda.org je organizacija koja okuplja umetnike, teoretičare, medijske aktiviste, istraživače i široku publiku na polju informacijskih i komunikacijskih tehnologija (ICT – Information and Communication Technologies). U tom smislu, kuda.org je posvećen istraživanju novih kulturnih odnosa, savremene umetničke prakse i socijalnih tema.

Aktivnost rada kuda.org je posvećena pitanjima uticaja elektronskih medija na društvo, na kreativnu upotrebu novih komunikacijskih tehnologija i na savremenu kulturnu i društvenu politiku. Neke od glavnih tema su interpretacije i analize istorije i značaja informacijskog društva, potencijala same informacije i rasprostranjenosti njenog uticaja na političke, ekonomske i kulturne odnose u savremenom društvu.

Razvoj novih komunikacijskih tehnologija je uslovio brojne promene u savremenom društvu, dotičući se njegovog političkog, društvenog i kulturnog aspekta. Internet, procesi primene novih tehnologija i novih modela komunikacije kroz proces “umrežavanja” i razvoj kritičkog mišljenja prema navedenim, postaju i naša svakodnevnica. Čitav niz istraživača, teoretičara, programera, kritičara i medijskih aktivista, svoj rad posvećuje istraživanju i objašnjenju globalnih fenomena današnjice i njihovih posledica.

Centar za nove medije kuda.org otvara prostor za kulturu dijaloga, alternativne metode obrazovanja i istraživanja. Društvena pitanja, medijska kultura, nove tehnologije umetnosti, princip Open Source i Free Software su oblasti kojima se kuda.org bavi.

Programi kuda.org:  
**kuda.info / infocentar**

pruža informacije iz oblasti kulture novih medija, savremene umetnosti i društvenih fenomena; omogućava istraživanja i edukaciju preko biblioteke, medijateke i arhive iz ove oblasti; obaveštava o kulturnim dešavanjima, seminarima i sličnim organizacijama u zemlji i inostranstvu i njihovim programima.

### **kuda.lounge / prezentacije i predavanja**

sastoji se od predavanja, razgovora, javnih prezentacija umetnika, medijskih aktivista, teoretičara umetnosti, naučnika, istraživača i inženjera; (izložbe, prezentacije, tribine, simpozijumi, predavanja su mesto aktivnog dijaloga i interakcije, koja doprinosi stvaranju novog kvalitetnog jezgra na obe strane: kod publike i predavača)

### **kuda.production / produkcija i izdavaštvo**

obezbeđuje uslove za neprofitno umetničko stvaralaštvo na polju novih medija i tehnologi-

ja; kuda.org kao producent, koproducent pruža uslove za interdisciplinarna istraživanja i eksperiment.

### **kuda.org**

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## **tektonik**

### New social ontology in the time of total communication

Before us is a collection of texts, transcripts of lectures and interviews with researchers, theoreticians, artists and activists who have been guests of the kuda.lounge program between 2001 and 2004 at the kuda.org New Media Center. The selected texts, lectures and interviews in this edition are a kind of research intersection in the domain of new technologies, culture and society, research of phenomena such as globalization, technological systems of control, mass communication and the Internet, new social movements, the new proletariat and new economy, the problem of intellectual property rights, and biotechnology. Given that society at the beginning of the twenty-first century is a media-saturated global society, particular focus has been directed towards the problem of the mediation of information which creates current reality.

From the very outset kuda.lounge has been a platform for discussion, argumentation and dialog, in the framework of which more than fifty presentations, lectures and workshops have been organized. In inviting key names involved in critical thinking and social theory and practice, kuda.org has attempted to offer the local public an insight into contemporary social questions in the world and to establish frequent and lasting communication and cooperation between local theoreticians and activists and an international network. At kuda.org the public has had the opportunity to hear lectures from Saskie Sassen, Steve Kurtz, Geert Lovink, Konrad Becker, Cindy Cohn and many others.

The development of information and communication technologies has introduced a new social ontology which has manifested itself on the political, cultural, economic and psychological plane. In a time when the promises of a techno-utopia are being transformed into highly-operationalized intelligent machines which serve economic interests, or into trainee virtual units for future conflicts (parallel education and training via computer games as combat simulation, unmanned flying craft – predators), the question is, to what extent can new technologies be used to fulfill some of the promises, pressing in the eighties and early nineties, in the prime of the so-called California ideology? Those promises included social prosperity, creative work, the creation of new workplaces, shortened working hours, global peace in an era of global enlightenment enabled by technology.

Via the texts in this collection we come face to face with warning projections of a dehumanized future determined by the interests of capital, a telling critique of technical-science as the ultimate generator of the capitalist machine. In opposition to this, we can see models of how the potential of new information and communication technologies can be used for democratization and realization of the project of a 'better society'.

During the nineties the Balkans was a real battlefield where these global theories 'fell in the water' and intersected with specific local interests. A particular idiosyncrasy of the local context in the countries of the former Yugoslavia was the comprising of socialism as an idea, the direct or indirect threat of war, life in authoritarian centralism or in a neo-liberal framework of roughshod transition, which also precipitated distrust in broader social action. Parallel with the wars of the nineties, in Serbia a model of accelerated privatization of the public space and an 'accelerated end' of the industrial society was carried out, after which Serbian society found itself in limbo between its industrial past and an information-based future, waiting for the reopening of factories that would never be reopened.

The goal of the lectures and discussions was to critically analyze certain socio-political phenomena, to point to the root of the problem and present this to a wider public. The kuda.org center opens the possibility and space of different interpretations and models of the past, present and future social context, mapping those processes which could potentially endanger human freedom using the sophisticated methods of a high-tech society in a time of the knowledge economy. With the publication of this collection we conclude a cycle which has integrated subjects detecting general social problems, and in a 'classical' print medium present them to a wider public.

kuda.org

## Globalization or Denationalization? Economy and Policy in a Global Digital Age

Variable outcomes, multiple devastations and multiple opportunities

Saskia Sassen

I have been concerned with finding a manner of studying and theorizing globalization that does not mean the presumption of a global optic, a global observer. Because, that is an imperial move in a way, and certainly for the United States that presumption is alive and well. They do believe that they not only have to be global to understand the global, but that they can be global. And of course, in some ways they are. If we want to understand globalization, we need to position ourselves in some global sight. Most people in the world are excluded from having knowledge about the global. And so the way I talk, and the way I have written in the past about globalization is in a way contesting that notion, and that means bringing the global down, detecting, discovering the many different settings within which the global is constituted. It also means that, in so far as the global exists deep inside what we may have produced and experienced as the local, the national, that people everywhere in the world can presume, can attempt to have knowledge of and to study the global, it produces a very different research agenda, theorization and political agenda. Part of what I'm getting at here, it's not a denial of the existence of imperial geographies of new global institutions, but it is an attempt to add to the map a whole variety of elements that we usually do not think of as being part of the global. I have found myself very engaged in conversations with curators, with artists, because imaginaries work differently, and they are very important instrumentalities at a time in a period of change. When I speak about globalization, I do not presume to be able to capture the whole animal in my language. I think of myself as a digger, digging with a shovel, and I don't know exactly what I'll find, etc.— a digger and a mapper, on those two levels.

The first thing that for me has emerged as very important is the question of the powerless, because a lot of the talk about globalization is about power: the power of multinationals, of the United States and telecommunications. In fact, there is something about social change that is sort of a black box, something hermetic that we do not manage to understand. Every major transition and destabilization of an existing system of power has something in it that we don't manage to map with our categories and vocabularies as social scientists and historians. The absence of power is a very complex condition and we don't understand it. We have a barbarian notion of power: 'You either have it or you don't!' And if you have it, you can impose your will. That leaves out of the picture the power of the powerless within major changes, and the globalization that has been happening in the last fifteen years as a kind of major change. But, the practices of the excluded have been one of the factors introducing change. The French



Revolution is a famous case, and clearly it was not just the plebe, the rabble storming the Bastille – it was a lot of other stuff that was happening before that happened. I think of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1960s. It was not that one good day the Congress of the United States decided: ‘Oh, let’s give them some rights, blacks and women!’ They had been organizing themselves for thirty years! There is something about the practices of the excluded, those who lack power that becomes a factor of transformation. If we have a barbarian notion of power, we miss that. In the issue of globalization today, the role of the powerless is something that is crucial to understand what’s happening, and we see it to some extent with the anti-globalization activists etc. And the other sort of proposition in looking at history that becomes very clear is that no formal system of power has lasted forever. Except the Catholic Church which looks like it’s going to last forever. But, the truth is that neither the American empire is going to last forever, or this current configuration. Change and the transformation that make destabilization is part of it. The point is that the powerless are actors. The excluded are part of what then become formalized inclusions.

One first question that might be asked is: ‘What are we trying to name when we use the term globalization?’ It’s just a word. I have the same issue with another subject that I work on – immigration. We use the term immigration and we assume that we know what we’re talking about. It’s a highly-charged word. It’s an invitation to stop thinking. You hear the word immigration, or globalization, and you think you already know it. I think globalization has a power to it as well, although there are multiple globalizations. I think that we are actually naming and in the early faze of its history. I think that we’re really trying to name two very different types of processes/dynamics.

There are two distinct dynamics:

A: The formation of global scale institutions and processes: the WTO (World Trade Organization), global financial markets, the New Cosmopolitans, the War Crimes Tribunals, etc. This is what is usually understood by the term globalization. But, I always like to detect the multivalence, in the sense that it’s not just good or bad and it’s not a neither/nor. It’s a whole range of possibilities. In this first scale, which is the scale that is self-evidently global, I actually have very mixed presences. There are issues that had to do with the global economy, but also issues that have to do with the War Crimes Tribunals, a very different domain of the global, from the financial markets. And I like to look at both in my research.

B: A second set of processes that do not necessarily scale at a global level. This means specific forms of the work of states such as particular monetary, fiscal and regulatory policies, the use of Human Rights instruments in national courts, non-cosmopolitan forms of global politics and imaginaries. This happens in very specific ways inside the national and the local. It is also multivalent in the sense that there are some very negative and very positive things going on. In the second scale I tend to include a whole variety of aspects that we code, experience, define and think of as national. And the

argument is not that all national elements are being denationalized or globalized, but that some are, and it happens in many different domains. For instance, I’ve mentioned specific forms of the work of states, particular kinds of monetary, fiscal and regulatory policies, forms which help the emergence of global firms and the formation of global financial markets. Then, I also include the fact that judges in national courts can now use international human rights instruments. So this is also an instantiation of something of the global inhabiting a national institutional world, structuring itself in terms of national elements. I also include my concern with the role of the powerless and the notion of non-cosmopolitan forms of global politics.

I do a lot of research on financial markets and financial elites. When financial elites do the work of financial elites, they are not cosmopolitan. I want to argue that environmental and human rights activists, who are concerned and obsessed with the local torturer, the local firm that spoils their local water supply, that they can become part of forms of globality, but they are not cosmopolitan forms of globality. The globality comes from the recurrence of these kinds of struggles in place after place around the world. But they are obsessed with their locality, with the local version of the issue. And in that sense, I argue a form of globality that is horizontal that is constituted through recurrence rather than scaling up, like the IMF does. Through recurrence like activist networks and varieties that is global, they begin to think of themselves as a part of global networks, but it is not cosmopolitan. Again, when I say non-cosmopolitan, I don’t mean only the bad guys, like financiers, I also mean all kinds of others. One effect of thinking about the global is something that is partly constituted inside the national. If the global is going to become a thick, complex condition that is increasingly structured, inevitably it’s going to have to engage the national. It’s going to have to occur inside the national, because the thickest condition we have today is the condition of the national. Compared to the national, the global is pretty thin, and the most familiar form of the global is at the level of consumer practice – the global entertainment industry, McDonalds, etc.

### **Towards an incipient denationalizing of the ‘national’**

I really believe that a new époque is being constituted, it started about fifteen years ago with clarity and a sort of heuristic quality about it, changes that produce knowledge about the thing itself. In that sense, you can think of certain features of globalization as a heuristic space that makes the transformation visible. I really think that for it to be epochal it has got to engage the national, because that is the thickest condition. Most of the literature on globalization stays at that first level I’ve mentioned – the IMF, the WTO, the global financial markets, etc. There is a strong tendency to look at the global in terms of scales at the global level. And I think that we’re missing the big part of the picture. That other part is what I described as incipient, partial, often highly-specialized denationalizing of what has been constructed as national. A lot of this we still experience, code, represent in national terms. And there is a whole load of digging that has to happen in locality and country after country in the world. Research, theo-

zation, and a political global project that is global, but global in a horizontal sense. And the specifics of it are going to vary from country to country. But there is much more than just the IMF, WTO and multinationals. Something else is happening, where national actors are participating. With globalization, there is a partial reorientation of the national work of states, which were largely oriented towards the national. It's not that the state disappears (I think the state is here to stay for a while), but part of the work of the state is oriented towards a global agenda, and before it was oriented towards a national agenda. This does not necessarily mean that the state is worse, because many states are into to its national agendas – which are not so great. There is a lot of interesting good work that could be done by national states orienting themselves towards global agendas, in such areas as human rights, the environment, labor rights world wide, etc. Right now, the history of the last fifteen years has been oriented towards the global firm, global financial markets and the global trading system.

Just to elaborate a bit about the denationalization incipient, by which I mean something that has emerged, but whose trajectory is not clear. It might continue and it might fall back. Incipient is a very particular way of naming a process. It's partial, and it can often be very specialized. I will try to suggest a few different components in our societies that are a locus for these dynamics:

Global financial markets require very specific specialized reorientations in the monetary policies of a growing number of countries.

National courts using human rights instruments introduce non-national criteria where before the normativity of the national states was exclusive.

The growth of a global consciousness (human rights, the environment, the struggle of the poor, first nation people claims for direct representation) unbundles national citizenship: it is more than the formal bundle of nation– linked rights.

Global financial markets don't just require electronic markets that can scale, globally operate simultaneously in the whole world, etc. They also require in country after country, that governments institute certain types of national monetary policies, fiscal policies, etc. National courts using human rights instruments are introducing non-national criteria, where before it was the normativity of the national state that was exclusive. This is also a very significant transformation. And then finally, the third element: the growth of a global consciousness of source, global imaginaries, different languages that one can use with this, etc. Citizenship practices, citizenship identities, locations for citizenship, and identity practices and locations for citizenship need not be confined to the national. A good example is what we now call 'alter– globalization activists'. I'm sure people have picked up on this rather than on 'anti'. This comes out of Porto Alegre, the World Social Forum, and the notion of 'alter' and 'other' globalization.

I will talk more about global finance and its devastations, and some of the enablements

that also come out of globalization. We need to think about finance, not as something that has to do with money, but rather finance as a capability. It is a capability to liquefy wealth: national wealth, economic components that we thought were immobile, etc. Global trade in 2002 was about eleven trillion dollars and that is a lot of money. When you look at global foreign investment – another key component of globalization that has grown enormously – now up to eight trillion dollars. However it is not money, but something else. One way of thinking about it is as capability. And as capability, finance has demonstrated in the last twelve years that it has enormous capacity to destroy whole economic sectors, to destroy vast components of all kinds of national economies. Finance has been enormously powerful. And it is deeply linked to and has partly shaped the infrastructure for globalization, but then it also gets used by terrorists, drug dealers, traffickers, etc. Finance has, to a very large extent, driven the implementing of an infrastructure of technical transport, immigration and visa systems that get used by other actors as well. Something that people don't know is that in the last 25 years, we have had over one hundred financial crises. We only hear about the very big ones: the Mexico crisis, the South East Asian crisis, Argentina's default, etc. These crises are adjustments on the part of national systems to this new global financial system. They are very destructive, devastating to whole economies, but necessary. When the South Korean crisis occurred, many firms that had export markets were closed. They were not bad firms, but because of the financializing of those economies, they couldn't get loans. The power of finance to destroy and to create whole new concepts of the economic has been enormous in the last fifteen years.

It's very important to understand that our legal architectures contain hidden rules of permission. And that's not a conspiracy. That is because when those legal architectures were constructed, there were all kinds of issues that nobody ever thought about. The makers, the shapers of our law did not necessarily think of that. They are hidden rules and they are not explicated. Multinational corporations have been very good at using these rules. However, I argue that powerless people and organizations, the work of NGOs, etc, have also been able to use these hidden rules of permission. This encompasses the scandals we've had in the United States because of these hidden rules of permission. We may recall that when the Enron scandal really exploded, all kinds of other firms, city core, the corporate citizens of the global economies, not the little rabble firms, they all suddenly revised their estimates, and Enron knew it all. And one way of thinking about it is that lawyers and accountants have become incredibly creative. Frankly, they are more creative than the average artist I know (I have nothing against artists). And they have done so within legal architectures, and because of this growing machinery, where innovativeness, the capability that is finance and a lot of other features are included, not just finance in the economy. What we call a crisis is really just an adjustment to change. The crisis is not a distortion! When millions of workers employed in sound factories in South Korea lose their jobs, it's not a distortion, it's advanced capitalism. I've made this argument when I've talked about the global city, where inequality increases. The point is that hidden rules of permission allow a whole

variety of new developments.

I will focus briefly on questions of the digital, because it is a very powerful technology. The possibility of new forms of politics and multiple localized forms of struggle with the difference that they know themselves, they begin to imagine themselves as part of global networks where other often very poor organizations are involved. There is a notion that you can only be global if you travel. I think that there are forms of globality that are shaped, made, contained that inhabit immobilities, either because other organizations are too poor, or because they are persecuted. But again, we need to free up the notion of the global, from this notion that 'it's got to be mobile, it's got to cross borders, or it's not global'. This is also a way of suggesting that those who are too poor to move, to persecuted to move, too busy, struggling for clean water and their communities whatever it might be, those who don't want to become 'cosmopolitans' circulating around the world, that they are also actors in this emergent set of globality that we see.

### Raising Empire

There is a broader issue here, one might say that one image is what happens when power hits the ground. There's a certain kind of political talk that I do around the question of Iraq and the United States, and one way of thinking about it is 'United time one' and 'time two'. Time one is the United States decides to go bomb Iraq. And even during the bombing the United States has a military entertainment complex. The whole war was simulation. I don't call it 'war', I call it a bombing expedition. After bombings and thousands of flesh and blood Iraqis being wounded and killed, the 'war' was over. That's the moment when it becomes a heuristic zone for the question that I asked: 'What happens when power hits the ground?' And, it doesn't necessarily say that the US is less a power. What is transparent is the limits of this form of power, and in this sense that it is moving towards the decline of empire. It doesn't mean that the United States is going to disappear, and that state of the United States is going to lose all its power. But, what it shows is the limits of this modality of empire. In press interviews I'm often asked: 'What's the next empire?' I do think that the empire is here to stay, but not this one. I do think that it's the new version of empire, a European soft empire, the European Union is becoming one through treaty agreements, ways of enlargement, etc. A bit of racism here, a bit of oppression there, but basically intermediated through laws. I did an editorial for The Guardian, a London-based newspaper, where I described Bush as a 'modern warlord'. A good gun is always better than a good law. But I think that the European Union actually does believe that a good law is better than a good gun. And so, in that sense, that is the next faze of empire. The point I was trying to get at is, what happens when power hits the ground? Many things happen. I've mentioned the Iraqi case because it's so transparent, but another way of thinking about it is the question of urban space. It is something that is close to all of us. We all in one way or another live in the city, and without getting into the question of empire and power, we can create our urban space and heuristic zone that produces knowledge about these dynam-

ics.

### Borderlands inside cities

The multivalence comes very much together in these global cities, which are both strategic places for corporate capital, while at the same becoming a kind of new frontier zone. The historic frontier is not in the former colonies, or in the new neo-colonial zones of the world, it has moved into the advanced metropolitan centers – Paris, New York, London, and Tokyo. There is a new kind of frontier becoming its own historic moment different from the notion that we have about frontier, like the limits of stretching the colonial empire. The global city is this incredibly strategic site for global capital, but also for these new types of political projects that come out of conditions of powerlessness and disadvantage. Immigrants are crucial actors in these processes, asylum seekers, refugees. But they are not the only ones. It can be minority groups, feminists, gays, lesbians and queers who don't feel completely identified with the national, and that's a growing community. Now, that means that one of the dynamics that we see happening is a scaling of the global scale constituted through the sub-national, not even the national.

Here are some elements concerned with borderlands inside cities: operational, analytic, and political.

The facts of a) urban fragments on transuburban circuits, and b) city space traversed by these circuits, raise questions about:  
 topographic representations of cities  
 meaning of context, neighborhood  
 civic fabric  
 experience and response to the multiplication of internal borderlands

Urban space is being refigured. This doesn't mean that you have to rebuild to understand, but there can be a refiguring of urban space even in a city that hasn't built a single new building. But that the meaning of urbanity, and urban space is more than just urban terrain, has altered. One way of thinking about some of the issues I was talking about, whether it is resources of poor organizations and their imaginaries, is that multiple components of city space become fragments of broader cross-border circuits, or fragments located on such broader cross-border circuits. The city has administrated unity, which has, either at the level of imaginaries one extreme, which could be the global elites, could be internationalized human rights activists, or, at the level of the actual financial district, being increasingly globalized, part of the materiality of the city and oriented towards global issues. In that sense, urban space has a whole variety of components that administratively look like it's one unit, and that the whole debate is how this administrated unit is de-boarded, and the suburban center divided. I'm talking about the extent to which these material components of the city are located on many different global circuits. That means that there are new urban specialties, in a way. I

look at the global economy in terms of multiple circuits, and then I try to understand what groups of cities are crucial locations in different circuits. Just to give you an example, if I look at gold as a financial instrument, Zurich and London are two crucial locales. If I look at gold as the mineral, Johannesburg kicks in, as do Sao Paulo and Sydney, and you get a different geography. When I am around the world talking about these kinds of issues, people always ask: 'Well, where do we fit in to the picture, our country or city?' And I say: 'You need to desegregate your own economy and understand the global circuits within which it is located.' There is enormous specificity toward all of this. It is not all happening at these very segregated levels, and its origins are many separate entities and elements. However, the other way of looking at it is, you start with urban space, and you get the sense of global circuits that traverse that city. And hence, the city is a being containing fragments of particular circuits. They can amalgamate into new forms of urban specialty. If you look at the Biennale circuit, that is, a set of fragments, more and more cities now have these art biennales, and this constitutes its own urban specialty. There are amalgamations, assemblages of components that belong to many different cities, temporarily assemblages of these specialized elements.

I also think that there are global power projects, such as Global Finance, and there are global resistance projects also enabled by these new types of specialties. It's a very messy zone out there. The border is now multiplied and has many locations, and there's a multiplying of borders inside the city. Cities have always contained invisible walls and borders. And it also means that there are multiple, and in fact a proliferation of borderlands inside cities.

In another words, you take a map of the city, and see: here are the poor neighborhoods, here is the transportation system, the city is closed off, in some ways or another, and then you describe all the different components. Sure that is a moment of what a city represents, but it is not enough to capture what's going on in the city. Topographic representation works less and less today, because there are all these other issues happening that cannot be fully captured in a topographic representation. The other thing that topographic representation does is create these divisions: here are the poor, here are the rich, here is the financial district, there's a manufacturing district, and in fact you have these internal circuits that cut across as well. It also alters when you think of the city as traversed by these global circuits, it alters the meaning of context, the meaning of 'the neighborhood'. In a financial district, this is something that I often raise when I talk to architects, when you have this financial district, it looks like it belongs to the city, but to some extent it belongs much more to global circuits where you have other financial districts as well, than to that particular city. So the question of the context, contextual architecture and planning are ways of camouflaging the brutal reality of disarticulation. What does it mean for the civic fabric of the city? The city is long accommodated to inequality. But, what happens today is a more complex kind of inequality and fragmentation. If the frontier is indeed today inside the city rather than out in the neo-colonial zone, what does that do to the civic fabric? And then finally, the chal-

lenge of how do we experience these fragmentations, these urban spaces traversed by global circuits, and how do we respond to the multiplication of these internal borderlands. That poses a whole new kind of problematic around the urban that comes directly from some of the époque making transformations that we see with globalization. A lot of this has long been part of any examination of the city, but it's a question of threshold. What happens today is that it jumps a threshold, and it becomes a different kind of condition. And that is what matters.

I want to sort of re-conclude by recapping this issue of scales of the global and how to understand that. Looking at the city, it's one way that's going digging, and trying to find the global in a sub-national space, rather than in a global space, and in terms of very messy issues that are not simply part of a binary – it's either global, or it's not global, because a lot of the scholarship on the global presumes that the global is the non-national, and what I'm trying to show is that a lot of what is 'the global' is not caught up in this binary. It's not this mutually exclusive, whether it's a national state, or whether it is the sub-national space that is the city. And then, the second major theme is how this way of looking at the global as decentered, besides being a concentrated scale up of the IMF, and the global market for capital etc; how it is a very particular grit that inserts itself in the specifics, in the localities of different countries, cities, regions, neighborhoods, and hence different sub-cultures, imaginaries, etc. At the end, we have a highly dispersed condition, as well as a very centralized condition, and one where the edges are not clear, and that one experience that we might have is this multiplication of borderlands, of edges, etc. In fact, it's part of this époque making transformation that we're living through. Even though I believe that it is but a minor part of what still is the experience of the political, of the economic and of the social. But it can be minor and yet be strategic in its consequences. When I look at the future, I see a lot of mixity – a global that structures itself increasingly at different scales, with different codes, a far broader range of instances than we usually think of. But at the same time, an ongoing wait of older ways of experiencing of older forms that are often national is going on, but not only that, the ascendance of first nation and digital culture gives us a still more revitalized dimension. It's a very messy landscape, and my work is done by capturing in this messiness, capturing these multiple scales, and the fact that the poor can also be the part of the global. I hope that one effect that it achieves is to enable these globalities, global imaginaries that are horizontal, where the constituencies are people without power, without resources, who do not travel, to convince them that they could also be actors in this global scene, because I do think we need these multiple types of actors.

(Lecture was held during the 'Trans-global Art-ground' curatorial seminar, at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, December 6-13, 2003.)

Transcription of the lecture is not authorized.

## **Kill the Object, Keep the Product**

Micz Flor, kuda.org 12. 06. 02

This lecture attempts to look into the rise and fall of the so-called *New Economy* by outlining how little “new” there was in the first place. These observations relate to the social aspects as well as to the understanding of a marketable product. I will conclude with shifting the focus, away from the outlived idea of a “product” and towards the invisible areas between components of a product, the standards, and the interfaces which allow modules to talk to each other. In my view these invisible areas are the key to the “new” economy, as they embrace both: the nature of successful software packages as well as the social nature of collaborative working in networks.

### **The ghost of the assembly line**

It seems that the early days of software development and networking are derivative of the *Old Economy*, a conveyor-belt economy, one with a factory-based rhythm and construction. It is only in the last few years, with the collapse of the first wave of Internet hype, that this foundation has begun to change. The original theory of assembly has proven to be void of any axiomatic success: there is no one sure way to piece together a successful online operation. In light of this reality, it seems that the more sustainable method of networking is yet to come, and the options for smooth self-initiated success are as illusive as ever. However, as I would like to discuss with you here, I do believe it is possible to observe some very real changes in terms of both the economic models of networking as well as the overall importance placed on the product of web-based operations.

There are a barrage of books out there about *how to do this* and *how to become that*; perfect eye candy for those stressed businessmen running between interviews, focused on finding the best and most workable strategy for themselves and their ideas. One such book is titled “*Project Management*”<sup>(1)</sup>. In its seventy pages, one can learn all he or she has ever wanted to know about project management. Once, while waiting to board a train, this same book caught my own eye. Something about the confidence of its claim convinced me to buy it, yet in the end I was disappointed. None of the situations described in the book were real. Its contents did not apply to me, and the concept of decentralized projects that the authors presented seemed wrong and completely off target in light of my own experiences. I will use some extracts from this book in my talk, precisely for this reason.

### **New names for new jobs in a new economy**

One important factor in understanding the possibilities of networking involves the analy-

sis of new media. There is a certain invisibility to these new ways of working: *title* and *office* become different realities in an online world. The prime concern is broad and culture-respective, yet the reality is much more intimate: one must find a way to detail this broad perspective such that he can sustain his own workload and interests. S/he must find mixed models and methods of working in groups that reflect his own unique ideas while simultaneously striking a comfortable balance with the interests of their own business, or the company s/he has been hired to help.

This reflects a mentality that is requisite of new media. This mentality is one quite different from the business sense of a few generations prior. Many young Western Europeans find themselves becoming well acquainted with its particular contrast: the gap between themselves and their parents' generation is large. Parents understand titles such as *teacher*, *banker*, *comic*; but the new language of media, where one's title often changes, or where the titles themselves are obscure and new, is a language the parental generation has yet to understand, much less feel comfortable with supporting. The concept of foundation has changed: to the older generation, it might seem there is no foundation at all in the new media economy. Things do not seem as solid, and the web's worth in terms of "the old economy's" judgment has yet to be publicly determined.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) has developed a Scenario Working Group that attempts to understand these unique 21<sup>st</sup> century media-based developments. This study provides a helpful entrance into the terms and possibilities of the complex working world of the web. MIT has established two extreme scenarios at the boundaries of this new business environment: *Virtual Countries* and the *Network Economy*.<sup>(2)</sup>

### **Virtual Countries: no more borders no more states**

*Virtual Countries* represents the globally active conglomerate: the mixed products of those global, multinational business ventures that are already established and acting as an essential part of the economic landscape. Interestingly enough, these corporations often have minimal responsibilities towards the state. They are able to move and blend as they please by way of their multinational identity. Though there are laws, taxes, and legal bindings on these entities, the rules governing them are distinct from the normal procedures and understandings of law that affect all those outside the conglomerate. As there is a different mode of judgment, it is often easier to get around the problems that one operating under the normal system would have to encounter.

In addition, according to the MIT study, these *Virtual Countries* tend to take good care of their employees. The feeling is similar to feudal times when those who looked after land also felt a loyalty and personal connection to it<sup>(3)</sup>. In the same way, employees of these *Virtual Countries* might feel a sense of dependency and loyalty to that which sustains and surrounds them. In comparison, the corporation itself becomes a self-

sustaining life, a nearly closed and fully sufficient system with its own language and law. To take it even further, one can imagine that this type of company is expanded to take responsibility for all other parts of the employees' social network: the education of the employees' children, their access to entertainment and news, etc. The company then provides the means of support for birth, education, work, and retirement within the lives of its employees. In this way, it is a fully encompassing operation.

### **Network Economy: no more welfare, no more hierarchies**

*Virtual Countries* is one extreme of the study. At the other end of the spectrum, MIT discusses the *Network Economy*. This form is represented by an autonomous, decentralized team operating with a maximum of ten members. This is the world of the freelancer and the small enterprise: there's no overarching structure involved, but rather small central units which connect with each other on a one-to-one networking basis. The lifespan of these organizations is usually relative to the project: these units may come together quickly, produce something, and then disperse. The emphasis is on the project rather than on the consistency of the structure.

One example of this type of *Network Economy* is the current business situation in Germany<sup>(4)</sup>. For instance, at the moment 41% of all start-ups in Germany are comprised of single persons: an individual might simply declare him- or herself a business (this business might then be termed multinational, global, etc.). There is a trend towards this sort of business mentality, leaving most IT business in Germany based out of the small unit and the various shapes and forms of networking between those units.

### **Visions for a new generation**

One feels sure that if working as an independent fails, one can always find a job again in a larger business. But the case is not quite so simple. In the past acquisition of this attitude, there was a more direct affect, one that subtly shifted the entire framework of web based operation. Quoting the German magazine *De:Bug*: "It's great now- you can make all the decisions yourself. It requires some courage, but you can always turn to full employment- or so we thought at the time."<sup>(5)</sup>

This reflects the attitude of those living in Germany who worked for larger companies such as "Pixelpark" but then made the decision to become independent and *make all the decisions themselves*. At the time, it seemed one could always go back to the bigger businesses; however, these big businesses eventually fell apart, and what were left were these small units of individual operations. The economy became one which *required* small units, groups of independent and flexible people. And in the entrepreneurial spirit of the new generation, the lifestyle that came with this change was even considered desirable.

It is unpopular (“Out”) to have *paid vacations* and a *Christmas bonus*. Things like pension funds and health insurance become (even if only based on their impossibility) things of the past. These luxuries are unnecessary conditions in the young flexible world of new media. One is working in a minimalist style and one’s philosophy reflects such conditions: the usual reasons for the last generation going to work (security, health insurance, providing for the future, etc.) are often seen as outdated or as worthy sacrifices for *doing what one wants to do*. The “cool label” given to such work enables those participating in it to feel more comfortable with their choices. One finds a community comprised of similar individuals, or individuals with a similar “norm”.

Obviously there is a strange sacrificial side to all of this: the “In” side is often one of overextension. It’s “In” to sleep in the office. It’s “In” to work on weekends, to spend months renovating an old office space till its workable, to stay in at night, keep working, no need to go out for lunch, why not just order pizza?

The experience of being a “one man army” is common to the worker in this New Media Economy. It is an environment which requires a nearly infinite knowledge and understanding of one’s field. To take some buzz-phrases from the “Project Management” book mentioned in the beginning: one must know how to *manage projects*, to keep in mind that *the client always comes first of course*. One must have *good communication skills*, and a strong capacity for *handling change*. Everything is always moving, growing, latching on to new information, the information always growing at lightening speed. One must educate oneself constantly: there are new printers, new drivers, new competition, new operating systems, new *in demand skills*, new everything.

One’s original reason for starting a company (being very skilled in a particular field such as PHP for instance) gradually becomes only a part of what the project needs in order to survive or thrive. One must be able to build and run a team, to find the right unit of people, the group that can work together properly and meet a common goal. One must find a way of properly covering a myriad of skills with only a limited resources and people.

### Reality of a new generation

To quote again from *De-Bug*, “One strategy for survival is building micro groups to get jobs done. After that, we split again.”<sup>(6)</sup> This idea also mirrors that of MIT’s networking scenario with the *Network Economy*: small teams come together, do the job required, then are forced to move on and find another project. In many situations, this idea seems to work, but one must also ask oneself the question of how fair and productive this networking model actually is for its participants.

There is a danger that “small business are being contracted and milked on an ad hoc basis”<sup>(7)</sup>. For instance, on the one hand we have freedom of trade and an increase in

flexibility. On the other, there is a coldness and lack of concern inherent in the process which mirrors the times of the industrial revolution. One gets the job done in five days, is paid some money, and then is dropped as if the project he has contributed his time and effort to never actually needed him at all. One must develop a way of handling this process, feeling slightly inhuman in relation to the need he fills in society. There is a sense of anonymity, the individual alone and questioning his *actual freedom* as he is now more ambiguously at the mercy of others. Though s/he is free to determine his/her own schedule in some sense, s/he is simultaneously working all hours of the day and weekends, and in the end, not a lasting part in any larger scope or operation. One is reminded of the assembly line again, the worker does a specialized job, and then the product moves on unconcerned with this contribution. But this comparison with the industrial revolution is not quite right: the individual *does* have a certain specialized skill and s/he *is creating* something based on his on individual proclivity. Perhaps we must reach back further: it might be the case that this new form of work is more easily comparable to the mood of workers before the industrial revolution. In this situation, each worker does a specialized job and at the end of the day, though they may not work together at a specific site, those with common interests come together socially. In at least this sense, they identify themselves as a group. The particular details of their skills, and the location in which they use those skills may vary; however, there is a common “subject” linking them together as artisans.

“The end of Trade Unions says that the self-employed organize themselves in networks, the self-employed organize themselves by trades.”<sup>(8)</sup> This is nearly ironic, but seems to be true. In Berlin for instance, it is common for all of the HTML people to meet in one bar while all of the Linux people are fond of another. It is behavior similar to those historical models (before the industrial revolution) where the stonemasons would go to one bar while the carpenters always frequented another. There is a deep need to exchange information and lobby those peers closest to one’s own area of work and specialization. This sort of grouping is at the heart of the networking model itself as well as an inherent part of humanity. It is also an aspect that must be looked at and analyzed when talking about any form of new media for the future.

### An outlives species to model the new generation: the Digital Artisan

In the early days of the *Network Economy* model, a concept developed from the Hypermedia Research Center at Westminster University in London. Richard Barbrook and Pit Shultz came up with the idea for a very futuristic, idealized scenario that they termed the “Digital Artisan”<sup>(9)</sup>. This is relative to the other ideas raised in concern to the *pre industrial revolution* mentality. The concept is based around the idea that before mass production was invented, one had a job, one knew this job well, performed this job as best s/he could, and was paid for these efforts. This was the ideal situation. To expand on this idea, one takes the “Digital Artisan” as the smallest unit: it is a *project-oriented* term where the group comes together for a specific task and works only towards that

end. In addition, the “Digital Artisan” has the right to work from a *skill-centered* approach. It isn’t about filling the gaps between machines, but rather working as a specialized part of the machine itself. The work is also *self-determined* in the sense that the individual decides for himself how to manage his time, when to work, and what the best strategy is to meet the intended goal. One no longer works a monotonous factory shift, doing a seemingly skill-less task. Instead, one is a necessary part of a group, one *collaborates in working groups* towards a common project, using his or her own special skills. Each has a skill to contribute to the joint project. There is a *flat hierarchy*. The playing field is equal: everyone in the group is needed in order to complete the task. As would be expected, these flat hierarchies tend to have a short life span; thus the process is usually one of coming together for a short amount of time, doing the project, then dispersing to something new.

“Digital Artisan” is also skill centered, which means we are discussing something on the more complex level of “*post Fordism*”. This is in contrast to “Fordism”, a term in reference to Ford, the car manufacturer. The Ford company has always been used as an example of the old factory model. This old model is organized around the conveyor belt: there is one long process of building, each piece requires a separate action. This is about filling the gaps, making the move that the machine cannot make. It has nothing to do with skills.

With new media, we are looking at something different, *post Fordism*. There is still the idea of one large machine; however the machine itself is a community effort of individuals with specialized skills. There is a big difference here. People are working with the computer, which is a universal machine, and the Internet, which is seen as the overarching connection or organized body; however, even in this machine based function, the *people* are responsible for the *skill of the computer*: sound, image, print, text programming etc. It is not a matter of filling the gap with an unspecialized action, but rather using one’s skills to create the machine itself.

Another aspect of the “Digital Artisan” model is that it is one with a dynamic lifestyle. In network-based projects, the requirements are always different so the dynamics of the groups who come together within those projects are also always different. One is always having to change and grow and use his or her skills in new contexts. There is an idea of *life long learning*, where one is constantly acquiring new information and learning from the differences and changes in each of his projects and settings.

Richard Barbrook also made special note of another aspect of the “Digital Artisan” which reflects current network economy conditions: it allows for *free working hours*. The most important point is that the work is finished by the deadline, not that the worker is forced to be in his office from nine to five each day. He can work at midnight or on weekends, go out and drink at noon, whatever s/he feels is best, just so long as by the end of the week, the group has accomplished what they started. This is a bit idealistic, but

its easy to get the point: the structure is much more freeing.

In many ways, it seems true to say that *the digital revolution killed the conveyor-belt*. When the Internet first began, there was no tool to easily construct a website. One had to be creative and use a variety of resources in order to get anything onto the web. It felt specialized and personal. This was a big change from the robotic arm of the conveyor belt model. There was suddenly a completely new field of work and interest and people were needed to understand that field and find a way to use it productively, thus clearing the way for a more flexible market. *A flexible market tends to kill the factory*.

### The fall of the Digital Artisan

But this optimistic turn soon changed course. The Internet seemed to have infinite potential and it wasn’t long before more and more people noticed this, educated themselves, and entered the market. Eventually the debilitating question of intellectual property arose. People began to question ownership rights and monetary issues. It was difficult to understand how one might provide adequate proof of ownership for the work contributed. The accounting side of the skilled efforts took on a life of its own and *administrative overheads* (hardly a word synonymous with the “Digital Artisan”) soon began to take precedence. There were more and more areas that needed to be covered. One had to think of overhead, timetables, scheduling, financing, etc.

In addition, the *exclusivity of the skill* was soon gone. It was no longer *the rare person* who understood the workings of the web. Whereas it was once the case that only one person in London knew how to do the job in need, suddenly there were thousands in all parts of the world to choose from. Everything became specialized. Now it is no longer hard to find teams of people in NYC slaving away over *flash animation* and the *variation of fonts*. Multimedia courses are now easy to find: it is no longer difficult to find a forum for learning the workings of the Internet.

As more and more people began to see the Internet as the job of the future, global competition grew strong. Communication expanded and technology became more and more accessible, and soon hiring and commissioning work was no longer regional or contained by the rarity of the artisan. This flux was eventually the reason for the dramatic crash in the market. The medium was too ephemeral to be contained, and people’s interest (as well as the amount of people who were suddenly involved) peaked in far excess of its own demand. This caused the crash, then eventually there was a natural leveling off and a change of emphasis. Still, the Internet is arguably more important now than it was at the time just before the crash though the expectations in terms of money and lifestyle have changed dramatically.

### What constitutes a product is not within the product anymore



Though with the Internet and networking everything has changed in terms of communication and job availability, people are still focused on the product. It is still the product that makes or breaks the worker. It is the product that demonstrates the worker's skills, and it is ultimately the product that dictates how much and when a person's skills are needed. It seems that the definition of product has widened to include the area or outline around the actual unit being sold or created. It is the *development of the product* that deserves the real focus here: the web sites, the data base solutions, etc. In some ways, one can again bring in the comparison to Fordism: the worker is judged by how many web sites or CDs s/he has created where once the company was judged by the number of cars it made and sold.

Though parts of it still apply, the "Digital Artisan" theory is not large enough to support today's situation: it is no longer possible to think in such intimate terms, things have simply become too large. The old patterns have resurfaced: the concern is always with the product, not the means (the artisan) so much as the demand and the way in which that demand is met. There are certain areas around the product now that are essential for the product's success.

Today there are teams working to develop a competitive product. The product itself is developed in a network scenario. This sort of production does not reflect the old economy, nor does it reflect the "Digital Artisan" model.

### Have systems talk to each other, like people do

But the product cannot be viable unless its production team first considers the *standards* and *interface* governing that product, the area around the core, between modules, the layers of a kernel. Similar to the social and communication processes established in the networks of *micro-businesses* described above, software packages themselves have become *micro-units* talking to each other, rather than large monolithic monuments of code. The key to a successful software product today is its openness to the outside world, the ease by which it can communicate with other software and how transparent its outline (the API) is to other developers who seek to generate features and modules, meeting their needs.

This is the case with media players for example. Nullsoft successfully produces the Winamp player. Other people produce audio codecs<sup>(10)</sup> or develop skins that make Winamp interesting and sustainable. Instead of producing the one audio player that plays it all, Nullsoft decided to make the shell which is clearly defined and allows third party developers to add their modules. Linux is another example of a grander scale. Having standardized sets within which people can develop is an important scenario for the success of the product.

So the focus is still on the product, but the definition of the product has shifted to a more network based form. It is the outline around the product that is the real product now, or the essential element. It is no longer about the song or the CD itself, but about the area and order around that item, its means of becoming viable. It is this area and ordering that have become the more important aspect in Internet operations. One must have the proper outline if one is going to be successful. The compatibility in these terms covers agreement on standards, interface, and software. This is where the focus is now, where the more important decisions in terms of the project are established. The project itself might change, but this procedure of compatibility and outlining is constant regardless of the group or the project.

Those who are still focused on the original object are apt to fail. We must kill the object and keep the product, which is to say; we must realize that the definition of product itself has expanded. It is no longer the object that is the product; rather is the area or outline around that object.

(Edited by Andrea Khiott)  
In kuda.org, 12. 06. 2002.

### Notes:

- (1) Andy Bruce & Ken Langdon: Basiswissen "Fit im Job", Dorling Kindersley, London 2000.
- (2) MIT Scenario Working Group: Two Scenarios for 21st Century Organizations, MIT 2000.
- (3) For a literary insight, see the description of Microsoft's impact on the life of its employees in: Douglas Coupland: Microserfs, Regan Books, 1996.
- (4) European Business School: Beschäftigung und Mitarbeiterbedarf bei Internet/E-commerce-Gründungen in Deutschland, 2001.
- (5) Daniela Künne: Agenturleben nach dem Hype, In: De:bug 58, April 2002.
- (6) Daniela Künne: Agenturleben nach dem Hype, In: De:bug 58, April 2002.
- (7) Daniela Künne: Agenturleben nach dem Hype, In: De:bug 58, April 2002.
- (8) Inga Michler: Die Macht zwischen Unternehmen und Beschäftigten wird neu verteilt, in: Die Welt online, 31.7.2000.
- (9) Richard Barbrook, Pit Schulz, Hypermedia Research Center, Westminster University, London 1996.
- (10) codec: Acronym for coder-decoder. An assembly consisting of an encoder and a decoder in one piece of equipment, common in audio and video software.

## **Deep Europe and Kosovo Conflict: A History of the V2\_East/Syndicate Network and beyond**

Geert Lovink

European cultural network and mailing list community Syndicate exploded and split in two in August 2001. Founded in early 1996 as a “post-1989” East-West exchange network between new-media artists, Syndicate had grown into a network of 500 members Europe-wide and beyond. I will not cover all aspects of its five-years existence. Instead, I will deal with three elements of its history. First of all, I will outline the formation of the network. Second, I will focus on the explosion of Syndicate postings during the 1999 Kosovo crisis. In the last part, I will analyze the demise of the list, as Syndicate was unable to deal with the issue of moderation. Developed as an informal new-media arts network, Syndicate did not survive the polarization of the debates, which it plunged into. Its open architecture was vulnerable to the challenges of hackers, trolls and quasi-automatic bots, which eventually brought down the Syndicate as a social network.

The intensity of list traffic – and the circulating arguments and emotions – during the Kosovo war (March-July 1999) is the core subject of this text. The debates over the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia would turn out to be a turning point for the larger new-media arts community. No one had ever seen such fierce debates, such bitterness. The live reports and debates should be considered Syndicate’s finest hour. While elsewhere on the Net dotcom greed raged, there was talk in the press of Kosovo as “the first Internet war”. It was time to go beyond normalcy and explore networked extremes. The Syndicate case could be read as an allegory of arts and politics in the outgoing “roaring nineties”, both embodying and reflecting the technological intensities. Online communities do not just reflect events but have the potential to create their own autopoeitic system and provoke events. For mainstream media and its professional critics discussion lists are an almost invisible cultural phenomenon, yet they play a key part in the life of its participants. Lots of incidents happen on lists that become visible and emerge later in different form. The story of Syndicate is an instructive one because of the hatred that manifested itself in a medium, which originally was meant to be collaborative and democratic. It can tell us something about the emergence of extreme cultures, the establishment of a culture of uncertainty and control, and operating way beyond the rational consensus paradigm.

### **East-West Relations**

... During the early to mid – 1990s many of the exciting media/arts initiatives came not from the recession-plagued West but from the “wild” East, which had only recently opened up. To create a network of new-media artists and organization throughout the 15 countries in the East would have been next to impossible before 1989. This was the

time to do it. But how would an equal East-West network function, especially if it was run out of Western Europe? Conspiracy theories thrived, especially in an environment flooded with money from Wall Street speculator/philanthropist George Soros.<sup>(1)</sup> Was there a hidden neo-colonialist agenda, which would start with new-media arts? Easterners were a hard bunch to organize. For historical reasons there was a preference for informal gatherings over the official rhetoric of the next round of salvation, this time called “new media”. There was an unspoken skepticism about exchanges planned from above – and good intentions in general. “Community” was a contaminated concept that came dangerously close to “communism”.<sup>(2)</sup> On the other hand, this was not the right time to be dogmatic and reject opportunities. The longing for a “normalization” of East-West relations had been a sincere desire for decades. East-European Syndicalists were faced with the dilemma between going out on their own in the big world of the global networks and getting lost easily, and becoming a member of a “cool” network that would attract enough excitement to gain the critical speed to enter into another orbit, liberated from familiar geography (and inferior passports). The last thing they longed for was a cozy collective identity. The Syndicate agenda seemed pragmatic enough to be worth a try, even though there was a danger it would limit itself to networking arts bureaucrats.

The Syndicate network had to start off low-key and provide its participants with useful information, concrete assistance and collaboration on an equal basis. Building up such an informal network of trust was not going to be all that easy. Numerous informal exchanges took place in the background to lift Syndicate off the ground. By 1996 the Bosnian war had just ended and the Chechnya conflict was still going on. In most East European countries a though neo-liberal “reform” climate had established itself, backed by a variety of political forces ranging from pragmatic post-communists to newborn conservatives and hard-line ethno-nationalists. 1989’s euphoria and expectations of a generous Marshall plan for the East had all but faded away. Both the USA and individual European powers such as Great Britain, France and Germany continued with their well-known, contradictory Balkan *realpolitik*. With countless inspiring new works by artists from “the region” circulating, the over climate in Eastern Europe was swinging between cautious optimism and the gray reality of growing poverty and mutual distrust (if not ethnic hatred). Former Eastern bloc countries had not yet entered NATO or the EU. These were the years of “transition”, as the Euro-American officials had termed the process in such a clean and neutral manner...

### Deep Europe

... The exact origin of the term “Deep Europe” remains unclear. It may have a multitude of sources... For moderator Inke Arns, Deep Europe expressed “a new understanding of Europe, an understanding which leads away from horizontal/homogeneous/binary concept of territory (e.g. East/West) and – by means of a vertical cut through territorial entities – moves towards a new understanding of the different heterogeneous,

deep-level, cultural layers and identities which exist next to each other in Europe.”<sup>(3)</sup>...

... Syndicate list members organized almost two or three meetings a year. The first Syndicate meeting took place in Rotterdam in September 1996 during V2\_’s DEAF festival, attended by 30 media artists and activists, journalists and curators from 12 Eastern and Western European countries. More Syndicate meetings followed, most attended by a few dozen people. These workshops often took place on the edges of festival and conferences... In between, there were many smaller meetings and joint projects, presentations and workshops. Three readers, edited by Inke Arns, were published, collecting the most important texts from the mailing list.<sup>(4)</sup>...

### NATO Bombings and List Explosion

In March 1999 when the bombing of Serbia started, the list completely exploded with a lot of exchange of reports from Novi Sad, Belgrade, and from many parts of the world... Two weeks earlier, at the Amsterdam Next Five Minutes conference, the situation had not been an urgent topic, even though independent media producers from Belgrade, Pristina, Skopje and other towns in the Balkans had been present. Peace talks in Rambouillet between NATO, Yugoslav authorities and the Kosovo Albanians had failed to produce an agreement. With mass killings and armed resistance spiraling out of control, Kosovo was well on the way to becoming the next Bosnia. In the case of Bosnia it had taken Western powers three and a half years to intervene in a serious manner, after years of half-hearted diplomacy, broken ceasefires and limited UN mandates. The US bombardment of Bosnian Serb military positions finally brought the parties to the Dayton negotiation table. In the Kosovo case, with spring close and parties on the both sides gearing up for the next big killing spree, NATO took action in a decisive manner, causing a spiral of effects. On March 24, 1999, “the most serious war in Europe since 1945” (Michael Ignatieff) began. The NATO bombing of Yugoslavia would last for 78 days, until the Yugoslav army withdrew from Kosovo in early June 1999.<sup>(5)</sup>

By this event, Syndicate turned into a unique unfiltered citizens’ channel, crossing geographic and political borders, which had turned into enemy lines. It was not only used by people from here, but a lot of people started to post what they saw on the television, or from their specific perspective in their country, so they contributed a lot. The exchange over two or three months period was amazing, and the amount of postings could even be 50 a day. After three or four weeks into the war, the tensions were rising between people who agreed with a NATO strategy, and people who did not agree with it, so it turned the whole list. What has started as an exchange between artists turned into a very fiercely on-line debate about this political situation. At the end of April, there was a Syndicate meeting in Budapest and people from all different places came to attend it. A lot of people got involved in a support of independent media and media artists in Yugoslavia, but also elsewhere. It was not entirely focused on a situation here, it was broader than that. But, the more the conflict developed into May and

June, somehow the list became more desperate. The enormous amount of new subscribers came on to the list that had no idea about the past of this specific virtual community. Probably, they were not media artists, but they were more interested in the political situation. So, within months, the whole nature of the virtual community has changed and the amount of postings was just enormous. In that sense, a lot of people unsubscribed because they couldn't cope anymore with the amount of information. That certainly brought the Syndicate list in a whole new situation. With the overload of information and a lot of new participants, the list itself almost collapsed. In July, August and September 1999, the situation somehow stabilized, but still the list was very active. It was grown almost out of proportions, and it's quite interesting to see this sudden change.

... The independent-media-as-part-of-solution argument was developed over three months in a variety of actions worldwide. However, those who rejected the need to choose sides between NATO and those who opposed its bombings were danger of being ignored, crushed between two sides. The Internet philosophy of globalism did not provide enough of a political program to be able to operate as a strong enough alternative. Global communication was not enough. The Western rational engineering discourse, which presumed people could resolve their conflicts through talking (or even better, sending e-mail) was not equipped to tackle armed conflicts of this magnitude. When weapons speak, appeals to human rationalism are usually not heard. The usual superiority of rational discourse is bluntly overruled, forcing the engineers (and other techno believers) to either take sides and participate or remain silent. The technology agenda was no guide in a state of emergency. In 1999, the booming Internet sphere had not penetrated deeply enough in society to make a difference at the moment of truth. In retrospect, the Kosovo conflict turned out to be a bitter reality check for the Syndicate members and Net art at large, one year before the dotcom entrepreneurs would get theirs.

Soon after that, the list became interesting for a new generation of net artists. They were using what I call, info war tools to post to the list. The most known is Netochka Nezanova, which is a semi-automated bot. It is kind of on-line personality that tried to intimidate a lot of the participants, and other artists have contributed with a lot of net art and ASCII art. Netochka Nezanova presents itself as an application. The proper term that people use for it is "the troll". It is like a person who is trying to attract a lot of information; to attract information away from the discussion that's going on, and trying to become the center of the community. This is exactly what happened to Syndicate after 1999. A lot of net artists had tried to take over the list, and tried to become the center of it. It was hard to tell whether it's an auto made, or whether it's software. It's a sort of computer code writing. Person just types in a normal way, but what appears on the screen looks like machine talk. Someone might think that the first appearance is computer that is putting out almost random code, but people are getting confuse because it actually has a meaning. What the troll is trying to do is to drag you more into it by trying to decide what is been said. The amount of the noise on the list was grow-

ing enormously, and at the same time, there was still a leftover of this whole political tension, which had built up during the Kosovo war.

There are many others who were active on this particular list at that point, which have their own ways attracting and trying to monopolize. The amount of postings was just exploding. These trolls were named like media ASCII or ASCII terrorists. Some people liked them, and other people didn't, but at that time, Syndicate was still sort of a community that had its original intentions. The intention was to build a bridge between East and West Europe, to exchange information, to exchange resources, service space, to hold workshops for artists from Eastern Europe that could participate, etc. But the founders, in this case, Andreas Broeckmann and Inke Arns who were both working out of Berlin, they did not moderate the list. The list was open; everybody could post anything they liked, so it became very crowded and very noisy. The list, more or less, worked from the end of Kosovo war only two years in 2000. But, towards 2001 it had become so noisy that a lot of the original participants, especially from Eastern Europe, unsubscribed, and they were no longer visible. They didn't even try to deal with all net.art going on at the list, and they also did not want really to participate in the question "whether Syndicate should be monitored, yes or no?" Nettime mailing list had gone through a very painful discussion way back in 1997, over the issue whether the list should be closed or not. Syndicate never really dealt with that issue, and by middle 2001, the whole community fell apart.

In August 2001, list exploded over the issue: How do you deal with all those ASCII art? Should these people be removed from the list or not? Syndicate simply could not resolve this issue, and the list divided in two. Small groups continued the Syndicate list and move it to a server in Norway. And some people tried to reconstruct the community, by founding a new mailing list called Spectre. This particular list was founded in August 2001. It is still an open list, but it has quite strict rules what you can post and what you cannot do, in order to avoid the same what happened to previous. At the same time, one has to say that Spectre is no longer focusing on East-West Europe. This list doesn't really have a focus anymore, although it tries to continue with the idea of a new media culture in Europe. It no longer hosts meetings, there are no publications, so I wouldn't say it's a dead list, but it's certainly not a very active community. Syndicate was a community at some point, especially in the period of 1997 – 2000. It's still a prime example of what can happen to a community, in case of naive media art that tried to have a dialog, work together and create a European network. In a way, it was confronted with the situation of war in Europe, where the new media art context suddenly almost violently broken open, or apart. And on top of that, artists who are absolutely not interesting in dialog, working together, and changing cultural, were trying to monopolize such a channel and trying to use it as a platform for their own work.

### Mailing lists and Web logs

Syndicate is a classic example where community cannot find consensus over the basic issues of: Do you want to have an open communication? Do you want to believe in the rational citizen that is bringing in his/her political arguments and information? Because, a lot of net artists were not interested in the debating side of the story. They were just busy finding out about the workings of ASCII art, mailing lists and non-verbal lists of expressions. These things were violently collided. The Syndicate is a classic example of how mailing lists and their software is reaching its limits, because this community could not reach consensus over the issue of "should we be an open list where everybody can post anything, or should we have moderation?" I think that a lot of the tensions here, we can see slowly shifting, and for a whole new generation of on-line artists and activists this issue is not really important anymore. Their attention is shifting towards web logs or blogs, where the stream of communication is not going through e-mail, but through web based systems. The good thing about the web-based communication exchange is that we don't have this chronology and very synchronized communication any more. The things that are possible on the web are infinite, because the web gives us the possibility to have all the discussions going on parallel on a different threads, so that just give us an enormous opportunity to go beyond. One of the earliest and the most famous web logs developed to the Linux community is called Slashdot.org, a web site well known for developing new rules for open publishing. The Slashdot gives a lot of clues how we can go beyond the mailing list and its limitations. It gives a lot of possibilities for filtering. It is not so democratic platform as you might think, because not everybody can post an original contribution. But, once that has been done, everybody can send his or her comments on that story. For example, there is a story "How would you start a radio station?" and it has 157 responses about peoples' ideas and information, forming different approach to the subject. Compared to a mailing list is that you can set all different trash holds, the amount of postings that you want, not the whole but the most valuable responses, etc. The good thing about web logs is that everything is available on line. This is not, in any way, disturbing your inbox of your e-mail. This is a new, and whole other way of approaching the same problem that the Syndicate list could not resolve. Unfortunately, Syndicate never really confronted itself with the issue of software, and what software has to offer these days. It almost dogmatically defined itself as a major majordomo, mailing list, software, community, and could not really think beyond the very rigid parameters that were set in that specific software developed somewhere in the early '80's. These days, there are a lot of ways for us to resolve these issues. I'm not saying that the Kosovo conflict could be resolved with better software. The conflicts are real, but there are certainly other ways of managing the flows of information together.

"Slashdot" has made an interesting contribution by giving its software available and it can be downloaded from the Internet. It is very advanced software that is recommended only for advanced computer users. On the opposite side of the story, there is software called "Blogger", which is good for discussions or on-line forum on the web, and it's ideal for beginners.

In the past, people would have a personal home page, and now, all home pages are being slowly transformed into web logs, where people are still putting out their personal invitation, but at the same time they invite others to respond to what they say. The way to respond is possible just by installing this kind of software that allows someone else to contribute through. That process is been called open publishing. But, with-in new media art, there web logs are not so spread yet. In our communities, we are still to large extent depending on e-mail based communication and mailing lists. But, since late '99 and the battle of Seattle (activists protests against WTO – World Trade Organization), media activists have developed open publishing site called Indymedia. It's a classic form of a web log and open publishing system. Indymedia has become so big and so popular, that is somehow facing the same problem as Syndicate mailing list. Here, person has the possibility to post whatever he/she wants. Also, there all the announcements and the news from other Indymedia sites in different cities, in the countries all over the world. It's one of the biggest, decentralized alternative media sites on the Internet that happened in two years time. But, interesting aspect of Indymedia is that it could no longer deal with the open publishing aspect. Unlike Slashdot where people are still posting hundreds and hundreds of comments, Indymedia nearly collapsed because of the amount of the responses. Also, they could no longer deal with all the neonazis and anti Zionist, people that just kept on abusing the site. It's really quite interesting that Indymedia had to give up a lot of the open publishing aspects, and although it somehow still exists, it is not visible anymore. It's still possible to publish something, but these postings are not immediately entering the home page anymore. This appears to be similar issue that Syndicate had, but they have not disappeared altogether.

It is important to see what can happen to such communities; what role software is playing and where the limits are of open communication tools. Also, I don't want to be particularly pessimistic, because I think that at the same time there are also a lot of exciting new tools available to deal with these conflicts that arrives on the net.

(Based on the lecture held on 21.09.2002 in kuda.org, Novi Sad and excerpts from the book "My First Recession" by Geert Lovink)

#### Notes:

- (1) Concerns of Western-led takeover of the East may have been fueled by historical precedents. The stalking-horse role played by abstract expressionism during the Cold War and revelations of CIA funding for US exhibitions were more than just wild rumors. Articles reconstructing such cases written by Max Kozloff and Eva Cockcroft appeared in *Artforum*. See also Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- (2) For instance, an "activist" during Communist times was a low-ranking Party member, spreading propaganda on the work floor, spying on others, always ready for betrayal if necessary. It was therefore not a surprise that Western "media activism" in the East was met with a certain disdain.

- (3) Inke Arns, "Beyond the Surfaces: Media Culture versus Media Art or How we learned to love tunnel metaphors", Syndicate, August 23, 1999, written for Stephen Kovats (ed.), *Media Revolution*, Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus Verlag, 1999.
- (4) The three Syndicate publications:
1. *Reader of the V2\_East/Syndicate Meeting on Documentation and Archiving Media Art in Easter, Central and South-Eastern Europe*, colossus.v2.nl/syndicate/synr0.html.
  2. *Deep Europe: 1996 – 97 edition*. Selected txts from the V2\_East/Syndicate mailing list, Berlin, October 1997, colossus.v2.nl/syndicate/synr1.html.
  3. *Junction Skopje*, selected texts from the V2\_East/Syndicate mailing list 1997 – 98, *Syndicate Publication Series 002*, Skopje, October 1998, published by SCCA Skopje, colossus.v2.nl/syndicate/synr2.html.
- (5) For an overview of the Kosovo conflict, see Ivo Daadler and Michael O'Hanlon, *Winning Ugly*, Washington DC: Brooking Institution Press, 2000; Wesley Clark, *Waging Modern War: Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Future of Combat*, New York: Public Affairs, 2000; *The Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

## Culture and Technologies of Control

Konrad Becker

Introduction to the cultural intelligence manual "Tactical Reality Dictionary"

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"What is this?" Samuel Morse

Culture is not just the expression of individual interests and orientations, manifested in groups according to rules and habits but it offers identification with a system of values. The construction of cultural memory and establishing a symbolic order through setting up mental and ideological spaces is a traditional practice of cultural engineering; symbolic scenarios generate reality by mediating an implicit political narrative and logic. Maps of the world radiating an aura of objectivity and marking out the ways of life are exploited as cognitive tools. An image of the world as simulation or map of reality can be highly inductive and that explains the investment in cultural representation. From historiography to education, perception is influenced by mental scenarios that establish the symbolic order. According to Edward Bernays, a pioneer of modern public relations, the only difference between education and propaganda is the point of view. "The advocacy of what we believe in is education. The advocacy of what we don't believe in is propaganda." The development in electronic communication and digital media allows for a global telepresence of values and behavioral norms and provides increasing possibilities of controlling public opinion by accelerating the flow of persuasive communication. Information is increasingly indistinguishable from propaganda, defined as "the manipulation of symbols as a means of influencing attitudes". Whoever controls the metaphors

controls thought.

The ubiquitous flow of information is too fast to absorb and creating value in the economy of attention includes the artful use of directing perception to a certain area, to put some aspects in the spotlight in order to leave others in the dark. The increasing focus of attention on the spectacle makes everything disappear that is not within the pre-defined event horizon. Infosphere manipulation is also implemented through profound penetration of the communications landscape by agents of influence. Large scale operations to manage public opinion, to evoke psychological guiding motivations and to engineer consent or influence policy making have not been exclusive to the 20th century. Evidence of fictitious cultural reconstruction is abundant in the Middle Ages; recent findings on the magnitude of forgeries, the large scale faking of genealogies, official documents and codices attracted broad attention and media interest. In 12th century Europe in particular, pseudo historical documents were widely employed as tools of political legitimacy and psychological manipulation. According to some conservative estimates, the majority of all documents of this period were fictitious. With hindsight, whole empires could turn out to be products of cultural engineering. Moreover, writers such as Martin Bernal, author of "The Fabrication of Ancient Greece", have clearly demonstrated to what extent cultural propaganda and historical disinformation is contained in the work of European scholars. On the basis of racist ideas and a hidden political agenda historic scenarios were fabricated and cultural trajectories distorted in order to support the ideological hegemony of certain European elites.

The increasing informatization of society and economy is also the source of a growing relevance of culture, the cultural software in the psycho-political structure of influence. During the so-called cold war, too, issues of cultural hegemony were of importance. In publications such as "The Cultural Cold War" and "How America stole the Avant-garde" Frances Stonor Saunders and Serge Guilbaud offer a behind-the-scenes view of the cultural propaganda machine and provide a sense of the extravagance with which this mission was carried out. Interestingly there were specifically efforts to support progressive and liberal positions as bridge head against the "communist threat". If one chooses to believe some contemporary investigative historical analyses, it seems that there was hardly a major western progressive cultural magazine in the Fifties and Sixties that would not have been founded or supported by a cover organization of intelligence services or infiltrated by such agencies. In the light of this, the claim made by Cuba at the UNESCO world conference in Havana 1998, according to which culture is the "weapon of the 21st century" does not seem unfounded.

Information Peacekeeping has been described as the "purest form of war" in the extensive military literature on information war. From cold war to code war, the construction of myths, with the intention of harmonizing subjective experience of the environment, is used for integration and motivation in conflict management. While "intelligence" is often characterized as the virtual substitute of violence in the information society, Infor-

mation Peacekeeping, the control of the psycho-cultural parameters through the subliminal power of definition in intermediation and interpretation is considered the most modern form of warfare.

### Disinformation Society

It is a boom time for intelligence agencies, not only state but private intelligence. Mass-surveillance, dataveillance, and information processing has grown into a major intelligence industry. While state intelligence is protected by secrecy in the interest of national security, prohibitive fees and large payments affordable by corporations only, guard access to economic intelligence.

Corporations, consumers of economic intelligence, routinely advance the merging of editorial information with corporate public relations in the media. The agenda of privately accumulated capital is further supported by a multitude of think-tanks which publish ideologically biased research and hidden agendas masked as independent academic work. Unlike the billion-dollar brainware industry put into place by corporate interest, there are no Future Heritage foundations of cultural intelligence, no foresight institutes exploring the multidimensional potential of human experimental communication beyond the role as consumers. It seems as if the control of societal development is in the hands of technocratic elites, ill informed bureaucrats and a shady but aggressive lobbyism. The layout for the future of communication is decided behind closed doors.

Technologically determined environments increasingly shape society but the democratic participatory potential is more and more excluded from a public debate. Most of the early hopes of emancipatory practice in a society based on information exchange seem to have vanished and turned into gloom. Instead the potential of information and communication technologies for political control and repression seemingly has no boundaries, as its practical applications become more "normal" and manifest reality every day. The use of information technology for the deterrence of civilian dissent opens up a new dimension of political and cultural control.

By the year 2002, high resolution privacy intrusion is getting into the mainstream big time. Although 9-11 caused a landslide, this development has built up momentum for some years. The European Union's cross border communication interception project Enfopol, and the UK's Regulation of Investigative Powers (RIP) bill, which allows the police to intercept any communication using the "public communications system" were among the earlier legal frameworks paving the way for the rise of the total surveillance society. Despite being taken up by the European Parliament in 1998, the Echelon communications interception system set up in 1948 remains one of the secrets of western intelligence agencies and out of the reach of democratic accountability. Increasing proliferation of technologies of surveillance and control is not only useful for its potential to contain segments of society that fail to be integrated into the economy of machinic

symbol manipulation but the long-term effects of social homogenization through the command/control structure of technology are also highly desirable for globalized markets and opinion management.

### Future Culture

The situation is getting even more precarious due to the fact that new media are ever more dominated by a dramatic concentration of private interest capital and the absence of the protection of the public interest by political representatives for a society at large. The public sphere can best be developed independently from the state and from dominant business interests. The logic of the control over the media market is strongly opposed to the cultivation and formation of a public sphere, and the dysfunctionality of media markets generates a crucial deficiency of participatory media culture. A society shaped by technological systems and digital communication should keep a perspective where cultural freedom can be actively pursued and in which use and value are not exclusively determined by profits. Therefore it seems necessary to widen the basis of understanding to support a broad discussion on the political implications of ICT and to raise awareness on issues of conflict. Developments that need to be monitored with great awareness include the attack on privacy and the databody, the digital divide, net.slaves and the deterioration of the workplace, the vanishing of a public sphere in the digital realm, the extension of copyright benefiting the content industry and IP lobby against the public interest but also the establishment of one-sided technological standards, the militarization of cyberspace and new possibilities of disinformation.

Against this less than reassuring background there is a surprising multitude of examples of emancipatory use of ICT to be found all over the world and it has become undeniably an essential tool for political, cultural and human rights activists. These groups and individuals are the ones that keep the spirit of the social use of communication networks alive and give an example of empowerment through new technology.

### Tactical Reality Dictionary:

Ambiguous Information,  
 Attentive Relevance,  
 Behavior Patterns,  
 Belief Networks,  
 Coercive Continuum,  
 Cognitive Framing,  
 Consistent Illusions,  
 Control Stratagems,  
 Corporate Intelligence,  
 Critical Hedonism,

Cultural Counterintelligence,  
 Cultural Intelligence,  
 Cybercratic Conspiracy Command Control Intelligence (C4I),  
 Deceptive Communication,  
 Deceptive Intelligence,  
 Decognition Training,  
 Digital Ecology,  
 Digital Human Rights,  
 Dimensional Framing,  
 Dream Nation,  
 Electric Emotions,  
 Embedded Commands,  
 Expanded e-scrapism,  
 Expert Systems,  
 Explanation Driving,  
 Fluffy Logic,  
 Future Heritage,  
 Hyper Politics,  
 Hyper Topology,  
 Induction Codes,  
 Infobody Attack,  
 Infobody Biofeedback Modulation,  
 Intelligent Pandemonium,  
 Invisible Intelligence,  
 Knowledge Representations,  
 Leviathan Supersystems,  
 Magnetic Somnambulism,  
 Mac Believe,  
 Manipulation Patterns,  
 Meme Slaves,  
 Memory Construction,  
 Memory States,  
 Mesmerized Data,  
 Microwave Discommunication,  
 Mind Modification,  
 Mind Patterns,  
 Nested Images,  
 Non-Lethal Action,  
 Pattern Detection,  
 Pattern Recognition,  
 Perception Management,  
 Perceptive Expectations,  
 Persuasive Influence,



Persuasive Internalization, Propaganda Propulsion Project, Psychotronic Stimulation,  
 Reality Engineering,  
 Senso-Linguistic Infiltration Programs,  
 Social Styling,  
 Spell Checking,  
 State Control,  
 Structural Delusion,  
 Symbolic Order,  
 Synchronous Isopraxis,  
 Synthetic Cults,  
 Synthetic Worlds,  
 Tactical Truth,  
 Tactical Synrealism,  
 Telepresent Contagious Postures,  
 Vast Active Living Intelligence System,  
 Virtual Patrol,  
 WholsWho Anonymous

## Excerpts from a book 'Tactical Reality Dictionary'

### Manipulation Patterns

The main subcategories of propaganda are command propaganda, which seeks a specific and immediate response (Buy ... Do ... Vote ... Join ... Fight ...), and sub-propaganda or conditioning propaganda, which seeks to mold public opinions, assumptions, and attitudes on a long-term and widespread basis. The basic patterns for manipulation of socio-political "Cause" groups can be described in a pattern of: Threat; Bonding; Cause; Response. Socio-political persuasion follows similar patterns as consumer marketing campaigns: a basic pattern, of commercial advertising is a simple 5 step formula of "the pitch": Attention-Getting, Confidence-Building, Desire-Stimulation, Urgency-Stressing, and Response-Seeking.

Persuasion techniques are systematic effort to persuade a body of people to support or adopt a particular product, opinion, attitude, or course but attempt to influence attitudes by the use of symbols rather than force. Invariably in every communication, nonverbal or in words, some aspects are intensified and some downplayed. Manipulation is strongly based on intensifying information elements by repetition, association, and composition and downplaying by omission, diversion, and confusion. Persuasion analysis can identify several patterns of behaviour modification and influence techniques and the awareness of these patterns helps to analyse complex emotional arguments although it does not inform on reliability of supporting evidence. Social influence pro-

grams seek to induce reaction, obedience with as little thought as possible in the target audience. Impulse for action comes directly from the depths of the unconscious and using deep persuasion is the instrument to attain this effect. The transformation of language as an instrument of the mind into symbols directly evoking feelings and reflexes, where words become "pure sound", is a deliberate devaluation of thought as the basic condition of the social organization causing serious dissociations. One of the most intriguing influences from outside of our awareness is subliminal psychodynamic activation. The "mere exposure effect" of an only marginally perceptible stimulus, also known as subliminal perceptual priming, is the effect on our preferences of a briefly flashed picture in a forced choice test. Especially as reinforcement, variations of the mere exposure effect have been demonstrated to activate emotional centers of the brain, without awareness.

### Digital Human Rights

Digital Human Rights is the extension and adoption of the universal human rights to the needs of an information based society. Information Society increasingly employs advanced information and communication technologies that all stem from a military background. These tools are extended into Non Lethal Weapons technology and can be easily abused in the hands of governments or corporations and used against the interest of the general public in a highly dangerous way. New power structures arise, with the potential to dominate those lacking skills and access to communication tools. Therefore realization of digital human rights shall grant that every human may participate in this medium and use its potential freely and unrestrictedly.

Digital human rights are based on the understanding of communication as motor of civilization and a base of individuality as well as society. Basic human rights include the right to access to the electronic domain, the right to freedom of expression and association online, and the right to privacy. The digital divide between those with access to the new electronic communication channels and those without, violates the rights to education and skills in new technologies of the infosphere and the right to a basic level of information via public institutions and service providers.

Online free expression shall not be restricted by direct or indirect means, such as censorship, restrictive governmental or private control over hardware or software, telecommunication infrastructure, or other essential components of the electronic networks. The right to privacy, anonymity and security includes the protection from arbitrary surveillance of either content or association online as well as the right to choose privacy technology such as cryptography to protect communication. Efforts that lead to the development of communication infrastructure designed for surveillance, individualized user profiles, tracking data traces or intercepting online communication for surveillance or marketing purposes violate this right.

## **Bio Resistance, about problems of Biotechnology, Cloning and Genetic Engineering**

Steve Kurtz, Critical Art Ensemble

We'll start from conflation between Information and Communication Technologies and re-structuring of the body and what that could potentially mean for us and certainly what it already means, especially in Western Europe and North America. There are two things to think about, in beginning of this, is one of the ways that we framed our theorizations of this particular topic, was assuming principles of efficiency and rationalization in relationship to capitalist economy. That was always one of the pressures and one of the things that this particular political economy would want to fulfill, not just in general forces of production, but in creation of labor in particular, which is really all it cares about. How labor will act and how it will consume following its work activities. Those of you familiar with classical Marxism know the principle of work intensification. That is one of the easiest ways to raise profits, and it's one that is located primarily in the construction of the body. How is it that you can make someone work harder, longer and more intensely within given time unit?

So much of technology now, whether it is ICT or whether it is biotechnology, is conflating, is creating a kind of virtual environment in which this re-making of the body can happen. So, where we started in thinking of this is the concept of cyborgs itself, which often times is misunderstood and blurred into singular category that perhaps is not exactly appropriate. Cyborg, theoretically, is interrelationship and interdependency between flesh and technology, whatever that might be. Usually it has some type of implantation, so there is interaction between flesh and technology itself. We began with dividing cyborgs in two types, two generalize types: first order and second order cyborgs. By second order, the lowest run, this is when technology is used in some way to construct the body, to bring it to normalization. This is, for example, medical technology is to only make it so that the body is of the normal regime that is generic that it falls into the normative. We don't really have too much sympathy with that. That's just more or less not so much developing a cyborg class, but only maintaining flesh class, that's pre-cyborg. So, if we look at it in that sense, it's not very cyborgian at all, which is why we make distinction into first order of cyborgs, where we start to get into very different phase of technology/flesh interaction. We have started with work cyborg, the labor cyborg. I see them all the time working on their computers and they are not of the highest order but they are definitely here, with a phone stuck in their ear and a computer stuck to their hand. There is this extension of the body that is there to make them beyond what they can be just by themselves. That is McLuhan definition that the extension of the body going so that the telephone makes distances smaller, it spreads the body over distance. It could be just something like web camera in terms of compressing distances, enabling you to work more efficiently starting with keyboard and computer and creation

of word document, to the much more complex level of how body can work better inter-connected with these particular technologies. The first order starts there and it follows us around. It's disconnectable which is why we make certain grades. You cannot put the phone down and leave your laptop at home and go on holiday, and kind of relieve yourself of the cyborg experience for a little bit. It's still within around of agency versus those things such as implanted chips for GPS that are put into children, so mum and dad always know where they are. Then you are starting to get into a little bit higher frame and in using that example too, that spaces begin to blur together for the cyborg, that the workspace can become anywhere. And we all know that. You can be sitting in a café and trying to have conversation with one of your friends, and all of the sudden the cellular phone goes off and that person goes from "friendship human" to "work mode" cyborg. And the shift is instantaneous and it's called into existence by the technology itself. The very fact of having it causes this way of being into existence and makes it realized. Then you can go step further, which is probably at this point the highest edge, which is, as opposed to the business system/person, weapons system which has gotten fairly advanced at this point. Those of you that have been watching Iraq broadcast have seen the US weapon systems, which is what they refer to now by the high command. They are no longer thought of soldiers in the field – they've been striped of any kind of humanity, but there is system to be moved to the grounder system, there are small subsystems of weapons and they can be from the very small, where these soldiers have interrelationship with integrated communication weapons and target appropriation devices, all the way to one incredibly sophisticated such as various kinds of autopilot, ones that are there to monitor soldiers physiological reaction to the combat environment, and if they show signs which look to be either approaching psychosis or approaching anxiety levels that are too high, autopilot will kick in. So, that soldier doesn't mess up the mission. This is where you got to the very high end.

So much of cyborg mythology has been talked about as being something very positive and very utopian, yet when framed within the capitalist mode because it cares for little more than efficiency, cares for little more than getting something done, any kind of the human element that (what) could be possibility of benefit, of technological flesh interaction, seems to be draining away at a very rapid rate. And there doesn't seem to be any funding for more utopian projects, particularly in most complex societies where is all funding coming from, for different devices. Well, it's already pre-determined by those that are funding the research. It is not like there is a free zone of research to search for other possibilities. The great contradiction is that cyborg technology of the first order is moving much faster than the body is able to adapt. If we go back and think of it more in evolutionary sense, we are designed to be extremely slow things. We weren't meant to be going over great distances, to be working at such an intense way. These things are rather abnormal. Capitalism reaches the point of crisis of sorts in which the organic platform is unable to maintain the technological superstructure that's been heaped upon it. And hence we see all these unusual spikes in various kinds of physiological and mental illness. It's not just US, for example in Germany, the rate of psychiatry over the

past then years has gone up somewhere around 500% since 1993, since the web went online. That's very interesting correlation. As has prescription rates for various kinds of antidepressants. So, there are other things that are now, one part of biotechnology is to buy time for the machine, to figure it out what kind of drugs they can develop that will keep the infrastructure, to keep the flesh infrastructure going, while they figure out how to up the bars of what is normal. That's the real crisis of this point: How do you fix this body? The war machine is fully developed, the sight machine is fully developed, and the work machine is fully developed. I didn't think that it could get any worse at this point. Back in 1993. when I looked at the work rate in Japan, the average has been a little over fifty hours – I was thinking that it couldn't go higher than this. But, the US is recently topped that with the average of almost 66 hours on average per working week. That means that some people are working even more than that. That is only average. Under such conditions no one can work that much. That level of production has been just too high. There have been some examples that are trying to change that, both from the Japanese and US, in which they've tried to combine in a way, play, or at least an environment of play with an environment of work. So, that there is some type of relief in work that goes on. The catch of course is that you're stay at work longer: you arrive earlier to go to the gym and you stay later for whatever reason, to play video games or similar. But, at the same time you are mixed in, mashed in with the work – techno environment. That hasn't worked very well. At least if we looked at the degree to which pharmaceuticals designed to keep the body going in normative environments, not necessarily trauma in a hospital, or in asylums for mental patients, but for those who are out in every day life, to keep these people functioning under extraordinary amounts of stress and anxiety. Physiologically, the rates for drugs are also gone up to; say something like cortisone for instance, to help with various kinds of muscle problems that are becoming emblematic for the past ten years or so, for technocrats and bureaucrats alike. This again is a part of collapsing element of the cyborg.

So, the question becomes: what can be done about that? What do we do? And this is why the development of the flesh machine has in recent years, become such a booming industry, that the investment has started to skew off military and Information and Communication Technologies. They have a long way to catch up, but the fastest growing is biotechnology, of how to fix this platform so it's not collapsing. It's understood that drugs will only that work for so long and different kind of physical therapies will only work for so long before, basically, the cyborg collapses. You just can't type any more and it's over, you will never type again. The muscle damage and cartilage damage has become so severe that it can't be reversed. In doing that, there is a kind of return to the old 20th century concept of eugenics. This is where we entered this picture, of identifying this particular crisis. Of seeing that so much else was finished, and I'm sure that we'll see some advancements in ICT, but they're not going to be as profound as we've seen in the past ten years. ICT have really being centralized type of technology that only immediately and directly affected a fairly small population, a small demographic of technocrats, till now, where almost everyone has a PC in complex economy, and that's

expanding out all the time into other nations.

What brought us to this, in spite of this theorization of cyborg and the crisis of the body in techno sphere, to just to speak personally for a moment, when we were at a conference in Canada and out to lunch with women who asked me if I want to see a picture of her child. And I said, sure and then she showed a picture of young lad probably about three years old or so. But then she said, would you like to see my son at eight cells? And she took out her wallet a picture, a micro snapshot of her child dividing at eight cells just before he or she was ready to be implanted in her uterus. And that's when I started thinking, ok, there is something very different happening right now. A new round of representation is happening and a new way of engineering the body, instead of just hoping that technology will prop it up or that various kinds of pharmaceuticals interventions will prop it back up, that something else could be done, and that something else was return to engineering model that would give control from molecular level on up. The great crisis, just in terms of socialization and internalization of ideology, has always been that it could never get into the inside. Internalization always cut from the outside out. This huge sight-machine had been made of surveillance on one hand, of the feeling one's being watched and internalization witch come from that (Big brother looking), and on the other hand, that type of virtual envelopment that began when Guy Debord began speaking about spectacle. The barrage of images that are around us all the time that are inescapable, that speak to a certain way about being in a world. That is impossible to refuse, because there's no escaping that sphere of representation.

So, where to go from there? Obviously, as you want bilateral rather than unilateral internalization of ideology and if pre-disposition can be made at the molecular level to begin with, that would help considerably in terms of speeding up and intensifying ideological internalization, particularly those that are of benefit to capitalist systems. It's not like this was new. The idea of doing this has been around since the late nineteenth century, particularly in England and US. They have started to expand out around 1920, so that European countries picked up on it, Germans with vengeance around mid twenties. Germans are often slow to come to things, but when they get a hold of them, they go all out. But what came clear very quick, they knew that it needed to be done, simply didn't have technical apparatus nor the scientific understanding to do that type of engineering. What they did was incredibly crude kind of importation of basically agrarian-farming technique and animal husbandry. That's not a very good way to try and reconstruct bodies at a rate that you can more or less count on the type of changes that occur. The reliability factor is very low. Also, it takes great deal of time. The generation of time that it would take would expand it into centuries. So, sterilization, abortion, in worst cases genocide, or on the other side positive eugenics of encouraging those that seem to have predisposition that capitalists want to reproduce itself. It's just wasn't going to work out and it didn't work out. Happily because of the need for most of Western Europe and North America, to distance themselves from the holocaust and other genocidal atrocities that were associated with eugenics.

The flesh machine got stopped dead in its tracks for a little while. Everything went over to information economy. But, slowly it made its way back, because information economy fully realized itself because of this crisis of the body, because of the crisis in labor as force of production. Where this leads us now is in to a kind of interesting place where the idea of militarized form of engineering of the body has been fairly well rejected and where the early theories of this came was from one of eugenicists named Frederick Osborne that argued very early on that it's probably not a good idea to militarized any type of genetic construction. Rather it should be done in voluntary way and, of course, you would say who's going to volunteer for this. His idea was that the post work construction of society would pressure people to volunteer. They wouldn't even realize that they are volunteering for – they would just do it. And the reason that he believes that, as he said, there are two key things that were occurring since the World War Two. The first was the collapse of the extended family and the raise of the nuclear family, so that reproduction of the nuclear family would become all the more important, that you didn't have to have bunches of kids and if one turn to be a doctor, great, and the other one was completely retarded in one way, that doesn't matter. Things will continue on as they will, because you take care of it through quantity rather than assurances of quote – quality. If people are thinking about that, that there is a definite concern for the acquisition of more, that is to compete and do better – that's what capitalism likes, that's part of its engine, and it's encouragement and motivation for its workers. And if that feeling in conjunction with the idea of maintaining class position and the prestige, you couldn't make a mistake in terms of reproduction. And here it's the second part, if you have an economy of desire that will provide a service that is in demand, such as helping to stabilize reliability factors in reproduction, those products will be bought. And they won't be seen as anything sinister, they'll just be seen as new medical product of the many medical products that are available to help people, to get what they want. This was pretty insightful, because for the most part, what he claimed to be going on seems to be so. It's partly because of the turn of these very key institutions that it is bringing people to places where they probably would otherwise have not gone. That seeking out better genetic products is occurring. The funny part of this is, for example, that you can go to the sperm bank where you can buy sperm of the Nobel ... that's not going to give you any guaranty that you will have a brilliant child. There's not that kind of correlation yet. You would probably do just as well to randomly choose the sperm. But, what's important is that there is a preparation of eugenic consciousness going on that the groundwork for the market is being laid, that the creation of the desire to have artificially structured reproduction is beginning to construct itself. This is very odd thing; something very different from the first wave, is that the test class is the wealthy people not only will it be voluntarily, they will also pay for it. What is happening in terms of learning new fertility techniques is that they're quite expensive. In US, the minimum is around 10000 dollars per try and there is only at the best clinics under the best conditions a 30% rate of success. Maybe some of the very finest clinics might get up to 38%, but usually that's artificially inflated, because they're only

choosing the subjects that pretty sure is going to be successful. When you are looking into statistics, there are various kinds of tricky inflation rates and you have to look who the population is that they are working with.

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## **Let us become children!**

### **Training, simulation and kids**

Kristian Lukic

There have been many theories and much analysis concerning the current war against terrorism, discussions about war against sovereign countries, the limiting of human rights, insecurity and many other different questions. In times of warfare it is 'normal' that state security services practice censorship, and that media and press freedom is in some way reduced. In addition to this, the media receives information from army press conferences and spokesmen, completely non-objective and tendentious. War propaganda is nothing new. From ancient times to the present day, propaganda has served the need to strengthen combat lines, give courage to warriors and the people, and to demoralize enemy forces. With the rise of nation states the ideological element has become most important in times of large national mobilizations.

It's interesting to see how war propaganda materializes today, through which medium, and to whom it is targeted. In today's globalized and networked capitalism, when the tautology 'everything is connected with everything' tries to relativize any kind of deeper research and traceability, it is important to focus more and to read between the lines.

### **Story**

In the field of literature Hari Kunzru wrote in an essay entitled Beyond Good and Evil (1) about the connection between the boom of fantasy literature and the war against terrorism (he wrote about JK Rowling's Harry Potter series, the Tolkien revival and Lord of the Rings, and about Philip Pullman's less-known book His Dark Materials. For instance, the revival of Tolkien's Lord of the Rings comes thirty years after its popularity within sixties' counterculture, with its simple ethical-political categories. Sauron's nihilism, Saruman's polluting heavy industry, feverish productivity, and the alienated Asiatic hordes are analogies for an evil dehumanized industry society, while on the other hand the Shire is easily recognizable as an organic pastoral community under threat. Kunzru emphasizes the 'full-scale breakout from speculative fantasies' home in the airbrush/metal head underground'. He explains that the boom of fantasy literature, alternate worlds and visionary romance draws its energy from a contemporary desire for moral clarity in situations of clearly drawn conflict.

Bush's phrase 'axis of evil' is similar to those used during WW2. Blair claims that there is no moral ambiguity in today's war against terrorism. This is to say, we can't dwell, our decision is righteous if we are resolutely determined to defeat the enemy. Terrorist, Bin Laden, Saddam Hussein, Orcs, Waldemort, Azbakh...It's all the same. In

Harry Potter books the evil magician Waldemort, obsessed by purity of blood, wants to destroy those who are 'mixed'. On the side of Good is Dumbledore, a wizard of pro-democratic principles, for intercultural dialog, against the death penalty and repressive methods. The fanaticism that characterizes Waldemort and his followers corresponds with common prejudices about Islam as a religion of exclusion and radical religious fanaticism.

For over a century the film industry has been a strong psycho-ideological weapon of the state, often it uses sophisticated methods in shaping certain ideological frameworks. Lord of the Rings, and Harry Potter have broken sales records, bringing in hundreds of millions of dollars from cinema distribution alone, then there is DVD distribution and brand merchandise...The financial component of these movies is doubtful. They are extremely long (the final installment in the Lord of the Rings trilogy is 3h 40 min in duration), in a way they are contemporary epics, sagas like Wagnerian operas, some of which also ran more than several hours.

Content-wise, it is interesting that in these movies Evil is presented with great energy and obsession. Extremely powerful and brutal. Connected with the post 9/11 trauma, the fantasy literature and movies avalanche has brought subjects in contact with deep existential worries such as: us or them? In the Lord of the Rings trilogy the evil of the enemy is so pure and in these visualizations so vivid and complete that we cannot communicate with it. The logic of narration doesn't allow us to approach the forces of Evil. Evil is unshakeable and in a way transcendent, it is beyond our experience, reasonable perception and understanding. This Evil is so powerful and omnipresent it is impossible to stop or destroy it. It is impossible to perceive it with rational logic.

Similar things happened at the beginning of the war in Yugoslavia in the early nineties. When the official Yugoslav socialist ideology began to fall apart in the eighties, more and more literature was published explaining the evils of the past and the future destiny of Balkan peoples. Suddenly people realized that the Serbs had been victims for a long time, from the famous Kosovo defeat in 1389 by the evil Turks, to the genocide committed by Croats and others during WW2. The year 1389 was like 9/11 in the USA, a shifting point in history when the linearity of the space-time continuum was broken. After this everything was different, all revenge was permitted to avenge the horror and suffering. When Slobodan Milosevic came to power, an increasing number of occult and pseudo-religious groups and individuals began showing up on state TV to explain the universal position of the Serbian people in the past, present and future, with no borders between them. A mixture of real global and local socio-political facts and persons were presented, military tradition, saints, heroes and kings from national history and mythical creatures like dragons and vampires appeared. The astrologist Milja Vujanovic explained, among other things, that the Pentagon was a symbol for a Pentagram, that the G7 group was the seven-headed dragon from St. John's Gospel, and so on. The painter Milic od Macve proclaimed himself as Baron Lepenski, leader of the world's

vampires. He accused America of wanting to destroy the Serbian people and threatened that if America did not help Serbia, Serbia would make a deal with Japan to build a New Byzantium. He also sent a squad of vampires to destroy America.

Vujanovic had a primetime weekly slot on national TV. Milic od Macve was the first living artist to have a solo exhibition in the history of the National Museum in Belgrade. The exhibition was opened by the Serbian Minister of Culture and traveled all over Serbia, being seen by an estimated 350,000 visitors (Serbia has a population of around 10 million), meaning that 3.5 percent of the whole population saw the exhibition. No single art exhibition in Serbia before or after has enjoyed so many visitors.

Slobodan Milosevic held his first successful large-scale rally at Kosovo Polje in 1989 where the legendary Battle of Kosovo was fought a symbolic 600 years earlier. The rally drew Serbs from every corner of Yugoslavia and the world, almost two million people having attended.

It is a fact that fantasy literature has always been present in Western civilization, from the early medieval King Arthur and Holy Grail fantasies, right up to the worlds of Tolkien, but its popularity only skyrocketed in the late nineties. People were aware of Tolkien's Lord of the Rings, but not in the same way that has been presented on film. Over the last 3-4 years, armies of readers have awaited JK Rowling's Harry Potter books, while the entire planet has anticipated new Lord of the Rings episodes, it seems that this is the first truly globalized movie.

What is so special about this literature, the movies and other things connected with stories about the great battle between Good and Evil? This battle has always been present. What connects these movies and movies like The Matrix or Terminator (it seems that Terminator III has been elected new governor of California)? These movies are all produced by Warner Brothers, a company that is now a subsidiary of the huge AOL-Time Warner merger.

### Training

We are witness to the rapid growth of ICT and the rapid development of tech products. Computer users are having difficulty acquiring the additional technological knowledge required for performing everyday activities, their skill upgrading is being reduced, especially if they have learned different/obsolete applications not operable in new operative environments. The system needs people who will learn faster and act resolutely.

Today's kids grow up in front of their computers (at least those in developed countries do) their parents being either home users or non-users. Children are the segment of the population that naturally acquires knowledge fastest, the creativity of kids is omnipresent and universal. In the realm of cyberspace kids are in a natural environment, often explor-

ing and challenging the potentials of technologies and tools. The dominant category of hackers and crackers are children or young people.

In regard to today's much repeated phrases 'Revolution in Warfare' and 'Cyberwar', war with advanced technological devices and tools has become the mantra of contemporary warriors. Fragile security in the networked world is becoming the weak point of national security, complex systems are connected, and strikes can be fast and almost invisible. Kids are capable of being useful in collecting information, deciphering and breaking into enemy security systems, and intercepting terrorist communication. The CIA kids' homepage features lots of useful information about the agency, its goals, future activities and directions. There are also nice movies like Spy Kids I, II and III (Twentieth Century Fox) now in cinemas, in which children work for the agency solving problems and of course saving the planet from fantasy creatures. In Master and Commander (Twentieth Century Fox) there is a sequence where in a moment of crisis a young officer (a boy) takes responsibility during a sea battle and fires a cannon and shoots the enemy's sail.

Kids, like dolphins, are capable of being useful in protecting national security. Dolphins are used to carry bombs, and of their free will, like kamikaze pilots, destroy enemy ships. Dolphins are smart, innocent and loyal. Like children.

Like Frodo Baggins or Harry Potter, a time will come when a child decides to be more active and take more concrete steps in defeating world evil. Then he/she (mostly he) will choose different training simulation applications. The training of children is a highly advanced and complex theory and practice and involves numerous different disciplines such as psychology, fight expertise, flight expertise, strategic combat exercise, geopolitics, geography, history, weapon science, logic, religion, military strength and the constitution of world armies, the position and trade routes of oil and other energy resources. Armies of experts and professionals take care of these processes.

So-called computer games like Mortal Combat or Ultimate Fight teach kids how to fight hand to hand, Wolfenstein, Quake, Doom or Perfect Assassin teach kids combat as individuals in real combat situations. For more organizational types and potential future managers or soldiers there are games like Command and Conquer – Generals, Tiberian Sun, Generals, Age of Empires, Civilization, and Caesar. In these games children gain skills in organizing citizens, troops, and cities. You must defeat all your enemies, capture its structures, facilities, cities, workers... Before each mission you receive your mission objective. This is an example of one mission objective (Tiberian Sun, © Westwood, Electronic Arts): 'Hassan communicates to the Brotherhood through a nearby TV station. With the Brotherhood in chaos, the opportunity to divide Hassan from his followers presents itself. Capture the TV station and those loyal to Kane, the technology of peace will return to the fold. And as for Hassan's pathetic guards – crush them.'

A special section is navigational training. There are different tutorials and training programs such as: F/A-18 Korea, F-22 Air Dominance Fighter, F-16 Fighting Falcon, Euro Fighter 2000, Back To Baghdad or Flashpoint Kosovo for flight combat simulations, Armored Fist 2 – M1A2 Abrams for tanks, 688(I) Hunter/Killer for nuclear submarines... All these useful things can be found in every game selling shop on every corner.

Long before movies and literature, fiction and fantasy were in their natural environment in the realm of computer games. From the first games like Warcraft, Heroes of Might and Magic to the present there have been hundreds of fantasy and mythological games produced. These include: Lands of Lore, Guardians of Destiny, Realms of Arkania, Diablo, Legacy of Kain, Warlords, Lords of Magic, Blood & Magic, Lords of Realm, Warhammer, Dark Omen, Arthur's Knights – Secrets of Merlin. Neither can we forget sport as a substitute for war when a company like Electronic Arts is dominant with games including the FIFA Soccer series, NBA, NHL, Formula 1...

As Isabel Smadja in her text Harry Potter and the Forces of Evil<sup>(2)</sup> pointed out, there are lots of examples of economy of salvation in Judeo-Christian history. What is different now is that tasks, commands and missions in these novels and movies are undertaken by kids. In Lord of the Rings there is a young hobbit who has a task, to master his will, save the world and defeat the enemy. In Harry Potter it is the same, as it is in Philip Pullman's His Dark Materials. This goes likewise for many new movies like Terminator 3, Master and Commander, Spy Kids, I, II & III. Why suddenly so much focus on kids, and in such brutal environments?

After 9/11, America has apparently changed a lot. Not since Pearl Harbor has America been in such jeopardy. Today's generations don't remember WW2, many not even Vietnam, so they don't have any real experience of war (theaters of wars around the globe in the 80s and 90s were legitimate police actions for American citizens). The on the ground results of US foreign policy during the nineties went largely unnoticed by US citizens. Suddenly, it happened. People were going about their everyday lives, working and shopping, and horror struck. Evil doers attacked a peaceful people, a peaceful and decent people who would never kill an ant. Why? Can this be rationally explained? All your life you are good, charitable, and somebody attacks you? You tirelessly advocate democracy and peaceful solutions all over the planet and it all comes back to you in this way. This must be punished, it needs avenging. In order to take revenge, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, you must abandon your democratic, reasonable heritage, you must behave as a child, with heart, honestly and without scruples. You need to become a child. A child that has the right to revenge, that has the privilege to react with anger. But a child that is able to take responsibility, responsibility that at the right moment can execute its task in order to protect the community.

#### Notes:

(1) Hari Kunzru <<http://mondediplo.com/2002/12/>> – Beyond Good and Evil,

Mute Magazine, May 2002

- (2) Isabelle Smadja – Harry Potter and the Forces of Evil  
 <<http://mondediplo.com/2002/12/>>, Le Monde Diplomatique, December 2002  
<http://mondediplo.com/2002/12/>

## Logistics of Mutiny

Relja Drazic

In one drained, unattended country without credible institutions, self-convicted on eternal reoccurring of “the same”, in which social consensus on any of crucial political issues doesn’t exist; in country where influential semi-intellectuals persistently live on the notion of Fatherland as something between East and West, although East has changed; in country where people have been exposed to terrifying media attack of commodities without basic opportunity to earn enough, with the consequences of deep moral crisis; in that kind of country (like Serbia is right now), raising subject of legitimacy of late capitalism, could be inappropriate. In any case there would be no public appreciation. In order to feel an appeal to fight for autonomy, against the system, whose spirit rests in consumerism, and freedom is freedom of choice on the supermarket gondolas, society must go through state of consumerism well being with all its aspects – good and bad. This goes for intellectual and culture elites as well. It would be naive to underestimate the strength of the urge on whose exploitation capitalism extremely successively sustains, despite its evidently disastrous consequences. Especially when having in mind that heating up of this urge (desire) is assured by armies of well-trained mercenaries, equipped with extremely sophisticated techniques for soul scanning.

However, most Serbs apparently live and work in some kind of capitalism (not late capitalism though) and they are tired of everything, although they never felt welfare. If dissatisfaction is something that we can share with others, then maybe it’s good to know what others already know and how they use that knowledge to organize themselves and resist. On the other hand, it is of no importance the fact that in the beginning of transition we are living in a sort of “wild capitalism” and relations established in the outside world are inevitably transmitted to relations on the inside (as soon as we reopened to the world), so knowledge on functioning of world’s contemporary economic system we could gain, might be very helpful in understanding our own system, whatever it might be.

New Media Center – kuda.org, from Novi Sad recently hosted activist group from Paris, “Buerau d’Etudes”, which introduced themselves and their work to the public here. Group is active for several years now, originally they have artistic background but they’ve evolved very quickly into pure political activism. One of the members gave overview of group’s activities and the other stressed the importance of collaboration with other similar groups.

Backbone of their work is creation of informational maps whose purpose is to give *descriptive* image of how contemporary capitalism functions and to show how the world is governed by establishing aspect of *control*. Maps represent visible result in diverse



research of concerns, corporations, industrial and financial, as well as functioning of influential groups – examining where members of different elites meet and decide. Maps are presented as a network of pictograms that represent influential units (corporations, governments, military, financial centers and investment groups, conglomerates, secret societies, families, influential individuals, etc.). Relations between pictograms are followed by appropriate textual explanations and they are represented as symbolic *architectural structure of possession ratio* where units shown on one side subsume smaller units, while at the same time they are being subsumed by bigger units on the other side. In the end, Bureau d'Etude's guiding idea is to create one comprehensive but descriptive, reliable and useful, and last but not least, database accessible to all, to the whole world, that shows who is with who, where are the influence centers that get things going, how the directives are distributed and where substantial money flows to in the end.

They rely on data about corporation ownership and use newspaper articles that witness about relations between companies in domicile environment, as well as on wider, European and global level. They also use services of proven trustworthy observatories, which through the Internet report their up to date findings. Those are data on economic power (size of assets), number of employees, etc.

If it involves influential individuals, then link can reveal, maybe some marital alliance between members of influential families, etc.

Good source are stock exchange markets, because they show who is buying what in any given moment. How useful this can be, could be seen from a fact that few days before "September 11<sup>th</sup>", trade with stocks of American air companies was extremely intense.

It is important to emphasize that Bureau d'Etudes is not involved in *constructing* but *revealing* information; otherwise it would cast a shadow of subjectivism on their work. Indeed, they have omissions in their work as a result of lacking complete data, but apart from that, it is necessary to update maps at least once a year.

It is understandable that those kinds of information are not within easy reach, which makes their uncovering and releasing data into circulation quite worthy effort. However, more important than work on revealing those information is work on setting them up into the framework that gives meaning to them, making them perceptible for people that are being controlled. In the end, maps show how various types of control are actually connected.

For example, very striking example is how legislative body that managed to legally privatize certain public service is related to lobby: in a number of US states, after prisons being privatized, some laws were respectively tightened, to the extent where number of

prisoners was quadruplicated. At the same time assets of prison leaseholders were dramatically increased.

Second example is, by now already famous, Bush's "Patriotic Act", which pushed the limits of what government services are allowed to do while peaking into individual's privacy. This goes to the extent where even public libraries are obligated to, on demand of "services", give information about which books some members read. Same law drastically tightens security standards, which was "jack pot" for corresponding industrial group, as well as for corresponding financial group that is the owner. Would it be surprising then to know that man who is actually governing the USA, Dick Chaney, owns nice package of shares in military-industrial conglomerate, and that he sold it when value of those shares went up in the days after September 11<sup>th</sup>.

Next example shows the system of control conducted by official normative organizations that were partly privatized.

Those organizations are mainly dealing with setting up of different standards, which thanks to their significance are being imposed as canon laws. These standards are being assumed by state legislature, forgetting that those standards originated in somebody's personal interest, for example licensing laboratories that that are issuing certificates for industrial standards: ISO, CE, etc.

Maybe now is a good moment to reflect on our situation and see relation between private interest and inviolable institutions in legislative and juridical domain. Doing that would force us into a quicksand of Serbian everyday politics. Instead I prefer telling a story that will illustrate repercussions of happenings on the outside onto the life on the inside.

A tale of citizen who applied for visa

It is pre-election time and there has been a lot of talk about what future brings. Well, let us imagine a situation in near future.

The year 2014, when Serbia enters EU is still pretty far away and a need to travel to one of those countries that Serbs willingly go to finds you in cue in front of embassy. You are applying for visa. It's your turn and desk clerk offers you two options:

– "You can apply for regular, temporary and permanent visa. In order to apply for regular visa you have to submit nineteen documents from this list and to apply for permanent visa you have to fill out this form, what do you want to do?"

"Is there a price difference?", you ask.

"Yes, there is. Permanent visa is free of charge.

"Excuse me, I don't understand." – says you, uninformed, not understanding.

"I owe you an explanation", she says, "Firstly, permanent visa has no restrictions in terms of allowed number of entrances in Shengen zone, but it 's not a residence permit. The only prerequisite for permanent visa is that you have to submit yourself to harmless medical intervention.

"But I'm healthy, generally, we Serbs are one healthy nation despite all."

"This is not about your health."

"What is it than?"

"Well it's nothing, just small invisible implant, little chip, everything is completely harmless and neither you nor your organism can feel it. Besides, automatically you won't need visa even for the USA.

"But what is the purpose of that chip inside me?"

"It's because of safety reasons and we can't give any explanation except the guaranty that it is completely harmless."

You are scratching your head. Your dark skinned countrymen are cussing on the way out and you finally realize what's this about. By getting a permanent visa you're becoming permanent locator. At the same time you're thinking:

– "I don't intent to cheat on anybody and at least I can avoid the hassle every time. And, dude there's the money issue."

– "Alright, where would you put the implant," you ask,

– "Implant's place is confidential. When you wake up after the intervention there would be no signs of any kind on your body."

Pulp science fiction? The X files?

For your information, more or less every fundamental technical presumption for introduction of global surveillance system **already exists**. Maybe the most important, IPv6 Internet protocol version that enables addressing 340 billion billions billion billions ( $340 \times 10^{36}$ ) objects is functioning. GPS is already largely implemented. It is understandable that chips are also prepared. What is not established yet, is political climate necessary for mass implanting. But one or two more September 11<sup>th</sup>'s and...climate might change. And meantime is not passing in inactivity. Implants are put into prisoners and puppies; models are being improved so when the time is right and political climate is good they will be interactive enough to give information on host's habits, consumer habits for instance. And in the end that will be the key to the whole enterprise, right? And the great whip-top will continue on spinning again. The end of a tale.

Let's conclude this reflection by evaluating Buerau d'Etude's work in wider perspective of practicing rebellion against the new world order. First of all, it is clear that their activism has meaning only when put in context of collaboration with other activist groups – providing information support. This collaboration is realized on the global level but that is not an anti-globalist movement. (The idea and practice of globalization promot-

ed by Clinton and Rubin stopped being interesting – in fact it was replaced by moving the brunt to regional blocks – three big competing blocks with perspective of tension between them surrounded by insecure legal and diplomatic infrastructure for global trade). Moreover, it can be said that movement, which represents activist's network, that maintains and keeps alive the idea and practice of rebellion is in fact interceding globalization, but that is globalization of responsibility for the world that we are living in, the world that we should leave for our descendents. However, in contrast to Clinton's globalization, this is globalization from underneath, global network that either emerges from itself or does not emerge at all because there is no center that would impose it. Even theoretical fundaments (one could say that Buerau d'Etudes consumed in reasonable doses Foucault, Marx and Kant) of these activisms are retreating to the background because they represent expression of power from above.

This is very didactic for us who grew up in the system that imposed "emancipation" from above, thus polluting the idea of emancipation as is, and even on mere mentioning of anti-capitalist practice there was always someone who will give you leer. That's why in these days when we coincide with faces radiant with adrenalin secreted in New Year's consumer rush I recommend perfect medicine: read Ursula K. LeGuin, *The Dispossessed* (or what people here would say – bareassed).

Text was written on the occasion of lecture of group Bureau d'Etudes in kuda.org, 18.12. 2003.

A Concise Lexicon  
Of / For the Digital Commons  
**RAQS MEDIA COLLECTIVE**

**ACCESS**

The facility to log on and log in to a space or a network where people and meanings gather. To be present, to have the ability, the key, to decode a signal, to open doors, to be able to download/upload on to any system of signs and signals – be it the Internet, a book, an art work, or a dinner party. There can be no excess of access.

**BANDWIDTH**

Describes the dimensions that are necessary for messages, signals and communications to get through. The greater the bandwidth of a system, the higher the number of messages and the higher the quantum of information that it can accommodate at any given time. It follows from this that access is a function of bandwidth. More people can make themselves heard when there is room for them to speak and be spoken to. Bandwidth translates into content-rich information, streams of video, audio and text flowing into each other. It also translates at the moment into cash. The hard cash and control that comes from selling pictures and sounds and numbers to more and more people.

**CODE**

That which carries embedded within it a sign. A code is always a way of saying something to mean something other than that which is merely said. A code can be 'opened', in the sense that it can be accessed and entered, as opposed to 'broken'. An open-access culture of communication 'reveals the source' of its codes. A closed culture of communication blocks access to its codes. 'Free code' is code which welcomes entry, and is open to change. 'Free code' needs to be shared for it to grow. Code connotes community, a community of 'encoders, decoders and code sharers'. Like eggs, code is sometimes best had scrambled.

**DATA**

Information: Can mean anything from numbers to images, from white noise to noise to sound. A weather report, a portrait, a shadow in surveillance footage, a salary statement, birth and death statistics, a headcount in a gathering of friends, private e-mail, ultra high frequency signals, sale and purchase transactions and the patterns made by pedestrians as they walk in a city – all of this can be and is data. Data, like coal, uranium and other minerals vital to the running of the world economy is mined, processed, refined and sold at a high price. Battlefields, early twenty-first-century inter-personal relationships and stock exchanges have been known to be hypersensitive to data traffic. Data mining is a major emerging industry in Delhi. The miners lead very quiet days, and spend long nights coding in low temperature zones called "Data Outsourcing Centres". Contrarily, the word Data (dātā) in Hindi/Sanskrit is taken to mean 'giver', which suggests that one must always be generous with information, and make gifts of

our code, images and ideas. To be stingy with data is to violate an instance of the secret and sacred compacts of homophonic words from different cultural/spatial orbits (dātā in Hindi and 'data' in English) as they meet in the liminal zone between languages, in the thicket of the sound of quotidian slips of the tongue. Errors in transmission and understanding too carry gifts and data.

## ENSEMBLE

The conceit or delight in togetherness in an increasingly anomic, fragmented world. Playing or working together to create finished or unfinished works. Chamber musicians, criminals, code-hackers and documentarists form ensembles. Artists try to. Effective ensembles are high bandwidth assemblies that build into their own architecture portals for random access into themselves. They are, when they are at their best, open systems that place a premium on shared information within them. They can at times maintain high levels of secrecy while appearing to be transparent. Here, confidentiality is an index of practices in gestation. Mined data is, sometimes, restored to natural states of information entropy in data dissembling ensembles, which have been found to work best at night in media labs. The Raqs Media Collective is an ensemble and everything it does is an ensemble of existing or anticipated practices.

## FRACTAL

The self-organising design of repeating, replicating structures, often found in snowflakes, tree branch growth patterns, molecular structures and free code. Every part of a fractal pattern carries within it the signature or the emboss of the whole. A single fractal iteration carries within it the kernels of all others of its kind. Every fractal is a rescension of every other fractal that has grown from within it. In the same way a fragment of free code, or free cultural code, carries within it a myriad possibilities of its own reproduction and dispersal within a shared symbolic or information space. Fractals best describe the geometry of the matrices that are formed when data is shared instead of being just mined and shipped by a community of coders. Fractals are the fruit trees of the unconscious designing mind.

## GIFT

Something freely given, and taken, as in free code. Gift givers and gift takers are bound in networks of random or pre-meditated acts of symbolic exchange. The code begets the gift as the form of its own survival over time. In this way a gift is a quiet meme. Reciprocity begets reciprocity. The principle of the gift demands that the things being given be priceless, in other words so valuable as to be impossible to quantify in terms of the possibilities of abstract generalised exchange. The gift must at the same time, be easy to bear and keep, easy to use and there must be no guilt involved in its destruction or dispersal when its use value either changes or demands redistribution in order to be effective. Gifts open doors to our own possibilities of generosity. In this way they facilitate access to the things we did not even know we had. And, there is such a thing as a free lunch, although it requires the pursuit of a special recipe.

## HETEROGENOUS

That which begins in many places, like the story of a person's life. Diverse, dispersed, distributed, as in the authorship of culture, and in the trajectories of people who come to a site. Interpretations and ideas embrace greater freedom only when they encompass heterogeneity. In this, they are like most intimacies and some kinds of fruitcake. The richer they are, the more layers they have.

## ITERATION

An articulation, when seen as an event, is an iteration. Utterances, whispers, manifestoes, graffiti, stories, rumours and fragments of poetry found in the streets – each of these are iterations. The organised rendition of a stretch of code is also an iteration. Iteration implies a willingness to say something, and access to the means of saying it, and a time in which it can be said. Every iteration resonates through orbiting memes that are set off on their vectors by the fact of an utterance. An iteration is the kernel of a rescension. It needs to be said, and then said again.

## JOURNAL

A record of the everyday. Annals of matters varied and quotidian. Data from day to day to day. On reams or scraps of any material that can carry the emboss of time. The material may vary from newsprint to video to sound to binary code, or a combination of the same, and the journal may transmogrify from being a witness, to a participant in that which is being recorded. The extent and scale of 'participation' depends on the frequency of entries into the journal, and the number of correspondents it can muster. The higher the frequency of entries or number of correspondents, the greater is the intensity of the inscription of a time on a journal. A densely, thickly inscribed journal is one that is usually open access in terms of writing, reading and publishing. Why else would strangers want to write in? An open journal expects to be published anywhere at all. An open journal actively practices xenophilia. When a journal becomes more than a gazetteer of a moment it turns into a history. It then begins to make sense of itself as much as it does about a time that it spans. Conversely, every history begins life as a journal.

## KERNEL

The core of a work or an idea. The central rescension, of a narrative, a code, a set of signs or any other structure that invites modification, extrapolation and interpretation, by its very presence. Here, the term core must not be confused with 'origin' or with any other attributions of originality, which mean little within an open access system. It is almost impossible to determine the origins of a code, because the deeper we go into the constitutive elements of a code, the more it branches out to a series of nodes within and outside a given system of signs. It is more meaningful to talk of the 'custody', rather than the 'origin' of any system of signs. A kernel is often the custodian of a line of ideas that represents within itself a momentarily unique configuration. Kernels embody materials in states of intense concentration. This is because they have to encapsulate a lot of information, or nourishment, or structure building materials, within very limited dimensions. The density of information within a kernel is a key to its own extensibility. The more the thread that is rolled into a tight ball, the more it can be unwound. Kernels,

by their limitedness and compactness, are portable, not cumbersome. As in the kernels of certain fruits, they may be hard to crack, but once they have been opened, they yield delicious and nourishing stuff. Kernels lend themselves to easy reproduction, but are fragile and often in need of protection. This protection may also come in the form of an outer layer of interpretation, which states the purposes and nature of the kernel, so that it is not prised open to answer every basic query about itself.

## LIMINAL

Interstitial, vestibular and peripheral. Far from the centre, close to the border. A zone both between and without larger structures. Liminal spaces and moments are those into which large stable structures leak animated data about themselves and the world. Things happen in liminal zones. A city carries within it the contradiction of liminal zones located in its centre, because inner cities are the city's farthest borderlands. Liminal fringes are often the most conducive environments for the culture of memes. This is because exiled images, ideas and meanings from several stable structures mingle in the corridors between them. Here, bereft of identities and other certainties, they are free to be promiscuous and reproduce. They infect each other with recombinant strands of thought and image. At the same time, the perspective of liminality brings intimacy to bear on an exclusion. Being liminal is to be close to, and yet stand outside the site of the border of any stable system of signs, where meaning is frayed from being nibbled at on the edges. Nothing can know the centre better than the sideways glance of peripheral vision. Liminality may be acquired from prolonged exposure to the still air of airport departure lounges, thick and over-boiled tea at the Inter State Bus Terminus on the ring road in Delhi, or the sub liminal flicker of a cursor in an e-mail message.

## MEME

The life form of ideas. A bad idea is a dead meme. The transience as well as the spread of ideas can be attributed to the fact that they replicate, reproduce and proliferate at high speed. Ideas, in their infectious state, are memes. Memes may be likened to those images, thoughts and ways of doing or understanding things that attach themselves, like viruses, to events, memories and experiences, often without their host or vehicle being fully aware of the fact that they are providing a location and transport to a meme. The ideas that can survive and be fertile on the harshest terrain tend to do so, because they are ready to allow for replicas of themselves, or permit frequent and far-reaching borrowals of their elements in combination with material taken from other memes. If sufficient new memes enter a system of signs, they can radically alter what is being signified. Cities are both breeding grounds and terminal wards for memes. To be a meme is a condition that every work with images and sounds could aspire towards, if it wanted to be infectious, and travel. Dispersal and infection are the key to the survival of any idea. A work with images, sounds and texts needs to be portable and vulnerable, not static and immune, in order to be alive. It must be easy to take apart and assemble, it must be easy to translate, but difficult to paraphrase, and easy to gift. A dead meme is a bad idea.

## NODES

Any structure that is composed of concentrated masses of materials which act as junction points for the branching out of extensible parts of the overall system may be described as nodal. The concentrations or junctions being the nodes. A nodal structure is a rhizomic structure, it sets down roots (that branch out laterally) as it travels. Here, nodes may also be likened to the intersection points of fractal systems, the precise locations where new fractal iterations arise out of an existing pattern. A work that is internally composed of memes is inherently nodal. Each meme is a junction point or a node for the lateral branch-ing out of the vector of an idea. In a work that is made up of interconnected nodes, the final structure that emerges is that of a web in which every vector eventually passes through each node at least once on its orbit through the structure of the work. In such a structure, it becomes impossible to suppress or kill an idea once it is set in motion, because its vectors will make it travel quickly through the nodes to other locations within the system, setting off chains of echoes and resonances at each node that trace a path back to the kernel of the idea. These echoes and resonances are rescensions, and each node is ultimately a direct rescension of at least one other node in the system and an indirect rescension of each junction within a whole cluster of other nodes. Nodes, when written, perhaps erroneously, as 'no-des' gives rise to an intriguing hybrid English/Eastern-Hindi neologism, a companion to the old words – des and par-des. Des (in some eastern dialects of Hindi, spoken by many migrants to Delhi) is simply homeland or native place; par-des suggests exile and an alien land. 'No-des' is that site or way of being, in des or in par-des, where territory and anxieties about belonging, don't go hand in hand. Nodes in a digital domain are 'No-des'.

## ORBIT

A path that describes the continuous movement of anything within a structure. Because the movement within it is continuous, it (an Orbit) is also impossible to define in terms of origin or destination. What is possible to determine at any given moment is the vector of an orbit. A meme, when orbiting within a structure of signs, is neither travelling away from its origin, nor is it travelling towards a destination. This is why, in an open access system, which is composed of memes, it is meaningless to talk in terms of authors and audiences, rather one can only speak of the node where one got on to an idea, and the junction where one got off, perhaps to enter the vector of another orbiting meme. Sometimes a work of interpretation, like certain comets and other stellar objects, can have an eccentric orbit. This means that there is always a likelihood of a cluster of signs and images from afar, brushing past objects on its path, entering the orbits of other constellations, when it is least expected to. The sky of meaning is full of shooting stars.

## PORTABILITY

The feature of a system or work that best describes its ability to move quickly through different spaces and mediums. A sign or a meme that can travel well between image, sound and text media is portable. A work, which while it speaks of one site, is understood in another location, is portable. A work that describes many locations in the course of its interpretative orbit is also portable. A portable work is rich in memes, which act as engines for its movements, and is endowed with compact kernels that can travel

well without danger of being cracked open. Briefcases, languages, postcards, Swiss knives, computers, jests, stories and shoes are portable. Gifts, because they change hands, must always be portable. Monuments can never be. The life histories of some (itinerant) individuals and (nomadic) communities make them approximate the condition of portability.

### QUOTIDIAN

Common but not commonplace. The memorable nature of the everyday. Memory walking down a street and turning a corner. Memory buzzing in a hard disk. Ubiquitous, the dirt in a site, the fog in a liminal zone, that which is thickened through repetition. Milk, computers, onions, computers, pyjamas, computers, carpal tunnel syndrome, computers, accidents, computers, sex, computers, bread, computers, night, computers, class, computers, skin, computers, love, computers, money, computers, headaches, computers, police, computers, buses, computers, bicycle, computers, radio, computers, horoscopes, computers, matrimonials, computers, funerals, computers, biscuits, computers, conversations, computers, silences, computers. The quotidian is that which makes a journal turn, over time, into a history, because it induces the search for patterns and meanings in an otherwise tangled mass of time, in memes iterated beyond reasonable limits. Routine, yet random, the quotidian nature of anything demands fleeting moments of lucid engagement with the real world, which now includes within it the world that is forged every time any fingers do a qwerty dance on a keyboard. The quotidian is a measure of all things, rare and commonplace.

### RESCENSION

A re-telling, a word taken to signify the simultaneous existence of different versions of a narrative within oral, and from now onwards, digital cultures. Thus one can speak of a 'southern' or a 'northern' rescension of a myth, or of a 'female' or 'male' rescension of a story, or the possibility (to begin with) of Delhi/Berlin/Tehran rescensions of a digital work. The concept of rescension is contraindicative of the notion of hierarchy. A rescension cannot be an improvement, nor can it connote a diminishing of value. A rescension is that version which does not act as a replacement for any other configuration of its constitutive materials. The existence of multiple rescensions is a guarantor of an idea or a work's ubiquity. This ensures that the constellation of narrative, signs and images that a work embodies is present, and waiting for iteration at more than one site at any given time. Rescensions are portable and are carried within orbiting kernels within a space. Rescensions taken together constitute ensembles that may form an interconnected web of ideas, images and signs.

### SITE

Location, both as in the fact of being somewhere, and also as in the answer to the question of 'where', that 'somewhere' is. Hence, situation. In a system of signs, site – understood in the sense of the kernel of a situation – is not necessarily a place, although a place is always a site. A site can be a situation between and through places. A web site is an address on the Internet that always implies a relation of desire between hosts and visitors. In other words, it doesn't really mean anything for a place to exist (virtually) if

it is left unvisited. In this way, a site can be both located as well as liminal. Real as well as potential. A system of signs (a work) that carries the markings of a location on a map may be situated in the relation that a map has to the world. It may be situated between the map and the world. This situation may be a special characteristic of the work's portability, in that, although mobile the work always refers to the relation between sites that fall on its orbit. In this way, marking a site as an address calls for the drawing up of relations between a location and the world. A site is a place where the address is. A site is a place where the work belongs. A situation between these two locations (where the work is and where it belongs) is a site where the work orbits. A site is also a place where people need to wear hard hats to protect themselves from random falling bodies, travelling in eccentric orbits.

### TOOLS

Things that help make things. Ideas, instruments, concepts, ways of doing things, and ways of being or acting together that are conducive to creative work. In the context of an online environment, a community or an ensemble of people is as much an instrument as a software application. Conversely, a tool emerges when a group of people discover a method that helps them act together to create something. Again, a work that acts as a navigation aid, a browser or interface in a web of memes, is also a tool with which to open and search for other tools.

### UBIQUITY

Everywhere-ness. The capacity to be in more than one site. The simple fact of heterogeneous situation, a feature of the way in which clusters of memes, packets of data, orbit and remain extant in several nodal points within a system. The propensity of a meme towards ubiquity increases with every iteration, for once spoken, it always already exists again and elsewhere. It begins to exist and be active (even if dormant) in the person spoken to as well as in the speaker. Stories and the kernels of ideas travel in this way. A rescension, when in orbit, crosses the paths of its variants. The zone where two orbits intersect is usually the site of an active transaction and transfer of meanings. Each rescension carries into its own trajectory memes from its companion. In this way, through the encounters between rescensions, ideas spread, travel and tend towards ubiquity. That which is everywhere is difficult to censor, that which is everywhere has no lack of allies. To be ubiquitous is to be present and dispersed in 'no-des'. Sometimes, ubiquity is the only effective answer to censorship and isolation.

### VECTOR

The direction in which an object moves, factored by the velocity of its movement. An idea spins and speeds at the same time. The intensity of its movement is an attribute of the propensity it has to connect and touch other ideas. This gives rise to its vector functions. The vector of a meme is always towards other memes, in other words the tendency of vectors of data is to be as ubiquitous as possible. This means that an image, code or idea must attract others to enter into relationships that ensure its portability and rapid transfer through different sites and zones. The vectors of different memes, when taken together, form a spinning web of code.

**WEB**

An open fabric woven of strands and knotted at usually regular, but equally possibly irregular, intervals. Intricately structured, accessible and yet endowed with complex networks of coded messages. The world wide web is a zone in which a digital constellation of memes can find an orbit. A web of code is used to harvest meanings, just as a web of threads is used to harvest fish.

**XENOPHILLY**

Friendliness and hospitality towards others, a human quality that best describes the moral economy of an ideal digital domain. The search for connectedness, and the desire to travel along the vectors from elsewhere. The meaning of the hyphen that transforms 'no-des' into a positive value.

**YARN**

Fabrics, and stories, are made from yarn. A yarn is a snatch of reality that travels by word of mouth. Or it is shipped along with lots of html cargo. It is said that each fragment of code contains rumours and gossip, or yarns about the makers of the code. Yarns collect in basement cyber cafés, in stairwells of cinemas, in call centres and behind the opaque surface of the walls of an apartment whose address is Error 404, which can be anywhere and everywhere at once. In these places, yarn collectors stitch different stretches of code-fabric to make long bolts of data, which are then taken apart by hackers, and distributed into many orbits. Yarns can adjust the amount of information they bear in relation to the width of bandwidth. That is why yarns are good kernels.

**ZONE**

A site, within a location, or a work, that demands an attenuated awareness because of the porosity of the lines that demarcate its existence. A zone is differentiated from a grid that frames a site because its borders are fluid and accessible, or because they witness a lot of traffic. It is difficult to distinguish the centre from the liminal periphery of a zone. Alertness about where one stands is a prerequisite for entering any zone. A zone may also be described as the overlap between orbits in a work, where memes transfer material from one orbit to another, where logic likes to fuzz. The zone of a work extends to the outer circumference of the orbit of its ideas. Zones are places where serendipity might be commonplace, and the commonplace serendipitous. They are best entered and exited at twilight on shunting cars along abandoned railroads that connect different data stations. The timing of twilight may vary, depending on one's longitude, but twilight lingers longer in the zone of the web.

**Saskia Sassen (NL/USA)**

**Saskia Sassen** is the Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, and Centennial Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics. She is currently completing her forthcoming book "Denationalization: Economy and Polity in a Global Digital Age" (Princeton University Press 2003) based on her five year project on governance and accountability in a global economy. Her most recent books are "Guests and Aliens" (New York: New Press 1999) and her edited book "Global Networks/Linked Cities" (New York and London: Routledge 2002). The Global City is out in a new fully updated edition in 2001. Her books have been translated into ten languages. She is co-director of the Economy Section of the Global Chicago Project, a Member of the National Academy of Sciences Panel on Urban Data Sets, a Member of the Council of Foreign Relations, and Chair of the newly formed Information Technology, International Cooperation and Global Security Committee of the SSRC.

**Micz Flor (DE)**

**Micz Flor** is a flexecutive cultural producer and media developer with a special interest in video and streaming media. He lives in Berlin where he set up the office "Redaktion und Alltag" (together with Tanja Lay), developing and maintaining the political online magazine "fluter" for the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. Flor is also working as a developer and training consultant at the Center for Advanced Media – Prague, where he initialised "Campware". Currently Flor produces (together with Merle Kröger and Philip Scheffner) ES EXPRESS, a series of documentaries for Substitute City at the Volksbühne Berlin. Together with Philip Scheffner he is also working on a documentary on independent radio networking in Indonesia, Nepal and Armenia.

<http://www.mi.cz>

**Geert Lovink (NL)**

**Geert Lovink** (1959, Amsterdam), media theorist, net critic and activist, studied political science on the university of Amsterdam. He is member of "Adilkno", The Foundation for the Advancement of Illegal Knowledge, a free association of media-related intellectuals established in 1983. He is a former editor of the media art magazine "Media-matic" (1989-94) and has been teaching and lecturing media theory throughout Central and Eastern Europe. He is a co-founder of the Amsterdam-based free community network 'Digital City' and the support campaign for independent media in South-East Europe "Press Now". He was the co-organizer of conferences such as "Wetware" (1991), "Next Five Minutes" 1-3 (93-96-99), "Metaforum" 1-3 (Budapest 94-96), "Ars Electronica" (Linz, 1996/98) and "Interface 3" (Hamburg 95). In 1995, together with Pit Schultz, he founded the international "Nettime" circle which is both a mailinglist (in English, Dutch, French, Spanish/Portuguese, Romanian and Chinese), a series of meetings and publications such as ZKP 1-4, "Netzkritik" (ID-archiv, 1997, in German) and "Readme!" (Autonome Media, 1998). From 1996-1999 he was based at De Waag, The Society for Old and New Media where he was responsible for public research. He

organized “Tulipomania dotcom” conference, which took place in Amsterdam, June 2000, focussing on a critique of the new economy. In early 2001 he co-founded, a forum for Australian Internet research and culture which has its first publication out, launched at the first “Fibreculture” meeting in Melbourne (December 2001).

#### **Konrad Becker (AT)**

**Konrad Becker** is a hypermedia researcher/developer, interdisciplinary event and content designer. He is chairman of the Institute for New Culture Technologies, Public Net-base t0, director of, a culture and youth oriented center for new communication technologies and founder of World-Information.Org, a cultural intelligence provider. Konrad Becker has been active in electronic media as artist, curator, organiser and producer. Numerous intermedia productions, exhibitions, and event designs for international festivals and institutions, TV-stations, museums and galleries since 1979. Publication of mediaworks, electronic audiovisual products and theoretical texts. Participation in conferences and symposia, radio-broadcasts and TV-programmes, lectures and positions at international universities. He is member of various boards and committees on information- and communication technologies and culture (UNESCO, City of Vienna, ECB etc.) And has worked as a consultant for Austrian ministries and public administration.

[www.to.or.at](http://www.to.or.at)  
[www.world-information.org](http://www.world-information.org)

#### **Steve Kurtz (USA)**

**Steve Kurtz** is Associate Professor in the Art Department of University of Buffalo. Kurtz holds a PhD in Interdisciplinary Humanities, and before coming to UB was an Associate Professor of Art at Carnegie Mellon University. He is a founding member of internationally acclaimed art and theory group Critical Art Ensemble (CAE). CAE is a collective of five tactical media practitioners of various specializations, who focus on the exploration of the intersections between art, critical theory, technology, and political activism. The collective has performed and produced a wide variety of projects for an international audience at diverse venues ranging from the street, to the museum, to the Internet. Critical Art Ensemble has also written five books: Their most recent work is “The Molecular Invasion” (Autonomedia, 2002).

<http://www.critical-art.net>

#### **Kristian Lukic (SCG)**

**Kristian Lukic** is a cultural worker and researcher. He is the founder of the “Eastwood” – Real Time Strategy Group and works as a program developer at New Media Center [kuda.org](http://kuda.org), Novi Sad, Serbia and Montenegro.

<http://www.eastwood-group.net>  
<http://www.kuda.org>

#### **Relja Drazic (SCG)**

**Relja Drazic**, born 1954. Graduated philosophy at Philosophy Faculty in Belgrade. From 1980-1990 was employed at Philosophy Faculty in Novi Sad, working as an assistant in scientific research in the area of Marx's critical theory, German classic philosophy and philosophy of language. He has published his work in magazine for culture and art “Polja”, and intensively translated from German language. At the beginning of the nineties, he gave notice to the position at the faculty and jumped into insecure existence of small entrepreneur in publishing-printing field. He founded and is running business for publishing and print “Futura publikacije”, which is working successfully over 15 years.

#### **Cindy Cohn (SAD)**

**Cindy Cohn** is the Legal Director for the Electronic Frontier Foundation. She is responsible for overseeing the EFF's overall legal strategy. EFF has been actively involved in nearly all areas where civil liberties are impacted online. EFF has focused in the past few years on two major challenges – first the impact of changes to the law in the aftermath of the September 11th tragedy and second, on the challenge to the rights of Internet users presented by recent changes to intellectual property laws.

<http://www.eff.org/>

#### **Sarai, the New Media Initiative, India**

Sarai, the New Media Initiative, a programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies is an alternative, non-profit space for an imaginative reconstitution of urban public culture, new/old media practice and research and critical cultural intervention. The framework of Sarai includes scholarly reflection and creative work on film & video, computers, telephony, print culture, radio, multimedia and the Internet. Sarai's initiators are group of people from Centre for the Study of Developing Societies and Raqs Media Collective.

<http://www.sarai.net>



### **kuda.org – social implications of new media**

New Media Center kuda.org is an organization which brings together artists, theoreticians, media activists, researchers and the wider public in the field of Information and Communication Technologies. In this respect, kuda.org is dedicated to the research of new cultural relations, contemporary artistic practice, and social issues.

Kuda.org's work focuses on questions concerning the influence of the electronic media on society, on the creative use of new communication technologies, and on contemporary cultural and social policy. Some of the main issues include interpretation and analysis of the history and significance of the information society, the potential of information itself, and the diffusion of its influence on political, economic and cultural relationships in contemporary society.

The development of new communication technologies has brought about numerous changes in contemporary society, touching the political, social, and cultural realms. The Internet, processes of applying new technologies and new models of communication via the "networking" process and the development of critical thinking towards the above, have become part of our everyday lives. A large body of researchers, theoreticians, programmers, critics and media activists are devoted to the research and explanation of the global phenomena of our time and their consequences.

New Media Center kuda.org opens space for both cultural dialog and alternative methods of education and research. Social questions, media culture, new technologies art, and the Open Source and Free Software principle are areas in which kuda.org is engaged.

Programs:

#### **Kuda.info / infocentar**

Provides information in the field of new media, contemporary art, social phenomena, research and education by means of a library, mediatheque and digital archive. In addition information is disseminated about cultural events, seminars, call for proposals (internationally). For all visitors of kuda.org Internet is free as a free beer.

#### **Kuda.lounge / presentation and lectures**

Consists of lectures, workshops, talks, public presentations of artists, media activists, theorists, scientists and researchers. kuda.lounge is a place of active participatory dialog. From 2000 onwards over 100 events have been organised. The center boasts its own venue for public events and workshops (real time recording of programs, digital archiving and Internet uploading).

### **Kuda.production / production and publishing**

Creates a matrix for non-profit artistic production in the field of new media and technologies, interdisciplinary research and experiment. In 2003 collaborations have been with a.o. Institute of New Cultural Technologies Public Netbase – Vienna, and with the Museum of Contemporary Art Belgrade. kuda.org has organized the Serbian edition of the exhibition World-Information.Org. From 2004 onwards kuda.org offers free web space on the kuda server for artists, activists and the NGO sector.

#### **kuda.org**

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