

Collision

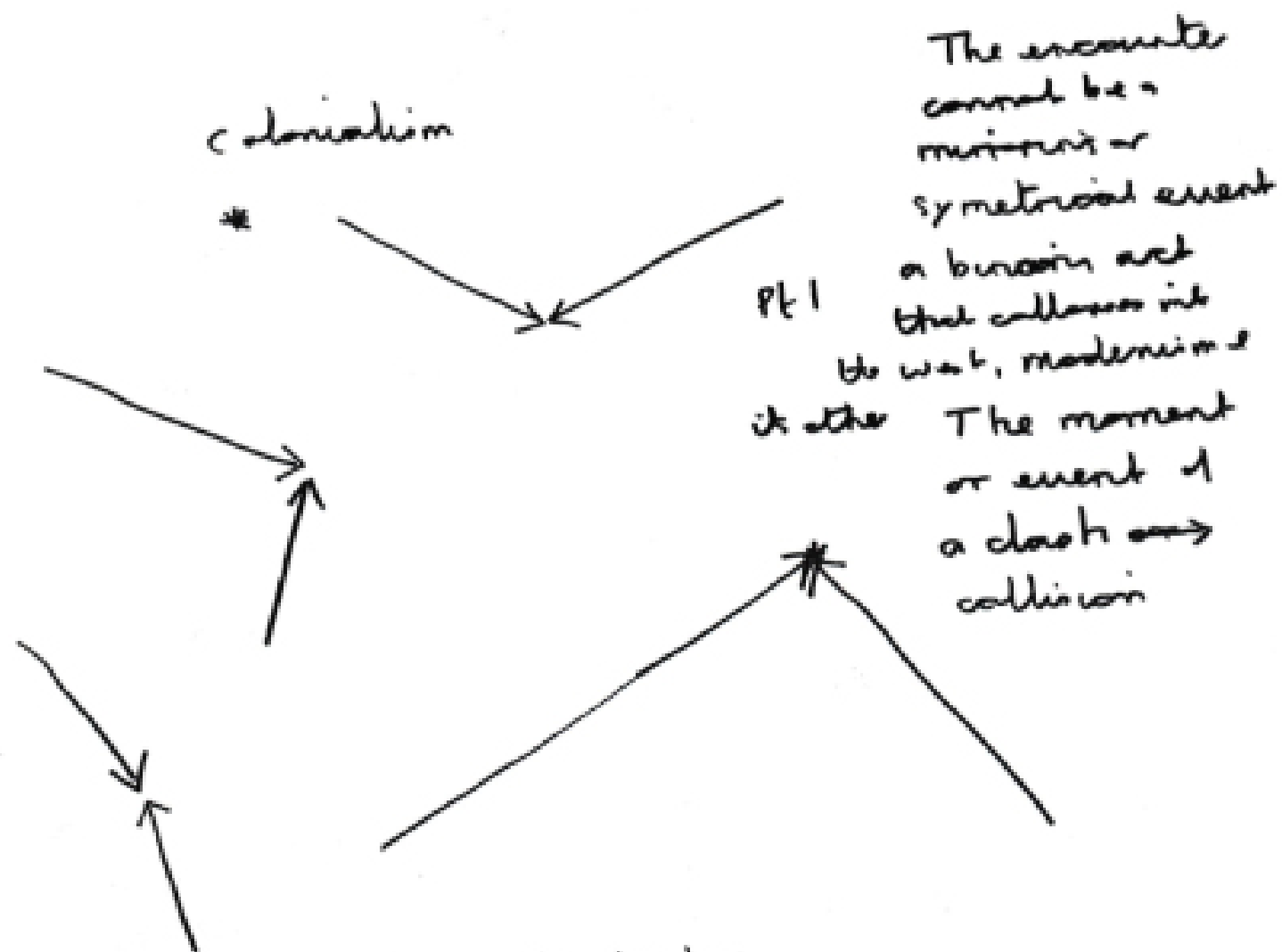
B

Exchange

Agreement

Disagreement

Collaboration



The event as the actualization of breaking colonialism (which has never happened before?) and arrival into our thinking.

working through the story

Imagining ~~is~~ necessary for ^{western} breaking story & the logic

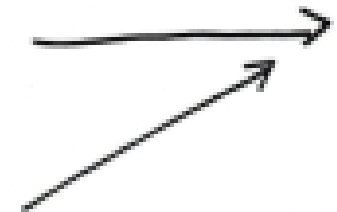
of the cultural/temporal loop

The after effect or results of this event

Pt 2

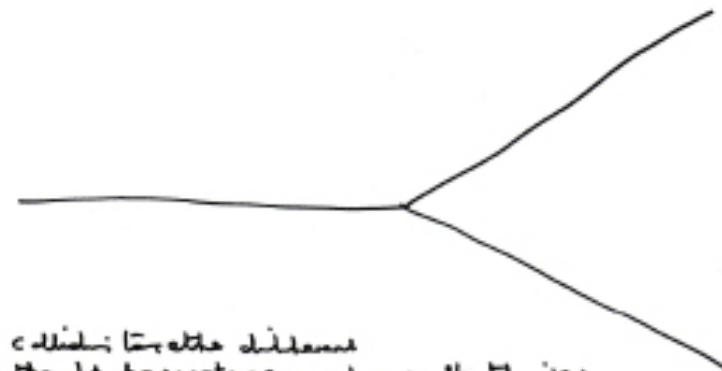


Pt 3



Reflection
Thinking about this effect ~~from~~

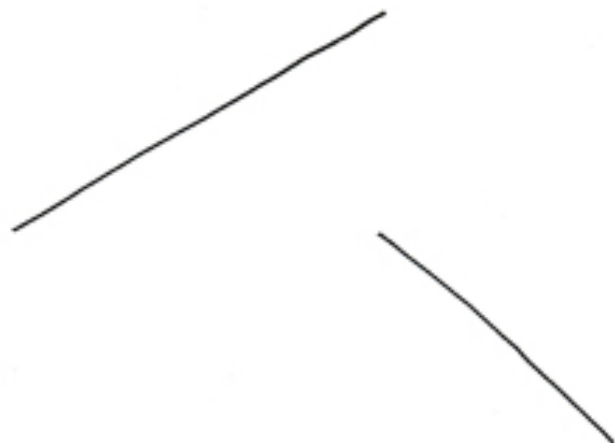
At what level does this take place and how far are we prepared to go with it?



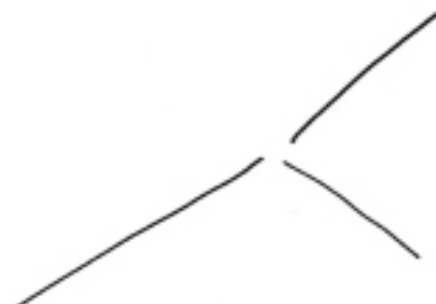
colliding together different
thought & create new unforeseen thinking

Ferryman does not
work sequentially through each stage

Phrases
statements
clauses
Truth clauses



frustrate out of suit
condition



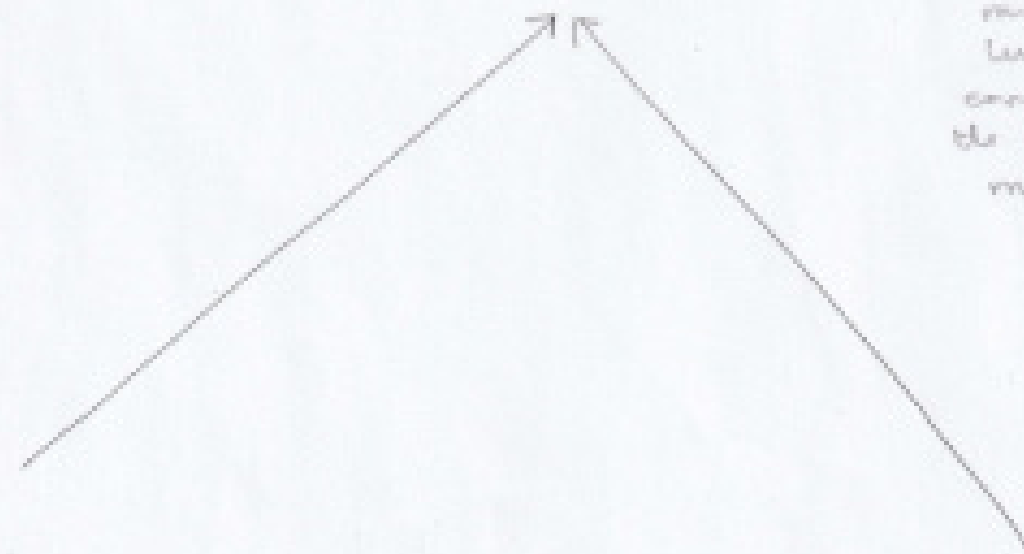
Truth is provided as something that can be articulated through
the very act of becoming
new form of truth
chronology of being

clash of personalities
& exchange of ideas that is what is known
takes place



Sprinter's contact
the thinker
leading to a momentary
error

How is man
thinking &
might & bodily
level exercises
control of reason
the sometimes &
invariable?





Working Notes 2019-2022

- 1. Propositions
- 2. Cultural Temporal Loop
- 3. Collision
- 4. Critique of Total Power 1 & 2

1st Question

What is possible for a capitalist, colonial and imperial subject fixed in and experiencing Neoliberal reality and what is the role of art under these conditions?

Understand as clearly and precisely as possible this society as a totality. What is this lived World that we occupy and the thinking to think this?

Assemble art as a totality, however Art today is highly censored, when you look at art it offers no idea what it is nor its function.

If art and thinking is influenced by Neoliberalism, how is it possible to use art and thinking to reflect on the conditions of art and thinking?

2nd Question

What is a critique of Total Power?

How to picture a complete picture of the form and structure of society, the State, its History and its narratives?

3rd Question

What Value Judgements and criteria to evaluate what we are doing to recover art, theory and thinking?

On breaking cultural productions ties to Capitalism, Colonialism and Neoliberalism, what values judgements are available once this break takes place?

How to both judge and evaluate thinking and cultural forms?

4th Question

How is critique understood and what is it in reality?

5th Question

What and where is the area where these issues can be interrogated and addressed extracted from the context that contributes to the problems that is being analysed?

6th Question

What is Cultural Temporal looping?

Issues and questions into colonialism, post colonialism, decolonization framed, posed and outlined in Western terms and internal to Western Art and answered and resolved in Western terms whether Art, Philosophy, Art Theory.

Art as a sign for entering this culture as a sign of civilization and whatever form art takes can only be good.

Cultural/Temporal Looping.

Ex 1. – Western/American Art examples, French Art, French Cinema, Marx

Repeating key issues and expanding [existing] Western Cultural ideologies.

Western artists, theorists, curators, philosophers laying out through art, philosophy, theory the problems of post colonialism, hegemony, in Western terms and looking for solutions defined by these concepts and values.

Outlining and setting out the problems through Western Art and philosophical terms and framework.

Ex 2. Biennials

Socio political issues/problems caused by the west, framed in western terms – art, theory and philosophy, repetition of familiar concepts and theories through highly placed Western curators or leading philosophers, or artists, curators, theorists who have been through the western academic system.

Ex 3.

Emergency talk on Palestine by 16 Beaver Group, Bifo, middle Eastern theorists and activists

Neoliberalism has conquered and appropriated all concepts, ways of doing things, thinking and it is no longer possible to use existing terms and acts, instead we need a new space.

Ex 4.

Institutional Critique and Rancier's use of Dispositif.

The naivety of falling into the trap of imagining that a critique and an institutional critique is solely defined within not only Western terms but also from within a centre that is part of the cultural war contesting and competing for the position of a global cultural centre.

Ex 5. Post Colonialism and Decolonization.

How do I avoid and overcome and break this problem without contradicting myself and being part of the problem?

Are there realistic steps I can take and that I can think to avoid making these mistakes and falling into the same trap?

Ex 6

Lyotard & Marxism

Thoughtless reliance on a narrow western canon and source. The illusion that marx is still a position of opposition.

Ex 7

Presenting a text on Spinoza in a publication in the Pacific region

Western cultural colonialism

Ex 8

The use of Hannah Arendts political philosophy on totalatarianism to discuss totalatarianism and Narzism today

Collision

The project “exists” not just in the works but in how it assists in generating a point when the known as a totality arrives into thinking and is instantaneously destabilized, causing maximum discomfort, irritation, anxiety, anger, leading to rethinking who we are and our place in the World.

Collision definition

Use of the Feynman diagram shows the colliding and splitting of subatomic particles into shards or fusing into new particles, “as a visualization of what is “unthinkable” and outside and “beyond thinking”, the “colliding and dissolving of the colonial subject and colonial thinking” as an unplanned and uncontrolled act to generate new thinking, embodied in the “actual” exchange between David Goldenberg & Steven Wong.

Collision is both a response and solution to the logic of the cultural/temporal loop or “stasis” and plays a central role in the constellation of new concepts – collision, cultural temporal looping, critique of total power – that makes visible the invisible forces that shape today's reality within what is possible for a colonial subject and artist. As a response to practices, philosophy, theories that not only failed to recognize the trajectory of these forces but also failed to halt its momentum.

Collision is one possible solution to the inability or unwillingness of governments and institutions to register and find solutions to colonialism, domination, power, inequalities.

This is also an acknowledgement that existing solutions to these issues are unsatisfactory.

Focus on the event of a collision

Collision between people, cultures, thinking, Worlds and the overall cultural edifice that is lived and shapes subjects.

Playing of text against images in a continuous dynamic process. Text to break what is and its limits, to describe what is, beyond the forms to stage art and the existing forms for making and embodying art, to imagine other possibilities, to collect together ideas and thoughts and concepts to guide thinking. To generate thinking rather than fixing and bringing thinking to a conclusion, to project beyond what is, as tools to focus and think through the mental image of the collision more precisely.

Speculative texts and works push beyond the limits of the existing order and understanding art.

The different scenarios of the collision that is being imagined, within the broader narrative that glues together this one fixed world, sets out what is possible today within art, descriptions about what the world is and its problems, where the mental image of the event of the collision ruptures the ongoing impasse and repeated failures.

Not only imagining the event of the collision, but equally important, reflecting and enacting the consequences and impact to ourselves and everyday life of this encounter, by taking the event of the collision as far as possible.

A Program for art under Neoliberalism: Art as a critique of total power

Starting point 1

Does the concluding stages of Neoliberalism confront us today with the same dilemma and problems faced by the rise of Nazism and Fascism in the 1930's or is the comparison irrelevant? Are we faced with the same decisions, whether to resist and fight the regime, be complicit with it, or adopt another strategy? Are these responses over reactions? And how should art register and confront such problems? Or is this a repetition of simple-minded notions of past and present, represented by official history, part of the problem? Or is the Neo-liberal right wing global revolution of another order? If so how to arrive at a balanced sound analysis of current conditions and state of affairs when no one else can?

Both de Sade and Pasolini's work posed the same problems. What is the role of art during industrialized killing and what is the role of art during the appearance of new Fascism [some observers claim that Neoliberalism is a form of new Fascism], against the background of the history of Nazism and Fascism, and how to uncover conditions that has no form or clarity? Consumerism and Neoliberalism work by stealth and tap into desires as new forms of war that go undetected as Normalization. And how is it possible to understand and recognize Fascistic symptoms? [Barthes]. De Sade's works function both as fiction and as a description of actual power that mirrors similar power structures today.

What form of art and thinking is appropriate to register and engage with the conditions established in the past two years after the rise of Neoliberalism role in the global right-wing revolution?

How to respond to the recent claim that Neoliberalism has A. now “appropriated and occupied all thinking, behavior and ways of doing things” and that B the “only solution is to locate another space?”*

Reposing the proposition in a clearer form.

What is thinking within the context of Neoliberal conditions?

If we do not comprehend this exact issue how can we go onto determine whatever art is and out of thinking and art determine a Critique? These two points point to a “state of emergency” and a dilemma, is this a trap or something real what is to be done? ,

However, is this a trap or a real set of problems we should be concerned with? And, how to respond given both Capitalism's strategic use of crisis and trauma and Neoliberalism's use of internal civil war and chaos?

How to address these issues without reverting to right wing art practices and thinking? The majority of work produced today is Neoliberal, through readopting and appropriating Modernism and its social hierarchies and stabilizing the means of presentation and reproduction.

And at the same time being aware of recent articles on similar sounding recent crisis, statements and descriptions made by artists, theorists and philosophers into the conditions that describe emergencies, corruption, civil wars, the problems generated by Global art institutions, but say nothing. For example, many e-flux articles, Hito Steyerl's writings, Thomas Hirschhorn's work examining class values used in artistic production criteria, use of war imagery and uncensored images of bodies, the employment of anti-middle-class values and the values of the collectors of art works embodied in white cube spaces. They are at once criticisms and celebrations of Western culture and the ills they describe. How to evaluate what is going on here the complacency, self-delusion and naivety of many theorists, artists and curators.

The use of Western academics and institutions to set the agenda for Post Colonialism and Decolonization of art institutions.

The continued naivety of white artists, as part of the institutional critique project, pointing out to other peoples and artists the ills of the world, the flaws in thinking and practices, the inherent racism of thinking and practice, when they are at the Centre of power and the Empire, and discussing, writing and showing these problems through conservative unthought through forms and infrastructures.

Today's political art isn't political art.

What form and structure this society is or what sources and information we need to read and understand to provide us with insight into societies formation. Nor the role of Democracy and the effects of the process of normalizations management and cleaning of the publics perception of societies institutions and structures.

*Insights into the overall structure of society and the role of art, *and into a class outside and beyond the law and a World structured on invisibility and secrecy.

One definition of power "The elite as the global traveling class who are able to travel at will between jurisdictions, i.e., the class with power, the law makers and decision makers" above and beyond the law. Since 2010 there has been a steady stream of information into power and the powerful, persons shielded from view of people locked into the bubble of democracy and the law for the first time in living memory, and it is not clear why this happened, * aided by the improvement of the internet, so we are talking about information made available and released into the internet. Is this evidence of greater transparency and democracy or something else? Are we inadvertently falling into the right wings trap of sowing dissatisfaction with the elite, elected politicians and existing institutions, current form of politics? As an appropriation of forms of dissent and criticisms? Or revealing the actual invisible traps that surround subjects? I.e. The state of affairs of the feudal world, because social commentators and political theorists are now saying that after the pandemic we have emerged into a new form of Feudalism. And because the release of information appears to be in *direct proportion to the contraction of civil liberties, while the overwhelming volume and sheer quantity of information that is released appears to guide and swamp thinking and imagining other possibilities and actions.

Definition of critique and institutions via institutional critique's failure.

Existing descriptions and evaluations are internal to the system that is being described. Self-criticism as central to Modernism. The confusion of imagining making autonomous "statements" or defending autonomy, when making "Sovereign" Fascistic statements, art statements as dogma, along the lines of the conceptual declaration "if I say it is art it is art." [to paraphrase Broodthaers]

Use of de Sade's 120 of Sodom and Pasolini's film of 120 days of Sodom "Salo, as examples of art works that address state war and violence, in a form capable of opposing and declaring war on the society and state that is at war, whether the French revolution or Consumerism, so recognizing different forms of war and what is seen as war and what isn't. [insights the surrealists made into official History that cuts up time into peace and war] And who decides on this difference. Refusal of entertainment and the aesthetics, a form that breaks apart and contests all aspects of the formation of this one world.

Why de Sade's 120 days of Sodom and Pasolini's Salo? As key examples for a critique of Total Power?

Issues to examine. 1. How art, as seen in de Sade and Pasolini, is used to declare war on this formation of existence and its claim to be called civilized and Modern; And 2, selecting art forms capable, within a highly censored art industry and society, to indirectly mine power, domination, governmental and political abuses and corruption, problems addressed in "Eyes wide shut". Both problems addressed in Paul Chan's work in an ineffective way, that also addresses the larger question what form works today, without solving the problem? [Provide examples of why Chan's work fails, and also the failure of Claire Fontaine's work, and the absence of workable models today]

Starting point 2

A World shaped by the logic of the mental health act. * [anyone found trespassing on royal family estates are arrested under the mental health act.] This sets the tone of existence within current conditions.

Starting point 3

De Sade and Pasolini work as institutional critique, class war, peace time war

In what way does de Sade's 120 days of Sodom constitute both, a critique, that is a critique of Total Power? And how is total power to be understood?

The formation and clash of institutions and understanding of institutions as different Worlds?

120 days of Sodom as a blueprint of power that is replicated today.

120 days of Sodom link to recent events that exposes unforeseen hidden fissures into the actual structure of society through exposing a glimpse into power and the composition of this society and lived life.

Refusal to be censored

The past 10 years has seen the escalating reduction of civil liberties paralleled by a savage increase in censorship

How 120 days of Sodom throws light on today's power structures and glimpse into the total structure of society.

The acts depicted in 120 days of Sodom are replicated in the Belgian Dutroux sex scandal [I use this as an example because the case has been legally documented and verified by judges, lawyers and investigative journalists. [& mirrored in Jimmy Saville's crimes and Franklin sex scandal, again two cases that are documented and verifiable] insights into organized crime, evidence of fascism, Nazism, Nazis extreme right-wing cells, the left behind cells, torture, death, social engineering, mind control. The invisible or little understood allegiance at the outset of Neoliberal governments to Fascism, for example Franco and Pinochet, and anti-democratic states such as Saudi Arabia, the secret activities of the CIA and network of pro fascist anticommunist cells? active role in shaping and coercion of peoples through illegal activities, assassinations, torture, addictions, criminalization of sectors of society.

Similarity to the Koch brother's strategy of establishing the new form of Neoliberalism through infiltrating and capturing seats of power, appropriation of left-wing strategies and right to revolution and dissent.

How does the Black Lives Matter protests and the assault on Capitol hill fit into this logic?

Beyond censorship in Art

Art as a totality

Picturing a complete picture of arts function today, outside and beyond its self-induced naivety and ignorance.

Money Laundering

Corruption

Censorship

Financialization of Art

Financial side and role of Art

The art industry as the most unregulated industry today

The problem in offering value and monetary value to art works

Problems in defining an institution and in turn how to understand what is termed institutional critique

Top-down aristocratic value system.

Cultural Temporal loop

1st intuition. 2013. The sense time had stopped or gone into reverse. Recognizing that the same ideas and authors are repeated and recycled without further growth in understanding or possibility of going beyond this limited range of sources.

2nd intuition. That Western culture poses and registers problems through its value system, problems it has caused i.e colonization, and claims to solve using its values and criteria.

People can be found to discuss post colonialism and decolonization by using the terms and values and sources that promote and consolidate colonialism, so short circuiting any discussion.

The effects of public relations to cover up corruption, crimes, historical revelations, abuses of power, the actual form and extent of power, new controls and limits on daily life, to give the appearance this is normal without making changes or disruption to normalized everyday life.

Highlighting contradictions in the construction of critique today. Institutional critique as a revising of the rules, as revisionism rather than critique. Recognizing how things work, the rules of the game. Institutional critique is only possible at the center of cultural power.

The problem of recycling and repetition of Western values, use of existing knowledge, Western cannons and its histories.

Critique, Post Colonialism, Decolonization caused, framed and solved within Western values, art history, philosophy, cultural canons.

All descriptions today are nothing more than tautologies listing descriptions of problems.

Defining the Capitalist Colonial subject and what is possible?

On realizing that I am a capitalist and colonial subject, [apparatus] shaped and formed by Neoliberalism, using Neoliberal thinking to think, and Neoliberal art production to make art, what is to be done? How to make work, think and do, which ruptures the cycle of domination and colonization, and breaks with empty tokenistic works and statements? Or even how to limit the damage? [Is this claim true and correct, an approximation of the truth or a worthless generalization?] What do we need to prove and pin down to show truth content within the conditions of this Neoliberal world? With its policy of de-education, nonlinear war, [Cambridge Analytica's] social engineering, segregation and Apartheid? Given the fact that there doesn't exist a plausible description of what exists and what shapes us. Nor plausible descriptions of whatever art is, and for that reason it is difficult to show the purpose of art, other than arts increasing similarity to Adorno & Horkheimer's description of the culture industry and the filtering of the World through art, within advertising and consumerist Western Democratic societies and Nazis Germany of the 1930s and 40s.

*From the repeated claims that existing sources of information and reasoning and thinking are unable to describe anything, if only because culture, thinking, philosophy has been appropriated by Neoliberalism and the Right-wing Global revolution, the above assumptions have grounds for validity. If this is the case how to build and assemble criteria of these conditions? and given these conditions what is possible?

The key issue that is missing from many analyses of recent times and the damage caused by Neoliberalism is the deliberate attack on thinking, culture and education, pacification of people and deliberate short circuiting and effectiveness of any form of resistance in the West, the defeat of any possible cultural resistance to Neoliberalism and the new fascism since the 1970's. This requires to be highlighted because this acknowledgement throws light on the type of art that we have experienced and become used to and use as models, the cultural standards and values over the past 50 years of Neoliberal rise to domination, and the widespread familiar art forms that we see today this side of the pandemic.

Link between Institutions and thinking

The difficulty in locating thinking that bridges and spans the different worlds, institutions and classes.

Insights 120 days of Sodom into this

Meeting point between classes and worlds

Access into these worlds and allegiance to it

Initiations and commitment to that one World

“A World whose “principles and views are alien to other worlds” and reasoning owned by other worlds or to the familiar world that is inhabited, so plotting a distinction between the worlds.”

“120 days of Sodom seems to clearly reveal an initiation into a class outside and beyond the law, and values different to what is understood by the Democratic and transparent World.”

Initiations and commitment to that one World

The point that 120 days of Sodom addresses is how do the ruling classes, in positions of power, outside and above the law and the democratic sphere, make use of bodies who have no power or financial value? So, bodies owned by others within total commodification and control of bodies. Minds and Bodies trapped and fixed in the now. Mirroring a problem in post war years and central thread in the UK. 120 days of Sodom mirrors these very same power structures that people governed by the sphere of the law inside the bubble of democracy are unable to access and see for themselves, and who are subject to this economy, ideas taken up and clarified in Pasolini's film Salò through exposing this totalizing regime and its effects.

Then how this forming of discrete Worlds links to the corralling, pointing to, directing towards correct disciplinary thinking, on the one hand, correct formal rational philosophical and theoretical thinking, [theological and priestly thinking] as a symbol of acceptance into society and civilization. And on the other, an operation as an emptying out and impoverishing thinking and imagining, of how and what understanding is, as a process of opening-up a large unoccupied absence where clandestine activities take place, because no one is looking at these places and whose places and thinking is discredited. [Logic behind CIA activities]

Examples and acts we can see taking place in tax havens, the CIA use of drugs and criminal activity, honey traps, links with the criminal world, where boundaries of inside and outside the law cease to matter, controlling both worlds and using resources from both worlds.

What space does the new Neoliberal subject have for operating in today?

Outlining the Neoliberal condition: reprogramming and reformation of the Neoliberal subject.

Outline for a Neoliberal Aesthetic.

Pushing ideas as far as they will go without a practice and a space, a process and space generated by the process the direction, thinking and research take us.

My thinking starts with the simple obvious fact and recognition and acknowledgement that I am shaped and a product of capitalism at the Centre of the Global Empire. It is also a recognition that efforts historically have so far failed to break with this condition. So, what is possible faced with this dilemma, and condition within the limits and problems as it is without overthrowing or escaping from this system? [2 points to look at. 1 to date nothing has brought about change or made a difference. 2 the mythology of change through art therefore the nizing that the forms and platform that are available are instruments to subjugate people and cultures and for that reason we cannot say that “anything is said under these conditions.” * And to proceed by imagining the rupturing and disappearance of existing forms and platforms and imagining other ideas and platforms coming together another time. [which we see in Sturtevant's practice] “We therefore have a space where we operate under these restrictions and the dilemma of knowing that to take part is to subjugate others, and that within the existing conditions it is impossible to break with this thinking and way of doing something,* *therefore the necessity to completely break this ensemble of existing conditions. However, how do we use existing resources to penetrate and understand whatever is understood by this formation as a totality and penetrate deep into its workings? A formation shaped by the logic of the temporal/cultural loop. Holding power to account. Understanding history and power as it is in order to move on and break with the existing stasis. The shape and composition of what is, the visible and invisible, the lived space and spaces outside and beyond this, and a deeper understanding of this lived bubble, the visible inward-looking space. Recognition that we use what is available within that space to make understandable that space and other subjugated people and cultures. Recognizing the increasing and accelerated narrowing of civil liberties within this lived space and what is possible to articulate, * orchestrating situations to bring about a clash, collision and break down of existing thinking, culture and system. If the existing conditions focuses on what is available to frame and find solutions to the problems, monitoring things as they are, where do we go to locate other possible workable resources, and consequently what value judgement are used to judge and evaluate thinking and the conditions we want to build?

The prevailing dominant hegemonic system that shapes what is thinkable, and the elusiveness and intangibility of the religion and metaphysics of the West.

The dilemma of what to do at a time of total violence and terror. De Sade 120 days of Sodom offers a glimpse of the workings of total power [the unfettered unrestrained use of power by one group on another], art of war, peace time war, and through mapping out and pinning down these structures can be seen as a form of institutional critique, a glimpse into the workings of different worlds, initiation into a class, and a class outside the law. Based on two historical examples showing aristocrats misuse and killing of children without suffering the consequences, mirrors contemporary verified cases of the murder, torture and killing of children by persons protected by parliamentary and aristocratic privilege.

Pasolini's film of 120 days of Sodom as an idea of what an actual work of art is within the limits and conditions of Capitalism and Consumerism, how the everyday shaped and dominated by consumerism is more violent than fascism. An art you are prepared to die for, an art of total commitment, a supreme art.

Whatever is understood and defined by art, artwork, theory, theorization and critique of art and culture, doesn't exist, is not obvious or is inadequate.

What is understood as critique is in reality revisionism.

If art, theorization of art and critique no longer exists or difficult to identify, how is it possible to recognize these entities when we do? What are the criteria and value system used to evaluate and rebuild art, its theorization and critique?

Are previous solutions and models a solution? For example, models of practices and exemplary scholarly research from the past? For example, American Contemporary Art, The October Journal, Art theory, European Avant Garde artists, theorists, film makers, European philosophy and theorists and academic disciplines.

Suggested optics and criteria and points to take into consideration.

Capitalism and Colonialism have infiltrated all forms of life, thinking and the critical tools that are available. In recent conversations during 2021 intellectuals from a broad range of cultures and nations – middle east, Europe, US – “acknowledged that Neoliberalism has infiltrated and captured all available means of thinking and doing.”

I am suspicious of such blanket totalizing claims and the manner in which many philosophers and theorists make such public announcements, but here as with so many claims made today, how is it possible to prove and test out and verify their validity? Can we really say that the global right-wing revolution has won on such a large scale and to such depth? However, since the claims are so drastic and alarming, we need to pay attention, what If the claims are true, what are the implications? If capitalism, colonialism and neoliberalism as the culmination of all these forces, has actually infiltrated and contaminated thinking and acting to this extent [which is what was said about consumerism and advertising] what is the route and process of extraction from this state and condition?

The sense of pacification and defeatism seem to be all pervading today and people want to get back to their everyday lives, and artists and thinkers rely on whether existing problems can still be solved by thinking a way out of socio economic and political problems. *

Existing forms of protest, critique, conflict, rebellion is inbuilt into the system as safety valves and propaganda. [Neoliberalism as the end of history and end of revolution. Foucault] Both Badiou and Tiqqun are suspicious of protests.

Furthermore, the sources and positions and disciplines to obtain insight and to make sense of the formation of the one world seem to be limited and predictable. *

And where to go to obtain precise insights and understanding of what is going on in order to plan a strategy?

Part of comprehending these problems is the campaign of deeducation, confusion and attrition. Behind that the inbuilt illusion inherent to Colonialism veiling colonial reality and the nature of reality under the Global Empire.

Another issue is how suitable are insights made at specific historic moments and conditions for analyzing whatever the conditions are that confront us today? Or is it possible to repurpose and reuse these insights constructed within the Centre of European cultural history and traditions?

How is this to be understood within the context of the little understood and under theorized extent of colonialism, domination and daily civil war in daily life and within the prison of the cultural temporal loop of Western dominant culture, consolidating its position and maintaining sources, traditions and blocking of all other sources and possibilities?

The veiled or invisible role of Western Art and culture on a Global scale, the blurring between the political, social and art and the overwhelming use of art and western culture to filter the world [Neocolonialism use of the economic and art]

Does our understanding of the past remain static or is it subject to change and interpretation? For example, the changing interpretation of Conceptual Art, which some now recognize as the first global art form.

How are insights into power, hegemony, domination that are available assist anyone today? Along with different models of art and cinema?

At a basic level are not all descriptions and insights part of the same mechanism that they are describing of domination, power and control? As part of the top-down spread of how thinking is available and takes place. what role do these positions and insights have in consolidating power as part of cultural wars between competing positions of power distributed across Paris, Berlin, NY, London etc. And shouldn't the roles of these descriptions be taken into consideration when they are adapted and reused, as Laruelle claims as part of his non-philosophy projects analysis of power and politics within philosophical statements.

And what role do these positions and insights have in consolidating power as part of cultural wars between competing positions of power distributed across Paris, Berlin, NY, London etc. And shouldn't the roles of these descriptions be taken into consideration when they are adapted and reused, as Laruelle claims as part of his non-philosophy projects analysis of power and politics within philosophical statements.

How different is the composition of society, the state, art, art industry today that the claim it is a completely different and new entity true and requires a new or different set of tools and strategies? And that previous models, strategies and descriptions are unable to open out the context of the life led today with unprecedented attacks against civil liberties and poverty of conceptual resources? Or is the process simply a continuation of ever renewing the same mechanisms, developing new brands, fashion and expanding what already exists? * Or that neoliberal art institutions and financialization of cultural production is a new entity.

Obsolescence of the Gallery, Museum, Art works, Collection, Press release. [Philippe Thomas examined or problematized just this question, how the institution of art delimits what is the real and what is fiction, and that forms of art institutions are out dated and unable to accommodate contemporary cultural forms, along with Sturtevant, Claire Fontaine]

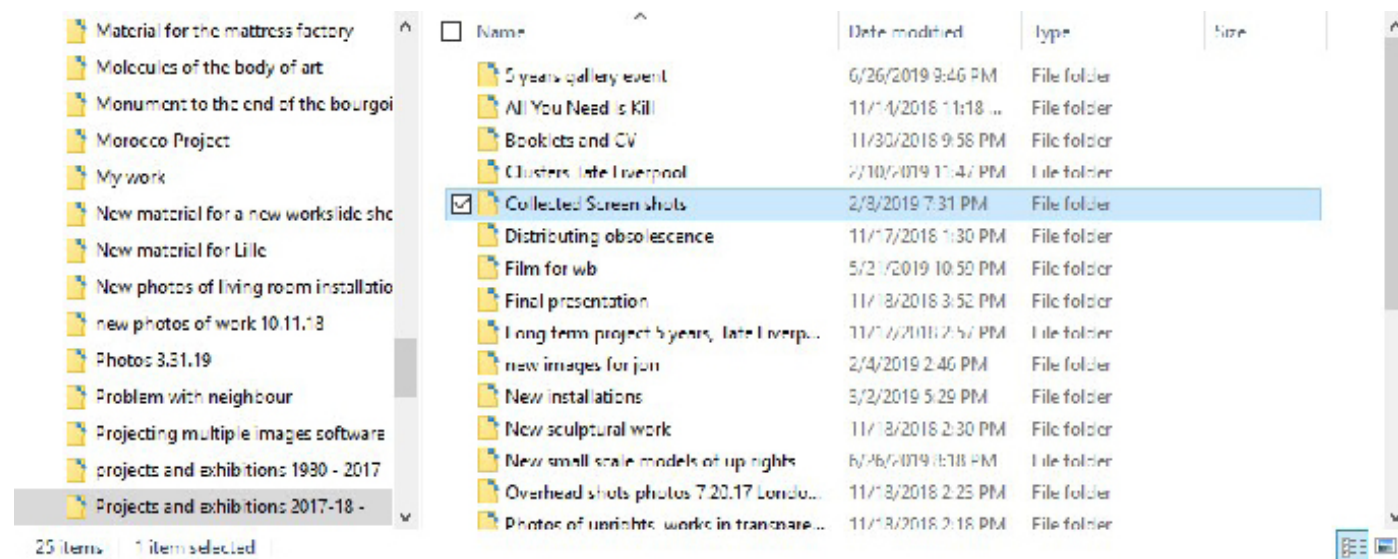
The existing discourse and value system of domination inscribes and consolidates the subject within Western Colonial temporal order and categorization, a System as a mechanism for consolidating class and social hierarchies.

What form would a coherent and agreed description of existing domination and hegemonic forces need to take? And would a single totalizing statement within this existing stage of affairs of Global Western domination be suitable for all repressed peoples and cultures? *What is a precise and accurate description of Global Western hegemony and what does it need to do and how could it be used?

Is a statement and definition of Global hegemony and domination definable within the culture and concepts that dominates?

What is absent here is a coherent definition of negative critique which is behind much of the discussions and definitions here.

Assembling a Critique of Total Power



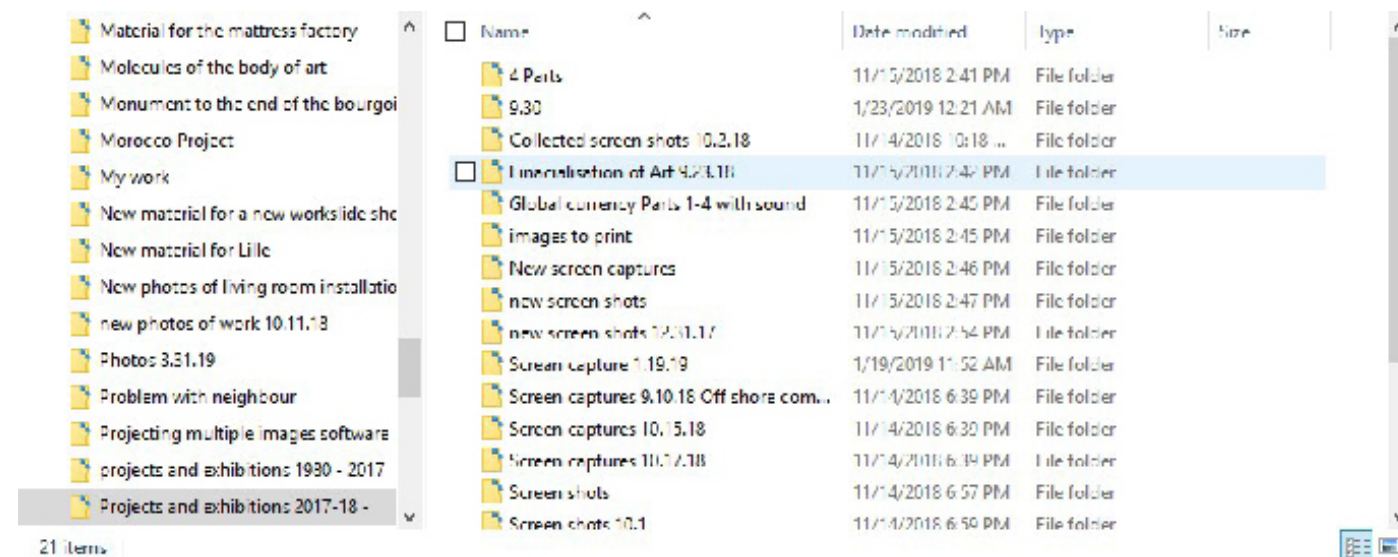
Content

Collected Screen shots Vol 1

Introduction

File names

Sequence



The screen captures are neither painting, prints, videos, TV, photographs but something entirely different, falling between these disciplines, as a meeting point between the computer, internet, outside world and art world.

Until 2017 individual images had been selected from this pool for sculptures and installations, combined into configurations, clusters, patterns and sequences of images.

Slide shows take this sequence of images further, while at the same time organizing my thinking to reveal the thinking process itself.

In 2018/19 I started to organize material systematically, and the slide show produced in 2019 is the first work to put a sequence of the still images into a larger unit, prefiguring the structuring of all the material into one work.

I started searching online news sites during the Iraq war because of the heavy censorship in the UK press, so the screen shots are a way to look at recent events from multiple positions and cultures, while that at the same time highlighting censorship.

The search was also triggered by Civil Wars and invasions around the Middle East establishing a firewall around Europe, so insights into the formation of the world I inhabit.

In that respect the screen shots are a form of art I am trying to assemble capable of penetrating through the existing reality that shapes existence today, that registers and confronts power, a practice capable of registering Neoliberalism and breaking with Neoliberalism.

There are of course many unquestioned issues around the source material, in so far as who can corroborate anyone source and anyone perspective? And are the collected screen shots anything more than a hoovering-up exercise, a snapshot of what is available at anyone instance on the internet?

Although the process of looking at events from multiple perspectives is far from systematic, I have used events and issues to mine paths, links, and networks to considerable depths.

Nor have I sought to give the material a narrative, nor evaluated the sum of the parts of the material, in fact I want to allow the images and associations the material triggers to speak for itself, in so far that I want to dissolve existing formations and narratives to suggest others.

Much of the material is horrific and disgusting, which ought to be edited out of the work, however by doing that removes the effects and filtering process of censorship, and the effects of the clash between the West, other cultures, and Worlds, so these images show the result of that clash. At the same time I have consciously sought to confront exceedingly difficult issues, particularly around the collapse and reduction of discourse in today's society. The loss of the capacity to judge and evaluate events particularly disturbing anti-democratic events that are reminiscent and repeat the horrors and crimes of the past. That circulate around the perpetuation of past right-wing symbolism, whose effect is to continuously channel us away from the present into the past, away from what is there into the past, into a discourse located in a taboo area we are forbidden to discuss, so generating stasis and entrenching censorship around the fixity of mainstream History. This also includes plotting the rise of the new right wing, the hidden crimes of Nations, the process of rebranding and reinvention of Nation States, and the role art plays in this process.

Although threads appear chaotic, they do reappear in different mutating forms. The financial mechanisms behind art in the art industry, locating key figures who shape and guide art behind the scenes, the role of art in the larger context of the World in order to look at assembling the context and background against which art operates, images that also look at different concepts of time, ordering, arranging, and organizing material.

File names

- 9.30

Collected Shots 10.2.2018

- 1. Financialization of Art
- 2. New Screen Captures
- 3. The new right wing
- 4. Screen shots
- 5. Screen captures structure project visuals
- 6. Robert Mercer, Cambridge Analytica
- 7. Printed images
- 8. Mosul
- 9. More images to print
- 10. New screen shots
- 11. New Screen shots 12.31
- 12. V & others
- 13. Secrecy, attacks against civil liberties
- 14. Screen shots of Hotmail
- 15. Images for Picpus and conference with Sean Snyder

Collected screen shots 2

- 16. Images and material for the conference 2011-13-14
- 17. Images for conference and other projects - Sean Snyder continued
- 18. Screen captures 2011-17

19. Pygmy family exhibited in NY zoo, Irish slaves

20. NSC British Fascists

21. Movement through desk top folders

22. Search

23. Data Mining and paths

24. Predictive Model visualization in Tableau files

25. Information boards screen shots from TV

26. Homeless people + image context + data mining

27. Crime TV film with view of investigation room

28. Screen shots

29. Screen shots and Sean Snyder

30. Screen Shots

31. Other

32. Screen shots, After Art

33. Screen shots, child abuse + Police corruption

34. Screen shots, Iraq and Egypt

24

Warhol sale

Untitled 13

6.19.17

Bannon

3jpg

Violet

Robert Mercer

Western Post Modernism

Unearthing dead bodies

Virus

Abuse

Wreckage

4 chan

Zinab Bash White Supremacist sign

W jpg

X ray

www.usnews.jpg

Linkedin

0 1 room

Willats

5 jpg

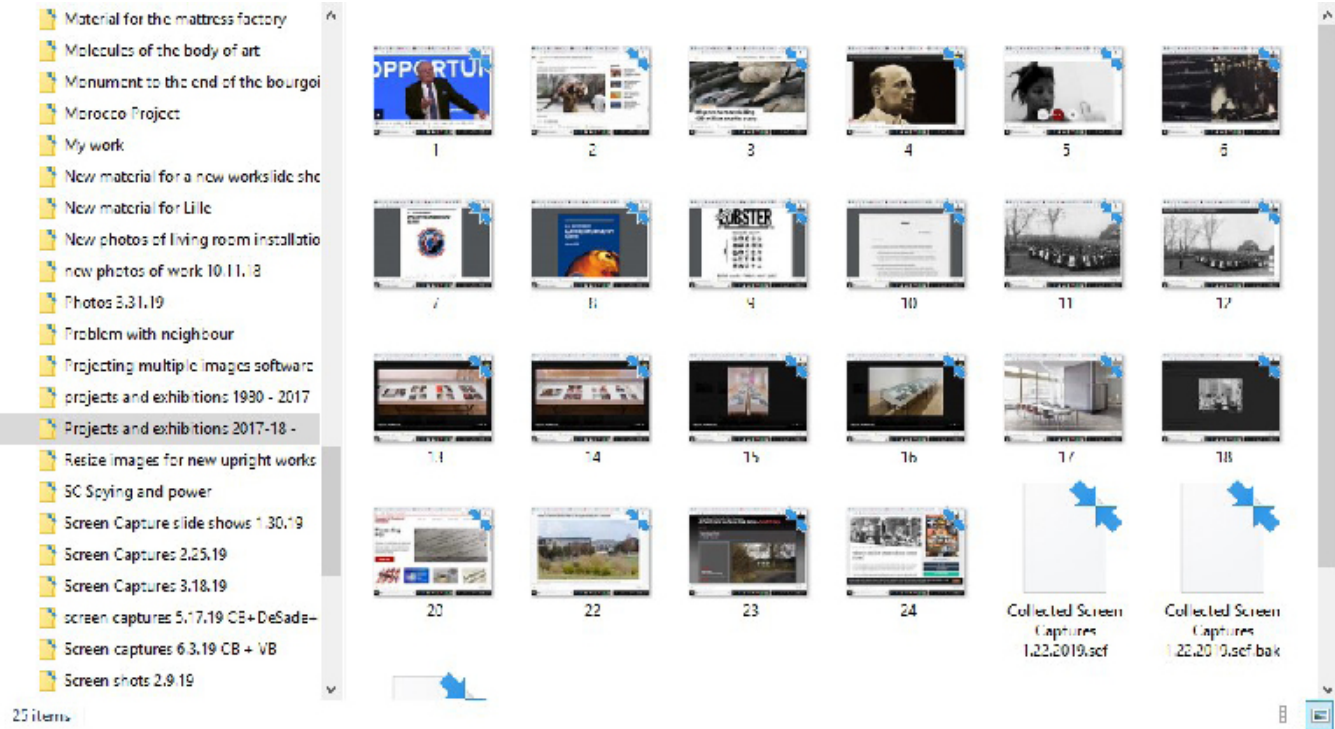
Warehouse

T03296_9 jpg

Pygmy exhibition

What to do

01 jpg



Context

Rhodes 1890s

And the Round Table Group
1900-1950s

Responsible for overseeing the British Empire
into The Commonwealth
Rebranding, reinventing and writing the History of the British Empire as a Global Empire

1950s/60s

The role of Art in developing the new UK narrative

Promotion of American Art and Social values with consumer culture

The erosion of memory, history, state crimes

The End of the 1950s-early 60s

The End of the British Empire and its Colonies

The fundamental rebranding of the British Empire and the construction of the
“*Post-Colonial*” reality which persists to today

The idea of the benevolent Empire
Rebranding Britain as Civilized and as a Civilization

The role of Art in promoting this narrative

Manufactured illusion of Democracy

“*All countries are corrupt*” repeated by the British Government from
1960s until 2015/2020

1990s YBA’s promotion of private education, promotion of the self and the individual, embodying
The reduction of theory and oppositional voices and

1989 Fall of the Berlin Wall and End of the Cold war Expansion of Western Contemporary

1945 - 2020 continuous war, civil unrest and growing restrictions on civil liberties

Cold war, Threat of nuclear war, War with the IRA, recession in the 1980s, Collapse of the banking system in 2007,
2010 - 2020 Austerity and the acceleration in the restrictions of civil liberties with the implementation of the counter
revolutionary policies by David Cameron with the accelerated attack on the welfare state, public funded institutions,
accelerated privatisation of education, prison system, break with Europe’

The secret reintroduction of apartheid. Social mobility goes back 200 years.

1920s

Fundamental change in the State management of the population, from physical coercion to Psychological management with
the “Manufacturing of consent” Advertising/propoganda and birth of Consumerism

1973 - 2020

The Political rise of Neoliberalism in Europe, Chile, New Zealand, US

2013

Migrated Colonial Archives

Rewriting History

Secret storage of 30 miles of Files on British History and
its Colonies, accounting for approximately 20 percent of
known files.

War on Terror 2003

Accelerated decline of civil Liberties and significant abuse of State powers

Tax Havens

Existence of a New Global British Empire, new Geography, new Histories

Hollywood cultural and monetary values, link to the Conservative party and hedge funds
promotion of product and anti intellectual, anti historical work. The art industry merging with the entertainment industry and state media.

Art, discussed and implimented as a blue print by BAK in the project “*Former West*” replicated by all art institutions

2013-2015 - 2020

Right wings attack

Flooding the internet with information

The rise and consolidation of power in the UK, revealing secrets & corruption into
the public sphere.

The increasing role of the British Royal Family and rise and consolidation of feudal
values and hierarchies

Internal corruption and abuse of power and the revealing of the States
range of institutions to protect and maintain the establishment and
existing narratives

Historic Sex abuse cases 1950-2020

Consolidation of the UK and Europe as the Centre of a Global Empire

The invention and implimentation of new strategies to block access to information, to
generate chaos and confusion

Consolidation of European and US power
in the Middle East and North Africa

Iraq War, Coup in Egypt, War in Syria

Rise of censorship

2016

Brexit

The breaking cover of the rich and powerful

The funding of anti political, pro business right wing
organisations by the Koch brothers, Robert Mercer,
Bannon

Cambridge Analytica

Link with Facebook, Trump, Brexit campaign, link
with Psyops

Pyschological warfare

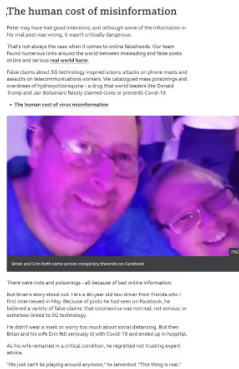
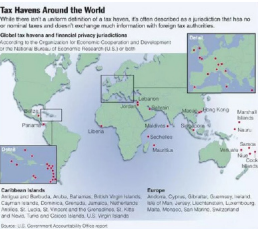
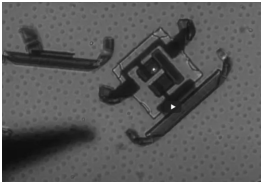
A significant surge to the right of UK State Media
2016-19 and the destruction of oppositional voices,
destruction of different narratives
2019-2020

Global right wing revolution

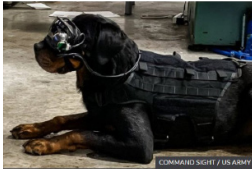
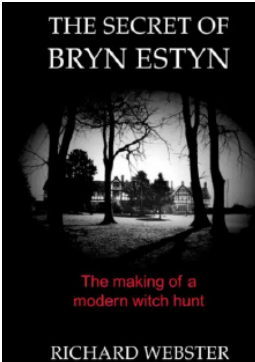
The invention and rise of a Mon-
oculture

The radical simplification of mes-
sage, infrastructure and sources of
information, and daily existence,
implimentation of Feudalism

Scheme 1 knitting together different threads and the shape and interaction of the threads



Medical Negligence Specialists
Thank You May Be Eligible To Claim? Find Out Today With Our 1



About

Rebecca began publishing in April 2010.

It was Britain's first standalone investigative website.

In September, October and November 2010 three of the individuals it has investigated were quoted:

— **Gordon Angleson**, the former North Wales Police superintendent, was sentenced to 12 years for the historic abuse of children in 2010. He died shortly afterwards.

The Fall Of Gordon Angleson tells the story — and the context can be found on the **Gordon Angleson** page.

How Angleson fits into the wider North Wales child abuse scandal is explained on the **Child Abuse** page.

— **Mascher Mahmood**, the former *News of the World*, *Sunday Times* and *Sun* journalist, was given 15 months by a judge at the Old Bailey.

He was quoted for conspiracy to pervert the course of justice after he was caught lying on oath in 2014 before the Palfrey Commission on this.

Rebecca had already exposed him as a liar in the Leveson inquiry: his claim to have convicted more than 250 individuals was a fabrication.

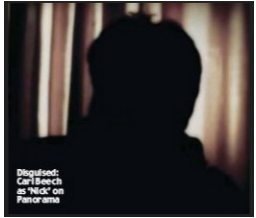
Two years before his fall from grace, **Rebecca** warned Scotland Yard and Rupert Murdoch's "Governance" watchdog that he was a "serial performer".

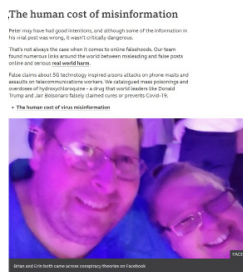
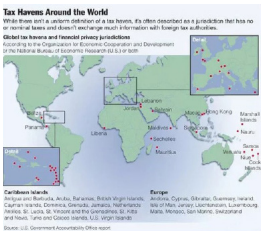
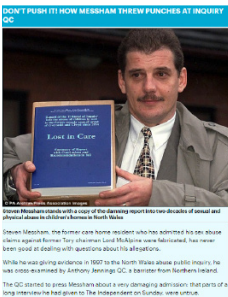
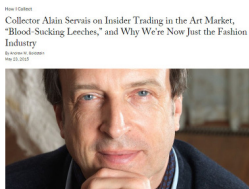
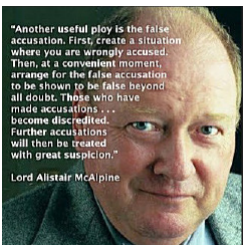
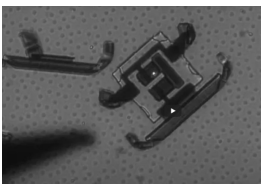
Both ignored the warnings.



'Fantasist' whose claims of VIP sex abuse sparked £2million police probe wept as he told 'made-up tale of a boy being murdered'... as jurors are shown his sketches of alleged crime scenes

- Carl Beech denies perverting the course of justice, at Newcastle Crown Court
- Beech was overheard as 'Nick' when he alleged he had been sexually abused as a child by a VIP in abuse ring based in Weston-super-Mare
- He accused former PM Edward Heath, home secretary Lennox-Boyd, and heads of the Army, MI6, and MI5, and said former MP Murray Prior had murdered children
- A Met detective called his accusations 'fantasy and fear' and the force spent £2million on an 18-week investigation





Proofs 1

Overview

advisers were accessed. Apparently, some used the same password: “12345.”²⁸ The leaked emails included correspondence—mostly through intermediaries—between Mansour Azzam, the Minister of Presidential Affairs, and the studios of Rem Koolhaas (OMA), Richard Rogers, and Herzog and de Meuron regarding various issues.²⁹ To paraphrase the content of some emails: Rogers and Koolhaas were being invited to speak in Damascus and, with Koolhaas, these visits extended to project discussions including the National Parliament.³⁰ Herzog de Meuron offered a complimentary concept design proposal for the Al-Assad House for Culture in Aleppo, and expressed interest in the selection process for the parliament project.³¹ A lot of this correspondence is really just gossip about the studios by way of intermediaries. There is also lots of spam. No communication with any of the studios is documented after the end of November 2010. With protests starting in January 2011, a full-blown uprising began in Syria by the end of March of that year. All conversations and negotiations between officials and architects seem to have stopped as scrutiny of the Assad regime increased in the buildup to actual hostilities. The authenticity of none of these documents³² could be confirmed independently, so for the time being, their status is that of unmoored sets of data, which may or may not have anything to do with their presumed authors and receivers.³³ But they most definitely are sets of data, hosted by WikiLeaks servers that can be described in terms of their circulation regardless of presumed provenance and authorship.³⁴



Artist Saif al-Islam Gaddafi stands beside his painting *War* (2001), which depicts NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999.

Above is Saif al-Islam Gaddafi's painting, *War* (2001). Saif is the son of the late head of Libya, Muammar Gaddafi and was a political figure in Libya prior to his father's deposition by rebel forces backed by NATO airstrikes in 2011. This painting was exhibited as part of a show called "The Desert is not Silent" in London in 2002.



outdoor attractions much to his liking. He visited the Parrot Jungle, Hialeah racetrack, and the shores of Dillido Isle in Biscayne Bay, where he painted an idyllic waterscape of Miami Beach's Venetian Causeway. Illustrated in the 1967 David Coombs book *Churchill: His Paintings*, that Miami Beach waterscape is expected to make \$200,000-\$335,000 at auction.

The larger of the two paintings, which depicts the Giza Pyramids near Cairo, is estimated at \$520,000-\$780,000. Created circa 1946, it was given by Churchill to his close friend Field Marshall Jan Christian Smuts together with a second painting of the same subject. The surviving work was displayed in Smuts' residence and has been featured in three books. The other pyramid painting was

Zapatistas 'invade' Madrid to mark Spanish conquest anniversary

Rebels hold a defiant commemoration in the Spanish capital to say they are 'still here resisting'.



A paper boat is displayed during a cultural event by artists and activists, as well-wishes for the delegation of the National Liberation Zapatista Army travelling on a boat called 'La Mortal' to Europe, in Mexico City, Mexico, May 2, 2021 (File: Carlos Jasso/Reuters)

By Marta Vidal

13 Aug 2021



Madrid, Spain – In the summer of 1521, Spanish conquistadors led by Hernan Cortes looted and destroyed the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan.

Today, 500 years later, Mexico's indigenous Zapatistas are holding their own "invasion" of the Spanish capital to mark the anniversary.

Cherokee Artists and Curators Denounce Artist Jimmie Durham as a Fraud, Saying He 'Is Not a Cherokee'

The new protest comes on the opening of Durham's touring retrospective at the Walker Art Center.

Brian Boucher, June 27, 2017



Mexican Zapatista 'army' arrives home after Europe tour

Online News Editor · September 12, 2021

1 minute read



Congolese Plantation Workers Art League against White Cube background. Courtesy and photograph: Renzo Martens

not underestimate their analysis as just a nativist disdain for rambling foreigners.

In an admirable essay, Mostafa Heddaya has pointed out the undeniable complicity of IAE art jargon with political oppression in a multipolar art world where contemporary art has become a must-have accessory for tyrants and oligarchs.⁹ By highlighting the use of IAE to obfuscate and obscure massive exploitation – such as the contested construction by New York University and the Guggenheim of complexes on Saadiyat Island in Abu Dhabi – Heddaya makes an extremely important intervention in the



▲ Senegal president Macky Sall, right, receiving the sword that belonged to Omar Saidou Tall from French prime minister Édouard Philippe in 2019. Photograph: Seyllou/AFP/AFP via Getty Images

The Crosslands are one of four families who have begun legal action against the Metropolitan Police over the use of their dead children's identities by undercover officers between the 1980s and early 2000s.

The other children whose identities were used were:

- Rod Richardson, who died of pneumonia two days after he was born in January 2003 in hospital in south London
- Neil Martin, who died a month after his sixth birthday in hospital in County Durham in October 1969. He was severely disabled
- Michael Hartley, whose body was never found after he fell from a fishing trawler when he was a teenager in August 1968

The practice of taking dead children's identities has been exposed as a tactic used by police officers from two units, the Special Demonstration Squad and the National Public Order Intelligence Unit, who infiltrated protest groups and political movements over a 40-year period from 1968.

They would use the children's birth certificates to apply for passports and driving licences to allow them to build a back story or "legend".

The families of Kevin, Rod, Neil and Michael are claiming for misuse of private information, negligence and personal injury - and are calling on the Met to apologise and admit liability.

In a statement the Met said it was investigating the claims and was "unable to comment further at this time".



'Chilling' union report warns schools are 'shaped by colonisation'

Katie Feehan For Mailonline · 1 hour ago

Like · 11 Comments · 5



© Provided by Daily Mail · MailOnline logo

The country's biggest teaching union has urged its members to educate children on privilege and to decolonize their classrooms, a report has revealed.



▲ People queue to vote in the Wisconsin presidential primary in April. Photograph: Tannen Maury/EPA

And though we know the name “Cambridge Analytica” and were momentarily outraged by Facebook’s complicity in allowing **87 million people**’s personal data to be stolen and repurposed including by the Trump campaign. A \$5bn fine was paid but no individuals were held to account.



Art world rushes to conform to UK's anti-money laundering laws

So far a total of 475 "art market participants" have been registered—but delays mean more are likely to comply in the coming months



Some of the major auction houses and galleries are not yet on the "art market participants" list

Photo: Images Money



Collector Alain Servais on Insider Trading in the Art Market, “Blood-Sucking Leeches,” and Why We’re Now Just the Fashion Industry

By Andrew M. Goldstein
May 23, 2015





In October, 2014, Christie's sold \$853 million of postwar and contemporary art, headed by two Andy Warhol works. Courtesy of Reuters. Photo by Brendan McDermid.

The Consequences of Amassed Wealth

Absolutely all assets—art at the top of the list—attractive to this contingent with “surplus” money have skyrocketed: real estate, wine, car collections, jewelry, stamps, etc. In 2012, Christopher Knight wrote of a long-term study conducted by two universities that revealed that the most relevant variable explaining movements of art prices is the concentration of income at the top; expressed more plainly, income inequality. This is definitely a disappointing conclusion for those who believe in the “humanist” qualities of art:

“Two years ago a team of economists at Yale School of Management and Tilburg University in the Netherlands crunched the art market numbers and came to some sobering conclusions. Using mostly British art-market data compiled since 1765, William Goetzmann, Luc Renneboog, and Christophe Spaenjers found a variety of factors were involved in today’s stratospheric art prices. They include things like the new globalization of the buying pool. More wealthy buyers equal more competitive bidding.

However, for the period between 1908 and 2005, one factor edged out all others: Art prices rise—and rise faster—when income inequality goes up. . . The study’s authors found that a ‘one percentage point increase in the share of total income earned by the top 0.1% triggers an increase in art prices of about 14 percent.’”¹

That “new money” is bringing with it different tastes and certainly less sophistication to art. I would not go as far as Charles Saatchi in describing the new buyers, but I have no doubt of a certain standardization, safety, and conservatism they bring with them:

Wage Protest Sullies Sotheby's London Contemporary Sale

Eileen Kinsella, Wednesday, July 1, 2015

SHARE





KEY FINDINGS

Overall Size

A significant fraction of global private financial wealth -- by our estimates, at least **\$21 to \$32 trillion** as of 2010 -- has been invested virtually tax-free *through* the world's still-expanding black hole of more than 80 "offshore" secrecy jurisdictions. We believe this range to be conservative, for reasons discussed below.

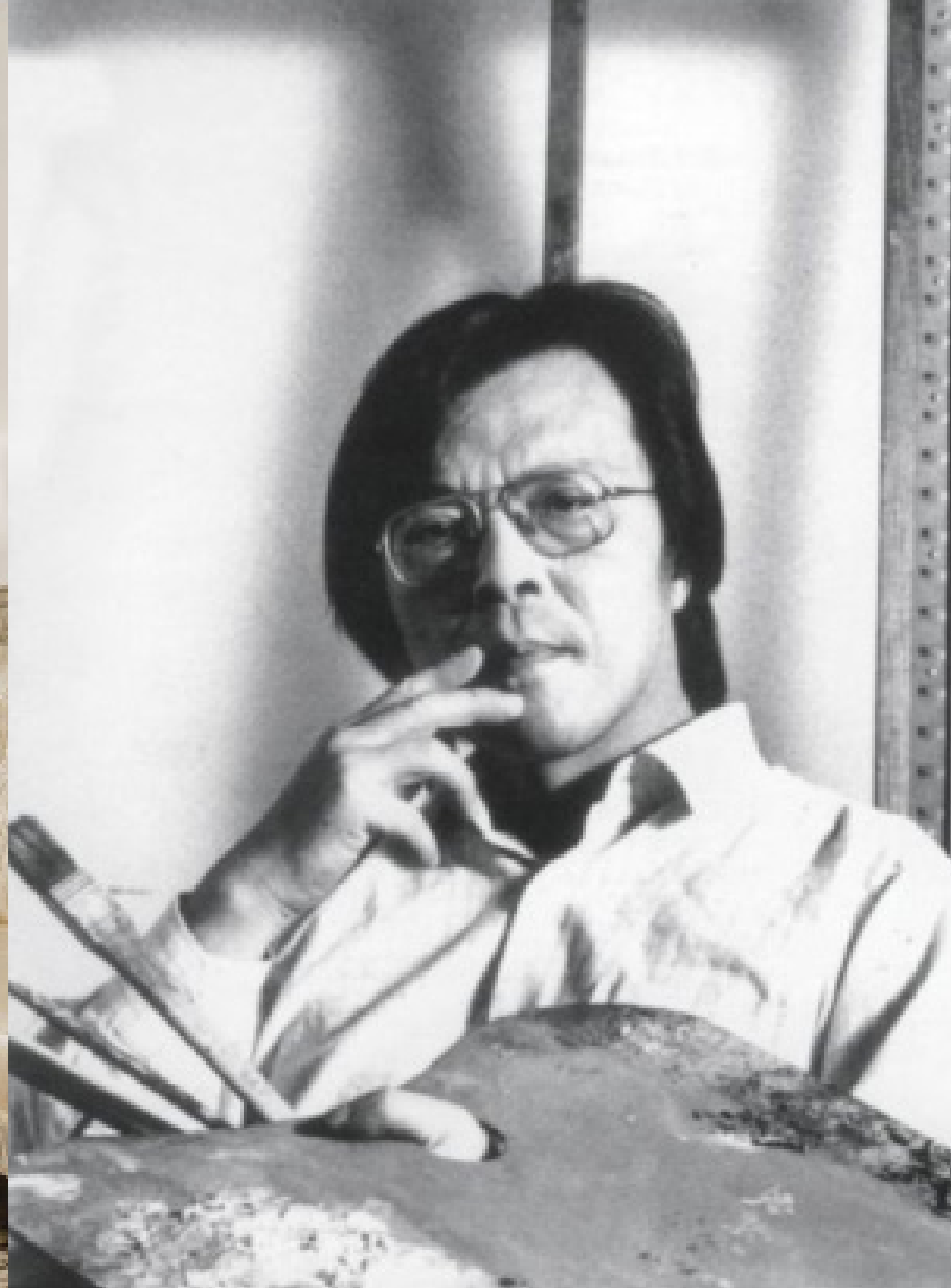
Remember: this is just financial wealth. A big share of the real estate, yachts, racehorses, gold bricks -- and many other things that count as non-financial wealth -- are also owned via offshore structures where it is impossible to identify the owners. These are outside the scope of this report.

On this scale, this "offshore economy" is large enough to have a major impact on estimates of inequality of wealth and income; on estimates of national income and debt ratios; and -- most importantly -- to have very significant negative impacts on the domestic tax bases of key "source" countries (that is, countries that have seen net unrecorded private capital outflows over time².)

2. Our 139-country focus group: who are the real debtors?

We have focused on a subgroup of 139 mainly low-middle income "source" countries³ for which the World Bank and IMF have sufficient external debt data.

Our estimates for this group underscore how misleading it is to regard countries as "debtors" only by looking at one side of their balance sheets.





The lawyers confer shortly before settling the Knoedler forgery trial.



George Shire

2 d · 🌐

...

ZANU PF demands repatriation of iconic Heads

ZANU PF has demanded the repatriation from Britain of heads of fallen heroes and heroines who participated in the first Chimurenga.

Among the 25 heads are those of heroine Mbuya Nehanda, heroes Sekuru Kaguvi, Chief Mashayamombe and Chief Makoni.

Addressing the weekly ZANU PF press briefing, acting national Spokesperson Cde Patrick Chinamasa said the continued retention of the heads in British museums was a sign of disrespect towards the people of Zimbabwe.

"The continuing retention in British Museums of the heads of Heroes and Heroines of the first Chimurenga remains for Zimbabwe an act of shame and indignation and humiliation which can only be mitigated through immediate repatriation of the heads to Zimbabwe so that they are properly laid to rest and are united in spirit with their own kith and kin.

ZANU PF is demanding the immediate repatriation of the human heads to Zimbabwe. We call upon the British people to do one decent thing in their long colonial history by heeding this call for repatriation".

Cde Chinamasa said the return of the heads was imperative as it would bring closure to the colonial chapter.

ZANU PF Information and Publicity Department



George Shire and 9 others

7 comments





Louf said that Dutroux was at that time a young man who brought drugs to the parties for the girls to numb themselves and took care of them in other ways. As a reward he was also allowed to use them for his pleasure.^[38] The crimes that Louf described took place about ten years prior to the arrest of Dutroux.^[38] Louf's full name was leaked to the press. She was subsequently made out to look like a fantasist and liar.^[38] The new presiding judges declared that she was not a credible witness and that her testimony and the testimony of the other X witnesses would not be used during the trial.^[38]

One of the other X witnesses, who's real name wasn't revealed, but who's now working for the police said that they had witnessed and experienced similar abuse. They also recounted instances where children were chased through the woods with Dobermans.^[41]

Witness X3 testified that one of the people present at the gatherings that involved sex orgies with minors, torture and murder was [Willy Claes](#), secretary general of the NATO. Claes resigned after he was found guilty of corruption in a tendering process for a large defence contract connected to [Agusta helicopters](#), a large military-helicopter producer from Italy.^[41]

The testimony of X2 implicated that [Etienne Davignon](#), [Maurice Lippens](#), [Paul Vanden Boeynants](#), [Benoît de Bonvoisin](#) and Prince Alexandre of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha were named as having been present at orgies involving underaged persons.^[51]

A book was published in November 1999 titled: *The X-Files: What Belgium Was Not Supposed to Know About the Dutroux Affair*. It was written by two journalists from the Flemish Belgian newspaper [De Morgen](#), Annemie Bulte and Douglas De Coninck and another journalist from the French Belgian newspaper *Journal du Mardi*, Marie-Jeanne Van Heeswyck. It claimed that the X witnesses were much more believable than stated by the media. But it also stated that there had been substantial efforts by the magistrates and senior police officials to demolish the testimony of the X-witnesses. The father of a police officer that was murdered while investigating a car smuggling ring, Judge Guy Poncelet, said that the book was brilliant and convincing. He said he believed that crucial evidence had been downplayed by the authorities.^[41]



George W Bush cannot hide his crimes behind paintings

The former US president's book of paintings depicting US soldiers is nothing more than an image reconstruction project.






It's On: Dealer Robert Blumenthal to Countersue Artist Dean Levin, Attorney Says

Hotshot artist demanded back pay, now globe-trotting dealer plans to counter with a \$300k demand for owed art.

By Nate Freeman | 02/26/15 5:16pm



COMMENT 



To brutally summarize a lot of scholarly texts: contemporary art is made possible by neoliberal capital plus the internet, biennials, art fairs, parallel pop-up histories, growing income inequality. Let's add asymmetric warfare—as one of the reasons for the vast redistribution of wealth—real estate speculation, tax evasion, money laundering, and deregulated financial markets to this list.

To paraphrase philosopher Peter Osborne's illuminating insights on this topic: contemporary art shows us the lack of a (global) time and space. Moreover, it projects a fictional unity onto a variety of different ideas of time and space, thus providing a common surface where there is none.¹²

Contemporary art thus becomes a proxy for the global commons, for the lack of any common ground, temporality, or space.

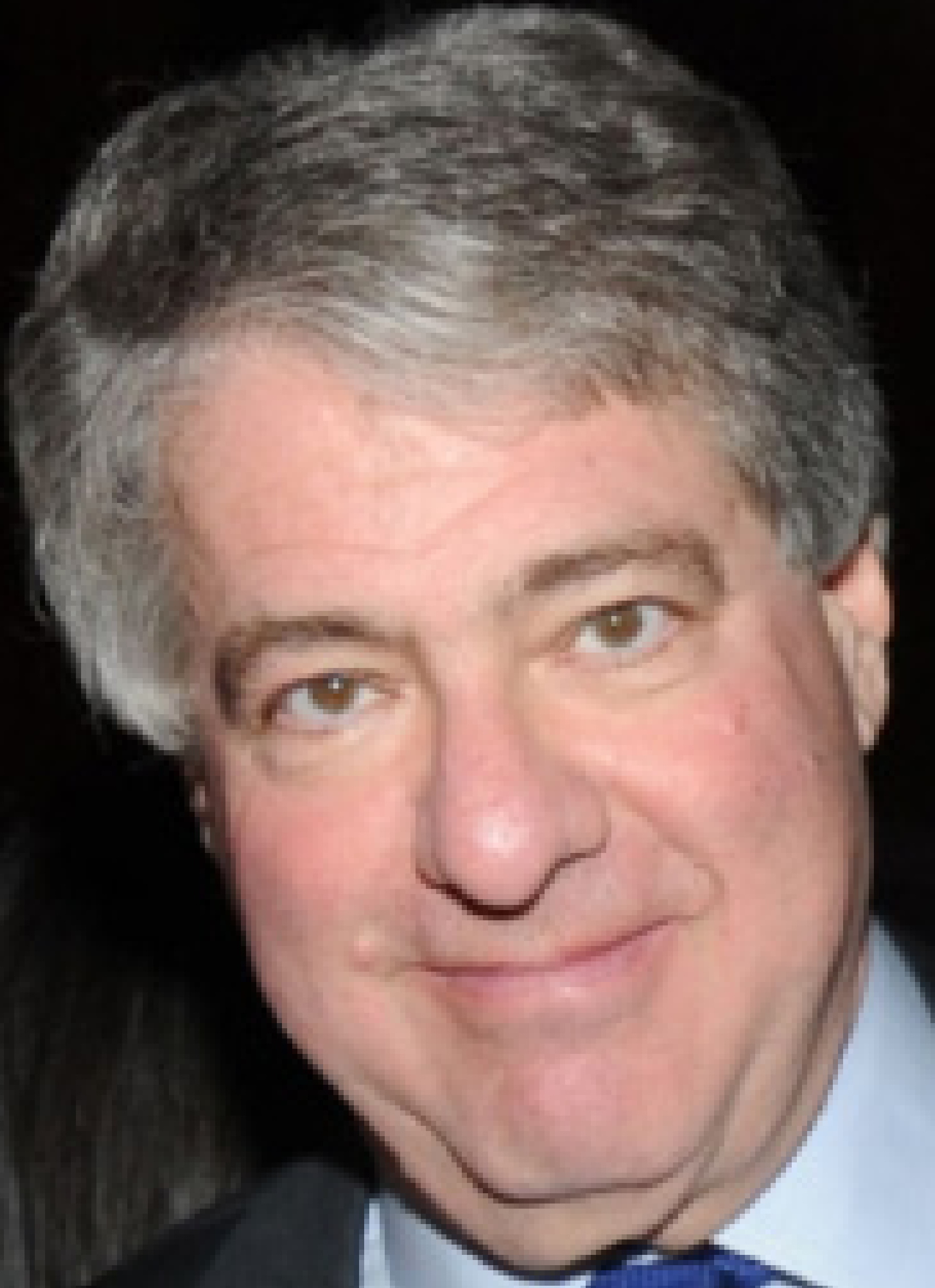
It is defined by a proliferation of locations, and a lack of accountability. It works by way of major real estate operations transforming cities worldwide as they reorganize urban space. It is even a space of civil wars that trigger art market booms a decade or so later through the redistribution of wealth by warfare. It takes place on servers and by means of fiber optic infrastructure, and whenever public debt miraculously transforms into private wealth. Contemporary art happens when taxpayers are deluded into believing they are bailing out other sovereign states when in fact they are subsidizing international banks that thus get compensated for pushing high-risk debt onto vulnerable nations.¹³ Or when this or that regime decides it needs the PR equivalent of a nip and tuck procedure.

But contemporary art also creates new physical spaces that bypass national sovereignty.



Geneva Freeport signage alerts visitors to its guard dogs. Photo: Hito Steyerl.

Let me give you a contemporary example: freeport art storage.



Why some believe Nihoul got away

lsgp.eu '10

Jean-Paul Dumont
CEPIC lawyer

Baron de Bonvoisin
"Black baron". CEPIC. Tied to
fascism, subversive
activities and intelligence. Tried
to involve himself with X-Dossier
investigation.

Paul Vanden Boeynants
Belgian PM. Defense Sec.
CEPIC. Tied to subversive
activities and drug trade.

J.C. Van Espen
Examining magistrate once
appointed through BdB and VdB.

Joseph Michel
CEPIC. Minister. Mentor
of Jacques Langlois,
who torpedoed Nihoul and
X-Dossier investigations.

Philippe Cryns
Le Mirano. Ran apparent
high level pedophile ring.

Michel Vander Elst
Haemers gang. Provided
false alibi for Nihoul.
Through father: Przedborski,
King Albert II and Grand
Orient Lodge.



Nihoul
Knew several gangsters
and pedophiles,
including Dutroux

Andre Damseaux
Head PRL. Walloon PM:
(10 after him, 5 of which
accused of child abuse;
one of running an illegal
sex club close to child abuse)

Jean Gol
PRL; Justice sec. Close
to many alleged abusers.

Madani Bouhouche
Fascist underground

Lt.-Col. Guido Torrez
Local gendarmerie head.
Superior of Cmd. Duterme
who helped kill X-Dossier
investigation.

**Reyniers, Marnette, Toch,
Eveillard**
Brussels and local Police
commissioners. Marnette
helped destroy the X-Dossier
investigation.

- Allegedly part of a child abuse network, according to various witnesses. (dozen or so)
- Covered up child abuse cases.

Some of Michel Nihoul's
associates, mainly from
the late 1970s and 1980s.

English universities must prove 'commitment' to free speech for bailouts

Gavin Williamson says institutions hit by Covid-19 should close courses with low graduate pay

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Palestine: An open-air museum of colonialism

Palestine has been turned, brutally, into a permanent museum of colonialism whose doors should have closed long ago.



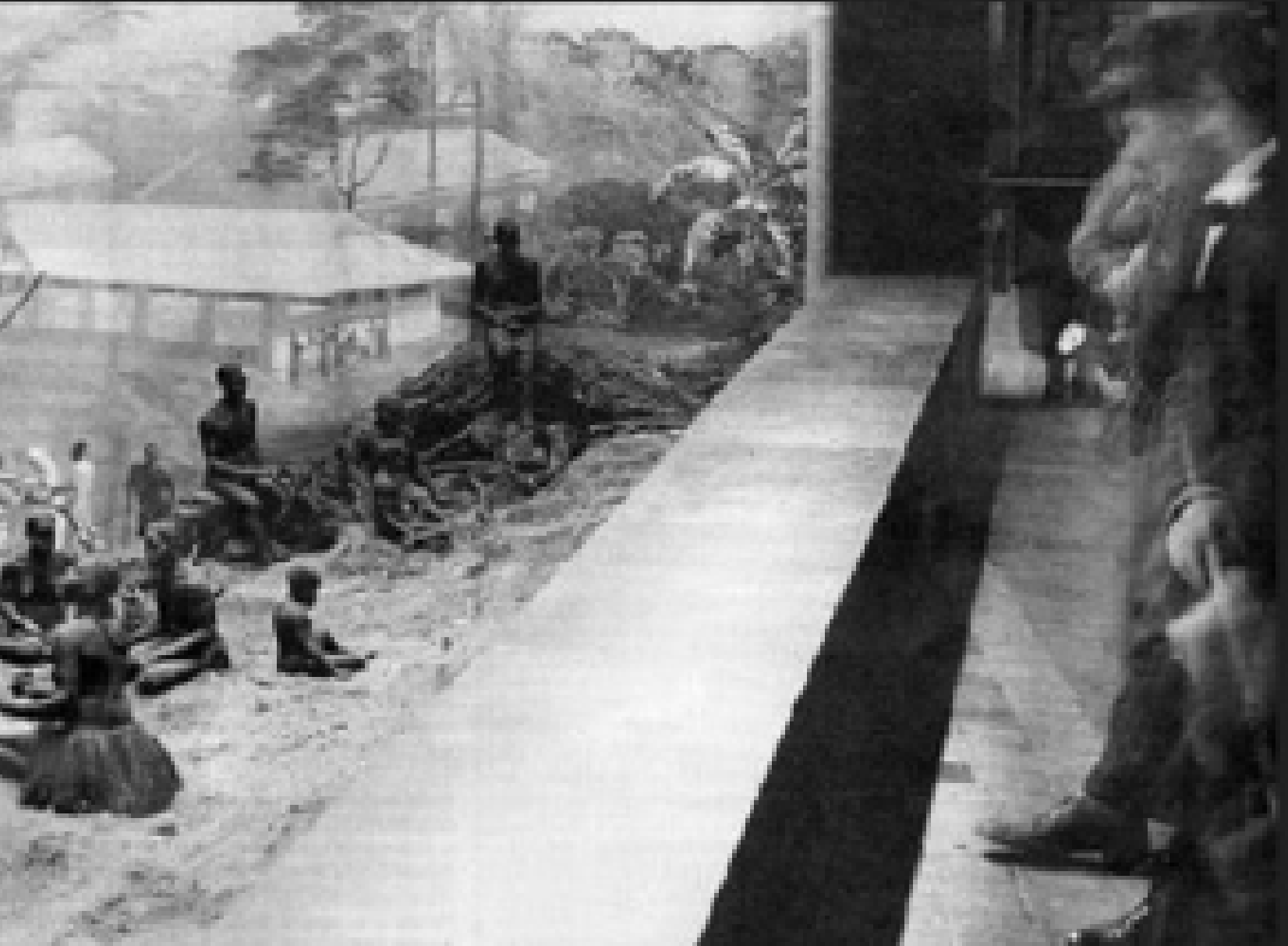
Omar Khalifah

Associate professor of Arabic literature and culture at Georgetown University, Qatar.



7 Sep 2021





When artspeak masks oppression

The language we use to describe art is often fraught with obfuscation -- and can easily be described as propaganda

By **MOSTAFA HEDDAYA** PUBLISHED MARCH 7, 2013 10:40PM (EST)





“If the institutions were already working, there would be no assassination to investigate – and my brothers and I would still have a mother.”

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Matthew Caruana Galizia, son of murder investigative journalist

‘Mafia state’

The 53-year-old investigative journalist was not easily cowed and it was a trait she felt she increasingly needed.

Three decades of reporting on the innermost dealings of the Mediterranean island of her birth had left her convinced that Malta had become subjugated to a phalanx of criminal interests and her homeland was effectively a “mafia state”.

Her conclusion was based hundreds of reports, many of them published on her blog, which had remorselessly and courageously torn into the reputations of politicians, business figures and senior figures in law enforcement and the judiciary on Malta. Much of her latest work had been based on the so-called Panama Papers – the 11.5m leaked files belonging to law firm Mossack Fonseca which exposed the use of offshore companies – and links with Maltese politicians.

‘The situation is desperate’

On Monday morning, she posted an entry which read: “There are crooks everywhere you look. The situation is desperate.”

Desperate enough that an individual or individuals felt sufficiently emboldened to silence the mother-of-three for ever in the most publicly violent manner possible.

At about 3pm that afternoon she got into her Peugeot 108 car parked beside her home in the hamlet of Bidnija, carrying with her the laptop computer she used to write many of her stories. A few hundred metres from the house, the car was hit by what witnesses described as two explosions – one small, the other significantly larger – which broke the vehicle apart and flung the wreckage into an adjoining field.

In Britain, the revelations led to just four arrests and six interviews under caution. **In an extraordinary explanation**, the deputy director of HMRC, Richard Las, last month said that “wealthy and prominent members of the community” were often not prosecuted, as HMRC preferred to use their fear of “the reputational damage of custodial sentences” in private negotiations. Welcome to banana republic justice.

Governments have long implied that offering houseroom to laundered money harms no one, benefits Britain and ranks as “inward investment”. Tony Blair and David Cameron openly welcomed Russian oligarchs, Saudi princes and Chinese property hoarders. Experts put the amount of dirty money floating around the world offshore **at some £21tn**, with as much as £390bn removed from Russia since the fall of the Berlin wall alone. The idea of such loot clearly dazzled British ministers, even though the Treasury sees virtually none of it.

If other countries allow their wealth to be stolen it may not be Britain’s problem, but it makes Britain an accessory to the greatest kleptomania of the century. To the US tax authorities, as to the man in the Moscow street, **London** is the capital of oligarchia, of McMafia operations. It is responsible for two-thirds of the world’s tax havens, mostly in the Caribbean, their legality no defence against their deplorable morality. They are like medieval pirates, a standing rebuke to the world’s economic order.

A related issue is fairness. Last week, the property magnate Nick Candy **refinanced his London flat** at a stupefying £160m, a valuation that proves that cash is continuing to flood out of Russia, China and the Gulf. At the last count, there was some £35bn of Russian money alone **sloshing through London’s jurisdiction**. With housing supposedly in dire supply, planners have allowed whole streets in Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea to



Scrubbed reports reveal new secrets into the Prince Andrew-Jeffrey Epstein relationship

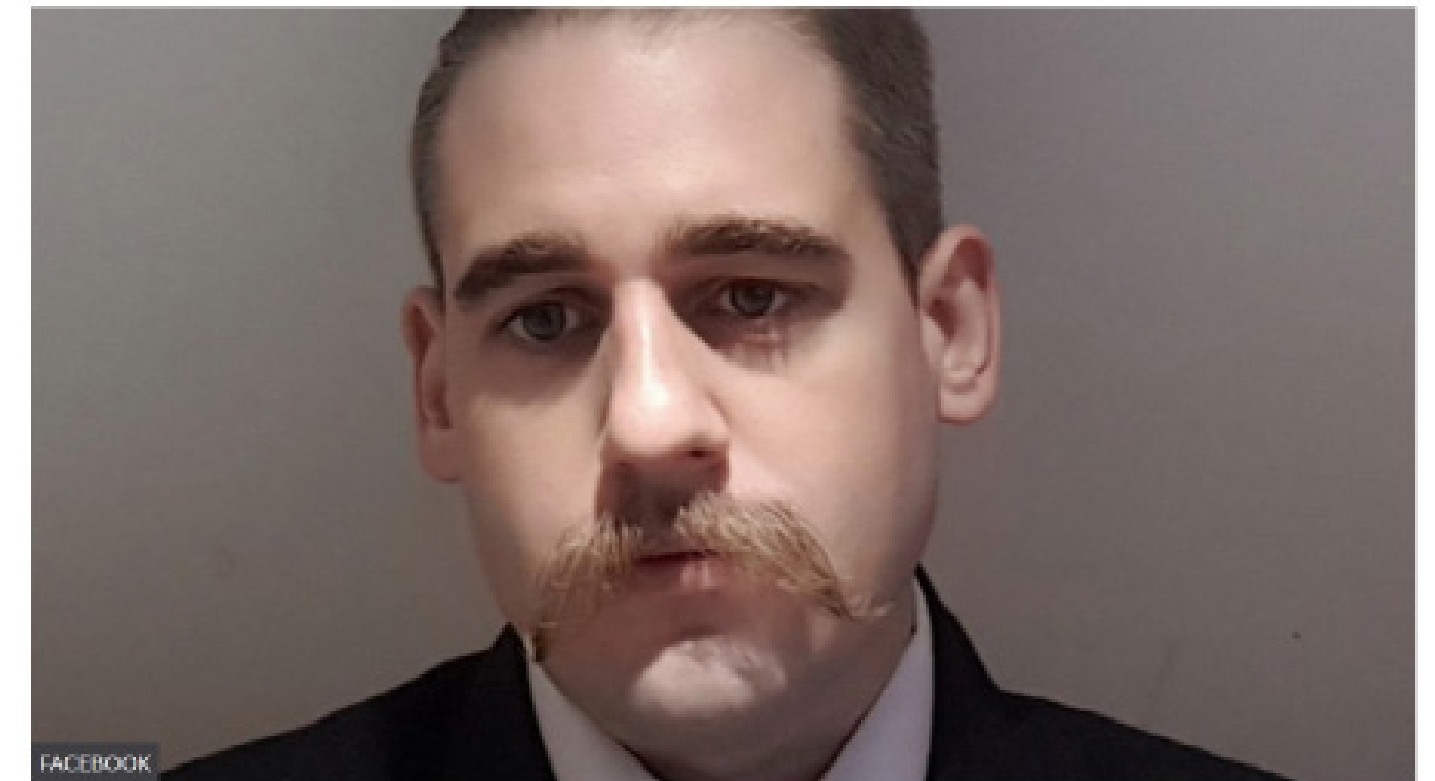
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- Panel source: Met 'bigger and better at being corrupt than the rest'
- 'It has proven to be a monster,' panel insider on completing report
- Inquiry chairwoman 'strong and will not be bullied' by Priti Patel



National Action: Ben Raymond guilty of terror charges

57 minutes ago



Ben Raymond retweeted a post celebrating Jo Cox's murder, the court heard

Rescuers describe grisly Daphne murder scene: 'We found body parts in a tree three days later'

Thursday, 11 February 2021, 15:25 Last update: about 11 months ago



Three days after Daphne Caruana Galizia was murdered in Bidnija, body parts were recovered from a tree, a rescuer testified in court on Thursday.

Arthur Grech, who was stationed at the civil protection department's depot in Xemxija, testified on the gruesome scene that awaited rescuers.

"We went to the scene and saw a car in the middle of a field. We went and put it out. After putting it out we saw that there was a person inside it. Later we found pieces of a body strewn here and there... On the 19 [October 2017] we were informed by the AFM that assistance was needed to retrieve pieces of the body from a tree," Grech said.



Money laundering in the art market

On 20 December 2019 the UK government passed The Money Laundering, Terrorist Financing (Amendment) Regulations 2019. The Regulations transpose the EU's Fifth Money Laundering Directive (5 MLD) into English law and brings "art market participants" within the regulated sector for anti-money laundering purposes.



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The Regulations came into force on 10 January 2020 giving "art market participants" just 10 working days to familiarise themselves with the new rules and implement them. Whilst the Treasury consulted on 5 MLD in April 2019, it has not published any response to the consultation exercise. HMRC, the supervisory body for "art market participants" has yet to publish its guidance on the Regulations.

The new provisions apply, regardless of the size of a business, to any entity that "trades in or acts as an intermediary in the sale or purchase of works of art where the value of the transaction or a series of linked transactions is €10,000 or more".

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How Hitler's Watercolor Paintings Ended Up at a Military Base in Virginia

BY LUCAS REILLY

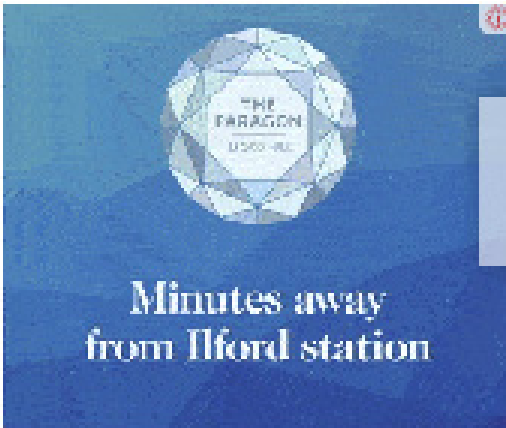
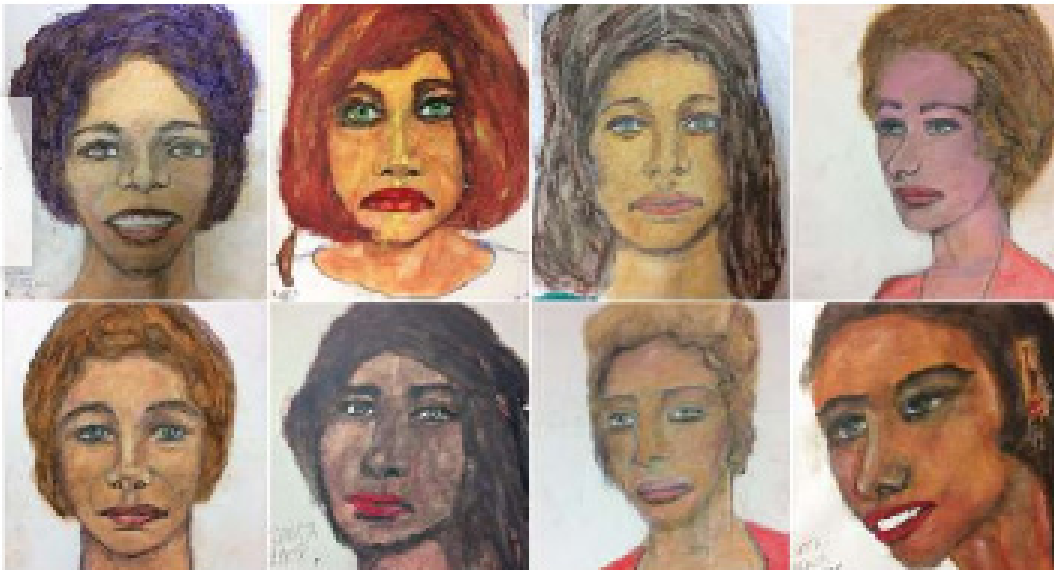
OCTOBER 24, 2018



Art Curator Sarah Forgey shows Under Secretary of the Army Joseph W. Westphal four watercolors by Adolf Hitler at Fort Belvoir, Virginia.
STAFF SGT. BERNARDO FULLER, DEFENSE VISUAL INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION SERVICE // PUBLIC DOMAIN

Confessed serial killer draws portraits of his victims; FBI asks for help naming them

By Del Quentin Wilber, Los Angeles Times 11 hrs ago



AdChoo

Offshore financial structures typically involve a trick sometimes known as laddering—a practice also expressed by the French word *saucissonage*, meaning to slice something into pieces like a sausage. When you slice a structure among several jurisdictions, each provides a new legal or accounting “wrapper” around the assets that can deepen the secrecy and the complexity protecting the assets. A Mexican drug dealer may have \$20 million, say, in a Panama bank account. The account is not in his name but is instead under a trust set up in the Bahamas. The trustees may live in Guernsey, and the trust beneficiary could be a Wyoming corporation. Even if you can find the names of that company’s directors, and even get photocopies of their passports—that gets you no closer: These directors will be professional nominees who direct hundreds of similar companies. They are linked to the next rung of the ladder through a company lawyer, who is prevented by attorney-client privilege from giving out any details. Even if you break through that barrier you may find that the corporation is held by a Turks and Caicos trust with a flee clause: The moment an inquiry is detected, the structure flits to another secrecy jurisdiction. Even if a jurisdiction cooperates with inquiries, it can drag its feet for months or years. “Even when they cooperate to eliminate the fraud,” Robert Morgenthau, until recently the Manhattan district attorney, said of the Caymans, “it takes so long that when the door is finally closed, the horse has been stolen and the barn has burned down.”⁴³ At the time of writing, Hong Kong is preparing legislation to allow incorporation and registration of new companies within minutes.

In 2010 Luxembourg’s authorities pleaded this laddering as an excuse for potentially harboring North Korean money. “The problem is that they do not have ‘North Korea’ written all over them,” a spokesman said. “They try to hide and they try to erase as many links as possible.”⁴⁴ That is, after all, the point. Magistrates in France only ever saw a limited part of the Elf system because of this *saucissonage*.

The UN report is harshly critical of government policy, saying it’s been driven by social re-engineering rather than economics

@chakrabortty

Fri 16 Nov 2018 15:43 GMT



27,172 590



Roberto Saviano

Transparency groups have shown this with irrefutable [data](#).

The UK is already the most, without doubt, the most corrupt country in the world, not in terms of politics or police, but in terms of money laundering.

No English person feels that they are in the most corrupt country in the world because they they cannot pay off policeman or easily corrupt politicians, but they don't know that their financial system is totally corrupt.

What do I mean by corruption? I mean that there is no control of the flow of money – not necessarily into London, but into Gibraltar, Malta and Jersey – these are all the doors through which Great Britain brings money in without any control.

Panama used to be the money laundering capital – now it's London. Panama got its revenge with the Panama Papers, they clearly released names to take revenge against London.

The [#PanamaPapers](#) showed the UK role as a safe haven for corrupt money says [rachelcerysd](#) our Senior Advocacy Manager pic.twitter.com/KSTyEonSl8</p>— Transparency Int'lUK ([TransparencyUK](#)) April 3, 2017

persisting “intellectual domination of the West” and labelled them a form of “neo-colonialism”.





Schools in England told not to use material from anti-capitalist groups

Idea categorised as 'extreme political stance' equivalent to endorsing illegal activity



📷 Guidance to schools issued on Thursday classed anti-capitalism alongside opposition to freedom of speech and antisemitism. Photograph: Andy Rain/EPA

The government has ordered schools in England not to use resources from organisations which have expressed a desire to end capitalism.

Department for Education (DfE) guidance issued on Thursday for school leaders and teachers involved in setting the relationship, sex and health curriculum categorised anti-capitalism as an “extreme political stance” and equated it with opposition to freedom of speech, antisemitism and endorsement of illegal activity.

Why is the UK government suddenly targeting 'critical race theory'?

Daniel Trilling

By importing Trump's culture war, the Conservatives are trying to close down any discussion of structural inequality

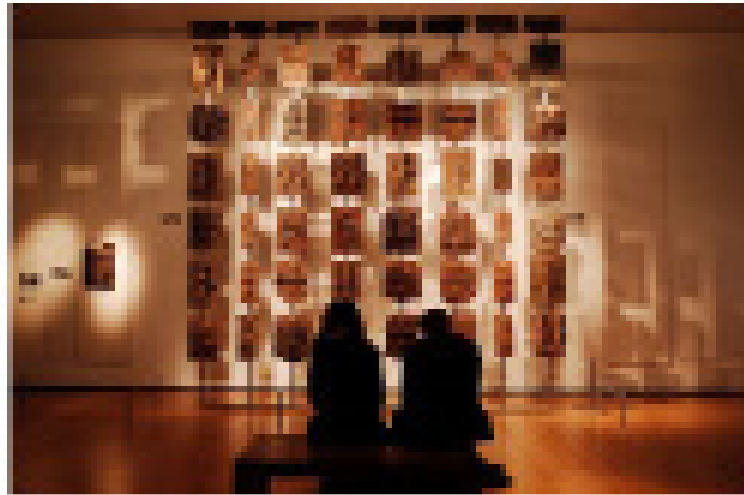


📷 Boris Johnson speaking at the House of Commons. Photograph: UK Parliament/Jessica Taylor/PA

Until this month, according to the parliamentary record, Hansard, the term “critical race theory” had never once been uttered in the House of Commons chamber. By the end of the day on 20 October, however, it was of such importance that the government declared itself “unequivocally against” the concept. “We do not want

Stealing Africa: How Britain looted the continent's art

during war and colonisation, British nations participated in the theft of thousands of pieces of African art. This is a challenge of the role British colonialism played in looting African artworks, and of the campaign to get them returned.



Thousands of African artworks were looted by British forces during the colonial era. This is a challenge of the role British colonialism played in looting African artworks, and of the campaign to get them returned.

Why Britain?

During the 19th century, there were people in the world who were taking art from Africa during war and colonisation, and the British were among them.

While some people believed their collection was "natural", representing the art of the world, others argued that the British were taking art from Africa during war and colonisation, and the British were among them.



The British were among the first to take art from Africa during war and colonisation, and the British were among them.

Intelligence officer ‘told to doctor reports’

Michael Gillard
Fiona Hamilton Crime & Security Editor

A police intelligence officer fabricated reports about a terrorism informant in a highly classified database after allegedly being instructed to by superiors, *The Times* has learnt.

The rogue special branch unit that the detective constable worked for was disbanded after he retrospectively altered intelligence reports for MI5.

Phil Moran, a counterterrorism agent handler at British Transport Police (BTP), claimed that he was ordered by his superiors to manipulate information on the National Special Branch Intelligence System to deceive the surveillance watchdog. BTP's

director of intelligence, Detective Superintendent Paul Shrubsole, was dismissed at a secret misconduct hearing and another senior officer retired before disciplinary proceedings were brought. Shrubsole denies any wrongdoing.

The ease with which Moran changed crucial details has caused alarm about the security of one of the country's most sensitive databases and the reliability of information recorded by police. The special branch intelligence system holds "secret" information from police forces around the country about covert operations involving domestic extremism and counterterrorism.

Moran's reports concerned "Large Win", an informant who had infiltrated

terrorist circles and was providing information about plots on the rail network to BTP's special branch, which passed it on to MI5. Large Win's information is understood to have been used in at least three operations by the Security Service.

The breach has also prompted concerns that a long-running inquiry into undercover policing has been examining tainted material for months. Special branch reports, placed on the database since 2001 by police officers whose misconduct included having sex with their targets, have formed the bulk of evidence at the inquiry.

Moran, who retired in 2014, said his changes included backdating reviews

Continued on page 2, col 3

The process of removal/destruction [\[edit \]](#)

Documents that were to be left to post-independence governments, known as "legacy files", were separated from "watch files", which were marked for destruction or repatriation. In Uganda, the process was codenamed Operation Legacy; in Kenya, the process was described as "a thorough purge" and directed by colonial Special Branch officers. Africans were forbidden from involvement: only "a servant of the Kenya government who is a British subject of European descent" could participate. The watch-file instructions also made clear to leave no trace of their existence to successor governments: "The legacy files must leave no reference to watch material. Indeed, the very existence of the watch series, though it may be guessed at, should never be revealed." If possible, a dummy file was inserted to ensure file and page numbering was uninterrupted by the cull; when too many dummies were needed, they simply removed or destroyed the entire section. In Kenya, instructions insisted that "emphasis is placed upon destruction", meaning much of the most shocking material was probably destroyed, and "the waste should be reduced to ash and the ashes broken up", so that not even a trace of the destruction was left. Large quantities of files were also "packed in weighted crates and dumped in very deep and current-free water at maximum practicable distance from the coast". Malaya's purge was less rigorous, and was facilitated by less experienced officials.^{[21][22][23]}

Reaction and contents [\[edit \]](#)

Cary's report and the documents initially released had shown that, on 3 December 1963, nine days before Kenya formally declared independence, three wooden packing crates containing 1,500 highly sensitive government files were loaded on to a British United Airways flight bound for Gatwick. On the eve of Kenya's independence, Colonial Secretary **Iain Macleod** ordered that sensitive colonial-government documentation be destroyed or flown out of the country because its disclosure "might embarrass Her Majesty's Government".^{[3][10][21]} "Embarrassment hardly covers it," remarked a *Times* editorial, noting that "the covert history of colonial administration in Kenya bears comparison to the methods of torture and summary execution in the French war in Algeria."^[24] In April 2011, the government officially admitted for the first time not merely to having relevant Mau Mau documents, but that it had a total of 8,800 files from 37 ex-colonies,^{[25][26]} which it would make public in batches from April 2012 to November 2013.^[27] The *Times* opined: "Even given the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's apparent skill in such matters, it is quite a feat to ignore 300 boxes of documents filling 110ft of shelving for almost half a century."^[28]

David Anderson, describing the Mau Mau initial 2011 revelations as just a start, emphasised that other former British domains, including Malaya, Cyprus, and the Gulf States, likewise await a final reckoning, and that colonial personnel and tactics

Proofs 2

Extracts



View of "Illiberal Arts," 2021, Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin. Photo: Studio Bowie.

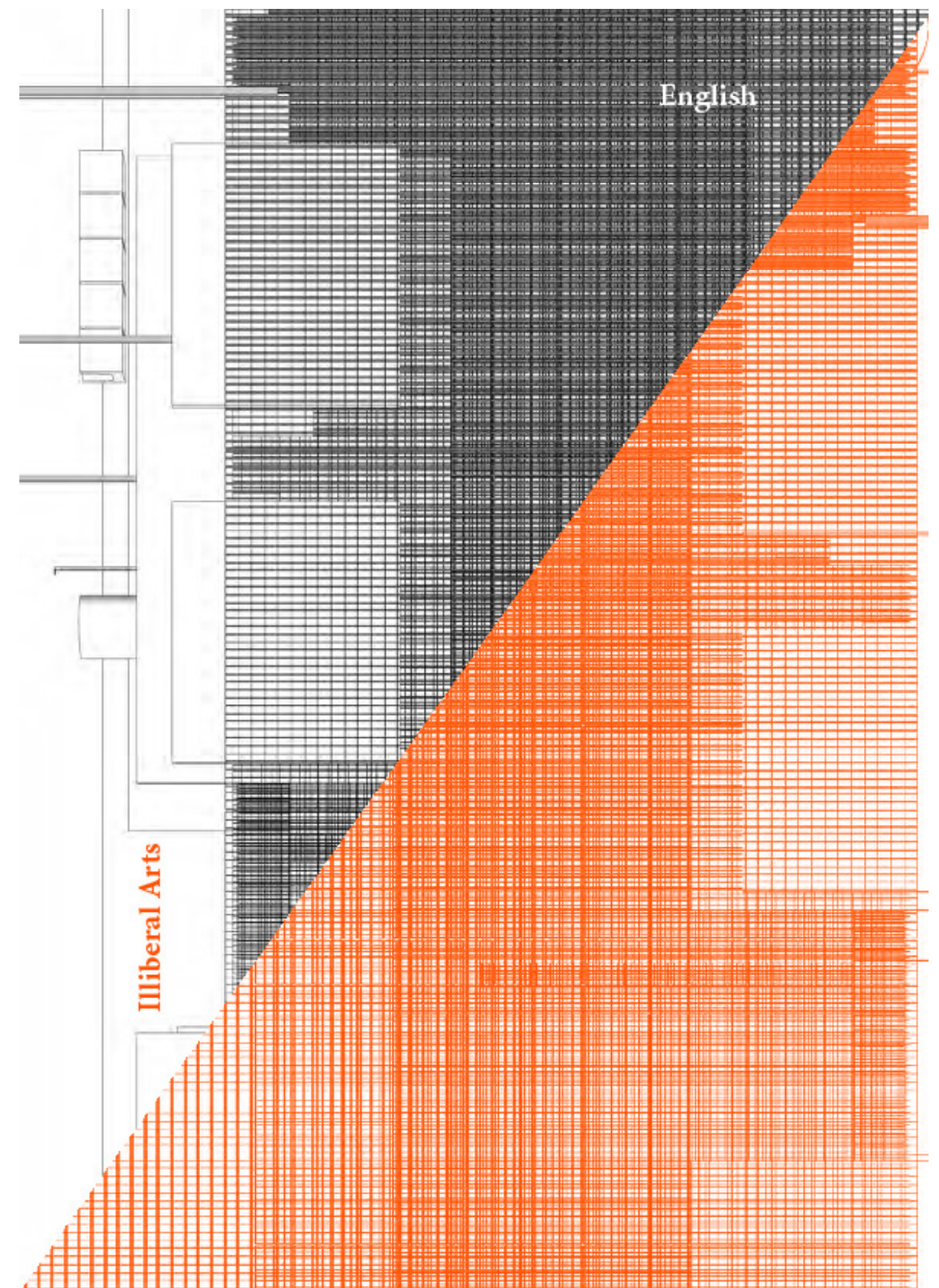
THE TITLE "ILLIBERAL ARTS" is meant to stop you in your tracks—and it does. First, it puns on the "liberal arts," those humanistic disciplines that are regularly described as experiencing a crisis, both within academia and beyond. Curators Anselm Franke and Kerstin Stakemeier embrace this crisis, and for good reason. Following Black radical thinkers ranging from C. L. R. James to Sylvia Wynter, they recognize that historically, the definition of the human (and consequently the content and conduct of the humanities) has excluded the experience of most people who don't conform to white, European, masculine norms. Franke and Stakemeier made two further moves in this ambitious exhibition, also signaled by their title. One was to recode the term *illiberal*. Though in colloquial American English *liberal* suggests a left-leaning, permissive political orientation, it is historically linked to the association, elaborated by the seventeenth-century philosopher John Locke and many subsequent political thinkers, of a man's freedom with his possession of property (I use the masculine gender advisedly). Liberalism and its privileged institutional form, democracy, are conceptually and practically inseparable from a market economy founded on actors defined by the ownership of their own labor and by their drive to accumulate private property. The autonomy of such actors is tied to "possessive individualism," as influentially theorized by political scientist C. B. Macpherson. In contrast to liberal market-oriented democracies of the post-World War II period, the term *illiberal* has typically been applied to authoritarian states of the "second" Communist world and its sphere of influence. Franke and Stakemeier collapse this geopolitical dichotomy dating from the Cold War—liberal democracies versus illiberal authoritarian states—by asserting that, on account of its objectification of human life through imperial conquest and slavery, not to mention the extreme income inequality that results from free (i.e., liberal) markets, *illiberalism exists at the core of liberal societies*. (The term *neoliberal* is, I think, meant to indicate such a condition.)

1. ART AS A FORM OF INFRASTRUCTURE. In their catalogue essay, the curators write, “With *Illiberal Arts* . . . we no longer wish to treat art as a civilizational accomplishment . . . but rather seek to open it up as a contemporary infrastructural site: a site from which artistic forms enter into social commitments that do not build on their property rights.” With regard to exhibition design, I take this to mean that an artist’s works will not be gathered together alongside ostensibly related projects and slotted into groups described by wall labels. Such clustering was often interrupted in Anne Imhof’s powerful installation design, consisting of four parallel fence-like screens that spanned almost the entire width of the exhibition space and served as the supports for much of the art in the show. These leaky “enclosures” were too high to feel grounded (one could easily see other visitors under them) but too low to reach the ceiling. As Stakemeier puts it in the brochure, “Imhof’s horizons sever our bodies from the chest up.” They also flooded the eye with many works of art at once, overlapping with one another in receding layers as one entered the space, articulated by its rank of transparent fences. There could be no self-possessed masterpiece in this prison house of art.

What does this terminological collapse have to do with art? The answer to this question constitutes another bold move by the organizers. The modern practice of art, they argue, epitomizes possessive individualism, and *pace* the many romantic art-historical accounts that find the history of modernism and contemporary art replete with heroic critiques of capitalism, the figure of the artist, in the curators’ view, is the very archetype of liberalism (or neoliberalism) owing to its close association with independence—or, in avant-garde terms, its *autonomy*. Franke and Stakemeier have therefore placed themselves in something of a double bind, since they want to see the world of art as a repressive infrastructure for enclosing artistic labor as property, while as curators they implicitly celebrate, or at least consent to publicizing, the art world’s cultural legitimacy. This double bind leads to some rather convoluted prose in various contributions to their ambitious catalogue, but however inelegant the language used to explore it, the problem is a real and very pressing one. Its clearest statement is in the curators’ introduction to a useful and comprehensive free brochure available to exhibitiongoers: “The practices that are here being placed in relation with one another *materialize* the illiberalism at the core of modern liberality as a series of ruptures of modern property forms.” In other words, if we cut through the jargon, what unites the twenty-seven artists and groups included in “Illiberal Arts” is that they each explore, in quite distinct ways, how to make art while avoiding wielding one’s own identity—or anyone else’s—as property. Some critics have argued that we are currently experiencing a return to identity politics, but “Illiberal Arts” demonstrates how urgently we need to rethink how claiming an identity slips almost imperceptibly into a form of exclusive property in oneself. The politics of this moment—rife with nativism on both the Right and the Left—calls for the collapse of modes of self-possession that fuel identity politics. It calls for a kind of abolition of property in oneself through a set of aesthetic strategies identified in the exhibition.

Example of Cultural/temporal looping: However insightful and interesting projects such as this are they are still caught in the same trap of an internal western discourse that seeks a solution to problems of its own making framed by dominant colonial discourse

This description accords with my own limited experience of art-school critiques, as well as with the wider experience of friends who teach in art schools (nor is it unknown in art-history Ph.D. programs). It seems to me that the “illiberal arts” represent another kind of change: a shift from a practice of art in which an artist imagines how their work may be inserted into an art-historical genealogy that precedes and will continue after them (a way of thinking that seems to have lost ground since the advent of Conceptual art), as opposed to a contemporary ethos in which the genealogy for a particular work or practice is *generated from the art object* as a legitimizing configuration of references that need not have any historical logic or rigor beyond the artist’s own justifications for it. In other words, rather than the artwork’s being defined by its position within a historical discourse, it generates its own ahistorical universe of references. From this perspective, each artwork is a machine for producing narratives rather than a historical artifact, an archive rather than a document. We might call this practice an “illiberal art”—a resistance to testing one’s historical project against those of others, or even sometimes against historical facts. It is this illiberalism (not so different after all from the epistemology of “fake news”) that we see flourishing in Hungary, or Russia, or Hong Kong, or within the American Republican Party. Franke and



For this reason, I believe that the few critics who have argued that *Salò*'s 'real' message lies precisely in its desire to be unbearable have been very close to the truth. Discussing *Salò*'s scenes of coprophagia – scenes that particularly repelled many viewers – Pasolini deemed them

Salò: The Refusal to Consume 241

a metaphor for the fact that 'the producers, the manufacturers, force the consumer to eat excrement. All these industrial foods are worthless refuse' (in Bachman 1975–6b, 43). Denouncing a bourgeois public that consumes everything, every piece of 'worthless refuse,' *Salò* deliberately makes itself indigestible. In this sense, it becomes the perfect example of the totally 'extremist' art that Pasolini espoused toward the end of his life. It was his contention that such art – by unmasking both the false nature of contemporary 'tolerance' (true tolerance, he argued, had no limits) and the 'purely economic reasons governing the liberalisation of sex' – would reveal the repressive and dehumanizing nature of what he saw as the modern hedonistic, consumeristic state. Now as never before, Pasolini declared in 1974, 'artists must create, critics defend, and democratic people support . . . works so extreme that they become unacceptable even to the broadest minds of the new State' (Pasolini, 'Contro la permissività di Stato,' 19). Few could deny that *Salò* was precisely such a work.

Full disclosure: four years after watching Renzo Martens's documentary *Episode III: Enjoy Poverty* (2008), which served as shock therapy for the art-world in its time, I am still traumatized by it. The point the Dutch artist wanted to convey with this film was that the over-exploited residents of remote areas of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) would do well to enjoy their supposedly most valuable resource: poverty. In the film, Martens sets up a workshop and encourages some impoverished photographers to commodify and sell iterations of their precariousness (such as photographs of starving children) to the highest bidder – just like those Western photojournalists who sensationalize death for a living. Many gruelling scenes later, the experiment fails, but Martens still hosts a sort of party around a purpose-built neon sign that reads: 'Enjoy Poverty Please'.

Martens's newest documentary, *White Cube* (2020), is the former film's happy ending. With the artist's help, plantation workers are successfully commodifying their poverty for sale in the galleries of Tate Modern in London and New York's Sculpture Center. Since 2014, the Congolese Plantation Workers Art League sculpt figures in mud, which are then 3D-scanned and recast as chocolate sculptures to be presented and sold at exhibitions worldwide. Parsed by a subversive postcolonial narrative, the workers' poverty is translated into proceeds from the sale of the sculptures, which Martens dutifully repatriates. In one scene, the artist shows the plantation workers video footage of a sale event in London and the labourers-turned-artists are entertained to see Martens selling the works for many times their monthly wage in the plantation economy: it is wryly amusing for a people weaned from the idea that money is not always earned by blood, sweat and tears.

while screening *Episode III: Enjoy Poverty* at Tate Modern in 2010, Martens noticed that Unilever – a British multinational with a long history of exploiting plantation workers in the DRC – was orbiting as a major cultural sponsor. Later, Martens visits a Unilever palm-oil plantation to find workers earning US\$19 per month. The staff quarters, built a century ago, now offer squalor rather than shelter. After his attempts to rally the locals into participating in his creative projects are sabotaged by Unilever, Martens moves to a former plantation in Lusanga, where he finds more self-determined harvesting and laborious small-scale production of palm oil that is nevertheless frustrated by worsening prices for unprocessed agricultural goods on the world market.

‘The people sometimes demand change, they almost never demand art. As a consequence, art stands in a dubious relation to necessity – and to time itself,’ writes Zadie Smith in *Intimations* (2020). It is this dubious relation that Martens navigates like an acrobat on a tightrope, finally convincing several people he meets that creativity is a viable source of income. The project, now run by the Congolese Plantation Workers Art League, is so successful that its income has financed a new building, White Cube, designed by the renowned architecture studio OMA, on the former plantation. White Cube hosts exhibitions and agricultural projects on the surrounding land, as well as managing a fund that will enable the group to buy back the former plantation from an international corporation. Martens is keen to present this as a precedent: not content with criticism alone, the film proposes a paradigm shift – a practical solution for a new art-world economy.

White Cube never clarifies why Martens believes it is progressive for landless labourers to have to raise money to buy back land that was stolen from them and, ultimately, perpetuates the very form of exploitation that the artist is criticizing. Founding the Lusanga post-plantation on a logic of ownership that reifies colonial theft within a supposedly forward-thinking art project is ‘anti-politics,’ to use a term coined by American anthropologist James Ferguson. In his seminal *The Anti-Politics Machine* (1994), Ferguson concluded that ‘development’ work in 1980’s Lesotho unintentionally depoliticized resource allocation and intensified bureaucracy. Even when politically charged like Martens’s, art suffers from a similar impasse, easily misapprehending longstanding patterns of political power and entrenched materiality.

According to Michel de Certeau, from the beginning of the 1970s we can refer to a “new social partitioning” that is based more on relations between power and “culture” than on the “traditional divisions between workers and bourgeois, manual and intellectual workers”: The turf on which new bonds are produced between the economic sphere (the situation of consumers) and the political sphere (the distribution of power) is defined in cultural terms.¹ The classic divisions in Rancière’s distribution of the sensible, between workers and the bourgeoisie, intellectual work and manual work, do not disappear; rather, “mass culture” transforms the modes of existence, and, above all, the conditions of expression and subjectification of these divisions.

For example, the drive to consolidate a “worker culture” no longer corresponds to the will expressed by “the workers themselves, who are anxious to participate in the common culture, and hardly disposed to being closed off in a world of their own.”² At issue is a new social partitioning, as violent as the former distribution of the sensible, even though it first occurs in the medium of signs, and is expressed through them. Culture is the domain of a neocolonialism, “it is the colonized world of the twentieth century,” says De Certeau, since it is here that the multinationals install their empires, in the same way that the European nations launched military occupations of unarmed continents in the nineteenth century:

The corporate trusts rationalize and turn the manufacture of signifiers into a profitable enterprise. They fill the immense, disarmed, and almost somnolent space of culture with their commodities. All the forms of need, all the rifts of desire are “covered,” that is, inventoried, dealt with, and exploited by the media. This economic system erodes and ultimately inverts the political experience acquired in the nineteenth century, replacing the act of democratic representation with the reception of standardized signifiers that destine workers to become consumers, and that turn people into a public mass.³

The artists, the technicians, and the cultural operators “work,” like the various publics, in the nerve centre of this new domain of capitalist accumulation and acculturation

“capitalism takes hold of human beings from the inside” by grafting itself onto, among other things, perceptual, sensorial, affective, linguistic, and cognitive behaviour. It reworks the modes of semiotic practice on both the individual and collective level. “Individuals are ‘equipped’ with modes of perception or of standardized desire, for the same reason as factories, schools, and territories.”⁴

Affects, percepts, and statements become the matter and reality of marketing’s expression—of advertising, of television images, and of the market in general. Speech, signs, and discourse circulate and proliferate “freely,” but they are drained of all their power to transform. They even inhibit the appearance of conditions of singular expression because, as De Certeau puts it, “their drone creates an absence of speech.” Gilles Deleuze had warned us: “Do you know what it takes to stop someone from speaking in his/her own name? Make them say, ‘I.’”⁵

All semiotics are summoned to rebuild the representation of the subject, to affirm the “I” of a new individualism. Television programs give the subject speech; polls challenge people daily, but subjectivity has lost its singularity and any possibility of finding its own expression. On the contrary, it is at the mercy of a growing uniformity, and a reductionism that begins by affecting its sensibility. The flow of signs is not subjected to any censorship in the classical sense, and yet it withdraws and neutralizes the conditions of articulation, expression, and subjectivity in a way that is even more effective than repression. There are machines with words, emotions, and images that prevent talking, feeling, and seeing

RANCIÈRE: There are two questions. One has to do with the concept of the police in general, the other with the way one might describe the forms of power currently at work in our societies. I myself say that the catchphrase of the police is “Move along! There’s nothing to see.” The police define the configuration of the visible, the thinkable, and the possible through a systematic production of the given, not through spectacular strategies of control and repression. Which also means that policing is exerted through all sorts of channels in the social body as well as through the managerial organisms of the state and the market. That said, your question refers to the somewhat too easily accepted thesis that today everything is becoming liquid; that soon the only thing capitalism will produce is life experiences for narcissistic consumers; and that the state’s only function will be to usher in the great flood. One has even read—in Zygmunt Bauman’s writings, for example—hallucinatory declarations that states now restrain themselves from any will to military expansion and control, and that while they may sometimes send “smart” missiles discreetly over populations, that is only to open the floodgates wide to new “fluid, global, and liquid” powers. Frankly, the people of the Middle East would be happy if that were true, and undocumented immigrants would be really happy if the police “obliged” them to cross borders en masse. The truth is that we live in a world of absolutely material things produced by forms of work that are closer to sweatshop labor than to high-tech virtuosity. In this world, the borders are as solid as the inequalities, and, until there’s proof to the contrary, the United States doesn’t envision tearing down its wall but adding a thousand miles to it. The truth is, above all, that the police order is always at once a system of circulation and a system of borders. And the practice of dissensus is always a practice that both crosses the boundaries and stops traffic. In this sense, there is a whole school of so-called critical thought and art that, despite its oppositional rhetoric, is entirely integrated within the space of consensus. I’m thinking of all those works that pretend to reveal to us the omnipotence of market flows, the reign of the spectacle, the pornography of power. I think of the statufication of media icons à la Jeff Koons’s Michael Jackson and Bubbles [1988]. I think of Paul McCarthy and Jason Rhoades’s spectacular 2002 installation Shit Plug, which placed the excrement of visitors to Documenta 11 in containers to show us the gigantic waste of the society of the spectacle and to reveal the participation of art in the empire of merchandise and spectacle. I think of all these recycled objects mixed with advertising imagery, quotations of social-realist imagery, fairy tales, and video games that go from fair to fair, to the four corners of the world. If there is a circulation that should be stopped at this point, it’s this circulation of stereotypes that critique stereotypes, giant stuffed animals that denounce our infantilization, media images that denounce the media, spectacular installations that denounce the spectacle, etc. There is a whole series of forms of critical or activist art that are caught up in this police logic of the equivalence of the power of the market and the power of its denunciation. The work of dissensus is to always reexamine the boundaries between what is supposed to be normal and what is supposed to be subversive, between what is supposed to be active, and therefore political, and what is supposed to be passive or distant, and therefore apolitical. That is what I was just saying about Pedro Costa’s films. I was also thinking of the portfolio of images by Chris Marker published recently in these pages [“The Revenge of the Eye,” Artforum, Summer 2006]—pictures of French students in the spring of 2006 protesting against a law that would have made working conditions for young people less secure. By proceeding in two modes, through filming and through manipulated screen captures from the video footage, Marker created a sort of fabulous population out of groups of real protesters. I’m thinking in particular of an image of a group of young people in hooded sweatshirts. During the riots in the Parisian banlieue in the fall of 2005, these hoods, covering the heads of Arab and black youth, became a stigma: They were compared both to terrorists’ masks and to Muslim girls’ veils. The hoods became the symbol of a population locked up inside its own idiocy. Now, in “The Revenge of the Eye,” they transform the young people into medieval monks, bringing to mind Saint Francis’s companions in Rossellini’s film. The protestors become a “fabulous” population in Deleuze’s sense. It’s as if the capacity of art brought to bear on the figures were actually a property of the figures themselves. That’s an example of a reversal of perspective. And I think what art can do is always a matter of the reversal of perspectives. Police consists in saying: Here is the definition of subversive art. Politics, on the other hand, says: No, there is no subversive form of art in and of itself; there is a sort of permanent guerrilla war being waged to define the potentialities of forms of art and the political potentialities of anyone at all.

Fanzine on a collaboration

December 2021

Collision

David Goldenberg’s contribution to a collaboration with Steven Wong

Content:

Texts. Cultural Temporal Loop. Collision. Critique of Total Power and an art of screen captures.

Overview. Screen Captures December 2021

Extracts

David Goldenberg, (Hitchin, Hertfordshire, UK)

His research is concentrated on the Post Autonomy concept, which he has developed in a number of shows held at important international institutions: America is the best form of Marxism, Herbert Read Gallery, Canterbury, Kent, UK [2019]; Granulation, Guildhall Museum, Rochester, Kent, UK [2019]; This Historic Moment, 5 Years Gallery, London, UK [2018]; Distributing Obsolescence: Art bank, Food bank, data bank. Curated by Camilla Boemio, Villa Caprile, Pesaro, Italy, [2017]; “The loss of arts image”, Centre for Contemporary art, Vargi IV, Gijlan, Kosovo [2014]; The scenarios of Post Autonomy, The studio: Glenda Cinquegrana, Milan, Italy, (2012); The Space of Post Autonomy, Arts Depot, Vienna (2011); Plausible Artworlds, Basekamp, Philadelphia, USA (2010); The Time of Post Autonomy is Now, Your space, VanAbbemuseum, Eindhoven, Holland (2009); The Space of Post Autonomy, Local Operations, Serpentine Gallery, London, UK (2007); Century City, Tate Modern, London, UK, (2001); Out of Space, Kolnischer Kunsterverin, Cologne, Germany, (2000).

Group shows of international stature, July 2020 – Feb 2021 When the Globe is Home, Gallerie Della Prigioni, Trevisio, Italy. Finite/Infinite, 51zero Festival of Contemporary Art and moving image, Rochester and Canterbury, UCA, UK [2019]; Join the dots, Imago Mundi – Art Theorema #1 New Highlights of the International art scene, Salon degli Incanti, Trieste, Italy [2018]; Practice – Process – Collaboration, VVM7, Tate Liverpool Exchange, Liverpool, UK [2018]; Posters, NgbK, Berlin, Germany [2018]; Decreation, Rochester Arts Festival, Rochester, UK [2017]; Turbulence, 5th Odessa Biennial, Ukraine. Special section: Distributing Obsolescence: Food Bank, Art Bank, Technology Bank curated by Camilla Boemio [2017]; Here, there and everywhere: Eurasian Cities. Chapter 1. Curator Jiho Lee, project director Kyong Park. Asia Culture Center, Gwangju, South Korea (2016); Dispositions in space and Time, NMCA, Bucharest, Romania (2014/15); The Caspian Biennial Convention, Baku, Azerbaijan, (2013); Venice Biennial collateral exhibition, Personal Structures, Palazzio Bembo, Venice, Italy (2013); Berlin Biennial (2012); the 2nd Land Art Biennial of Mongolia (2010); 10th Istanbul International Biennial, Turkey (2007); 6th International Biennial of Sharjah, UAE (2003).

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