

Counter-constructivist Model  
(La Fontaine stories for immigrants)  
— paper film in nine acts

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**Act I**

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**Against experience**

## Act I

### Experience

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We were invited in the Fittja community to make an artwork. 20 years ago there weren't any public artworks in Fittja. Now just looking at the proliferated parabols, scenery-paintings at the staircases, red stars on the rooftops... soon we can talk of a Fittja-museum, open 24 hours. This book is largely a product of our two months' stay in Fittja as artists-in-residents. Most of the moral, aesthetical, political, everyday, philosophical and other issues dealt with here are concern of this stay. But as it is usually practiced, and largely appreciated, art in these instances, in these cases, is expected to have certain effectuality, to mobilize strict democratic sentiments, to be engaged in experience of long term residents of the place, to give some colour to that experience, and if possible, to open a window to the other realities that will be possible as a new form of their never-changing realities.

During our residency stay we did not produce such an artwork. Our work—that is this book, a kind of paper-film—is based on Fittja experience, which we want to translate only through the language of concepts that in the last instance will be anything but an experience. This artwork is not a window to Fittja-experience, to understanding of difference or uniqueness or specificity of a misery, segregation, racialization and oppression in that place.

## Against experience

The truths of this artwork, that is mass-produced and accessible, could be arrived at in anyplace and at anytime, even between the most uneventful sterile walls of a library or a working desk of a studio. No need to catalogue the places in the world in which Fittja-experience could be renewed.

### LEBENSWELT

The Lebenswelt (those trivial truths, the fact that I live in a community of people, that I have a body, ...etc.) is usually passed over and forgotten or else regarded as a source of inaccuracies/imperfections in our language. The sentiment becomes 'The sooner overcome, the better'.

(Art & Language, Annotation 217, 'Blurting in New York')

### EXPERIENCE

Experience in the generalized sense is meaningless, but when used in connection with pointing to past actions and rules and conventions derived from them, it has some sense, depending on its specificity. This means that demands like Kozloff's that art 'say something significant about experience' are nonsensical.

(Art & Language, Annotation 129, 'Blurting in New York')

We will do everything to avoid any verbal definition, intellectually or emotionally, of what the Fittja-experience is about. We will try not to mention in any part of this artwork, even as a slip of the tongue, that this experience took place.

Our aim here is to show that the privilege of being there (as artist-in-residents) is not the necessary pre-condition to opposing the negativity of that space. What is at stake here is not a phenomenon but a construction. Opposing being a window to the experience, we will instead propose an intellectual and conceptual exercise on this state of segregation (exclusion, racism... negativity). We claim that experience of being in Fittja has conditioned our artwork, which we want to be silent about. But, at the same time, the experience, which we would like to be silent about, is made apparent through intellectual exercise. This does not mean that this lack, absence and vacuousness is what makes this intellectual exercise

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an artwork. In the last instance this is a work of theory. Fittja and contradictions of this segregation that take place in this artwork, have to be seen as models, which are theoretical in a way that they are constructed.

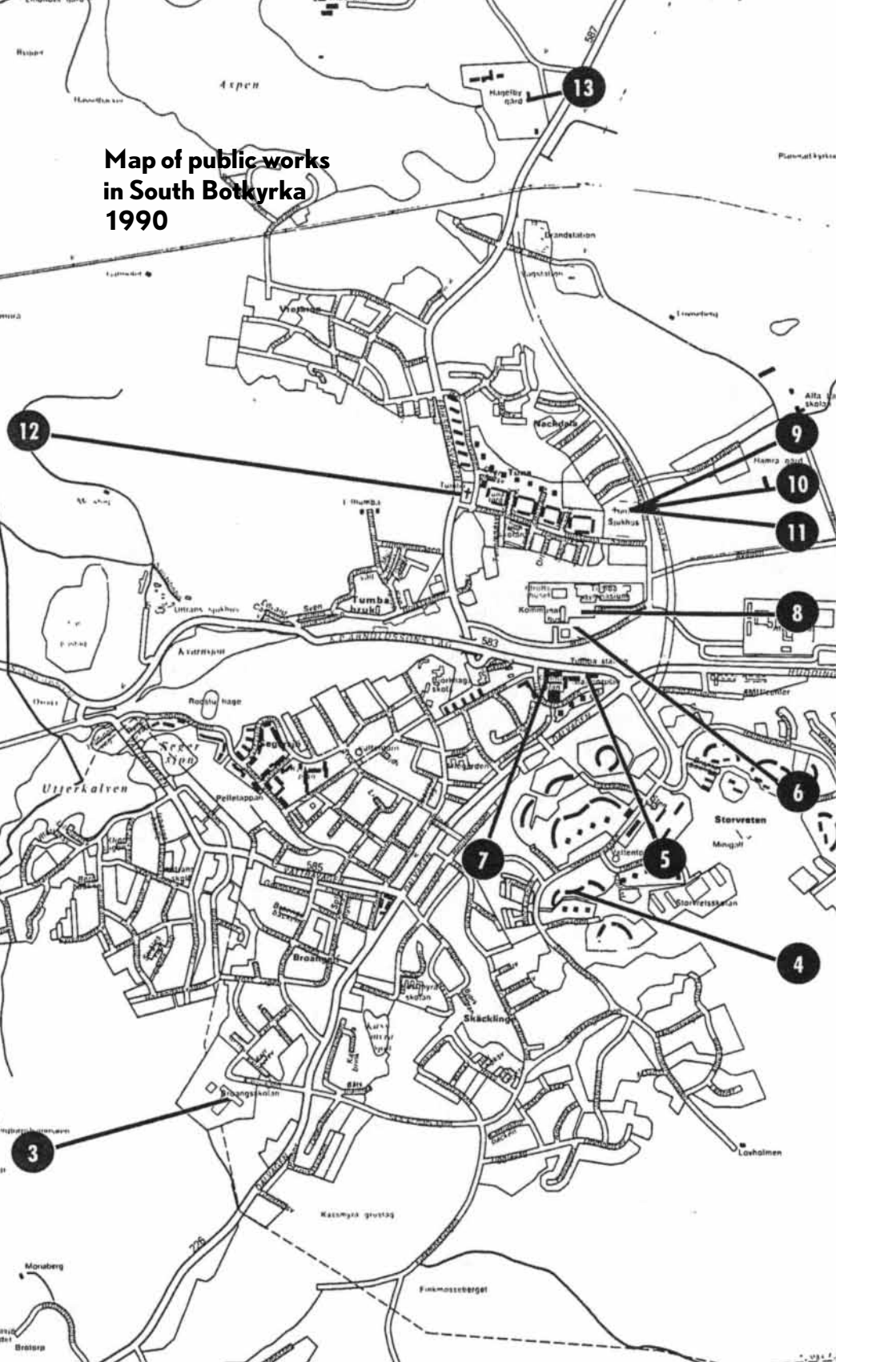
The object, reduced to silence, does not enter the poem, even though its evocation grounds the poetic consistency. It is the absent cause. But the effect of its lack lies in affecting each written term, forced to be 'allusive', 'never direct', in such a way so as to become equal on the Whole to the silence by which the object was only initially affected.

(Alain Badiou, 'Theory of the Subject', p. 72)

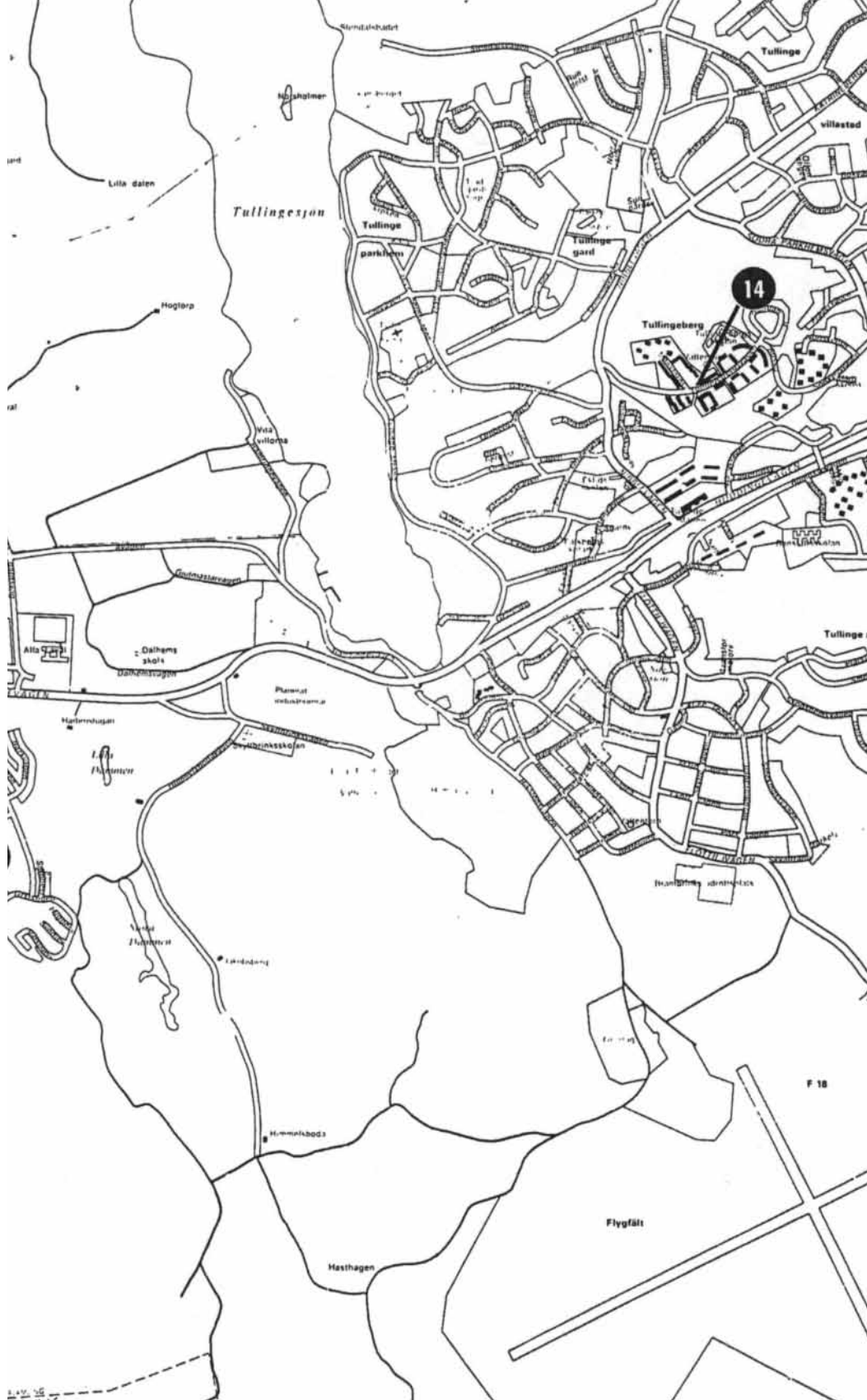
Apart from having the chance to express this model in the form of an artwork, that is to specify in the form of an art theory-construction, also there was another delicate situation in the Fittja-cosmos; the existence of an institution the main practice of which being intellectual work of translating this experience to a language which the state and its ideological apparatuses can communicate with.



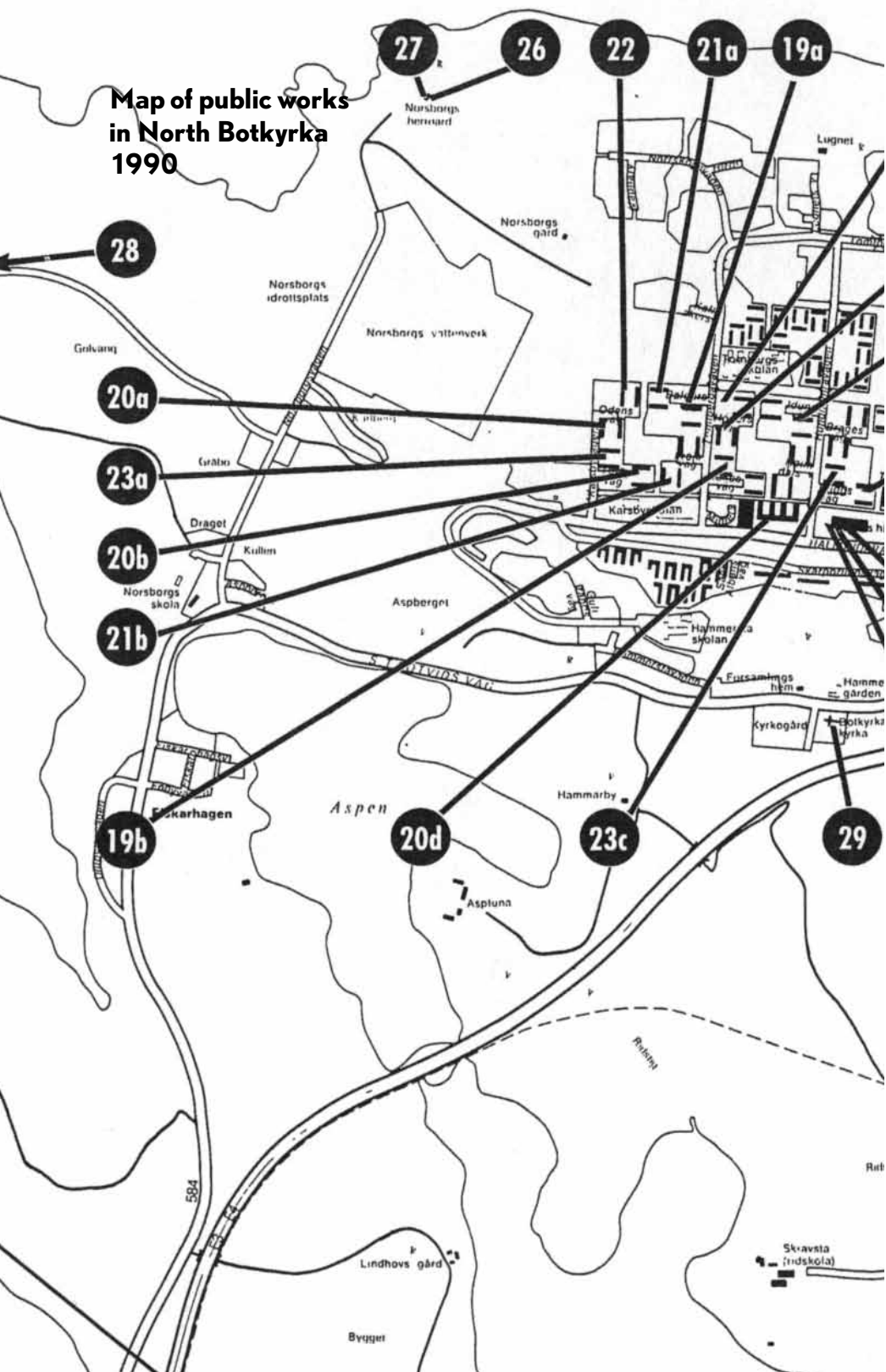
**Map of public works  
in South Botkyrka  
1990**

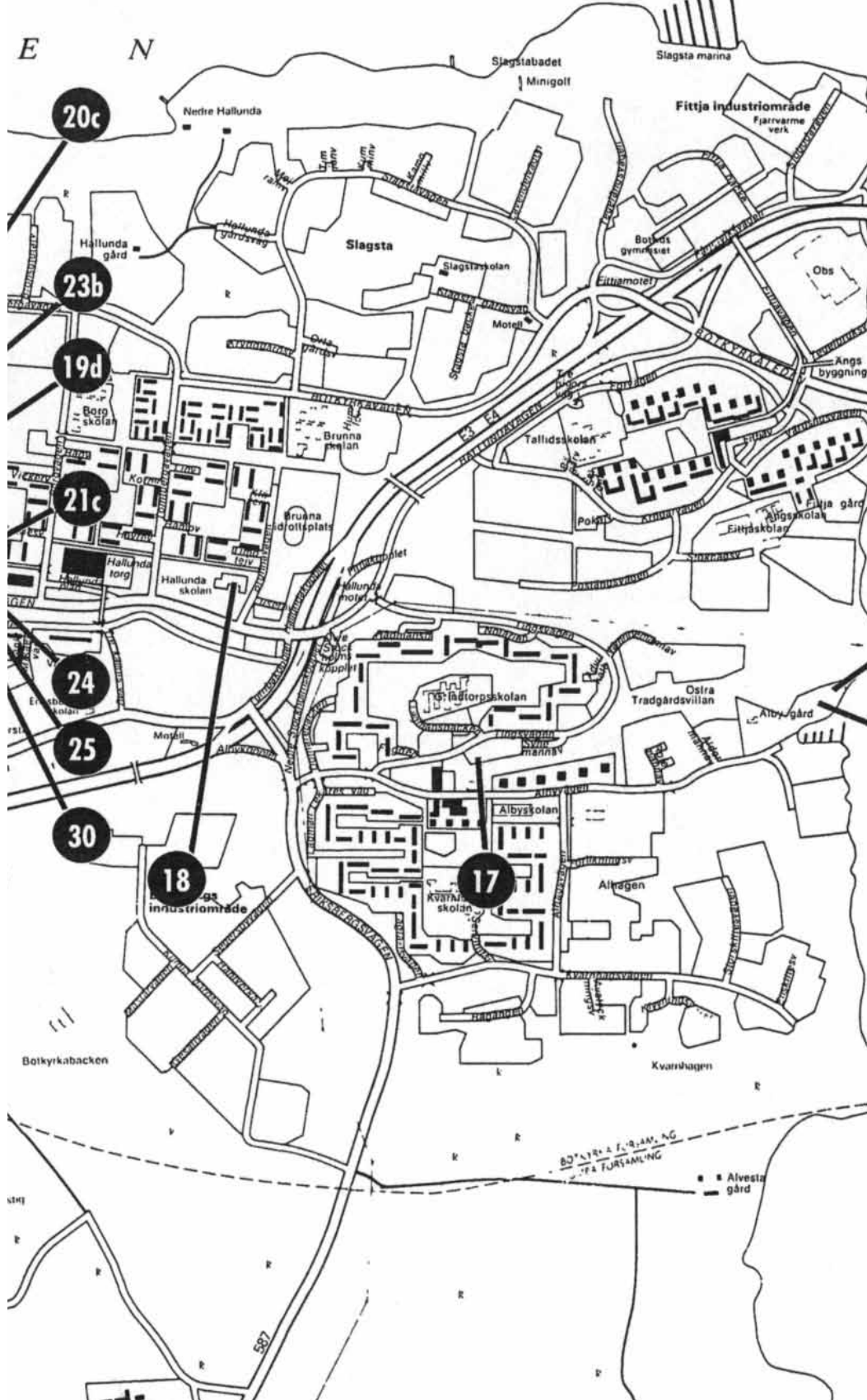






# Map of public works in North Botkyrka 1990







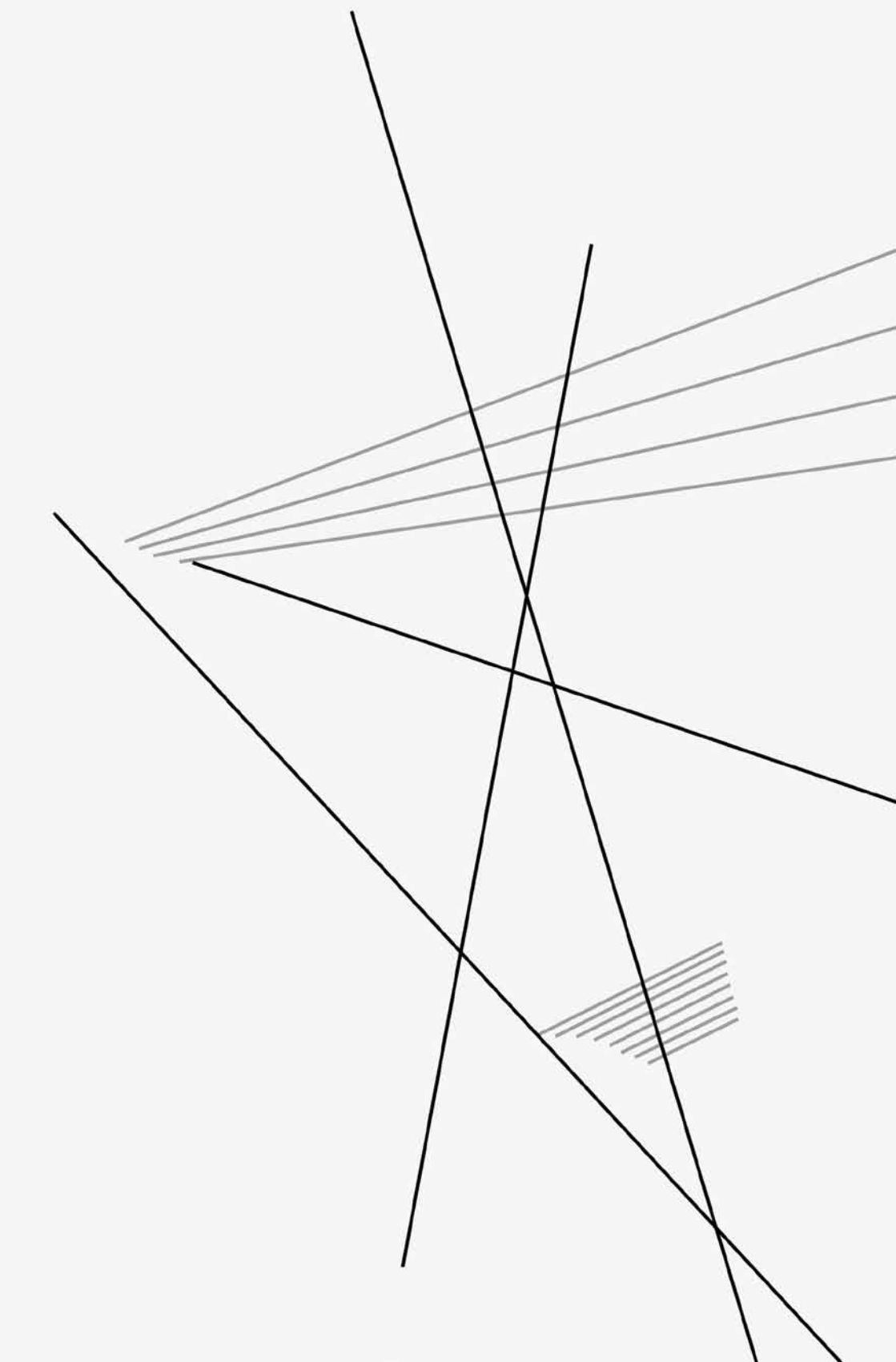




**Act II**

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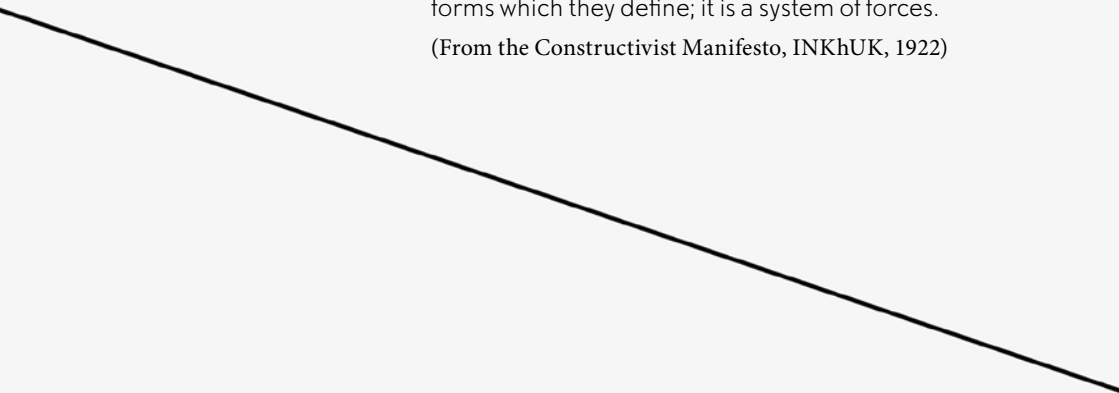
**Lines**







The scheme of a construction is the combination of lines, and the planes and forms which they define; it is a system of forces.  
(From the Constructivist Manifesto, INKhUK, 1922)



The colonized world is a world divided in two.  
The dividing line, the border, is represented by the barracks and the police stations.  
(Frantz Fanon, 'The Wretched of the Earth', p.3)

FUCK



POLITIK

HERSTELLUNG



**Act III**

—

**Methodology**

## Act III

### Slogans

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Construction – is the organization of elements.

Construction is the contemporary worldview.

Art is one of the branches of mathematics, like every other science.

A constructively organized life is higher than the bewitchingly intoxicating art of magicians.

Life, a conscious and organized life, capable of seeing and constructing, is contemporary art.

Consciousness, experiment, goals, construction, technology, and mathematics — these are the brothers of contemporary art.

(Alexander Rodchenko)

## Methodology

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### Treatise on the method

The concepts, which are introduced into the theory of art in what follows, differ from the more familiar terms in that they are completely useless for the purposes of Fascism.

(Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction')

How is it possible to construct concepts in such a way that they are not recuperable by their opposite? The 20<sup>th</sup> Century solution for this is synthetic organization of (theoretical) reality that will manifest a contradiction of a construction in each moment of its constitution. The genealogy of this mathematical formula, which is possible to trace already in the very beginning of constructivist avant-gardes such as Rodchenko and John Heartfield, is the principal theory and practice of our artistic methodology. This methodology could be further classified as an intellectual attempt to reorder the experience. The experience, reduced only to the echo of this knowledge-production and heuristic construction, is only distant material for us. The method of synthetic construction has been utilized through a collage and a style of a montage, or as one could describe in a more natural and, most of the time, preferred term, juxtaposition, but it is more than this. The method, which we are executing here is more than a style.

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Critical theory must communicate itself in its own language — the language of contradiction, which must be dialectical in both form and content. It must be an all-inclusive critique, and it must be grounded in history. It is not a “zero degree of writing,” but its reversal. It is not a negation of style, but the style of negation.

(Guy Debord, ‘Society of the Spectacle’, theses No. 205)

This method has to be ‘all-inclusive’ to negativity, force, violence, noise, destruction and a complete negation of fundamental principles of ideological constellation, which it is aiming to overthrow. It is a method of refusal. Even if this method is intellectual and constructivist in its nature, it can also be caught by its immediacy.

Brothers and sisters, the time has come  
For each and everyone of you to decide  
Whether you are gonna be the problem,  
Or whether you are gonna be the solution.  
You must choose, brothers, you must choose.  
It takes five seconds, five seconds of decision.

(MC5, *Rambling Rose*)

But it ends in the construction of a style, in a gesture of defiance or contempt, in a smile or a sneer. It signals a Refusal. I would like to think that this Refusal is worth making, that these gestures have a meaning, that the smiles and the sneers have some subversive value, even if, in the final analysis, they are, like Genet’s gangster pin-ups, just the darker side of sets of regulations, just so much graffiti on a prison wall.

(Dick Hebdige, ‘Subculture: The Meaning of Style’, p. 3)

Immediacy is an important factor in this methodology, because the theory can never be faster than the concrete. This must not reduce our approach to the experience. If theory is slower than reality, it doesn’t mean that faster reality is the one that is based on immediacy of everyday experience. That is why in this methodology a break from spontaneity is crucial. But the theoretical misgivings can only take place in this methodology when the prob-



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lematization is not based on refusal, struggle, resistance, conflict and coercion, but on the harmonious and coexistent dialectics. This is, in its simplest description, a method, which is open to the contingencies and immediacies. And it is only possible through being open to struggle and to breaks.

Break is the leap from the pre-scientific world of ideas to the scientific world; this leap involves a radical break with the whole pattern and frame of reference of the pre-scientific (ideological) notions, and the construction of a new pattern (problematic).

(Ben Brewster, 'Glossary for Althusser's *For Marx*', p. 249)

In order to understand the aspect of immediacy in this counter-constructive methodology, we have to look at the mechanisms of regeneration of any breaks as they are happening in ideological systems. Interruptions and breaks of the ideological systems are very fast reordered back to a coherent harmony. Elements involved in the break are transposed to the whole in such an instantaneousness that all-inclusive ideological operations look as if eternal, spontaneous and natural. But this mechanism has a lot of coercions and fissures, and even if it is usually felt as a kind of distortion in the system, it is usually just kept in the level of experience that in fact further perpetuates the idea of perfectly working system. Once, after the break or interruption, we are out from this circularity of experience, and in the analytical field of conceptualizations, we are able to grasp a moment of establishing an ideological coherence. In order to schematize this, let's have a look at a film made in 1973 in Finland about an interruption of system and its regeneration. Or actually about workers, who exempt from the means of production of knowledge, cannot orient the transformation that is happening in their lives.

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### **Chronology of what happened in the film 'Laukaus Tehtaalla' ('Gunshot in the Factory')**

- September 1971 the Finn-metal Ltd. merges with bigger United Metal Ltd. Rationalization of the factory begins. This is believed to bring new prosperity to the small place. New manager from the main office is appointed to handle the modernization next to the old director, who would still overlook the transition;
- 25.9.1972 in the meeting of the company board one department of Finn-Metal is decided to be closed down, leaving 42 unemployed with just four weeks' notice;
- Some of the laid-off workers gather at the home of one of them to think of the options and strategies of resistance;
- General meeting among all the workers takes place at the community hall, where local representative of the metal workers' union is present. A three-person representative committee is selected from among the workers that will lead the negotiations with the factory management. They decide to organize through union, media and with the help of the old management, to which they hope to maintain paternalistic and familiar relations;
- The following day the committee meets the management, and a strict disapproval toward the dismissals is pronounced and the management is accused of having lied during the fusion process giving promises of more production and prosperity;
- 1/3 of the term of notice period has passed. The representative committee travels to Helsinki to speak with the Union. The union doesn't give any concrete support and seem uninterested. They forbid going on strike. Also the newspapers ignore the situation – all of their world; the media, union

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and the paternalistic relation to the management, i.e. their zero point of ideology – nation, is not any more theirs. All elements constructing their life stopped to be part of their world. Workers are left alone with no other means than illegal strike. 25.10.72 official general meeting is held among the workers of the entire factory, four days prior to the end of the term of notice. Decision is made to organise a sympathy strike that will start on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November and continue until a solution is reached that satisfies the workers;

- A fake letter is presented to the workers by the new management where the whole factory is threatened with closure in case the strike commences. The lines of the workers are thus dividing and strike doesn't happen;
- 1.11.72 Department of the factory is closed. With this all elements constructing the life for the workers has stopped to be part of their life. A life, an old life is not anymore. Neither the old nation is anymore. There is nothing metaphysical, spontaneous or un-understandable in this: a life, a nation and system, or the ideology, belong to those who hold the means of production. Workers, who do not understand this construction, experience it as a loss of a solid ground: as a loss of meaning of life, loss of nation, loss of identity.
- As a result on 6<sup>th</sup> of November 1972 one of the workers reads in the morning newspaper that the directorship is fully taken over by the new management. In his desperate attempt to fill the gap between his life and new life that is not his anymore, he tries to destroy the new element by shooting to death the new director.

This manifestation of violence and force has nothing to do with the violence, coercion, force and interruption of counter-constructive methodology. This violence is in the field of experience, and as such is suturing a break without even leaving a trace as a fissure in the knowledge production.

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A method of counter-constructivism is alert to the reconstitution and regeneration induced by naturalness; as such this method is completely synthetic, un-natural con-structiv-ist!

That is why this method is against any identity-based politics. 'Personal is political' is what constructivist model negates.

Every subject is political. This is why there  
are few subjects and rarely any politics.

(Alain Badiou, 'Theory of the Subject', p. 28)

It is important to understand these things thoroughly in order not to reduce the greatness of this method to the simple aesthetisation executed through collage or montage and to the psychological effectiveness of an attraction that is easily evoked by the techniques of the juxtaposition. A beautiful romance of state paternalism in the bedrock of capitalist exploitation is also possible to be written with collages. Even we can say that today it is only through this form and through this style the most deceiving fables are written.

There are also many examples of criticism of exploitation, which are utilising a collage and montage in order to tell a story differently. Their approach is generally of a humanist position, maybe too humanist. By avoiding the issue of violence and force, most of them fail to use the political possibilities of the counter-constructivist method. One example of this is Allan Pred's book on racism in Sweden. Pred wrote the book in the form of a conglomerate with various material juxtaposed in a story of possible anti-racist imagination about Sweden. This possible story which could be read as a counter-narrative to the racist popular imagination of Sweden, is called 'Even in Sweden'. Its method, both in its temporality and spatiality, is directly in connection with object of our artwork/paper film. Pred, who is aware of the historical development of this idea, is both starting and concluding his book with a quote by Walter Benjamin. But as the end result, we have a philosophy in the form of narration, which inevitably leads to another narration, that of a content or idealization of a harmonious life. Similarity of this book's object to ours, both in temporal

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and spatial terms, is something to be dealt with. To be precise, it is necessary to deal both with the idea of presence and the idea of segregation. As Pred's method is well explained in his other book subtitled 'A Montage of the Present' the 'now-ness', immediacy, actuality is the main temporality of his method. Any construction according to this methodology could be grasped in its presence only through the form of montage, or as he describes as "history of the present in the montage form, an assemblage of images... bringing the past into tension-field constellation with the present moment." (p. 23–24)

Heretical part of this methodology is that it is reactivating the old, repressed, subversive, creative possibilities of the past constructions. Montage is thus a 'creative geography' that exists parallel to the oppressed geography of the capitalist homogenization, oppression and baldness.

The political formula of this method could be retraced in the idea of living in a different mode of time, unspoiled by a temporality of quotidian necessities. A pop-situationism is at work here.

Philosophically Pred closed this open process or method through rearticulation. Spatially speaking, the geography as an expertise field of Pred, segregation (another conception of parallel existing worlds) is the most important issue of this methodology. Pred's object is Fittja. What differentiates this method from the method that we are proposing will become evident when we try to understand its scope through the notion of force. Force and violence are not part of this methodology, they are the symptoms of ideal/logics (as Pred coined ideology), which a montage or Pred's method could offer a solution to. This is method, which is not part of the trouble, but part of the solution. It is clearly differing from counter-constructivism.

The effect of this formal and methodological difference is visible in the political analysis of segregation. Most clearly this can be seen in his reference both to violence and to spontaneity, which are elementary leitmotifs of this paper film. Before looking at these two applications of the method, it is wise to mention that struggles made in two fronts (ideological and political) do not entail the idea that strategies for them should be completely

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independent. Even when these two different fronts have their own autonomy, they are very much interconnected. This is why insistence on formal elements of anti-fascist struggle is of crucial importance.

Pred describes spontaneity as something which immigrants that are newcomers in the segregated areas of Stockholm cannot practice properly:

The residents of a segregated high-rise area in Skärholmen, a suburb of Stockholm, decide that something ought to be done about the grey color of their buildings, something to brighten up their residential environment. After discussions with the color consultant and the landlord's representative, as required they submit a proposal to Stockholm Municipal Council for the Protection of Architectural and Natural Beauty (Skönhetsrådet). A prompt response: Definitely not! Pressed by the press, the council's male head—himself a resident of a prestigious residential area—makes a declaration that leaves little room for doubt among the Skärholmen residents, that leaves little question that the color question is a question of color: "The problem is that they don't understand how terrible it would look. It actually requires a certain knowledge of color to judge matters like this. Unfortunately, it's something the residents don't understand... There are a lot of problems out there with immigrants who can't adjust and so on... They're trying to project their social problems on the buildings."

(Allan Pred, 'Even in Sweden', p. 258)

This happened in 1988, but today the colourful spontaneous expressions in Skärholmen, or in other segregated areas of Stockholm suburbs, are everyday reality. One just has to visit Fittja and to see the colourful and cute additions to the 70's architecture.

What does the 'free' colour mean anyway except the invocation of a shape yet-to-come to economics. Precisely to speak, of a more 'free' market. Doesn't this freedom to buildings bring also freedom to economy? Isn't it so that changing the status of the buildings, from rental to hyresrätter to private, is gradually also

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reflected in their changing of colour? How not to connect these spontaneities of immigrants' community feeling with spontaneities of the most precarious forms of new capitalism? Pred's decision not to connect these issues is because of the model of a collage that he is using: based on domesticated version, emptied from the breaks, negations and resistance and put to service of human narrative stories of experience. Even if there are the elements (collage-monads) that should lead one to this conclusion, in the story of Pred they are absent. Descriptions of Rinkeby as "community bursting with vitality" or as "place where they allow the emotions to rule" are, if not a direct descriptions of these areas by Pred himself, at least 'idea-logics' hanging in the text, conjoining, not with a radical refusal of experience, but as possible monads to be taken as possible stitches in the suturing effect of the story-telling of human sufferings. In the Pred-method there is no room for theoretical positions that treat spontaneity as a form of order. Violence too, is seen as something to be explained as sociological factuality of the ambience of segregated areas. The determinacy is obvious, have a look at the "jungle of quotes" from the book between pages 131 and 134, existence of violence is due to the segregation policy: where there is segregation, there is violence. Its' psychological name is deprivation and isolation. Complexities involved in political and ideological tricks in segregation policies are reduced to such causality that even a compartmentalized world of Algiers before decolonization, as described by Fanon, looks like nicety of French poetic sentimentality!

In the colonies the economic substructure is also the superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich.  
(Frantz Fanon, 'Wretched of the Earth')

Nobody, no Arab, no Turkish, no Kurdish, no Yugoslavian, no Chilean, no matter how wealthy they are, both culturally and economically, will ever become a Swede. In fact this is not even the issue. In a counter-constructivist methodology identity is refused from the beginning of its application; being a Swede is a factor of

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impossibility in the conceptualization of ideological elements that serve for blurring the issue and keeping it on hold with some kind of false ambiguity. Any return to the identity problems has to be discarded.

The nodal point of this social issue is in the approach of Pred to buildings, so to speak those “high-rise”, “monotonous”, “grey”, “scary” buildings. Pred is not alone in this sociology of verticality and collectivity as lately, by chance, we traced it even in places that we were expecting least to see it in:

When the riots of 2005 broke out in the banlieues of Paris, at least one writer cited Le Corbusier for inventing the tower block, as if he should have been tried in court. Many architects found this offensive, they blamed class tension and French racism for the riots. They had a point. Can buildings really be innocent shells that do no harm? Isn't every artificial landscape a diagram of certain psychological state?

(Otolith Group, 'Otolith II', 2007)



### Ideological entailments of Pred's collage method

#### 1. Humanist retro-gard(en)ism

It is my dream to purchase my own housing (to no longer have to rent municipally owned housing in the segregated area of Gottsunda, at the outer edge of Uppsala). It should be in the form of detached single-family dwelling or a row house with a little garden where the children can play. Should it turn out to be a detached house it wouldn't have to be so awfully large – gladly a big garden with nice trees and gladly a little older house, not so modern.

(Dream of Sima, 32-year old refugee woman from Iran in Allan Pred, 'Even in Sweden', p. 285)

#### 2. Hologram of identity

Today and yesterday the dream of a better life and upward mobility, of living among "them" without necessarily becoming like "them", of shifting one's place of residence without necessarily becoming someone else or sacrificing central elements of identity.

(Allan Pred, 'Even in Sweden', p. 285)

#### 3. Latent historicism and parallel realities

During 1997 some of the housing in Hammarkullen was systematically taken apart, piece by piece. From Hammarkullen – that segregated suburb of Göteborg so ill famed in the popular imagination, that product of the Million Program so well intended to provide the world's best housing for the "common people," that concrete manifestation of the People's Home – the remnants were to be transported for reassembly in Kaliningrad. Shipped to a Russian exclave on the Baltic, a city where, among many, the sense of exclusion and marginalization apparently runs at least as deep as it often does in Hammarkullen. Sent to a place where perceptions of the

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future as hopelessly bleak are perhaps more widespread than in Hammarkullen... As the ultimate symbol for the "dismantling" of the People's Home, for the piece-by-piece paring back of the welfare state, for the deconstruction of the Social Democratic modernity project.

(Allan Pred, 'Even in Sweden', p. 285-286)

The silent political assumption of these ideological entailments is that every system has to have a social democracy, its false dream of democracy, that will sooner or later prove to be wrong.

Practically dismantling means de-collaging or de-montaging that in the last instance is the disappearance of the method of Pred, based on juxtaposition once it has arrived to a solution. Orchestration of this collage method as vanishing mediator for the purpose of identity, and other ideological entailments, can be seen in the destiny of the dismantled elements. They are to fulfil what is missing in dream of historicist recuperation.

Leftovers of social democracy of Sweden start a new neoliberalism that missed the natural course of events: to the neoliberalism without social democracy, or neoliberalism, which came after socialism. What will replace Hammarkullen is a dream (Sima's dream) of a more spontaneous liveable and humanist neoliberalism; adventurous precariousness as oppose to bureaucracy of concrete is hoped to be implemented by the spontaneity and creativity of immigrants. For the Kaliningrad-lumpens the situation is that they first have to mature to the social democracy of the Swedish leftovers, which will eventually give way to a new precariousness.

In the last instance, due to the formal entailments of the method, which Pred is utilising there is no room for other political alternative than a traditionalism in new packaging. All and all, this method is about bringing the old in the shape of the new.

Configuration is itself refiguration, or as Benjamin puts it: 'construction' presupposes 'destruction'. Now-time configures historical time as a redemptive whole by its mode of interruption (refiguration) of the narrative continuity of its everyday form.

(Peter Osborne, 'The Politics of Time: Modernity and Avant-Garde', p. 156)









## **Act IV**

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## **Multiculturalism**

## Act IV

### Multiculturalism

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#### 1. Polyculturalism, or 'the story of the fox and the crow'

Let us introduce ourselves into *your* story: in the current situation of art making dealing with the issue of multiculturalism and anti-racism, the most important task is to come to terms with these very concepts. For example, what is our conceptual framework on the issue of multiculturalism? Especially considering that our intellectual and artistic processing is based on an interrogation of contradictions of institutions, which are dealing with problems of multiculturalism, we have to come to terms with this concept in the most rigorous sense. One of the principal headaches for the pupils of the Multicultural Center is its very name. Just a glance at the most preferable alternatives to the name will show that the alternative proposals are no more than euphemisms [i.e. The Center of Swedish Suburban Study (former Multicultural Center), Transcultural Center, Intercultural Center]. So in order to avoid aestheticism, let's have a look at some clearly political and intellectual attempts that aim at deconstructing the concept of multiculturalism. One concept, which came to our knowledge during our stay and initial research at the Multicultural Center, was polyculturalism. This neologism of Vijay Prashad is a step ahead



## Multiculturalism

from any euphemist alternatives, because the intellectual process that underlines its constitution is not co-existence and harmony, but struggle and antagonism. This term is, as Prashad describes, 'combat multiculturalism', multiculturalism that is about fight, contrast and clash. If, according to this definition, multiculturalism is state-supported, celebratory, fake, and superficial, then polyculturalism replaces it as a real hybrid term that is dynamic, complex and rebellious. Looking carefully at the text (Bruce Lee and the Anti-imperialism of Kung Fu: A Polycultural Adventure), where Prashad is elaborating his neologism, it is possible to demonstrate that a certain ideological effect of experience and meta-physical remnants of spontaneous ontologies are involved.

There are numerous reasons to claim origins and to mark oneself as authentic if one belongs to an oppressed minority. For example, minority groups mobilize the notion of an origin to make resource claims, to show, for instance, that despite the denigration of the power elite, the minority can lay claim to civilization.

(Vijay Prashad, 'Bruce Lee and the Anti-imperialism of Kung Fu: A Polycultural Adventure', p. 79-80)

This is a clear example of another fable, one that was the favourite both of Aesop and La Fontaine: one about the crow and the fox. As it is known, the one that is left hungry in the end is the one that has so much fallen in love with its own specificity. Of this polyculturalism, what is the most deceiving is that the 'claim of the origin' automatically assumes being hybrid and rebellious, and it is firmly placed in the sphere of popular culture. This polysemic rebellious popular culture baptised as polyculturalism, is in this process exemplified in the very figure of Bruce Lee, the Kung Fu fighter. Some of us, who used to be fans of Bruce Lee, find this alternative too narrow or conservative. Not to say that Bruce Lee cannot help people intentionally or unconsciously in developing skills of resistance or the forms of combative multiculturalism. But the form of Bruce Lee, which is much larger than what polyculturalism specifies through its historical references (ghetto, left movement, anarchist groups, subculture etc.), is in the last in-

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stance more a reference to the state of combat than to any position, where resistance could be assumed. Look at the second quotation from the text:

Kung Fu gives oppressed young people an immense sense of personal worth and the skills for collective struggle.

(Vijay Prashad, 'Bruce Lee and the Anti-imperialism of Kung Fu: A Polycultural Adventure', p. 74)

Keeping in mind the first quotation it now becomes clear that in this case it is hard to differentiate the political lesson of the fox and the crow, which they could learn, from the skills of Bruce Lee. But the main agenda of the term polyculturalism is not based on heurism. Intellectual capacity does not entail a political intervention. Struggle and resistance are possible only within an affirmation. Affirmation of that specific genus that automatically and spontaneously manifests the anti-racism:

The polycultural view of the world exists in the gut instincts of many people.

(Vijay Prashad, 'Bruce Lee and the Anti-imperialism of Kung Fu: A Polycultural Adventure', p. 80)

In this alternative proposal to multiculturalism there is nothing left to scholars and artists dealing with concepts except to affirm and elevate this unexplainable but 'real' world.

Scholars are under some obligation to raise this instinct to philosophy, to use this instinct to criticize the diversity model of multiculturalism and replace it with the antiracist one of polyculturalism.

(Vijay Prashad, 'Bruce Lee and the Anti-imperialism of Kung Fu: A Polycultural Adventure', p. 81)

Isn't this elevation actually the deepest mechanism of the whole multiculturalist theory and practice: to affirm the unexplainable, irrational, spontaneous, immediate nature of 'diverse' cultures?

## 2. Socialist deconstruction or 'the story of the Little Red Riding Hood'

Let us look at the contradictory elements of multiculturalist problematic and try to measure how far from each other they are. Here is one serious attempt to locate these different elements of multicultural concept:

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	Affirmation	Transformation
<b>Redistribution</b>	<i>the liberal welfare state</i> surface reallocations of existing goods to existing groups; supports group differentiation; can generate misrecognition	<i>socialism</i> deep restructuring of relations of production; blurs group differentiation; can help remedy some forms of misrecognition
<b>Recognition</b>	<i>mainstream multiculturalism</i> surface reallocations of respect to existing identities of existing groups; supports group differentiation	<i>deconstruction</i> deep restructuring of relations of recognition; blurs group differentiation

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Nancy Fraser, author of this scheme composed this structure with the aim to solve the elementary contradiction that is supposedly the main headache for multiculturalism. That is between redistribution and recognition. It is, to paraphrase, a contradiction between economy-politics and culture. In order to demonstrate the limits of this dualist approach, she introduces a new duality, or what she calls 'bivalency', that is between affirmation and transformation. In this scenario, instead of two, now there are four factors ( $2 \times 2 = 4$ ) which are the elements designating the contradiction. Apart from this solution in formality, Fraser has also informal reasons (she has many reasons, or one can call them anecdotes) for this structure. One of them is very intriguing, which in the text appears as a cynical gesture before a scheme takes place:

## Act IV

How can anti-racists fight simultaneously to abolish 'race'  
and to valorize racialized group specificity?

(Nancy Fraser, 'From Redistribution to Recognition?

Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age', p. 81)

This contradiction that Fraser finds somehow as paradox of life reality, or problem of consistency, or simply as a headache, is similar to Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello's primary contradiction of Marxism:

These different 'schools' shared a dual ambition whose contradictory character is invariably neither theorized, nor even acknowledged. On the other hand, their aim was to reactivate a positivist conception of the social world and the scientistic vision of history (the social world is constituted by 'structures', inhabited by 'laws', and propelled by 'forces' that escape the consciousness of social actors; and history itself follows a course that does not directly depend upon the volition of the human beings subject to it). On the other hand, they sought to remain in the closest possible contact with the social movements that developed in these years and to be their critical vanguard.

(Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello, 'The New Spirit of Capitalism', p. X)

In these modes of logic, acknowledgement comes as something that is primarily configured through the elements of experience that are very easily (without a rigorous conceptualization) put into the theory. This instant transposition of experience to concepts has one very peculiar effect to the knowledge production: it assumes that immediacies of everyday life have to be the parameters of our political reality and that in the last instance this political reality is of a moralist nature. In order to demonstrate this we can continue with the formal logic of Fraser's multiculturalism and see that the variations in the quartet of elements do not differ from each other, as is pictured in the scheme. If redistribution as contrast to recognition has as opposite two internal tendencies; liberal welfare state versus socialism, and recognition in itself has two other oppositional tendencies such as mainstream multicul-

## Multiculturalism

turalism and deconstruction, then how to comprehend a further antagonistic relation inside this quartet? For example, does affirmative redistribution oppose transformative recognition, or transformative socialism in contrast to mainstream multiculturalism?

There is no reason why liberal welfare state (i.e. harsh greedy capitalism, primitive exploitation) should not deconstruct relations of identities involved in exploitation: the whole transgressive and subversive business-oriented populist artworld is nothing but manifestations of this combination. Ideally Fraser hopes for a transformative merging of redistribution and recognition, but this scheme is not anyhow considering to limit the combinations that happen between affirmative and transformative tendencies. The problem with this scheme is not only that it is avoiding the limitation of possible antagonistic combinations between various elements of multiculturalism. But also that in this conceptualization the elements are posed within their equilibric nature. This equilibrium that aims at putting equality into all the various conceptual elements of multiculturalism, is in a very strange way opening the window to another idealization; that all these elements should have the same chance in construction of theory. That is nothing but silently to claim that they are actually all the same in theory but in practice we (i.e. Fraser) prefer some of them more than others. This practical solution ends up as pragmatics of everyday, or as the art of the possible.

Transformative redistribution to redress racial injustice in the economy consists in some form of anti-racist democratic socialism or anti-racist social democracy.

(Nancy Fraser, 'From Redistribution to Recognition?

Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age', p. 91)

Isn't this already what we have at our hands? A perfectly practiced and executed anti-racist social democracy (in Sweden, in Australia, in Canada, and sooner or later even in non-social democratic countries). Once racism establishes itself in the most delicate and subtle apparatuses of state ideology, it is not anymore needed for

## Act IV

it to be barbarous, primitive and impatient in greediness. The second and bigger problem is that the form will designate the politics even in ways its user is not intending. Performing the theory based on equilibrium and equality will in any case entail culturalism, even if the performer is against it. Let's look at a possible recuperation of a socialist deconstruction model into culturalism:

Its principal drawback, again, is that both deconstructive–anti-racist cultural politics and socialist–anti-racist economic politics are far removed from the immediate interests and identities of most people of colour, as these are currently culturally constructed.

(Nancy Fraser, 'From Redistribution to Recognition?

Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age', p. 81)

This is to say that immigrants cannot do the deconstruction and actually this is what Fraser herself is saying on the same page by quoting Ted Koditschek that "the deconstructive option maybe less available to African-Americans in the current situation."

What is most intriguing in this recuperation is that it is not happening in practice (i.e. in the supposed lack of non-deconstructivist immigrant-practice). But the recuperation is happening within theory. It is in the structure and the scheme itself, all the elements involved in the contradiction are in theoretical conception not far from each other at all. It is some kind of an attempt of a detour, which ends up in the place where it started from without any real transformation. In this concept of multiculturalism there is no real contradiction involved. That is why criticism toward Fraser's scheme, that it is too narrow in its quadripol solution, is missing the point from the beginning. Not that there is a dual obsessiveness in this scheme, but the second option, the real diversity never takes place. If it is a talk or idealization of a different element it is only a deepening of what already exists. Affirmation turns to transformation in this scheme only by deep restructuring of relations. These deep motives are in the end a hope of real authenticity and originality. It is nothing but experience. It is like the little red

## Multiculturalism

riding hood finding that the grandmother has turned to a wolf that is not any less nasty than grandmothers usually are.

For reformists (even if they call themselves Marxists) it is not the class struggle that is in the front rank: it is simply the classes. Let us take a simple example, and suppose that we are dealing with just two classes. For reformists these classes exist before the class struggle, a bit like two football teams exist separately before the match. Each class exists in its own camp, lives according to its particular conditions of existence. One class may be exploiting another, but for reformism that is not the same thing as class struggle. One day the two classes come up against one another and come into conflict. It is only then that the class struggle begins... you will always find the same idea here: the classes exist before the class struggle, independently of the class struggle. The class struggle only exists afterwards. Revolutionaries on the other hand, consider that it is impossible to separate the classes from the class struggle. The class struggle and the existence of classes are one and the same thing. In order for there to be classes in a 'society', the society has to be divided into classes: the division does not come later in the story; it is the exploitation of one class by another, it is therefore the class struggle, which constitutes the division to classes. For exploitation is already class struggle. You must therefore begin with class struggle if you want to understand class division, the existence and nature of classes. The class struggle must be put in the front rank.

(Louis Althusser, 'Reply to John Lewis', p. 49–50)

Let me first make explicit a rather memorable reference there. In her biography of Chu Teh, the great commander of the People's Army during the Revolution in China, Agnes Smadley recalls a moment when she had asked him about his having been a bandit and a thief in his youth. As Smadley tells it, Chu Teh fell silent for a while and then said something like, "Theft, you know, is also a matter of class." In this climate of Aesopian languages it is absolutely essential to reiterate that most things are a matter of class.

('Issues of Class and Culture: An interview with Aijaz Ahmad',  
*Monthly Review*, 1996 p. 20–21)



**Postcoloniality is also, like  
most things, a matter of class.**

(Aijaz Ahmad, 'The Politics of Literary Post-coloniality',  
*Race and Class*, 1995 p. 16)



**Act V**

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**Spontaneity**

**Spontaneity**

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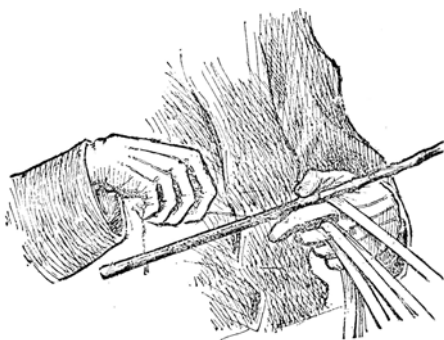
Let's start with a simple and concise statement: spontaneities in arts are state apparatuses, nothing more. Any attempt of reconciliation of spontaneity with its opposite, for instance with organization, is a vain project, dead end from the beginning. We already made clear in our methodology that in order to politicize art it is an absolute mistake to try to 'soften' the politics with the elements of experience, of spontaneous experience. Politics itself is more spontaneous in the sense that it is more unpredictable than what any art in any form can offer. It is important to insist on this: spontaneity is something out of reach of intellect, like air, that is always there, never fully graspable, in everything, but when appears, shows itself in most recognizable forms, makes itself immediately familiar. This is maybe the true nature of spontaneity; thing appearing as unpredictable but blinking to our most predictable, and most brewed realities; thing that confirms once more: there is no change under the sun in this world. Spontaneity's unexplainable lure is exactly this double-articulation; also as a temporal manifestation: it is futurity and a-historicity, or avant and retro at the same time. Spontaneity is what Althusser calls future anterior, those things which are in the domain of ideology. It is no surprise that Althusser is the philosopher who found and criticized spontaneities even in the fields least expected; in the

## Spontaneity

philosophy, and in the philosophy of science, the so-called epistemology. But aesthetics, another field of philosophy is even more consumed by this double-articulation.

Counter-constructivist model, by mercilessly refusing any experience-laden artistic adventure, closes all the doors to the uses of spontaneity in art that is to be anti-racist, for emancipation of people, or as it is now common to say, in political art.

Having said this we can continue by insisting that state and its ideological apparatuses guarding the interests of capital are most effective in the issues of spontaneity. Seen, or preferred to be seen,



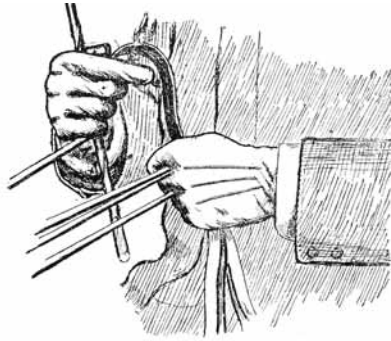
as bureaucratic stratification, state is reduced to immobility, to a sheer 'rationale' of calculus, which has nothing to do with abrupt situations. This is not wrong, but it is only half the truth: state's 'rationale' is not primitive: it needs the spontaneity as fish needs water. That is where state is most effective; in the precariousness of its being. As it is using spontaneity, that much it is also needing spontaneity, as something that generates its inclusiveness, reproduces its calculus. What can be said more about this except that in Sweden and elsewhere (not "Even in Sweden") the state is using spontaneities for its own reproduction. Today the state's most spontaneous materials are the immigrants; they are double-articulation, through which the state is articulating itself more than twice: even up to the situation where it is inventing them. This is not a hallucination: state is inventing and constructing the immigrants; it 'does' them as spontaneities.

## Act V

The enemy will use this mass even if it is at a cost of a fortune.  
He will create spontaneity by the force of the bayonet or  
exemplary punishment.

(Fanon, 'The Wretched of the Earth', p. 87–88)

Artists of today seem to be most confused on this matter. How to make political art that would be reconciliation between spontaneity and organization? This most false question that anyone can ever imagine, but put consistently over and over, in most various forms and shapes, always—we are saying this without hesitation—is in the shade of the de-politicization of art. Let's be clear, one more time: as spontaneity is a non-existing object to be included in the conceptual work (because it is all-inclusive) the same goes with 'organization', it is everywhere, nowadays even in acousmatic form of contingent noises or in rhizomatic biopolitics of most primitive oppression. It is sheer stupidity to talk about reconciliation of these two elements that should not be seen as separate in any case. But nevertheless this is the way art thinks 'seriously', as sometimes it does.



D.V. I agree with Žižek in his evaluation of Lenin's article, because it problematises the relations between the spontaneity of the working-class struggle and the necessity for organisation.

## Spontaneity

- D.V. I would say, and I don't know if you agree with me or not, that today's Left is trapped in the logic of social struggle and the fetishisation of spontaneity.
- D.V. Artists know these feelings very well because they are literally faced with the organic spontaneity of material (it does not matter if it is blank paper, stone, canvas, video tape or any other), occupying the position of an external force that should make a form out of that material. So I absolutely agree with Alain Badiou when he writes...
- G.R. But what puzzles me is that you are so fast in closing the phase of anti-authoritarianism associated with the 'new social movements' and their micro-politics during the 1970s in order to move on to another era of organisation. I am not referring here to the excess of violence in state socialism - if you look at the ongoing forms of patriarchal and closure-oriented practices in Western leftist movements of the last forty years, it sometimes looks like there had never been something like 1968, the second-wave feminist movement from the 1960s and 70s or the micro-political practices of the 1970s. On the one hand, as a consequence of this, I think you need both new organisation (i.e. new institutions, 'monster institutions', the long breath of instituting) and a constant struggle against structuralisation. On the other hand, I don't really see any exaggerated fetishisation of spontaneity.
- D.V. OK, let's call it spontaneity, or even an orgiastic development.
- (Index of 'spontaneity' in one exemplary text: 'An Issue of Organisation: Chto Delat?', discussion between Dimitry Vilensky and Gerald Raunig', *Afterall* no.19, Autumn/Winter 2008)

# Caprimulgus europaeus

NATTSKÄRRA • NIGHTJAR

ZIEGENMELKER • ENGOULEVENT D'EUROPE

*Caprimulgus* ---, på dess näv och fötter syns noggsamt att det ingen rovfågel är. Jag har i dess maga vid anatomen ej annat funnit än maskar och frö. Han skrämmar hästarna om natten ty han flyger av och an. De sägas mjölka getterna och korna, dock må man tvivla vid sådana tillfällen om icke pigorna stjälja undan mjölken och skylla på fågeln. Han sitter ej på trän, och är föga rädd. (Anteckningar förda under Rudbecks föreläsningar 1727 om fåglarna med demonstration av sina fågelbilder.)

*Caprimulgus*. Nattskräva. Har vackra fjädrar, men stygt ansikte. Hon är till storleken nästan som en duva, och flyger allenast om nätterna, men om dagen sitter hon stilla, och ser då ganska litet, men har så mycket bättre hörsel, att kunna undfly och höra, då något farligt är på färde. Hon äter insekter, och lever mesta delen av mygg, ty hon gapar med sin stora mun, och flyger fram, där myggen om sommaraftnarna dansar, samt fångar dem på det sättet. Då hon flyger, surrar hon stadigt. (Ur Linnés föreläsningar över djurriket 1748.)

*Caprimulgus* ---, aus seinem Schnabel und seinen Füssen ist ersichtlich, dass es kein Raubvogel ist. Ich habe in seinem Magen im Anatomicum nichts anderes als Würmer und Samen gefunden. Er erschrickt die Pferde in den Nächten, denn er fliehet ab und an. Man sagt, dass sie die Ziegen und Kühe melken, jedoch mag man dabey zweifeln, ob nicht die Mägde die Milch wegstehlen und dann dem Vogel die Schuld zuschreiben. Er sitzt nicht auf Bäumen und er ist wenig bange. (Aufzeichnungen geführt während Rudbecks Vorlesungen, 1727, über die Vögel, mit Vorzeigen seiner Vogelbilder.)

*Caprimulgus*. Nachtschwalbe. Sie hat schöne Federn, aber ein hässliches Gesicht. Sie ist in der Grösse beynähe wie eine Taube, und fliehet nur des Nachts, des Tages sitzt sie still und siehet dann ziemlich schlecht, hat aber so viel besseres Gehör, um entfliehen zu können und um zu hören, wenn etwas gefährlich ist. Sie frisst Insekten und lebet meistentheils von Mücken, sie öffnet ihren grossen Schnabel und fliehet dorthin, wo die Mücken in den Sommerabenden tanzen und fängt sie auf diese Weise. Wenn sie fliehet, summet sie beständig. (Aus Linnés Vorlesungen über das Tierreich, 1748.)

*Caprimulgus* ---, by its beak and claws it may be clearly seen it is no bird of prey. I have found its stomach to contain naught but worms and seeds at anatomy. He affrights the horses at nighttime by his flying to and fro. They are said to milk the goats and cattle but one takes leave to doubt whether the maids do not steal the milk away privily and blame the birds. He sits not upon the trees, and fears little. (Notes made during Rudbeck's lectures on Birds, 1727, illustrated by his bird-studies.)

*Caprimulgus*. Nightjar. Feathers fair, but it hath an ugly visage. She is in size nearly as great as a pigeon and flies only at night, sitting still in the daytime, when she sees rather little but hears so much the better, to escape and hear when danger is a hand. She eats insects and lives mostly on gnats, gaping with her great mouth and flying towards them, where they dance in the summer evenings, and catching them in this manner. When she flies, she coos unceasingly. (From Linnaeus' lectures on the Animal Kingdom, 1748.)

*Caprimulgus* ---, de son bec et de ses pattes il y paraît clairement que ce n'est pas un rapace. Dans la salle de dissection, je n'ai trouvé dans son ventre que des vers et des graines. Il effraye les chevaux dans la nuit, car il vole de long en large. On dit qu'ils traient les chèvres et les vaches, mais il est permis de soupçonner en pareil cas que les filles de ferme soustraient le lait et puis rejettent la faute sur l'oiseau. Il ne se pose pas dans les arbres, et il est peu craintif. (Notes prises pendant les cours de Rudbeck, 1727, sur les oiseaux, avec présentation de ses planches d'oiseaux.)

*Caprimulgus*. Hironnelle de nuit. Elle a un beau plumage, mais la face est laide. Quant à la grandeur, elle est à peu près comme un pigeon, et elle ne vole que pendant la nuit, mais dans la journée elle se pose immobile, et alors elle voit assez peu, mais elle a l'ouïe bien meilleure, de telle façon qu'elle peut fuir et ouïr quand il y a du péril. Elle mange des insectes, et vit, la plupart du temps, de moustiques, car elle ouvre son grand bec en volant là, où les moustiques dansent dans les soirs d'été, et les prend ainsi. Quand elle vole, elle susurre constamment. (Extraits des cours de Linné sur le royaume animal, 1748.)





## Act V

It is interesting to note one important formality in the issues dealing with spontaneity: all discussions on spontaneity tend to end up in spontaneous affirmation of the spontane. This is nothing unusual, tautology of content effects the tautology of forms; also this is nothing new, much of the history of art-politics relation (meaning organization-spontaneity relation) is built on this tension which does not exist.

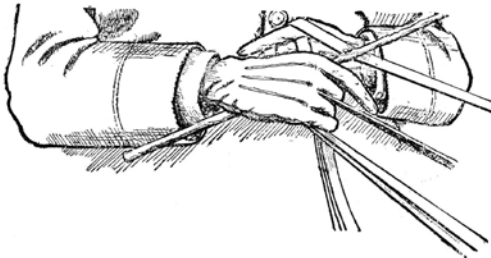


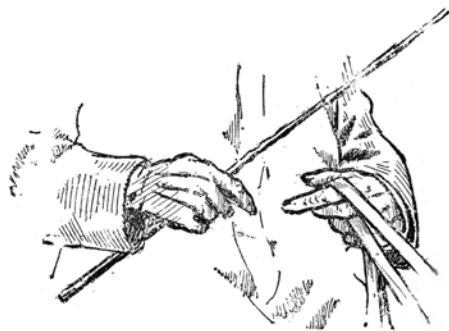
FIG. 33.—RIGHT HAND ASSISTING LEFT (ON THREE REINS ONLY).

And my idea was to build a movie that is a kind of interplay between organization and spontaneity. For it seems to me that the all-anarchism of, let's say the New American Cinema or the anarchism of the New Left, this kind of totally unorganized way in which people are now reacting to power structures, is inefficient because it lacks organization; yet if it turns to organization it takes the same old forms, like the highly organized, militant, puritan, self-sacrificing groups, so this just perpetuates the old system of power and fighting power with power. And it seems to me that we have to fight power with spontaneity and humor, but in a more organized way than it is done. It seems to me that some future society which I believe in, a society organized on work and love without any political mediators – work, love, and communication lets say – must be a highly organized kind of society that has a lot of space for all kinds of spontaneous activities. In my film – I worked eight month on it in editing room to get this kind of strong organization, yet trying to preserve all the spontaneity possible in the film. (Dusan Makavejev, 'Fight Power with Spontaneity and Humour', p. 7–8)

## Spontaneity

*Future anteriority*: Makavejev found this society, in Sweden at the end of seventies. And no surprise, as all stories of spontaneities and tautologies goes, here too, the elements of spontaneous actions were provided by immigrants.

Counter-constructivism is the opposite of this methodology; in this paper-film in nine acts everything is done for spontaneities to be destroyed, eliminated, and exposed as disguised state apparatuses. Peeling off spontaneities from the construction in paper-film is, as in the very name of it, only on paper. In the art-work that is to offer a counter-constructivist understanding of racism and exploitation. Spontaneities in life are not our business here. Lets make one more thing clear: art is not a life.



To strip bare spontaneities, and to show how they are the most familiar ideological things that constitute the state of experiences, is easy; most of the artistic production is just about this. This is the case even when there are aims at civilizing, organizing, or somehow scientifically constructing, the spontaneity. For example Alexander Trocchi, the enfant terrible of Situationist International, proposes a “spontaneous university” using modern capacities of science and schooling (and good deal of management) to trigger the “invisible insurrection of million minds”. Reading his manifesto published in Situationists magazine, we are struck with one spontaneity (in fact there are many), which is one of the most frequently heard myths regarding the ‘natural’ underdevelopment of Arabs and many other non-Westerners. Trocchi says this in passing, as an example for possibility of using technology in creating a

## Act V

paradise in the world, something which 'spontaneous university' will turn to its policy: "as the Jewish settlement in Israel turned a desert into a garden." How can one not hear in this sentence all the elements of historicism, of justification for repressing the lazy stupid Arab, of their a-historicity, of their nature being spontaneous as, never changing, like a desert, like in the films of Werner Herzog. Manifesto of spontaneity, which includes a racist spontaneity (what else is possible?!), should not deserve a minute of our attention; the revolutionary proposal of Trocchi is nothing but another example of future anterior, of art of possible.

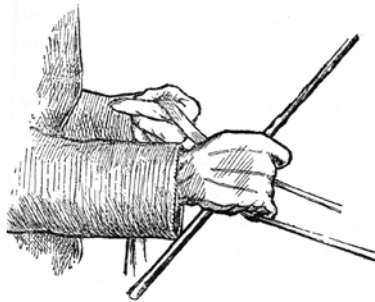


FIG. 5.—SHORTENING REINS BY SLIDING LEFT HAND

We had enough of these *acephalous politics*, using art as a grounds for a better accommodation of ideology.

It is important to say, before inviting other actors to the stage of this act on spontaneity, that spontaneities of state apparatuses are not produced in daily life, or in real life, but in the culture and the arts. Of daily life spontaneities, we have to repeat this, there is nothing to say; they exist, and are present in all possible forms and shapes. What we are interested in are spontaneities included in art and culture. Or better, in ways in which art and culture are included into ideological state apparatuses by using spontaneities. This fifth act is about uses of these spontaneities.

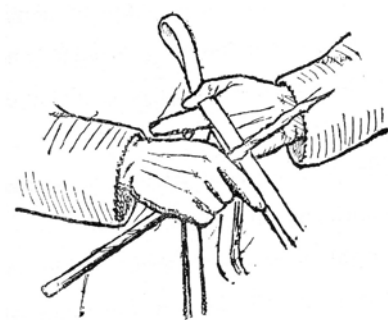
Politically, Lenin is famous for his critique of 'spontaneism', which, it should be noted, is not directed against the spontaneity, resourcefulness, inventiveness and genius of the masses of the people but against a political ideology which, screened by an exaltation of the spontaneity of the masses, exploits it in order to

## **Spontaneity**

divert it into an incorrect politics. But it is not generally realized that Lenin adopts exactly the same position in his conceptions of scientific practice. Lenin wrote: 'without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.' He could equally have written: without scientific theory there can be no production of scientific knowledges. His defence of the requirements of theory in scientific practice precisely coincides with his defence of the requirements of theory in political practice. His anti-spontaneism then takes the theoretical form of anti-empiricism, anti-positivism and anti-pragmatism.

(Louis Althusser, 'Lenin and Philosophy', p. 52)

## Act V



**But there is spontaneity and spontaneity.**

(V.I. Lenin, 'What is to be done', p. 121)

**But there is intertextuality and there is intertextuality.**

(John Roberts, 'Postmodernism', *Politics and Art*, p. 163)

**The denial of capitalism's foundational status also reveals a culturalism in the postcolonialist argument that has important ideological consequences.**

(Arif Dirlik, 'The Postcolonial Aura: The Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism', p. 346)

**The dominance of bourgeois *culture* is explained by the dominance in power relations. The maintenance of this dominance is often achieved through coercion or control, but often by consent. When this occurs the term ideology is used, as a distinct from culture and system of representation. Ideology in this account is when one class *experience* itself in terms prescribed by the dominant culture.**

(Rosalind Coward, 'Class, culture and social formation', *Screen*, 1977, p. 83)

MIKSI?

# Spontaanipakolainen on ammattitermi

Pakolaisista kertovien kirjoitusten yhteydessä on esiintynyt hämmästyttävä termi spontaanipakolainen. Kielitoimiston mielestä sille pitäisi etsiä suomenkielinen vastine. Spontaanin-sana tarkoittaa itsestään syntyvää, tahatonta, vaistomaista, omaloitteista ja omaehtoista.

**Mistä termi spontaanipakolainen on lähtöisin, sisäasiainministeriön ulkomaalaiskeskuksen ylitarkastaja Pentti Visanen?**

"Sana on ammattitermi. Teemme paljon pohjoismaista yhteistyötä ulkomaalaisasioissa, ja kaikissa pohjoismaalaisissa kokouksissa käytetään ruotsinkielistä termiä spontan flyktning. Suomenkielinen termi on johdettu tästä."

**Onko termi yleisessä käytössä?**

"Kyllä."

**Mitä sana spontaanipakolainen tarkoittaa?**

"Sillä tarkoitetaan henkilöä, joka saapuu ilman ennakkoilmoitusta maan rajalle ja pyytää turvapaikkaa. Spontaanin-sana viittaa siihen, että turvapaikan pyytäjien tulo on vastaanottajille ennalta arvaamaton. Kiintiöpakolaisten ottaminen on taas valtioiden ennalta suunnittelemaa."

**Olisiko joku muu termi kuin spontaanipakolainen sopivampi puhuttaessa yllättäen rajalle tulevista turvapaikkaa hakevista henkilöistä?**

"Tietysti turvapaikan pyytäjä voisi olla oikea termi. Häntä voidaan kutsua kuitenkin spontaanipakolaiseksi vasta sen jälkeen, kun hän on saanut turvapaikan. Turvapaikan pyytäjä ei siis ole vielä pakolainen, koska hän vasta pyytää pakolaiseksi luokittelemista."

**En kyllä turvapaikan hakijoista koskaan käyttäisi sanaa pakolainen."**

**Voiko viikonloppuna Suomeen tullutta 80 hengen somalipakolaisryhmää kutsua spontaanipakolaisiksi?**

"Puhuisin kyllä turvapaikan pyytäjistä, koska turvapaikan saamista ei ole vielä ratkaistu."

**Olisiko sitten parempi, että spontaanipakolainen-terminiä ei käytettäisi ollenkaan?**

"Ehkä suuren yleisön kannalta on parempi, että sitä ei käytetä. Uskoakseni siitä ei ole haittaa, jos käytämme sitä pohjoismaisessa yhteistyössä tai yleisessä kielenkäytössä muiden viranomaisien kanssa."

PAIVI HUOTARI



### **Spontaneous refugee is professional term**

In context of writings regarding refugees there has been a confusing term 'spontaneous refugee'. The Institute for the Languages of Finland thinks that an equivalent in Finnish language should be found for the term. Spontaneous means coming about by itself, unwilling, instinctive, self-initiated and self imposed.

Where is the term spontaneous refugee from; the Ministry of Interior's Immigration centre's superintendent Pentti Visanen?

"The word is a professional term. We are collaborating with other Nordic countries in the immigration issues a lot and in all the Nordic meetings the Swedish language term spontan flyktning is used. The Finnish term has been developed from there."

Is the term in general use?  
"Yes."

What does the word spontaneous refugee mean?

"It means a person that appears at the border without prior notification and asks for asylum. Spontaneous-word refers to the arrival of the refugees being unknown to the recipient. Whereas,

accepting quota refugees is pre-planned by the states."

Would another term than spontaneous refugee be more appropriate when talking about people who come to the border without prior notification, seeking for asylum?

"Of course asylum seeker could be a correct term. However, s/he can be called spontaneous refugee only after s/he has received an asylum. Asylum seeker is not yet a refugee, because s/he is only asking to be classified as a refugee.

I would never use the word refugee for an asylum seeker."

Can we call the 80 member Somali-refugee group that arrived in Finland over the weekend as spontaneous refugees?

"I would speak of asylum seekers, as their asylum has not been yet resolved."

Would it then be better not to use the term spontaneous refugee at all?

"Maybe for the large audiences it would be better for it not to be used. But as far as I believe, it doesn't do any harm if we use it in the Nordic co-operation or in other general language among other officials."

Päivi Huotari,  
Helsingin Sanomat 26.7.1990

## Act V





**Interview with  
Hassan Hosseini-Kaladjahi**

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**You have said that the Fittja-neighbourhood is a workshop.  
What do you mean by this?**

In Fittja and other suburban areas with high immigrant population, especially considering the investment from the government and the municipality to these areas, the staff and the politicians are working for better integration of immigrants into the Swedish society, including entering the labour market. These people, when they enter the labour market, as a result of the integration processes carried out in Fittja and other such areas, once they get a job then they have the possibility to loan money from the bank and to buy a house in other areas with lower number of immigrants. Thus they move away from Fittja. This is a very important segregation process. Areas like Fittja are being stigmatized, despite the fact that there are not so many problems in these areas. But the mass media is creating the image of the problem neighbourhoods. So immediately when one gets a job and can buy a house, they buy one in other areas. What does it mean? It means that the result of the work done by the politicians and social workers done in these areas moves out and again

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a new group of poor people come from other countries or from other areas. Politicians and social workers are always working in these areas indeed to serve the other areas of the city. I have used the term workshop in this sense; they are working as workshop to give better integration to refugees or other immigrants living here. And when the immigrants' situation becomes better and they find a job they move out. But also some of them stay, for example the Turks. They are mainly from the rural areas of the country and they are connected to each other and wish to live in the same area. So instead of buying a house or villa in other area they buy it here in order to live in good conditions but at the same time close to their relatives. This group of people stay here longer and we have some such people in Sweden who have lived here for 20 years. But this is the bottom of Fittja. At the surface the moving is all the time going on. Especially at the time when we were working together with the municipality on integration, all the time people came in. The turnover of people was considerably higher than in other areas, and the poor becoming richer were substituted by the poor: those coming in from other countries and those going out, working like a kind of a workshop.

**When people move away from here, you say the government work is lost. But is the government's work based on keeping people here?**

Sweden is divided into municipalities and they are almost independent in some areas. They are working with their own budget and money. So the government cannot oblige the municipalities to accept immigrants, they can just recommend them to. We have many very rich municipalities that do not accept immigrants, because the image will suffer, for example, some parts of Nacka. It is not at all equal, not all the municipalities are carrying their responsibility. People come to the poor areas like Botkyrka as the other areas do not accept their responsibility. It means that there is no justice among the municipalities. The government tries with co-operation between municipalities, with 'läns' and private sector.

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### **So the task of the government is to keep some kind of cohesion between the municipalities?**

The government tries, but they can only do recommendations. This has been discussed even in the mass media and they have been asking the rich areas also to accept a number of immigrants coming from other countries. The answer is no, or only they take very few.

There are some mechanisms that have also helped, without the intention of the authorities that immigrants have come to the poor municipalities. Now it is mainly to Södertälje. One of the mechanisms was, that was a rule or a law, that those coming from other countries could have an agreement with people in Sweden to get their residence place in their houses. After that they would be placed into that same municipality. So people from Turkey, Iran or other countries, who had their relatives and acquaintances in such areas, automatically were placed in these areas due to the relations that exist. This is one of the mechanisms. Another one is the empty houses: the empty flats and houses were in the areas like Fittja where immigrants were the main part of the population. You could not get a flat in Nacka or other rich areas, but there were many vacant flats available here. So when an immigrant came and wanted a place to live, the government and the municipality placed these people in such areas, not in the rich areas. These are mechanisms that were not planned by the government and the municipality but they happened in practice...

**...spontaneously! But it is very interesting that these things can happen spontaneously when the government's intention is to plan. And if the government's plan is integration, isn't it so that when immigrants are moving from Fittja to another place, the integration process is working?**

Yes it is working. But it is not working for the benefit of these areas, but of other areas. The result is not in Fittja and in Botkyrka Municipality. People, who come from other areas, might have



JAG KIN



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Trettio fåglar letade efter "trettiofåglar" som sades vara bosatta på Gafberget.  
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På vägen tillbaka såg de sin spegelbild i en vattensamling.  
Och - där var trettiofåglar.

Attar: Mantiq-ut-tayir

Trettiofåglar (Simorgh)  
سیرع



Sepidar H. 98



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children aged 10 or 12 years that are placed in the Fittja school. Well, of course they cannot be on the same level as other students and cannot get the same results. What does this mean? It means that the result presented by this school is always lower as there is a good number of children coming from other countries, who are at the age of 10 or 12. The school is working and trying to integrate these children, but immediately the best students move out to other schools, to other areas, as there is even a stigma on these children. When they ask them, which school did you study in, and when you say in Fittja, it is immediately a negative impression. It works: people get jobs, gradually learn the language, but due to the mechanism they do not stay in this area. That is why I say that all these areas working for the integration process are a workshop.

**But isn't the contemporary society for everyone nowadays like this, isn't it so also for others than immigrants?**

All the class society is like this. But in case of integration that we are speaking of it is particular for these municipalities. But also we have mechanisms that are sorting different classes to different places. In every country there is this kind of sorting. But since we are talking about integration of immigrants, I am talking of this workshop-process of integration, which is one kind of sorting process.

**So the result that is expected is not only integration. What are the other results expected from this process in Fittja?**

It is a long question, how you can divide class from ethnicity. Those coming from other countries, if they have a good education and money, gradually get a good job and move on, they buy their houses in the best places of the city. For example the Iranians that are coming here are privileged, they are higher educated than Swedes for example. Of course it takes time, but gradually they re-educate in Universities, or they have money to invest in buying a house, and now the Iranians are not in the same areas as they were in the beginning. The process becomes a class issue.

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### **Can you explain the history of Fittja since the 70s from a class perspective?**

Fittja was one of the suburbs, like others in the 70s, part of the Million Programme in 1972–73. Sweden was not involved in the WW2, and when the war ended, Sweden was one of the few European countries, where industry and factories were not destroyed. The Swedish factories were working in their highest speed in those times to provide with what was needed in other countries. It was flourishing time for Sweden, and during this period people migrated from other parts of Sweden, from the rural parts to Stockholm. And Sweden needed the labour force. People from Turkey were employed in their own country and were moved directly to factories. One of the biggest factories was in Tumba, not far from here. So this is the time that the labour force immigrants came from other countries. And that is why they needed houses, flats. This is when the Million Programme got started. In a short period they built 1.000.000 houses. In the beginning it was Swedish workers and middle class living in Fittja and other apartments of the Million Programme. But gradually, when the immigrants came...

### **...how did it happen that they came?**

It was the government in the beginning that employed people from other countries, they needed them as guest workers, from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy and some other countries. The first group of migration were labour migration. The flow of refugees to Sweden started in the 80s. In the end of 70s the first ones that came were the Chilean refugees connected with Allende. And then came their relatives and children and so on. And then in the 80s started to come from other countries. For example in 1984 came the Iranians due to the revolution. Now there are 80.000 Iranians in Sweden, of first and second generation. And then came the people from Balkan, from Yugoslavia. And then from Afghanistan, and from Irak. And from these continues the chain migration.

The Swedes didn't want to live in the same places as the immigrants. In Fittja in the beginning there were a good number of

Swedes. Immigrants were the minority. But gradually—this is the segregation process that I am talking about—they buy houses and they move out, and new poor people come in. In the whole of Fittja, 80% are immigrants or children of immigrants. So only 20% are Swedes. In the terrace houses there are more Swedes than in other areas. Here in the high houses it is 90% to 10%. And these 10% are usually poor and elderly, who do not have the possibility to move out. This is partly because of class difference, but also due to ethnicity. Sweden is one of the three countries that accepted the multicultural policy, alongside with Australia and Canada. In terms of rules, laws, policies, programmes, and so on, Sweden is one of the best in the world. But in terms of the people and their experience, and reality, Sweden is one of the worst. In colonial countries, people have at least seen people from other countries. But in Sweden they are only now seeing people from Iran and Turkey and wondering where these countries are. It was very difficult in the beginning, now after several decades it is getting a little bit better. But still, Swedes don't want to live in the areas where the majority are immigrants. We researchers talk about 'tipping point'. It is a term coming from the United States. There are several studies that in every city in USA people accept the black only to a point; 10% is ok, when it goes to 15% they become a little bit sceptical, when it goes up to 40% they say 'No!' This is called the tipping point. It depends on the context that you are talking about. But no one likes to live in the areas where the tipping point is high. And that is because the prices go down. For my research and also because I personally wanted to buy a house, I was looking at the property prices. At the time I was living in the district of Nacka, which is also immigrant-populated area, but a very rich municipality. I remember a terrace house in that area cost 1.800.000. In Fittja the same kind of house was much better, larger, well planned and close to the sea, and it was only 900.000. The prices are also a mechanism of segregation. People think: even if I like immigrants but I see that the prices are falling and price of my house as well...

**So those, who own houses, do not like the situation. Is it many who own a house?**

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Nowadays it has increased. It is a privilege to own a house in Sweden. The system in terms of buying housing is quite special. We have hyresrätter that is rental flats. They are owned by municipalities or by private companies. In Fittja, Vårdshusvägen and Krögarvägen are owned by the municipality. But the third one, Forvägen is owned by a private company. So this is one type, you rent either from the municipality or from the private owners. The second kind is special, you don't have this in England for example, it is called Bostadsrätter. It means that you buy the right for a flat but at the same time you pay every month a little bit. That means that the investment is shared by you and the company. It is not like this in other countries. And the third one is that you own your flat. The high houses here in Fittja are both hyresrätter and bostadsrätter. The terrace houses also have options, either you rent, you buy or it is bostadsrätter. And the villas you buy completely, those are not for rent. There is a process especially in the last decades that these houses that you can hire, become less popular. It is not the case in the city as there the rental houses are also good quality. But in the areas like Fittja everyone tries to buy their own flat. This is another kind of segregation that happens. The poor people live in the flats that are rented, as they don't have the possibility to buy. To buy a flat you need to borrow money from the bank, and to be able to do that you need to have a part of that money yourself. It used to be 10% but nowadays it is 15–20%. It means that those who are richer can buy bostadsrätt-flats, but the poor people cannot. And when the right wing is in power in the government, they try to sell these rental flats and transfer them to bostadsrätter.

### **What is the relation of the multicultural center to Fittja?**

It is a good question, and a very difficult one. In the beginning and in different periods the Multicultural Center (MKC) has tried to connect people from Fittja. For example we have evening programmes aiming to attract the local people in Fittja. But MKC, like other such centers, is mainly for the intellectuals. So the people who are uneducated or lower educated do not have any connection. That means that, despite all the attempts that the MKC

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has done, it has connections all over the world, but not so much with the people here. But anyhow MKC has done many researches and surveys with the people here and we give input to the work that the municipality does.

### **So you are not so much starting projects but evaluating?**

We get money from the municipality, but it is not enough. We also get money from the government, and for the projects, just like universities do. So MKC is part of the municipality but also receives funding from the government. MKC has always had very close connection with the politicians and policy makers in the municipality. And we give knowledge input to them in work with multiculturalism and immigrant issues. But we also have other, EU-projects. The money that the center gets from the municipality is usually used for the problems that the municipality itself has, and it is for example to conferences, seminars, reports, discussions, cooperation with the municipality and so on.

### **So you do not start projects, let's say about integration in the municipality?**

We are a research center, we do not do any projects dealing with integration. We are a center of knowledge; of research and distribution of knowledge—we work with knowledge.

The research in the district of Fittja is probably richer than in any other district in Sweden.

### **Are there cases where you make your research, and it is contradicting with the plan of the municipality?**

When I first presented this report, which is about the investment of money in the whole municipality, not just Fittja, there started a quarrel with the politicians as I had criticized their way of working. But gradually the politicians and the policy makers have learned and we have learned as well; they have learned to listen to our critics, and on the other hand, we researchers have under-

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stood that we should co-operate and help, not only criticize. This is one of the reasons why this is the only municipality, where there is such a co-operation. We are advising them in all the conferences and seminars and they are giving back. We don't do ourselves the integration process, the municipality does it.

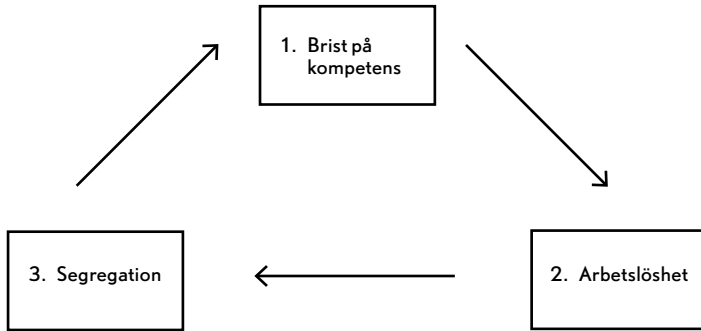
### **What was your main critique?**

It was quoted in many books and became famous, written in 1998, and at that time this was the picture of the politicians and policy makers about integration. What does it say? It says that immigrants do not learn Swedish language enough. And it leads to their unemployment. And unemployment leads to segregation. Because they cannot get work they come to the poorest areas. And because they come to the poorest areas they cannot learn Swedish language, as there are not so many Swedes. This was the model that was used everywhere in Sweden. And what we did is we came to discuss that in this model there is no discussion about the Swedish society, but the blame is only on the immigrants: the immigrants do not learn Swedish, the immigrants create segregation as a result of the lack of Swedish language. It is circular, only focusing on the immigrant groups. As if the Swedish society wouldn't have any responsibility. It is discussed in this report that the Swedish society has a very important role, we have discrimination, negative attitudes, lack of possibilities for learning language. It is not just that the immigrants are lazy and we can blame it all on their culture.

### **How do you deconstruct the concept of culture and show that it is the problem for the municipality and the government?**

They do not say it so clearly. It is a very vague concept, they culturalise. This was the model that was used in their work all over Sweden. I tried to tell them that we have a larger society as well, and valid questions are how immigrants are accepted, which possibilities they have.

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They are working and investing money only in the poor areas. My main issue in this book is that poverty is shown in poor areas but it is not created in poor areas. Segregation shows itself in poor areas but it is not created in poor areas. There are other mechanisms, which belong to the whole society, not only to Fittja and Botkyrka Municipality. Poverty, unemployment and things like this are produced in the Swedish society, not in Fittja, but the negative results come to these areas. You cannot solve Fittja's problem only by investing in Fittja. It is positive to invest in Fittja, but you must work with the large mechanisms that are working in the whole society, whose negative result comes to Fittja. Fittja's problem is not only Fittja's problem, but it is Sweden's problem.

I am using the word culture only in a few places in my writings, because the word culture is not so clear-cut. When you use culture as a concept of explanation or clarification, you don't know what you are saying. What does culture mean? Nothing for me, and at the same time it means so many things. I don't use the word culture.

**Deleted Swedish Stories**

**A research project by Petra Bauer, presented at the  
Estonian Academy of Arts on 28th of January 2009 as  
part of exhibition 'Happy Together' in the Tallinn Art Hall**

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There is a Swedish author called Per-Olov Enqvist. In 1967 he wrote *Legionärerna*, a book about the Swedish deportation of 167 Baltic citizens in 1946 to the Soviet Union. As you might know this was widely discussed in Sweden for a very long time. In the book Per-Olov Enqvist writes that every investigation and examination has a point of departure. In the first chapter of the book he writes about his point of departure, which was a trip to the US in 1967 where he participated in the marches against racial discrimination and segregation. He describes his experiences but without making an obvious connection to his research on the deportation of the Baltic citizens, he simply describes his point of departure and leaves it up to the reader to interpret the relations between his research and his experiences in the US.

I am currently researching another widely discussed deportation, that of two Egyptians from Sweden in December 2001. On 18<sup>th</sup> December of that year the government rejected the Egyptian citizens Agiza and Al Zery's applications for residency and work permits and decided that both men should be deported. Furthermore it was decided that the deportations should be enforced by the Swedish Security Service with immediate effect and that the



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men should be taken to Egypt. Prior to the decision it was arranged that the transport to Egypt would be carried out with the assistance from the American government using an American government aircraft. Upon return to Egypt the men were tortured in prison. This deportation was the first of several extraordinary renditions that have taken place in Europe since 9/11.

Apart from this lecture being a discussion on ideology, hegemony and power strategies, it was also the point of departure for my investigation on the two deported Egyptians.

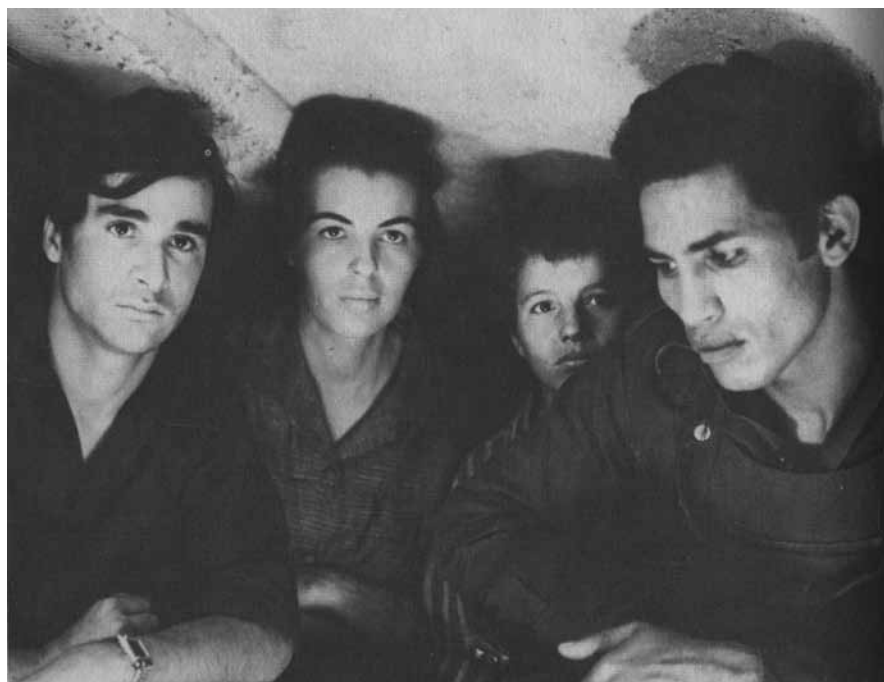
### **'The Battle of Algiers'**

The film 'The Battle of Algiers' was released in 1965. In 1967 the film was imported to Sweden by AB Svensk Filmindustri, or SF. In the Swedish film print there is a scene missing compared to the original film; it has been cut. I'd like to talk about this scene and why it was cut.

'The Battle of Algiers' is a film about the Algerian struggle for independence from the French Colonial powers. The story is set in the 50s and is told from the perspective of FLN. The film depicts strategies and tactics used by the FLN in their resistance, but mainly focuses on the violent actions that the FLN employed. There are several characters in the film, who are important for the story, however I would say there are two characters who have a more prominent position within the film. First there is Jaffar. He has a high-ranking position within the FLN in Casbah, and is also presented as the strategist of the FLN. And then there is Ali who at the beginning of the film is presented as an illiterate petty criminal that later becomes politically conscious in prison. In the film Ali's character is more of a doer than a thinker. He is one of the characters who clearly are for the use of violence against the French colonial powers.

When we enter the film violence has started to escalate on both sides. There have just been several bomb attacks against French civilians conducted by the FLN. For the FLN these bomb attacks

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are seen as retaliation against the French who before the bomb attacks in their turn had killed a large number of civilian Algerians. In order to get control over the situation the French Colonel Mathieu has been sent to Alger to fight and eliminate the FLN.

In the cut scene, Ali, the main character in the film, meets the ideologist for the National Liberation Front, the FLN. It's a scene that gives us a more ideological explanation for the use of violence in the struggle against France, but also about the reasoning behind the Algerian national strike announced by the FLN. It is also one of the few scenes where we see Ali reflecting upon his actions from an ideological perspective.

Why was this, of all scenes, cut?

My first thought was that the film had been censored. So I called *Statens biografbyrå*, the SBB, which is the Sweden's state-controlled film censorship body. It has been in existence since 1905, and it is one of the first censorship authorities in the world. They have accurate records of every scene that has been cut from films shown in Sweden and even information on how the censor reasoned and justified his/her decision. It turned out that 'The Battle of Algiers' was never censored, which meant that the scene must have been cut either by the production company or by the company that imported the film. The imported film ran at 123 minutes, but the version first shown in a Swedish cinema was only 117 minutes long, meaning in other words that exactly 6 minutes were missing. I called SF, the company that imported the film to Sweden.

P Hello, my name is Petra Bauer. I have noticed that the film 'The Battle of Algiers' is missing a scene where the lead character meets the ideologist for the FLN and they discuss the reasons for the national strike and the use of violence within the FLN. This is one of the few scenes where the viewer gets a deeper ideological explanation of the FLN's strategies, but also one of the few scenes where Ali reflects over his own actions. I would like to know why this specific scene was cut from the Swedish copy.

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SF Listen dearie, that's over 40 years ago! I didn't even work here then and neither did anybody else here now.

P No, I'm aware that this was a while back. But if I understand it correctly, you have worked there since the 1970s, and I thought that you might know whom I should talk to, or if it might be possible to find the minutes detailing the decision to cut the scene?

SF No, I can't imagine there being any minutes. I can see here in the computer that we bought the film in 1967. But you see we only save our minutes for 10 years before throwing them away. Besides, most of the people that worked here are either dead or retired.

P I'd really appreciate it if you could give me the name of a retiree that might be able to help me carry on my research.

SF You could try ringing Jörgen.

—

P Hello is this Jörgen?

J Yes.

P I'm trying to find out the reason that a scene from 'The Battle of Algiers' was cut from the Swedish print. I thought you might be able to help as you worked with imports at the time.

J I remember the film but I can't remember us cutting anything. The production company must have done it. We were way too proud of the film to have made any changes to it. It was a really important film at the time.

P Yes, but I know that it was cut down here in Sweden. When it was bought in to Sweden it had a 123-minute running time,

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and now it's only 117. Besides, I know that it had been cut before it got to the SBB, the censor.

J Really? No, I can't remember. Anyway I can't imagine that we would have cut it to fit the cinema schedules.

P What do you mean?

J Well, at that time we showed films at 7pm and 9pm. If a film was longer than two hours we could only manage one showing per day, which would naturally affect our takings.

P Do you mean that films were cut to allow two showings?

J Yes, exactly. But as I was saying, I can't imagine us doing that with 'The Battle of Algiers'. But try calling Lennart, he's 90 years old now, but he was Head of Import in those days, so he should know more about the film.

P Yes ok, thank you very much.

—

P Hi Lennart. My name is Petra Bauer. I'm trying to find out the reason that a scene in 'The Battle of Algiers' was cut when it was imported to Sweden.

L I have no memory whatsoever that we cut any scenes. But how long did you say the original was?

P It was 123 minutes long, and now it's only 117. It's rather a special scene that's missing, where Ali meets the FLN's ideologist.

L Yes, we surely cut it down to fit the cinema times. We did that quite often.

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- P Do you think it might be possible to find any minutes that were taken, or do you think that it might be worthwhile ringing the production company to see if they have any kind of contract with you confirming that the film was cut?
- L No. We never kept records of things like that. We cut films however we wanted to. It was that simple.
- P My problem is that I'm trying to find out why this specific scene was cut out of the film. It could have been shortened in many other places. I want to know why the one scene that gives a more ideological reflection of the FLN's strategies in the war against France was removed. Even if the film was cut for commercial reasons it doesn't explain why the scene in question was removed. When information is removed, a choice has been made, and I'm interested in that choice. This is a scene that the Swedish cinema-going audience never got to see, that is not until it was released on DVD a few years ago. The Swedish audience never got to know why the FLN announced a strike, in other words the ideological strategy behind the national strike. So I would be very grateful if you could put me in touch with anyone who might have a good recollection of the film. All information that is removed affects our knowledge and our experience of an event, or in this case, the film. We build up a memory and a perception that is based just as much on information that has consciously been removed. Even if it took place over 40 years ago, it's still a relevant question, because the action, that is the fact that the scene was cut, has influenced the audience's relation to the film.
- L I think you should speak to Mats. He's Head of Development now, but back then he worked as a projectionist. He was the one that actually ran the film when it was shown. Perhaps he can help you. Give him my regards.

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M Yes, I remember the film very well. I remember that Lennart and Jörgen thought the film was a little long and slow. Not terribly much happening. So they tried to cut whatever they could to up the tempo. And the scene they cut was a scene of just dialogue, and besides it was comparatively theoretical dialogue. It didn't add anything to the plot. The audience didn't even notice that it had been removed, but rather the film itself was made tighter.

P Ok, thank you very much!

There are three things that I want to focus upon during this presentation; plots, politics and history in relation to moving images and media representations.

Within classic Hollywood film it's all about efficient storytelling, each scene should have a clear purpose. Scenes should be built causally, that is each scene should lead clearly to its following scene. No action should be unnecessary but must be clearly motivated by its preceding action. Characterisation is clear and characters are driven by a desire to solve a problem.

This type of storytelling is naturally part of an ideological structure and paradigm, and affects how we construct and view stories. If we accept that film contributes to how we experience society and to construct memories of events, then a discussion of the narrative structure is central. The narrative structure limits the possible information, concerning both contents and how the possible information can be structured.

The decision could certainly be understood as a commercial one, but as I said before it does not explain why this particular scene was cut, it could have been cut in so many other ways. Instead it is my assertion that the Swedish distribution company, in this case, treated the film as though it followed the classical storytelling model, whether it actually did or not. With classical storytelling as a reference point, the scene between Ali and the ideologist was deemed superfluous; it contributed nothing to the plot. Thus it could be removed. The information contained within

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the scene doesn't fit the narrative structure, which is based on a clear causal structure.

Within the classic Hollywood model (which in many respects is the predominant model in film industries throughout the world) there is no room in the plot to pause and reflect upon plot and structure. Within this narrative model, plot is seen as something concrete, one thing that leads directly to another. A scene that is a theoretical reflection upon the purpose and conditions of a revolution is unnecessary, as it doesn't lead directly to a new sequence of events. One is also uninterested in the political content of a scene and its role within the narrative.

Within this paradigm, the story must develop in a straightforward manner and finish before the conclusion of the film.

X     Excuse me, may I interrupt you?

P     Sure

X     Why do you want to talk about ideology and hegemony in 2009? Don't you think that that is a discussion, which we have to move beyond? During the 70s ideological critique was posed against Hollywood, and at that time it felt really radical and important, but now? Aren't you repeating what has become common knowledge? I do not think that it is that interesting anymore to talk about how the text effects our perception of society. I understand your interest in the film "The Battle of Algiers" and the cut scene, but at the same time I get a bit weary of your way of talking about it. Your example would have been really interesting to discuss during the 70s, but today, come on! There are more interesting things to discuss. What are you really interested in? Are you really upset about a scene that has been cut? How much does it really affect our reading of the film? And concerning Hollywood, aren't they actually really good at producing stories about current affairs, stories that also leave room for our critical reflections? What do you really want to talk about?



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First of all, I still think that a discussion on ideology is valid, and maybe even more today as so many artistic strategies and methods have been depoliticised in the name of plurality and relativism. I have the desire to once again position myself, but without repeating events from the 70s and the 80s. I am more interested in revisiting that period to learn from successes and failures, and in continuing a discussion on ideology and power, but a discussion that springs from the society that we are living in now. And as an artist I am interested in image production, by which I mean the interrelations between images in everyday life and their surroundings, the social structures within them and their relations to the human beings that use them. What role do these images have? How do they function? What do people know about them and what do they not know? What do they not want to know?

In every society there are collective images and stories that play a crucial role in our sense of belonging. But as often as they create a sense of being part of a community they are also used to exclude undesired groups from the national story, or they have been used as an instrument to legitimise political decisions and actions. My intention with this lecture is to reflect on a few cases where events, stories and actions have been excluded or where there has clearly been a struggle for the preferential right of interpretation.

### **Olympic Games, Mexico City 1968**

P Hi Bo. My name is Petra Bauer. I was recommended to contact you about a research project that I'm working on in which I'm examining how society has been built upon information which has deliberately been marginalised, hidden, forgotten or repressed. I'm trying to do this by, amongst other things, taking a closer look at situations where there has clearly been a struggle for the preferential right of interpretation. In addition to examining the type of information that has been marginalized in Sweden, I'm also interested in the strategies that have been used to try to legitimise and

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support existing power relations. I'll be presenting part of my findings in a lecture in Tallinn on the 28th of January. I was wondering if you've come across any examples during your research where there has been a clear struggle for the preferential right of interpretation and which you think may be worth taking up in Tallinn?

B That sounds like an interesting project. Of course, I've primarily been researching media strategies, amongst other things looking at the discussion on the relations between politics and TV-mediated sport. There's actually an interesting example from the Olympic Games in Mexico in 1968 that might well be something for you. It's perhaps even more interesting now, with the last Olympics in Peking fresh in mind.

P That does sound interesting, would you like to tell me about it?

B The breakthrough of television brought a global viewing audience to the 1968 Olympic Games. That year they were due to take place in Mexico City. At this point in time, Mexico was a country with great differences of income amongst the general population, run by a repressive regime. Hosting the Olympic Games means having the eyes of the entire world upon you. The regime saw this as an opportunity to show themselves in a positive light. But the world spotlight on Mexico also meant that democratic forces had the chance to make themselves heard.

In July 1968 around a hundred or so students marched through Mexico City to commemorate the Cuban Revolution. The march was violently quelled by the Mexican police. The following day thousands of students protested against this treatment. A large number of them barricaded themselves inside one of the university's buildings. The police gained entry to the building with the aid of bazookas and several students were shot dead. This was the start of a restless summer, with many student-police clashes.

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On the evening of October 2nd, just 10 days before the games were due to begin, troops opened fire on several thousand people gathered on the Plaza de las Culturas to listen to the students. Over 60 people – men and women were shot dead.

P But wasn't it more than sixty, I've heard that the figure may have been as high as several hundred but that the regime tried to hide it?

B Yes, it's possible. But in my book I've used the official figures because it's not the specific amount of people that were killed that I'm interested in questioning, but rather how the event was treated by Swedish Television.

P But do you think it's possible to just ignore it?

B I don't really know, but for the purpose of this lecture we have to. Anyway, the preceding months had seen many discussions taking place on the wisdom of locating the games in Mexico. The bloodbath gave added fuel to the debate. The International Olympics Committee chose to move ahead with the games, however. The day following the bloodbath the committee chairman Brundage made an appearance, insisting that as the Mexican authorities had guaranteed the incident-free passage of the Olympic flame into the Olympic stadium, there was no reason to move or postpone the games. Brundage continued: "If the Olympic Games were to be stopped every time politicians violate the bill of human rights, we shall never be able to hold international competitions."

In any event, Swedish Television deemed the situation in Mexico so strained that it would be a good idea to have the games commentated not only by a sport-commentator but that he should be complemented by a political commentator. Together they would be able to give a more complex picture of the events. This led to the inauguration ceremony being

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commentated by two commentators: a sport-commentator and a political ditto. I think that when you are in Tallinn you should read aloud an excerpt from their dialogue, because there we can very clearly experience the struggle for the preferential right of interpretation. The ceremony lasted for over two hours, but I've chosen a passage for you that I think is very interesting:

Plex Petersson:

...the Greeks in dark blue jackets and grey trousers, followed by the Afghani squad. The Greeks have 92 registered participants.

Per Grevé:

Yes, we shouldn't glorify this event because this is the most controversial Olympics there has ever been. Because even if this looks idyllic the fact is that just one week ago an emergency meeting was being held to discuss if there should be an Olympics or not, where the International Olympic Committee made the decision to carry on as normal. But obviously all the orderliness and pleasantness we're seeing now, it's in the shadow of a tragedy. The fact is that this is the most controversial Olympics yet. One could almost describe it as a four-dimensional controversial Olympics.

Plex Petersson (interrupting):

You just watched Central Africa pass by as third nation. They have 6 registered participants. (pause) The West German squad just being announced. Here it comes and it is the largest yet. The ladies (pause) in what colour shall we call that?

Per Grevé:

Oh, I wouldn't dare to say. Light red maybe. (laughs)

Plex Petersson:

Yes, something like that. Very tasteful. The men dressed in light grey. The West German squad is 302 members strong...

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A squad hoping for a medal or two. They've certainly won a great many in the past.

Per Grevé:

If I can just say something here then feel free to interrupt me when you have something to say. But whilst presenting this one really has to talk about the flipside of the medals and as I was saying the Olympics were preceded by an emergency meeting a week before their start with the intention of discussing whether to hold them or not. I'm talking about a four-dimensional controversy. It all began of course with whether Mexico could even provide adequate conditions.

Plex Petersson (interrupting):

The East Germans march in with Karin Balzer, who won the 80 metre hurdles in Tokyo, bearing the flag. And the East Germans too look very good. Dressed completely in yellow. The ladies wearing pretty, modern hats. And the men in a combination of dark jackets and light grey trousers. Also a strong squad, 286 members.

Per Grevé:

First the question was whether Mexico could provide the adequate conditions for the athletes. There was the country's geographical position, the difference in altitude and so on. So there were rows about that. Then the somewhat dictatorial president Avery Brundage introduced the amateur rule and succeeded in making 7 500 athletes practically into liars when they had to give assurances that they had never taken payment for practicing their sports. And elite athletes nowadays can hardly say that. That was the second controversy. And then we had the row about South Africa and her exclusion over apartheid. The United States too grappled with the same problem, the question of whether her coloured athletes should boycott the squad. Czechoslovakia was a tricky problem for the Olympic Committee. And finally, internal relations threatened to capsize everything. So, a

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controversial Olympics, more than any that's gone before I think one can say.

Plex Petersson:

The Algerian squad on its way in there. And Argentina following. With the ladies in delightful light blue and white hats and white shoes. Very pleasant looking. Argentina has registered 117 participants for the games. The men perhaps not as colourful. They have dark jackets and dark grey trousers.

Per Grevé:

The powers-that-be are painting this as the Peace Olympics whilst the students here have characterized it completely differently. On one demonstrator's placard a little while back I read "68 - the Brutal Olympics".

Plex Petersson (interrupting):

Australia onscreen. 137 in their squad. The girls in gorgeous yellow dresses, the men in green and white. The green jackets that Australians usually wear on occasions such as this. And white hats with green bands. They looked very dapper.

Per Grevé:

I saw in the newspaper this morning that the Olympic Committee is appealing to the entire world to observe peace and peaceful coexistence during the 15 days that the Olympics are underway. As I said, the whole town has been decorated with doves of peace. But there's no getting away from it, it's a little, one almost has to say it, a little grotesque seeing soldiers armed to the teeth with doves of peace on their arms, a remarkable paradox.

Plex Petersson (interrupting):

Gentlemen in shorts! From the Bermudas.

## **Spontaneity**

Looking back one could say that Plex Petersson won that battle, as Per Gréve never got to commentate an Olympic Games again, neither this one nor another. This was the only time that Swedish Television has had a general reporter act as commentator at a sporting event.

### **Olympic Games, Mexico City 1968, Tommie Smith and John Carlos**

- Hi Petra, it's Bo here again. I've been thinking for a few days now and have come up with a further example from the 1968 Olympics that might interest you.

As you know, on the 17th of October 1968, the black runner Tommie Smith won the 200 metres and his black compatriot came third. Up on the winners podium, both men stood still, dignified, each with his arm raised, fist clenched. They each wore a single black glove. It was a symbol for Black Power. The pictures were seen by 600 million people.

The day following the prize giving, Tommie Smith and John Carlos were disqualified from taking further part in the games and thrown out of the Olympic village.

The event received huge attention in the media. But not on Swedish TV. The early morning broadcasts summarising the previous night's events featured nothing of the prize giving nor of the protest, only pictures from the race were shown. The man responsible for the morning broadcast was interviewed in the newspaper Aftonbladet the following day. I think that the article may interest you – the attempt to justify certain actions, the non-discussion of the protest, is quite clear to see. The article even exposes the ideology behind the justification.

I think that you should read the articles in Aftonbladet from the 17th and the 18th of October 1968. They more or less speak for themselves.

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### Aftonbladet, 17th October 1968

TV didn't want to show pictures of the most dramatic Olympic prize ceremony of all time. TV's morning reporter Peo Nilsson, 42, refused to utter a single word about the race-drama following the 200 metres. American TV station ABC (who bought the Olympic Games for 23,5 million Swedish crowns) apparently completely avoided filming Tommie Smith and John Carlos' black-gloved, raised-fisted protest of the Star Spangled banner.

Captain Peo Nilsson, of Air Force Unit F13 in Norrköping, was in charge of TV's morning broadcast:

"I didn't even want to mention this demonstration. It didn't belong in a sports arena."

"I don't have any film of what happened either. Most likely American ABC, who are in charge of the live broadcast, avoided pointing their cameras at the winners' podium."

Peo Nilsson never uttered a word on TV. Despite having access to the same pictures shown in today's Aftonbladet.

"I was in charge of the morning broadcast and my personal viewpoint is this: We here at home know so very little about the race-problem. We think that we know more than we do. I myself have been a reserve at the Olympics, and an athlete in Texas, USA. I don't want to take a position on the race-question."

Peo Nilsson has five World Championship Military Pentathlon and Air Force Pentathlon gold medals. The five-time world champion continues:

"Being a former athlete I'm only interested in sporting achievement. I showed a repeat of the 200 metres finals twice this morning. I don't know if we can show anything from this prize giving in any of today's three remaining Olympic TV broadcasts either. That will depend upon whether we can find film that someone other than TV broadcaster ABC shot at the time." Peo Nilsson finishes.



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**Friday 18th October 1968**

Peo Nilsson: "I'll explain it once again. I have been an athlete in the USA. I think that the race-problem is detestable. And when I realised, whilst there, how little of the hostilities I understood I became completely neutral. The problem was too big for me, I can't make a stand."

Do you believe that one can't mix sport and politics?

"Somehow politics have entered the sporting sphere. Harmony and brotherhood have always been guiding influences there. It's a shame that it's turned out the way it has. [...] I once believed in brotherhood across all borders and think that it's sad to see how it's become. I wish it were different."

It sounds like a dream.

"Yes, but I prefer to believe in it. I am from Småland and am stubborn and have a lot of opinions but I don't form them without thinking first. I can't have opinions on something that I know nothing about or don't understand."

**This is where the article ends.**

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### Interview with Tobias Hübinette

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**You have been writing about the moment when the anti-racist and the racist tendencies are meeting in the form of whiteness, can you explain more about this?**

The idea behind this specific Swedish whiteness crisis is that, if we generalize and divide the Swedish population into two camps, one would be the racist and the other one the anti-racist, both are characterized by being white and Swedish although on the surface they appear to be enemies, which they surely are. There is something which is very striking and which makes both of these camps similar to each other in the way that they are both mourning a Swedishness and a Swedish nation, which is on the wake of disappearing. That is the good old Sweden, that is homogenous Sweden, and on the other hand anti-racist, progressive, feminist Sweden, and everything that comes with it. So the analysis, which is of course controversial, is that both the Swedish racist and the Swedish anti-racist camps long back to the same Sweden and the same Swedishness. And they do not find the current state of Sweden with non-whites Swedes to be a comfortable situation.

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**So if I understood right, the good Sweden is the anti-racist white Sweden and the old Sweden is racist and white Sweden? If the racists and the anti-racists are sharing the same whiteness, are there any criteria for distinguishing them from each other?**

Such analysis privileges whiteness as the main analytical concept and if you are not interested in using concepts such as race and whiteness, there are of course also other ways of looking at the situation. I can understand that such an analysis can sound a bit weird, strange or absurd, because the racist camp would normally be associated with the Far Right and the anti-racist camp with the Left. These two camps are dominated by white Swedes, but ideologically speaking they are very far from each other. So if you are not interested in race and whiteness, I can see that the antagonism is certainly there politically, ideologically, philosophically even. But I am interested in making use of a race and whiteness perspective as I think that it is necessary today in Sweden and also in the other Nordic countries to speak of race and whiteness, as whiteness is really, according to my view, the main core of being Swedish and of Sweden. That is in a sense quite unique if you compare to many other Western countries, where whiteness is surely one way of being US American, British or French, but there are possibilities for non-white Americans, Brits and French to belong to the nation.

**You say that whiteness as a concept is widening. Is it also the case in Sweden?**

If you look at the migrant population and of course also their children and descendants, most of them are white Europeans. There are a lot of Finns, but also from Norway, Denmark and other neighbouring countries as well as from Germany, the Netherlands and so on. The common way of distinguishing population segments in Sweden would be to divide between Swedes and immigrants, and immigrants also meant the white immigrants, but that has changed, especially within the last

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decade. Swedishness has expanded to white migrants and especially the descendants of white migrants, those who are born in Sweden, they are included in this Swedish whiteness. So migrant or immigrant in colloquial speech of today means a non-white person and also more and more in religious terms it means at least a non-Protestant person.

**So there are cultural artefacts included in Swedish whiteness and the concept is widening. Is it possible that one day also a Black Muslim is included in Swedishness?**

Talking about Swedish whiteness and the Nordic whiteness is to talk about the whiteness de luxe, the whiteness that is the most white of all whitenesses in the Western world. There are historical reasons for this, but it is not just about history. It is also still very strongly the imaginary world of the nation. Of course there are some groups that are liminal, like for example the Christian minorities from the Middle East, yet another example are Muslims from the Balkans, another Catholics from the Latin America, and groups like these do challenge this structure of the Swedish whiteness. But a Black Muslim would be very far from being included within Swedishness.

**So there are certain groups that are challenging this concept of whiteness. Is there not any possibility that whiteness or even colour itself would be arbitrary in definition of whiteness?**

Race takes out class, religion, culture, ethnicity, but there are minorities and individual cases that challenge this master-signifier of race. One example are people like myself who are adopted, who come from Third World countries, like in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and who are adopted by white Swedes. All adoptees challenge this racial structure, racial regime, and racial hierarchy of Swedishness. But on the collective level there are also examples that these have difficulties in finding employment, and in advancing socially. Another group that might be interesting to bring up

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here are the mixed race Swedes with a white parent and a non-white parent. And it is actually the mixed race Swedes who are on the forefront to challenge this regime.

### **How is whiteness visible, taking place? Is whiteness an ideology?**

Well, it is a huge academic problem when you introduce the concept of whiteness and there are of course other famous analyses of power structures in Western society, one would be patriarchy, another the bourgeois society if you are a Marxist and so on. But whiteness is a new concept in the Swedish setting. It depends on which theoretical standpoint you take when you bring up such a concept. I mean, on one hand there are parallels to class certainly. There are also interesting parallels to patriarchy and gender; when race and gender meet, and whiteness and patriarchy meet, something happens. And you can approach whiteness through bodily concepts, for example, as a beauty ideal if you look at concrete corporeal aspects of whiteness. But if you are more into psycho-analytical analyses of Swedishness and contemporary Sweden, the concept of a master signifier would be one way of describing and talking about whiteness as a fantasy or a phantasm even.

### **Let's imagine a subject, who is homosexual, established in cultural life, wealthy, and black. How is whiteness influencing this ideal subject? And how does this master signifier of whiteness influence and interpellate this subject?**

By looking at the US and the UK through media and popular culture we are all familiar with the fact that there are non-white Americans and Brits who have power and are famous, even celebrities. There are of course those also here in Sweden and in the Nordic countries, but they are very few compared to the US and the UK. You can even talk about a black Afro-American bourgeoisie, if you want to, which is also self-producing. This is not the case in Sweden, there are only certain individuals. It is

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a little bit forbidden to talk about this, but if you believe in my analysis of whiteness as a master signifier in Sweden and in the Nordic countries, one conclusion would be: it is absolutely necessary that a powerful, successful non-white Swede must be together with a white Swede, whether heterosexual or non-heterosexual. I am saying this, although it is very painful to talk about this, but the fact is that you will not find a successful, rich, powerful non-white person in Sweden who is together with another non-white person. It is almost like a cultural, social or political law saying that you have to be together and to reproduce with a white person, as a non-white person who strives for power and wealth, otherwise you will fail. And this is not the case in UK and the US where there is a non-white bourgeoisie. They can be black, they can be Arab, Indian, Chinese and so on, and they are self-producing, reproducing themselves mainly within their own group.

**So whiteness will come through a partner? What about legislative whiteness, are there any traces of it in the legislation, in the constitution?**

Not anymore, but it is interesting to know that still as late as the 1950s there were restrictions if a Lutheran wanted to marry a non-Lutheran. At that time, when Sweden was much more white than today, religion and race were related. Race has always been there, more or less. But there is no history of prohibitions against mixed couples in Sweden.

**If whiteness is not traceable in law, then what are the apparatuses, how does it develop? Is it spontaneously or through some structures?**

Historically it was through science, which was then politicized and the political sphere implemented these ideas and practiced race science on the population. So in Sweden in the 1920s, 30s, 40, 50s, half a century ago, there were not many minorities, thus racism was practiced mainly on the majority population, not on the minority. The minority were also affected, especially the

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Roma and the Sami, but these minorities were tiny compared to the majority population. One consequence was the infamous sterilization programme in Sweden where the vast majority of the people who were forcibly sterilized, because it was decided by the state apparatus that they were not fit for reproduction because of this race science idea, were white Swedes, not minority Swedes. In US it was mainly the minorities who were sterilized, the native Americans, black Americans and so on. And of course in Germany and other fascist states this sterilization was projected toward the minorities.

### **Until when was the sterilization programme practiced in Sweden?**

It was implemented in the 1920s and it was dissolved in the beginning of the 1970s. But there are other arenas of society where this extreme form of whiteness gets articulated and one of them would be, perhaps vulgar, but still very popular, the spheres of beauty contests, of fashion and of sexuality. You can call it an economy of desire, where the Swedish and Nordic white bodies, both female and male, are idealized as the perfect bodies. You can see that even in such a profoundly multicultural society as the US where the white bodies that are privileged, for example in beauty contests and in cinema, and in the world of commercials and ads are the white bodies that resemble the Nordic white bodies.

### **Is the master signifier of whiteness also reproduced in the scientific production, in knowledge production?**

Sure: Let's take the example of migration studies for example. The whole super-structure of conducting research on migrants in Sweden would be solely to focus on the migrants, and more or less only blaming the victim when you find something that is wrong. So there is such a huge blind spot in whiteness although that is changing. There are people in the academia who try to challenge the silence around race and whiteness, but up until recently it has been ignored.

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**You are talking about passive involvement, the researchers not writing and talking about an issue, but is there any kind of active involvement of the notion of whiteness in the scientific production?**

One good example, that is so naturalized that you don't even talk about it, is if you take medicine and natural sciences, again what makes Sweden different from the US and the UK, and France too, is that the ideal body that you use as norm and model is a white body. Again another, very ordinary field, but nevertheless interesting and valid, is the field of fashion and clothes. In the US, the UK or in France you would find sizes that fit non-white minorities as well, who are usually smaller than the majority population. But you do not find that in Sweden. And regarding commodities, also the visual representation of customers is a white body. So whatever field you come to, the Swedish whiteness is there.

**So it is everywhere but not in the legislation?**

Well, the constitution has never mentioned race, because at the time when the constitution was written, if we go back to the time when present Sweden was constituted, that is in the 19th Century, race science was of course big, and it was the truth at that time. It was part of the regime and the knowledge production at the Swedish universities. But race was never actually an issue to be written in the legislation like it was in the US where race was essential within the field of law, and it was necessary to demarcate the whites from the non-whites. Sweden was more homogenous, although some people that would today be considered white were racialised, but they were so small in numbers that there was no need to write it in the law explicitly.

**How do you explain the Swedish involvement in the decolonization movement elsewhere in the world, in the Third World countries' emancipatory movements? Is the Swedish involvement in the 60s and 70s a foundational myth of Sweden as being modern and anti-racist, and good**



### **Sweden? How did this interest in the Third World countries' emancipatory movements in the decolonization process historically develop?**

Up until WW2 and even up until the 50s, the whiteness that was the norm in the pan-western spectrum was suprematist whiteness, which said that only whites were thought fit to rule the world. This whiteness was badly demolished through the decolonization movement. Let's call it the pre-68 whiteness that is today more or less only endorsed by the Far Right. So that is why today we find the rhetoric of the far right so out-dated, so anachronistic, although it was not such a long time ago when the prime ministers of Western countries were still talking about the right to keep the colonies and to rule over the Third World. Even up until the 1960s, many were prepared to fight to keep the colonies and rule over the non-whites. What happened after the 1960s was that a new whiteness was formulated and articulated on the ruins of the old whiteness. And Sweden and the other Nordic countries were the ones who monopolized, not alone of course, the formulation of this new whiteness that is the anti-racist, solidaristic, UN-kind of whiteness. This new whiteness was very much involved in physical encounters with the other, through transracial adoption, mixed marriages, in friendships, in eating the other's food, dressing in the other's clothes and so on. We are taught that white anti-racists of the 1968 movement are the ones that challenged the old whiteness and the ones who are almost so inherently good that it almost becomes religious. For example a white woman hugging a non-white child, that is an iconic image that is within us and we need it more or less all the time in television, movies, in ads and so on. And it doesn't need to be an adopted, or mixed child it can be any non-white child. This could in fact be the prime symbol of the post-68 whiteness. Whereas a symbol of a pre-68 whiteness would probably be a Nazi or a British or French colonial soldier. But if you turn this table around and look at it from another angle, you can ask why Sweden and the other Nordic countries were the leading countries in reformulating the pre-68 whiteness. A step back would say that the pre-68 whiteness projected whiteness to

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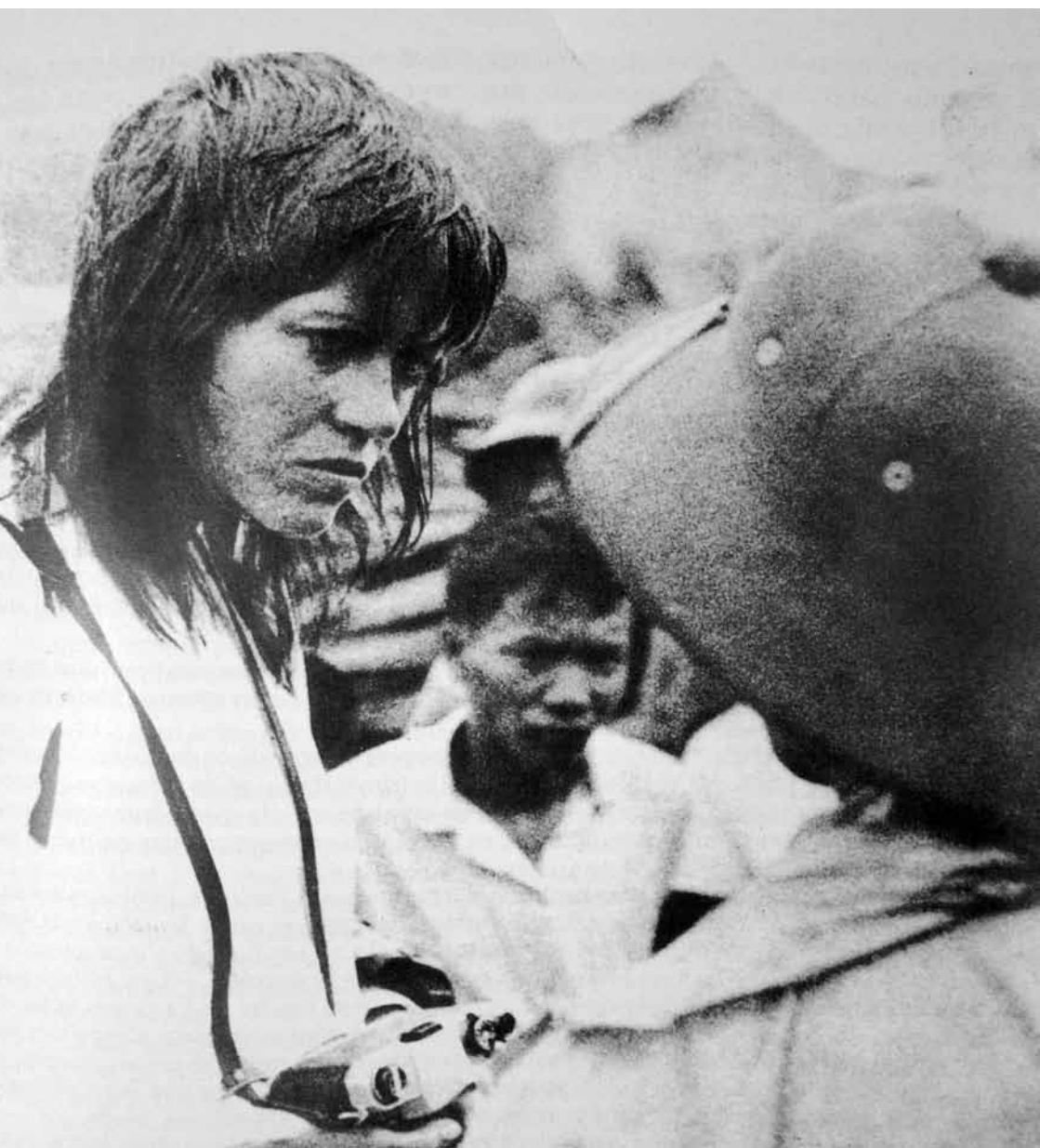


*"She does not know  
Her beauty . . ."*

the Nordic countries to such an extent that they saw themselves as the whitest of the whites, especially Sweden but also Norway and Denmark. And if this whiteness were going to survive in this new globalized, decolonized era, and also the era of international migration that also started from the 1960s, then it would have to be reformulated and reborn. But whiteness still has to be the leading principle, the leading norm globally on the planet. So why did Sweden take the lead? Because no other Western nation would actually dare to take the lead other than the Swedes and the Scandinavians. And it is actually not the Finns, usually the Swedes and the Norwegians, but also the Danes. It is because they are the whitest of the whites, and they still are, although they are the good whites.

**So you really interpret whiteness as the master signifier and we can even say that Sweden is over-determined by whiteness. In this sense, was the engagement in the decolonization movement latently reproducing racism?**

Let's go back to the 1970s. Sweden was still very white although there were some non-white migrants in place, but not many yet. The encounters with the native white Swedes at the time were such that they were very welcome as they had been fighting for example the Americans and the Brits. This welcoming was supported by the social democratic government. But on another level, the everyday ordinary production and reproduction of racial stereotypes and images were never challenged at all. There is an interesting study on how the white Swedes who supported the Vietnamese against the US and its allies, portrayed the Vietnamese in their solidaritarian magazines; although they identified themselves as being totally antiracist, totally solidaritarian, internationalist, leftist, and so on, they still had very racialized, stereotypical fantasies of the other, in this case of Asians. Another example would be the experiences of the non-white Swedes who have been living with the white Swedes intimately, such as adoptees like myself. Although I am very aware of the fact that there is a very strong image in Sweden, that white adoptive parents, who have children from the



Third World are inherently antiracist, as if they have taken a kind of vaccination, a pill against racism because they have brought the other into their own homes. But if you talk to adoptees and also this is the case with mixed race people, there are numerous stories of how their white parents and also white siblings and even white partners would relate to them through the colonial and racial archive and library of fantasies and images of the others.

**Now we come to the ideological sphere; These anti-racist people supporting the decolonization movement in the world come from the position of the Left. But considering the master signifier of the whiteness, it is somehow trapping the philosophies?**

One of the reasons why the whiteness structure is still so strong and dominant, and has a hegemonic position in post-68 Sweden, is that antiracism has been and is so heavily associated with the Left, Marxism, socialism or at least with Left-Liberalism. You can say that it goes back to the Swedish labour movement, and in this case to the Swedish labour movement, social democracy, where class was the main category to mobilize around, and later on also gender. One could play with the idea that if antiracism was not so monopolized by the Left in Sweden, the consciousness surrounding issues of race and whiteness could have been bigger. I am giving an example; I attend lectures often, like most scholars do, and there are big names coming to Sweden often, many of them are non-white, often coming from the US and the UK, and many of them speak about race and whiteness. And these events, lectures and open seminars usually take place in the centre of Stockholm in the white bourgeois areas, or in the equivalent ones in Malmö or Gothenburg. And when you go to these events, you will find that the vast majority of the audience is white and leftist. Also the vast majority of the audience, probably all of them, identify themselves as antiracist, even more strongly as anti-Fascist or anti-Nazi and so on. Some of them are even militant anti-Fascists. What strikes me as the years pass by and as the silence around race and whiteness is still so strong in Sweden, is the discrepancy between

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the often non-white guest speakers, scholars, coming from abroad, the English speaking world, and the issues questions, problems, they are speaking about while the audience is white. This discrepancy is getting more and more embarrassing for the Swedish Left antiracist movement.

### **So there are no platforms, like in the UK, institutions like INIVA or Third text and researchers like Paul Gilroy or Stuart Hall?**

Not acknowledged, but there are spaces, spheres, even venues here and there. But you need to know them. Some minority groups have started, very much inspired by the UK and US spaces for knowledge production and dissemination. One good example would be the Swedes with an African background in Sweden. You can call it identity politics if you want to of course. The way of mobilizing their demographic group is to center on pan-Africanism and by doing that they can master also not just the African-Africans but also the descendants of slaves for example from the South and North America. They have their own venue, where they have lectures. Most of the speakers are not very well known, not even by the white Swedish antiracists, but some of them are. In the greater Stockholm area Swedish minority groups with a Muslim background have also started to create some non-white spaces, but you would not see them announced in the public arena.



## Act V





The fantasy of the Gang of Four is that the Indian is a spontaneous thing. He does not have any agency except for his spontaneity. The ideological assumption of Gang of Four is as all the colonialist ideologies are, that the Indian is above the transformation and the conflict. He is what he always was. Since he is exempt from the internal contradictions, the Indian is a pure being. He is the child of the history, does not know coercion, never thought about conflict. Whoever approaches, whatever new comes next to him, all differences, good or bad, are welcome. That means, politically speaking, the Indians do not have bad, exploiting, different Indians among themselves. Homogeneity, naturalness and openness are the elements of this ideology of spontaneism that finds its place in the 'critical punk' discourse of Gang of Four. As for the cowboy, we don't need to talk.

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## **Act VI**

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### **Suturing effect**



### Asger Jorn

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You can imagine a lot of things. We know that, as a point of departure, the painter had one picture in his head: the battle of Stalingrad, one of the bloodiest battles of World War II.

Asger Jorn was one of the founders of Cobra. This world famous group of artists sought the primitive human instinct and, as a result, painted freely and in abstract, and with focus on colour and brush strokes. Normally he and the other Cobra artists painted pictures that exploded in colour. Compared to them, Stalingrad is unusually quiet. The white colour covers the picture - like the snow that fell over the city and covered the traces of war.

Although a keen eye can spot almost all colours in the many layers of paint, the dominant colour is white. Underneath the white layer the spectator can faintly see dark shadows, and the eye can also catch the red tracks that have been pulled down across the surface. Perhaps an inner film has already begun to play in your head?

(Trine Moeller Madsen presenting Asger Jorn's painting 'Stalingrad' as one of the selected works in the Danish Cultural Canon)

## Act VI

Inner film:









## **Act VI**

What follows when  
the inner film ends?



As soon as I open my  
eyes I see a film.

(Tomislav Gotovac)

Being in movies, we are all in the  
same country – the country of  
movies.

(Dusan Makavejev)

"A little girl questioned a monkey in  
a zoo: Why do you live here? Isn't it  
nicer where you come from?"

(Opening lines of Makavejev's film 'Montenegro')

This film is dedicated to the new  
invisible nation of Europe, the fourth  
largest, of eleven million immigrants  
and guest workers who moved  
North to exploit rich and prosperous  
people, bringing with them filthy  
habits, bad manners, and the smell  
of garlic.

(Dusan Makavejev)

Indulged with sociological self-centeredness we have reduced vampires to mechanisms of social cohesion. Hence, we have questioned a culture, seeing vampires as what they are, the dead ones haunting the living. If our interpretations have shown contempt towards vampires, we apologize for our mundane limitations, and thank them for the inspiration...

...Let us return to the much maligned concept of “tradition”.

Without any commitment to one’s “roots”, the ambivalence which characterizes young immigrants’ “acculturation without structural assimilation” can become “a freedom from culture”, where the “liberated” person is expropriated by the structures of domination. Hence, we can answer the question, “Will they still be dancing?”, by paraphrasing the words of Sergej Djagilev, the founder of Russian ballet, from a conversation with Igor Stravinskij: “Avant-garde must build on tradition, not to get lost”.

Modern youth need old spirits. Vampires can rise again to “dance” with young people and to help them struggle for a better world.

(Carl-Ulrik Schierup and Aleksandra Ålund, ‘Will they still be dancing? Integration and ethnic transformation among Yugoslavian immigrants in Scandinavia’, University of Umeå, 1986)

It is typical from these left-wing French intellectuals—exactly as it is of their Russian counterparts, too—that their positive function derives entirely from a feeling of obligation, not to the Revolution, but to traditional culture. Their collective achievement, as far as it is positive, approximates conservation. But politically and economically they must always be considered a potential source of sabotage.

(Walter Benjamin, 'Surrealism: the Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia')







## **Act VII**

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## **Black skull**

## Act VII

### Black skull

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Swedish trade unions generally still view the subordination of immigrant groups as a failure of integration rarely as a result of racism. (p. 58)

The dominant voices are those of 'Swedish' trade union leaders and Social Democrat politicians; they are joined by experts, researchers and welfare state officials. There is rarely space for immigrant union activists to give their opinions or analysis, to express general reflections. In part, this is one consequence of a racialised labour market and a trade union organisation in which there are few from immigrant backgrounds in positions of authority. And even when such voices do get through, they generally come in subordinated and restricted forms; purveyors of autobiographical data or ethnographic descriptions of themselves and 'their' culture. (p. 60)

"That is why many of my friends (not only immigrants) lose interest. We have to fight, we cannot always just accept. There are so many rules – you cannot go on strike during negotiations; a local decision to strike is a wildcat strike. So many rules, all these rules, people get tired, you can never do anything." (p. 62)

## Black skull

"We are svartskallar ... it does not matter where we come from ... what we have in common is that we understand each other, we have the same experience, the same bloody work, the same suspicion when we go shopping, the same problem with children ... many say that we are not, but I say, as things are, we are all svartskallar." (p.64)

taking care of flowers... is an apt description of Swedish union efforts to depoliticise union meetings by holding them in home-like environment. But 'taking care of flowers' exemplifies a fundamental paradox that, while many immigrant activists want to work politically in the unions, the members who are supported and get elected are those who 'do not want to work; you get some free hours and then do not do anything more than change the water of our flowers. And we, those of us who want to organise, we have to meet after work." (p.68)

(Quotes from '*Black skull*' *consciousness: the new Swedish working class*, Diana Mulinari and Anders Neergaard. *Race & Class* January 2005 vol. 46 no.3 55–72)

BLACK SKULL (svartskalle): According to Diana Mulinari and Andreas Neergaard, Black Skull dates back to the 60s and is a pejorative for immigrant workers in Sweden, as oppose to what supposedly constitutes Swedishness, silent and passive, traditional, embodying chaos and conflict. The FAI (Fackligt Aktiva Invandrare) immigrant worker's union is negating these stereotypes, and works to reveal the racism imbedded in the Swedish society.

**And when the black proletariat threatened to bring a political dimension, from out of their own historic struggle against capital, to the struggles of the working class, state policy had helped trade unions to institutionalize divisive racist practices within the labour movement itself.**

(Ambalavaner Sivanandan, 'Race, Class and the State: The Political Economy of Immigration', p. 77)

**The political core of non-spontaneous consciousness is antagonism to the entire existing social and political order.**

(Sylvain Lazarus, 'Lenin and the Party', 1902 – November 1917)

**Is it a thought that one can have in common with such a people? And: can it be right? It seems to me: not even geometry should Kandinsky have in common with them!**

(Schönberg's letter to Kandinsky, from Jean-Marie Straub and Danielle Huillet, Introduction to Arnold Schoenberg's 'Accoinpainment to a Cinematograph Scene – Scenario', *Screen* 1976, p. 78)

## Act VII

### Interview with Margareta Carlstedt

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#### **Who decides which books will be in the library?**

I get tips from colleagues and researchers/scientist here at the Multicultural Center, and I read papers. Because of the economic situation, once upon a time you could just look at the list and order whatever you wanted, here we don't have that now. So I rely on people's tips very much. Also I read two daily papers and a lot of journals every day. I have to be aware of anything that is happening, anything that is concerning immigration, for example the so-called criminals of honour, that we have a lot of in Sweden nowadays and I have to get books on that. You know, girls getting killed when they are not doing what their brothers or fathers want them to do. That is awful! And I have to get books concerning circumcision of women because many people do not know what that is. And of course immigration rules in Finland, or Albania or anything, so we have a broad field of information to offer.

**You say you order books for those who do not know anything about circumcision of women for example. But do people come here who do not know anything about these topics or is it mainly researchers who are using the library?**

## **Black skull**

Sometimes it happens, but mostly they are either journalists, students or professionals in one way or another. We have a rather high level of books here. Sometimes they write in the papers about this and people get interested and ask: 'Do you have anything concerning this, I don't understand what this is?', and nowadays I have, because I know this is important to know about. Especially if you work in the hospital.

**So you came here in the year 2000. Since then what are the new topics that have come about and you have had to look up?**

Crimes of honour, for example. We knew a lot about that in the board, because we knew a lot that other people wouldn't know, but the politicians would not listen. And then suddenly the murder of Fadime happened in 2001 in Uppsala and they had to wake up. We had known about it but most of the people had not. After that the books started to come in Swedish. Before that I had some books in English. And this is still a very interesting topic as nowadays there are rather many incidents also here in Botkyrka where girls have to marry older men whom they don't like, when they go home for vacation and so on. So people working with youngsters even at the preschool have to know what this is and they know that they can find the information here in this library. Other topics are always school, education. It is always interesting.

**When you started in 1977, did you start as librarian?**

No, I was documentalist and information specialist at the library of the National Board of Immigration.

**And you mention that there was certain optimism, can you describe more about this?**

Immigration was always positive, there were no negative aspects about it, and if there were it was the Swedes' fault, not the immigrants'. And it was as bad as saying that everything is the im-

## Act VII

migrants' fault. It is not white or black, it is greyish. Most of the immigrants are wonderful, they are really giving Sweden something extra, but there are also a lot of bad people, especially the youngsters today. That is especially because of the problems in the labour market today, they cannot get work and then they roll around and don't know how to live. You have the same problem in Finland.

### **So the unemployment is a big problem? And when you select the books for the library, do you pay attention to this?**

Yes of course. The youth-issue is always interesting and what I find is the big difference today is that now we have a lot of immigrants that have studied in the university and became doctors etc. and they write books themselves. They write theses themselves and they are not always so positive as these well-meaning Swedes in the 1970s, who said that there is no problem. They say that there is a problem and we have to deal with it. That is the difference. Now we have people educated in Sweden but with roots elsewhere and who can see both pictures. It is very interesting.

The social democrats, that were governing at the time, meant well but that was the time when everything was black & white: 'there is no problem with immigration and if there is, then it is the Swedes' problem', and it was wrong. But that was the way to make people accept such a big immigration without revolution. The Swedes learned that this is good for us and we are not so good, so thank you for coming.

### **So social democrats' inclusiveness toward immigrants was to stop revolution?**

That was a harsh word perhaps, because the Swedes are not very revolutionary. But to stop racist ideas, extremism before it comes out. So we were told that everything was better with immigration. And it was true after the WW2 as we didn't have the war in Sweden, like Denmark, Norway and Finland did. So our industry was screaming for workers, and the industry went to Greece, Turkey



## **Black skull**

and Yugoslavia to ask them to come here to work. But the Finns came anyway as they had open borders. So it was right that it was good for Sweden, but only until approximately the end of 70s. Then it started to be more costly, it wasn't so extremely economically positive anymore. We still had to take refugees because we had written those papers, but we could no longer say that we win economically when we take immigrants. But they did say that a long way until the 80s although the economic professors said that it is not true anymore, they cost more than what we gain from them. But then the refugee politics should not be about money. So that argument is not any longer interesting as long as we have refugee immigration. So then they stopped the working immigration, and if you would come here you would have to be a refugee. And then everyone started to be a refugee. That was not so good either. As long as we take refugees we cannot discuss money - that was morally and ethically wrong.

We don't live in a bubble, what happens in the world happens in the library. I am obliged to read at least two big important newspapers every day, and then in the internet and special journals and so on, to know what is going on and to feel what is coming, for instance.

### **What do you feel that is now coming?**

The Roma are a big issue all over Europe today. We have had Roma in Sweden and Finland since the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. But they are not to be compared to those, who have been living in Romania and Yugoslavia for instance. They do not have the same education or anything. But now they can go freely around Europe and I think that is a very important issue to be taken care of.

Just today I bought a book about the Roma history from the 16<sup>th</sup> Century until the year 2000 and that cost more than 1000 Swedish crones, but I think it is worth it. It is a book that we must have.





Branting assured Shlyapnikov that Russian socialists could live freely in Sweden, provided they had not committed terrorist acts. When Shlyapnikov pointed out that expulsion of Kollontay did not square with this, Branting added that Russians must not meddle in Swedish politics, as Kollontay had done. This was an echo of the controversy over Bakunin during his stay in Stockholm in 1863.

(Michael Futrell, 'Northern Underground: Episodes of Russian Revolutionary Transport and Communications through Scandinavia and Finland, 1863–1917', p. 87)

**“A respectable immigrant is a silent immigrant, one who has learnt to stay calm. One who never demands anything... But we in FAI, we are so tired of being wimpish. We cannot and will not continue to show that we are integrated ‘black skulls’. We are not that any more... We are ready to be pain in the ass; if it is needed, we will be loud and rough...”**

(Diana Mulinari and Anders Neergaard, “Black skull’ consciousness: the new Swedish working class’, *Race & Class* January 2005 vol. 46 no. 3, p. 56)



## **Act VIII**

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**Ideology as noise, riot as knowledge**

## Act VIII

### Remarks on ideology

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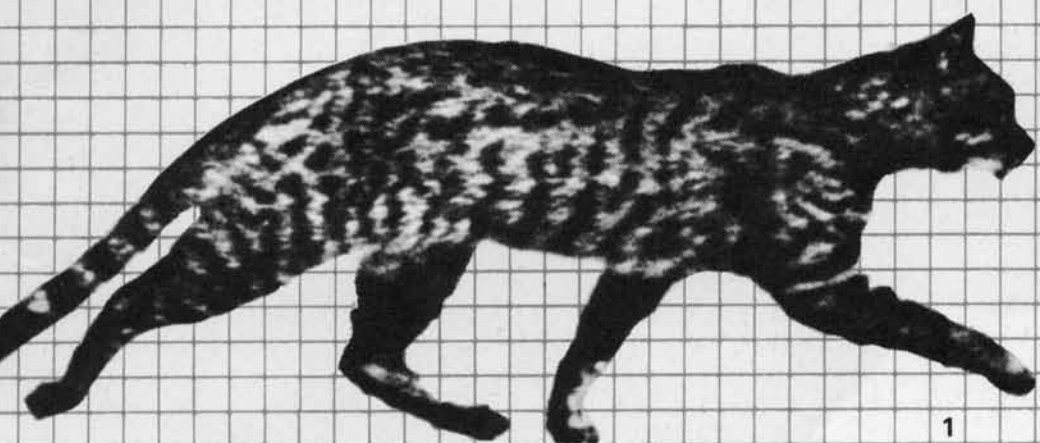
First, there is a need to argue for the dialectical character of ideology, a dialectic indicated by the two opposite senses of the word 'subject' ('the subject of history'/'the subjects of the prince'). Ideologies not only subject people to a given order. They also qualify them for conscious social action, including actions of gradual or revolutionary change. Ideologies do not function merely as 'social cement'.

Second, it seems more accurate and fruitful to see ideologies, not as possessions, as ideas possessed, but as social processes. That is, to see them as complex processes of 'interpellation', or address, speaking to us. In these continuous processes ideologies overlap, compete and clash, drown or reinforce each other. The actual operation of ideology in contemporary society is better illustrated by the cacophony of sounds and signs of a big city street than by the text serenely communicating with the solitary reader, or the teacher or TV-personality addressing a quiet, domesticated audience. (Göran Therborn, 'The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology', *Verso*, 1980, p. viii-ix)

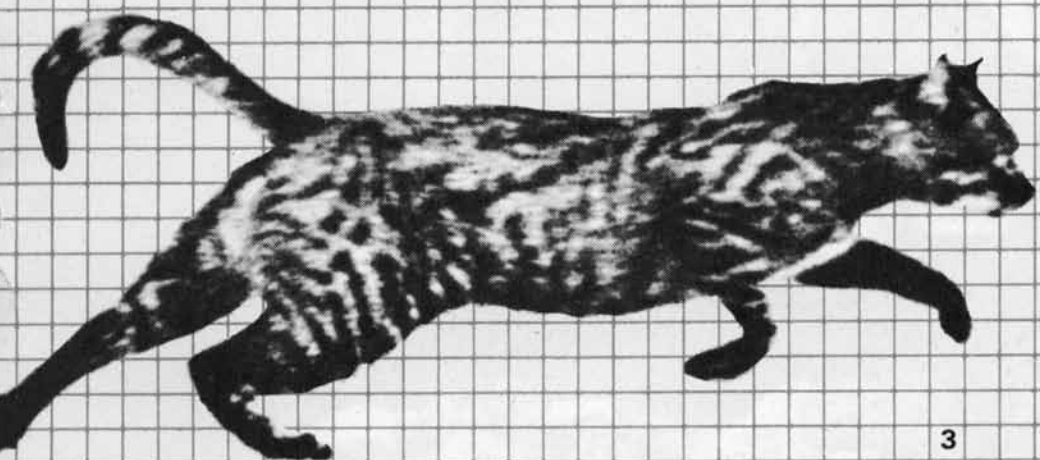


## **Ideology as noise, riot as knowledge**

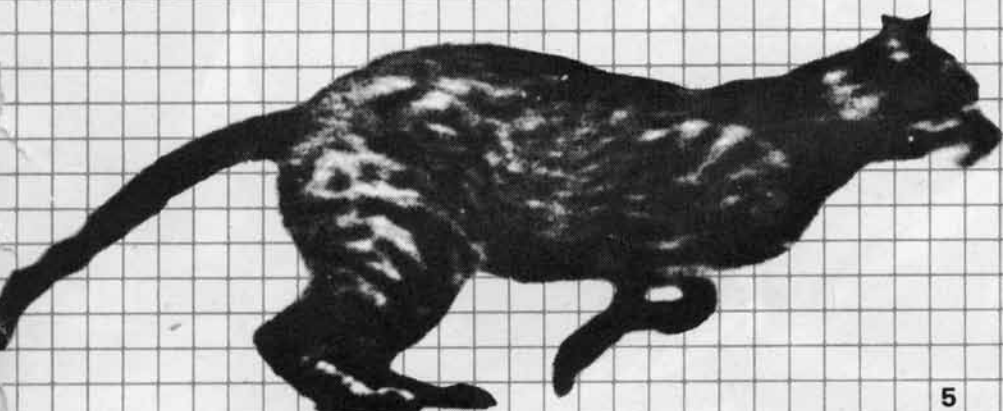
In fact, it is the latter which largely secure the reproduction specifically of the relations of production, behind a 'shield' provided by the repressive State apparatus. It is here that the role of the ruling ideology is heavily concentrated, the ideology of the ruling class, which holds State power. It is the intermediation of the ruling ideology that ensures a (sometimes teeth-gritting) 'harmony' between the repressive State apparatus and the Ideological State Apparatuses, and between the different State Ideological Apparatuses. (Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation')



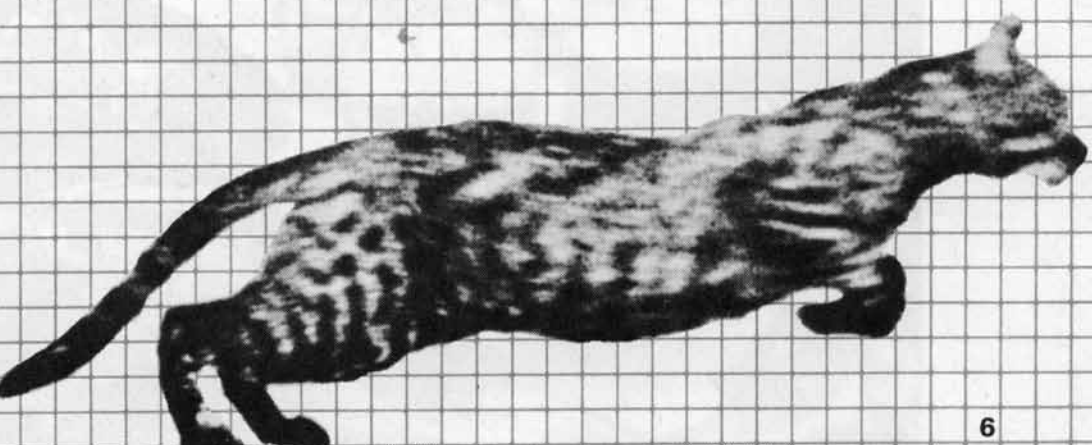
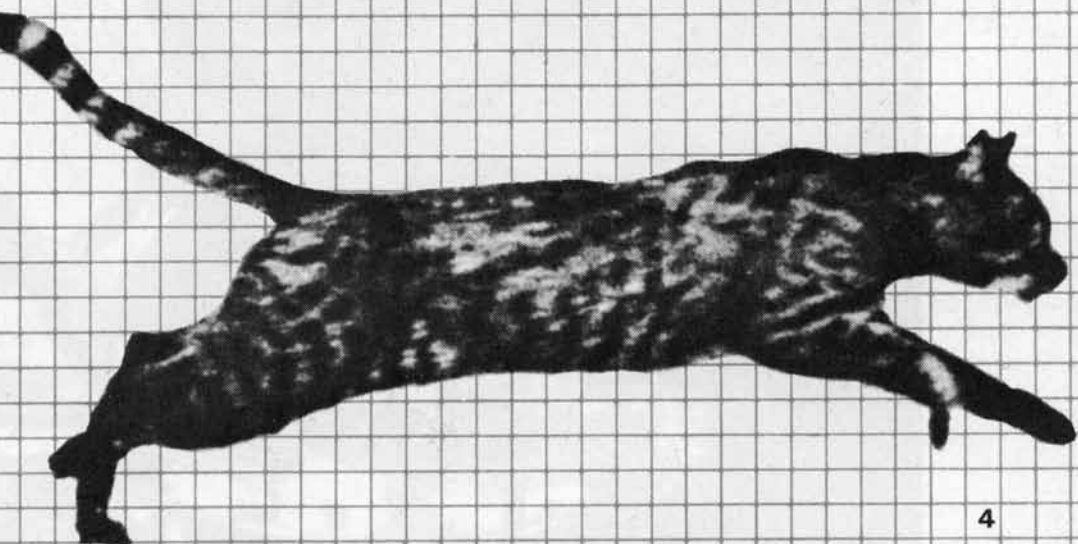
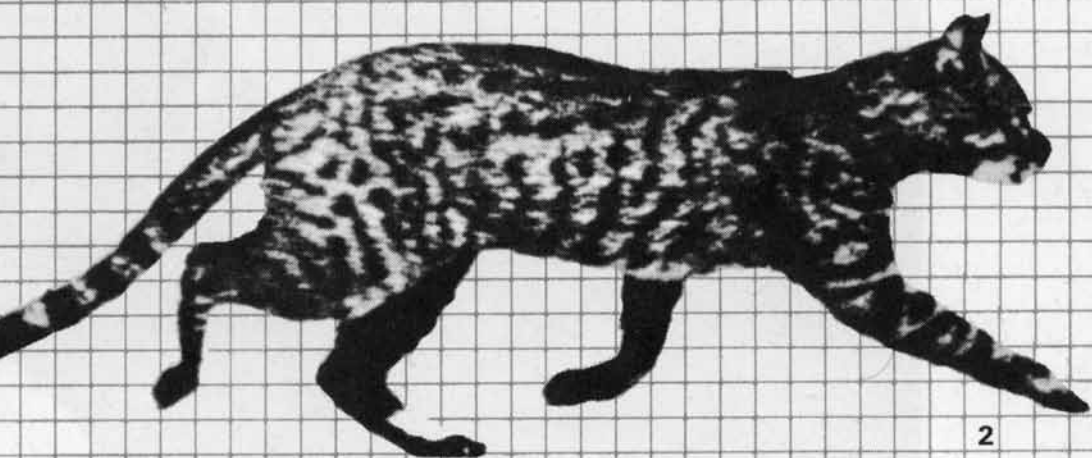
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### Politics of sensitometry

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The notion of epic construction implied an intervention into the multiple technologies of the moving image. One specific scene in *Handsworth Songs* acted as an object-lesson on the production of racialised knowledge, revealing to viewers how film operated as a 'non-neutral technology... constructed for certain skin tones'. As Thames Television prepared to shoot a discussion on the uprisings before a local audience, for the current affairs programme *TV Eye*, Mathison recorded the following conversation between the producer in the control room and the floor manager in the studio, without their knowledge:

PRODUCER: OK Can I see the audience?

FLOOR MANAGER: Yes, from here.

PRODUCER: Is it slightly dark or light?

FLOOR MANAGER: I don't think so. You are worried that there are not too many whites, obviously there.

PRODUCER: No, in lightning terms I'm talking about. It just looks a bit down, especially in front.

FLOOR MANAGER: I have my friend, Mr Lafamin here who says that the reason is the colour of their skins.

The brief conversation swerved between anxiety about lightning, concern about racial aggregation and agitation at the illegibility of skin tone. The presence of Afro-Caribbean and Asian subjects troubled the norms of televisuality provoking an uneasy movement from technical to aesthetic to racial to visual knowledges that foregrounded the incomplete intermediation of corporeality. In a context in which white skin set the standard for film, BAFC could not rest at interrogating the image; more importantly, the group sought to rethink what lightning, film stock, developing and printing might become.

The notion of epic construction was then only one aspect of an overarching project: to reconfigure visibility around the Afro-diasporic subject. This did not merely mean inserting the diasporic figure into the frame nor did it entail a separatist cinema; rather it meant seizing the opportunity to invent the forms that Afro-diasporic cinema might take. Black film, Jafa had argued in an *Artforum* article in 1993, had a 'chimeralike' quality; it was 'inherently without precedent'; with their obsessive attention to form, multiplied to the power of seven, BAFC were positioned at the center of this space of possibility; they could rethink film form. But obstacles immediately emerged in response to the Collective's experiments in new aesthetic language. Akomfrah recalled that upon completion of principal shooting of *Testament* (1988) the group "took the film – which we had shot without the correction filters that give the films their warm look – to a lab. I'd get a print back from the lab and they'd have colour corrected it. They'd put the warmth back in. I'd ring them up and say, 'This was shot without an 85 filter so can I have a colder print?' They'd say they changed it because they thought it didn't look right. 'It looked too cold; nobody's going to believe that that's Africa. Africa is a nice warm place.'"

The Collective's vision of a dispirited Ghanaian landscape occupied by cheerless characters affronted the discursive regimes that underwrote technological norms. The group exaggerated the frigidity of the print in order to open up a distance between subject and landscape that undermined assumptions about what the image of contemporary West Africa should look like; pre-

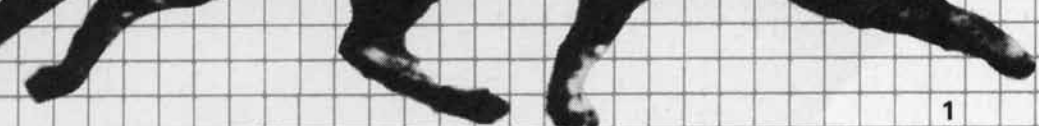
## Act VIII

sumptions that attempted to secure ‘an unproblematic connection between character and identity, between persona and place’. In taking upon itself the task of interpreting BAFC’s anti-realist aesthetics as an error to be corrected, the laboratory sought to contain and return their aesthetic intervention to its proper place. The laboratory’s technical restoration was carried out in the name of a common sense that assumed a ‘harmony between people and their location’ that amounted to nothing more than ‘articles of faith legitimised by a regime of truth’ that assumed that ‘people don’t live out their individual choices, they live out their traditions and cultures’. *Testament* was a calculated transgression at the level of the image but its implications exceeded film form. What was at stake was nothing less than the opportunity to rethink what Rancière called ‘the perceptual coordinate of the common’. In 1985, the television producers recorded by Mathison has struggled to correct for diasporic aggregation; in 1988 the laboratory had attempted to reimpose a norm by defining what was ‘legitimate and acceptable for blacks to think and say and feel’. Akomfrah’s statement generalised the question of aesthetic normalisation into the constitution of the conditions of audibility and visibility as such; he thereby anticipated Rancière’s notion of ‘the distribution of the sensible’ which was constituted by forces the philosopher named ‘the police’. In Rancière’s view, the police ‘are less concerned with repression than with a more basic function: that of constituting what is or is not perceivable, determining what can or cannot be seen, dividing what can be heard from what cannot’. As Kristin Ross wrote ‘The police become the name for everything that concerns the distribution of places and functions, as well as the system that legitimates such hierarchical distributions. They are another name for the symbolic constitution of the social.’ For BAFC, then, intervention at the level of form, genre, memory and technology exceeded questions of access or representation and declared nothing less than a new formulation of what counted as sound and image.

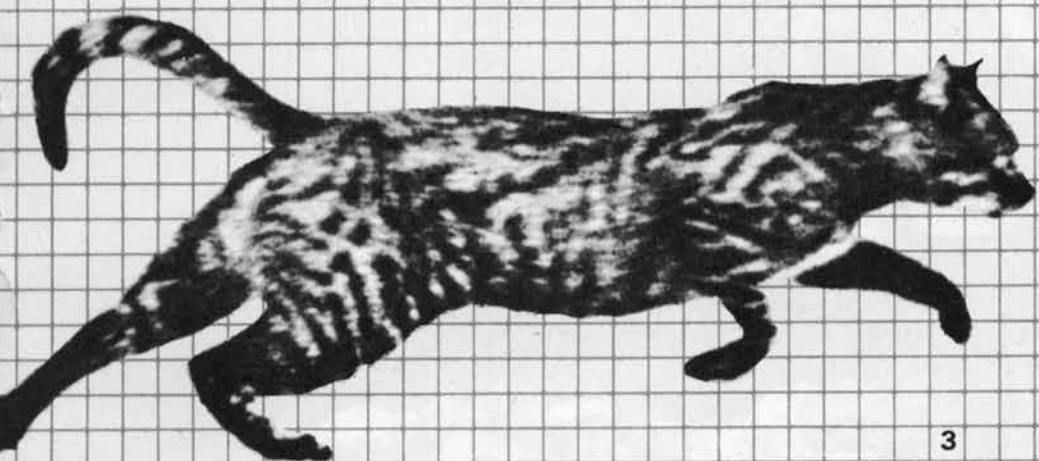
(Kodwo Eshun, ‘Drawing the Forms Unknown’ in *The Ghosts of Songs*:

*The film art of the Black Audio Film Collective 1982 – 1998*)

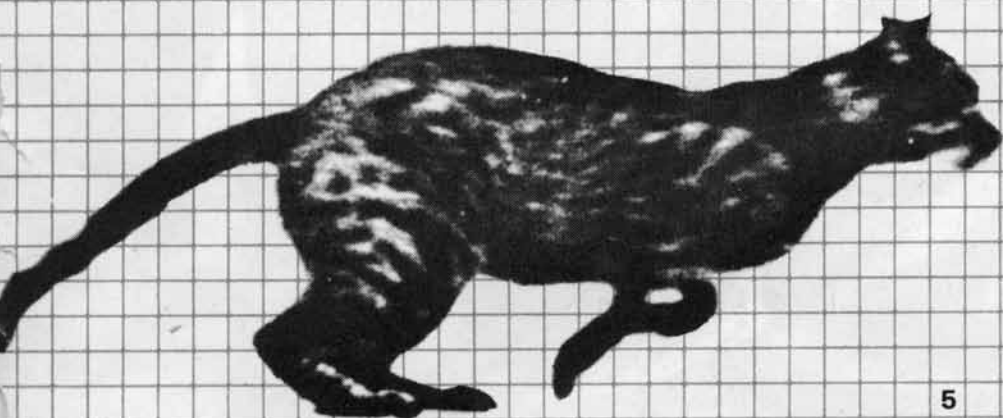




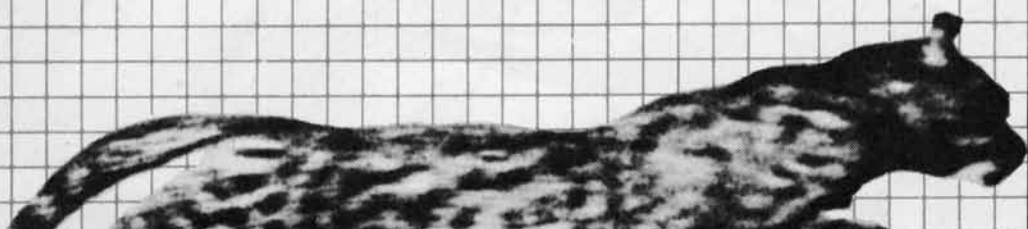
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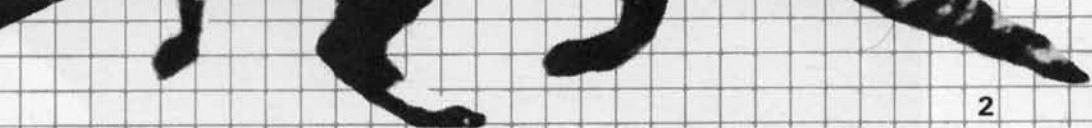
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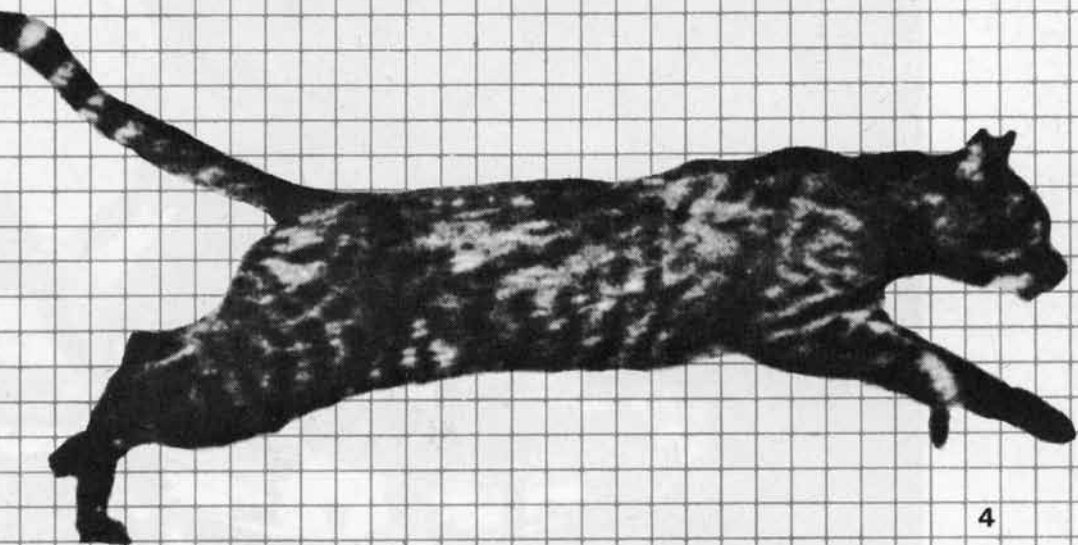
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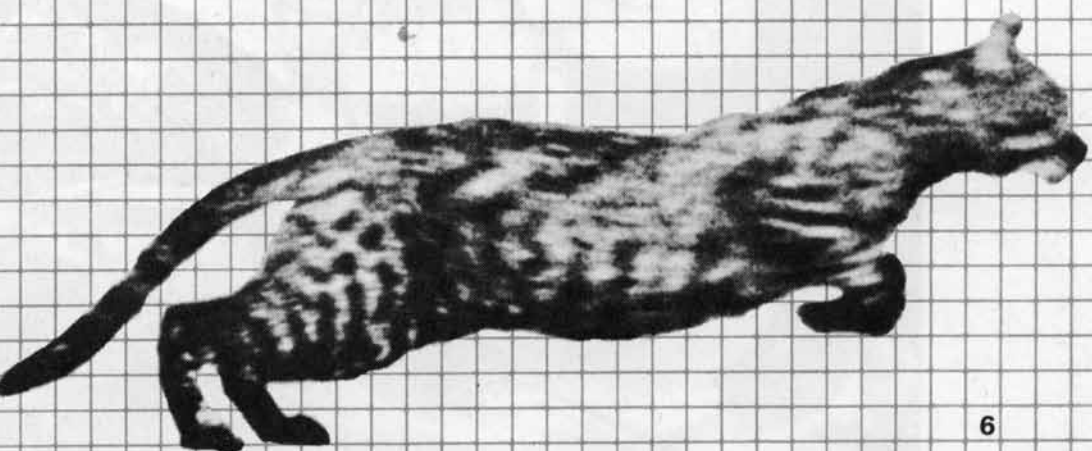




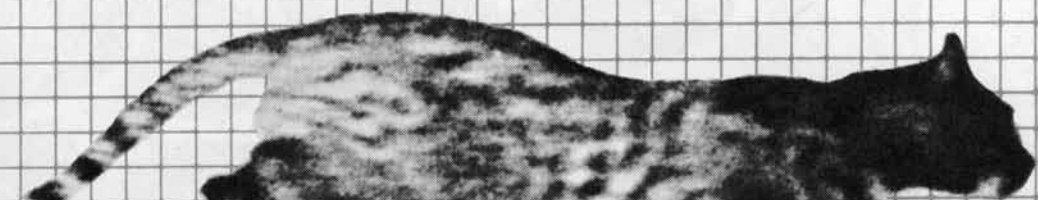
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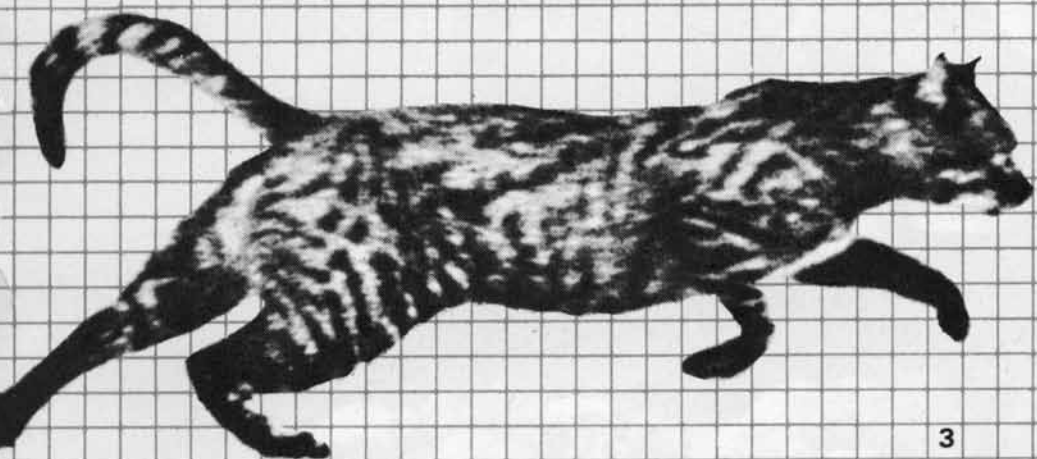
Of course, the crowd can never be grasped in its causal act, since it disappears in the same process. In the retroaction of art, it much rather seems to be abolished, a massive shadow that prior to the work itself projects its lost correlate. Mallarme's key image here is fireworks: commemorating, on July 14, the foundational riot, they project onto the sky a splendour of which the crowd is only the nocturnal ground: '[ ... ] a multitude under the night sky does not constitute the spectacle, but in front of it, suddenly, there rises the multiple and illuminating spray, in mid-air, which in a considerable emblem represents its gold, its annual wealth and the harvest of its grains, and leads the explosions of the gaze to normal heights'.

What do the seething and destructive masses of the Revolution and this peaceful flock of official spectators have in common? Precisely the fact that 'the multiple and illuminating spray' of the poem-or of music does nothing except make a Whole, in a stellar emblematic

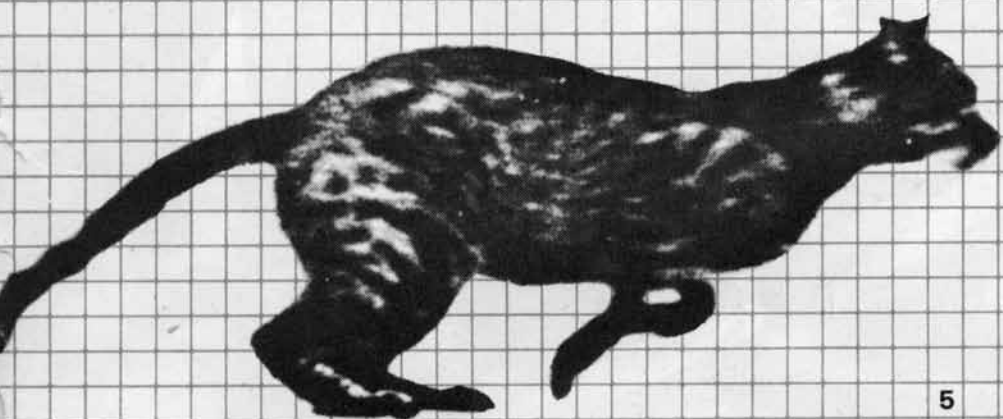
inscription, out of the productive wealth of the people, of which it nevertheless, in its compact absence, lights up only the self-estranged amazement. In view of this function of art, Mallarme—and this is his idealist bent—in a surprising text sends back to the universal suffrage and the riot (with a slight conceptual preference, nonetheless, for the latter): If, in the future, in France, religion comes back, it will be the amplification of the skyinstinct in each of us, rather than a reduction of our instincts to the level of politics. To vote, even for oneself, does not satisfy, as the expansion of a hymn with trumpets sounding the joy of choosing no name; nor can a riot be sufficiently tumultuous to make a character into the steaming, confounding, struggling-again-into-life hero.

However, it is also proof of the fact that the riot, contrary to what Mallarmé says, is indeed the exact form of the crowd as vanishing term, which is ‘sufficiently tumultuous’ to cause the spectacular restructuring of time itself.

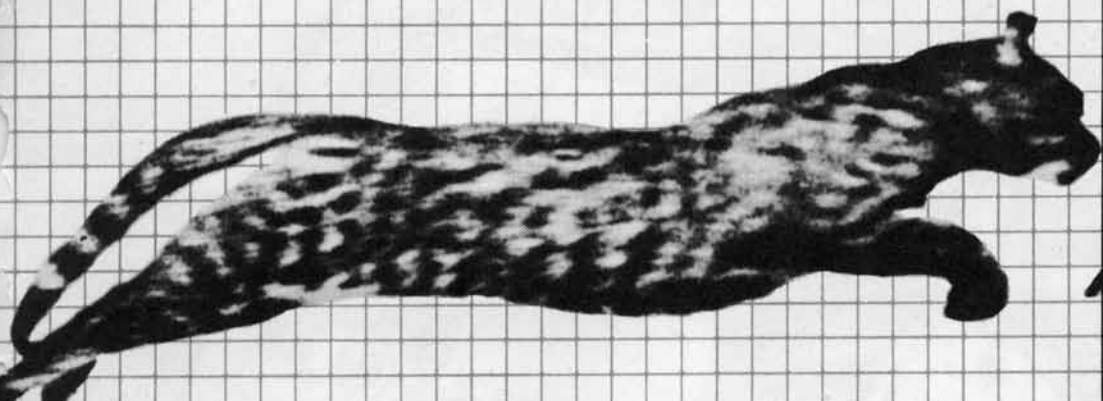
(Quotes from Alain Badiou, ‘Theory of the Subject’, p. 66-67)

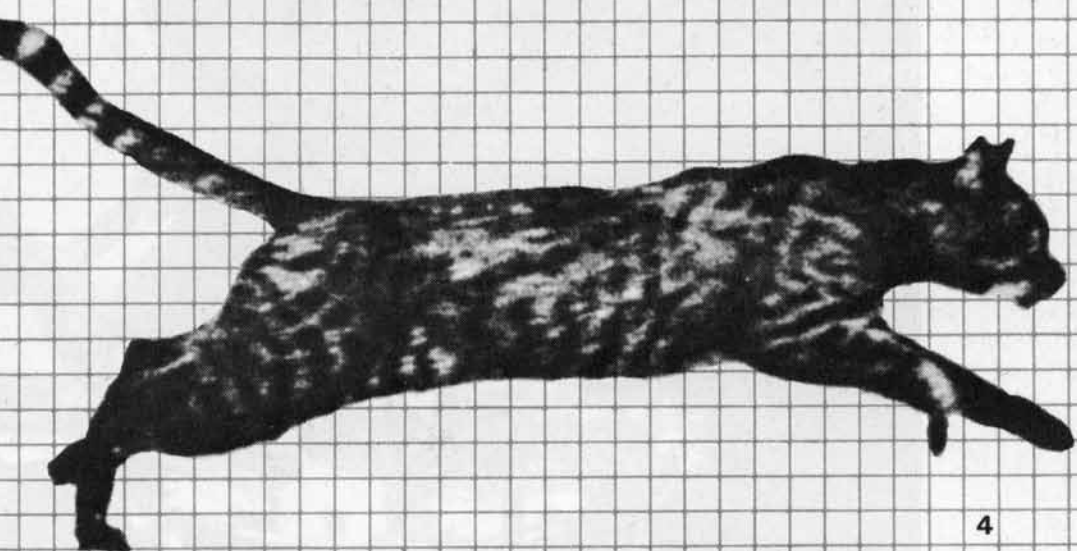


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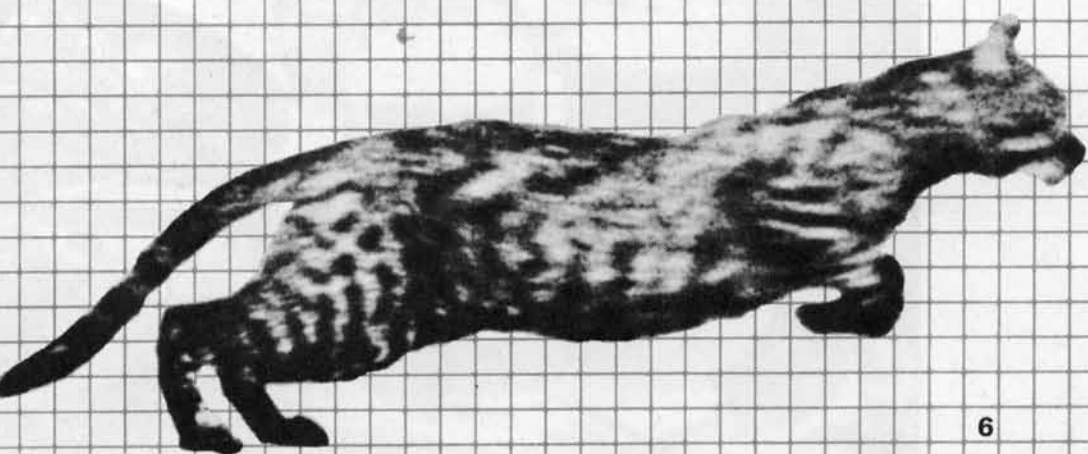


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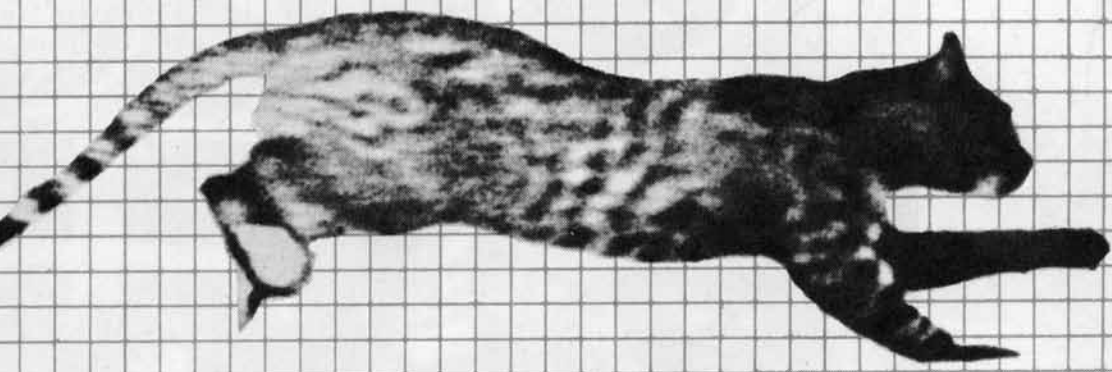




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### **Lögner, repression och brist på bevis – Om gripandet av tio Fittjabor Söndag 1 november, 2009**

I söndags trakasserades unga på ungdomens hus i Fittja. Det utlöste upplopp. I tisdags greps tio personer och i lördags begärdes alla häktade. Hela processen präglas av rasism, lögner, bevisbrist och en tydligt ökande repression.

Medierna har de senaste dagarna frossat i detaljer kring de 10 gripna, de så kallade "afaaktivisterna".

Borgerlig media har tidigare haft som strategi att inte skriva om förortsuppror, "eftersom det bara handlar om bråkstakar som vill ha uppmärksamhet". Men nu blev det plötsligt intressant.

Polisens strategi är enkel att genomskåda och medierna svalde den med hull och hår. På en kvarts sida hinner Svenska dagbladet pedagogiskt förklara för sina läsare att de "riktiga" ungdomarna i Fittja inte alls låg bakom detta. Utan att det var onda tillresta kravallproffs.

Något motsägelsefullt när de tillresta personerna greps i sin lägenhet i Fittja.

Resten av medierapporteringen har präglats av samma fantasifullhet i allt från felaktiga åldrar, brottsrubriceringar, bostadsorter, personer och slumpmässigt utvalda filmklipp utan koppling till det som hänt. Medierna löser glatt polisens och politikernas problem. Folk gör uppror mot ett orättvist förtrycksamhälle. Man hittar tio syndabocker och så är saken löst.

Länspolismästare Carin Götblad säger att det är viktigt att sätta dit folk som kommer och förstör

i "våra förorter". Bor du i Fittja, Carin Götblad? När blev Fittja mer "ditt" än deras? De som faktiskt bor där och fick sitt hem stormat av piketpolis med sköldar? Blev du, Carin Götblad, inlåst på din egen ungdomsgård eller trakasserad på väg hem från tunnelbanan av poliser som tvingar dig att klä av dig dina kläder offentligt för en spontan visitering? Det blir nämligen Fittjabor och du är inte en av dem.

Nu är samtliga tio häktade i minst två veckor framåt. Grunderna är extremt lösa. Bevis på att de tio personerna befann sig i Fittja centrum på måndagsnatten saknas till exempel. Repressionen blir hårdare och hårdare och det här var ytterligare ett steg i den riktningen. I jakten på syndabocker blir bevis ointressanta. För det vore pinsamt för polisen att behöva medge att bevis saknas och personer måste släppas. Då faller ju hela strategin med att man nu löst missnöjet mot polisbrutaliteten i Fittja med att sy in tio personer.

I morgon kanske vi får höra att det var dessa tio personer i ålder 19 år och uppåt som ligger bakom samtliga förortsuppror i Sverige. Det fanns ingen segregation, inget klassförtryck, inga rasistiska snutar eller politiker. Det var tio stycken "afa-aktivister" som låg bakom allt ihop. Och det har de rediga söderortssnutarna löst nu.

Men upproren kommer inte avstanna. Repression kan tillfälligt hålla nere folk, men i längden håller det aldrig. Förorterna brinner av en anledning, en strävan efter förändring och den strävan går inte att låsa in.

/Söderort mot snutar

Activists remanded for Stockholm unrest

Published: 1 Nov 09 08:31 CET

Online: <http://www.thelocal.se/22998/20091101/>

"The troubles broke out in Fittja, a predominantly immigrant area of southern Stockholm, earlier in the week with stone-throwing, arson and vandalism blighting the central shopping precinct. The disturbances began on Sunday and culminated on Tuesday night.

The police responded to calls to combat the continued unrest and in the process identified a 26-year-old woman known to be connected to AFA, a militant left-wing anti-fascist organization.

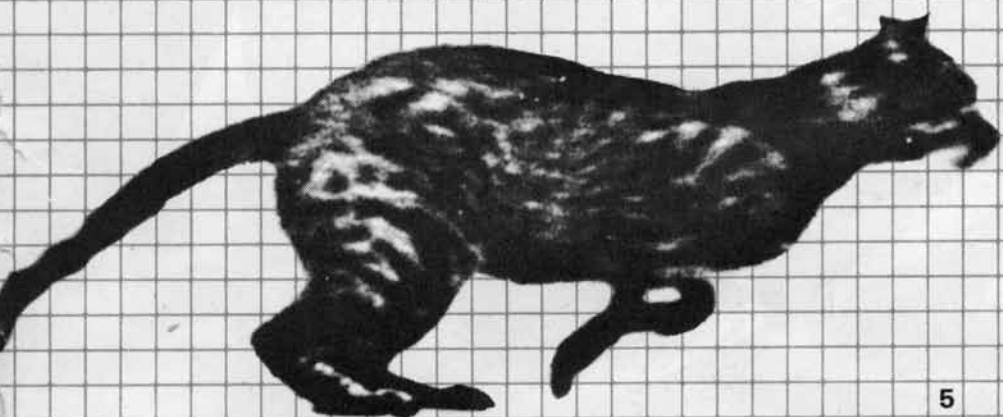
The woman was followed to a nearby apartment and a further eight arrests were made. Police also discovered rocks and other objects in the apartment indicating that the activists intended to target police."

"This is a group of demonstrators who appear to show up at different times in different places to protest against different things," Södertörn police spokesperson Mats Nylén told The Local.

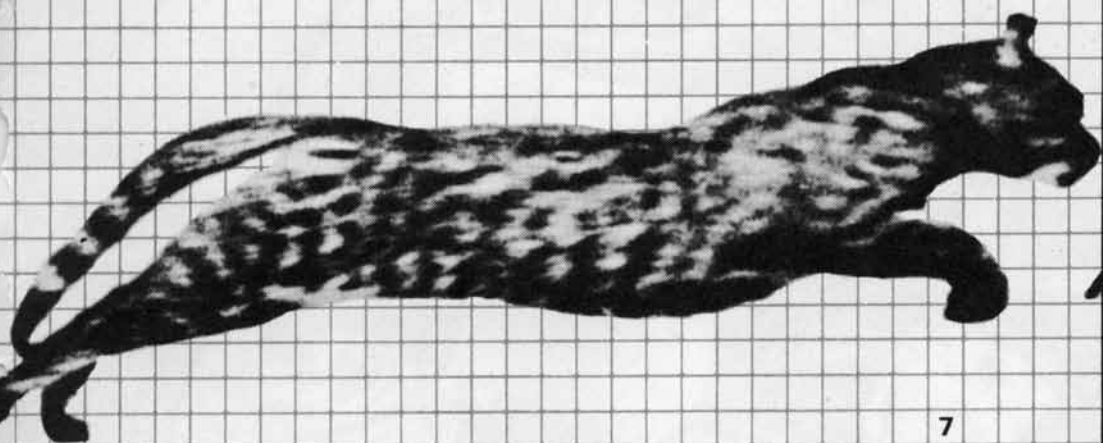
"I guess you could call them general troublemakers."



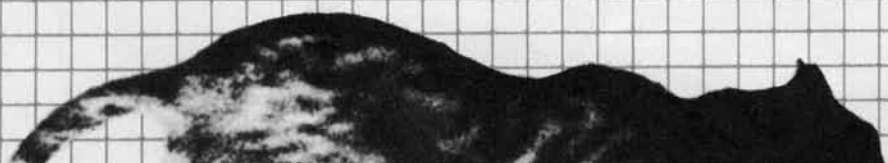
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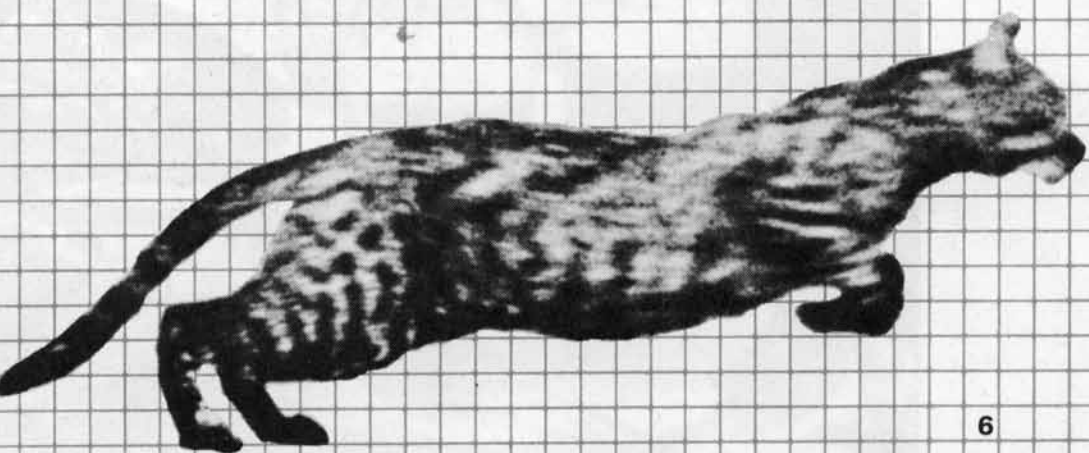
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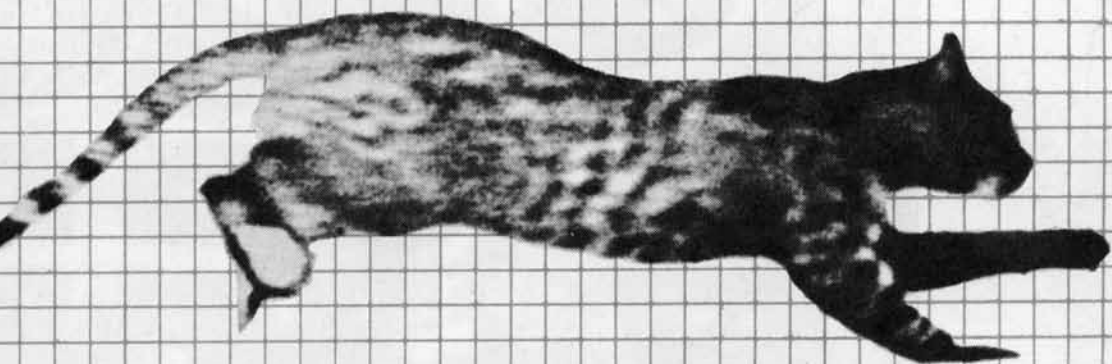




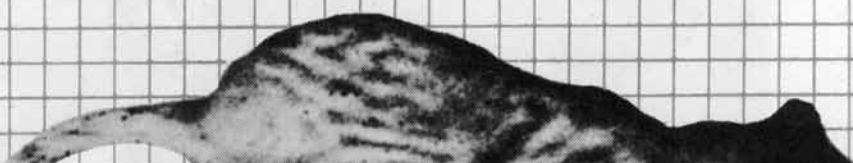
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## Act VIII

### Interview with René León Rosales

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#### **Was the riot here in Fittja in 2009 sparked off by a conflict between the police and the youngsters in the Youth Center?**

Actually you could say that this is what started it, but the story is much longer than that. There have been some cases of criminality, heavy criminality, with bank robberies and that kind of stuff. And there was a critique against the Youth House working here because in it came out that some of the people working in these criminal activities had connections and had been working at the Youth House. So, that was something really infective. Because the people who tried to argue against this youth house were people not so young anymore, 30-35 years old men hanging out there. The people, who were against this tried to shut it down and the people in the house, who are very good people, felt quite attacked by all this critique. So the tension was there very much.

And as I remember it, they had the new policeman answering for this neighbourhood, who was not so diplomatic, and he thought that he should try to be hard and tough. But in this kind of neighbourhoods you don't work like this. So there was a lot of tension and the young people didn't like the new policeman and felt aggression, and the municipality here was asking a lot of questions, what is going on, because of the robbery and this

kind of stuff. And then, one night one of the police cars patrolling here was driving past the house, when someone from the house pointed a green laser against the driver. And green lasers are quite dangerous because you can go blind. It is not like a red laser thing. It is illegal in Sweden. So the policemen went inside and asked: 'Who is pointing a green laser on us?'. The tension was really there from the beginning, things got out of hand, they tried to put everyone down to find the green laser that is illegal. But the young people thought that it is aggression. And everything started from there. The other part of this is that there have been some collectives of young people with Swedish background coming in...

### **...you mean the anarchists?**

Not just the anarchists, leftist people. It is the regular mix of young anti-racist people. I have been there myself too in those movements, so I know what they stand for. When I began to work here in the end of 90s there were no white people here. Now you see a lot of white people. So something has changed. There is also a lot of immigration from Eastern Europe: Polish and Russian people. But also you see Swedish young people, and they are often students. And one of those collectives, as I understood afterwards and I read the police report and talked to people here, saw the beginning of the riot as an opportunity to make it bigger. So because that is kind of a political thing, that in order to destruct the society you have to create chaos, you have to provoke to show how repressive the society is. That is one of the thesis that these anarchist groups have. So they actually contacted people from other cities, who came here the day after and tried to escalate the whole thing. And this succeeded in some way because there was a lot of destruction. The buses and the little boutiques here in the center were destroyed. But one of the other reactions, when talking with people here was that a lot of people were asking what they are doing here, as they are not from Fittja. There was quite an interesting discussion of the notion, who is from Fittja, who is not from Fittja. White leftist anarchists were perceived as not being part of this and trying to sabotage and to destroy our neighbourhood here.

## **Act VIII**

Discussing with young people this was the dominating way of understanding what happened. In the end the fault was that they made this happen, they became the Zwarte Piet. And they took responsibility for this. And that is really not the whole story. It is a complicated thing, no-one is responsible, but these people were pointed out as responsible.

**So were there many locals, who are not part of the leftist groups, involved?**

Yes many. As I heard there were boys of certain age who usually hang out there. Those were the ones. They were not adults. It is not England, organized riots where even adults go out and burn things. It was the boys that usually hang out there.



# A SHORT HISTORY OF THE LASER

by Lloyd Cross

On any Planet, proposing, conceiving, designing, building, demonstrating, using or "inventing", the laser is possible only after the discovery of the quantum theory. A laser could have been built on this planet by the scientists of the 18th century IF (and only IF) they had known the quantum theory. On this planet, a laser (or optical maser as it was called by pre-laser physicists) was built first and demonstrated by Ted Maiman at Hughes research laboratory in June of 1960, 30 years after the discovery of the quantum theory. It is interesting to note that a good percentage of the scientific community did not quite believe Ted Maiman's first report of his incredible results with a small cube of ruby crystal, highly polished, silvered and subjected to a high intensity electronic flash bulb, from Hughes Laboratory in June of 1960.

In the early 1950's, several scientists published the concept of amplification of high frequency electromagnetic energy by stimulated emission of radiation from atomic and/or molecular sites in a properly prepared material.

In 1954, Charles Townes, working at Columbia University in N.Y.C. demonstrated the application of this concept by designing and

fabricating a microwave amplifier and oscillator (called a maser) using hot ammonia gas as the material.

Chihiro Kikuchi, working at the University of Michigan, first demonstrated maser action in a ruby crystal in December of 1957. (I was there the day it happened.) This was the first practical maser material and led to a tremendous influx of money and effort into the field.

It is not completely coincidental that Ted Maiman also used ruby (prepared in a much different way) to achieve laser action, since in the few years between 1957 and 1960, an incredible amount of information on the electromagnetic properties of ruby and associated materials was compiled and published by dozens of laboratories.

And here is one final piece of information concerning the history of the laser . . .

A United States Patent was issued to Townes and Schalow (subsequently purchased by A.T.&T.) in 1958! They did not demonstrate a working laser, but they received a patent by a neat legal process which is called constructive reduction to practice, which means that

the fact of the U.S. Patent Office issuing a patent is equivalent to an actual demonstration of a conceived device. (U.S. patent law was written in the late 18th century and has undergone little or no revision, even after the quantum theory, the atomic bomb, microelectrons modern chemistry and the laser.)

The reader is left to his own devices to figure out who invented the laser and how he came about it. But one important fact is that each of these men had intimate working knowledge of the quantum theory, there was not a "crack pot inventor" among them. The most energetic and enthusiastic Rube Goldberg or Thomas Edison would not achieve laser action, without instruction, in a million years of intensive screwing around, given the best equipment in the world, if he didn't know the quantum theory.

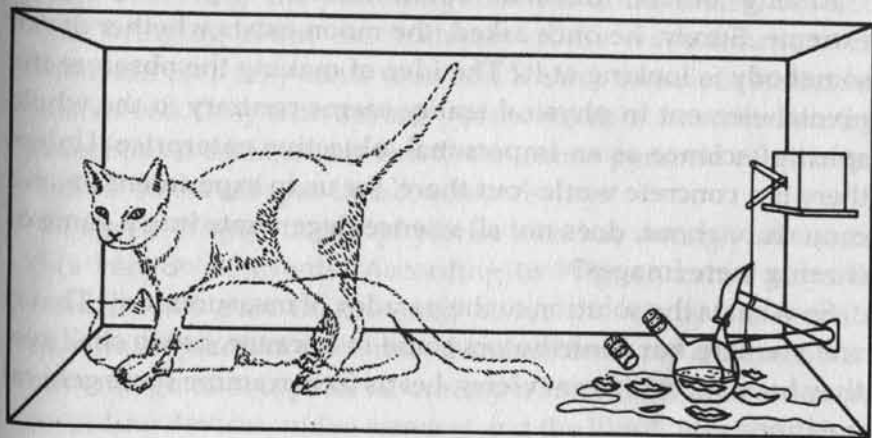
The proper mathematical solutions to this equation describe the energy states and configurations of any atom or molecular system known (which includes a lot of material, including our entire physical being). Get to know it. Look into lasers, and beyond, into the infinite and completely comprehensible universe.

lems of a quantum superposition could appear at the macroscopic level. He illustrated the issue with a touch of showmanship in a now famous thought experiment involving a cat (Fig. 9):

A cat is penned up in a steel chamber, along with the following diabolical device (which must be secured against direct interference by the cat): in a Geiger counter there is a tiny bit of radioactive substance, so small, that perhaps in the course of one hour one of the atoms decays, but also with equal probability, perhaps none; if it happens, the counter tube discharges and through a relay releases a hammer which shatters a small flask of hydrocyanic acid. If one has left this entire system to itself for an hour, one would say that the cat lives if meanwhile no atom has decayed. The first atomic decay would have poisoned it.

In our own minds we are quite clear that the cat must be *either* dead *or* alive. On the other hand, according to the rules of quantum mechanics the total system within the box is in a *superposition* of two states, one with a live cat, the other a dead cat. But what sense can we make of a live-dead cat? Presumably

Fig. 9. The paradox of Schrödinger's cat. The poison device is a means of amplifying a quantum superposition of states to a macroscopic scale, where a paradoxical coexistence of live and dead cats seems to be implied. (From B. S. DeWitt (1970) 'Quantum mechanics and reality', *Physics Today*, 23, 9.)



## Act VIII

### Interview with Tobias Hübinette

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My conclusion is more or less that the dissent is here, that is evident, among those who were born and grew up in Fittja and Sweden. The dissent and the antagonism is already here. So what the far-left young adults did was that they capitalized on that dissent. It was not they who created it in the first place, although many things indicate that they were the ones who were mainly the activists in the riots. It is not a coincidence that they were able to capitalize the dissent in a place like Fittja because the structural, economical injustices are already here, the anger and resentment.

If you take for example the riots in France, UK or USA, they are almost always created and done by the minorities themselves and it is so obvious what it is about, about economic injustice that becomes institutionalized. And that is certainly the case in Sweden as well. But the riots that happened in Sweden during the summer and autumn 2009 cannot be compared to the riots that have happened in the bigger Western countries, because they are much smaller in scale.

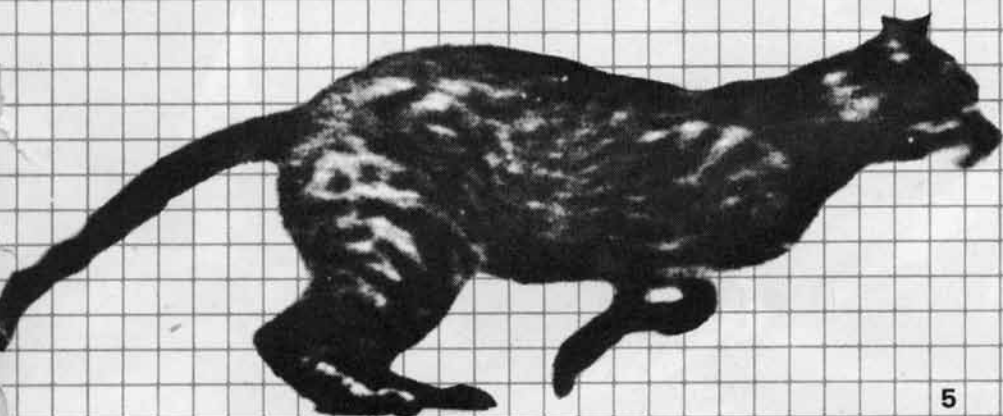
We had an academic conference about the riots. The riot in Fittja was more or less the last one in the series of riots. We had already started to work on the conference, because we knew that suburban violence had become an important issue from then on, so that is why we had this conference. Nevertheless, it was weird



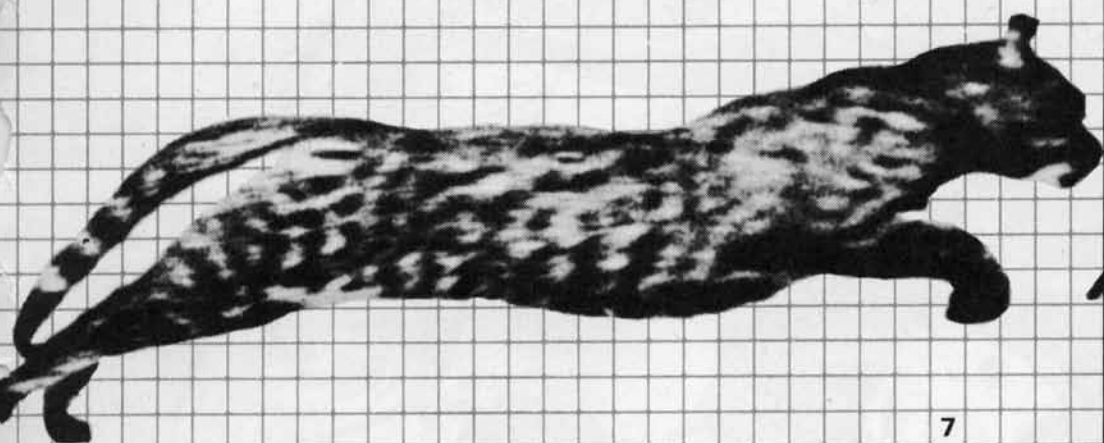
for us as well, as it was quite violent in terms of material damage.

It was not very big in the media. It was a strategy from the municipality to downplay the event. It was more or less just that this and this night a lot of destruction happened, no one was hurt and police has the situation under control. Maybe a couple of months after there was a small report on the court trial.

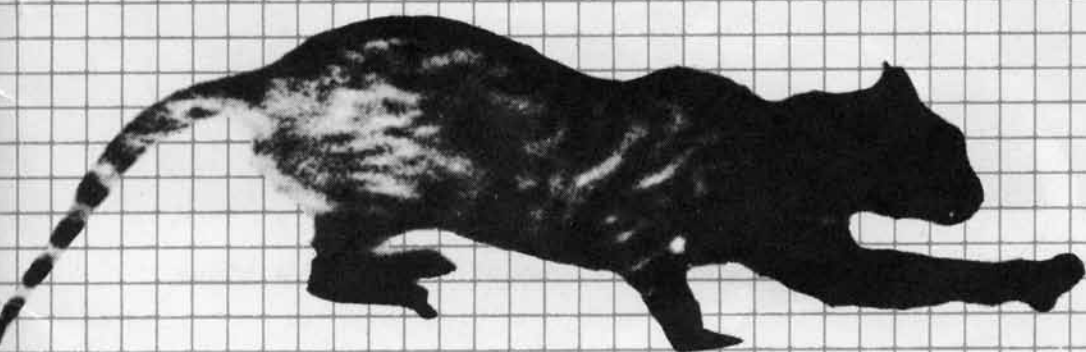
They didn't talk about white activists, but of leftist activists. Another strategy, very conscious is to turn Fittja to a place where only minorities are living. But they are here, and they have been here for many years, young adults who are white Swedes, many of them are leftist and many of them are also activists, but they are also inhabitants of Fittja. They belong to the community as they live here physically. But the municipality is stressed about that as they are not used to it. There is a parallel to the 1970s and 80s, when some of the Maoists, the far left of that time, consciously moved to small cities and started to work in the factories and to live among the workers, and the strategy was to start wild strikes and to stop production in factories. I remember from my childhood, how a group of Maoists came to live in my small industrial home town, they came from Stockholm and other university cities and they started to work in the factories. They were not from working class families but they became workers of course as they started to work in the factories. And some of them were involved in strikes. There is a similarity here in the sense that you can compare the non-white proletarianized ridden underclass suburbs of the bigger cities of Sweden to the industrial towns of that time. And also at that time, the antagonism was already there as well. The class antagonism was already in place.



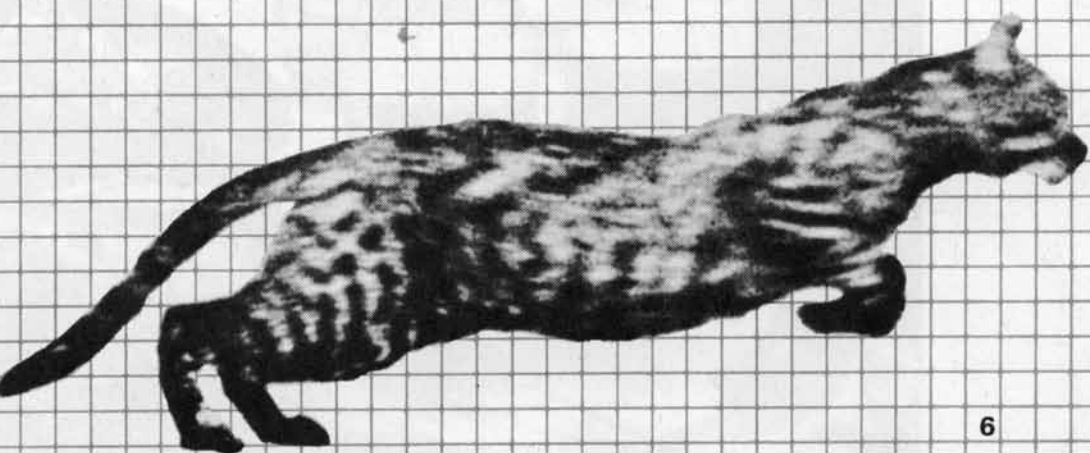
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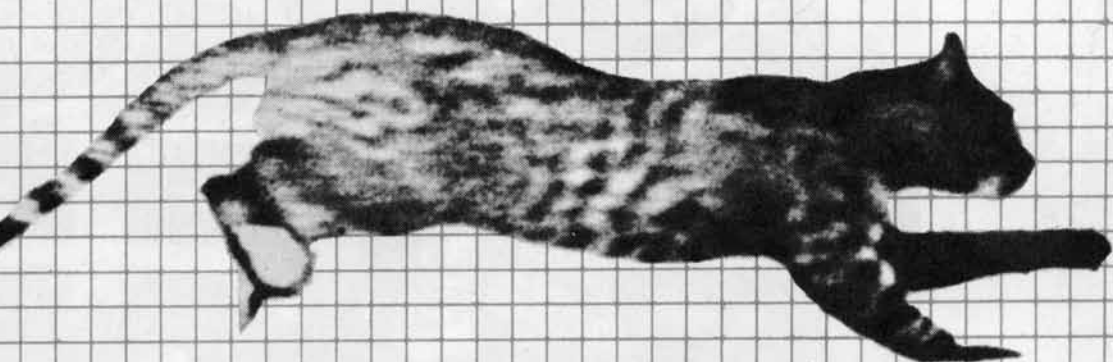
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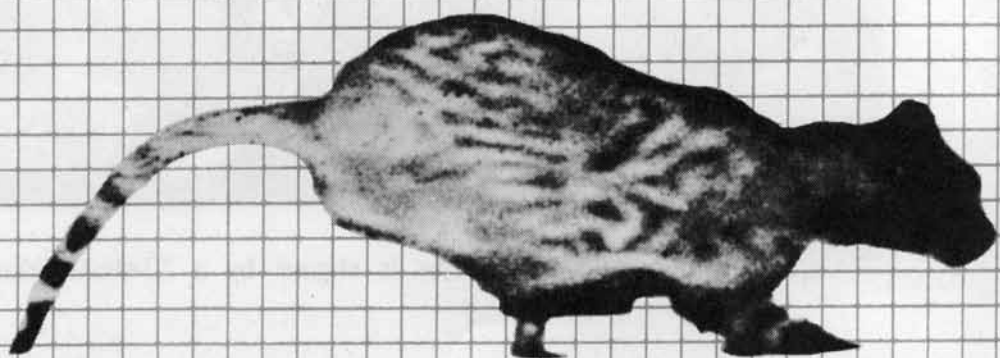
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The internal pandemonium/contradictions of the Annotations were one way of ridding ourselves of the objectivist/atomist model of discovery. The annotations were, and I see this as a positive feature, a kind of dogfight. To remove the anomalies and contradictions would be to miss the point. There seems to me a danger of the rationalist ideology lingering on. For instance, one can be lead to see the 'implosion' notion as responsible for a shift from dispelling the 'confusions' of others, to analysis of our own confusions. Anyway, my notion of going-on is presently embedded within the broad cover of pandemonium. There is no question of trying to formalize this pandemonium since you then remove one crucial ingredient: the interest. And anyway, the pandemonium is in essence a question of praxis. Pandemonium in the way we internally abrasively interact, and pandemonium in the relation between us and the culture.

(Mel Ramsden, 'Concerning the Annotations', 1974)

**If the real is transitive and contradictory and therefore unavailable outside of conceptualization, then art's possible realism lies in the articulation of those asymmetries, antagonism, hiatuses, and con-flicting relations, which constitute this process.**

(John Roberts, 'Postmodernism, Politics and Art', p. 37)

“This is a group of demonstrators who appear to show up at different times in different places to protest against different things,” Södertörn police spokesperson Mats Nylén told *The Local*.

“I guess you could call them general troublemakers.”

(David Landes, *The Local*, 29.10.2009)

They were not our kids. They came from outside. They are neo-nazis.

(Fadime, Turkish resident of Fittja)

For a pilgrimage I needed five hundred statists, but I had only 80, mostly American Indians, but I needed ‘Syrians’. I had to put them so far from the camera that their race would not be recognizeable.

(Interview with Luis Buñuel, *Filmske Sveske* No. 7, 1968)

**Vandalization of the printing establishment used by Expo and a shop selling the magazine have been the methods employed to stop distribution. The methods have been used before by Communists, Nazis, extreme nationalists, and other groups for whom truth, freedom, and the open exchange of views is a threat. They don't tolerate the truth, they can't cope with participating in open discourse and free debate, they run like rats if they happen to get a ray of light on them.**

(Editorial in Dagens Nyheter published June 6th 1996, reproduced in Allan Pred, 'Even in Sweden', p. 178)

What we're doing (and what we've often done) is to make things (art of a sort) which are built like meso-metric chemicals. Built of parts not mixed together, not identified with the sum of their constituents, but such that they are identical with all of them conceived separately as resonant. We might call them 'hybrids', not in the anthropological sense of bullshitters like Homi Bhabha or Peter Wollen, but in the sense that we're producing work which is mutated from its original form, and decidedly mutated in relation to what might be called our original intentions (or hopes and fears).

(Art & Language, 'Making Meaningless' in *Art and Language in Practice* p. 239)





## Act VIII

### Ideology is Noise

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Subculture represent 'noise' (as opposed to sound): interference in the orderly sequence which leads from real events and phenomena to their representation in the media. We should therefore not underestimate the signifying power of the spectacular subculture not only as a metaphor for potential anarchy 'out there' but as an actual mechanism of semantic disorder: a kind of temporary blockage in the system of representation.

Specifically I have used the term 'noise' to describe the challenge to symbolic order that such styles are seen to constitute. Perhaps it would be more accurate and more telling to think of this noise as the flip-side to Althusser's 'teeth-gritting harmony' (Dick Hebdige, 'Subculture: The Meaning of Style')

## **Ideology as noise, riot as knowledge**

The municipal anti-racism discussed above has become an important issue in its own right, separate from the struggles of black city dwellers. The Labour councils who have set out to 'attack' racism and win active support from their black citizens by changing 'Britannia Walk' to 'Shaheed E Azam Bhagot Singh Avenue'• or by telling environmental health officers who monitor noise on their estates to be lenient with noisy parties which are the product of black ethnicity...

(Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, p. 229)

It is to acknowledge their gesture as a new language of resistance – and to refute the definition which the state through years of indoctrination has persuaded the black underclass to accept as the language of gangsterism. It is to refute, in the particular, that other romanticism of anti-organisation blacks which holds that unemployed black youth or, rather, anti-employment black youth are 'gunning for a wage'. It is, in other words, to refute the 'ideology' of these political romanticists that if every dissident section of society did its own thing, capitalism would lie down and die – it is to refute the politics of spontaneism which Gramsci equates with opportunism.

(Ambalavaner Sivanandan, 'Race, Class and the State: The Political Economy of Immigration' p. 87)

## Act VIII

### Exile as Noise – Noise as Exile by Dror Feiler

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To be in exile, to be displaced from one's country of origin and upbringing, to be an immigrant—the experience of over 185 million people in the world, on a conservative estimate—is a wrench perhaps comparable in impact to that of war, long-term hunger or imprisonment.

For me to be in exile, to be an immigrant is like being “NOISE” in musical context.

Instead of a person creatively carrying over meanings, across accepted borders of sense, a person is here bodily pushed over borders by forces beyond his or her control.

In “NOISE MUSIC” performances aural elements are sprinting toward each other from opposite far ends of the aural space and are colliding in a direct, violent impact. This sound of crashing aural elements is “NOISE MUSIC”. While sound connotes nothing more than the sense data of hearing, “NOISE MUSIC”, from the Latin *nausea*, suggests an unpleasant disturbance, confusion, or interference baldly lacking any musical quality and that in sociological terms for me is “EXILE”.

Creating this sense of feeling alien and out of place, a widespread unease, sometimes deepening into despair, is built-in the experience of modernity. Marx found the root of alienation in the

labor process. The acute critic of the first modern mass democracy, Thoreau, postulated that most people live lives of quiet desperation, but the sentiment is most often articulated by and about intellectuals, from Nietzsche to Sartre to Said.

“NOISE MUSIC” generates straightaway auditory disturbance, panic and fear, we hear something like the squeal of a dentist’s suction straw, the collision of helicopters, or the thermonuclear roar of the sun’s core. It sounds as if the machines of music have begun to digest the earth, and we listen to the garbage disposal run as nature is ground in technology’s gizzard. And this fear is similar to the usual reaction to the “other”, to the immigrant.

“The metaphor, ‘all modern thinkers are exiles’, might tend rather to conceal the brute fact of bodies not only psychically but physically in exile, and the new ways of feeling, thinking, and living that this brings; to elide the experience of working and downtrodden people. The metaphor is of Jewish/Christian origin, evoking the expulsion from Eden; but “what is truly horrendous: that exile is irremediably secular and unbearably historical; that it is produced by human beings for other human beings”.

(Edward Said, ‘Reflections on Exile’, *Granta* 13, 1984, p.160; reprinted in *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, Cambridge, ma 2000)

One cannot listen to an entire composition without suffering effects: muscles twitch, nerves fray, the heart races, and cognition hits a wall. Unlike artists who pride themselves on rupturing eardrums with low frequencies at high volumes, or who induce fear and disgust through extended samples of a rape beneath viscous hardcore “NOISE MUSIC” is not attacking our physical or moral limits. Instead, it presents the simple horror of extreme complexity. Here music is sacrificed to the art of aural agitation.

“Most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that--to borrow a phrase from music--is contrapuntal. For an exile, habits of life, expression, or activity in the new

## Act VIII

environment inevitably occur against the memory of these things in another environment. Thus both the new and the old environment are vivid, actual, occurring together contrapuntally. ... There is a unique pleasure in this sort of apprehension." (Edward Said, "The Mind of Winter: Reflections on Life in Exile," Harper's Magazine (September, 1984), 269: pp.49–55, p.35)

How can we make sense of this situation? Why must music now risk its own identity in order to strike a critical chord with its culture? What social and aesthetic forces are at work behind the back of this seemingly anti-social and anti-aesthetic phenomenon? Does the "unlistenability" of "NOISE MUSIC" mark a kinship with the now distant and inaudible shock of the *avant-garde music*? Is dissonance even possible in our age, and what does dissonance, in its achievement or failure, press us to confront? Just as the music of Jimi Hendrix and the Sex Pistols that once resembled alternative forms of life now find homes in soft drink and car commercials, will this unbearable "NOISE MUSIC" also take root in the status quo? Has it already?

"The pattern that sets the course for the intellectual as outsider is best exemplified by the condition of exile, the state of never being fully adjusted, always feeling outside the chatty, familiar world inhabited by natives ... Exile for the intellectual in this metaphysical sense is restlessness, movement, constantly being unsettled, and unsettling others. You cannot go back to some earlier and perhaps more stable condition of being at home; and, alas, you can never fully arrive, be at one in your new home or situation." (Edward Said, 'Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures', New York: Pantheon Books, 1994, p. 39)

"NOISE MUSIC" could only become meaningful and articulate at a time when thought and language have become somehow inarticulate. As T.W. Adorno's stipulates, that we live in an abstract and instrumental world, where each object we encounter holds meaning only as 1) a representative of the class to which it belongs and 2) a tool for our use.

## **Ideology as noise, riot as knowledge**

Much of the veracity of Adorno's theory of art lies in its ability to explain the cultural tension played out in the conflicting responses to "NOISE MUSIC".

"The exile knows that in a secular and contingent world, homes are always provisional. Borders and barriers, which enclose us within the safety of familiar territory, can also become prisons, and are often defended beyond reason or necessity. Exiles cross borders, break barriers of thought and experience".

(Edward Said, 'Reflections on Exile', p. 170)

As soon as we encounter "NOISE MUSIC", we are engaged in a struggle to make some sense of what we hear. Unable to categorize the stimulus within any known musical genre, incapable of interpreting or recognizing sounds, and generally bereft of aesthetic orientation, the work commands our full attention. With our ear tuned and focused to hunt out some structure and reason in the work, micrologics emerge, and like Schoenberg and Berg's rigid expressionistic compositions under the twelve-tone system, the work's elaborate and exact structure is not readily apparent. Sometimes "NOISE MUSIC" breaks for a few seconds, as if the blinds to the horror were closed for a moment, to reveal the tinkling of wind chimes. Like the vertical zips in Barnett Newman's otherwise monochrome paintings that mark the very origins of the universe, such a quiet landmark amidst this otherwise undifferentiated sonic topography becomes a potential site for infinite meaning. We're intrigued: if there's some form, there must be more. Reconciliation, it would seem, must follow somewhere in the wake of structure.

The metaphor of intellectual as exile remains highly ambiguous. On the one hand, the chosen identity of outsider suggests a welcome break with conformity: 'to stand away from "home" in order to look at it with the exile's detachment' is a particular instance of what Brecht calls the 'estrangement effect', of seeing all as strange unless sanctioned by reasoned values. This involves seeing things not simply as they are, but 'as they have come to be that way: contingent, not inevitable . . . the result of a series of

## Act VIII

historical choices made by human beings'. And indeed Said's insistence that by a creative use of displaced personhood the intellectual can become a well-informed critic in the borderlands between the poorer and richer sections of the world, on 'both sides of the imperial divide', seems to me rather Brechtian and right. In that case, forced displacement becomes 'a model for the intellectual who is tempted, and even beset and overwhelmed, by the rewards of accommodation, yea-saying, settling in'.

(Edward Said, 'Reflections on Exile', p. 170; 'Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals', *Grand Street* 12.3, 1993, pp. 122–4; *Culture and Imperialism*, New York 1993, p. xxvii)

The most disturbing aspect of "NOISE MUSIC" must be its technical perfection. Despite the *prima facie* appearance of chaos, "NOISE MUSIC" abides by the strictest ordering principles. When a "NOISE MUSIC" fragment takes hold of musical form or trope, they are compulsively consistent. With the amplifiers whole power and register a "NOISE MUSIC" pieces fit together like a massive mechanical contraption that does not accomplish anything. "We have an exactly calculated and efficient piece serving no end, and thus we see the image of modern life: the increasing efficiency of instrumental rationality without a meaningful end in sight. Thus "NOISE MUSIC" exemplifies Thoreau's description of the industrial revolution as "an improved means to an unimproved ends."

(Henry David Thoreau, 'Walden', Boston: Beacon Press, 1997)

Exile, far from being the fate of nearly forgotten unfortunates... becomes something closer to a norm, an experience of crossing boundaries and charting new territories in defiance of the classical canonic enclosures, however much its loss and sadness should be acknowledged and registered.

(Edward Said, 'Culture and Imperialism', p. 317)

Our attention funnels into the work's singular moments, and once we realize the "NOISE MUSIC" is not here to fulfill a macro-structural objective, it becomes something that ends in itself. Instead of singular "NOISE" existing for the abstract achievements



of the whole, the whole is composed to throw us back onto the horns of the “NOISE”. Now very much unlike Beethoven, whose dissonance always serves a higher abstract order, here the very material of composition steals the show. The singular, particular, and visceral “NOISE” fully consumes us. Every “NOISE” in the music takes on a specific meaning, and no clear hierarchy exists between them. Each “NOISE” in the music, just as Adorno described each sentence of *Aesthetic Theory*, is equally close to the center. Yet equality does not slip into interchangeability, for each “NOISE” in the music remains painfully particular. Thus we find a possible exemption to Adorno’s claim that the “history of music at least since Haydn is the history of fungibility: that nothing is in-itself and that everything is only in relation to the whole.”

Liberation as an intellectual mission, born in the resistance and opposition to the confinements and ravages of imperialism, has now shifted from the settled, established, and domesticated dynamics of culture to its unhoused, decentered, and exilic energies, energies whose incarnation is today the migrant, and whose consciousness is that of the intellectual and the artist in exile, the political figure between domains, between forms, between homes, and between languages.

(Edward Said, ‘Culture and Imperialism’, pp.332–3)

The “critical power of art” (in this case “NOISE MUSIC”) is a somatic experience that “hits you in the gut” and “resists predatory reason, precisely because it can’t be stomached, gobbled up by the mind.” “If experience leaves a non-digestible residue that won’t go away,” “that is food for critical cognition.”

(Susan Buck-Morss, ‘Aesthetics After the End of Art: Interview with Grant Kester,’ *Art Journal* 56 (1997): 38)

“Those who find their homeland sweet are still tender beginners; those to whom every soil is as their native one are already strong; but those who are perfect are the ones to whom the entire world is as a foreign land.”

(Hugo of St. Victor (1097-1141))

## **Act VIII**

"Philosophy says what art cannot say, although it is art alone which is able to say it; by not saying it."

(Theodor Adorno, 'Aesthetic Theory', trans. C. Lenhardt (London: Routledge, 1984), 107; see also Bernstein, 'The Fate of Art', 244))

Unemployment is no longer clearly separated from employment. The segmentation of labour force; flexibility; outsourcing; mobility; part-time employment; training; internship and informal work have blurred all the separations.

In France in November 2005 in the *banlieus*, the rioters didn't demand anything, they attacked their own condition, they made everything that produces and defines them their target. Rioters revealed and attacked *the proletarian situation now*: the worldwide precarisation of the labour force. In doing so they immediately made obsolete, in the very moment in which such a demand could have been articulated, any desire to be an 'ordinary proletarian'.

(Theorie Communiste, Communization in the Present Tense, p. 48–50)



*Scamion.*

*Tetrax Urogallus. Linn. Syst. p. 159. n. 1.*  
*Tiador-hona.*

**“There are no stories in the riots, only the ghosts of other stories. If you look there you can see Enoch Powell telling us in 1969 that we don’t belong. You can see Malcolm X visiting us in 1965 when the conservatives said: if you want a nigger for your neighbour, vote Labour. She remembered Malcolm strolling through Smethwick saying: if this is the center of imperialism, then we have a common struggle. For a moment voice of Malcolm swooned over ashes of decline.”**

(Handsworth Songs, John Akomfrah/Black Audio Film Collective, 1986)



**Act IX**

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**Frantz Fanon**

## Act IX

I shall then suggest that ideology "acts" or "functions" in such a way that it "recruits" subjects among the individuals (it recruits them all), or "transforms" the individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very precise operation which I have called interpellation or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: "Hey, you there!"

(Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation')

'Look, a Negro!' It was an external stimulus that flicked over me as I passed by. I made a tight smile.

'Look, a Negro!' It was true. It amused me.

'Look, a Negro!' the circle was drawing a bit tighter. I made no secret of my amusement.

'Mama, see the Negro! I'm frightened!' Frightened! Frightened! Now they were beginning to be afraid of me. I made up my mind to laugh myself to tears, but laughter had become impossible.

(Frantz Fanon, 'Black Skin, White Masks')



**Fanon**

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Fanon made two critical correctives to class analyses of the modern world:

1. The social and cultural organisation of colonial domination occurs through a racial discourse, which is eventually appropriated by a native petit-bourgeoisie for its own purposes.
2. In the aftermath of an anti-colonial struggle, the petit-bourgeoisie, not the proletariat, is much more likely to inherit power from the metropole's bourgeoisie.

(Cedric Robinson, 'The Appropriation of Frantz Fanon', p. 88-89)

As Robinson very clearly describes, this appropriation of Fanon could be applied to most of his devotees. Our primary concern in this act is to show that the recuperation of Fanon's thought is not only due to the conjunctural situation of petit-bourgeois intellectuals. The real problem is in the very form of this appropriation. As Adorno tried to defend Bach against his devotees, we shall try to defend Fanon from Homi Bhabha. The history of formal appropriation of Frantz Fanon is easy to systematize with the simple fact that in most of the cases of recuperation and depolitization of Fanon's thoughts, his book 'Black Skin, White Masks' weighs more than the 'Wretched of the Earth'. The conference on Fanon

## Act IX

that united film-makers and theoreticians, that resulted in the book 'The Fact of Blackness', is from the first to the last page solely influenced by 'Black Skin, White Masks'. Even in many cases of this appropriation, a grammatical mistake is at stake: instead of original 'Black Skin, White Masks', it is reproducing the title in the neutral false equality of singularity as 'Black Skin, White Mask' (among these the notorious documentary film of Isaac Julien made in 1996). In these translations the complexity of Fanon's thought gives place to a democratic reciprocity where 'black skin, white mask' could be replaced just as well, without difficulty, with 'white skin, black mask'. This way Fanon's thought is ultimately reduced to politics of identity, and of experience of identity, where politics per se is a relative and casual position.

Oh dear.

(Salman Rushdie, 'Songs Doesn't Know the Score' in The Guardian)

We have to defend Fanon from Homi Bhabha for various reasons. But the most crucial to us is his effective appropriation of three concepts of Fanon, or situations that have been crucial for this paper film: violence, spontaneity and noise. It would be easy to dismiss Bhabha's appropriation of Fanon if he was just deconstructing the 'Black Skin, White Masks'. But he is equally successful in his efforts to depoliticize the 'Wretched of the Earth', especially the notion of violence that is most crucial to that book. Violence that is for Fanon a conceptual strategy of a break, refusal and a total negation of ideological elements that entail the racist and colonial discourses, as been interpreted by Homi Bhabha as a kind of everlasting situation of human being, that is the fuel and condition for its existence. He is reducing the politics of violence to a psycho-affective survival and a search for a human agency. Similarly one could say, effective biologism in the shape of cultural identity is at stake here.

Violence does not offer a clear choice between life and death, or slavery and freedom, because it confronts the colonial condition of life-in-death. Fanon's phenomenology of violence

## Frantz Fanon

conceives of the colonized – body, soul, culture, community, history – in a process of ‘continued agony (rather) than a total disappearance’.

(Homi Bhabha, Foreword: Framing Fanon in Introduction of the ‘Wretched of the Earth’)

The violence, portrayed as ‘everlasting tension’ of human condition is for Bhabha a psychological compensation for the bipolar conditions generated by the ideological contradictions of Cold War regime. To be sure, socialism and nationalism are the political conjunctures of violence. But psycho-affectively violence is freedom from the politics, it is freedom from the Cold War, a condition that is possible only as the “project of futurity.” Formally violence is metaphor for impossibility: the shape of things yet to come. A fantasy. So, it means, to translate to political language, that Fanon will make sense only at the moment when conditions of Cold War are not valid any more: only when communist moment ceases to exist. To make it more clear, it is to claim that Fanon spoke for the future, for the non-Cold War period, and for the period of post-colonialism, where there are not any more bipolarities, but endless splits, endless positions. The name of this process is violence.

Formally we arrived at the very core of the Bhabhaian worldview; it is religious pop-Lacanianism: in the beginning there was a split, which is continuously splitting!

It would be a great experimental and subversive film if it was made from this formal method; continuous, and conscious desuturing, limitless breaks, and ruptures, leading to the ultimate negation of film, a possible anti-film.

But this is not the case with Bhabha’s scenario: his film, sporadically projected in various episodes of his texts, is a narrative of identification.

If the policy of hegemony is, quite literally, unsignifiable without the metonymic representation of its agonistic and ambivalent structure of articulation, then how does the collective will stabilize and unify its address as an agency of representation,

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as representative of a people? How do we avoid the mixing or overlap of images, the split screen, the failure to synchronize sound and images?

(Homi Bhabha, 'The Commitment to Theory')

This is clearly a cinematic question: how not to kill the narration while avoiding the suturing effect? In the following page of the same text, Bhabha gives the answer by showing elements of his scenario. First, the Other is constructed by the "shot/reverse-shot" strategy. But since this strategy is impossible due to Bhabha's cosmogony being based on eternal splits, then what is left is to abandon the classicist Hollywoodian story telling. As for some strange reason, for Bhabha it is impossible to conceive any story other than Hollywood. There has to be a (cinematic) solution for this paradox. Second, the split is not only acting as the ontology in the metaphorical level, it has also a firm psycho-affective effect. The split is a time-lag. This means that in every subjective enunciation there is automatic denial of synchronicity. Since Bhabha does not want to regress his theory to Jungian deep motives – asynchronicity, collective unconsciousness, etc. – he elaborates this through the Althusserian model of uneven temporalities (?!). As a result we have a film called "Third Space": "a representation of which it cannot 'in itself' be conscious", but that guarantees the continuity between "I" and "You", not through mechanical "Shot/reverse-shot" model (a model which since a long time even the Hollywood movies have stopped using), but through the model which is based on passage between these two subjects. To paraphrase; this would be a model of "shot/ (passage in between shot/reverse-shot)/reverse-shot".

Bhabha explains this process with reference to Derrida ("It is an operation that both sows confusion between opposites and stands between the opposites 'at once') but we are also invited to grasp this cinematic moment on the very object of "colonial signifier", that is "the narrative uncertainty of cultures in-between". This is suture of de-sutured elements, a narration through antagonistic elements of enjoyable movie. That it is of a colonizers's fantasy is another aspect of its success.

## Frantz Fanon

My concept of stereotype-as-suture is a recognition of the ambivalence of that authority and those orders of identification... It is a non-repressive form of knowledge that allows for the possibility of simultaneously embracing two contradictory beliefs, one official and one secret, one archaic and one progressive, one that allows the myth of origins, the other that articulates difference and division.

(Homi Bhabha, 'The Other Question')

This cinematic method is replacing the negation of avant-garde with the negotiation of mainstream. It is an all-inclusive model that happens automatically, by itself and without any conscious effort. It is the complete opposite of what we are proposing. As anti-constructivism it is in the bedrock of experience and religion. It has the obligation not to Revolution, but to tradition. Nothing is novel in Bhabha, no experiment is needed. One only needs to open his or hers ears to the all-embracing voices of 'time-lag', to the Third Space, to the everlasting compensatory psycho-effective violence, or to the noise.

Its noise – 'crackle, grate, cut' – makes vocal and visible, across the flow of the sentence's communicative code, the struggle involved in the insertion of agency – wound and bow, death and life – into discourse.

(Homi Bhabha, 'The Postcolonial and the Postmodern')

It is everywhere. There is no need for extra intellectual or artistic effort to construct the noise: just the right sensibility, and unspoiledness by any grand ideology is enough for this emancipation. The rest is guaranteed.

In fact every time I went home the screams coming from downstairs kept me awake at night. They were torturing Algerians in the cellar and the disused rooms so as to get information out of them.

(Frantz Fanon, 'The Wretched of the Earth')

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For this method it is impossible to differentiate Griffith from Marguerite Duras, or Gillo Pontecorvo from Werner Herzog; there is noise and time lag in each of them. One has to take the right message from all these palimpsests.

Black Audio Film Collective may have been guilty of mixing its metaphors when it spoke of 'a political field coloured by the trajectories of industrial decline and structural crisis'. But it seems to be struggling harder for language in which to represent Handsworth as I know it than Salman's lofty, disdainful, and too – complacent 'Oh dear'.

(Stuart Hall, 'Song of Handsworth Praise' in *The Guardian*)

But as Bhabha insists, surprisingly, this temporality of cultural meaning and 'multi-accentuality' is best expressed in experimental art and film emerging from the left. It is our duty to look how "ghost stories" of Handsworth Songs, which is the leit-motif of this paper-film, have been heard by Bhabha. If Enoch Powell and Malcolm X is heard in the ghost stories of riots, it means, according to Bhabha, that there is not a dialectic in these moments, but what he calls the supplementarity. Supplementarity that replaces the pedagogy with "fullness of life", is spontaneity of life that crushes the totalities and solidities of the whole sociology and science, of the ideology. This is now a new turn in Homi Bhabha, it engages with history in the terms of "Third Space" film, as a historicism without essentialism, as an anti-historicist historicism. What leads one moment to another, and what enables transformation is not struggles and conflicts, but flowering of time-lags, of differences, and of hybridities.

The indeterminacy of diasporic identity is the secular, social cause for what has been widely represented as the 'blasphemy' of *The Satanic Verses*. Hybridity is heresy.

(Homi Bhabha, 'How Newness Enters the World')

This in-betweenness is heresy, that much we understood. But as everyone knows, all films are made with joining various scenes

and frames into one concept, be it narrative or non-narrative. That depends on the political and ideological concept of the conjoiners of the contingencies. For Bhabha any scene, any frame is by itself, in its very nature, a hybrid, and as such has heretical and subversive elements.

Hybrid hyphenations emphasize the incommensurable elements – the stubborn chunks – as the basis of cultural identifications.

(Homi Bhabha, 'How Newness Enters the World')

These contingencies are not established as continuity through construction, but through the refusal of intervention, solely through determinacy of their spontaneities. Apart from politics that is missing in Bhabha, also construction, and conceptualization are absent from this model.





The text calls this event of unsettling disclosure violence. It is violence no longer in the sense of the antidialectic which, according to “Concerning Violence,” “ruled over the ordering of the colonial world.” Nor is it simply the avenging violence—“un juste retour des choses”—by means of which the colonized in revolt “wreck the colonial world.” We are in the presence of a third moment and meaning of violence: violence as that “knowledge through praxis [connaissance dans La praxis],” that revolutionizing mode of practical reason, which shatters the myth of the people as an “undivided mass,” forewarns the nascent citizenry of “all attempts at mystification,” inoculates them against “all anthems to the nation,” against the “carnival” of unanimity.

(Ato Sekyi-Otu, ‘Fanon’s Dialectics of Experience’, p. 116)

## **Act IX**

**He has put a knife on the  
things that held us together  
and we have fallen apart.**

(Chinua Achebe, 'Things Fall Apart')



## Biography

Chinua Achebe	Writer
Aijaz Ahmad	Theoretician and political activist
Louis Althusser	Philosopher
John Akomfrah	Film-maker
Art & Language	Art collective
Alain Badiou	Philosopher
Petra Bauer	Artist
Homi Bhabha	Theoretician
Walter Benjamin	Philosopher and literary critic
Luc Boltanski	Sociologist
Sezgin Boynik	Artist and theoretician
Luis Bunuel	Film-maker
Ben Brewster	Editor and translator
Margareta Carlstedt	Librarian, Multicultural Center, Fittja
Rosalind Coward	Theoretician
Eve Chiapello	Sociologist
Guy Debord	Film-maker and theoretician
Arif Dirlik	Historian
Kodwo Eshun	Theoretician and film-maker
Fadime	Municipality worker, Fittja
Frantz Fanon	Philosopher and psychoanalyst
Dror Feiler	Musician, artist and activist
Nancy Fraser	Sociologist
Michael Futrell	Historian
Paul Gilroy	Sociologist
Tomislav Gotovac	Film-maker
Stuart Hall	Sociologist and cultural critic
Dick Hebdige	Cultural critic
Minna L. Henriksson	Artist

## Biography

Hassan Hosseini-Kaladjahi	Researcher, Multicultural Center, Fittja
Sepidar Hosseini	Artist
Tobias Hübinette	Researcher, Multicultural Center, Fittja
Päivi Huotari	Journalist
David Landes	Journalist
La Fontaine Jean de	Fabulist
Sylvain Lazarus	Philosopher
V.I. Lenin	Philosopher and political activist
MC5	Music group
Dusan Makavejev	Film-maker
Trine Moeller Madsen	Art critic
Peter Osborne	Philosopher
Otolith Group	Art collective
Aleksanda Ålund	Sociologist
Vijay Prashad	Sociologist
Allan Pred	Geographer
Mel Ramsden	Artist
Gerald Raunig	Art theorist
John Roberts	Philosopher and art critic
Aleksander Rodchenko	Artist
René León Rosales	Researcher, Multicultural Center, Fittja
Salman Rushdie	Writer
Carl-Ulrik Schierup	Sociologist
Arnold Schönberg	Musician
Ato Sekyi-Otu	Theoretician
Ambalavaner Sivanandan	Editor and activist
Theorie Communiste	Political collective
Göran Therborn	Sociologist
Dimitry Vilensky	Artist



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