

»NESIMO JIH VUN!«

PREMISLEKI VSTAJNIŠTVA

11–19 Andrej Kurnik

Artikulacije rabijo neartikuliran bes

Vstaje pozimi 2012/2013 so bile izraz krize in vse večje nevzdržnosti interesnega ter političnega predstavnštva. Kriza ima nacionalne in globalne korenine. Nacionalne so povezane s tradicijo korporativizma, globalne s hegemonijo neoliberalizma in finančnega kapitalizma. S finančno krizo protislova tako zakoreninjenega predstavnštva eksplodirajo. Sicer so na krizo predstavnštva že pred zadnjimi množičnimi vstajami opozarjale vstaje na mikroravni. Tako lahko že nekaj časa sledimo delavskim in družbenim bojem, ki so preplavili kanale interesnega in političnega predstavnštva. Ti boji so obenem že zastavljali vprašanje, ki postane z množičnimi vstajami osrednje: kako definirati skupno na osnovi heterogenosti in mnogoterosti današnjega dela in družbe.

Ključne besede: vstaje, predstavnštvo, korporativizem, neoliberalizem, finančni kapitalizem, politična rekonpozicija, skupno.

Andrej Kurnik predava na Fakulteti za družbene vede v Ljubljani. Je nosilec predmetov Politična filozofija, Genealogija državljanstva, Nova političnost in globalna družbena gibanja, Biopolitika, Politika migracij. Kot aktivist se ukvarja z razvojem metodologij aktivističnega raziskovanja. (andrej.kurnik@fdu.uni-lj.si)

21–28 Cirila Toplak

Od jeznih protestov do
trajnih družbenih sprememb

Članek z enoletne časovne razdalje podaja argumentirane analitske uvide v vzroke, posledice, kontekste in dogodkovno obzorje protestov v Sloveniji in še zlasti v Mariboru. Podaja argumente za interpretacijo nekaterih elementov teh procesov s pomočjo analitskih orodij politične teorije in zgodovinske komparacije. Prav posebej se osredinja na spoznanja, ki so lahko vodila za nadaljnji antisistemski politični aktivizem, ki bi temeljil na političnih inovacijah in ne na preigravanju ali nadgradnji obstoječih paradigmatičnih družbenih konceptov.

Ključne besede: protesti, lokalna oblast, politični aktivizem, državljanstvo.

Cirila Toplak je leta 1996 doktorirala iz Zgodovine mednarodnih odnosov na Sorboni v Parizu. Od leta 2001 uči in raziskuje na ljubljanski Fakulteti za družbene vede. (cirila.toplak@fdu.uni-lj.si)

29–49 Skupina »Svoboda vstajnikom!«

Sestavljanke za dekriminalizacijo vstaj

Na tretjo mariborsko vstajo 3. decembra 2012 so se oblasti odzvale z množičnimi aretacijami in sodnim pregonom osemindvajsetrice, ki je bila kot opozorilo drugim udeležencem vstaj mesec dni preventivno priprta. Po obsodbi sedmerice na zaporne kazni smo oblikovali skupino »Svoboda vstajnikom!«, ki je na osnovi intervjujev s kriminaliziranimi vstajniki pripravila sodelovalno analizo represije in kriminalizacije vstaj. Analiza ne daje končnih odgovorov, temveč z organiziranjem znanja priprtih o takratnih dogodkih, odpira številna vprašanja, na katera lahko odgovorimo le kolektivno. Odgovori na vprašanja, kako se v formalni demokraciji uvajajo izredne razmere, kako je kriminalizacija vstaj izraz sistematičnega potiskanja socialnega nemira v črno kroniko, kako se lahko zoperstavimo represiji in sistemskemu nasilju, se razkrivajo s sestavljanjem razbitih koščkov življenj kriminaliziranih vstajnikov in s tem razbitih koščkov te družbe. Sode-

lovalna raziskava, katere prvi rezultati so objavljeni v tem dokumentu, je zato orodje gradnje solidarnostne mreže z žrtvami uvajanja izrednih razmer, katerih namen je ohranjanje odnosa vladajoči-vladani v družbi sistematičnega razkranjanja socialnega tkiva.

Ključne besede: vstaja, represija, kriminalizacija, sodelovalna raziskava, solidarnostna mreža.

50–59 Nina Pohleven

Maribor, metropola!

Prva mariborska vstaja, ki je izbruhnila 21. novembra 2012, je zaradi svoje silovitosti presenetila. Povod za vstajo so bili radarji, ki jih je župan Kangler postavil na mariborske ulice in zaradi njih je pozneje odstopil. Njegovi odstavitvi je sledila razprava o prihodnosti Maribora, ki je potekala znotraj različnih civilnih pobud, nastalih med mariborskimi vstajami. Članek oriše dogajanja v Mariboru pred vstajami in med njimi ter dejavnosti civilnih pobud, oris pa prepleta z refleksijo o idejah in praksah zapatistov in *piqueterosov* kot dveh 'šolskih' primerov sodobnih družbenih gibanj. Opozori, v čem se mariborsko gibanje odmika od zapatistov in *piqueterosov* in v čem se jim približuje, ko skuša ugotoviti, ali je mariborsko vstajništvo presešlo delitev na sodobna gibanja z obrobja in gibanja iz globalnega središča, ki je vpeljana v tekstu. Izkaže se, da so pasivna telesa iz neoliberalnega središča kljub spremembam, ki jih je v svetovno ureditev prinesla svetovna ekonomska kriza, še vedno nesposobna ustvariti novo družbeno realnost, ki bi nam omogočila življenje onkraj neoliberalnih praks.

Ključne besede: mariborske vstaje, *piqueterosi*, zapatisti, civilne pobude.

Nina Pohleven je študentka 4. letnika Evropskih študij na Fakulteti za družbene vede na Univerzi v Ljubljani, prostovoljka na področju človekovih pravic pri Ekvilibri Inštitutu, koordinatorica projekta Banka idej Mladinsko-kulturnega centra Maribor in aktivna mariborska vstajnica. (nina.pohleven@gmail.com)

60–70 Franc Trček

Ugasimo Facebook – premislek o mariborski vstaji

V prispevku se najprej posvetim vlogi in dosegu družbenih spletnih omrežij pri generiranju protestnega gibanja. Slabosti in prednosti t. i. »facebook revolucije« analiziram na primeru FB-skupine *Franc Kangler naj odstopi kot župan Maribora*. Sledi kritična analiza poteka mariborskega in tudi vseslovenskega protestnega vala, v kateri opozorim na pretirano personifikacijo krivcev za politično razvojne težave ter na nedoraslost intelektualcev izzivom upora, ki se je kazala v pretirani »kulturizaciji« upora ter distanci med intelektualci in vstajniškim ljudstvom. Celotno dogajanje je treba premisliti ter umeščati ne le v zgodbe o dokončanju tranzicijske primarne akumulacije kapitala s strani nacionalnih elit. Treba ga je razumeti znotraj potekajočih dinamik in dialektik odnosa med delom in kapitalom, zato uvodoma razmejim miselno obzorje minimalnega področja kompleksnosti, ki ga moramo sočasno preiščevati, četudi se (navidezno) ukvarjamo z nekim lokalnim procesom, ki smo ga v Mariboru poimenovali kanglerizem.

Ključne besede: mariborska vstaja, kritična analiza, (re)kolonizacija, facebook revolucije, sublateralna misel.

Dr. Franc Trček je protestnik, sociolog, doktorski študent balkanskih študij. (franc.trcek@guest.arnes.si)

72–83 Sandra Bašić Hrvatinić

Drznost, drznost, še in še drznost

V prispevku analiziram, kako so mediji ozgodbili dogajanje na vstajah, kakšne okvire so uporabili, kako so interpretirali, o čem so poročali ter na katerem položaju in gledišču so se umestili pri ocenjevanju vstaj. Teza je, da medijsko poročanje determinira sistem, v katerem mediji delujejo, ga vzdržujejo in jim zato dovoljuje poročanje samo znotraj natančno definiranih okvirov, ki jim je skupno, da podpirajo in legitimizirajo obstoječi družbeni red. V drugem delu besedila skušam razložiti, zakaj so vstajniki ostali samo na ravni »politične revolucije« (in ne ekonomske, pojme uporabljam po Rosi Luxemburg). Še

več, zakaj se je večina vstajniških skupin trudila loviti medijsko pozornost in privolila v njihovo »dvorjenje«, zakaj niso bile poudarjene zahteve za radikalno spremembo tudi medijskega prostora? Ali je vstajništvo, vstajniško gibanje ali pa revolucija, sploh mogoča brez vstajniških medijev? Odgovor je: Ne. V prihodnosti bo politični boj temeljil na tem, katerim interesom bo služila država – državljanom ali kapitalu. Obenem pa je treba v tem boju razmejiti kapitalizem in demokracijo. Ključno vprašanje je tako zelo preprosto: Ali bomo reševali kapitalizem ali demokracijo? Oboje ne bo mogoče.

Ključne besede: (množični) mediji, medijski sistemi, novinarsko poročanje, medijsko uokvirjanje, politika, oglaševanje, javni interes, medijska politika, reprezentativna demokracija, javnost.

Sandra Bašić Hrvatini je predavateljica na Fakulteti za humanistične študije Univerze na Primorskem in medijska aktivistka. (sandra.hrvatini@guest.arnes.si)

84–92 Renata Šribar

»Tiha ikona« in »govor brez glasu«

Robovi slovenskega upora

Razprava tematizira vstajništvo na način avtoetnografije, s fokusom na ravni medosebnega, pri čemer se osredotoča na kompleksnosti, medpresečnosti družbenih delitev. Temeljni koncept, privzet iz feministične teorije, je telo/telesnost. Skozi mišljenje tega in kompleksnosti v družbeni *pozicionalnosti* se konstruira rob slovenskega upora, ki ga je avtorica metaforizirala s tiho prisotnostjo razgrajenega »subjekta« in tišino kot potezo upora proti vstajniškim razmerjem oblasti. Slednja reciklirajo tehnologijo vladajoče oblasti, »vladnosti« (Foucault), ki se v slovenskih vstajah kaže prek različnih simptomov, a vendar paradigmatško; ključen element paradigme je molk, s katerim oblastne instance oblikujejo krogotoke informiranih vključenih in ustvarjajo neinformirane izključene, instrumentalizirane za izvrševanje (določenih) nalog. Šele poudarek na pripoznanju utelešenih drugih, ki jih v medsebojnih presekih prečijo družbene delitve, omogoča delovanje z izhodišča na polju medosebnega in razlik, producirajočih množenje družbeno-političnih

zahtev – na poti do radikalizirane, pluralizirane, agonistične demokracije (Mouffe).

Ključne besede: »vladnost«, molk/tišina, utelešena prisotnost, medosebno, resubjektivacija.

Renata Šribar je raziskovalka na področju sociologije in kulturne in socialne antropologije ter docentka za antropologijo. Njena raziskovalna in civilnodružbena perspektiva je feministično teoretska, zanimajo jo predusem paradigme feministične subjektivacije in kulturne konstrukcije ženske telesnosti. (renata.sribar@guest.arnes.si)

93–101 Igor Koršič

Druga faza vstaj

Iz povzetka razmer v politiki in gospodarstvu v državi, EU in svetu avtor predlaga, kakšne naloge naj bi opravilo vstajništvo v prihodnosti. Iz primerjave Slovenije in Francije, ki imata v primerjavi s preostalimi članicami EU sorazmerno ugodne gospodarske kazalnike in s pomočjo analiz ekonomistov Paula Krugmana in Catherine Samary sklepa, da pritiski na Francijo in Slovenijo *de facto* niso namenjeni deklarirani stabilizaciji proračuna, ampak so del pritiskov globalnega kapitala, da bi neomejeno rušil socialni sistem, prelagal ceno krize na šibke in revne in čim ceneje prišel do državne lastnine. Vsekakor je jasno, da nemška varčevalna politika krize ne odpravlja, ampak povzroča mednarodno gospodarsko krizo. Vstajniško gibanje ima zato v prihodnosti nalogo z vstajami zaščititi svoje interese, preprečiti nadaljnje plenjenje države, šibkih skupin in posameznikov, organizirati alternativno parlamentarno politično silo in pripravljati trajnosti politični sistem za prihodnost. Bistveno je, da vstaje ostanejo hkrati pragmatične in vizionarske in se izogibajo doktrinarstvu.

Ključne besede: vstajniško gibanje, strukturne reforme, recesija, Evrocona, fiskalna politika, varčevanje, socialna država, državna lastnina, trgi, odgovoren državljan.

Dr. Igor Koršič, koordinator KOKS-a, izredni profesor Zgodovine in teorije filma na AGRFT. (igor.korsic@gmail.com)

Nazaj k uporu!

Članek prinaša premisleke o vstajniških praksah, o »kulturi upora«, ki je konec leta 2012 zajela slovenski prostor. Poudarjena sta dva sklopa: vpetost lokalnih manifestacij vstajništva v globalne matrice uporov, kar je tematizirano skozi akcije solidarnosti in mreženja s turškimi aktivisti, večinoma študentov v Ljubljani (primer aktivacije s pomočjo skupnosti »Occupy Gezi – Ljubljana«), in vsebinski poudarki in izostanki, to so centralizirane osrednje vsebine vstaj in obrobnejši upori, kakršna sta bila »Protest iz obupa« in solidariziranje z mariborskimi livarji. Nove kristalizacijske točke uporov se bodo verjetno odvijale na področju socialnih in delavskih pravic, ki so osrednje »novo« bojišče družbenih neenakosti, revščine in preživetja. »Nazaj k uporu!« kliče novodobni prekerni delavec, ki lahko kadarkoli izgubi službo, stanovanje, socialno zavarovanje.

Ključne besede: kultura upora, »OccupyGezi – Ljubljana«, »Protest iz obupa«, globalni upori, slovenska vstaja.

Doc. dr. Simona Zavrtnik je raziskovalka na Centru za prostorsko sociologijo na Fakulteti za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani ter aktivistka-protestnica. Področja raziskovanja so: migracije in azil, človekove pravice, javno mnenje in ranljive družbene skupine. (simona.zauratnik@fdv.uni-lj.si)

Emancipacija na robu estetskega režima

Estetski režim umetnosti po J. Rancièreu ne zagovarja revolucije, temveč nov način življenja med besedami, podobami in blagom. Izhajajoč iz predpostavke, da ima potemtakem ta režim dvojni obraz, v tekstu poskušam osvetliti vprašanje njegovega (anti)revolucionarnega potenciala. Pri tem estetskemu pripisujem ustrezno predrugačene pomene, v skladu s predrugačenim razumevanjem samega fenomena/problema imenovanega umetnost. V tej zvezi komentiram štiri primere konsenzualnih in disenzualnih umetniških praks, ki hočejo biti akti-

vistične. Iz primerjalne analize izhaja, da je estetika direktne akcije estetika, ki se izmika vsem začrtanim pravilom, pri tem pa je časovno in kontekstualno omejena; velja v določenem trenutku, na določenem kraju, v določenem performativnem, uporniškem kontekstu. Estetsko neke emancipatorne umetniške prakse – ki je nekaj drugega kot umetnost – je *rekonfigurirano estetsko*.

Ključne besede: emancipacija, estetski režim, disenzualne umetniške prakse, estetika direktne akcije, rekonfigurirano estetsko.

Nenad Jelesijević, kritik sodobne umetnosti, doktor filozofije in teorije vizualne kulture in (ne)umetnik v tandemu KITCH. (nenad@kitch.si)

Včeraj je bil nov dan [danes pa smo gotovi]

Prispevek se ukvarja z vprašanjem (ne)uspešnosti vstajniškega gibanja na Slovenskem, tematizira razloge in ponuja alternative. V izhodišču nas zanima vprašanje, kako in zakaj se je splošno nezaupanje v politični sistem razširilo na vstajniška gibanja. Za opolnomočeno civilno družbo je nujno razviti nove prijeme, izkoristiti možnosti novih tehnologij in uporabljati tiste koncepte družbene kritike, ki so bili razviti za analizo novih interpelacijskih praks. Potrebujemo platformo, ki bo vzpostavila povezavo med fizičnim in virtualnim svetom, omogočala širšo razpravo in poiskala boljše rešitve za partikularne problematike, saj digitalne vstajniške prakse niso pokazale vseh svojih potencialov. Pokažemo na alternativne možnosti institucionalizacije kritične misli, ki upošteva nove okoliščine civilnodružbenega organiziranja v okolju novih tehnologij, spremenjenih definicij subjektivnosti in utelešenja ter »tekočih« identitet.

Ključne besede: slovenska ljudska vstaja, digitalna telesa, interpretativna psihoanaliza, e-demokracija, nove tehnologije.

Nika Mahnič je dodiplomska študentka kulturologije, sodelavka redakcije za kulturo in humanistične vede

na Radiu Študent, časopisa Tribuna ter članica Danes je nov dan, Inštituta za druga vprašanja. (nmahnic@gmail.com)

Jasmina Ploštajner je diplomantka Akademije za likovno umetnost in oblikovanje, smer industrijsko oblikovanje. Poklicno se ukvarja z interaktivnim oblikovanjem. Je članica Danes je nov dan, Inštituta za druga vprašanja. (maschinna@gmail.com)

Karmen Šterk je predavateljica socialne in kulturne antropologije na FDV in FF ter članica Danes je nov dan, Inštituta za druga vprašanja. (karmen.sterk@fdv.uni-lj.si)

132–138 Max Haiven

Intervju s Silvio Federici

V intervjuju Silvia Federici premišljuje o gibanjih Occupy, njihovih predhodnikih in njihovem potencialu. Gibanje odraža nov način političnega delovanja, ki je izšlo iz krize alterglobalističnih in protivojnih gibanj zadnjega desetletja in se napaja v srečanju feminističnega gibanja in gibanja za skupno

Ključne besede: gibanje Occupy, feminizem, skupno, reprodukcija.

139–146 David Brown

Subjektivni obrat kot metodologija organiziranja

Članek obravnava organizacijsko metodologijo »subjektivnega obrata«, ki se je razvila v času gibanja 15. oktober (#15o) v Sloveniji, in sicer med zasedbo prostora pred Ljubljansko borzo. Z etnografskim pristopom razloži, kako se je metodologija razvila iz interakcij v gibanju, ko je »subjektivni obrat« postal del skupnega delovanja na okupiranem prostoru in kako je skupina Prekerni osir angažirano vstopila v ta proces. V drugem delu besedilo teoretično obravnava »subjektivni obrat« v kontekstu finančne krize, še zlasti skozi analizo finančnega kapitalizma. Pri tem se poslužuje marksistične in feministične

kritike kapitalizma, pri čemer se osredini na prisvojitve »neproduktivne« vrednosti dela. V zaključku sugerira ponovni premislek o tem, kako definiramo delo v kontekstu finančnega kapitalizma..

Ključne besede: gibanje 15o, subjektivni obrat, Prekerni osir, feminizem, financializacija.

Dawid Brown je na Univerzi Bologna magistriral iz vzhodnoevropskih študij na temo družbeno gibanje »#15o«

147–155 Igor Grošelj

Slovenski 15o in biopolitični diskurz odpora

Članek obravnava problematiko subsumpcije procesa demokratizacije slovenske družbe pod nacio in kapital po izstopu iz jugoslovanske skupnosti. Razvoj demokratičnega procesa sta namreč deformirali v slovenski postsocialistični družbi močno prisotna ideja neoliberalnega svobodnega trga in ideja o nujnosti bega z območja Balkana. Demokracija je postala žrtev političnih elit in izključujočega nacionalizma. Ljudje so čedalje bolj nezadovoljni s posledicami takšne politike, kar so jasno izrazili tudi 15. oktobra 2011 na ljubljanskem Kongresnem trgu na protestu v sklopu svetovnega dogodka 15o. Avtor analizira diskurz tega protesta in išče znake za napoved družbenih sprememb v smeri biopolitične družbe. Analiza pokaže, da je 15o v Sloveniji pomembno, na biopolitičnih predpostavkah temelječe gibanje, ki se legitimira in utrjuje na podlagi želje po udejanjanju socialne varnosti, produkcije skupnega, horizontalne demokracije, pravične delitve in menjave kapitalistične za biopolitično paradigmo.

Ključne besede: Balkan, demokracija, neoliberalizem, biopolitika, gibanje 15o, globalizacija.

Igor Grošelj je univerzitetni diplomirani komunikolog in doktorski kandidat s področja Balkanskih študij. (igor.ljubljana@gmail.com) za svojo monografijo s področja okoljske etike z naslovom Odenki zelene prejel nagrado Glasnik znanosti 2012. (tomaz.grusovnik@zrs.upr.si)

156–166 David Graeber

Ali se je gibanje Occupy dejansko zrušilo kmalu potem, ko so novembra 2011 deložirali tabore?

Besedilo je prevod podpoglavja iz knjige Davida Graeberja *Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement*. Avtor analizira elemente, ki so dejansko upočasnili dinamiko gibanja Occupy in številne napeljalo k prepričanju, da se je gibanje sesulo. Trdi, da je šlo za zgostitev več dejavnikov: nenadna sprememba policijske taktike, ki je aktivistom onemogočila, da bi oblikovali kakršno koli vrsto svobodnega javnega prostora v ameriških mestih, ne da bi jih policija takoj fizično napadla; odhod liberalnih zaveznikov, ki nove politike in policijske taktike niso hoteli več javno problematizirati; in nenadna medijska zatemnitev, ki je povzročila, da večina Američanov ni bila več obveščena o dogajanjih.

Ključne besede: gibanje Occupy, horizontalnost, policija, mediji, liberalni zavezniki.

168–176 Blaž Škerjanec

Virtualno vstajništvo

S pozicioniranjem na poststrukturalistično misel besedilo problematizira vstajništvo v Sloveniji kot pojav multitudine. Znotraj tovrstne konceptualizacije multitudine se članek obrača proti eksplikaciji hektivizma kot marginalizirane forme vstajništva in ga umešča nasproti ustaljenim uporabam internetnih socialnih omrežij. Prek kratkega pregleda hektivizma (gibanje Anonymous) tudi v Sloveniji skuša članek širiti interpretacijski doseg slovenskih vstaj in ga razširiti na problemske sklope, ki jih vpeljuje hektivizem (mediji, pravo, cenzura, lokalno/globalno, anonimnost itd.). V sklepnem delu se članek obrne proti združitvi virtualnih in realnih form vstajništva ter skozi tezo shizofrenega subjekta zarisuje osrednje točke boja globalnega alterglobalizacijskega gibanja in težav, ki so v tem kontekstu vzniknile znotraj slovenskega vstajniškega momenta.

Ključne besede: vstajništvo, hektivizem, Anonymous, shizofreni subjekt.

Blaž Škerjanec je brezposeln magister politologije. (blaz.skerjanec@gmail.com)

177–188 Danijela Tamše

Militantno raziskovanje

Nov narativ za dekriminalizacijo vstajništva

Avtorica se v besedilu ukvarja s vprašanjem vloge, ki jo ima metodologija militantnega raziskovanja pri proizvodnji uporniških subjektivitet, konkretno z nalogo, ki naj jo militantno raziskovanje igra pri dekriminalizaciji vstajništva in vstaj zadnjega leta v Sloveniji. Izhajajoč iz teorij, ki v ospredje potenciala za politično transformacijo postavljajo proizvodnjo subjektivitet, ki skozi aktivna srečanja širijo moč, postavi tezo, da je naloga militantnega raziskovanja produkcija narativa o vstajah, ki bo njihove najmanj dobrodejne učinke spremenil v najbolj osvobodilne. Kot pokaže v sklepu, je takšno ravnanje nujno, saj si lahko le tako povrnemo pravico do samodoločanja načina upiranja, ki nam je bila odvzeta v procesu kriminalizacije vstajnikov, s tem pa tudi samega vstajništva.

Ključne besede: militantno raziskovanje, produkcija subjektivitet, potencialnost, moč, upor, vstaje, kriminalizacija.

Danijela Tamše je doktorska študentka na Fakulteti za družbene vede. Od leta 2007 je vključena v različne militantne kolektive, v katerih se ukvarja s vprašanji prekernosti, transformacij dela, produkcije vednosti in migracij. (danijela_tamse@yahoo.com)

189–197 Vesna Leskošek

Vstajništvo, revolucija in vprašanje nasilja

Avtorica se ukvarja z vidikom sprememb, ki ni pogosto v ospredju govora o socialni državi in o socialnih pravicah: z zaničljivim in sovražnim diskurzom, ki diskreditira in moralno označi tiste, ki uveljavljajo denarne socialne pravice, da bi dosegla širši družbeni konsenz o minimiziranju vloge države pri zagotavljanju teh pravic. Namen moralne diskreditacije revnih je ustvariti ozračje, v katerem se zdi oteževanje dostopa do pravic moralno

upravičeno dejanje, saj je v ospredju moralne presoje prepričanje, da gre za ljudi, ki goljufajo, so leni in izkoriščajo pravice, zato je vsaka praksa dovoljena, pa naj bo še tako v nasprotju s človekovimi pravicami. Moralne oznake se gibljejo vse od goljufov in lenuhov pa do izrazov, kot so aktivni, nemotivirani ali pasivni nezaposleni. Te značilnosti naj bi bile del njihove osebnosti, njihovih psiholoških značilnosti. Učinki tega govora so večplastni, dotikajo pa se tudi razumevanja socialne države. Govor o goljufijah pripomore k razvoju prepričanj, da je socialna država, kakršno smo poznali do zdaj, s svojo obsežnostjo pripomogla k razvoju teh patologij. Zato so spremembe videti upravičene, če ne že kar pravične.

Ključne besede: socialna država, goljufije, socialne pravice, reforme, spremembe zakonodaje.

Vesna Leskošek je docentka na Fakulteti za socialno delo, kjer predava Družbena gibanja in globalne neenakosti, Študije spola in Študije mladine. Raziskovalno se ukvarja s socialno državo, družbenimi neenakostmi in spolom. Objavila je monografijo Zavrnjena tradicija in vrsto člankov v domačih in tujih revijah in knjigah. (vesna.leskosek@guest.arnes.si)

199–210 Mirt Komel

Vstajništvo, revolucija in vprašanje nasilja

Izhajajoč iz izkušnje vstajniškega gibanja na slovenskem avtorjev prispevek presprašuje razmerje med filozofsko refleksijo in političnim delovanjem, preko tega prespraševanja pa poskuša razbrati štiri temeljne drže do vstajništva, ki je samorazumljeno kot nekaj, kar se razlikuje tako od upora kot od revolucije na podlagi nadaljnje distinkcije med oblastjo, močjo in nasiljem.

Ključne besede: vstajništvo, revolucija, moč, oblast, nasilje.

Mirt Komel, doktor filozofije, asistent in raziskovalec na Oddelku za kulturologijo Fakultete za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani. (mirt.komel@fdu.uni-lj.si)

SUMMARIES

»LET'S THROW THEM OUT!«

REFLECTIONS ON THE UPRISING MOVEMENT IN SLOVENIA

11–19 Andrej Kurnik

Articulations Require Inarticulate Rage

Uprisings are an expression of the crisis and inadequacy of interest and political representation. This crisis has national and global genealogy. National genealogy is related to the tradition of corporatism, and global to the hegemony of neoliberalism and financial capitalism. With financial crises, contradictions of such representation explode. The crisis of representation was foreseen even before massive uprisings—in micro uprisings. For a certain period, one could follow labor and social struggles that surpassed channels of interest and political representation. Those struggles already addressed the question that has become central in massive uprisings: how to define the common based on heterogeneity and multiplicity of the present labor and society.

Keywords: uprisings, representation, corporatism, neoliberalism, financial capitalism, political recomposition, the common

Andrej Kurnik is a lecturer at the Faculty of Social Sciences. He lectures on political philosophy, genealogies of citizenship, new political character and global movements, biopolitics, and politics of migration. As an activist, he works on developing methodologies of militant research. (andrej.kurnik@fdu.uni-lj.si)

From Angry Protests to Lasting Social Changes

The present article presents founded analytical insights into causes, consequences, contexts and the time horizon of protests in Slovenia, in particular in Maribor, with a one-year time distance. It provides arguments for the interpretation of certain elements of these processes by means of analytical tools of political theory and the historical comparative method. The article considers in particular the findings that may represent directives for future anti-systemic political activism, founded on political innovations and not so much on variations and upgrades of the existing paradigmatic social concepts.

Keywords: protests, local authority, political activism, citizenship

Associate Professor Cirila Toplak received a PhD in history of international relations at the University of Sorbonne, Paris, France in 1996. Since 2001, she has been teaching and researching at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences. (cirila.toplak@fdv.uni-lj.si)

A Puzzle of the Decriminalization of Uprisings

Following the third uprising in Maribor (2012), the authorities responded with a mass incarceration of and legal proceedings for 28 protesters. They were remanded into preventive custody for a month as a warning to other protestors. Following the sentencing of seven protesters, the Freedom of Uprisers! Group was founded, and it made analyses of repression and criminalization of uprisings on the basis of interviews with the criminalized protesters. The analysis does not provide definite answers, but—by organizing the knowledge—rather opens numerous issues that call for collective answers to these questions: How can a formal democracy introduce a state of emergency? How did the criminalization of uprisings become an expression of a systematic spin of a social riot into crime news? How to resist repression and systematic violence? Thus, by arranging small, severed pieces of

lives of the penalized uprisers and smashed parts of our society, the group Freedom for Uprisers! is searching for answers to these questions.

Keywords: uprising, repression, criminalization, cooperative research solidarity network

Maribor, the Metropolis!

On 21 November 2012, the first uprising took place in Maribor, and it shocked the Slovenian public because of the sudden explosion of anger in a city otherwise called 'the city of ghosts'. This name reflects the city's high unemployment rate, poverty, and abandoned public places. However, the motive for the uprising were actually the radar traps that Mayor Kangler set up in the streets and because of which he was finally ousted from his post. His ousting was followed by a debate about the future of Maribor between various civil initiatives that arose during the demonstrations. The article tries to describe the events in Maribor before and during the riots, as well as the activities held by civil initiatives. It then interweaves this description with the reflection on the theories of the Zapatistas and *piqueteros* as two 'scholarly cases' of the new social movements. In addition, the article looks at the similarities and especially at the differences between the Zapatistas and *piqueteros* and the movement in Maribor as it seeks to find out whether 'the risen Maribor' surpassed the division between the movements from periphery and from the center, which is introduced in the text. It turns out that—despite the changes that global economic crisis brought to the world order—our passive bodies from the neoliberal center are still unable to create social realities that would allow us to live beyond the neoliberal practices.

Keywords: Maribor uprisings, Zapatistas, *piqueteros*, civil initiatives

Nina Pohleven is a student of European Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, volunteer in the field of human rights at the Ekuilib

Institute, and coordinator of the project Youth Bank of the Youth Cultural Centre Maribor. She was an active protester in Maribor. (nina.pohleven@gmail.com)

60–70 Franc Trček

Let's Shut Down Facebook— a Reflection on the Maribor Uprising

The text first examines the role and reach of social networks in generating a protest movement. The author analyzes the disadvantages and advantages of the so-called Facebook revolution through the case study of a Facebook group *Franc Kangler should resign as mayor of Maribor*/Franc Kangler naj odstopi kot župan Maribora. What follows is a critical analysis of the course of the wave of protests that recently took over Maribor and Slovenia. Here, the author points out the problem of over-personification of those held responsible for the political and development problems, and the fact that local intellectuals proved not being up to the challenges of the uprising. The latter is evident from the excessive “culturization” of the uprising, and the gap that soon divided the intellectuals from the protesting crowd. Furthermore, it is crucial to reflect upon the whole process, placing it into a context broader than that of the stories about the collapsed elites' completion of transitional primary capital accumulation. It is necessary to examine it within the current dynamics and dialectics of the relationship between labor and capital. Therefore, the horizon of thought set out in the introduction lies within a minimal field of complexity, always in need of conterminous reflection, even when (seemingly) dealing with a certain local process, termed by the inhabitants of Maribor as *kanglerism*.

Keywords: Maribor uprising, critical analysis, (re)colonization, Facebook revolutions, sublateral thought

Dr. Franc Trček is a protester, sociologist and PhD student of Balkan studies. (franc.trcek@guest.arnes.si)

72–83 Sandra Bašić Hrvatín

Boldness, Boldness, More and More Boldness

The author analyzes the media reporting on how the events were tangled into the whole story, framed and interpreted, and on the positions and points of view taken when reporting the events. The hypothesis is that the media report in the way they do because the system within which they operate, and which they sustain, allows only precisely determined framings of the story and these invariably support and legitimize the existing social order. In the second part, the author tries to explain why the “uprisers” stayed on the level of “political revolution” rather than attempting the economic revolution as well (both notions are borrowed from Rosa Luxemburg). Why the majority of the uprising groups sought to attract media attention and acquiesced to their “flattering” while not demanding the radical reform of the media (space) as well? Can any uprising, any rebellion movement or a revolution succeed without rebellious media? The answer is no. Moreover, it is possible to say that the outcome of the future political struggle will depend on whether the states will choose to serve the interests of citizens or of the capital. Equally importantly, it is necessary to distinguish between capitalism and democracy in this struggle. The key question we face is very simple: should we strive to rescue capitalism or democracy? Rescuing both is impossible.

Keywords: (mass) media, media systems, media reporting, media framing, politics, advertising, the public interest, news, media policy, representative democracy, the public

Sandra Bašić Hrvatín is a lecturer at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Primorska, Koper and a media activist. (sandra.hrvatín@guest.arnes.si)

“Silent Icon” and “Voiceless Speech”

The Margins of the Slovenian Uprising

The paper addresses the Slovenian uprisings by way of auto-ethnography, with a focus on the interpersonal level, accentuating the fact of complex, intersected social divisions. The basic concept, the body/corporeality is adopted from the feminist theory. Through this and the thinking of the social positionality, the margin of the Slovenian resistance is figuratively articulated by the author with a quiet presence of the disintegrated “subject” — and by the silence as a gesture of the resistance against the uprisings’ power relations. The technology of the latter recycles the ruling authorities’ “governmentality” (Foucault). The Slovenian uprisings’ manifested symptoms of this are differentiated, yet paradigmatic, a key element of the paradigm being the secrecy with which the dominant instances form the circuit of the informed—involved and the uninformed, excluded and instrumentalized for the implementation of the (certain) tasks. The focus on the recognition of the other, who is embodied in the mutual intersections of the social divisions, allows for the agency on the platform of the interpersonal and differentiation, which produces the multiplication of the socio-political demands — on the way to radicalized, pluralized, agonistic democracy (Mouffe).

Keywords: “governmentality”, secrecy/silence, embodied presence, interpersonal, re-subjection

Renata Šribar is a researcher in the field of sociology and cultural and social anthropology, and assistant professor of anthropology. She conducts research and activism from the perspective of the feminist theory, and is specialized in paradigms of feminist subjectivation and cultural constructions of female corporeality. (renata.sribar@guest.arnes.si)

Second Phase of Uprising

The paper aims to determine what the uprising movement in Slovenia should be doing in the future. It starts

with analyses of the present economic and political situation in Slovenia, EU and the world. The rough analyses, based on the expertise of Paul Krugman and Catherine Samary on the pressures on Slovenia and France, show that the economic situation in both countries is far from being as poor as markets, EU officials, the specialized media, and rating agencies are suggesting. From this, one can draw a conclusion that a balanced budget is not the real objective of austerity policies. The real aim seems to be rather the devastation of the social safety nets, making poorer citizens pay for the crises and forcing the states into privatization, selling the state property at a low price. It is also clear that Angela Merkel’s austerity policy does not work. To the contrary, this policy is sustaining the current economic crisis in the EU and the world. The task of the uprising movement is to stay alert for future actions, to safeguard the interests of the citizenry, to mold itself into a credible political force and to work for sustainable economic and political system for the future. It is vital that the uprising movement stay pragmatic and visionary at the same time, and avoid the danger of rigid doctrines.

Keywords: uprising movement, structural reforms, recession, Eurozone, fiscal policy, welfare state, accountability, accountable citizen, sustainable socio economic system

Dr. Igor Koršič is the coordinator of KOKS (Coordination Committee for Culture Slovenia), and associate professor of history and film theory at the Academy for Theatre, Radio, Film and Television. (igor.korsic@gmail.com)

Rise again!

The article presents reflections on uprising practices and the “uprising culture” which spread across Slovenia in late 2012. It focuses on two sets of aspects: one is the positioning of local manifestations within the global matrix of uprisings, analyzed through actions of solidarity and networking with Turkish activists, mostly students in Ljubljana (the example of activation through the “Occupy Gezi – Ljubljana” movement). The second

focuses on essential emphases and missing elements, i.e., centralized core contents of the uprisings, and fringe uprisings, for instance the "Protest From Despair" and solidarity with the Maribor foundry workers. New *crystallization* points of the uprisings are likely to develop in the field of social and labor rights, and these constitute the central "new" battlefield of social inequality, poverty and survival. "Rise again!" is thus the call of the nowadays-precarious worker, who can lose his job, home, and social security at any time.

Keywords: uprising culture, Occupy Gezi – Ljubljana, "Protest From Despair", global uprisings, Slovenian uprising

Assistant Professor Simona Zauratnik, PhD is a researcher at the Centre for Spatial Sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, an activist and a protester. Her research fields include migration and asylum, human rights, public opinion and vulnerable social groups. (simona.zauratnik@fdv.uni-lj.si)

113–120 Nenad Jelesijević

Emancipation on the Edge of Aesthetic Regime

The aesthetic regime of art, following J. Rancière, is not proclaiming revolution, but rather a new way of living between words, images and commodities. Starting the paper from the premise that that regime has a double face, I try to highlight the question of its (anti)revolutionary potential. Accordingly, I cannot avoid ascribing altered meanings to the term aesthetic, following the altered understanding of the very phenomenon/problem called art. In that regard, I comment on four examples of consensual and disensual artistic practices that aspire to be activist ones. The conclusion resulting from the comparative analysis is that the aesthetics of direct action is the aesthetics that escapes any outlined rule, being at the same time limited in time and space; it is valid in a certain moment, in a certain place, in a certain performative, rebellious context. The aesthetic of an emancipatory art practice – which is something else than art – is reconfigured aesthetic.

Keywords: emancipation, aesthetic regime, disensual artistic practices, aesthetics of direct action, reconfigured aesthetic

Nenad Jelesijević, contemporary art critic and (non-)artist of the KITCH duo. He holds a PhD in philosophy and theory of visual culture. (nenad@kitch.si)

121–130 Nika Mahnič, Jasmina Ploštajner, Karmen Šterk

Yesterday was a Another Day (Today we Blew it)

The article discusses the reasons for the (non-)success of the Slovene uprising, and considers the alternatives. We begin with the questions of why and how the general distrust in political system extended onto the uprising movement. In order to establish an empowered civil society it is necessary to invent new approaches, take advantages of new technologies, and employ those tools of social critique, which have been developed for the understanding of new interpellation praxes. In contrast to the existing praxes of digital uprising, we are in need of a platform which would aim at merging material and virtual reality, thus broadening the public sphere. We need to find better solutions for particular issues. In the conclusion, the article discusses alternative modes of institutionalization of critical thought, which are aware of the new circumstances of the civil society struggle, as well as mindful of the new definitions of subjectivity, embodiment, and 'liquid' identities within the environment of new technologies.

Keywords: Slovenian uprising, digital bodies, interpretative psychoanalysis, e-democracy, new technologies

Nika Mahnič is an undergraduate student of cultural studies. She works for Radio Student and the Tribuna newspaper, Ljubljana. She is a member of Danes je nov dan, institute for other studies. (nmahnic@gmail.com)

Jasmina Ploštajner holds a BA in Fine Arts and Design, majoring in industrial design. Professionally she works in the field of interactive design. She is a member of Danes je nov dan, institute for other studies. (maschinna@gmail.com)

Karmen Šterk is an assistant professor of social and cultural anthropology at the Faculty of social sciences and the Faculty of Arts and a member of Danes je nov dan, institute for other studies. karmen.sterk@fdv.uni-lj.si

132–138 Max Haiven

Interview with Silvia Federici

In the interview, Silvia Federici touches upon the Occupy movements, their predecessors and their potential. The movement reflects new ways of political action, which emerged from the crisis of the global justice movement and anti-war movement in the last decade, and lading from the feminist movements and reclaiming the commons groups.

Keywords: Occupy movement, feminism, commons, reproduction

139–146 David Brown

The Subjective Turn and Organizing Methodology

This article provides insight into the organizing methodology of the “subjective turn”. It came to be a part of the 15 October movement (#15o) in Slovenia during the occupation of the square in front of the stock exchange and beyond. This article first gives an ethnographic account of how the methodology came to manifest itself in the movement. Here the article focuses on how the “subjective turn” came to be part of interactions in the occupied space, and also how a collective, the Precarious Wasps’ Nest, deepened the process. The second part theorizes the “subjective turn” in the context of the financial crisis, and particular, a movement taking aim at financial capitalism, rather than state institutions. Here the article employs a Marxist, feminist critique of capitalism, focusing on the appropriation of value from labor considered “nonproductive” The conclusions suggest a re-thinking of how we define work in the context of financial capitalism.

Keywords: 15o Movement, Subjective Turn, Precarious Wasps’ Nest, Feminism, financialization

David Brown holds a master’s degree in East European Studies from the University of Bologna, where he did his thesis work on the social movement “#15o”. (david.brown@studio.unibo.it)

147–155 Igor Grošelj

Second Phase of Uprising

Slovenian 15o and Biopolitical Discourse of Resistance
The article discusses the subsumption of democratic processes in Slovenia under the nation and capital following the break up with the Yugoslav community. The post-socialist democracy process in Slovenia has been strongly affected by the idea of a neoliberal free market and secession from Balkan. Democracy has become a victim of political elites and exclusive nationalism. People are more and more dissatisfied with the consequences of such policies, as was also revealed during the protest of the 15o movement on 15 October 2011 in Ljubljana. Based on this protest, the author takes an effort to analyze the discourse of the protest to seek out signs of social change in the direction of a new biopolitical society. From the analysis, it is concluded that the 15o movement is an important one, based on bio-political statements, and founded on ideas of social security, production of common, horizontal democracy, justice of sharing, and trading capitalism for a biopolitical paradigm.

Keywords: Balkan, democracy, neoliberalism, biopolitics, 15o movement, globalization

Igor Grošelj is a university graduate specialized in communication, and a PhD candidate in the field of Balkan studies. (igor.ljubljana@gmail.com)

156–166 David Graeber

Why Did the Movement Appear to Collapse so Quickly after the Camps Were Evicted in November 2011?

The text is a translation of a subchapter from David Graeber's book *Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement*. The author analyses what slowed down the movement Occupy Wall Street, and led so many to believe the movement was collapsing. He argues that it was unhappy concatenation of several factors: the sudden change in police tactics, which made it impossible for activists to create any sort of free public space in an American city without being immediately physically assaulted by police; the abandonment by movement's liberal allies who made no effort to make a public issue of this new policy; and a sudden media blackout, that which ensured most Americans had no idea any of this was even happening.

Keywords: Occupy movement, horizontality, police, media, liberal allies

168–176 Blaž Škerjanec

Virtual Insurgencies

This contribution problematizes uprisings in Slovenia by positioning itself on a poststructuralist concept of the multitude. Within such a conceptualization, the article attempts to explicate hacktivism as a marginalized form of the insurgency movement and juxtaposes it to the mainstream uses of virtual social networks. While conducting a short overview of hacktivism (the Anonymous movement), which includes Slovenian cases, the article tries to broaden the interpretative reach of the Slovenian uprisings by addressing a cluster of problems that are being introduced by the emergence of hacktivism (media, law, censorship, local/global, anonymity, etc.). In its last part, the contribution focuses on presenting a confluence of virtual and real forms of insurgencies. In addition, the article introduces the hypothesis of the schizophrenic subject with the help of which it attempts to sketch out some focal points of the global alterglobalization struggles and issues that simultaneously emerge in the context of the Slovenian insurgency movement.

Keywords: uprisings, hacktivism, Anonymous, schizophrenic subject

Blaž Škerjanec is an unemployed master of political science. (blaz.skerjanec@gmail.com)

177–188 Danijela Tamše

Militant Research

A New Narrative for a Decriminalisation of Uprisings

The author emphasizes the role of militant methodology in the production of subjectivity, focusing chiefly on the part that the militancy ought to play in the process of decriminalizing uprisings over the last year in Slovenia. The paper draws mainly from theories that regard the production of subjectivities in the empowering and active encounters as the principal ground for political transformation. Following these theses, the author suggests that the task of militant research is to produce such a narrative that could change even the least gratifying and joyful effects of the uprisings, transmuting them to the effects of liberation. In conclusion, the author stresses the necessity of this approach, arguing that this is the only way to reappropriate the right to self-determination in the political acts of revolt that had been taken away from us and criminalized.

Keywords: militant research, the production of subjectivity, potentiality, potentia, resistance, uprisings, criminalization

Danijela Tamše is a PhD student at the Faculty of Social Science, University of Ljubljana. Since 2007, she has been part of various militant collectives, which are involved in research of precariousness, transformation of work, production of knowledge, and migration. (danijela_tamse@yahoo.com)

189–197 Vesna Leskošek

Welfare State between Authority and Rebellion

The article identifies a viewpoint of changes that are not often in the foreground when the welfare state and social rights are addressed. It is about contemptuous and hate discourse that brings people who assert the right to welfare into disrepute, and it aims to achieve broad consensus within society by minimizing the role of state at ensuring these rights. With the intention of moral disrepute of the poor, the environment is created in which hindering the access to social rights is seen as morally legitimate, while this moral estimation is based on the belief that those people are swindlers, idlers or non-motivated and passive unemployed individuals who exploit the social benefits. Every practice is therefore allowed even if it violates human rights. Effects of this discourse are multilayered/multifaceted; the most important is changing the understanding of the welfare state. The changes seem to be legitimate, if not righteous.

Keywords: social state, fraud, social rights, reforms, legislation change

*Vesna Leskošek is a senior lecturer at the Faculty of Social Work, where she teaches social movements and global inequalities, gender and youth studies. Her research interest is in the welfare state, social inequalities, and gender. She published a book *Rejected Tradition* and many articles in domestic and foreign journals and books. (vesna.leskosek@guest.arnes.si)*

199–210 Mirt Komel

Uprising-ness, Revolution and the Question of Violence

Starting from the uprising movement in Slovenia, the author's contribution questions the relationship between philosophical reflection and political action while discerning four basic positions in relation to the uprisings, which are understood in contrast to the concept of rebellion on the one hand and revolution on the other, an understanding based upon a further distinction between power, strength and violence.

Keywords: uprisingness, revolution, strength, power, violence

Mirt Komel holds a PhD in philosophy and is an assistant and researcher at the Department of Cultural Studies of the Faculty of Social Science of the University of Ljubljana. (mirt.komel@fdu.uni-lj.si)