

kunstHallewien

the white west II automating apartheid

KONFERENZ KONZIPIERT VON /
CONFERENCE CONCEPTUALIZED BY
kader attia & ana teixeira pinto

E.S. Crespin

F. MEAULLE

the white west III automating apartheid

Thu 13/2 & Fri 14/2 • 3–9 PM

Kasino am Schwarzenbergplatz

CONFERENCE CONCEPTUALIZED BY **kader attia & ana teixeira pinto**

ORGANIZED BY **kunsthalle wien** IN COOPERATION WITH **Burgtheater**

WITH **florian cramer • radhika desai • david golumbia • marina gržinić • rose-anne gush • zakiyyah iman jackson • nitzan lebovic • olivier marboeuf • ciraj rassool • dorcy rugamba • kalpana seshadri • felix stalder**

conference program

Thu 13/2 • 3–9 PM	The Structuring Force of Race in Geopolitics
3 PM:	Welcome and Introduction by WHW followed by Introduction to The White West by Kader Attia & Ana Teixeira Pinto
3:30 PM:	The Measure of (Re)barbarization — Florian Cramer • Radhika Desai • Rose-Anne Gush • Dorcy Rugamba
5 PM	Moderated discussion and Q&A with the audience
5:40 PM	Break
6 PM	Necropolitics and Racialized Science — Kader Attia • Ciraj Rassool • Marina Gržinić
8:15 PM	Moderated discussion and Q&A with the audience
Fri 14/2 • 3–9 PM	Boundary Disputes
3 PM	Whither the Frontier? — Felix Stalder • Nitzan Lebovic • Ana Teixeira Pinto • David Golumbia
5:20 PM	Moderated discussion and Q&A with the audience
6 PM	Break
6:20 PM	Whither Whiteness? — Kalpana Seshadri • Olivier Marboeuf • Zakiyyah Iman Jackson
8:15 PM	Moderated discussion and Q&A with the audience
COVER	Triple execution in Sétif, Algeria, 27 May 1900. On May 8, 1945, the same day the armistice was celebrated in Europe, French police massacred hundreds of townspeople in Sétif, leading French editor Claude Bourdet to ask: "Are we the Gestapo in Algeria?",
IMAGE	<i>Le Petit Parisien</i> , May 27, 1900



kader attia
restoring the
irreparable

The huge numbers of expropriated objects that are still present in Western ethnographic museums, brought there directly from their villages of origin by a colonial agenda, could be said to mirror the effect of the phantom limb, which demands the return to the native land of the part torn away, amputated of these collective and individual bodies and deported to another space and time, the space and time of a contemporary relic. •

Kader Attia is an artist and founder of *La-Colonie*, a space in Paris for vivid discussion on decolonialization—not only of peoples but also of knowledge, attitudes, and practices. It aspires to de-compartmentalize knowledge through a trans-cultural, trans-disciplinary and trans-generational approach. Attia's artistic work investigates the identity policies of historical and colonial eras, pointing out elements of tradition that persist within modernity to this day in light of our globalized world. •



florian cramer
the meme of the
"political compass"

In recent years, many artists' projects have used the so-called "political compass" to reflect upon internet meme wars and "Alt-Right" politics. In this scheme, the left/right political spectrum has been replaced with a two-dimensional matrix. While not recognized—or even known—in political science and philosophy, the "political compass" has become rampantly popular among a young generation of artists and designers due to the influence of a textbook that is widely used in art-school education.

In my talk, I will try to reconstruct the historical and ideological origins of the "political compass," its use as a political propaganda tool and its growth into a meme and functional replacement of political education. Finally, I will point out why its proposition is problematic, particularly in relation to the contemporary collusions between cyberlibertarianism and the extreme right. •

Florian Cramer is a reader in twenty-first-century visual culture/autonomous practices at the Willem de Kooning Academy, Rotterdam. Recent publications include *Pattern Discrimination* (with Clemens Apprich, Wendy Hui Kyong Chun, and Hito Steyerl, University of Minnesota Press, 2018) and *Crapularity Aesthetics* (in *Making & Breaking*, 2019; in German: "Crapularity-Ästhetik", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 4/2019). •



radhika desai
imperialism, fascism
and the geopolitical
economy of
twenty-first-century
capitalism

In my presentation, I will focus on the rise of what is widely called "populism," its relation to fascism, historical and contemporary, and how that, in turn, is connected to the decline of western imperialism. I will approach matters from a Marxist perspective, drawing from Karl Polanyi and from my recently developed approach, which I call geopolitical economy. •

Dr. Radhika Desai is a professor at the Department of Political Studies and director of the Geopolitical Economy Research Group at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg (Canada). She is the author of *Geopolitical Economy: After US Hegemony, Globalization and Empire* (2013), *Slouching Towards*

Ayodhya: From Congress to Hindutva in Indian Politics (2nd, rev. ed., 2004) and *Intellectuals and Socialism: "Social Democrats" and the Labour Party* (1994), a New Statesman and Society Book of the Month, and editor or co-editor of *Russia, Ukraine and Contemporary Imperialism*, a special issue of *International Critical Thought* (2016), *Theoretical Engagements in Geopolitical Economy* (2015), among many more. She serves on the editorial boards of numerous journals, including *Canadian Political Science Review*, *Critique of Political Economy*, *E-Social Sciences*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Global Faultlines*, *Research in Political Economy*, *Revista de Economía Crítica*, *World Review of Political Economy* and *International Critical Thought*. •



david golumbia

blockchain: the white man's burden

In the developed world, blockchain promoters insist the technology will solve what they call problems of governance, finance and trust, though historically these have almost exclusively been considered "problems" by the far right. In the developing world, promoters invert the terms of the bargain, arguing that the world's most impoverished people need blockchain to achieve greater political and economic equality. These suggestions reiterate in remarkable ways the "white man's burden" discourse of earlier colonial periods, far in excess of more recent (and still often misguided) schemes to improve the circumstances of people in the Global South. Further, where those recent schemes can at least claim at some level to be honestly committed to helping people, blockchain promoters transparently pursue their own self-interest, often at very significant cost to exactly the people they claim need the technology. In this way as well as many others, and despite its claims to technical innovation, blockchain represents a return to forms of politics many of us thought had long been eliminated from serious consideration in the global polity. •

David Golumbia is an associate professor in the Department of English and the MATX (Media, Art, and Text) PhD program at Virginia Commonwealth University. He is the author of the digital studies and theory blog *uncomputing*, as well as books including *The Cultural Logic of Computation* (Harvard University Press, 2009) and *The Politics of Bitcoin: Software as Right-Wing Extremism* (University of Minnesota Press, 2016). His writings reflect on digital culture, along with other topics in contemporary cultural, media, and literary studies. •



marina gržinić

how to blow the world of racial global necrocapitalism and provoke rebellion, power, thoughts

My presentation will propose a line of intersection of the past and the present by juxtaposing some seminal texts published in the book *Opposing Colonialism, Antisemitism, and Turbo-Nationalism* (edited by Gržinić, Pristovšek, Uitz, forthcoming 2020), which is part of *Genealogy of Amnesia: Rethinking the Past for a New Future of Conviviality*, a FWF PEEK art research project located in Vienna. My talk will address the relationship between colonialism and fascism outside their specific historical contexts. In 2016, McKenzie Wark remarked about fascism in the US: "What kinds of popular movements can restrain it, and for how long?" Fascism as she described it is "the default setting of modernity," and it needs to be connected, here and now, to the disastrous situation currently unfolding: anti-Muslim racism, anti-Black racism, anti-Roma racism, anti-Semitism, racism against POC. All these structural racisms and racializing formats are working in tandem, both in Austria and in the EU with its police-administrative system,

which rejects visas, even to regular students, when these students come from so-called third world countries, and its phobic anti-refugee politics. •

Marina Gržinić has been a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna since 2003. She is a philosopher, theoretician, and artist from Ljubljana (Slovenia), where she is professionally affiliated with the ZRC SAZU, Institute of Philosophy. She publishes extensively, lectures worldwide, and has been involved in video film productions with Aina Šmid since 1982. Selection of books: *New Feminism: Worlds of Feminism, Queer and Networking Conditions* (co-edited with Rosa Reitsamer, 2008), *Necropolitics, Racialization, and Global Capitalism: Historicization of Biopolitics and Forensics of Politics, Art, and Life* (with Šefik Tatlić, 2014), and *Border Thinking: Disassembling Histories of Racialized Violence* (editor, 2018). •



rose-anne gush
**the fantasy of
misogyny as world
structure**

What does misogyny have to do with fantasy, and what role does fantasy play in misogyny? In the last half-decade, there has been an explosion of feminist writing (liberal and Marxist) addressing renewed misogyny in the recent march of fascist politics onto the centre stage across the world (Liza Featherstone, Kate Manne, Melinda Cooper provide a few examples). "Hatred of women is offered up as the explanation for everything," writes Jodi Dean, implying that it explains nothing. This paper theorises the fantasy of misogyny as world structure by considering its paradoxical politics as epiphenomenon. Misogyny both slides unnoticed into the silent corners of the everyday as the collateral damage of capitalist patriarchy, and it is cast in such wide terms that it appears to structure the whole world. First, considering today's ideologues of misogyny, I will draw on a cultural and intellectual history and present-day analysis of (the language of) *Burschenschaften* in Austria, and "men's groups" or fraternities more broadly, to question how misogyny becomes legible in such contexts. How are notions of the uncanny, disgust or abjection operative? Second, I will draw from and historicise feminist theories of misogyny that materialised during the post-war decades—often in relation to the New Left and theories of fascism, thus bringing their afterlives into question. How do these theories remain relevant, and what are their blind spots? Do they buttress notions of "innocence" and victimhood that function to occlude analyses of racism and the role of class at the heart of dominant reactionary politics today? This paper will attempt to elaborate on the politics of the fantasy of misogyny. •

Rose-Anne Gush is a writer and theorist who lives and works in Vienna. Her research explores art history and theory, questions of race and gender, critical theory and cultural history. She is currently writing her first book, *Artistic Labour of the Body*, which theorises the place of the body in post-war art and literature in the Austrian context. She has recently published articles in a special issue of *Kunst und Politik. Jahrbuch der Guernica-Gesellschaft*, titled *Keywords for Marxist Art History Today*, in *Third Text: Anti-Fascism/Art/Theory*, and in *Performance Research*. She currently lectures in art theory and art history at the University of Applied Arts, Vienna. •



**zakiyyah iman
jackson**

**insect poetics and
the biopolitics
of reproduction
in simone leigh's
*trophallaxis***

Thinking across the scale of the cell, the breast, and embattled human sociality, this presentation shifts black feminist critical attention from the posterior to the breast. I will think with Simone Leigh's *Trophallaxis* and the artist's stated interest in "black women as a kind of material culture," which has generated a career-spanning, award-winning meditation on black women as containers of trauma and knowledge. I place *Trophallaxis* in conversation with two groundbreaking works, Hortense Spillers's essay "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book" and Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved*, in order to draw out how the making of species and sex/gender as legible terms has been reliant upon the vexed and vexing icon of "the black female body," in particular. Leigh's sculpture fuses histories of the breast and entomology in abstract form. Following Leigh, I resituate entomological inquiry and scientific theories of trophallaxis in relation to the function of the black female figure in histories of comparative anatomy, suggesting that thinking sociogenically troubles utopic interpretations of trophallaxis in the biological sciences and beyond. I demonstrate how two scientific histories—mammary and insect—that are often thought apart illumine and irradiate each other. Ultimately, this presentation considers what trophallaxis, both as a sculptural form and biological concept, might have to offer for our thinking regarding what Jacques Derrida termed dissemination. •

Zakiyyah Iman Jackson is an assistant professor of English at the University of Southern California. Working at the intersection of African diasporic literature and art, continental philosophy, contemporary critical theories, and feminist philosophies of science and biomedicine, her research explores historical and emergent linkages between the humanities and the sciences on the questions of being and knowing. She has published work in *Gay and Lesbian Quarterly* (2011 and 2015), *Feminist Studies* (2014), *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* (2016), *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, and Technoscience* (2016), and *South Atlantic Quarterly* (2018). Professor Jackson's forthcoming book, titled *Becoming Human: Matter and Meaning in an Antiracist World*, will be published with NYU Press, *Sexual Cultures* series, in April 2020. •



nitzan lebovic

**biometrics and
"universal suspicion"**

My paper proposes to examine the process that led to the emergence of contemporary biometric systems and the growing fear of a "surveillance society," as David Lyon put it as early as 2001. In this part of the paper, I will analyze the politics of contemporary biometric surveillance, grounded in a long history of physiognomic and racial taxonomy, on the one hand, and the potentiality of "universal suspicion" on the other. In the second part of the paper, I intend to examine the notion of the "universal" as an expression of technological superiority and what Deleuze and Guattari called the "control society" or the "man-machine assemblage." Such universal assemblages have been adapted over the past two decades by the weapons industry and used against dissidents, mostly—but not only—in the Global South. •

Nitzan Lebovic is an associate professor of history and the Apter Chair of Holocaust Studies and Ethical Values at Lehigh University. He received his BA in the history and theory of literature from Tel Aviv University and his PhD from UCLA. His first book, titled *The Philosophy of Life and Death: Ludwig Klages and the Rise of a Nazi Biopolitics* (2013), focused on the circle around

the *Lebensphilosoph* and anti-Semitic thinker Ludwig Klages. His second book, *Zionism and Melancholy: The Short Life of Israel Zarchi*, was published in Hebrew in 2015 and is expected soon in English. Nitzan is also a coeditor of *The Politics of Nihilism* (2014) and *Catastrophe: A History and Theory of an Operative Concept* (2014), and of special issues of *Rethinking History* (Nihilism), *Zmanim* (Religion and Power), and *The New German Critique* (Political Theology). •



olivier marboeuf

**white skin,
black mask:
the appropriation of
identity politics**

My talk will address the appropriation of identity politics by white supremacist and fascist movements within western countries that describe the strategic position of some white people as that of a minority under the threat of invasion or cultural destruction. I will deconstruct this argument by underlining the asymmetrical dimension of systemic racism and narrating the historical context from which identity politics emerged, its imaginary, and its merit in making the racial dimension of capitalism apparent. On the one hand, identity politics illuminates the history that Marxism obscured by starting to tell the story of capitalist accumulation the moment the workers entered the factories of Manchester without asking where the cotton they processed was originating from, or linking the (visible) white workers to the black (invisible) workers and the histories of racialized slavery to the history of capitalism. On the other hand, a certain use of the American concept of identity politics does not have the capacity to dismantle capitalist narratives and make visible the history and contingencies of domination. Rather, it operates in a neoliberal economy of attention, often imbricated in the fantasy of a black bourgeoisie or black elite and its pro-capitalist aspirations for people of color. Identity politics, I will argue, has become the political program of frustration. This is the reason why it lends itself to appropriation by white fascism. It is my contention that re-inscribing identity politics in the context of the political economy prevents it from capture/extraction to the benefit of white fascism. Finally, I will try to map the conditions of possibility for new alliances, stemming from the knowledges of racial minorities, to imagine the coming community. •

Olivier Marboeuf is an author, performer, curator and film producer. He is the founder of the Espace Khiasma center in Les Lilas, a suburb northeast of Paris, which he directed from 2014 to 2018. At Khiasma, he developed a program focusing on minority representation and postcolonial situations through screenings, debates, performances, and collaborative projects. His texts operate at the intersection between poetic fiction and speculative theory. He is interested in place as a form of presence and the body as a landscape. Drawing on the imagination and literature of the Caribbean as much as the mythology of the suburbs, Marboeuf explores ways of making visible the history that is imprinted on minority bodies and the narratives of itinerant communities. •



ciraj rassool

**human remains
restitution and the
politics of undoing
race in the museum**

This presentation considers the history of human remains collecting from southern Africa in museums of South Africa and Austria. It also explores the scholarly activism that led to "unethically collected" remains being deaccessioned at Iziko Museums of South Africa and to the return of the remains of Klaas and Trooi Pienaar from Vienna to Kuruman in 2012. Its purpose is to understand how human remains

restitution has the potential to radically disrupt the museum as a fundamental structure of coloniality and racism. •

Ciraj Rassool directs the African Programme in Museum and Heritage Studies, managed by the University of the Western Cape (Bellville, South Africa) in partnership with Robben Island Museum. He is a trustee and of the District Six Museum and the South African History Archive. He has been a member of the Archaeology, Palaeontology, Meteorites, Heritage Objects and Burial Sites Permit Committee of SAHRA, and also serves on its Artworks Advisory Panel. Most recently he was appointed to the Human Remains Repatriation Advisory Committee of the Department of Arts and Culture. He has written widely on public history, visual history, and resistance historiography and has published in the *Journal of African History*, the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *Cahiers d'études Africaines*, *African Studies*, the *South African Review of Sociology*, and *Kronos: Southern African Histories*. •



dorcy rugamba
all crimes against
humanity are
interrelated

My contribution takes as its starting point the genesis and context of the play *Bloody Niggers*, a reflection on mass violence. With this project, I want to draw up a genealogy of the crime of genocide for the Rwandese audience, situating what happened in Rwanda in 1994 within a long chain of crimes that keep nurturing one another. •

The stage director, playwright and actor **Dorcy Rugamba** is the author of *Bloody Niggers*, *Marengo*, *Gamblers or Soldier Hungry's Last War*, and *Market Place* and coauthor of *Rwanda 94*, a well-known piece that has toured around the world. As an actor, he has worked with various stage directors and choreographers, including his father, the late Cyprien Rugamba, Jacques Delcuvellerie, Peter Brook, and Milo Rau. He has collaborated with artists from different cultures and backgrounds such as Sotigui Kouyate, Bruce Myers, Yoshi Oida, Dennis Lavant, Rachid Djaidani, and Toshi Tsuchitori. As a stage director, Dorcy has launched the company Urwintore for the play *Investigation* by Peter Weiss, performed by Rwandese actors. The production became a big success internationally and was shown in Rwanda, Burkina Faso, Belgium, France (Bouffes du Nord, Paris), the United Kingdom (Young Vic Theater, London), Japan (Yokohama Studio), and the U.S. (Chicago Shakespeare, Chicago, Kasser Theater, Broadway Peak Performances). Dorcy is currently dividing his time between Rwanda, where he manages the arts center Rwanda Arts Initiative (RAI), and Europe, where he is working on various theatrical projects, among them an opera on the general history of Africa. •



kalpana seshadri
is the post- in
posthumanism
the post- in
postracialism?

The title is an allusion to Kwame Anthony Appiah's well-known essay "Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?" In this paper, I suggest that insofar as Man as a Euro-humanist construct is implicated in a timeless juridical and racial logic, questioning the universalization of humanist understandings of the human is a necessary antidote to structural racism. However, there are profound ethical risks in any attempt to diversify the concept of Man invested with rights. Such intrepid questioning may or may not occur under the rubric of posthumanism. Clearly, an ontologically utopian posthumanism can serve as an alibi for racism disguised as "post-racial." Nevertheless, I suggest that a politically and philosophically nuanced understanding of posthumanism (less a theory than

a discursive site) can serve as a powerful stop against racial discrimination and environmental destruction.

This paper is drawn from my recently completed book manuscript *Posthuman Economics: Earth, Epistemology, and Ethics*. My second book, *HumAnimal: Race, Law, Language*, is an extended discussion of racial dehumanization and the power of posthuman ethics. •

Kalpana Seshadri is a writer and professor in postcolonial studies and theories of contemporary globalization and relations of power. She teaches courses on British colonialism, colonial literature, and non-Western literatures in English. Her research field is the philosophy of race and inequality, with a focus on questions of subjectivity, ethics, language, and law. Courses include *Global Englishes*, *Debates and Issues in Postcolonial Studies*, *British Literature and Postcolonial Criticism*, and *Fictions of Empire*. Her current research deals with the interrelation of the consumer-driven global economy with the non-human. •



felix stalder
digital colonialism

Digital colonialism refers to practices of exploitation and population management that were first developed in the Western colonialism project but are now applied within Western countries by means of digital infrastructures. Exploitation, then and now, takes place through the forced extraction of key resources, which is deeply damaging for the social fabric and the natural environment. This practice has been justified as "progress," "civilization" or "science." Today's resource is data, and the means of extraction is ubiquitous commercial and state surveillance. Population management, then and now, is a form of governance in which people are categorized from the outside without their knowledge and without regard to their subjectivity, and management procedures are applied from a distance without the possibility of recourse. This has been justified by the claim that the governing entities know what is best for the populations better than people themselves. Digital colonialism operates even in contexts where no explicitly racist or colonial policies are pursued. While this fundamentally undermines even the limited democracies that currently exist, its effects are highly unequal, not least because of the way categories are developed and applied, which is fresh evidence of the long racist histories of the engineering sciences. To counter this, there is a need to rethink and extend democracy. The fight against this dimension of crisis capitalism will require "digital sovereignty," that is, the ability of the people to govern explicitly and by way of deliberate collective decision-making the technological infrastructures on which their lives unfold. •

Felix Stalder is a professor of digital culture at the Zürich University of the Arts. His work focuses on the intersection of cultural, political and technological dynamics, and in particular on new modes of commons-based production, the control society, copyright and the transformation of subjectivity. He works not only as an academic but also a cultural producer, being a moderator of the mailing list <nettime> and a member of the World Information Institute and the Technopolitics Working Group (both in Vienna). Recent publications include *Digital Solidarity* (PML & Mute 2014) and *The Digital Condition* (Polity Press, 2018).

felix.openflows.com •



ana teixeira pinto

**capitalism with a
transhuman face**

"The mind of man is an unused ovary ... It is we who will be
the first to impregnate it."

—F.T. Marinetti, *Mafarka the Futurist*, 1909

The nature of the speculation emerging from transhumanists, effective altruists, Bay Area techno libertarians, and artificial intelligence existential-risk think tanks makes plain that there is a stark divide, if not an outright contrast, between the infrastructural or logistic dimension of AI and its commonplace fictionalization or personification. This is the case, I would argue, because the personification of what we now call AI predates its technological instantiation. In the 1909 novel *Mafarka the Futurist*, the Italian artist F.T. Marinetti fictionalized the coming of this superior entity as a strange family drama, involving incest, sacrifice and surrogacy. As Barbara Spackman noted, the sexual and the economic are necessarily intertwined in fantasies of male autarky, in which idea, father and capital converge. In this talk, I propose that Marinetti's fantasy of the male mind as unused ovary can illuminate the etiology of fascist violence, as well as the enduring presence of white supremacist biopolitics. •

Ana Teixeira Pinto is a writer and cultural theorist based in Berlin. She is a theory tutor at the DAI (Dutch Art Institute) and a research fellow at Leuphana University, Lüneburg, Germany. •

the white west III
automating apartheid

Thu 13/2 & Fri 14/2 • 3–9 PM

CONFERENCE CONCEPTUALIZED BY Kader Attia & Ana Teixeira Pinto

ORGANIZED BY **kunsthalle wien** IN COOPERATION WITH **Burgtheater**

team kunsthalle wien

DIRECTORS What, How & for Whom / WHW (Ivet Ćurlin, Nataša Ilić & Sabina Sabolović) • CFO Sigrid Mittersteiner • CURATORS WHW • Curatorial assistants Laura Amann, Aziza Harmel • PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT Gerhard Prügger, Eleanor Taylor • VISITOR SERVICE Daniel Cinkl, Kevin Manders

team Burgtheater (EUROPAMASCHINE)

CURATORS Oliver Frlić & Srećko Horvat • DRAMATURGY Rita Czapka, Sebastian Huber • PROJECT DIRECTOR Tobias Herzberg • PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT Corina Lange • TECHNICAL MANAGERS KASINO Norbert Gottwald, Michael Steinkellner • DRAMATURGY ASSISTANT Maïke Müller • ASSISTANT PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT Felix Scharr • STAGE MANAGEMENT Veronika Hofeneder, Stefanie Schmitt • TECHNICIANS Dominik Hofmann, Stephan Wallensteiner

kunsthalle wien
museumsplatz 1 • 1070 wien

www.kunsthallewien.at
facebook.com/KunsthalleWien
instagram.com/KunsthalleWien
twitter.com/KunsthalleWien



BURGTHEATER