

Martin Doll

»Similarity as a Mask. On the Identity Corrections of the
›The Yes Men‹«

Literaturnachweis

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E-Mail:

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Podobnost kot maska. O popravkih identitete The Yes Men Similarity as a Mask. On the Identity Corrections of the 'The Yes Men'

in: Maska 21.3-4 (2006)

V ameriškem umetniškem dvojcu The Yes Men sodeljujeta Igor Vamos, znan tudi kot Mike Bonann, in Jacques Servin, znan tudi kot Andy Bichlbaum, ki sta pred tem delovala že pod imenom ®TMark. Prvi je zaslovel z delovanjem v Organizaciji za osvoboditev barbik (Barbie Liberation Organization - BLO), ki je zamenjala zvočne čipe govorečih barbik in akcijskih figur G. I. Joe, drugi pa je znan po manipulaciji računalniške igre Simcopter, kjer so se igralci soočili z moškimi figurami, oblečenimi v kopalke, ki so se brez zadržkov poljubljale. Toda v razmisleku, ki sledi, se bom ukvarjal zlasti s tistimi ponaredki skupine The Yes Men, kjer sta se umetnika pojavitla predvsem pod imenom Svetovne trgovinske organizacije (WTO).

V uvodu je treba hevristično opredeliti pojme: ponaredek je poneverba tiste vrste, pri kateri do raz-očaranja (*Ent-Täuschung*) ne pride po naključju, marveč je njena temeljna lastnost. To pomeni, da zgradba ponaredka obsega tiste vrste razkrinkanja, ki se mu mora poneverba za vsako ceno izogniti.

Prvi, opisni del besedila bo predstavil številne akcije in jih na široko komentiral. Drugi del bo poskušal k tem projektom pristopiti analitično, sklicujoč se na Foucaulta, ter natančneje predstaviti načine, kako delujejo, cilje, ki jih zasledujejo, in okoliščine, iz katerih izhajajo.

The American artist duo "The Yes Men" is a collaboration between Igor Vamos, a.k.a Mike Bonanno, and Jacques Servin, a.k.a. Andy Bichlbaum, who have already worked together under the label ®TMark. The former also became known through the Barbie Liberation Organization (BLO), which switched the sound chips of talking Barbie-dolls and G.I. Joe action figures, while the latter is known for his manipulation of the computer game Simcopter, whose players were confronted with male figures clothed in nothing but bathing trunks kissed one another unrestrainedly. The following considerations, however, will focus on those fakes by the Yes Men in which they largely appeared in the name of the WTO.

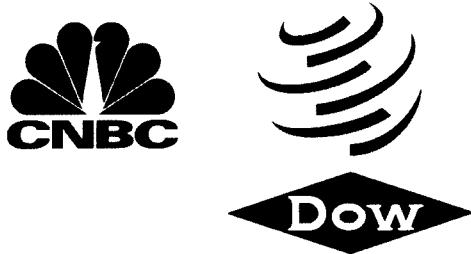
This should be prefaced by a heuristic definition of terms: the fake is a type of forgery, in which dis-enchantment (Ent-Täuschung) should not be classified as accidental, as in the former, but as a constitutive feature. This means that the design of the fake includes the type of disclosure that forgery is actually supposed to avoid at all costs.

The first, descriptive part of this text will present several actions with commenting them at any greater length. The second part will then attempt to approach these projects analytically with recourse to Foucault, presenting a more detailed view of the ways in which they work, the goals they pursue, and the conditions that they depart from.

I. Površen pregled projektor skupine The Yes Men
Skupina The Yes Men razume svoja dela kot *popravke identitete*. Naj to razloži kar Mike Bonanno: "Tej osnovni ideji pravimo *popravek identitete* v smislu: 'V redu, te stvari se ne predstavlajo odkrito ali v svoji naravi skrivajo nekaj resnično grozljivega; to hočeva privleči na dan, pokazati, demonstrirati.' Meniva, da WTO počne vse te grozne stvari in škoduje ljudem, hkrati pa govorji povsem nasprotno. Tako naju zanima popraviti njegovo identiteto, enako kot tat identitete ukrade identiteto nekega človeka, da bi z njo opravljal kriminalna dejanja. Ciljava na ljudi, ki jih vidiva kot zločince, in jim ukradeva identiteto, da bi jih naredila poštene, da bi jih bolj pošteno predstavila."^①

Vrata si odpirata s ponarejenimi spletnimi stranmi, ki z varljivo podobnostjo oponašajo izvirnike. Čeprav njihova zgradba, videz in URL (spletni naslov, denimo gatt.org namesto wto.org ali dowethics.com namesto dow.com) ustrezajo stranem, po katerih zgledu so izdelane, sta vanje vnesla kritično snov. Površni spletni deskarji – ne-bralci – tega nemara sprva sploh ne opazijo, kar pripelje do teoretičnih poizvedovanj, na katera skupina seveda odgovori po svoji vesti, a tudi do televizijskih pogovorov in povabil na mednarodne konference.

I. A Cursory Overview of the Yes Men's Projects
The Yes Men conceive of their own work as *identity correction*. I would like to let Mike Bonanno explain this point in his own words: "We're calling that sort of basic idea identity correction like saying: 'Ok these things that are not really presenting themselves honestly or that hide something about their nature that's really scary; we want to bring that out, we want to show that, we want to demonstrate that.' [...] We think that the WTO is doing all these terrible things that are hurting people and they are saying the exact opposite. And so, we are interested in correcting their identity in the same way an identity thief steals somebody's identity in order to basically just engage in criminal practices. We target people we see as criminals and we steal their identity to try to make them honest, to try to present a more honest face."^① The door opener for their practices can be found in faked web sites that mimic their originals



in deceptive similarity. Though their layout, appearance, and URLs (i.e. gatt.org instead of wto.org, dowethics.com instead of dow.com) correspond to the sites they are modelled on, they have been spiked with critical content. Cursory internet surfers – non-readers – might not notice this at first, which leads to theoretical inquiries, which, of course, are answered in all conscience, as well as television interviews and invitations to international conferences.

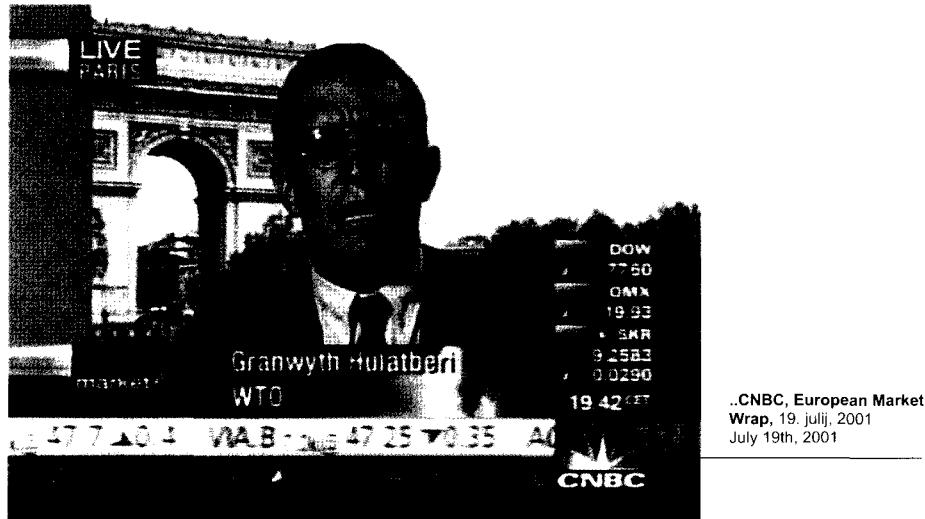
I.I. CNBC (2001)

Bichlbaum, ki se je predstavljal kot Granwyth Hulatberi, se je uspel pojaviti v oddaji postaje CNBC, European Marketwrap (glej sliko❷, in sicer v razpravi o globalizaciji, utemeljeni na dobičku, kjer je nastopil skupaj z enim od njenih zagovornikov (Vernon Ellis, predsednik za mednarodno delovanje podjetja Accenture) in enim od njenih kritikov (Barry Coates, direktor organizacije World Development Movement). Bichlbaum je v pogovoru vse do absurdnosti izostril stališče WTO: "Reči moram, da je to dolgoročen problem, ki ima temelje v izobraževanju. Poiskati moramo način, kako jih

Robespierru in Abbieju Hoffmannu. Mislim, da bo usmerjanje izobraževanja proti privatizaciji – koncentraciji sredstev v zasebnem sektorju – samo od sebe delovalo v tej smeri, tako da bodo otroci protestnikov odraščali s povsem drugačnim naborom interesov."❸

I.I. CNBC (2001)

Posing as Granwyth Hulatberi, Bichlbaum was able to appear on CNBC's "European Marketwrap" (see image)❷ to discuss profit-based globalization with one of its proponents (Vernon Ellis, International Chairman of Accenture) and one of its critics (Barry Coates, Director of the World Development Movement). In this discussion, Bichlbaum sharpened the position of the WTO to the point of absurdity: "And I think I would have to say that this is a long-term problem that comes down to a problem of education. We have to find a way to convince perhaps not protesters, but the protesters' children, to follow thinkers like Milton Friedman and Darwin and so on rather than what the protesters have been reared on – Trotsky, and Robespierre and Abbie Hoffman.



prepričati - nemara ne samih protestnikov, morda pa njihove otroke - naj sledijo mislecem, kot so Milton Friedman, Darwin itn., in ne tistim, ob katerih so odraščali protestniki, torej Trockemu,

And I think that the direction of education being put into private hands – a concentration of resources in the private sector – will naturally lead to this result, and we'll see the protesters'

children being reared with an entirely different set of concerns."❹

I.2. Tampere, Finska (2001)

Po zgodnjih izkušnjah iz Salzburga leta 2000, ko je Andy Bichlbaum kot Andreas Bichlbauer zagovarjal prepoved regionalnih navad, kakršna je španska siesta, ter kritiziral nekatere države, kot je Italija, češ da so lene in da zavirajo globalno trgovino,❺ ne da bi pri tem požel vsaj kanec kritike, je nameraval nastop na Finskem narediti še bolj provokativen. Priložnost je prineslo povabilo na srečanje vodilnih osebnosti finske tekstilne industrije na temo Vlakna in tekstilije za prihodnost. Navajamo odlomek iz govora "Hanka Hardyja Unruha", v katerem je razlagal, da je bila ameriška civilna vojna z vidika samoregulacijske ekonomije prostega trga zgolj potrata denarja. Če bi Sever in Jug zadeve preprosto prepustila trgu, bi ta namesto suženjstva kmalu vpeljal kaj učinkovitejšega. Ker je vztrajal pri svojem, je Sever [...] onemogočil suženjstvu njegov naravn razvoj v delo na daljavo.❻ Proti koncu govora je predstavil "neformalno obleko", ki naj bi menedžerjem prihodnosti omogočala nadziranje in discipliniranje svojih delavcev kjerkoli na svetu, ne glede na njihovo oddaljenost.

Po trditvah skupine The Yes Men govor ni ugovarjal nihče, z izjemo neke menedžerke: "Menim, da je bila vaša predstavitev jasna. Bila je celo sijajna. Mislim, da ste lepo pokazali, kako blizu morajo biti lastniki tovarn svojim delavcem. Toda način, kako ste to prikazali, ni bil pravičen [...] Moške ste predstavili kot lastnike in ženske kot delavke. Toda tudi ženske so lahko lastnice tovarn."❽

I.2. Tampere, Finland (2001)

After early experiences in Salzburg 2000, where Andy Bichlbaum, a.k.a Andreas Bichlbauer was able argue in favor of outlawing regional customs such as the siesta in Spain and going on to defame individual nations such as Italy as lazy and as an impediment to global trade❾ without drawing even a hint of criticism, the appearance in Finland was meant to be even more provocative. The occasion was an invitation

Pozor! Menjamo sistem!

Opmbe za slovenski članek

❷ Ta in vse druge slike so s spletni strani skupine The Yes Men (www.theyesmen.org). Objavljene so z licenco CC (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/1.0/>).

❸ "Prime Time!", v: Andy Bichlbaum, Mike Bonanno in Bob Spunkmeyer, *The Yes Men: The True Story of the End of the World Trade Organization*, Disinformation, New York 2004, str. 59.

❹ Zdaj je resničnost dohitela predlog "WTO" o odpravi sieste; Nacionalna komisija za racionalizacijo španskih delovnih urnikov in uskladitev z delovnimi urniki drugih držav Evropske unije, ki je združenje 72 španskih predstavnikov različnih poslovnih skupin, zbrana okrog svetovalca Ignacia Buquerasa y Bacha, je junija 2005 v javnosti nastopila z motom "Potrebujemo revolucijo v urnikih!".

Objavili so celo knjigo z naslovom Točna Španija (España en hora). Buqueras s tem poskuša "osvestiti družbo glede tega problema". Prim. "Wenn die Siesta für Unruhe sorgt", v: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2. 6. 2005. (Transkript: "On December 27th, 2005, Spain's socialist government actually outlawed the siesta for civil servants, adjusting the work day to end earlier". Prim. "Spanish siesta, adios?", <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4108777.stm>, z dne 12. 1. 2006.)

Attention! Change of the system!

❷ "Remote labor", koncept, po katerem WTO s sistemom posojil in regulacij vzdržuje ustrezne razmere za ceneno delovno silo v državah tretjega sveta, kamor nato izvaja najslabše plačana delovna mesta (op. prev.).

❸ "Towards the Globalization of Textile Trade", v: Andy Bichlbaum, Mike Bonanno in Bob Spunkmeyer, *The Yes Men: The True Story of the End of the World Trade Organization*, Disinformation, New York 2004, str. 87.

❹ Prav tam, str. 112.

Footnotes for English article

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❶ "Prime Time!", in: Andy Bichlbaum, Mike Bonanno, Bob Spunkmeyer, *The Yes Men. The true story of the end of the World Trade Organization*, New York: Disinformation 2004, S. 59.

to a meeting of the leading figures in the Finnish textiles industry, held on the subject "Fibers and Textiles for the Future." Here is an excerpt from the speech held by "Hank Hardy Unruh," in which he explained that the American Civil War had been a waste of money seen from within the logic of the self-regulatory free market economy: "If the North and South had simply let the market sort it, they would have quickly given up slavery for something more efficient anyway. By forcing the issue, the North [...] deprived slavery of its natural development into remote labor."⁶ Toward the end of his talk, he presented a "leisure suit" that was meant to allow the manager of the future to control and discipline his workers from any point in space, no matter how far removed it was.



According to the Yes Men, no one actually objected, except for a female manager: "Well, I think your performance was clear. It was brilliant, in fact. I think you showed very nicely how the factory owner needs to be close to the workers. But the way you presented it was not fair. [...] You present it as, the males are the owners and the females are the workers. But females can be factory owners too."⁶

I.3. Sydney, Australia (2002)

Po teh satiričnih posegih sta se člana skupine

The Yes Men odločila za resnejši pristop. Potem ko so ju povabili, naj imata govor na srečanju Avstralske zveze računovodij (Certified Practicing Accountants Association of Australia), sta se odločila, da bosta v njem razglasila razpust WTO. Andy Bichlbaum, tokrat kot Kinnithrung Sprat, je dejal: "S septembrom 2002 bo Svetovna trgovinska organizacija, glede na rezultate smernic, katerih edini namen je bil prinesti svetu blaginjo in mir, prenehala obstajati v zdajšnji obliki. V naslednjih dveh letih bomo WTO poskušali vzpostaviti na novo, z novimi smernicami, utemeljenimi na drugačnem razumevanju namenov svetovne trgovine. Nova organizacija bo temeljila na Deklaraciji o človekovih pravicah Organizacije združenih

štirih mesecih prenehala z vsemi operacijami, do popolnega razpusta pa bo prišlo do konca septembra."⁷

I.3. Sidney, Australia (2002)

After these satirical interventions, the Yes Men opted for a more serious approach. Having been invited to hold a talk at the Certified Practicing Accountants Association of Australia, they decided to declare the dissolution of the WTO. Speaking as Kinnithrung Sprat, Andy Bichlbaum said: "As of September 2002, having seen the effects of policies whose only intent was to bring greater prosperity and peace, the World Trade Organization in its present form will cease to exist. Over the next two years, we of the WTO will endeavor to launch our organization anew along different lines, based on a new understanding of the purposes of world trade. The new organization will have as its foundation and basis the United Nations Charter of Human Rights, which we feel will be a good basis for insuring that we will have human rather than business interests as our bottom line."⁷

The announcement of the decision to dissolve the WTO and its explanation was simultaneously sent to 25,000 journalists, politicians, and news agencies. In the Canadian parliament, it even became the subject of a debate, in which the Canadian MP John Duncan floored the dissolution: "After [...] detailed review of current trade policy the World Trade Organization has decided to effect a cessation of all operations to be accomplished over the next four months, culminating by the end of September."⁸

I.4. BBC (2004)

Najbolj znan ponaredek se je pojavil v medijih 3. decembra 2004, ko se je skupina The Yes Men oziroma Jude Finistera pojavil na televizijskem programu BBC in ob dvajseti obletnici katastrofe v Bhopalu v imenu podjetja Dow Chemicals razglasil izplačilo radodarne odškodnine žrtvam katastrofe: "Od nesreče je minilo dvajset let in zelo sem vesel, ker lahko razglasim, da se je Dow prvič odločil prevzeti polno odgovornost za katastrofo. Imamo program, vreden 12 milijard dolarjev, ki bo končno in dokončno poravnal

narodov, ki bo po našem mnenju dobra osnova za zagotavljanje prednosti človeških interesov pred poslovnimi."⁹

Obvestilo o odločitvi za razpust WTO in pojasnilo zanje sta hkrati poslala 25.000 novinarjem, politikom in tiskovnim agencijam. O tem je celo razpravljal kanadski parlament, razpravo pa je sprožil član parlamenta, John Duncan: "Po [...] natančnem pregledu trenutnih trgovinskih praks se je Svetovna trgovinska organizacija odločila, da bo v naslednjih

Medium-Size Mask Menu

Opombe

- ⁶ "Shut it Down", v: Andy Bichlbaum, Mike Bonanno in Bob Spunkmeyer, *The Yes Men: The True Story of the End of the World Trade Organization*, Disinformation, New York 2004, str. 161.
- ⁷ Prav tam., str. 176.
- ⁸ Prepis BBC World Service, ki je bil v živo predvajan 3. decembra 2004 (ob 9. uri). Prim. http://www.theyesmen.org/hijinks/dow/video.html, 20. 12. 2005.
- ⁹ Kot zanimivost: podobno prakso ponarejevanja uporablja tudi korporacija Dow Chemical: spletni naslov www.bhopal.net nas popelje na stran Mednarodne kampanje za pravico v Bhopalu. www.bhopal.com pa sponzorira Union Carbide, v lasti Dow Chemical, ki je odgovorna za tragedijo (op. prev.).

Footnotes

- ¹ Incidentally, reality has by now caught up with the 'WTO's' suggestion to abolish the siesta: the "The National Commission for Rationalization of Spanish Work Schedules and Normalization With Those of Other Countries of the European Union", an association of

72 Spanish representatives of various professional groups around the consultant Ignacio Buqueras y Bach went public with the motto "We need a revolution in work schedules!" in June 2005. To date, this commission has even published a book called "España en hora", which means "Spain On Time." In this way, Buqueras wants to make a contribution to "sensitizing society to this issue." Cf. "Wenn die Siesta für Unruhe sorgt", in: Süddeutsche Zeitung (2.6.2005). (Trans. note: On December 27th, 2005, Spain's socialist government actually outlawed the siesta for civil servants, adjusting the work day to end earlier. Cf. "Spanish siesta, adios?", http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4108777.stm, accessed 12.01.2006)

- ² "Towards the Globalization of Textile Trade", in: Andy Bichlbaum, Mike Bonanno, Bob Spunkmeyer, *The Yes Men. The true story of the end of the World Trade Organization*, New York: Disinformation 2004, p. 87.
- ³ *ibid.* p. 112.

- ⁴ "Shut it Down", in: Andy Bichlbaum, Mike Bonanno, Bob Spunkmeyer, *The Yes Men. The true story of the end of the World Trade Organization*, New York: Disinformation 2004, p. 161.
- ⁵ *ibid.* p. 176.



..MP John Duncan naslov
kanadski parlament
MP John Duncan
addresses the Canadian
parliament

škodo žrtvam, skupaj s 120 tisoč ljudmi, ki bodo vse življenje potrebovali medicinsko oskrbo, ter hitro in učinkovito saniral lokacijo tovarne v Bhopalu.”^⑩

Dow je za odgovor potreboval dve uri, v tem času pa so intervju predvajali dvakrat. Frankfurtska borza je zaznala kratkoročen padec vrednosti delnic družbe Dow, ki je povzročil skupno škodo v višini dveh milijonov dolarjev. Po intervjuju je The Yes Men novinarjem takoj poslal še en ponarejen odgovor Dow Chemical. Ta je, med drugim, vseboval naslednje izjave: “Dow NE bo izplačal NOBENIH odškodnin ali priskrbel medicinske oskrbe 120 tisoč prebivalcem Bhopala, ki jo potrebujejo. Žrtvam Bhopala so BILE ŽE izplačane odškodnine; mnogi so pred leti prejeli približno 500 ameriških dolarjev, kar v Indiji pokrije celoletno zdravstveno oskrbo. [...] Ponoviti moramo, da je družba Dow odgovorna zgolj in samo svojim delničarjem.”^⑪

1.4. BBC (2004)

The most well-known fake hit the press on December 3rd, 2004, when the Yes Men or Jude Finisterra appeared on the BBC in the name of Dow Chemicals on occasion of the 20 year anniversary of the Bhopal catastrophe to announce that a generous compensation would be paid out to the victims on location: “It's 20 years since the disaster and today I am very very happy to announce that for the first time Dow is accepting full responsibility for the Bhopal catastrophe. We have a 12-billion-dollar-plan to finally and at long last fully compensate the victims including the 120 000 who may need medical care for their entire lives and to fully and swiftly remediate the Bhopal plant site.”^⑫

It took two hours for Dow to respond, so that the interview was aired twice. The Frankfurt stock exchange registered short-term losses of the Dow stock of two million dollars in total. After the interview, the Yes Men immediately sent another forged rebuttal from Dow Chemical to the press.

Among other things, it contained the following wording: “Dow will NOT commit ANY funds to compensate and treat 120 thousand Bhopal residents who require lifelong care. The Bhopal victims have ALREADY been compensated; many received about 500 US-Dollars several years ago, which in India can cover a full year of medical care. [...] [W]e must reiterate that Dow's sole and unique responsibility is to its shareholders.”^⑬

Po tem kratkem pregledu zdaj želim pretehtati projekte skupine z analitične perspektive.

Following this brief overview, I would now like to attempt to consider these projects from an analytical perspective.



..”Jude Finisterra” na BBC World Service, predvajanem v živo 3. decembra 2004 ob 9. uri “Jude Finisterra” on the BBC “World Service”, broadcast live on December 3, 2004 (9am)

2. Ponaredki in njihov učinek

2. The Fakes and their Impact

Moj pristop se bo vprašati, kakšen je odnos med ponaredki in razmerji moči, ki obvladujejo posamezna področja ali diskurze. Kot nakazuje že terminologija, ki jo uporabljam, se bom skliceval na Foucaulta, čigar metoda omogoča diferenciran, mikroanalitičen pogled na te pojave. Pri tem opozarjam na nekatere ideje iz njegovega dela *Arheologija vednosti* (*Archéologie du savoir*), čeprav jih bom pozneje povezal z analizo razmerij moči, o katerih govorimo.

My approach will ask how the fakes relate to the power relations and forces that dominate their respective fields or discourses. As the terminology I am using already implies, I would like to recur to Foucault, whose thinking permits a differentiated, microanalytical view of these phenomena. In doing so, I would like to refer to a number of ideas from his *Archéologie du savoir*, though I will later connect these with an analysis of the power-relations in question.

Foucault proti koncu Arheologije vednosti razmišlja o "drugi arheologijah" poleg tistih, ki so usmerjene v diskurz humanističnih ved. Te, denimo, obsegajo arheologijo, ki poskuša opisati, kako je politično obnašanje družbe, skupine ali razreda prežeto z določeno stalno diskurzivno prakso. Ta "druga arheologija" "[...] bi opredelila tisto prvino politike, ki lahko postane objekt izrekanja, oblike, ki jih lahko zavzame takšno izrekanje, koncepte, ki jih obsegajo, in strateške odločitve, ki jih sprejema." **❶** Foucault je ta projekt razvijal v obdobju, ko je razmerja moči, ki so na delu v diskurzu, razumel predvsem kot načeli izključevanja in zapiranja; ta pristop je pozneje zavrgel, ali še bolje, razširil ga je, da je obsegal produktivne vidike moči. Toda o tem več pozneje.

Toward the end of his *Archéologie du savoir*, Foucault considers 'other archeologies' aside from those directed toward discourses in the humanities. For example, these also include an archeology that attempts to describe how the political behavior of a society, group, or class

is permeated by a certain, regular discursive praxis. This 'other archeology' "[...] would define the element in politics that can become an object of enunciation, the forms that this enunciation may take, the concepts that are employed in it, and the strategic choices that are made in it."**❷** Foucault develops this project at a time in which he primarily understands the power-relations at work in discourse as principles of exclusion and closure, an approach that he later discards, or better yet, expands to include the productive aspects of power. But more on this later.

V povezavi s Foucaultovo arheologijo želim bralca opomniti na njegov pojem "modalnost izrekanja", ki ga, med drugim, pojasni s primerom doktorja znanosti kot osebnosti, opredeljene s statusom, ki ima pravico nekaj izreči, kar vodi do logičnega sklepa, da drugi nimajo te pravice.**❸** Dejanja skupine The Yes Men bi lahko s tega zornega kota, torej z zornega kota izključitve nekaterih izrekanj, pojmovali takole: pod kinko rabe konvencionalnih objektov in oblik izrekanja naredi korak naprej, s čimer omogoči izrekanju, ki je sicer izključeno iz nekega diskurza, da se pojavi "tajno". "Nogo med vrati" za ponaredke WTO lahko najdemo v ponarejenih spletnih straneh skupine The Yes Men, ki jih bodo površni raziskovalci našli ob pomoci spletnih iskalnikov. Pri tem ni pomembno zgolj oblikovanje, ki je varljivo podobno uradnim stranem, ključno vlogo odigra tudi URL. Prav URL (*Uniform Resource Locator*) je edinstven in jasen označevalc spletnega vira. Če pustimo ob strani tehnične podrobnosti – o teh sem več pisal na drugem mestu**❹** – naj zadostuje, da imajo vse datoteke in povezave, do katerih pristopamo prek tega vira, navidez edinstven in jasen naslov; s tem postanejo zanesljiv vir, vir, ki ga lahko navajamo. Še več, metaforični pojmi, kot so domača stran, spletno mesto ali domena, nakazujejo, da so datoteke vezane na določena mesta. Dovolj je samo pomisliti na spremembo statusa dokumenta, če do njega dostopamo neodvisno od strani, h kateri pripada: izjava za medije izgubi težo, če ni več vezana na avtoritetno izrekanja – lokalizirana na določeno spletne mesto. Tako se nekatere regulirane modalnosti izrekanja – na primer status izrekanja, vezan na uradne ustanove

ali podjetja – prenesejo na njihovo "spletno prisotnost", prisvojiti pa si jih je možno na zgoraj omenjene načine.

In connection with Foucault's archeology, I would like to remind the reader of his term of an 'enunciative modality', which he explains – among other thing, through the example of a doctor – as a status-defined personality that has the right to articulate something, which leads to the logical conclusion that others do not have this right.**❺** One could consider the Yes Men's actions from this perspective, namely in light of the exclusion of certain enunciations: under the guise of using conventional enunciative objects and forms, they take a second step, successfully allowing enunciations otherwise left aside (i.e. excluded) by a given discourse to appear "under the counter." The 'door openers' for the WTO-fakes can be found in the Yes Men's faked websites, which cursory researchers will chance upon through search engines. Here, not only the design, which is deceptively similar to that of the official sites, but the URL itself plays a crucial role. In fact, the URL (*Uniform Resource Locator*) stands for an unambiguous and unique localization of a resource on the web. Without dwelling on the technical details – I have already written on this subject elsewhere**❻** – suffice it to say that files and links accessed through this source seemingly have an unambiguous and unique address. As such, they become citable sources. Moreover, metaphorical terms such as home page, web site, or domain imply that files are bound to particular places. One needs only to consider the change in status a document undergoes when it is accessed independently of the site it belongs to: a press release loses its weight when it is no longer coupled to a special enunciative authority – to its localization on the site in question. Thus, certain regulated enunciative modalities – e.g. the enunciative status connected to official institutions or companies – also carry over onto their 'web presence' and can be appropriated through the means mentioned above.

Toda taktika skupine The Yes Men je s tem, ko ji je uspelo opustiti internet v zameno za druge oblike komuniciranja, segla veliko dlje od takšnega prisvajanja. Kajti tako prisvojena



avtoriteta namreč deluje tudi v resničnem življenju, v govorih in pojavljajih, opisanih zgoraj. To avtoriteto dodatno podkrepri upoštevanje konvencionalnih pravil diskurza (govorjenje o določenih objektih z določenimi pojmi). V že omenjenih nastopih je to pripeljalo do tolikšne stopnje prepoznavnosti, da so bila celo skrajna pretiravanja sprejeta kot nekaj danega, tako da je lahko skupina The Yes Men pred pretežno akademskim občinstvom izrekala najodvratnejše neoliberalistične vizije prihodnosti, ne da bi naletela na kakršenkoli odpor ali kritiko. Metaforično rečeno, poslušalci so v njih videli potrditev lastnega diskurza, čeprav se je zdaj pokazal v zakriviljenem zrcalu, kot popačena podoba, ki postane vprašljiva, ko je ponaredek razkrinkan in predstavljen javnosti.

The Yes Men's tactic goes far beyond this appropriation when they succeed in leaving behind the internet in favor of other communicative forums. Because the authority thus appropriated continues to work in real life, in the talks and appearances described above. What amplifies this is the affirmation of conventional discursive rules (speaking about certain objects in certain terms). In the aforementioned appearances, this led to

such a high degree of recognition that even extreme exaggerations were accepted as such, so that the Yes Men could enunciate the most audacious neo-liberal visions of the future in front of a largely academic public without hitting upon any resistance or criticism whatsoever. Or, to put it metaphorically, the listeners saw that their discourse was being confirmed, even if it now appeared in a distorted mirror, a distorted image that becomes questionable when the fake is disclosed and made public.

Kot sem že omenil, se v prvi vrsti želim opreti na pristop, ki ga je Foucault razvil po tem, ko je že spisal *Arheologijo*. Odličen povzetek tega pristopa najdemo v nekakšni sklepni besedi k delu Dreyfusa in Rabinowa *Michel Foucault. Onkraj strukturalizma in hermenevtike* (*Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*).

However, as I have already implied, I would primarily like to recur to an approach taken by Foucault and developed after writing the "Archeology". An excellent summary of this approach can be found in an afterword of sorts to Dreyfus and Rabinow's "Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics."

Splošno znano je, da Foucault moči ne razume kot substance: moč ni niti fundamentalna danost niti lastnost v lasti enega ali drugega pola. Moč je zanj struktura razmerij, razmerje med posamezniki ali skupinami. Potemtakem se ključno vprašanje, ko gre za moč, ne glasi "Kako se kaže?", marveč 'S katerimi sredstvi se uveljavlja?' in 'Kaj se dogaja, ko posameznik uveljavi (kot pravijo) svojo moč nad drugimi?'¹⁶ Toda to uveljavljanje moči ni zgolj razmerje med individualnimi ali kolektivnimi partnerji, niti ni moč *kot taka*. Obstaja le, ko se uveljavlja prek dejanja: "Dejansko razmerje moči definira to, da je oblika delovanja, ki na druge ne deluje neposredno in takoj. Namesto tega deluje na njihova dejanja, kot dejanje nad dejanjem; učinkuje na obstoječa dejanja ali na tista, ki se utegnejo v sedanjosti ali prihodnosti šele zgoditi."¹⁷

As is generally known, Foucault does not conceptualize power as a substance: it is neither a fundamental given, nor is it a property owned by one pole and not by the other. Instead, power is a framework of relations, a relation between individuals or groups. Thus, the key question in relation to power is not "how does



it manifest itself?" but 'By what means is it exercised?' and "What happens when individuals exert (as they say) power over others?"¹⁸ This exertion of power, however, is not simply a relation between individual or collective partners, nor is it power as such. Instead, it only exists when it is exerted through action: "In effect, what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future."¹⁹

Foucault jasno razlikuje med to obliko delovanja in nasiljem, saj nasilje iznosi možnost za delovanje. V tem primeru je upor lahko zgolj pasivnost. Nasprotno pa razmerja moč predpostavlja, da je kolektivni ali individualni drugi (nad katerim se uveljavi moč) prepoznan in ohranjen kot dejaven partner: "In da se v soočenju z razmerjem moči lahko razpre celo polje odzivov, reakcij, rezultatov in možnih izmišljij."²⁰ Seveda se razmerja moči in raba nasilja ne izključujeta. In vendar Foucault med njima analitično razlikuje. Rabo nasilja moramo razumeti kot sredstvo ali učinek razmerja moči, ne pa tudi kot načelo uveljavljanja moči kot take.

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Opombe

- ¹⁶ Michel Foucault, "Afterword. The Subject and Power", v: Hubert L. Dreyfus in Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1983, str. 217.
¹⁷ Michel Foucault, "Afterword. The Subject and Power", v: Hubert L. Dreyfus in Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1983, str. 220.
¹⁸ Prav tam.

Četrtočetrt

- ¹⁹ Michel Foucault, "Afterword. The Subject and Power", v: Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1983, p. 217.
²⁰ Michel Foucault – afterword, "The Subject and Power", in: Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1983, p. 220.

"Lahko kopiči mrtve in se skriva za kakršnimikoli grožnjami. Toda izvajanje moči samo po sebi ni nasilje [...]. To je celovita struktura dejanj, ki se uveljavljajo nad možnimi dejanji."¹⁰

Foucault clearly differentiates this mode of action from violence, since violence cuts off any possibility for action at all. In this case, resistance can only be passivity. Power relations, in contrast, presuppose that the collective or individual other (over whom power is exerted) is recognized and retained as an acting partner: "[A]nd that, faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible inventions may open up."¹¹ Of course, power relations and the use of violence are not mutually exclusive. Yet still, Foucault differentiates them from one another analytically. The latter should be understood as a means or effect of the former, but not as the principle of exerting power as such. "[I]t can pile up the dead and shelter itself behind whatever threats it can imagine. In itself the exercise of power is not violence [...]. It is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions."¹²

Potemtakem razmerja moči vplivajo na način, kako se nekdo obnaša na bolj ali manj odprttem polju dejanj. To pomeni, da Foucault razume prisotnost svobode kot enega od predpogojev moči: "Moč se uveljavlja zgolj nad svobodnimi subjekti [...]. S tem imamo v mislih individualne ali kolektivne subjekte, soočene s poljem možnosti, kjer se lahko uresničijo različna dejanja in raznolika vedenja. Kjer določajoči dejavniki prežemajo celoto, ne moremo govoriti o razmerjih moči; suženstvo ni razmerje moči, če je človek vkljenjen. (V tem primeru govorimo o fizičnem razmerju omejevanja.)"¹³ Posledica tega je oblika medsebojnega razmerja, ki je hkrati zapletena in nevarna, agonizem, če uporabimo Foucaultovo terminologijo, nenehen spopad med močjo in neuklonljivo svobodo.¹⁴ To medsebojno razmerje pa ni igra na vse ali nič:¹⁵ posedovanje moči ene strani ni proporcionalno z izgubo moči druge. Namesto tega je treba svobodo razumeti kot predpogoj in stalni steber izvajanja moči; brez nje je moč zgolj in samo nasilje.

Thus, power relations affect the manner in which one behaves on a more or less open field of action. This means that Foucault sees the presence of freedom as one of the prerequisites for power: "Power is exercised only over free subjects [...]. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several reactions and diverse comportments may be realized. Where the determining factors saturate the whole there is no relationship of power; slavery is not a power relationship when man is in chains. (In this case it is a question of a physical relationship of constraint.)"¹⁶ This results in a form of interrelation that is both complex and dangerous, an agonism in Foucault's terminology, a permanent provocation between power and unrelenting freedom.¹⁷ This interrelation is no zero-sum-game¹⁸: one side's possession of power is not proportionate to other side's lack thereof. Instead, freedom must be understood as both the prerequisite and the permanent pillar of the exertion of power; otherwise, power would be pure coercion or simple violence.

Z drugimi besedami: brez možnosti za upor bi bila moč enakovredna absolutni določenosti prek drugega. Potemtakem razmerij moči ne more biti brez določenih točk nepokornosti, ki so *per definitionem* sredstva pobega. Tako se svoboda hkrati kaže kot nekaj, kar mora nasprotovati uveljavljanju moči, uveljavljanju, katerega namen je, da jo v celoti določa. Če kljub vsem kompleksnim točkam povezave še vedno želimo govoriti o dveh polih, provokacija med močjo in svobodo obstaja v dejstvu, da ena stran deluje kot nenehna nevarnost drugi, četudi sta neločljivo povezani.¹⁹ Tako se vsakemu uveljavljanju moči neogibno zoperstavi potencialno nasprotno delovanje; vsakemu delovanju upora pa reakcija, ki naj zagotovi nadaljnje uveljavljanje moči. Tako lahko Foucault izbere oblike upora kot izhodišče za raziskavo razmerij moči: "Da bi razumeli razmerja moči, moramo morda najprej raziskati oblike upora in poskuse razdružitve teh razmerij." Ta novi

pristop "uporabi upor kot kemični katalizator, da bi osvetlil razmerja moči, jih lociral ter odkril njihova torišča in načine, kako se uveljavljajo".²⁰

In other words, without the possibility for resistance, power would be tantamount to absolute determination through the other. Thus, there can be no power relation without certain points of disobedience, which are means of escape *per definitionem*. Thus, freedom simultaneously appears as something that has to oppose the exertion of power, an exertion that aims at determining it entirely. If one wants to speak of two poles despite all of the complex points of connection, the provocation between power and freedom consists in the fact that one side constitutes a permanent danger for the other, even if they are inseparably connected to one another.²¹ Thus, every exertion of power is irreducibly opposed by potential counter-behavior; every resistant action is opposed by a reaction that would ensure the continued exertion of power. In this way, Foucault is able to choose forms of resistance as a point of departure in analyzing power relations: "[I]n order to understand what power relations are about, perhaps we should investigate the forms of resistance and attempts made to dissociate these relations." This new approach "consists of using this resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their position, find out their point of application and the methods used."²²

Za Foucaulta življenje v družbi pomeni, da lahko ena skupina vedno vpliva na dejanja druge skupine, kar pomeni, da se vedno znova vzpostavlja razmerja moči. Potemtakem so razmerja moči globoko zakoreninjena v družbeno celoto; razmišljanje o tem, da bi jih odpravili, je tako rekoč utopično. Toda tega ne smemo razumeti kot poziv k resignaciji in nedelavnosti. Nasprotno, dejstvo, da družba brez razmerij moči ne more obstajati, pomeni tudi – v luči diskurza, ki sem ga pravkar razkril – da je upor vedno možen in da bi lahko obstajala družba z drugačnimi razmerji moči, kot so

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Opombe

- ¹⁰ Prav tam.
- ¹¹ Prav tam, str. 221.
- ¹² Prim. prav tam, str. 222.
- ¹³ Zero-sum-game: v teoriji iger vrsta igre, kjer to, kar pridobi en igralec, izgubi drugi, tako da je končni seštevek "točk" nič. Takšna igra je, na primer, šah – če igralec zmaga, nasprotnik izgubi (op. prev.).
- ¹⁴ Prim. prav tam, str. 217.
- ¹⁵ Prim. prav tam, str. 221f.
- ¹⁶ Prav tam, str. 211.

Footnotes

- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. p. 221
- ²⁰ Cf. Ibid. p. 222
- ²¹ Cf. Ibid. p. 217
- ²² Cf. Ibid. p. 221f.
- ²³ Ibid. p. 211.



sedanja. Kot pravi Foucault: "Kajti reči, da družba ne more obstajati brez razmerij moći, ni enako kot reči, da so obstoječa razmerja moći nujna [...]. Raje bom rekel, da so analiza, izpopolnjevanje in preizprševanje razmerij moći ter 'agonizem' med razmerji moći in neprehodnostjo svobode politična naloga, inherentna celotnemu družbenemu obstoju."²⁰

To Foucault, living in society means that it is always possible for one group to affect the actions of another group, meaning that power relations will arise continuously. Thus, power relations are deeply rooted in the social whole; their abolition thus becomes little more than a utopia. This, however, should not be misunderstood as a plea in favor of resignation and inactivity. Quite on the contrary, the fact that there can be no society without power relations also means – in light of the discourse I have just unfolded – that resistance is always possible, and that there could be a society with different power relations than the ones at present. As Foucault puts it: "For to say that there cannot be a society without power relations is not to say either that those which are established are necessary [...] Instead I would say that the analysis, elaboration, and bringing into question of power relations and the 'agonism' between power relations and the intransitivity of freedom is a permanent political task inherent in all social existence."²¹

Iz tega sledi, da Foucault ne poskuša določiti "primarnega in temeljnega načela moći", ki vlada družbi vse do najmanjše podrobnosti, marveč, kolikor je le možno, razlikovati

med razmerji moći: "Če izhajamo iz možnosti delovanja nad dejanji drugih [...], iz različnih oblik individualne neenakosti, ciljev, iz danega izvajanja moći nad nami ali drugimi, iz različnih stopenj delne ali popolne institucionalizacije, iz bolj ali manj namerne organizacije, lahko določimo različne oblike moći. Te oblike in posamezne situacije medsebojnega obvladovanja ljudi v dani družbi so mnogotere; prekrivajo se, križajo, uveljavljajo svoje meje, včasih se med seboj izključujejo in včasih spodbujajo."²² Jasno je, da v nekaterih oblikah in na nekaterih mestih obstaja več možnosti, kako oblikovati polje možnih dejav drugega. Toda vseeno, Foucaultu njegov pristop omogoči raziskati razmerja moći tako na velikih vzorcih kot tudi v najmanjših kapilarah družbenega, na primer v institucijah poroke ali družine.

It follows that Foucault is not trying to fixate "a primary and fundamental principle of power" that dominates society down to the smallest detail, but to differentiate power relations as far as possible: "[T]aking as point of departure the possibility of action upon the action of others [...], multiple forms of individual disparity, of objectives, of the given application of power over ourselves or others, of, in varying degrees, partial or universal institutionalization, of more or less deliberate organization, one can define different forms of power. The forms and the specific situations of the government of men by one another in a given society are multiple; they are superimposed, they cross, impose their own limits, sometimes cancel one another out, sometimes reinforce one another."²³ It goes without saying that in some forms or places have more options

than elsewhere to structure the others' field of possible action. Still, Foucault's approach allows him to examine power relations on both a large scale as well as in the smallest societal capillaries, in the institutions of matrimony or the family, for example.

Tako je cilj, po eni strani, zagovarjati moč ponaredkov in tej zapleteni družbeni mreži razmerij, po drugi pa jih omejiti na njihov bistveni potencial: konec koncev skupina The Yes Men z golj parazitsko napada dele te mreže razmerij moći. Zato se želim usmeriti na razmerja komunikacij in institucionalne mehanizme moći, če tega nisem že storil. Skupaj s Foucaultom velja opozoriti, da razmerij komunikacij ne smemo razumeti kot nečesa z lastnostmi razmerij moći. Ta razloček nam omogoča raziskati, do kakšne mere razmerja moći delujejo znotraj razmerij komunikacij, ali bolje povedano, kako so med seboj povezana razmerja moći in razmerja komunikacij.²⁴

Thus, the goal is, on the one hand, to assert the power of fakes in this complex social network of relations, but on the other, it is also to limit them to their intrinsic potential: after all, the Yes Men only parasitically attack partial areas in this network of power relations. In this case, I would like to limit my own focus to the communicative relations and institutional mechanisms of power, if I have not already done so. In regard to the former, we should emphasize, with Foucault, that they cannot be seen as one with power relations or as their aspect. Their separation makes it possible to examine in how far power relations are at work *within* communicative relations, or, better yet, how power relations and communicative relations are *linked* to one another.²⁵

V luči zgoraj razloženega bom zdaj poskusil po korakih slediti praksi skupine The Yes Men. Skupina The Yes Men si s ponarejanjem spletnih mest prisvoji modalnosti izrekanja, povezane z določenim statusom. Ko Foucault razlagata specifično obliko obstoja diskurza oziroma diskurzivnih praks, nam predstavi odličen primer: do konca osemnajstega stoletja ni bilo nobene večje razlike med diskurzom zdravnika šarlatana in diskurzom pravega zdravnika. Toda na neki točki se je začel medicinski diskurz organizirati okrog določenega števila norm in pravil. Čeprav

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Opombe

- ²⁰ *Prav tam*, str. 223.
- ²¹ *Prav tam*, str. 224.
- ²² *Prim. prav tam*, str. 284.

Footnotes

- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 224
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 224
- ²⁵ *Cf. ibid.*, p. 384

ta niso omogočila nobenih novih odločitev glede kakovosti zdravnika, so omogočila razlikovanje med resničnimi zdravniki in šarlatani. Toda to ne izključuje možnosti, da bi se nekdo pretvarjal, da je zdravnik, s tem ko bi posnemal medicinski diskurz in govoril neresnične stvari, čeprav ni sposoben delovati kot resničen zdravnik; še vedno torej deluje kot šarlatan. To pomeni zgolj to, da mora diskurz te osebe [...] sam po sebi upoštevati druge norme, kot jih šarlatan".²⁰ Če besedo francoskega izvora šarlatan razumemo v širšem pomenu, lahko Foucaultovo razmišljjanje prenesemo na ponarejvalce in ponaredke. O čem mora nekdo govoriti – s kakšnimi pojmi in v skladu s katero teorijo – katere norme mora upoštevati, da ga bodo prepoznali kot resno figuro in da bo lahko v ciljne diskurze umeščal ponaredke? V tem kontekstu je treba poudariti, da tako raba (strokovni govor) kot zloraba (ponaredek) sledi istim normam in pravilom. Prav to naredi analizo ponaredkov tako zanimivo, še posebno, če ne analiziramo zgolj ponarejenih artefaktov, temveč tudi vpletene posameznike in posledice ponaredka. Potem takem lahko ponaredki in poneverbe, ko so razkrinkani, na poseben način razkrijejo nekatere zakonitosti, čeprav ta razkritja niso nikoli absolutna ali neizpodbitna. Skupina The Yes Men se parazitsko pripne na eksplisitno ali sporazumno regulirane komunikacije institucij, kot sta WTO ali Dow Chemical, z javnostjo. Kdorkoli govorí v njihovem imenu, tj. uporablja njihove oblike izrekanja, si prisvoji njihov status institucije in s tem pridobi določeno moč nad dejanji drugih. Pri razumevanju eksperimentalne analize razmerij moči znotraj določenih institucij moramo omeniti, da to omogoči zelo jasno izpostaviti nekatere oblike izrekanja. Toda obenem takšni mehanizmi najprej delujejo v korist ohranjanja institucije, tako da tovrstna eksperimentalna analiza razkriva predvsem znotraj-institucionalne mehanizme.²¹ Na tej formalni ravni ponaredek ne izjavlja ničesar o tem, kako WTO določa globalne ekonomske akcije; toda razkrije pa veliko o razmerjih komunikacij organizacij in institucij, ki vabijo (na primer, kako status avtoritet določa diskurz in kako se kdo sme obnašati, kadar se sooči z avtoritetom).

I will now try to retrace the Yes Men's praxis step by step, in the light of the aspects explained above:

Toda skupina The Yes Men ne poskuša pretentati zgolj navadne skupinice udeležencev konference, zanima jo predvsem poznejše publiciranje dogodka. Z močjo, ki jo prinese že omenjeni institucionalni status, njeni govorí navadno ustvarijo odmev v medijih, kar v nekaterih primerih popravi identiteto napadene institucije - WTO (CNBC, Salzburg, Finska), čeprav v omejenem obsegu. Na primer, skupina poudarja neoliberalistične ideologeme organizacije WTO in se iz njih norčuje, kar pogosto zasenči točke na njem uradnem dnevnom redu, kot so ekonomska izravnava ali pomoč manj premožnim državam. V tem smislu skupina The Yes Men dejansko pokaže, kako in s kakšnimi izgovori WTO določa polja možnih ekonomskih akcij in trgovanja. V primeru napovedi razpusta WTO v Avstraliji, ki je bila bolj formalna in manj satirična, ne zasledimo le učinkov uničevanja podobe organizacije, temveč tudi njihova konstruktivna nasprotja. Računovodje na kongresu so napovedane reforme WTO dobro sprejeli, medijski odziv, ki je sledil, pa je celo sprožil razpravo v kanadskem parlamentu.

By faking web sites, the Yes Men are able to appropriate enunciative modalities that are linked to a certain status. In speaking about this specific form for the existence of discourse or discursive practices, Foucault supplies a striking example: until the end of the 18th century, there was no great difference between the discourse of a quack doctor (*charlatan* in French) and that of a real doctor. At some point, however, medical discourse began to organize itself according to a certain number of norms and rules. Even if these did not make possible any new decision as to the quality of a doctor, they did actually permit a differentiation between real doctors and quacks. Nevertheless, this does not exclude the possibility of someone appearing as a doctor by imitating medical discourse and saying things that are untrue, while being incapable of working as a good doctor, thus actually acting as a quack. Instead, it means that this person's

"[...] discourse, taken in and of itself, has to obey different norms than that of a quack."²² If one takes the French – in the broader sense of the word, Foucault's thinking can be transposed onto forgers and forgeries: What does one have to speak about – in which terms, according to which theory –, which norms does one have to obey, in order to be recognized as a serious figure, to situate fakes in their respective discourses? In this context, it is important to emphasize that both use (expert speech) and the misuse (the fake) follow the same norms and rules. This is what makes the analysis of forgeries and fakes so interesting, especially if one does not only examine the faked artefacts themselves, but also the people involved and the effects they entail. Thus, forgeries and fakes can reveal certain regularities in a special way when they are disclosed, though these revelations are never absolute or immaculate. In this way, the Yes Men parasitically latch on to the explicitly or tacitly regulated communications of institutions such as the WTO or Dow Chemical with the public. Whoever speaks in their name, i.e. uses their enunciative forms, appropriates their institutional status, thus gaining a certain power to determine the form of others' actions. In considering this experimental analysis of power relations within certain institutions, one should note that it allows a variety of forms to come to the forefront very clearly. But at the same time, these mechanisms primarily serve to perpetuate the institution itself, so that such experimental analysis chiefly reveals inner-institutional mechanisms.²³ On this formal level, the fake makes no statement on how the WTO determines economic action globally; however, it does reveal a great deal about the communicative relations of the inviting organizations and institutions (e.g. how the status of authorities determines discourse and how one can act or behave in the face of authority).

Toda zadnji ponaredek, namreč objava, da se je družba Dow Chemicals zavezala k visokim kompenzacijskim plačilom za žrtve katastrofe v Bhopalu, ni bil deležen le pozitivnega sprejema. Skupino The Yes Men so dolečele kritike, češ da je prevarala žrtve in jim vila lažne upe.

Medium-Size Maska Menu

Oponome

²⁰ "que le discours qu'il tiendra, pris en lui-même, aura à obeir à d'autres normes que celles du charlatan" ("La scène de la philosophie", v: *Dits et écrits 1976-1988*, zvezek 2, Gallimard, Pariz 2001, str. 584f (dt. III, S. 735)).

²¹ Prim. Michel Foucault, "Afterword. The Subject and Power", v: Hubert L. Dreyfus in Paul Rabinow, Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1983, str. 288

Footnotes

²² "que le discours qu'il tiendra, pris en lui-même, aura à obeir à d'autres normes que celles du charlatan" ("La scène de la philosophie", v: *Dits et écrits 1976-1988*, Bd. 2, Part. 2, Gallimard, 2001, S. 584f (dt. III, S. 735)).

²³ Cf. Michel Foucault, "Afterword. The Subject and Power", in: Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, Michel Foucault. Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, Chicago: University of Chicago press 1983, p. 288

3. Sklep

3. Conclusion

Naj sklep uvedem s krajšo kritično zastranitvijo o "Nevidnem gledališču" Augusta Boala. Moj cilj ni poglobiti kontradikcij, ki so že inherentne Boalovemu nevidnemu gledališču. Na tej točki naj zgolj pokažem, da – čeprav Boal zavrača didaktične oblike kot avtoritarna sredstva

– "nevidno gledališče" temelji na ideji, da umetnik več od gledalca, da ga torej poskuša nekaj naučiti, čeprav je vpletjen kot sodelujoči. Tako v tem primeru ne moremo govoriti o "enakovrednem dejanju". Naj zgolj navedem nekaj pomembnejših Boalovih izjav o njegovem gledališču: "igraci [...] režirajo pogovore"; "da bi ta predstava imela politično razsežnost, bi jo moralo petdeset skupin igrati petstokrat!"; "gledališče [...] bi nam moralo biti v pomoč pri učenju o nas samih in našem času [...], moralo bi biti in je lahko sredstvo za spremenjanje družbe. Gledališče nam lahko pomaga graditi prihodnost"; "namen je ustvariti gledališče, ki osvobaja".^② Kot tako je "nevidno gledališče" režirana šola obnašanja, kar samo od sebe vodi v skepticizem.

I would like to preface my conclusion with a short critical digression on Augusto Boal's "Invisible Theater." My goal is not to deepen the contradictions that are already inherent to Boal's "invisible theater." At this point, it is enough to point out that – even if Boal rejects didactic forms as authoritarian measures – the "invisible theater" is based on the idea that the artist knows more than the spectator, thus attempting to teach him something, even if he is now involved as a participant. Thus, it is impossible to speak of "action on equal footing" in this case. Instead, I would simply like to cite a number of significant statements that Boal made on his theater: "the actors [...] direct the conversations"; "for this piece to have a political dimension, fifty groups would have to play it five hundred times!", "theater [...] should help us learn about ourselves and our times [...], it should and can also be a means of transforming society. Theater can help us build our future"; "the intention is to create a theater which liberates."^③ As such, the "invisible theater" is a directed behavioural school, which inevitably gives rise to skepticism.

Vseeno se moramo spomniti, da je bil Boal – kot direktorja gledališča Teatro de Arena de São Paulo so ga leta 1971 arretirali, ga za tri mesece zaprli, mučili in naposled izgnali iz Brazilije – žrtve represije in sankcij. Njegovi zgodnji eksperimenti z "nevidnim gledališčem" kot delom njegovega "gledališča zatiranih" so še istega leta nastali v izgnanstvu v Argentini, ki ji je takrat vladala junta pod protiperonističnim vojaškim vodstvom (Alejandro Lanusse), in čeprav je ta junta navidez pripravljala vrnitev v civilno, demokratično

Klub temu je ponaredek ob dvajseti obletnici katastrofe v Bhopalu prinesel medijsko odzivnost, kakršne prej ni zmogla doseči. Lažni odgovor družbe Dow Chemical, v katerem je korporacija zaprisegla svojo predanost brezobzirnemu večanju prihodka, je bil 3. decembra 2004 celo naslovna zgodba na news.google.com.^① Hkrati je imel ponaredek stranski učinek, diskreditacijo BBC, čeprav je bila ta postaja ena od redkih angleško govorečih informativnih postaj, ki so dvajsetletnico dogodka sploh omenjale. Toda ponaredek je klub temu razkrinal nekatera, čeprav ne vseh, pravila medijske prakse.

Then again, the Yes Men are not only trying to deceive what is usually a small group of conference participants, but are most interested in the later publicizing of the event. On the power of the institutional status described above, the talks usually produce media resonance, which corrects the image of the attacked institution of the WTO in some cases (CNBC, Salzburg, Finland), albeit in a limited scope. For example, it highlights and ridicules the neoliberal ideologemes of the WTO, which frequently overshadow the points on its official agenda, such as economic equalization or providing assistance to less affluent countries. In this sense, the Yes Men do actually make a statement as to how and under which pretenses the WTO determines a field of possible economic action and trade. In the case of the declaration of the WTO's dissolution in Australia, which had a more formal and less satirical quality, one can not only detect image-destructive effects, but their constructive counterparts. The accountants on location largely welcomed the reform of the WTO, while the press releases that followed even provoked a corresponding debate in the Canadian parliament.

Če se spomnimo Foucaultove "akcije nad akcijo", vidimo, da je skupina The Yes Men uspešna pri rabi ponaredkov za uveljavljanje dotej neznane moći nad mediji. Delo skupine je jasno omejilo polje možnih dejanj medijev. Zdaj so mediji prisiljeni slediti svoji logiki, torej poročanju o tekočih dogodkih, s čimer, vsaj v določeni meri, pristajajo na želje skupine The Yes Men. Dobro znani moto - "Ne govoriti z mediji, marveč prek medijev" - se je po svoje udejanjil. Če preučimo seznam vseh objav ponaredkov skupine The Yes Men, med njimi najdemo veliko implicitnih

prispevkov o zoperstavljanju globalizaciji v njeni zdajšnji obliki, kot se kaže v medijih, kot so *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, *Fortune*, *Harper's*, *La Republic*, *France Inter*, *Le Monde*, *Le nouvel observateur* in *Libération*. Po drugi strani se je organizacija WTO odzvala tako, da skupini The Yes Men ni dovolila sodelovati na ministerki konferenci v Cancunu v Mehiki septembra 2003.

The latest fake, namely the declaration that Dow Chemicals was committing to wide-ranging compensation payments for the victims of the Bhopal catastrophe, was not only received in a positive vein. Instead, the Yes Men were also criticized for deceiving the victims giving them false hope. Nevertheless, the fake allowed the twentieth anniversary of the Bhopal-accident to reach a degree of media exposure that it had not been able to reach in the past. The faked response of Dow Chemical, in which the corporation avowed its allegiance to the ruthless maximization of profits, was even the top story on news.google.com on December 3rd, 2004.^④ At the same time, the fake also had the side effect of discrediting the BBC, even if it was one of the few English-language news channels that had initially deemed the anniversary of the catastrophe newsworthy. But again, the fake was also successful in making transparent certain, though also insufficient rules of journalistic praxis.

If one remembers Foucault's "action upon an action," one can see that the Yes Men are successful in using fakes to exert a hitherto unknown power on the media. Due to the Yes Men's statutes, the media's field of possible action has been clearly been curtailed. They are now forced to follow their own logic, namely to report on the events that are transpiring, thus conforming to the wishes of the Yes Men, at least to a certain degree. The much-cited motto "Don't speak with the media but through the media" seems to have found an application of sorts. If one examines the list of publications on all of the Yes Men's fakes, one can find many implicit contributions on the refusal of globalization in its present form in media such as the Financial Times, the New York Times, Fortune, Harper's, La Republic, France Inter, Le Monde, Le nouvel observateur, or Libération. Yet on the other hand, the WTO has now reacted by refusing to let the Yes Men participate in its minister conference in Cancun, Mexico in September 2003.

vladavino, sta bila nasilje in teror norma. V tem kontekstu je Boalova trditev - "ljudje, ki vidijo sceno, tisti, ki so tam po naključju. Med spektakлом se tem ljudem ne bi smelo niti sanjati, da to je 'spektakel'"¹⁰ - razumljiva kot strategija preživetja.

Nevertheless, one should remember that Boal – who was arrested as the director of the Teatro de Arena de São Paulo in 1971, detained for three months, tortured, and then finally forced to flee Brazil – was subject to massive repressions and sanctions. His earliest experiments with the "Invisible Theater" as a part of his "Theater of the Oppressed" date to the same year, when he was already in Argentinian exile. At this point, Argentina was ruled by a junta under anti-Peronist military rule (Alejandro Lanusse), and even if this junta was ostensibly preparing the return to civilian, democratic governance, violence and terrorist activities were the norm. In this context, Boal's dictum that "the people who witness the scene are those who are there by chance. During the spectacle, these people must not have the slightest idea that it is a 'spectacle'"¹¹ should be understood as a strategy for survival.

Zato med Boalovim "nevidnim gledališčem" in akcijami skupine The Yes Men stežka najdem povezavo, čeprav jo skupina sama poudarja.¹² Težava je v tem, da se nobeden od omenjenih vidikov ne navezuje na skupino The Yes Men. Najprej, skupina ne deluje v kontekstu morilske represije, vsaj ne, kar zadeva njena člana, zatorej dela skupine ne moremo razumeti kot "gledališča zatiranih". Nadalje, razkritje je osrednji del njunih akcij, kar pomeni, da tudi prevarani – v Boalovih besedah "gleda-igraci"¹³ – izvajo za prevaro. Ali povedano drugače, nemerni so-igraci v ponaredkih se na odru znajdejo v trenutku razkritja. To tudi pomeni, da moramo javno sfero medijev razumeti kot občinstvo, ki so mu dokumente o gledališču kot gledališču pokazali za nazaj.

For this reason, I find it difficult to establish any analogy between Boal's "Invisible Theater" and the Yes Men's actions, even if the Yes

Men emphasize this analogy themselves.¹⁴ The problem is that neither of the aspects I have mentioned can be applied to the Yes Men. First of all, they do not work in the context of murderous repression, at least not in as far as they themselves are concerned, so that their work cannot be considered as "theater of the oppressed." Furthermore, disclosure is a central part of their actions, which also means that the deceived – to use Boal's term, their "spect-actor"¹⁵ – are also informed of having been duped. Or – to put it into slightly more differentiated terms – the unwitting co-actors of the fakes inadvertently find themselves on stage in the moment of disclosure. This would also mean that the public sphere of the media would have been understood as an audience, which is shown documents of theater as theater in retrospect.

V nasprotju z argentinsko politično situacijo v sedemdesetih letih deluje skupina The Yes Men v veliko milejših okoliščinah. Njeni projekti so možni samo zato, ker obstaja določena stopnja svobode delovanja, ki jo zagotavlja prvi amandma ameriške ustave, in ki jima, na primer, omogoča vzdrževanje ponarejene spletni strani ter pojavljanje v javnosti v imenu WTO. Pod diktaturo bi to neizogibno vodilo v dokončno izginotje oponašalca. Tovrstna spletne mesta na Kitajskem, denimo, ali in Iranu ne bi mogla obstajati. To je nekaj, na kar moramo biti pozorni, kadar se v imenu močnega pojma "subverzija" priklče na dan podoba zaprte, represivne družbe (tj. popolnega zatiranja). Vseeno ne gre zanemariti dejstva, da se na določenih mestih koncentrirajo določene oblike razmerij moči. Toda te koncentracije moči gradijo tudi mesta, ki omogočijo dejanja, skupaj z dejanji, ki so usmerjena k preoblikovanju obstoječih praks uveljavljanja moči. Zavedati pa se moramo, da takšna mesta ne obstajajo *per definitionem*, razvijejo se v praksi in se odpirajo, ko vstopamo vanje. Konec koncov človek nikoli ne ve vnaprej, ali ga bodo njegova dejanja vodila k pravnim posledicam ali kriminalnim obsodbam; to je nekaj, kar se pokaže šele eksperimentalno. Poleg tega, da so odprli svobodne prostore in razprli nekatere strukture, so ponaredki skupine The Yes Men zgolj minimalni popravki identitet, zamiki v javnem pogledu na organizirano trgovino. Vseeno pa lahko trdim, da pripravljajo teren za nadaljnje možne spremembe.

In contrast to the political situation in Argentina during the 1970s, the Yes Men are working under far more benevolent conditions. Their projects are only possible because there is already a certain degree of freedom for action, guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U.S. constitution, for example, which allows them to maintain a faked WTO-site and to appear in person in the name of the WTO. Under a dictatorship, this would invariably lead to the impersonator's disappearance forever. Web sites like these would be unthinkable in China or Iran, for example. This is something one should remember when the image of undermining a closed, repressive society (i.e. total oppression) is invoked in the name of the powerful term of 'subversion.' Nevertheless, one should not underestimate the fact that certain forms of power relations concentrate in some places. Yet on the other hand, these power concentrations are also constituted by spaces that supply leeway for action, including action aimed at transforming existing practices of exerting power. Still, one should remember that such spaces are never a given that exists per definitionem: instead, they are only developed in practice, opening up in actu when they are entered. After all, one never really knows in advance that one's actions will not lead to legal measures or criminal convictions; this is something that has to be ascertained through experimentation. Aside from opening up free spaces and rendering certain structures visible, the Yes Men's fakes may only effect minimal transfigurations and image-corrections, i.e. shifts in the public view of organized world trade, but arguably, these prepare further potential transformations.

Naj sklenem s Foucaultovim citatom, zapletenim v svoji preprostosti: "Če naj razmerja moči pridejo na dan, jih moramo, vsaj v mojem pomenu, vrniti v roke tistim, ki jih uveljavljajo."¹⁶

Thus, I would like to conclude with a quote from Foucault that is complex in its simplicity: "To allow power relations to come to light, means, at least in my sense, to place them back into the hands of those that exert them."¹⁷



Martin Doll

je studiral na Institutu za uporabne gledališke vede v Giessnu, bil član skupine Drie Wolken med leti 1999 in 2002, reziser in performer. Od leta 2000 je gostujoci profesor za video na Justus-Liebig Universität v Giessnu, od leta 2003 pa tudi stipendist Goethejeve univerze v Frankurtu, kjer pripravlja doktorat na Oddelku za medijske studije.

Martin Doll

degree in theater studies, video editor and On-Air-Promotion-Producer, studied 'Applied Theater Studies (Drama, Theatre, Media)' in Gießen. 1999-2002 member of the performance art group "Drei Wolken"; director und performer i.a. for: EXPO2000 Hannover, Staatstheater Darmstadt and Mousonturm Frankfurt. Since 2000 guest lecturer for video editing at the Justus-Liebig-Universität in Gießen. Since 2003 scholarship holder at the Goethe University in Frankfurt/M.; his PhD thesis in Media Studies is on forgery and fake. Main points of interest: Politics through art, art through media.

Medium-Size Mask Menu

Opombe

- ④ Augusto Boal, *Theater of the oppressed. New Edition*, Pluto, London 2000, str. 144.
- ④ Prim. <http://www.theeyesmen.org/faq/>, 20. 12. 2005.
- ④ Augusto Boal, *Games for actors and non-actors*, Routledge, London 1992, str. xxx.
- ④ "Faire apparaître les relations de pouvoir, c'est essayer, dans mon esprit, en tout cas, de les remettre entre les mains de ceux qui les exercent." ("Radioscopie de Michel Foucault" (1975), v. *Dits et écrits 1954-1975*, zvezek 1, Gallimard (Quarto), Pariz 2001, str. 1667).

Footnotes

- ④ Augusto Boal, *Theater of the oppressed. New Edition*, London: Pluto 2000, p. 144.
- ④ Cf. <http://www.theeyesmen.org/faq/>, accessed 20.12.05
- ④ Augusto Boal, *Games for actors and non-actors*, London: Routledge 1992, p. xxx
- ④ "Faire apparaître les relations de pouvoir, c'est essayer, dans mon esprit, en tout cas, de les remettre entre les mains de ceux qui les exercent." ("Radioscopie de Michel Foucault" (1975), in: *Dits et écrits 1954-1975*, Vol. 1, Paris: Gallimard (Quarto) 2001, p. 1667).