

The Apparatus of Racism

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8

7 pm WELCOME ADDRESS (🔊EN-GER)
Bernd Scherer

INTRODUCTION (🔊GER-EN)
The NSU Complex:
A Short Genealogy
Ayşe Güleç

7.15 pm LECTURE (🔊EN-GER)
The *Longue Durée* of the Split Second
Eyal Weizman

7.45 pm COMMENTARY (🔊EN-GER)
Başak Ertür

8 pm CONVERSATION & DISCUSSION
Moderated by Anselm Franke

8.30 pm LECTURE (🔊FR-EN/GER)
Entanglements: Race, Capitalism,
and the State
Yann Moulier Boutang (via skype)

9 pm COMMENTARY (🔊EN-GER)
Liz Fekete

9.15 pm
CONVERSATION & DISCUSSION
Moderated by Nanna Heidenreich

THURSDAY, MARCH 9

7 pm LECTURE (🔊GER-EN)
Neo-Racism and Beyond:
Thinking Through its Current
Conjuncture
Manuela Bojadžijev

7.30 pm COMMENTARY
Bülent Küçük

7.45 pm (🔊GER-EN)
CONVERSATION & DISCUSSION
Moderated by Bernd Scherer

8.30 pm DISCUSSION
Racism, the State We Are In
Amira Hass, Hamid Khan,
Alana Lentin, Chowra Makaremi
Moderated by Nanna Heidenreich



All events take place in the lecture hall and will be held in English or German with simultaneous translation. The skype lecture will be in French with simultaneous translation. Headphones are available in the cloak room foyer.

For over a decade, the National Socialist Underground (NSU) carried out an unprecedented series of murders across Germany. For a long time, up until the terrorist cell exposed itself, the interpretive horizon of the media, politicians, and the authorities precluded racist motives.

The Apparatus of Racism jump-starts an international debate about the NSU complex as a composite of neo-Nazi terror, institutional and structural racism—both within the context of German history and within the *longue durée* of colonialism, migration, and genocide in the globalized modern age.

What agency does racism possess as a formative factor of contemporary societies? How does it inform collective thought and the cognitive processes of Western knowledge systems? How does it replicate itself within society's functional apparatuses of state, politics, law, and justice? Within what exploratory spaces can structural racist formations and violent excesses be analyzed? How can the experiences of various migration societies put these into perspective?

People's Tribunal "Unraveling the NSU Complex"

The People's Tribunal "Unraveling the NSU Complex" was initiated by a coalition of anti-racist and migrant networks, civil rights groups and individuals in order to publicly denounce and unravel the NSU Complex. It is an unprecedented effort in the recent struggle against racism and rising Nazi activities in Germany. The People's Tribunal "Unraveling the NSU Complex" will take place in Cologne in May 2017.

Kassel 6.4.2006: A Counter Investigation into the Murder of Halit Yozgat
Commissioned by the citizen tribunal "Unraveling the NSU Complex," which explores the police investigation of the killing of Halit Yozgat in Kassel on April 6th 2006, Forensic Architecture realizes a real size reconstruction of the incident with the help of a model of the crime scene, an internet café in Kassel, which will be built at the HKW in Berlin. The questions that this experiment raises are intertwined: what are the multiple scenarios that could have taken place in the café on that fateful day? Did the police act reasonably and in good faith when they closed the file on Andreas Temme, a secret service agent who was allegedly present at the space at the time of the killing? Based on an examination of leaked police files, interviews with witnesses, spatial, aural, and olfactory reenactments, the project examines not only the murder but also its police investigation as a potential act of violence. The work will be on view during documenta 14, which will take place in Kassel from June 10–September 17, 2017.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8

7 pm WELCOME ADDRESS

Bernd Scherer

Introduction

The NSU Complex: A Short Genealogy

Ayşe Güleç

7.15 pm LECTURE

The *Longue Durée* of the Split Second

Eyal Weizman

The "split second argument" is a common legal defense for police killings later shown to be unjustified. In claiming a policeman felt threatened and reacted in instinctive self defense, such an argument cuts away the moment of shooting from its political and social context. The split second is presented as a time without duration and indivisible temporality where no thought or calculation is possible. Whether concerning American police shootings of black motorists, Israeli killings of Palestinian youth, or similar situations in Europe, this talk will try to show how temporal indivisibility is in fact saturated by the *longue durée* of racist and colonial violence.

7.45 pm COMMENTARY

Başak Ertür

8 pm CONVERSATION AND DISCUSSION

Moderated by Anselm Franke

BERND SCHERER is director of Haus der Kulturen der Welt. His theoretical work focuses on aesthetics, philosophy of language, semiotics and international cultural exchange. He has curated and co-curated several cultural and art projects, such as "Agua-Wasser", "Über Lebenskunst", "The Anthropocene Project" and recently "100 Years of Now." Since January 2011, he has also been teaching at the Institute for European Ethnology, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin. Amongst many publications he recently coedited the four volume book *Textures of the Anthropocene: Grain Vapor Ray*.

BAŞAK ERTÜR is a Lecturer at the School of Law at Birkbeck, University of London and fellow at the Center for the Study of Social Difference, Columbia University. Her current research and recent publications revolve around political trials, theories of performativity, sovereignty, law and memory,

political violence, and the deep state. She received her doctorate in 2015 with her thesis *Spectacles and Spectres: Political Trials, Performativity and Scenes of Sovereignty*. She has translated certain key works of feminist theory into Turkish language and contributed to several projects for Amnesty International and International PEN as campaigner and consultant. She is the co-producer and co-director of the documentary *For the Record: The World Tribunal on Iraq* (2007).

AYŞE GÜLEÇ has been working for documenta 14 since 2016, with a focus on community liaison and socio-political networking. From 1989 to 2016, she worked in Kulturzentrum Schlachthof in Kassel, specializing in migration, diversity, education, and cultural education. She is engaged in several initiatives and networks that work in the context of (trans-)local migration and anti-racism, for instance Initiative 6. April and the People's Tribunal "Unravelling the NSU Complex." In the framework of documenta 12, she developed the advisory board for the local connection and was subsequently spokeswoman. For the preparations of the documenta she was a member of the "Maybe Education Group".

EYAL WEIZMAN is an architect, Professor of Spatial and Visual Cultures at the University of London, and director of the Centre for Research Architecture, a laboratory for critical spatial practices. Since 2011, he has been in charge of the research project "Forensic Architecture." This project consists of architects, scholars, filmmakers, designers, lawyers, and scientists who conduct research in the field of spatial analysis and present their findings to legal and political forums. In 2007, Weizman became a founding member of the architectural collective Decolonizing Architecture (DAAR). His recent books include *FORENSIS* (2014), *The Roundabout Revolution* (2015), and *The Conflict Shoreline: Colonization as Climate Change in the Negev Desert* (2015).

ANSELM FRANKE has been the head of the Department of Visual Arts and Film at Haus der Kulturen der Welt since 2013. He previously worked as a curator at KW Berlin and as director of the Extra City Kunsthal in Antwerp. In 2005 he and Stefanie Schulte Strathaus founded the Forum Expanded for the Berlin International Film Festival of which he has been co-curator since. He was the chief curator of the Taipei Biennial in 2012 and of the Shanghai Biennale in 2014. His exhibition project Animism was shown from 2009 until 2014 in collaboration with various partners in Antwerp, Berne, Vienna, Berlin, New York, Shenzhen, Seoul and Beirut. Franke received his doctorate from Goldsmiths College, London.

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8.30 pm LECTURE

Entanglements: Race, Capitalism,
and the State

Yann Moulier Boutang (via skype)

Racism, in all its manifestations (xenophobia, antisemitism, intolerance towards difference in phenotypes, in sexual preferences, in religions, beliefs, age, gender) is unfortunately resilient in many societies, yet its place within historical capitalism seems particularly odd. After all, was it not the market economy with its associated liberal theory and Enlightenment reason that was supposed to dissipate such superstitious, obscurantist prejudices? In this lecture and conversation we shall try to show how and why racism became part of the capitalist "continuous accumulation" and its attendant strategies of control of mobility, exit versus voice and the governance of class struggle antagonism.

NANNA HEIDENREICH is professor for Digital Narratives – Theory at the ifs internationale filmschule köln. Since 2009 she is also co-curator of Forum Expanded at the Berlinale. She currently also works as a researcher and curator for the Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin, on three projects dealing with the nation state, migration and education. She has published widely on migration, visual culture, postcolonial media theory, art and activism, and has edited several DVDs (political, experimental and feminist filmmaking practices) and is part of the preparation network for the tribunal „Unraveling the NSU-Complex“.

9 pm COMMENTARY

Liz Fekete

9.15 pm CONVERSATION AND DISCUSSION

Moderated by Nanna Heidenreich

YANN MOULIER BOUTANG is a trans-disciplinary economist and professor at the University of Compiègne, Shanghai University and École Nationale Supérieure de Création Industrielle Paris. He is also an editor at the journal "Multitudes." His heterodox contributions to economic theory and analysis are informed by his wide-ranging knowledge on the fields of philosophy and social sciences. He is the chief editor of the journal "Multitudes" where he also publishes his own articles on a regular basis. Books he has authored include *Cognitive Capitalism* (2012), *L'Abeille et l'économiste* (2010) and *Althusser, a Biography (Part One, 1919-1956)* (2002).

LIZ FEKETE is the director of the Institute of Race Relations, London, and Head of its European Research Programme. She writes and speaks extensively on aspects of contemporary racism, refugee rights, far-right extremism and Islamophobia across Europe. She is the author of *A suitable enemy: racism, migration, and Islamophobia in Europe* (2009). Fekete has served as an expert witness at the Basso Permanent People's Tribunal on asylum and at the World Tribunal on Iraq. She is currently working on a new book, *Europe's Fault Lines: Racism and the Cultural Revolution from the Right*, which will be published later this year.

THURSDAY, MARCH 9

7 pm LECTURE

Neo-Racism and Beyond: Thinking Through
its Current Conjuncture

Manuela Bojadžijev

While in Germany there is still debate about whether to speak of racism at all, we are witnessing the strengthening of a right-wing populism and authoritarian forms of politics. How can a critical analysis of racism contribute to understand its current conjuncture?

7.30 pm COMMENTARY

Bülent Küçük

7.45 pm CONVERSATION AND DISCUSSION

Moderated by Bernd Scherer

MANUELA BOJADŽIJEV is an assistant professor for Globalized Cultures at Leuphana University Lüneburg and a founding member of the Berlin Institute for Empirical Migration and Integration Research, Humboldt University, Berlin. She previously held position as a lecturer at Freie Universität Berlin, City University and Goldsmiths College, University of London and Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt. In addition to her monography *Die windige Internationale. Rassismus und Kämpfe der Migration* (The Windy Internationale. Racism and Struggles of Migration) (2008), she has published numerous articles on racism and migration research. Her recent work includes the emerging field of migration and logistics, as well as migration and digital labor, next to her continuous interest in the changing conjunctures of racism.

BÜLENT KÜÇÜK is assistant professor at the Department of Sociology, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. His research interests include theories of the public sphere, postcolonial theories, popular culture, multiculturalism, citizenship, and Kurdish studies. He is the author of *Die Türkei und das andere Europa. Phantasmen der Identität im Beitrittsdiskurs* (Turkey and Europe: Identity Phantasms in the Debate on EU Entry Politics) (2008) Küçük has published essays in the South Atlantic Quarterly, New Perspectives on Turkey, and Toplum ve Bilim. He also writes political commentaries in free e-zines such as Jadaliyya, T24, Gazete duvar, and Bianet.

8.30 pm DISCUSSION

Racism, the State We Are In

Amira Hass, Hamid Khan, Alana Lentin,
Chowra Makaremi

Moderated by Nanna Heidenreich

AMIRA HASS is a Jerusalem born reporter and correspondent for the Israeli daily newspaper Haaretz, covering issues related to the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territory and to Palestinian society. Her acclaimed book *Drinking the Sea at Gaza* (2000) was written during the 3 years she lived in Gaza. Hass has also published two compilations of articles (*Reporting from Ramallah: An Israeli Journalist in an Occupied Land*, 2003) and *It will be Worse Tomorrow* (in Italian, 2004). She also wrote the preface and afterword to a new edition of Hanna Levy Hass' *Diary of Bergen-Belsen: 1944-1945* (2009). She has been living in Ramallah, West Bank, since 1997.

HAMID KHAN is the coordinator of the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition, a broad coalition whose goal is to raise public awareness, participation, mobilization, and action on police surveillance and to sustain long-term intersectional movement building. The coalition draws its support from diverse members of the community including formerly incarcerated people, students, un-housed folks, LGBTQ community members, artists, immigrants, academics, lawyers, cultural workers, and various organizations. As founder of South Asian Network, he helped create the first community-based organization in LA committed to informing and empowering South Asians in Southern California to act against discrimination and injustices. Hamid also serves on the board of the Political Research Associates.

ALANA LENTIN is Professor of Cultural and Social Analysis at Western Sydney University and works on the critical theorization of race, racism and antiracism. She is co-editor of the Rowman and Littlefield International book series, *Challenging Migration Studies*. Her latest books are *Racism and Sociology* (with Wulf D. Hund, 2014) and *The Crises of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age* (with Gavan Titley, 2011). Her articles have appeared in *Information, Communication & Society*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* and *European Journal of Social Theory*, among others. She is also a contributor to *The Guardian*, *OpenDemocracy* and *Eurozine* among other general readership publications and is Hans Speier visiting Professor of Sociology at the New School for Social Research, New York.

CHOWRA MAKAREMI is an anthropologist and tenured researcher at the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Issues, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. She has led ethnographic researches in France on border and migrant detention, as well as delinquency courts and experiences of racism in the justice system. She is

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currently working on the genealogy of State violence in post-revolution Iran. She is the author of *Le cahier d'Aziz, Au cœur de la révolution iranienne* (2011) and has published extensively on the mechanisms of marginalization, issues of security, migration control, the anthropology of law and the state, and processes of subjectivation at the margins.

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