100 Years of Now

Now is the Time of Monsters
What Comes After Nations?

12-4 pm AUDITORIUM  EN→DE
Migration – Talking Migration
THESSES, DISCUSSIONS Avery F. Gordon, Bernd Kasparek, Sandro Mezzadra, Zoran Terzić, Brigitta Kuster, Isabelle Saint-Saëns, Ramzi Kassem, Kim Rygiel
INTRODUCTION Nanna Heidenreich
MODERATION Nanna Heidenreich, Brigitta Kuster

5-7 pm AUDITORIUM  EN→DE
The Standard of Civilization – Law and War
DOCUMENTS, PRESENTATIONS, DISCUSSION
Avery F. Gordon, Slavenka Drakulić, Ramzi Kassem
INTRODUCTION AND MODERATION Rana Dasgupta

7-8 pm AUDITORIUM  EN→DE
The Nation-State System
PRESENTATION David Scott
INTRODUCTION Katrin Klingan

8-10 pm AUDITORIUM
EN→DE, FR→DE, FR→EN
The Standard of Civilization – From the "Right to Trade" to "Good Governance"
DOCUMENTS, PRESENTATIONS, DISCUSSION
Antony T. Anghie, Susan George, Lawrence Liang, In Koli Jean Bofane
INTRODUCTION Katrin Klingan

Conversations

5.30–6.30 pm FOYER
EN→DE, ARB→DE, ARB→EN
Which Humans Have Human Rights?
Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Samar Yazbek

7–8 pm FOYER
EN→DE
Have Nations Killed Cosmopolitanism?
Arjun Appadurai, Cemil Aydin and Rana Dasgupta

8.30–9.30 pm FOYER
EN→DE
What is the Space of Exception?
Keller Easterling, Bernd Kasparek and Kim Rygiel

Headphones are available in the cloak room foyer.
The restaurant is open until 7 pm. The Hirschfeld Bar remains open after the last event closes.
Migration
A Political Movement

Migration as a political and social movement challenges the order of the nation-state. The rhetoric of crisis, which largely defines how this topic is dealt with, has produced new forms of administration and governance, as well as border regimes that make it necessary to rethink the forms of representation and the political. What is meant today when we speak of migration, where are the current struggles of migration taking place, and how do their geographies get shifted? How can the old claim to “the right to have rights” be negotiated in contrast to national law? And how does migration allow us to call political structures into question and to think about them in radically different ways?

CHRISTIAN NYAMPETA is an artist and a PhD candidate at the Visual Cultures Department of Goldsmiths, University of London where he researches Sub-Saharan African philosophy. Ongoing activities include contributions to research programs of Another Roadmap, Africa Cluster. Most recently, he contributed to the Gwangju Biennale (2016) and the Jerusalem Show VIII (2016). Recent exhibitions include Through the Fog: Describing the Present, State of Concept, Athens (2016); Prix de Rome 2015, de Appel Arts Centre, Amsterdam; How to Live Together: Prototypes, The Showroom, London as well as Casco, Utrecht and Stroom, Den Haag between 2013 and 2014.

CHRISTIAN NYAMPETA

A spatial contribution consisting of an interior space, a continuous film with occasional alterations, and a permeable library will unfold in the Foyer and the Auditorium. This installation extends the question of the position of the artist in the construction of history, and the role of the artist in political action by focusing on the fictional trial of the late Nigerian poet Christopher Okigbo. Okigbo is put on trial in the Hereafter, for having confused universal heroism with parochial martyrdom. Okigbo had advocated art as an affirmation of life, and spoken out against national and racial boundaries. Nevertheless, he died for Biafra on the battlefield in 1967, seeking cessation from the newly independent Nigerian state. In the face of today’s resurgence of socially destructive forms of nationalism, what tasks await the artist and what are meaningful contributions to the crafting of more habitable futures?

This exploration arises from an archive of events, institutions, legal documents, resolutions, terms, and practices that constitute and lay bare a history of the “standard of civilization” inscribed in the international system of states. It extends across new and existing structures, texts and imagery derived from a collaborative, discursive, polyrhythmic, and transformative outlook on the concretization of artistic motives into political habits. From Left to Night shares its title with a film by artist Wendelien van Oldenborgh (2014), and a film by the Otolith Group (2015).
12–4 pm
INTRODUCTION
Nanna Heidenreich

MODERATION
Nanna Heidenreich and Brigitta Kuster

THESSES, DISCUSSIONS
Talking Migration

What do we mean when we talk about migration and the struggles of migration within a field dominated by the (nation) state and capital? By drawing on a specific event or a document, contributors will distinguish between migration as a political movement and migration as mobility as such, suggesting that migration and border regimes need to be understood as productive beyond the blatant violence and exclusion they entail.

Sociologist and writer Avery F. Gordon will introduce the language of the runaway—preparation and futility—into the sphere of migration to see whether the traditional understanding of movement can be challenged.

Migration researcher and activist Bernd Kasperek assesses the political dimension of self-determination during the Summer of Migration 2015. Since Europe has always been challenged and shaped by migration, which answers are needed today?

Political theorist Sandro Mezzadra will talk about migrants riding atop a US-bound freight train known as La Bestia that traverses Mexico. Here, the intertwining between migration and “logistical” mobility becomes apparent when migrants have to engage with the border long before ever getting there. He evaluates the “autonomy of migration approach,” highlighting the tensions between the logic of capital’s exploitation of migrant labor and the exclusionary logic of nation-states.

In his piano lecture, writer and jazz-pianist Zoran Terzić investigates the migration and appropriation of what he calls pop nationalism. The symbolic form of music cannot be reduced to politics proper, yet it contributes to shaping the political world. As a tribute to John Berger, artist and cultural researcher Brigitta Kuster will reconsider his experimental topography of subjectivity of the migrant worker, reflecting on the images, imaginaries, and situations created by migration.

Activist Isabelle Saint-Saiens asks how the means of control and surveillance (Forensics) can be appropriated by migrants and movements to control the controllers (Forensics).

Lawyer and legal scholar Ramzi Kassem will examine how Donald Trump’s recent “Muslim ban” erodes the rights of immigrants and non-U.S.-citizens in the name of security, and how its aura reaches beyond those immediately targeted demographics to all Muslim-identified bodies.

Political scientist Kim Rygiel considers the practices of “governing through citizenship.” Today, citizenship has become a global regime restricting mobility rights. Yet those who are targeted as “undesirable” demand rights, enacting a form of “citizenship from below.”

Avery F. Gordon is a sociologist and writer. She is Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara and Visiting Professor at Birkbeck School of Law, University of London (2015-2018). Her most recent books are The Hawthorn Archive: Letters from the Utopian Margins (forthcoming), The Workshop: The Breitenau Room (with Ines Schaber, 2012) and Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Specter of Modernity (2nd edition 2008). Her work focuses on radical thought and practice, imprisonment, and other forms of dispossession. She serves on the Editorial Committee of the journal Race & Class and is the co-host of No Alibi, a weekly public affairs radio program on KCSB FM Santa Barbara.

Bernd Kasperek is a migration scholar and activist with a focus on border studies. He is founding member of the Network for Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies (kritnet) and member of the managing board of the research association bordermonitoring.eu. Currently, he is completing his PhD project on the Europeanisation of the border regime. Together with Sabine Hess he edited Grenzregime: Diskurse, Praktiken, Institutionen in Europa (2010), a collection of texts concerned with the dynamics, actors, discourses, and practices of the European border regime and, with others, the successor volume Grenzregime 2: Der lange Sommer der Migration (2016), on the so-called Summer of Migration in 2015. His book Europas Grenzen (Europe’s borders) is forthcoming (2017).

Brigitta Kuster is an artist and cultural researcher, primarily interested in visual and film studies, postcolonialism, and migration and border studies. Her work takes the form of research projects, exhibitions, and filmic approaches. Kuster is a member of the artist collective Artefakte, with Regina Sarreter and Dierk Schmidt. Together with Moïse Mabouna she works on the longtime filmic research project choix d’un passé, dealing with the legacies of colonialism in Cameroon. The project is also presented in her most recent book, Choix d’un passé – transnationale Vergegenwärtigungen kolonialer Hinterlassenschaften (2016, Choix d’un passé – transnational realizations of colonial legacies).

Sandro Mezzadra is a political theorist whose work focuses on the relations between globalization, migration, capitalism, and citizenship, as well as on postcolonial theory and criticism. He teaches political theory at the University of Bologna and is Adjunct Fellow at the Institute for Culture and Society of the University of Western Sydney. His books include: In the Marxian Workshops. The subject and its Production (2014), The Postcolonial Condition: History and Politics in the Global Present (2008), and The Right to Escape: Migration, Citizenship, Globalization (2006). With Brett Neilson he is the author of Border as Method, or the Multiplication of Labor (2013).

Ramzi Kassem is a legal scholar and lawyer. He is Professor of Law at the City University of New York where he directs the Immigrant & Non-Citizen Rights Clinic and the CLEAR project. With his students, he represents prisoners of various nationalities held at American detention facilities globally as well as New Yorkers who find themselves in the crosshairs of the sprawling U.S. security state. Before joining the CUNY law faculty in 2009, Kassem was a lecturer in Law at Yale Law School. His interests include the legal and policy responses to the September 11th attacks and other real or perceived national security crises, the rights of migrants and non-citizens, and international humanitarian law.

Kim Rygiel is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Wilfrid Laurier University and the Balsillie School of International Affairs in Waterloo, Canada. Her research focuses on border security, migration, and citizenship in North America and Europe. She investigates how citizens and non-citizens engage in citizenship practices and challenge notions of political community and understandings of citizenship. She is the author of Globalizing Citizenship (2010) and co-editor of Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement (2012). Her work has appeared in journals such as Citizenship Studies, European Journal of Social Theory and International Political Sociology.

Zoran Terzić is a writer and jazz pianist. He studied Visual Arts in New York and obtained his PhD at Bergische Universität Wuppertal. In 2007/2008 he was a researcher at IFK in Vienna and Zentrum für Literaturwissenschaft in Berlin. He was Visiting Scholar at Universität Leipzig in 2013. His monograph Kunst des Nationalismus (2007) deals with the cultural semiotics of war. Terzić has co-edited the literature-project Daughters and Sons of Gastarbeiter, the research collective Postfaschistische Idylle, and runs Improsociety, a web platform for his musical and collaborative works.

Isabelle Saint-Saiens is an activist in the fields of migration, feminism and collectivity. She is a member of the transnational network migreurop.org that addresses the European policies of migration and advocates freedom of movement; of Giost, a French NGO providing information and support to migrants; and of the collective editorial board of Vacarme, a journal which reflects on the intersections of artistic practice, research, and political activism. She participated in the European network Frassanito, and was the coordinator of the website PajoLeu.org, which is now an archive of the Sans Papiers movement (1997-2007).

Now is the Time of Monsters
The Standard of Civilization
Asymmetries of the International System

How do inequality and global power asymmetries get inscribed in international systems of state and law? How did the imperial-era divisions between “civilized” and “barbaric” remain in place—albeit with a new vocabulary of “good governance”, “transparency,” and “human rights”? Drawing on documents, this history of continuity will be subjected to a close reading. An installation by the artist Christian Nyampeta allows for opposing readings of historical processes. Examinations of the international framework governing war, trade and finance lay bare the structural inequality built into our global system, as well as the far-reaching consequences of existing concentrations of power.
5-7 pm

**INTRODUCTION AND MODERATION**

Rana Dasgupta

**DOCUMENTS, PRESENTATIONS, DISCUSSION**

**Law and War**

The idea of an international community that can intervene in the internal affairs of another state in the name of humanity or the wish to disentangle itself is in itself neutral. It is informed by the continued analysis of “civilizational thinking” that has been inscribed into the law of war from the beginning of its formation within the context of international law. Both the implications of a global war on terror and the attempts to establish an international jurisprudence are crucial aspects of this nexus.

Starting from a set of documents, contributors will be asking to whom international law and the law on war apply, who is protected, and who is not. Sociologist and writer Avery F. Gordon will address questions arising around an archive provided by lawyers of Yemeni prisoners of war held at Guantanamo Bay detention camp, dubbed “alien unlawful combatant.” What can such an archive represent, and what not?

Writer and journalist Slavenka Drakulić will look at a recent case in Bosnia and Herzegovina where ten Croatian generals were charged with war crimes against the Serbian population. She will ask how attaining justice is complicated by the establishment of dissenting national truths after the war in former Yugoslavia.

Legal scholar and lawyer Ramzi Kassem will draw on images, statistics, laws, and cases to explore how the so-called U.S. global war on terror has warped pre-existing systems of power and enabled the emergence of new ones both within the United States and across the globe.

Following the presentations, the participating speakers and Rana Dasgupta will engage in a discussion about the ways in which the Western powers have managed to retain their supremacy by ensuring that the codes of war were never equalized after the end of the imperial age.

Avery F. Gordon is a sociologist and writer. She is Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara and Visiting Professor at Birkebeck School of Law, University of London (2015-2018). Her most recent books are The Hawthorn Archive: letters from the Utopian Margins (forthcoming), The Workhouse: The Breitenau Room (with Ines Schaber, 2012) and Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination (2nd edition 2008). Her work focuses on radical thought and practice, imprisonment, and other forms of dispossession. She serves on the Editorial Committee of the journal Race & Class and is the co-host of No Alibis, a weekly public affairs radio program on KCSB FM Santa Barbara.

Slavenka Drakulić is a writer and journalist. Her fictional and non-fictional writings address a broad range of topics from feminism, illness, and fear of death to the conditions in communist and post-communist Yugoslavia. Both in her novels and non-fiction Drakulić has written extensively on the war in former Yugoslavia. In They Would Never Hurt a Fly: War Criminals on Trial in The Hague (2004), she asks how people can be capable of committing extreme crimes in war. She gave voice to women abused during the Balkan War in As If I Am Not There (2001). Drakulić writes for a wide range of newspapers and publications.

Ramzi Kassem is a legal scholar and lawyer. He is Professor of Law at the City University of New York where he directs the Immigrant & Non-Citizen Rights Clinic and the CLEAR project. With his students, he represents prisoners of various nationalities held at American detention facilities globally as well as New Yorkers who find themselves in the crosshairs of the sprawling U.S. security state. Before joining the CUNY law faculty in 2009, Kassem was a lecturer in Law at Yale Law School. His interests include the legal and policy responses to the September 11th attacks and other real or perceived national security crises, the rights of minorities and non-citizens, and international humanitarian law.

8-10 pm

**INTRODUCTION**

Karin Klingan

**DOCUMENTS, PRESENTATIONS, DISCUSSION**

From the “Right to Trade” to “Good Governance”

In English and French

From the paradigm of the “right to trade”, put forth by 16th-century traveler Francisco de Vitoria, to contemporary practices of good governance, the legal and institutional structures of the international system helped maintain asymmetrical trade relations. Investigating the role of supranational institutions and of private corporations in defining the parameters of international trade and governance, each of the contributors will look at a specific incident when the notion of the “civilized” served and continues to serve as a justification for maintaining the asymmetries of the international system.

International law scholar Antony T. Angihe will trace the transformation of the “standard of civilization” into a vocabulary consisting of “structural adjustments” and “good governance” in order to promote a form of globalization that is now subject to increased criticism.

Political scientist and activist Susan George will look at the rise of transnational corporations and their collective and organized participation in government and public affairs at all levels. The Global Redesign Initiative, a governance concept devised by the World Economic Forum, will be of particular concern here, as it is connected to the question how citizens can oppose these hegemonic structures.

Legal scholar and writer Lawrence Liang excavates the history of a US loan to India during a food shortage in 1951/52 which not only obliged India to buy wheat from the U.S., but also came along with two “civilizational” concessions: India had to use a series of U.S. textbooks and had to send all India-published books to the U.S. Library of Congress, whose handling spurred fears of contamination among the library employees.

Author In Koli Jean Bofane will trace how the status of Congo as a global reserve for raw materials during colonialism still persists in the present era of globalization, now being administered by multinational corporations. How does the rhetoric of “failed state” benefit the unrestricted exploitation of natural resources in the Democratic Republic of Congo today?

Following the presentations, there will be a discussion with the participants and the public.

Antony T. Angihe is Professor of Law at the National University of Singapore. He has served as Professor of Law at the University of Utah and as Visiting Professor at the American University Cairo, Cornell, Harvard, the London School of Economics, and the University of Tokyo. Professor Angihe’s research interests include i.a. globalization, development issues, and international, colonialism and the history of public international law; and Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAIL). In his book Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law (2005) he argues that the colonial confrontation was central to the formation of international law and its founding concept, sovereignty.

Susan George is a political scientist and activist. She is president of the Transnational Institute in Amsterdam, an international network of scholar-activists committed to social change. With her first ground-breaking book How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reason for World Hunger (1976) she achieved international recognition and has since published widely on global inequalities. Recent publications include Shadow Sovereigins: How Global Corporations Are Seizing Power (2015) and Whose Crisis? Whose Future? (2010). George holds honorary doctorates from the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Universidad Nacional de Educacion a Distancia of Madrid.

Lawrence Liang is a legal scholar and writer based at the Alternative Law Forum, Bangalore. His work lies at the intersection of law and cultural politics, and has in recent years been looking at questions of media piracy. He has also been working closely with the independent research initiative Saraí, New Delhi on the joint research project Intellectual Property and the Knowledge/Culture Commons. Liang is the author of Free/Open Source Software. Open Content (2007) and The Public is Watching: Sex, Laws and Videotape in the U.S. Most recently he co-authored Invisible Libraries (2016), speculative fiction on libraries and the future of reading. He regularly publishes on copyright, popular culture, and legal questions.
The Nation-State System
The Abandoned Futures in the Era of Nations

How did the nation-state system manage to replace all other ideas of political organization? By shedding light on curtailed political options from the past, we hope to reclaim once again the possibility to imagine other forms of political belonging—within, between and across nations. The narrative of self-determination propagated by the nation-state still contains echoes of the immediate past and present of (post) colonialism. In view of a present which is informed by the catastrophic experiences of the 20th century, how can possibilities for an emancipatory future arise? And, finally the decisive question: How can one think beyond the limits of the nation-state system?

7-8 pm
INTRODUCTION
Katrin Klingan

PRESENTATION
Self-Determination
David Scott

Self-determination and sovereignty are among the leading paradigms that have fostered the emergence of the current nation-state system. However, these promises have proven to be twofold and were never fully realized in a large number of nation-states. The momentum marked by the Bandung Conference (1955) and the emerging Non-Aligned Movement was quickly lost to the hegemonic normalization of the nation-state. Looking at these normative formations today, David Scott takes on the task of thinking beyond the given frame: departing from the history of the narrative of self-determination, where does this leave room for political agency?

david scott teaches in the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University. His work is concerned with rethinking the story of the colonial past for the postcolonial present. This has involved a variety of inquiries into tradition and generations, dialog and criticism, self-determination and sovereignty, tragedy and temporality, and transitional justice and liberalism. He is the author of Formations of Ritual (1994), Refashioning Futures (1999), Conscripts of Modernity (2004), Omens of Adversity (2014), and Stuart Hall’s Voice: Intimation of an Ethics of Receptive Generosity (2017). Scott is the founder and editor of the journal Small Axe, and director of the Small Axe Project.
Conversations

In a series of conversations the participants, along with the audience, will make connections between the questions that arise from examining the nation-state system. The question of how it might be possible to achieve an actual protection beyond the human rights supposedly enjoyed by every human being will be raised. The conversations will examine where to locate political agency between national governments and transnational corporations and institutions, and take a second look at the cosmopolitanism of the old empires. A variety of zones of exclusion—from free trade zones to deportation camps—will be put in relation to one another. Participants will view the past from the perspective of its futurity and vice versa, and examine the disconcerting “new machismo” that has been spreading in key positions of global power.

5.30-6.30 pm
Which Humans Have Human Rights?
Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Samar Yazbek
in Arabic and English

70 years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it has become evident that there is nothing “universal” about these rights. Why is this? What are the contradictions between our war-prone world order and the means of protection supposedly enjoyed by every human being? What other models of human dignity might offer us a more hopeful prospect?

7–8 pm
Have Nations Killed Cosmopolitanism?
Arjun Appadurai, Cemil Aydin and Rana Dasgupta

As many nations are reaching the limits of their multicultural potential, it seems prudent to abandon the superiority they have always felt over empires. Looking back at those empires, one might identify spaces that could accommodate a far greater diversity than contemporary nation-states. Can old empires offer inspirations for today’s political impasses?

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8.30–9.30 pm
**What is the Space of Exception?**
Keller Easterling, Bernd Kasparek and Kim Rygiel

Spatial zones with special qualities have proliferated over recent years, creating an “archipelago of exceptions” (Easterling) in legal and economic spaces: on the one side a multitude of “free” zones offering exemptions from taxation and other forms of state control, gated communities and luxury housing projects. On the other, zones of exemption from the right to have rights, “black sites” and sites for incarceration and detention of migrants and refugees, but also autonomous zones, spaces of refusal and escape. What are the connections between these different zones of exception? And which role do “smart technologies” of borders and nations play here?

**KELLER EASTERLING** is an architect, writer and Professor at the School of Architecture at Yale University. She has lectured and published widely in the United States and beyond. In her book *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space* (2014) she examines global infrastructure networks as a medium of poility. Another recent book, *Subtraction* (2014), considers building removal or how to put the development machine into reverse. Easterling’s research and writing were included in the 14th International Architecture Exhibition of the Venice Biennale in 2014 and her work has been exhibited internationally.

**BERND KASPAReK** is a migration scholar and activist with a focus on border studies. He is founding member of the Network for Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies (kritnet) and member of the managing board of the research association bordermonitoring.eu. Currently, he is completing his PhD project on the Europeanisation of the border regime. Together with Sabine Hess he edited *Grenzregime: Diskurse, Praktiken, Institutionen in Europa* (2010), a collection of texts concerned with the dynamics, actors, discourses, and practices of the European border regime and, with others, the successor volume *Grenzregime 3: Der lange Sommer der Migration* (2016), on the so-called Summer of Migration in 2015. His book *Europas Grenzen (Europe’s borders)* is forthcoming (2017).

**KIM RYGIEL** is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Wilfrid Laurier University and the Balsillie School of International Affairs in Waterloo, Canada. Her research focuses on border security, migration, and citizenship in North America and Europe. She investigates how citizens and non-citizens engage in citizenship practices and challenge notions of political community and understandings of citizenship. She is the author of *Globalizing Citizenship* (2010) and co-editor of *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement* (2012). Her work has appeared in journals such as *Citizenship Studies, European Journal of Social Theory and International Political Sociology.*
The present moment is marked by one central political idea: the nation-state. It installs itself through a system of nation-states and a corresponding global framework that originated from a new world order after the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Since then, it has become so deeply embedded in our thinking that alternative forms of political organization have become practically unimaginable—even though serious alternatives, such as transnational anti-colonial movements and communist internationalism, existed at the time. By laying bare the framing conditions of the nation-state, their exclusionary mechanisms and the structural violence anchored within them, *Now is the Time of Monsters* picks up a phrase by Antonio Gramsci to open up a space for the decisive question: how can one think beyond the limits of the nation-state system? Today, neo-nationalist threats and the failure of a nation-state system confronted with global migration, make clear that we need to reclaim such a zone of political transformation and radical imagination.

This three-day event will draw on international voices from the arts, literature, theory, and science, discussing pressing questions: How did the nation-state system replace all other ideas of political organization, and what was lost in this process? How do inequality and global power asymmetries get transferred into international systems of state and law? How can migration allow for a radical reconsideration of existing structures? How should one understand the role of the state in the relational network of globalization and financial capitalism, and how does this influence our idea of the actual character of the state?

*Now is the Time of Monsters* is a project by the Literature and Humanities department, curated by Rana Dasgupta, Nanna Heidenreich and Katrin Klingan.

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