100 Years of Now

Now is the Time of Monsters
What Comes After Nations?

12-1.30 pm FOYER
EN→DE, FR→DE, FR→EN
Migration – The Right to Have Rights
PERFORMANCE, DISCUSSION Patrick Bernier,
Olive Martin, Sébastien Canevet, Sylvia
Preuss-Laussinotte

2-4 pm AUDITORIUM EN→DE
Migration – Unruly Thinking
INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS Bernd Kasparek,
Ramzi Kassem, Brigitta Kuster, Sandro
Mezzadra, Kim Rygiel, Isabelle Saint-Saëns,
Zoran Terzić
INTRODUCTION Nanna Heidenreich
MODERATION Nanna Heidenreich,
Brigitta Kuster

5-8.30 pm AUDITORIUM EN→DE, ARB→EN, ARB→DE
State Technologies
PRESENTATIONS, LECTURE PERFORMANCES
Keller Easterling, cinéma copains (Arne
Hector, Minze Tummescheit), Felix Stalder,
Charles Lim Yi Yong, Samar Yazbek,
Boaventura de Sousa Santos
INTRODUCTION Rana Dasgupta

9-10.30 pm AUDITORIUM EN→DE
The Nation-State System
LECTURE, LECTURE PERFORMANCE
Hito Steyerl, Ann Cotten

Conversations

5-6 pm FOYER
EN→DE
The New Machismo
Arjun Appadurai and Slavenka Drakulić

6.30-7.30 pm FOYER
EN→DE
How is the World Governed, and Towards
What End?
Antony T. Anghie and Susan George

7.30-8.30 pm FOYER
EN→DE, FR→DE, FR→EN
Reinventing Futures?
In Koli Jean Bofane and Brigitta Kuster

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 Throug 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.

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The Right to Have Rights
Patrick Bernier and Olive Martin
Performed by Sébastien Canevet and Sylvia Preuss-Laussinotte
In French

The performance X and Y vs. France: The Case for a Legal Precedent connects political to legal struggles; the rapid expansion of copyright and intellectual property law in the digital era stands in stark contrast to the diminishing rights of immigrants and freedom of movement under French and EU law. In the performance, immigration law and intellectual property law are cross-read: Two lawyers address an imaginary judge at the European Court for Human Rights, in whose place the audience sits, in order to reverse a court decision to deport immigrant X, whom they represent, from France. Arguing that X is the author and bearer of an immaterial property under the protection of intellectual property law are cross-read: Two lawyers address an imaginary judge at the European Court for Human Rights, in whose place the audience sits, in order to reverse a court decision to deport immigrant X, whom they represent, from France. Arguing that X is the author and bearer of an immaterial property law and cannot be deported.

The Right to Have Rights
Patrick Bernier and Olive Martin

After the performance there will be a discussion with the public, the artists and the performers.
State Technologies
A Portrait of Contemporary Power

How can the role of the state be understood in the mirror of its international framework, and how does this understanding influence our notions about what the state actually is? In-depth examinations of six topics—infrastructure, finance, data, management, violence, democracy—investigate the contemporary transformations of the nation-state under the growing influence of technologies and global financial cycles. Amid much talk of the decline of the nation-state in the era of globalization, we see how it has also expanded and mutated under the influence of global forces.
Now is the Time of Monsters

Central to the practice of neo-liberal power is the notion of the protocol, that is, the rules of engagement of independent actors who are not per se bound to a hierarchical relationship of command and obedience. The rules of these protocols, however, are binding in as much as their acceptance is a precondition for entering into the space of agency. Over the last 30 years, neo-liberal elites have created dense sets of protocols, power structures where rules are enforced but never justified. Today, under the perception of a general crisis, and in opposition to an experience of ubiquitous, unaccountable power, a new desire for embodied power has emerged. A progressive answer to this crisis—as media scientist Felix Stalder suggests—could be to change the character of the rules themselves rather than returning to the idea of the nation-state and hierarchy.

**Felix Stalder**

is a media theorist and Professor for digital culture and network theory at Zürich University of the Arts, where he currently co-directs the Media Arts Program and is also an independent researcher and organizer with groups such as the Institute for New Cultural Technologies (t0) in Vienna. He has published extensively on digital network cultures and their political implications and has been active in this field since the mid-1990s. Stalder authored *Digital Solidarity* (2013) and most recently *Kultur der Digitalität* (2016, Culture of digitality) where he looks at the historical origins and contemporary conditions of the ever expanding digital sphere.

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**Infrastructure**

Keller Easterling

The free zones of infrastructure space have streamlined the global movements of billions of products and tens of millions of tourists and cheap laborers. But as 65 million people in the world have become displaced, there is no logistical apparatus to move several million people away from atrocities like those happening in Syria. Rather than reinforcing the ineffectual practices of refugee management, is it possible to slither in between the state and the NGOcracy? Could architects, urbanist Keller Easterling asks, redesign institutions by inserting spatial variables into the discussions on global governance rather than conceiving design as a means to further institutional violence?

**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 polity. 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.

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**Finance**

cinéma copains (Arne Hector and Minze Tummescheit)

“The U.S. is a natural place for the major futures markets to develop and it is very much in the national interest that a futures market in currencies should develop here,” wrote Milton Friedman in 1971, thus helping an insignificant commodity futures exchange in Chicago to make a decisive step into abstraction: from butter and eggs to currency rates. It was the start of financial derivatives, a new class of finance products based on doing business in risk and time. Fed by the fear of uncertainty and driven by the prospect of gigantic profits, they developed into “weapons of mass destruction”—weapons that were meant to realign the ambivalent relationship between capital and state. cinéma copains translates this history into a cinematic lecture-performance.

**cinéma copains** (Arne Hector and Minze Tummescheit) are film-makers and have worked together since 2000. Their research-based long-term projects deal with social and economic questions, such as the film-essay *Jarmark Europa* (2004) and in arbeit (2012, in the works). cinéma copains is currently working on the film series *Fictions and Futures* (2013 - ongoing), investigating the colonization of the future by means of complex financial instruments. Their works have been presented i.a. at Gallery 400 / UIC (2016), Kunsthall Charlottenborg (2015), CEN Porto Alegre (2014), Berlinale Forum Expanded (2014), Bergen Assembly (2013), and Taipei Biennial (2012).
LECTURE PERFORMANCE
Management
Charles Lim Yi Yong

While states and corporations are historically managed according to very different paradigms, Singapore is a particularly interesting case, as the state is explicitly managed like a corporation. Thus the topography of Singapore, essentially a small territory confined by the sea, becomes subject of the wealth extraction, too. Massive land reclamations, mainly produced with the help of imported sand from Indonesia, have recently lead to a considerable growth of Singapore’s territory; but they have also reshaped the relation between land and sea. Artist Charles Lim Yi Yong explores these new territories: as tax havens, they are home to the global rich. This incoming wealth plays a major role in Singapore’s economic system, with the corporate logic reconfiguring both land and sea.

CHARLES LIM YI YONG graduated from Central Saint Martins School of Art and Design, London with a B.A. in Fine Art in 2001. Lim’s work encompasses film, installation, sounds, conversations, text, drawing, and photography. He co-founded the seminal net-art collective tsunami.net which exhibited at Documenta 11 (2002). Since 2005, he has been developing a body of work titled Sea State that explores the political, biophysical and psychic contours of the city state Singapore, through the visible and invisible lenses of the sea. Most recently, Sea State was exhibited at the Singapore Pavilion during the 56th Venice Biennale (2015).

PRESENTATION
Violence
Samar Yazbek
In Arabic

At numerous spots in the world war and violence are the predominant determinants in state management. This violence, as author Samar Yazbek shows through the example of Syria, is applied as instruments of domination by all parties in the conflict. Here, media images play a crucial role in guiding public perception. “Terrorist” violence is considered illegitimate, while state violence is “normal.” The global transmission of images of violence are a component in a mechanism that obliterates memory, thus contributing to the falsifying and instrumentalizing a history in which state structures are dissolved by the rule of violence.

SAMAR YAZBEK is an author and journalist. She has written numerous novels, short stories, film scripts, and has edited the feminist e-zine Women of Syria. A prominent voice in support of human rights and women’s rights, she took part in the protests against the Assad government. In 2012, she received the PEN/Pinter International Writer of Courage Award for her book A Woman in the Crossfire (2012), an account of the Syrian uprising’s first months. Since she has left Syria in 2011, she has secretly returned several times to her homeland. In her latest book, The Crossings: My Journey to the Shattered Heart of Syria (2015), she testifies to how a peaceful uprising transformed into an appalling conflict.

PRESENTATION
Democracy
Boaventura de Sousa Santos

The current manifestations of the nation-state are increasingly put into question. How can the Western political imagination be de-centered, and what new democratic possibilities emerge from social movements across the globe? Looking at a number of recent global situations in which new kinds of solidarity and communal decision-making have emerged—be it through a new party, a social movement, or a spontaneous protest—sociologist and legal scholar Boaventura de Sousa Santos asks how the legacy of European ideas and their structures can be challenged and renewed from the “outside.”

BOAVENTURA DE SOUSA SANTOS is Professor of Sociology at the University of Coimbra, Portugal, and Distinguished Legal Scholar at the University of Wisconsin-Madison as well as the director of the Center for Social Studies at the University of Coimbra. He has written and published widely on the issues of globalization, sociology of law and the state, epistemology, democracy, human rights, social movements and the World Social Forum. His most recent publications include If God Were a Human Rights Activist (2015), Epistemologies of the South. Justice against the Epistemicide (2014), and Toward a New Legal Common Sense: Law, Globalization, and Emancipation (2002).
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?
Lecture Performance

_Utopia, Knot in Tongue_

Ann Cotten

The concept of humanity, demanded and deluded, is often the dress that a drowning state hangs itself upon. Is it better to be strict via aesthetics, mood and peer pressure than through laws, threats and regulations? In order to make the comparison, writer Ann Cotten seeks out aesthetics that transport unwritten ethical codices far away from notions of nationality. A comparison of real existing subcultural “tribes” and functioning alternative societies, with all their social diseases, with utopian designs shows a gap that has to do with colonialist, “white” thought patterns. “One ought to” faces other kinds of orderliness, developed in coping with real life in dysfunctional realities (we’ve gotta). May the great movement of Afrofuturism lead us onwards—if I can even read it.

Ann Cotten is a writer, publishing in German and English. Since 2007 she has been widely publishing her writing that is distinctive for its experimental approach to poetry and prose, i.a. _Der Schaudernde Fächer_ (2013, The quivering fan). She collaborated with the visual artist Kerstin Cmelka for the book _I, Coleoptile_ (2010). With Monika Rinck and Sabine Scho, she performs the “Rotten Kinck Schow.” In her book _Verbannt! – Versepos_ (2016), she employs old meters and experimental literary forms to write a contemporary epos. Her most recent publication is _Lather In Heaven_ (2016).

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.
India, Russia, Turkey, and the U.S. are run by men who have declared their enmity to the liberal legacy of the post-World War Two period. Does this constitute a new “movement” in international politics, and what is its significance? Is it a popular movement against global elites? Or a cynical appropriation of popular feeling to achieve quite different ends?

Arjun Appadurai is an anthropologist and Professor of Media, Culture and Communication at New York University, where he is also Senior Fellow at the Institute for Public Knowledge. In 2016/17 he is a Visiting Professor at the Institute for European Studies at University of Leuven. Appadurai has published a number of seminal books within the field of globalization studies, such as Modernity at Large (1996), Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger (2006), and The Future as a Cultural Fact: Essays on the Global Condition (2013). Most recently, he published Banking on Words. The Failure of Language in the Age of Derivative Finance (2015), offering an unconventional approach to the economic collapse of 2008.

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.

Global corporations increasingly seek control over national political decision-making. This brings them into conflict with voters, who increasingly suspect the national political machine of being rigged. Globalization has profoundly challenged the authority of the nation-state. Decisions which affect the well-being of people are now being made by entities other than the nation-state, such as international institutions and corporations. How exactly is political power distributed today? What political and legal mechanisms exist that would ensure democracy, accountability and legitimacy-values associated with proper government?

Antony T. Anghie 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 Anghie’s research interests include i.a. globalization, development issues, and international law; 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 groundbreaking 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 Sovereigns: 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 Educación a Distancia of Madrid.
THURSDAY, MARCH 23

7–9 pm AUDITORIUM
EN→DE
The Nation-State System
PRESENTATIONS, PERFORMANCE Lawrence Liang, Kudzanai Chiurai with Zaki Ibrahim, Cemil Aydin
WELCOME Bernd Scherer
INTRODUCTION Katrin Klingan

9–11 pm AUDITORIUM
EN→DE
The Standard of Civilization –
A History of Continuity
DOCUMENTS, PRESENTATIONS Brigitta Kuster, David Scott, Christian Nyampeta, Antony T. Anghie
INTRODUCTION Nanna Heidenreich

FRIDAY, MARCH 24

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, MODERATION Rana Dasgupta

7–8 pm AUDITORIUM
EN→DE
The Nation-State System
PRESENTATION David Scott
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

8–10 pm AUDITORIUM
EN→DE
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

SATURDAY, MARCH 25

12–1.30 pm FOYER
EN→DE
Migration – The Right to Have Rights
PERFORMANCE, DISCUSSION Patrick Bernier, Olive Martin, Sébastien Canivet, Sylvia Preuss-Laussinotte

2–4 pm AUDITORIUM
EN→DE
Migration – Unruly Thinking
INPUTS, DISCUSSIONS Bernd Kasparek, Ramzi Kassem, Brigitta Kuster, Sandro Mezzadra, Kim Rygiel, Isabelle Saint-Saëns, Zoran Terzić
INTRODUCTION Nanna Heidenreich
MODERATION Nanna Heidenreich, Brigitta Kuster

5–8.30 pm AUDITORIUM
EN→DE
State Technologies
PRESENTATIONS, LECTURE PERFORMANCES Keller Easterling, cinéma copains (Arne Hector, Minze Tummescheit), Felix Stalder, Charles Lim Yi Yong, Samar Yazbek, Boaventura de Sousa Santos
INTRODUCTION Rana Dasgupta

9–10.30 pm AUDITORIUM
EN→DE
The Nation-State System
LECTURE, LECTURE PERFORMANCE Hito Steyerl, Ann Cotten
INTRODUCTION Rana Dasgupta

Now is the Time of Monsters

Complete Program March 23-25, 2017
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.

→ [hkw.de/monsters](http://hkw.de/monsters)