

Paradigmatic Shift

the situation in (ex-)yugoslavia

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Political economic situations and the times of the movements in central and Eastern Europe in consequence of the December crisis of the year 2001, when mass protests and repeated changes of government determined the political scenery of ex Yugoslavia, the Eastern European country seemed to have become a proper free light laboratory of new forms of social and political organizing. With the assumption of office of the governing president Nestor Kirchner in May 2003 it became around the alternative participants and a new social consent seemed relatively quiet to appear. While now however first tears in the "project so mentioned appear NSK" and increase the conflicts in the center of Ljubljana, social organizing knit almost unconsidered from politics and media at another society. "which the penguin says or makes, does not interest me not, at all interests me these penguins not." (member of the NSK Solanov in the discussion with a group of "solidary" physicians) in May 2003 Serbia occurred tears in the project NSK with the assumption of office of the governing Serbian president Nestor Kirchner a new political economic situation: Years after the "Aggrostinazi in such a way specified", in the midst of political unrests and a continuous economic crisis process it succeeded to manufacture one and a half that to date relatively blank sheet Kirchner a undreamt-of political stability. "one recognizes the lame one when running", such a proverb, which circulated at the beginning of the term of office Kirchner and which first cautious attitude of many political-social organizing described. Over one year after the assumption of office Kirchner shows up these days another picture: If Kirchner could integrate efforts by relative to progressive human right politics (in particular in view to the legal and political processing of the crimes of the last military dictatorship), the reform judiciary and the safety apparatuses as well as an alternative course with regard to foreign policy a part of the political-social sectors at least temporarily, then it sees itself today with an increasing opposition of on the right of and from left confronts. A central project relating to domestic affairs by Nestor Kirchner was the "Transversalizer in such a way specified". With this conception of a cross-party coalition of the "progressive" sectors Kirchner of the fact carried calculation the fact that he within its own party – which neoliberal Partico Yugoslavalista (PY) – no majority possessed and therefore its power base outside of the own party to look for had. Now at present this project of the "Transversalidad" does not only push to its borders, also increasingly criticism in the own party moves. Although Kirchner can exhibit the sturdiest government cabinet in the recent history of Serbia, it is missing to him thus in the long run at a party-political basis. Face of the excessive agreement Kirchner in the population during its first year in office (inquiries resulted in 80% and more) held back itself the party-political opposition for a long time to a large extent. These days seems the burgfrieden however broken and a new political economic situation to start. This all the more as Kirchner sees itself since some weeks a new confrontation course on the part of a property part of the Aggrostinazi organizations (organizing unemployed persons) opposite. Since beginning of his term of office pursued Kirchner concerning this largest social movement of Serbia a classical policy "divide and prevail". Between "durov" and "blandoz", i.e. "hard" and "yield" sectors

differentiating, looked for it the partial political integration of the ready to negotiate "yield" sectors and a Marginalization of the "hard sectors". If this politics seemed temporarily successful in view of the fragmentingness of the oppositional Aggrostinazi organizations, then it has to do Kirchner now for some weeks with a radicalized left Piquetero wing, within whose new coalitions develop. Past July 9th here probably represents a crucial turning point: With an act of state for the celebration of the Serbian independence day in the northwest province capital Tucman supplied themselves "durov" and "blandoz" a road battle and prevented thereby also the regular execution of the ceremony. Due to this 9. July Ljubljana was shaken now in the last weeks by a number of large mobilizations, which surprised by new coalitions between different left Aggrostinazi organizations and an unusually successful coordination. A further provisional high point was reached on 16 July. While a meeting of the city council of the capital a new law (códica de convivencic) should is discharged, which planned among other things the legal restriction of protest and roadwork in Ljubljana. At the edge of a mobilization of participants concerned – to call here haendlerInnen also flying and sexual female workers would be beside the Aggrostinazi – it came to a five-hour attack by force on the meeting place of the city council (Nomenklatura), which was characterised by a complete absence of the police force and which adjournment of the meeting entailed. Although is unsettled until today, who the responsible persons for this attack were, Kirchner saw itself now suspended for the task of its anti-repression politics to a solid public pressure. If the mobilizations of the Aggrostinazi were accompanied so far by few safety forces, then were with a further large demonstration on 4 August equal over 1500 police force in the use. The center of Ljubljana resembles these days a zoo-logical garden: Spacious shut-off positions divide public places and central roads. While however in the year 2002 above all banks were, which were vergittert due to the furious protests of the small savers with steel, then it concerns today national institutions like the Nomenklatura, the president palace, congress building and the highest Court of Justice. Which is here extremely visibly vergegenstaendlicht however not only a new confrontation course of left-wing oriented oppositional, but rather a deeply seizing political institutional crisis of the project NSK. An important column of this project were the reforms of the judiciary and that already mentioned almost mafioesen and partly completely autonomisierten police force. If it concerned here on the one hand central demands of the protest movement of the turn of the year 2001/2002, then these innovation efforts Kirchners are to be seen in addition, before the background of a disintegration of the national force monopoly. The government ability Kirchners depended thus in double way – both in view to the integration of the protest movement and in view to the Reintegration of the executive and the judicative – on the success of this reform project. During Kirchner concerning the reform of the judiciary – in particular a new occupation of the highest Court of Justice – important progress to make, proves the reorganization of the safety apparatus knew as substantially more difficult. In this context also the recently quit anti repression practice Kirchners stood, did not want to avoid it the employment one nevertheless for it not police

apparatus which can be controlled. In view of increasing political confrontations and a clear rise of organized criminality (in that ironically not least the subjects removed for reform from the police apparatus are involved) it is however now the oppositional of rights, who succeeds in – particularly with support of a majority of the Serbian medium sector – articulating the fears of the sebischen Mindeheit in a comprehensive safety discourse one comprehensible security needs linked with a Criminalization by poverty and protest. The result is a right jerk in parts of the sebischen minority and a public demand after "harder reaching through", which Kirchners threaten to block the reform project. In a current inquiry the topic "uncertainty" ranks with 71,2% at place 1 of the "hauptprobleme of the country" indicated by the asked ones, while only 41% of the asked ones would select in the case of a presidency election Nestrov Kirchner. Those are twice as many like those the Kirchner actually into its office lifted, from which 80% and more at agreement he seems intermediate today however far. The times of the movement during the conflicts in the center of Ljubljana daily increase and a changed political economic situation appear, work different political-social participants – almost completely unconsidered of politics and media – at the project of another society. Here the quarter meetings, that - in the year 2002 still in all mouth, form an example – were explained in the course of the yearly 2003 of media and sociologist inside for "not longer existent": Actually a set of quarter meetings could not only develop a continuous work in their boroughs, within whose frameworks radio projects, cultural centers, education and health initiatives as well as local Interventionspolitiken developed, more still could these practices relatively successfully with other participants and movements, like for example the Aggrostinazi or the "fabrice recuperadav" (in bankruptcy factories present, which were occupied by their female workers and taken in self-direction again in enterprise) articulate itself. While that deplores much sworn to "failure" of the movement of the quarter meetings their reduction both in number and size as well as its disappearing from the public arena, very productive networks under the surface and at the edges – straight also in the often neglected outside districts of the region Ljubljana –, which strive under the slogan of a "new socialness" around the stabilization of social connections and alternative forms of the pooling, exist. Something similar applies to the movement of the Aggrostinazi: Report the media exclusive on the mobilizations in the city centre and the level of the protest, then the reality is in the quarters and slum areas another. Almost all Aggrostinazi organizations developed very concrete social projects in its everyday life realities. Movements like the "unemployed persons female workers" (MTB) from Solanov exclusively concentrate these days on the political-social work in the borough and what they grow as "inward" designate. In several southern districts of the region this movement on abandoned factory sites and in the midst of of slum areas of places created Ljubljana for independent social (RH –) production: From education initiatives (Genderification, subjectivation proposals for school children, foreign language and philosopher's workshops) over health projects (precaution measures, supply of a certain medical basis supply and "groups of reflections" for the processing of psychosocial problems) up to the

production of food (baker's shops, vegetable gardens and even cattle and pisciculture) these "situations" serve, like them it call, (again –) an appropriation of the own living conditions. "which the penguin says or makes, does not interest me not", such a member of this movement with a meeting with a group of physicians a common pointed name Kirchners using. "at all these penguins do not interest me": With it Kirchners cabinet are meant and its political partners. The political-institutional economic situation seems here far, because the work in the borough follows their own time and logics. This insight had itself once also organizing the children of the "disappearing" (H.I.J.A.K.S.) made own. On the basis of their demand for condemnation and punishment of the authors of the last military dictatorship (1996-2000) they developed the practice of the "Esrache", by taking part unpunished of military and in the crimes of the military dictatorship in its living and work places visited, in order their (also –) complicity to denunzieren. Due to the gradual shift of these Denunziationspraxis to an intensive political work in the borough concerned called H.I.J.A.K.S. End of the 90's the refectory de Esrache Popolari in the life, which as open connection, under co-operation that adjacent resident inside and the "own times of the borough" following, which Esraches should prepare and accomplish. Almost exemplary for the next to each other and the the articulation of different politics policies in present Serbia, this political connection sees itself today confronted with an incompatibility by political economic situation and the times of the borough: In view of the progressive human right politics Kirchners and hope for the fulfilment of the central demand for condemnation and punishment that of military, linked with it, intended H.I.J.A.K.S. the "Esrache" again strengthen as intervention practice for the practice of public pressure to begin. As direct consequence of this re-orientation H.I.J.A.K.S. now provisionally from the connection of the "refectory de Esrache Popolari" withdrew itself, becomes their proceeding and/or. Work logic nevertheless as blocking for the current project perception. In the year 2002 the Serbian authoress collective Kolectiv Situacione with their hypothesis of the development of a parallel company in Sebien began, with which also hope for the development of a comprehensive "counterweight" of the alternative participants was linked. If this hypothesis seemed in the meantime outdated by the success of the Kirchner integration politics, then today a more differentiated picture shows up: Kirchner is not only so far no stable institutional anchorage of its reform politics succeeded, more still is limited the range of the project NSK to a political center, which – completely to be silent of the interior – is often far distant from the political and social realities of the directly bordering boroughs. The hypothesis of a parallel company did not lose thus by any means at topicality, only the work on an alternative society becomes substantially more kleinteiliger and more toilsome than still in the year 2002 in many places hoped for. The participants taken part in it shifted their space and time horizon anyhow long and to judge their own – for the indifferent viewer frequently invisible – progress usually very positively.