

Sodobne politične stranke so svojo podobo povsem prepustile v obdelavo PR-strokovnjakom, ki naj bi poiskali najboljše identifikacijske možnosti za volilce. Tako so mnoge stranke svoje znake, logotipe in včasih celo poudarke v programih prepustile (ne)nadarjenosti PR-timov ali pa celo naključju.

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piše o sterilnosti simbolov sodobnih strank in družbenih gibanj ter njihovi nemoči, na drugi strani pa o tem, kako reakcionarne sile črpajo svojo moč iz simbolov padlih ideologij.



Reakcionarna gibanja živijo s pomočjo simbolov. Čuvajo in negujejo preteklost, njene prisposodbe in govorico oblik. Uporaba znanih in vedno znova vračajočih se pismenk in slik vliva zaupanje, ustvarja domovinska občutja in občutke pripadnosti; podobno kot vojska s svojimi uniformami in odlikovanji tudi ta gibanja s svojimi simboli ustoličujejo smisel in red. Nemalo mladih po številnih evropskih deželah se označuje za skinheade (Naziskins), kitijo se s nacističnimi simboli in se s tem uvrščajo v vojsko večnega Reicha. So mar vsi ti mladci prepričani nacisti oziroma neonacisti? Kdor se je vsaj enkrat potrudil in se z njimi pogovoril, dobro ve, da za temi simboli tiči kaj malo vsebine. Le redkokateri izmed njih se je kdaj ukvarjal s pisnim izročilom nacionalsocializma. In zakaj se potem kitijo s simboli genocida?

STIL
BROD
VA

UPOR POTREBUJE IDENTIFIKACIJO

Simboli so znaki identifikacije, pripadnosti določeni skupnosti. Toda pripadnost pomeni vedno tudi odmejitve od drugih, ki ne pripadajo. Ta odmejitve je pomemben sestavni del skupinskih identitet. Odmejitve od sveta staršev, tudi vrstnikov, od cele abotne malomeščanske srenje je sestavni del pubertetnega procesa iskanja samega sebe. To odmejevanje ne more potekati kar samo od sebe. Mlad človek išče prijatelje in zaveznike, ustvarja si enotnost v ločevanju – odmejevanju. To enotnost navznoter in odmejitve navzven je treba simbolizirati, treba jima je omogočiti, da postaneta del vsakdanjega življenja.

VSAKI GENERACIJI SVOJ KONFLIKT

Kateri generaciji pripadaš? Kateri simbole si v svojem času uporabljal? 1968? Dolge lase, hipaška oblačila, rock, sex? 1980? Punkovske cape, prištržene lase, Sex Pistols in sponke v licih? Simboli oživljajo upor, iz njega naredijo del vsakdanje kulture in ga integrirajo v vsakdanje življenje. In ko ti simboli ne omogočajo več odmejitve in upor s tem ne ostane le brez besed, temveč tudi brez simbolov? Mar že postmoderna družba dopušča pisano vzajemnost vseh simbolov, vseh oblik in barv?

Simbol služi človeku pri iskanju identitete v danem svetu, pri definiranju njegove pozicije v uporuzi z odmejevanjem. Ta upor, ta protest proti vladajočim razmeram pa morajo resno upoštevati tudi vsi tisti, ki se trudijo za emancipacijo. Celo za kljukastimi križi tiči mladostniško iskanje skupnosti in solidarnosti pred njim sovražnemu okolju. Da ne bo nesporazuma: Tukaj ne govorim o vodjih, "Führerjih", nacistih stare šole, o političnih organizatorjih nacističnih ali fašističnih gibanj. Govorim o tistih ljudeh – mladini, ki od demagogov prevzemajo simbole, ne da bi se identificirali s političnimi ozadiji.

DEUTSCHLAND, DEUTSCHLAND ÜBER ALLES ...?

Najbolj zastrašujoč in medijsko učinkovit je prav gotovo vzpon takšnih mladostniških skupin v Nemčiji. Pred ozadjem bivše vzhodnonemške družbe, ki je izgubila vse vrednote in vse upe, ki razume le še potrošništvo, vidijo mnogi ljudje že nevarnost novega nacizma. Strankarske diskusije o spremembi zakona o azilantih, gonja republikancev in nasilje do beguncev, napadi na begunska zatočišča, umori v Möllnu (na spodnjem Saškem) nas spominjajo na čase Weimarske republike.

Stranke v Nemčiji so bile proti tej nevarnosti nesposobne ustrezno ukrepati. Namesto da bi se postavile po robu znova nastajajočemu desničarskemu radikalizmu, so z razpravo o spremembi zakona o azilantih popustile pritisku teh sil. Tudi če vladna politika danes prepoveduje nekatere izmed neonacističnih organizacij, zaplenjuje bančne račune in izvaja hišne preiskave, daje s tem kaj malo gotovosti boju proti reakcionarnim idejam. Reševanje socialnih in političnih problemov z administrativnimi posegi je očitno spodletelo. Tako kot je Stalin "rešil" nacionalno vprašanje, je bil "antifašizem" osnova vzhodnonemške države zavesti ... Administrativne "rešitve" ne odstranijo vzrokov, temveč stigmatizirajo njihove pojavne oblike. Toliko bolj nerazumljivo je, če celo tisti nemški levičarji, ki so kritični do države, danes zahtevajo močno državo, ki bi jih ščitila pred nacisti.

Ob tem pa se med prebivalstvom godi mobilizacija, ki na nevarnost, ki preti z desne, odgovarja po principih civilne družbe. Stotisoče ljudi se je v preteklih mesecih po vseh nemških mestih udeleževalo protestnih prireditev proti rasizmu in sovraštvu do tujcev. Povsod se mrzlično rojevajo "pobude proti nasilju", telefonska alarmna omrežja, združujejo se ljudje, ki se še nikoli poprej niso politično udeleževali, da bi noč za nočjo ščitili begunska zatočišča. Nastaja dejansko protirasistično gibanje, ki ga povečini tvorijo mladi ljudje, ki si tako pridobivajo prve politične izkušnje. Nešteti igralci in igralke, rock glasbeniki in glasbenice, televizijski napovedovalci in napovedovalke, pisatelji in pisateljice ... izražajo solidarnost in se udeležujejo dobredelnih prireditev, nastopajo kot identifikacijski liki teh aktivnosti. S tem tvorijo identiteto in reprezentančnost. Slogan Pokažimo svoje barve – preženimo rasizem in ustrezní simbol postajata bojna pripomočka proti nacističnim geslom. Nemško gibanje preteklih mesecev kaže potencial, s kakršnim lahko neka družba reagira na ogrožanje njenih pravic in svobod – mimo vseh političnih strank in proti vsem njim.

EMANCIPACIJSKI PURIZEM PRI SIMBOLIH?

Emancipacijske ideje kritičnih, levičarskih, zelenih, feminističnih ipd. gibanj se pogosto upirajo govorski simbolov. Zastopajo "resnične vrednote" v čisti obliki: "solidarnost", "humanizem", "feminizem", "varstvo okolja" ... Pri tem se redko zavedamo, da so ti pojmi sami že simboli. Kaj kdo razume pod pojmom "soli-

darnost", je v precejšnji meri odvisno od kraja, časa in okoliščin – na kratko rečeno: od interpretacijskih zmožnosti družbenih sil. Pojmi zahtevajo interpretacije. So šifre za (so)mišljene ali predpostavljene vrednostne predstave.

Napredne ideje torej prav tako uporabljajo govorno oblik in simbolov, čeprav to z argumenti običajno odklanjajo in odvijajo, ali pa se pomena teh simbolov vsaj ne zavedajo. Na ta način zamujajo priložnost, da bi zavestno rokovali s simboli in z močjo, ki tiči v njih. Namesto da bi iz simbolov zavestno naredili znak skupnosti in pripadnosti, reprezentativnosti progresivnih vsebin, jih raje zardevajoč skrijejo, tajijo ali pa se celo branijo pred "očiti", da jih sploh uporabljajo. Od ženskega znaka feminističnega gibanja do panda medvedka WWF-ja, od prelomljene puške oporečnikov do sončeca na prionkah nasprotnikov atomske energije – tudi naše vsebine in cilji živijo v simbolih.

GIBANJE NEMESTO ZAKRKNJENOSTI

Tako mladostniki kot tudi starejši ljudje potrebujejo občutek pripadnosti. Ljudje pač nismo osamljeni volkovi, ki bi pohajkovali skozi življenje, temveč smo socialna bitja in potrebujemo skupnost. Temelje takšne skupnosti, njene vrednote in cilje, njene strukture in delovanje morajo sooblikovati napredne sile. Moramo se vmešati v boj za simbole, jezik oblik in jezikovne oblike. Simboli, besede in znaki so stalnica družbenih sporov, ki jo lahko odpravimo le za ceno naše lastne identitete.

Politične stranke so ta boj že zdavnaj opustile ali pa so ga predale reklamnim agencijam. PF-strokovnjaki iščejo najboljše identifikacijske možnosti za množico volilcev, najboljše slogane za predvolilne plakate, najboljše fotografije za predvolilne reklame. Ti simboli so sterilni, ni jih mogoče sprejeti v življenje in niso del vsakdanje kulture. Delujejo kot vsiljivi ostanki nekega propadlega obdobja. Ne dopuščajo niti resnične identifikacije niti neposredne udeležbe. Tega največkrat niti ne želijo doseči. Stranke so vesele, če identifikacija ne seže dlje kot do volilnega lističa. Sicer bi že komu prišlo na misel, da bi tudi v časih, ko niso volitve pred durmi, kaj pričakovali od strank, hotel nadzirati njihovo delo ali pa celo želej odločevali pri odločitvah. Stranke, ti fosilni ostanki neke propadajoče politike, se pred tem varujejo s simboli moči in distance.

Alternativne sile se, v nasprotju z drugimi, običajno precej premalo zavedajo moči simbolov in se odrekajo razsvetljiteljskemu obravnavanju identifikacije. Toda to se morajo naučiti, če nočejo vse moči, ki jo premore govornica oblik, prepustiti silam, ki vsebinsko težijo v nasprotno smer. Živo gibanje alternativnih sil, možnosti sodelovanja vseh ljudi, skupno, solidarno delovanje za cilje morajo povezati z oblikami in simboli, ki posredujejo pripadnost.

PLURALISTIČNA DRUŽBA NEMESTO BIPOLARNE

Politične sile danes ne morejo več izhajati iz predpostavke, da obstaja trdna "baza", ki s puško ob nogi strumno čaka na povečanje iz centra stranke. Časi, ko so skupni družbeni interesi kovali politične bloke, so minili. Razvoj kapitalistične družbe, povečanje individualnega bogastva in demeta svobodnih odločitev so spočeli postmoderno družbo. Interesi so mnogovrstni, celo v primeru posameznika. Pripadnost je zato vedno le delna. Nobena skupnost ne skrbi več za celoto. Za vsako področje si državljan poišče svojo družino, svojo skupino, zastopnika svojih interesov. Skupnost v postmoderni družbi tako pravzaprav ne more več postati totalitarna. Odpor proti popolni asimilaciji in spekter lastnih interesov sta prevelika, da bi ju določala le ena logika.

To seveda napoveduje nasprotja. Postmoderna ali, bolje rečeno, pluralna družba je konfliktna. Nasprotja med različnimi interesi v človeku samem, med različnimi posamezniki in med skupinami so vsakdanji pojav. Proces, v katerem bomo te konflikte lahko artikulirali in jih nenasilno soočali, je zato tem večjega pomena. Rešitev pluralne družbe je kompromis ali pa, redkeje, konsenz. Ta družba potrebuje demokratične postopke odločanja, da bi sploh omogočila artikuliranje interesov. Potrebujemo čim bolj odprt in nebirokratski dostop do političnih procesov odločanja, da bi interese kot take lahko izoblikovali, da bi jih v obliki zahtev lahko vnesli v politiko in da bi ljudem lahko omogočili skupno delovanje. Simboli, znaki in forme so sredstva za artikulacijo interesov. Na nas je, da kreativno silo simbolov uporabimo v korist naših vrednot – ali pa jih prepustimo drugim.

Prevod Špela Košnik-Virant

loping wild horses of European pedigree. Yet, chocolate was not so quick in conquering the old world. If potatoes, corn and sugar completely altered the European menu and made people fatter and larger, then chocolate as a refined form of Aztec revenge added the taste of sin as well. In spite of the abundance of crazy diets with which the Europeans and their overseas descendants have been trying to shed the consequences of colonial guilt, no chocolate-based diet has as yet been invented. And never will be. Chocolate has remained the stronghold of the ultimate ideological inadaptability of the other, deindividuated and exploited. Otherwise the great European ideological complexes divided chocolate into the Protestant (Swiss, Anglo-American, German) and Catholic (French, Italian).

While the first is distinguished by its generous blending with milk and a semiotic association with children and family holidays, this other is straightforwardly marked by eroticism and the pleasure principle. Bitter chocolate, white chocolate, truffles which are unimaginable without a deal of cognac, profiteroles made from a minimum of flour and eggs, air and the laws of physics, and of course chocolate, and chocolate mousse which almost belongs to the field of magic and alchemy – these are just some of the forms of the chocolate sin in the Catholic version. Mozart Balls and After Eight are merely feeble attempts at bringing chocolate into the world of adults. And only in the Catholic countries is chocolate designed, wrapped and sold by fashion designers. The English notion of chocolate indelibly determines the expression chocolate-box face (a naively cute face, just like off a chocolate wrapper). While from the tins of Dutch cocoa a sister of mercy admonishes, on the Italian box of chocolates with the suggestive name Baci (kisses) a couple passionately embrace under the moonlight. The hopeless situation of chocolate in socialist systems (just remember the "sugar bars") and corresponding symbolization could be connected to the Orthodox Church, if Greece hadn't have taken a decisive step towards domesticating chocolate: at Lalangis', the refined Athenian confectioner of the Constantinople tradition, they have remade chocolate baklava from dough with chocolate mixed in.

Where and when did this ideological rift take place which has made the Aztec's revenge so recognizable. In the age of intellectuals, the eighteenth century, the English drank what in the Asterix comic strips is called "boiled water", while Lavoisier, Condorcet or Madame Vigée-Lebrun, surrounded with their dearest items, instruments, maps, test-tubes, paintbrushes and paints, drank hot chocolate and often had themselves portrayed in this manner. The Marquis de Sade and Monsieur de Guillotin, too, whereby the former was sent to prison due to unexplained affairs with poisoned (chocolate?) bonbons, which he offered one of his female foes. The border between delight and downfall, personified by chocolate, is so thin and prestigious, that every psychiatrist will politely listen to a confession of excessive choco-holicism, while he will kick a smoker, alcoholic and even coffee drinker mercilessly into some kind of paramilitary method of withdrawing from bad habits. "Bread and chocolate" – a combination which sets against the everyday and luxurious, was again comprehended literally by the French who invented chocolate pastry: the Italian "panetone", originally from Milan, is merely the logical continuation of this corruption of gastronomic morals (spreading chocolate cream on bread is in itself an unbearable baseness, far from the concept of sin).

Eventually, only the Gallic sense of enterprise could have invented the profession of "master chocolate-maker", just as only the Gallic theorist Roland Barthes in the Anglo-Saxon epithet to **crunchy** chocolate could discover the mythological food of the Gods which "speaks", and which ensures the eternal youthfulness of body... through drying.

We have hardly touched upon the semiotics of chocolate here: chocolate Easter eggs take on a form of which at least one version of the origin of the world begins, chocolate bunnies associate the cult of fertility; the polymorphism of chocolate (powder, liquid, solid), its submittal to heat and the coloring of everything it touches induces the archetypal imagination (i.e. Makavejev's Sweet Movie); chocolate covers and darkens, like night; "chocolate tan", (again a French invention) is a polite description for dark-skinned people whom, by the way, the French revolution assured equal rights; chocolate is taken by soldiers to extreme circumstances (pardoning sins?) and for the eventual purchase of new sins. And finally, we must mention women's complex inclination towards chocolate: let's change the ideas with a scene from dreams. From out of the open box of chocolates there appears the spirit of a dark-skinned male beauty who perished five hundred years ago under the shadow of the cocoa tree, because some drunken white-skinned idiot sneezed into his face. And he had such a sweet mouth.

The Phenomenology of Masks by Mario Kopic

If judged from the current state of art history, we cannot speak of the mask as of a kind of aesthetic object. Likewise, we cannot speak of it as a work of art which separates itself from the process of life, in that sense of the notion of art which has developed in our tradition, yet has been called in question in modern times. This means that this notion was actually questioned only with the constituted consciousness of the world history of art (Weltgeschichte der Kunst), as defined by Huetzelzer.

The world history of art professed the productive problem of the notion of art even when dealing with prehistory. Consequently, as Wilhelm Perpeet has said, the aesthetic view of art must be understood in its limited historical significance and that the question concerning the existence of art must be tied to fundamental anthropological interests.

The expression "the phenomenology of masks" is used by Gaston Bachelard in the sense of a kind of psychologically meaningful phenomenology of **pretending**. According to Bachelard, phenomenology must focus its research on western mentality. This is the very reason why it only deals with the psychology of the masked, the mental activity of the "pretending of the masked being in the mask", and this only from the standpoint of our tradition. Well, from the standpoint of the world history of art, the phenomenology of the mask must neither be limited to psychology as a special science nor to western mentality. As mentioned before, when speaking of the original integral artistic work, to which the mask belongs, we cannot speak of the pretending or even of the dissension of the being who wants to be what he/she is not. Furthermore, we can not speak of acting when dancing with a mask or the symbolic effect of the mask.

We need the phenomenology of the mask in order to become familiar with its being, in order to understand its ontological values and, after all, in order to somehow find some new definition for the mask. This new definition should ensue from the being/existence of man and his tendency towards another being/existence through transformation which can be achieved by means of a mask. For behind a person's desire to be something other than what he/she is lies the real human instinct which carries in itself the decision to live a new life. It is not enough for us to exist, but to exist for others, to abide with others, to live another life, to delve into the other – the discord of man who wants to be what he/she is not, which negates and leaves himself for the purpose of life as a whole – ALL LIFE LONG (Luetzler).

Symbols in Politics by Roland Brunner

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Contemporary political parties have completely left their images to PR experts, in order to find the best possibilities for identification with the voters. Many parties have thus left their signs, logos and sometimes even manifesto emphasis to the talent or non-talent of PR teams, or even to chance.

Symbols are signs of identification, an affiliation to a certain association. However, affiliation also always signifies a dissociation from others who do not belong. This dissociation from others is an important component of group identities. The dissociation from the world of our parents, even our peers, from the whole fatuous petit bourgeois community, is one of the main components of the puberty process of finding oneself. This dissociation cannot take place on its own. A young person searches for friends and allies, he/she creates unity in separation – dissociation. This unity inwards and dissociation outwards must be symbolized, it must be enabled to become a part of everyday life.

The most frightening and media-effective is certainly the rise of these kind of youth groups in Germany. Against the backdrop of a former East German society which has lost all values and hope, and which understands only consumerism, many people already see the danger of a new form of Nazism. Party discussions on the alteration of the law on asylum-seekers, the campaign of the republicans and violence towards refugees, assaults on refugee shelters, murders in Molin (lower Saxony) recall the times of the Weimar Republic.

In Germany parties were incapable of taking appropriate measures to counter the danger. Instead of taking a stand against reemergent right-wing radicalism, they gave way to the pressure of these forces by discussing changes to the law on asylum-seekers. Even if some of the neo-Nazi organizations are today proscribed, their bank accounts confiscated and their houses searched, this will not provide much certainty in the fight against reactionary ideas. The attempt to solve social and political problems with administrative measures has obviously failed. Just as Stalin "saved" the national issue, "anti-Fascism" was the basis of the East German national consciousness. Administrative "solutions"

do not remove the causes, but rather stigmatize their outward forms. It is even less understandable when even those German left-wingers who are critical of the state, today demand a strong state to protect them against Nazis.

In the meantime, a mobilization is taking place among the population who, in reply to the danger threatening from the right, is responding in accordance with the principles of a civil society. Hundreds of thousands of people over the past months in all German cities have participated in protest rallies against racism and hatred towards foreigners.

The emancipated ideas of critical, left-wing, green, feminist and other movements often rest on the language of symbols. They advocate "real values" in pure forms: "solidarity", "humanism", "feminism", "environmental protection", etc. Rarely are we aware that these notions themselves are already symbols. What someone understands by the term "solidarity" depends to a large degree on the place, time and circumstances – in short: on the interpretational capabilities of social forces. The terms require interpretation. They are codes for equal-minded or presupposed value conceptions.

Alternative forces, in contradiction to others, are usually much too unaware of the power of symbols and renounce the enlightened treatment of identification. But they must learn how to do this if they do not wish to let all the power of language forms to be left to forces which, in their content, are inclined in the opposite direction. The lively movement of alternative forces, the possibility of everyone cooperating, jointly, sympathy activity for objectives must be tied with forms and symbols which promote affiliation.

Political forces today can no longer ensue from the supposition that there exists a solid "basis" which with a rifle at foot is steadfastly waiting for commands from the center of the party. The times when common social interests forged political blocs have passed. The development of capitalist societies, the increase of individual wealth and the reaching of independent decision have given birth to the postmodern society. Interests are varied even in the case of the individual. Affiliation is therefore only partial. No community takes care of the whole anymore. Citizens find their own company for each field, their group, a spokesperson for their interests. The community in the postmodern society thus actually can no longer become totalitarian. Resistance against complete assimilation and the spectrum of personal interests are too large to be determined by one logic.

This of course predicts contradictions. The postmodern – or more precisely – the plural society is a conflicting society. Contradictions between different interests in man himself, between different individuals and groups are commonplace. A process in which we will be able to articulate these conflicts and confront them without violence is thus of even greater importance. The solution of the plural society is compromise or, less frequently, consensus. This society needs democratic decision-making procedures in order even to enable the articulation of interests. We need open and non-bureaucratic access to the political processes of decision-making in order to be able to form interests as such, so that we can introduce them in the form of demands into politics and so people can be allowed joint activity. Symbols, signs and forms are a means for the articulation of interests. It is our responsibility to employ the creative force of symbols to benefit our values or to leave them to others.

The Anatomy of a Political Scandal by Aldo Milohnic

What is a political scandal? Let's take a look at how it is defined by the sociologist Sigward Neckel: "A scandal is political if actors from the political-administrative system are inseparably and provocatively involved in it. Therefore, if the normative inventory of politics embraces him and if the scandal takes on the form of the kinds of figurative acts which political sociologists define as conflicting." Or the definition of Dirk Käsler, author of the essay *Scandal as "Political Theater"* from 1989: "We understand political scandal as a complex social event, in which some significant, popular-political anger (re)presents itself and expands through the media into a personal and dramatized form." Both definitions are therefore concerned with the conflicting relationship, which Käsler with a kind of social-psychological nonchalance simply calls "anger" generated by (political) *personalities*.

With this we can also call attention to Bourdieu's syntagma of the "mystery of the ministry". Through the act of being elected, delegated for example, the minister of government finds himself in a kind of metonymic relation with the voters, since he represents a kind of "sign which stands in place of the community of the group." And the delegation is a kind of *corporatio*, a corporation in which people are no longer merely individuals but also a "mystical body" embodied in