

Fuck Globalization

Long Live the Multitude!

Long live the unmanageable art multitude sprung up in a thousand centres of the world!

We call upon all artists to resist the globalization of art—not out of any sentiment for the local or the national—but out of a militant internationalism!

We want to leave neither nature nor humanity alone: everything must change according to the demands of the unmanageable monstrous multitude of artists.

We are not satisfied with making people wear Futurist hats, Vorticist shoes, Cubist underwear, Constructivist socks, Dada earrings, Surrealist epaulettes, Minimalist spectacles, Expressionist gloves and Bauhaus cravats. We are not here to coat your favourite objects with modernist patterns, or to persuade businessmen to upgrade their offices, or for businesswomen to grow vegetables under their desks. We will not bring excellent design to the masses, nor assist in the construction of a new world by choosing the décor. We are not the tailors of utopia!

Humanity cannot help! Neither can humanitarian curators! The only way humanity can take part in the philistine biopolitics of alterglobalized art is to sacrifice its humanity, its universality, its neutrality—to cut itself off from humanity as a whole—and to take sides with the fucked against the fuckers!

WE LOVE THE DREGS OF HUMANITY—their caustic intelligence, their animal electricity and their self-educated dreams.

We believe in no globalism except on their terms—an alterglobalism. Perfectibility is a weapon when it is compelled on the dregs of humanity by well-educated, tasteful, privileged managers and market crusaders but it is an act of love when it issues from the dregs of humanity to embrace their enemies.

The only beauty that matters is advanced in the monstrous unmanageable alterglobal biopolitics of art not in the prize winning art object, not in the world-disclosing art spectacle, not in the inclusive heart of the humanitarian curator, not in the loving attention of the postcolonial art historian, not in the delicacies of the universalist aesthete and not in the wordless affirmation of the global citizen of art.

The globalized artworld does not know what beauty is! Only those alterglobal agitators who recognize the violence that is done art and to the body and mind by biennialism, international art fairs, postcolonial curators, the new global collectors, and the globalized art schools, only those monstrous artists who challenge art's colonization by global capitalism on a daily basis because it pisses on everything that they cherish, only these militant partisans of savage resistance to the 'extremist centre' have a clue about beauty.

We do not want to fix the artworld's conspicuous afflictions, like a surgeon's cure or a PR company's rebranding. We want to see the artworld change bit by bit as the unmanageable multitude of artists, in alliance with the alterglobal dregs of humanity, assert their power here and there, spreading like a beautiful rash across the skin of the earth.

We, the monstrous artists, will not change the world on the behalf of the dregs of humanity, not because we have any soft Deleuzean sensitivities towards not speaking for others, but rather because we are not a vanguard: we are militants among others, not their leaders, not their managers, not the designers of their freedom. We will certainly speak for them—we will write manifestos for them! and we will read aloud these manifestos at the top of our lungs!—but we are not experts, bureaucrats or entrepreneurs, and will not profit from our love of the dregs of humanity.

WE WANT A THOUSAND REVOLUTIONS and to feel the crude energy of revolution flowing through the world like alcohol in its veins.

All the best artists from the multitude are always revolutionary, just as all the best artists in the market have to have a strong traditional vein. Globalization permits these two to meet on the condition that the privileges of the latter settle everything in advance. The militant alterglobalizing multitude of artists join forces to oppose, subvert, resist and abolish the power of the market to determine the future of art.

We, the art multitude, set out to be a force for all those vivid and violent ideas that could not reach public attention if we left the distribution of ideas to the market, to academia, or the state.

We—the unmanaged, unmanageable and self-managed multitude of monstrous artists—will be militantly popular. We will not appeal to 'the masses', which confuses popularity with profitability, but to the marginalized popular, the hard won popular and the downright demonized popular which are present in the bowels of every society. **HERE'S TO THE MONSTERS!** The moment anyone becomes an artist, they develop an affinity with monsters of all kinds. Art is nothing more than the setting free of a

multitude of monsters. We, the alterglobalizing swarm of artists, assert that this monstrous artist exists in everybody.

The cultivated and the authoritarian are attacked equally by the alterglobalizing multitude because it doesn't make a grain of difference if they oppose the interests of the world's underclasses with truth on their side or the army at their disposal.

The self-organized alterglobal anti-capitalist resistance to the professionalization, marketization and bureaucratization of art does not mean a new wave of amateurism, a politically inflected affection for kitsch or a naive defense of outsider art and the tastes of uneducated people, as some of you will say. Nor does it mean being aesthetically or intellectually shoddy. It means an art courageous enough to be monstrous to its core. And this means, among other things, not accepting the official knee-jerk denigration of amateurism, kitsch, the outsider, the uneducated, the shoddy and the monstrous.

Self-education (art education and general education) tends to produce monsters that are either tamed by the established hierarchies or threaten to smash them. Therefore it is in times when self-education has gone from strength to strength that a monstrous alterglobal autocritique of art flourishes.

But our love of self-education has absolutely nothing to do with the bureaucratic, instrumentalized, cynical emphasis on education that the modernizing political elite still express today. Self-education produces monsters but the political elite want state education to produce conformity, resignation and, above all, a good workforce.

How did these fuckers hijack education?!?!? Education was always integral to every liberation movement and they have turned it on its head, using education to bind us ever more tightly to the market and to our fate as workers. Schools have become training camps for docile productive bodies. The universities have become money-grubbing businesses at the cutting edge of the neoliberal crusade against the public sector—education is a very small part of any university's portfolio these days. Education at all levels today could not be more suited to the interests of the rich if it had been produced by a conspiracy of billionaires!

We, the multitude of artists in league with the dregs of humanity, must make plans for the rich—and we will show them just how creative we can be when we reveal what we have planned for them! They will feel the ugly counterpower of our alterglobal monstrosity!

We will build a threatening, dangerous and difficult art, not a revival of lost folk art, or a romantic fostering of fanciful 'as-ifs', but to encourage dissidents, militants, monsters and philistines, wherever their whistle-blowing can be even faintly heard.

We will kill off the globalized biennale, put the postcolonial curators out of business and wipe the art fairs off the face of the earth!

A MILITANT FREEIENNALE OF THE MULTITUDE! WHY NOT? If you wait for it to happen then it will never happen. We must build the militant freeiennale of the multitude ourselves!

DO YOU THINK HANS ULRICH OBRIST HAS PHILISTINISM IN HIM? If not, we must oppose him!

IS CINDY SHERMAN AN ALTERGLOBALIST? If not, we must never forgive her!

MAY WE HOPE FOR A SAVAGE ASSAULT AGAINST THE GLOBALIZATION OF ART FROM DAVID CAMERON? If not, we must remorselessly attack him!

ARE YOU CONFIDENT THAT MICHAEL BLOOMBERG LOVES THE DREGS OF HUMANITY? If not, we must forcefully introduce them to him!

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT LARRY GAGOSIAN HAS THE COURAGE TO BE MONSTROUS? If not, we must hunt him down!

WOULD YOU TRUST SIR NICHOLAS SEROTA TO FIGHT IN A WAR OF RESISTANCE TO THE 'EXTREMIST CENTRE'? If not, we must run him out!

CAN YOU SAY, WITH HAND ON HEART, THAT MARIAN GOODMAN WILL TAKE SIDES WITH THE FUCKED AGAINST THE FUCKERS? If not, we must show her no mercy!

IS RADIO 4 SAVAGE ENOUGH? If not, we must take it over!

IS MANIFESTA NURTURED BY AN UNBRIDLED AGGRESSION TOWARD THE MARKET? If not, we must demand it to be militant, monstrous and philistine!

We

are against the ethical victimization of the multitude, as we are against their financial exploitation, violent repression, political delegitimation, cultural denigration, medical ghettoization, geopolitical reterritorialization, and educational instrumentalization.

It is not necessary to be an outcast, to be unkempt or poor, to be an artist, but it is necessary to be in league with the outcast, unkempt and poor to be a revolutionary artist of the monstrous multitude. It is possible to be rich and handsome and, at the same time, to be an artist, but to be an artist who takes their cues from wealth and glamour is to dissolve art into globalization. Art is nothing to do with commodities, spectacle and (celebrity) even if, today, it seems to be nothing else. Any dog is as good as the celebrity artist. A bee sting is more interesting than most group shows.

NEW FORMALISM (contemporary art's tribute to modernist product design) bores us. We don't want to go about drooling over streamlined kettles, mdf kiosks, neon windowpanes, fur mirrors or post-cubist curtains. Design is SMART. Products are USEFUL. So what!

Damien Hirst gushed twenty years ago about the beauty of the market. Koons, in his epic delight with the romance of the commodity, including his own wife, showed us how to love capitalism ten years earlier. Warhol gave Cold War capitalism the best art it could hope for. These artists are good, of course, but this mixture of sensational consumerism and sentimental everydayism is a very narrow, resigned and underdeveloped affirmation of a wholly unacceptable, disgusting and scandalous situation.

Watch out! We, the multitude, are detestable animals! We are picturesque and amusing to the sentimental postcolonialist and the romantic humanitarian! But for how long? As soon as we start to assert ourselves and take power into our own hands you will hear an almighty **CRACK!**—the sound of the ethical intellectual whipping up a new ethical frenzy against the ungrateful bastards who now threaten civilization. The global citizen of the artworld is repugnant without a single exception, *faire payer les riches!*

We want the monstrous unmanageable multitude to flare up everywhere like burning supermarkets!

Fuck globalization!

Let's take the world!

Plan of Action

DEMOLISH the GLOBALIZATION of ART

REJECT the market, which exerts the universal tendency to monopoly (which is why it needs to be constantly monitored and regulated by the capitalist authorities themselves, just to remain a market at all!)

DEMOLISH the centralizing uniformity of the market-led global art spectacles! The biennial is nothing but a PR campaign for art's global supermarket!

DEMOLISH placemaking! ART has become the currency through which cities compete in an international market for business and tourism.

DEMOLISH the TITANIC INSTITUTIONS that MONITOR and MEDIATE the FLOW of ART AROUND the WORLD!

DEMOLISH the global system of ART FAIRS that guarantees the ever increasing share of wealth is siphoned back to THE RICHEST TERRITORIES and their obnoxious ENTREPRENEURS, the new global collectors.

DEMOLISH THE EMPIRE'S ART MACHINE and its insatiable appetite for new markets, new resources and new investment opportunities.

DEMOLISH THE BIENNIAL'S narrow vision of the artworld unified in a single global marketplace that includes all the new territories!

DEMOLISH postcolonial art's LOCALISM and NATIONALism along with the supranational institutions — THE IMF, THE WTO and THE WORLD BANK — that have turned the nation-state into a lap dog!

DEMOLISH the NEW GLOBALIZED ART SCHOOLS that reach out to the PERIPHERIES of the artworld in order to CHARGE EXTORTIONATE FEES!
(Yet another example of how PROFITABLE postcolonialism can be for the old Imperial powers.)

DEMOLISH the PANELS and BOARDS that set the tokenistic postcolonial agendas for every managed global encounter in the art machine! **DEMOLISH** the panoply of managers that keep back the DRASTIC WINDS of alterglobal monstrosity!

DEMOLISH a global art system that NEEDS SO MUCH VAST MACHINERY TO PRODUCE its ethical encounters with the Other!

DEMOLISH THE CURATORIAL MONOPOLY on art's organization and management. And spit on every

***HYBRID-LOVING ÆSTHETE
WILD NATURE TOURIST
CAREERIST POLICE DOG
IGNORANT EXPERT
OPPORTUNIST CYNIC
IRONIC SELF-PUBLICIST
CONCEPTUAL CHORUS GIRL
ARSE LICKING TREND SETTER***

DEMOLISH the flabby Tate that can manufacture no savagery, but can only drop facts on us in a drizzle like a TV series by The History Channel.

DEMOLISH the lazy critics that cannot stiffen the back of art's CELEBRITIES, or stop the torrent of STEEL oozing along the DISUSED CANAL system.

But before 1989 we saw distinctly both the organized resistance to the possible and the strenuous demand for the impossible here.

May some vulgarly inventive, but unflinching horde, arise, and shock the world with its harsh BLIZZARDS.

**LET US UNCORK HISTORY WITH
A HATFUL OF HOMEMADE
FIREWORK DISPLAYS.**

WE CALL ON ALL MILITANT ARTISTS TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES
WITHOUT THE HELP OF OUR LITTLE MANAGERIAL CHEMIST
THE CURATOR!

COME ON! LET'S **DEMOLISH** THE ART FAIRS!

who cares what the collectors want?!!

DEALERS **ARE** SHOPKEEPERS!

COLLECTING **IS** BLACKMAIL!

AUCTION HOUSES **ARE** SECOND HAND CAR DEALERS!

THE ART FAIR **IS** A MECHANISM FOR STEERING PRACTICE AND
FIXING PRICES!

THE ART FAIR **WANTS** THE MARKET (AND ITS MILLIONAIRE
COLLECTORS) TO DECIDE WHAT ART **WE** HAVE.

GLOBAL PAROCHIALISM. Complacent wealthy art lovers, so much respect for art and
money!—Oh!—Art is wonderful: but all luxuries are!

DEMOLISH

COMMODITIES (Art, Taste, Social Critique)

- Promotion (Criticism, Catalogues, Press Releases)
- Value (Beauty, Craft, Skill)
- Aesthetics (Feeling, Subjectivity, Privacy)
- Spectacle (Monumentalism, Universalism, Access)
- Stupidity (Journalism, Otherworldliness, Tourism)
- Economy maniacs (Opportunists, Bullies, Morons)

DEMOLISH COPYRIGHT. Clap-trap Heaven of legal leaches and

legislative professors. Ubiquitous lines of silly little words that bind, apportion and monopolize.

Mal mots de Triomphe.

Investment opportunities lead to endless prettiness.

Art appreciation as a branch of property development.

Art as the spiritual supplement of business.

We don't judge a society by the way it loves and promotes beauty
but by the way it loves and promotes monstrosity, savagery and
philistinism.

ENOUGH!

THE EMPIRE OF EXPLOITATION will fall and the impoverished multitude will replace it with new forms of encounter and exchange that have nothing at all to do with money, commodities, wealth and profit.

ENOUGH!

THE EMPIRE OF THE BIENNIAL SPECTACLE will collapse and the unmanageable multitude of artists will replace it with new forms of encounter and exchange that have nothing at all to do with postcolonial, identity, nationhood and new markets.

ENOUGH!

SHALL WE DEMOLISH EVERY LAST TRACE OF FINANCIAL INTIMIDATION, COLONIAL UNIVERSALISM AND CULTURAL CENTRALIZATION THAT GLOBALIZATION INFLECTS ON THE WORLD OF ART AND CULTURE? ABSOfuckingLUTELY!

**BUSINESS
LEISURE
CELEBRITY
TOURISM
MERCHANTIZING
BRANDING
PACKAGING
PROMOTION**

ARE ALL WORTHLESS SHIT!

They are all symptoms of failed social relations that require disinformation, deceit and seduction just to keep going.



It is time to **GET RID** of **MANAGERIALISM** and the **SNOBBERY** of bureaucrats in the organization of art (disease of Taylorist economics and the mutual degradation and hierarchy that it requires in art as much as industry)

DEMOLISH the FEAR OF RIDICULE

(and the Institutionalized conformity to a narrow definition of quality that promotes it)

DEMOLISH the reign of

CALCULATION
SIGNATURE STYLES
SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Put an end to this damaged and damaging **RULE OF MARKET FORCES** (properly understood as forcing the will of those with buying power on the rest if us)

(we know that every force has an equal and opposite counter force **AND WE ARE THE COUNTER FORCE: THE DREGS OF HUMANITY ARE ON THE MARCH!**)

**FUCK GLOBALIZATION! AND
FUCK ALL OF ITS OFFICERS
AND AGENTS:**

THE SPECIALIST
THE PROFESSIONAL
THE GOOD WORKER
THE CURATOR
THE COLLECTOR

AND MANAGERS OF ALL TYPES,

including the humanist ones, the postcolonial ones, the democratic ones and the sensitive ones.

ABANDON THE AMATEUR

ANTHROPOLOGIST and the **ART-PIMP**; **CRUSH** the popular **JOURNALIST**
and the **CONSERVATIVE PHILOSOPHER OF BEAUTY**; **REJECT**
the **SYCHOPHANTIC TV PRESENTER** and the **CUTTING EDGE**
ENTREPRENEUR!!!!!!

HECKLE AESTHETES

Quack **ACADEMIC** drug for stupidity and sleepiness. Arch enemy of the multitude, conventionalizing like shock and awe, freezing supply and demand in universalizing theory. **LET'S ENVELOP THESE BASTARDS** in the ferocious chemistry of savage, unflinching laughter.

.....
DISOWN CELEBRITY
PROFIT'S FIRST COUSIN AND SPOUSE.

We insist that accomplishment and popularity do not have to be commodified, packaged and mass produced in the form of celebrity.

It is impossible to have **CELEBRITY** without the centralizing and monopolizing **FORCE** of the misnamed **FREE MARKET** in which everything, including personality itself, is commodified, industrialized and trademarked for the sole purpose of exploiting profit from ownership. Well, not for long! Do not read our hatred of celebrity, commodification and managerialism on a global scale and in any way connected to the old conservative tenderness for art's isolated autonomy. **NO WAY!** We do not want to protect art from the world. We understand art as utterly bound up with the world, sharing in it's guilt and scarred by it's divisions. We want to change them both. And, as artists, we want to change the world twice: once, because it is wrong; and twice, because of what it does to art!

FUCK those who will read this manifesto with **JADED EYES** in luxurious settings.

FUCK the years 1989 to 2010. Two decades of neo-liberal and neo-conservative advance. the abysmal inexcusable middle-class (who have sold their political liberty for a portion of the capitalist's profits).

FUCK pasty shadows cast by gigantic academic reputations (criticism of everything except the global system that hands them their Kong's ransom).

WRING THE NECK OF all careerist bookish theorists of the end of history born in that progressive white wake.

FUCK their weeping whingeing—authentic **RHETORIC** of **APOLOGIST** and **SERVANT** of the rich. **SENTIMENTAL HYGIENICS!**

Demolish **DELEUZEANISMS**
(wild subjectivity cranks)
FRATERNIZING WITH NOMAD
MUSHROOMS—raptures and
roses of erotic bookshelves,
culminating in a **PURGATORY OF**
PAINT.

CALL TIME ON THE PREDICTABLE OUTCOME OF MARKET FORCES

money begets money

the rich get richer

the poor get poorer

THE ART MARKET is a racket that circulates money and luxuries among the wealthiest people in the world for whom wealth is **SIMPLY** not **ENOUGH!** money can't buy taste, they say wealth is vulgar compared to art, say the art collectors, all you need is the love of art, they insist And we remind them: it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a fucking needle, than it is for a millionaire to survive the coming to power of the multitude.

WATCH OUT

all those today who have taken on that rotten orrery of the art machine, and still crack their whips and stump up the cash, as though the whole world was nothing but a provincial town.

WE WHISPER IN YOUR EAR A GREAT SECRET. THE WORLD IS NOT A PROVINCIAL TOWN (*a global village*).

We will allow Zoo (out of hope of what it might have been, not what it couldn't resist becoming). But we do not want the **GLOOMY FRIEZE-ING CIRCUS** in any shape or form.

IT IS CAPITAL'S CIRCUS! It is **NOT MEANT FOR ARTISTS OR EVEN CURATORS!** Money loves the Sixties (Pop, of course, but Minimalism and Conceptualism too)

**CLEVER CLOWNS,
IDEAS BOYS GOING BACK TO PAINTING,
TROUPS OF PERFORMING RETAILERS**

(who complain that sales don't pay for a three storey house in Hoxton).

MAKE NO EXCEPTION (and no excuses) **FOR**

old age pensioners who were radical in their twenties, priestly practitioners who are more radical than their peers, (like newsreaders who bully politicians) (like rock stars who want to look after the world)

the bleeding Stuckists,

business as usual,

success,

necessity,

they did one good piece,

beauty,

honesty,

vulnerability,

trying,

stupidity,

skill (craft, time, nostalgia),

single-mindedness.

LET'S BUILD SOMETHING!

LET'S BUILD new oceans that deserve our SHIPS!

LET'S BUILD Blue, Green and

Red SEAS all around the PORCELAIN CREAM sky,

with crushed ice clouds.

LET'S BUILD THE IMPOSSIBLE.

THE IMPOSSIBLE is the only thing worth building! **LET'S BUILD** another world,

but one that looks FOOLISH today SIMPLY BECAUSE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE, not

FEASIBLE, against SENSE, NOT ON THE CARDS.

LET'S BUILD the vast planetary abstraction of the SOCIAL.

LET'S BUILD UP THE ARABS OF THE AMERICAS.

EVERY ISLAND MUST BE BREACHED WITH THE SAVAGE WAVES.

BUILD OPEN PORTS EVERYWHERE.

PORTS have to be transformed from points of control for the circulation of people and goods into

RESTLESS MACHINES of encounter

instability

care

hospitality

perseverance

not giving up

multiplication

storms

coffee houses

wifi

heavy chaos of contingency

steep walls of handbills

town made of publishing

BUILD the MACHINES that work the little words across clean liquid space, in
beelines.

BUILD the great PORTS of words, images and acts

**MAGAZINE
POSTER
PAMPHLET
POSTCARD
BADGE**

**MARCH
SPEECH
RALLY
MANIfuckingFESTO**

LET'S **BUILD** A NEW ART,

no longer shaped, steered and driven by money and power but according to the new world built by the multitude and the unmanageable multitude of monstrous artists.

LET'S **BUILD**

- *all the prerequisites of independence*
- *an ever expanding socialized autonomy*
- *the infrastructure of critique*
- *a sustainable dissensus*
- *counter-hegemonic institutions*
- *knowledges based on counter-factual truths*

LET'S **BUILD**

an artworld in the image of the **HAIRDRESSER.**

the hairdresser attacks **THE WAY THINGS ARE**

the hairdresser ploughs through facts with **THE NOT-YET**

the hairdresser scours reality with alternatives

the hairdresser makes systematic mercenary war on **WHAT IN FACT IS**

this is why even the most perfectionist hairdresser is ultimately on the side of **WILDNESS.**

the hairdresser trims individualistic and indisciplined growths into **UNIFIED PLANNED WHOLES** and **TRUTH BEARING EVENTS.**

the hairdresser an artworld in the image of all **THE SHOCK TROOPS OF CHANGE** (or **SELF-TRANSFORMATION**). **EXPERTS ARE NOT REQUIRED** in the global process of correcting the grotesque anachronisms of our artworld's physique.

LET'S **BUILD** THE ALTERGLOBAL ART MACHINE

The local and the national are not cures for globalization but perfectly designed to submit to it's overarching powers.

The only hope for **ALTERGLOBAL ART** lies in the self-organized and self-managed **ARTISTS** in **SUPRANATIONAL** encounters, institutions and bodies which can genuinely rival the **ART FAIRS, BIENNALES**, and all the other forces of art's globalization.

We must be **SWIFT** for this solemn break with globalization will be met by all the insiders and beneficiaries with the wisdom of laughter. While they laugh, we will act and organize and plot their miserable downfall.

We must **BUILD** OUR INDEPENDENCE from SCRATCH learning from bitter experience not the rhetoric of critique
WE MUST GROW a billion NEW EYES
that show new vistas with their
SHARED VISION and **MAGNIFIED STRENGTH.**

BUILD the militant biennial without the **CURATOR** built round the **ARTIST.**
BUILD the monstrous unmanageable independence of **THE MULTITUDE OF ARTISTS.**
BUILD the dissensual, alter-universalizing **ALTERGLOBAL FORCE.**
BUILD specific concrete social mini temporary counter-public alterglobal contexts for art, not abstract generic postcolonial gestures.

BUILD NETWORKS of VITALITY
(dozens to the square inch)

BUILD uncommercializeable **PRACTICES** (above all, organize supranational practices that have no need of managers, biennials and art fairs).

BUILD new supranational cities of **OPINION FORMATION** (publish! publish!
publish!).

BUILD UP COMBATIVENESS in bands of **GREAT ANTIHUMAN MILITANTS** egging each other on with **DEPTHS OF** violent **ELEGANCE.**

Pete Seeger said the civil rights movement would need a lot of songs. Let's write the **BALLADS** of our own **PREHISTORIC ALTERGLOBALISM.** Songs, by all means, but ballads are needed in every imaginable cultural and political format. We will not reject the rebellious adolescent or the hopeless protest.

HARNESS the **GREAT FLOOD OF LIFE** pouring out through the holes punched into the world by the of wound of 1989. Also the bitter stream of the credit crunch. If we build on real, specific, concrete struggles we will have **STAYING POWER**, like a cat.

~~DEMOLISH~~
BUILD
~~DEMOLISH~~

BUILD

~~DEMOLISH~~
BUILD
~~DEMOLISH~~

BUILD

MANIFESTO

I.

1. Beyond action and reaction we would establish countless great alterglobal independent platforms for collective opinion formation and collective action.
2. We start from statements of intent toward the collective self-organization of artists. We begin with a period of campaigning and recruitment. Soon we will be issuing collective statements of will to build a world in the image of the multitude. We will not pass quickly over the 'stage' of setting up violent structures of adolescent resentment but will hold our stupid anger close to our hearts even when we have developed a new knowledge of ourselves and our world. We act collectively only by seeing ourselves caught between these two extremes. We discharge ourselves on both sides. We fight first on one side, then on the other, but always for the SAME cause, which is the unmanageable, monstrous independence of the multitude of artists in cahoots with the multitude itself.
3. Mercenaries were always the worst artists. We are more primitive than mercenaries and more sophisticated too. Mercenaries belong to the modern world of global capitalism, but we will build the alterglobal world.
4. Our cause is neither to defend nor abolish art. One of the things artists do is to take sides within art. We don't want to preserve it all or get rid of it all. We want to change it all by advocating only some of it. We set art at art's throat. Stir up Civil War among peaceful artists. We only want beauty if it has fought like critique. We only want critique if it can compel us like a thing of beauty. We make art with the hope that it will grip others like hands that grab other hands, clenched together, locked in action. Art that breathes so heavily it feels like it is about to burst, like your lungs after a run or during an outburst of laughter, bringing the unexpected to the surface like a bomb.

II.

1. The nation-state is dead on its feet. We will not rely on the nation-state to guarantee our democratic will. Anyone who complains about the outrageous power of one nation or who seeks to defend and preserve the values of another has corpses in their thin lipped mouths.
2. Every politics of identity based on blood, skin, nationality or race (either racist or counter-racist) belongs in the graveyard with the bones, ghosts and vampyres:— these phenomena give politics today a peculiar distinction in the worst sense, within history. This is why identity politics produces such successful artists in our bureaucratic times. This is also the reason why a movement of the multitude of artists towards art and politics can burst up now, from this lump of compressed life, with more force than at any other time.
3. To believe that it is necessary for or conducive to radical or advanced art, to be participatory, inclusive and address the needs of its public or to "improve" life, for instance—make architecture, clothing, seating, civic space, educational experiences, or lunch, with more visual

care or better design, is absurd. Art is militant only if it is permanently primitive. In a dissensual state of imperfection, discord, etc., it finds the same stimulus as in political struggle. The artist of the modern movement is savage (in no sense the advanced, perfected, democratic, avant-garde individual of the market's limited imagination).

4. As the cutbacks and rigours of the credit crunch, (when the multitude is punished for the failures and mismanagement of the economy that subjects them to poverty), produces that extraordinary clarity of feeling and intelligence we associate with the revolution; so now is just the most favourable time for the appearance of a great overhaul of art.

III.

1. We have made it quite clear that there is nothing nationalistic or picturesquely postcolonial about our contentions.
2. But there is violent boredom with that Imperialism-lite that issues from New York and California, carrying with it the mandatory abasement of the miserable "intellectual" before its cosmopolitan sentimentality, and which, backed by unfathomable wealth and power, prevails in so many quarters.
3. Just as we believe that art must be militantly out of step with its time, so we insist that what is actual and necessary for the current situation, is ineffectual and unactual in the world we aim to build.
4. Geniuses have disappeared from the artworld (despite foolish attempts to revive them as celebrities) and the expressive individual languishes in art schools as a remnant of lost innocence. But mysticism on the one hand, and gladiatorial instincts, aggression and asceticism on the other, will always reassert themselves under the conditions of globalized market forces, dividing the world into two peoples, the haves and the havenots. This enormous, jangling, journalistic, fairy desert of global spectacle serves the market as originality did in more economically primitive times.
5. The alterglobal character of art, however, is based on a sea-change. The particular qualities and characteristics that a sea-change always engenders in artists and the multitude are those that are, among the many possibilities of our destiny, the most fundamentally monstrous and militant. That unexpected universality as well, found in the most completely savage artists, is due to this.

IV.

1. We assert that the art for the multitude, then, must be a stubborn flower. And we have implied what we believe should be the specific nature of the art destined to grow up in this alterglobal world-to-come. But we offer no models of practice, no quick-fixes, no standardized solutions. Alterglobalism will be fiercely divergent or it will be nothing!
2. It is not a question of the characterless eclectic managerial climate around us. Were that so, the complication of the savage, dramatic monstrous growth, the vastness of the multitude,

would not be for us. But our militancy, and the Collective Will that that presupposes, face to face with our collective needs, will fundamentally change the direction of the contemporary world, which has reared up nothing but filtering systems for converting every difference into something exchangeable. The alterglobal, on the contrary, will explode in monstrous unmanageable growths, with wilder intricacies than those of nature or the market.

V.

1. We bring forward this clearly spelled out manifesto, before further defining the character of this necessary alterglobal art. At the freest and most vigorous period of world history, the one to come, we will eliminate identity and the identical along with its unshakeable shadow, the exchangeable. Individualism is very much the cousin of commodification in art. Just as the liberalization of markets produces ever greater monopolization, we can see that globalization and uniformity, together, established one artworld that must be demolished.
2. The globalization of art has spread a brand of mysticism, madness and nihilism peculiar to the market, and brought equal quantities of mystery and reason together, as inexplicable as money. Alterglobal art, on the contrary, is a phenomenon caused by the irresistible and sudden pouring of barbarism into culture. It is intelligence electrified by a flood of naivety. It is chaos invading every concept and bursting them like nitrogen. It is events punching holes in knowledge.
3. Alterglobal art is the birthright of all. Any great sea-change in art will partake of this insidious and volcanic chaos. No great militant art need be ashamed to share some glory with the multitude, tomorrow it may be our day, and then it will be the wealthy who need to be ashamed of themselves. But we will never be sidetracked, any more than we will be bought off, not even the most catholic and subtle of us!

VI.

1. The shape of the global artworld is due almost entirely to market forces,—its uniform appearance and its lacklustre spirit. No longer is it machinery, trains and steam-ships that distinguish our time, and no longer is the artworld distinguished by avantgardism, technologism and nationalism. Looking for models of successful accommodation to the market, art has imitated fashion, graphic design, architecture, product design and cinema, with the result that instrumentalization has taken hold of art in the same way that it has everywhere else. But busy with this love affair with all kinds of merchandise, the artworld has been the last to endorse the value of the dregs of humanity as a monstrous counter force.
2. The multitude is the greatest force of world history. It sweeps away the doctrines of a narrow and pedantic economic realism at one stroke. By sheer inventiveness, too, the multitude, spread all over the earth, will bring the hemispheres together in diversity not uniformity. It cannot be overstated that the complexity of the multitude, dramatic unmanageable growths of artists included, must be retained in order for the vastness of the alterglobal promise not be abandoned like the utopian visions of the past. For, in the forms of fiction, theories, new and vaster movies, plans and blueprints, we have all that, everywhere, around us.

VII.

1. Once this consciousness towards the new possibilities of alterglobal art in and against present circumstances has spread among the multitude and the monstrous multitude of artists, however, it will be more vigorously opposed and besieged by our enemies. Every step we take, will be seen by them as nothing but acts of trespassing on territory that they believe to be theirs. We will certainly inspire in them yet more forcible and direct confrontations. They are the well-versed of this aggression and harshness, and should be quite at home as the great enemies of the alterglobal's dregs of humanity. The multitude will always be, at bottom, in its estimation, expendable. If we are naïve, we will be crushed!
2. The postcolonialists are at present, for instance, in their "discovery" of difference, their gush over hybridity, creole, etc., the most naive and sentimental "militants" to be found. In a blink of an eye, though, it will be only the second-rate artists in our alterglobal artworld to come who are not thorough revolutionaries. In the spectacle of critique, on the other hand, there is no vulgarity in revolt. Or, rather, there is no revolt, it is business as usual.
3. So often rebels of the North and the South have been diametrically opposed and worked against each other. There is nothing left of the globalized artist. We demand, in its place, the great revolutionary alterglobal one.