

STATE OF THE WORLD WEEK

A week in which theorists and practitioners meet to explore important themes in current affairs

CENSORSHIP 6-10 February 2012

GUEST SPEAKERS

JUTTA LIETSCH China Correspondent, die Tageszeitung, Berlin

ELDAD BECK Reporter, Israel

EVGENY MOROZOV Journalist and Media Scholar, USA

ROGER BERKOWITZ Director, Hannah Arendt Center, Bard College, USA

MARTIN KRASNIK Journalist at Weekendavisen and TV anchor, Denmark

> LINA BEN MHENNI Blogger, Tunisia

KARSTEN VOIGT Politician (SPD), Germany

HEBA AMIN Artist and Activist, Egypt

CHRISTIANE WILKE Professor of Law, Carleton University, Canada

MIKLOS HARASZTI Writer, former OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media, Hungary

Participation is limited, please register by sending an email to swwe@ecla.de (Deadline is February 1, 2012). Visit www.ecla.de for more information.

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State of the World Week 6 – 10 February 2012 CENSORSHIP

Despite the rise of 'new media' more difficult to control and restrict within borders, censorship as the practice of limiting, regulating or expunging information, images and opinion continues to be a feature of many political contexts. In addition to examining the familiar – current and historical -- manifestations of censorship as a tool of repression, this year's State of the World Week at ECLA considers the more subtle and unexpected ways in which censorship may operate in environments ostensibly open to freedom of expression, and in particular the role of technologies, cultural conflict, and institutional frameworks in determining what can be articulated and how. Our investigation leads us to consider the meaning and reach of the term 'censorship' as a way of classifying practices of affecting access to written, spoken or visual forms of representation. Must it always denote a conscious and direct repressive intervention? Are there necessary forms of regulation for which it is not an appropriate term? Or should it be re-invoked to describe the effect of some of our most apparently 'free' exchanges and frameworks of communication? And finally, what is the relationship between censorship and the material --- economic and social -- mechanisms through which viewpoints and accounts of the world are transmitted?

DAILY THEMES

Monday, February 6Censorship and TransparencyTuesday, February 7Censorship and BeliefWednesday, February 8Censorship and the StateThursday, February 9Institutions and PracticesFriday, February 10Technology and Dissent

SCHEDULE OVERVIEW

9:30 – 10:30 Lecture 10:30 – 11:00 Coffee break 11:00 – 12:00 Panel Discussion 12:30 – 14:00 Lunch 14:15– 15:45 Seminar I 16:00 – 17:30 Seminar II 17:30 – 19:00 Dinner 19:15 – 21:45 Evening Event

(Highlighted events are open to the public.)

Morning Sessions: Eden (Dock 11), Breite Straße 43, 13187 Pankow Nearest Tram Stops:

M1, M150 Pankow Kirche S+U Pankow (U2, M27, S2, S8) and ca. 10-minute walk

Monday, February 6 Censorship and Transparency

Keynote Address: Roger Berkowitz (9:30 – 10:30)

The 'Wikileaks' revelations and the rhetoric of diverse popular movements such as 'Occupy Wall Street' and the 'Piratenpartei' in Germany have shown us that oppositional discontent is overwhelmingly pervaded by a desire for 'transparency'. However this wish is not so easily fulfilled as perhaps thought, due to corporate influence on the terms of political debate. Through a discussion of relevant legal cases, and an examination of political theory which challenges the connection between transparency and discourse itself, Roger Berkowitz explores the precise meaning and extent of its usefulness as a political demand.

Panel Discussion: Roger Berkowitz (11:00 – 12:00)

Seminar I (14:15 – 15:45) Text: Hannah Arendt, "Truth and Politics" from *Between Past and Future* Leader: Roger Berkowitz

Seminar II (16:00 - 17:30)

Truth as a Form of Censorship

Text: Michel Foucault, "The Discourse on Language" Leader: Ryan Plumley, ECLA

Evening Event: Student Project Exhibition on Censored Objects (19:15 - 21:45)

Venue: Kuckhoffstrasse 41 – 43, Library (former music room) Organized by Iuliia Babenko (AY'12)

Tuesday, February 7 Censorship and Belief

Keynote Address: Martin Krasnik (9:30 – 10:30)

In 2005, an extraordinary scandal erupted as the Danish daily newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* published cartoons of the prophet Muhammad. Protests broke out around the world, leading to the deaths of more than fifty people in Asia, Africa and the Middle East, and to widespread spontaneous economic sanction against Danish exports. The events also sparked an intense debate: were such caricatures a legitimate means of testing Islamic cultural modernity, or were they a frivolous use of the freedoms of a liberal-secular society unable to question its own norms or sources of discomfort? The cartoon scandal also showed the way in which larger controversies and processes (such as the fissures opened by the "war on terror", the conflict in Israel-Palestine, or immigration policies) could become coagulated into the provocation of a printed image. Martin Krasnik explores the effect of the episode on the practices of the press and media, and its wider implications for the public sphere.

Panel Discussion: Martin Krasnik, other speakers to be confirmed (11:00 – 12:00)

Seminar Ia (14:15 – 15:45) Text: John Stuart Mill, "On the Liberty of Thought and Discussion" Leader: Martin Gak, ECLA

Seminar Ib (14:15 – 15:45) What Have Books Ever Done to Us: Book Burning and Belief in the Modern World Leader: Marcela K. Perett, ECLA

Seminar II (16:00 – 17:30) Thomas Nagel on Self-Censorship Leaders: David Hayes and Thomas Norgaard, ECLA

Evening Film Screening (19:15 – 21:45) Bob Fosse, *Lenny* (1974) Venue: Lecture Hall, P98a Leader: Matthias Hurst, ECLA

Wednesday, February 8 Censorship and the State

Keynote Address: Miklos Haraszti (9:30 – 10:30)

With the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe and Central Asia in the early 1990s, the landscape of media representation also underwent dramatic transformation. From state media agencies charged with conveying propaganda as well as prohibiting the influx of alternative information and perspectives, arose to varying degrees the range of private and independent outlets typical in western countries. However, along with the problem of monopoly control in the service of oligarchical economic interests has been witnessed the emergence of a 'new nationalism', determined—often in cooperation with such interests—to re-introduce explicit state control over media production and opinion. An advocate and activist for freedom of the press in his native Hungary, Miklos Haraszti surveys and assesses this phenomenon there and amid the vicissitudes of the post-1989 world in general.

Panel Discussion: Silencing and the State in Central Asia, Eastern Europe and South America

Miklos Haraszti and Christiane Wilke (11:00 – 12:00)

Seminar I (14:15 – 15:45) Silence in Collective Memory and Forgetting: the Assassination of Yitzak Rabin in Israel Leader: Irit Dekel, ECLA

Seminar I (14:15 – 15:45) Injury, Identity and Public Speech Text: Selections from Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech* Leader: Christiane Wilke

Seminar II (16:00 – 17:30) Censorship and the State in Plato's *Republic* Text: Books of the *Republic* are 376 d --403a (middle of Book 2 to middle of Book 3) and then also 595a--608c (first part of book 10) Leader: Karen Gover, Bennington College

Thursday, February 9 Institutions and Practices

Keynote Address: Jutta Lietsch (9:30 – 10:30)

In China as in the rest of the world the print media and public broadcasting are losing their role as the most important medium of information. Almost five hundred million Chinese are already using the internet; at least two hundred million are active as microbloggers. The government in Bejing encourges these new technologies—yet at the same time seeks to keep the flow of information in the country under control. Because censorship in these conditions can no longer be seamless, the Communist party has changed its methods: state-controlled media and propaganda functionaries now try to anticipate important topics and to 'guide' internet debates in their preferred direction. Technological filters, regularly updated lists of tabooed themes and economic penalties are only some of the methods of censorship in contemporary China. Jutta Lietsch reports on the latest developments and on her own experience as a correspondent in China.

Panel Discussion: Forming Public Opinion Eldad Beck, Karsten Voigt, other speakers to be confirmed (11:00 – 12:00)

Seminar I (14:15 - 15:45)

Text: Selections from Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* Leader: Naomi Sussmann, ECLA

Seminar II (16:00 – 17:30)

Text: Selections from Christa Wolf, *The Quest for Christa T.* Leader: Catherine Toal, ECLA

Seminar II (16:00 – 17:30) Text: Amos Vogel, "Film as Subversive Art" Leader: Matthias Hurst, ECLA

Evening Film Screening (19:15 – 21:45) Heba Amin, *Voices from the Revolution*

Venue: Lecture Hall, P98a Leader: Heba Amin

Friday, February 10 Technology and Dissent

Keynote Address: Evgeny Morozov (9:30 - 10:30)

Huge media excitement in Europe and North America greeted the idea of a 'twitter revolution' in Iran in 2009; this phrase was also used to describe the unrest in Moldova of the same year. More recently, the contribution of 'new media' to the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt has been a motif in their coverage in the global press. Often, though, the emphasis on the borderless fluidity, accessibility and autonomy of these modes of communication ignores two important factors: the degree of economic privilege still needed to acquire them, and the role of states in their censorship and control. Evgeny Mozorov presents the two sides of the relationship between social media, the technology needed to support these, and the political powers which hold sway in the spaces where they might operate, assessing the potential both for the manipulation of information and opinion, and the possibility of dissent.

Panel Discussion: Evgeny Morozov, Heba Amin and Lina Ben Mhenni (11:00 – 12:00)

Seminar I (14:15 – 15:45) Political Censorship in German Visual Culture, 1917-1937: George Grosz, John Heartfield and Otto Dix Leader: Aya Soika, ECLA

Seminar I (14:15 – 15:45) Text: Václav Havel, *The Power of the Powerless* Leader: Michael Weinman, ECLA

Seminar II (16:00 – 17:30) Vision and Power Text: Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish Leader: Tracy Colony, ECLA

GUEST SPEAKERS



Roger Berkowitz is Associate Professor of Political Studies and Human Rights at Bard College and; Academic Director of Hannah Arendt Center for Politics and the Humanities. He is the author of *The Gift of Science: Leibniz and the Modern Legal Tradition,* an account of how the rise of science has led to the divorce of law and justice (Harvard, 2005). In 2009 Berkowitz edited a collection of conference papers to mark Hanna Arendt's hundredth birthday under the title *Thinking in Dark Times: Hannah Arendt on Ethics and Politics* (Fordham University Press, 2009).



Martin Krasnik is a Danish print and TV journalist. Krasnik holds PhD in political science from Copenhagen University, and has also attended Hebrew University in Jerusalem and London School of Economics. He is a member of the editorial board of the Danish weekly *Weekendavisen* and hosts a TV 2 NEWS-programme *Ellemann | Lykketoft.* Martin Krasnik is the author of the books *De retfærdige – En islamisk stafet* (The Righteous – an Islamic Baton, 2005) and *Min amerikanske drøm – På jagt efter stjernerne* (My American Dream – Hunting After Stars, 2008). During the Mohammed crisis he defended publication of the drawings by *Jyllans-Postens* and stressed the decisive significance of freedom of speech for democracy.



Miklos Haraszti is a Hungarian writer, editor, professor, and human rights promoter. He has most recently co-taught a course on global press freedom issues at Columbia University with Lee C. Bollinger. Convicted on "subversion" charges in the early 1970s, he went on to become a founder of Hungary's democratic and free press movement. In 1989, he participated in the "Roundtable Negotiations" on the transition to free elections. As a member of the Hungarian parliament in the 1990s, Haraszti authored the country's first laws on press freedom. From 2004 to 2010, he served as the OSCE representative on freedom of the media and in October-November 2010 he headed the OSCE assessment mission for the U.S.

midterm elections. Haraszti's books, including A Worker in a Worker's State and The Velvet Prison, have been translated into many languages.



Christiane Wilke is Assistant Professor at the Department of Law at Carleton University, Canada. She has received her Ph.D. at the New School for Social Research. In her research Wilke examines how people deal with massive violence, and specifically how they talk about violence in legal categories. Her main project investigates how criminal trials for state repression in Argentina and Germany helped to create certain imaginaries of perpetrators and responsibility, of law and legality, and of suffering and victimhood. Wilke is the managing editor of the *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*.



Karen Gover teaches philosophy at Bennington College, Vermont, with areas of specialization in Continental philosophy, Aesthetics, and Ancient Greek philosophy. She studied English and Philosophy with honors at the University of Richmond, and received her PhD from Penn State University with a dissertation on Heidegger and Greek Tragedy. She has published scholarly articles in International Philosophical Quarterly, the Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology, the Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, and the Journal of Aesthetic Education. Gover is the recipient of a grant from the German Academic

Exchange service, she was a fellow at Williams College's Oakley Center for the Humanities, and she is the 2011 recipient of the John Fisher Memorial Prize in Aesthetics. Her art criticism has appeared in Sculpture Magazine, Ceramics: Art and Perception, and artcritical.



Jutta Lietsch has lived in Asia for fifteen years. As Southeast Asia correspondent for the taz (the tageszeitung) she reported in the late 1990s on the upheavals in Southeast Asian states – from the overthrow of Suharto in Indoneisa and the death of Pol Pot in Cambodia to the consequences of the Asian financial crisis in the entire region. For ten years she has written for the taz and other German-language media from China, and periodically also from North Korea and Mongolia. In collaboration with Andreas Lorenz she wrote the book *Das andere China* (*The Other China*), published by WJS in Berlin.



Karsten Voigt is a German politician (SPD). From 1976 to 1998 he was a member of the German parliament. Voigt *has been the Coordinator of German*-*North American Cooperation at the German Federal Foreign Office from 1999 to 2010.* He is a board member of the Atlantik-Brücke, an association which promotes German-American understanding.



Eldad Beck is a Berlin-based correspondent for Israel's largest circulation daily, Yedioth Ahronoth. He is among the very few Israeli journalists who reported about the dramatic events of the so called "Arab Spring" from the places history was shaped. Beck, who was Middle Eastern Affairs correspondent for several Israeli media in the past, studied Arabic and Islam in Israel and in Paris (Collège de Sorbonne).



Evgeny Morozov is the author of *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom.* Morozov is currently a visiting scholar at Stanford University and a Schwartz fellow at the New America Foundation. He is a contributing editor to *Foreign Policy* and *Boston Review.* He was formerly a Yahoo! fellow at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University and a fellow at George Soros's Open Society Institute, where he remains on the

board of the Information Program. Before moving to the US, Morozov was Director of New Media at *Transitions Online*, a Prague-based media development NGO active in 29 countries of the former Soviet bloc. Morozov attended the Project Year programme at ECLA in 2005-2006.



Heba Amin is an Egyptian artist whose work seeks to map collective memory as it relates to the built environment. Her theoretical and studio-based work addresses themes related to urban planning, mapping, migration/ immigration and language as an aesthetic database to explore junctures, failures, and flawed memory. She works in an archival nature, drawing from collections of work to reconfigure and make meaning of the subject through different materials, most often manifesting as video, installation, and projection performance. Amin is a current DAAD scholar and lives in Berlin.



Lina Ben Mhenni is a Tunisian blogger, internet activist and university linguistics teacher. Mhenni's blog, *A Tunisian Girl*, is written in Arabic, English, and French. During the rule of former Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Mhenni was one of the few bloggers to blog using her real name. Her blog, as well as her Facebook and Twitter accounts, were censored under the Ben Ali regime. Mhenni has been awarded the Deutsche Welle International Blog Award and El Mundo's International Journalism Prize.