

PROTOCOL

AMORPH!03 > SUMMIT OF MICRONATIONS > 29.-31.08.2003 > HELSINKI > FINLAND

EDITED BY OLIVER KOCHTA-KALLEINEN

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THE AMORPH!03 PERFORMANCE FESTIVAL

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FOREWORD

»We meet to commemorate the period, when the inhabitants of this new world attained the power to withdraw from the control of the old world, and to form a government for themselves.«
 – Robert Owen *»Declaration of Mental Independence«*
 proclaimed on July 4, 1826

Friday, August 29, 2003: about 20 people are posing in front of the Finlandia Hall. Odd-looking flags are streaming in the wind with the massive tower of the National Museum of Finland lurking in the picture. We are witnessing the taking of the group photo of the First Summit of the Leaders of Micronations. The photo session is a part of the diplomatic protocol and the absurd staging of a summit meeting of DIY countries, some of them the smallest in the world, others probably the biggest states of the universe. The site for the gathering is well chosen; the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) opened in the very same building on July 3, 1973 with 35 states sending representatives. Thus, the Summit of Micronations commemorated – uninvited of course – the 30th anniversary of the start of the *»Helsinki Process«* which built the first bridge across the iron curtain and blazed the trail towards the current state order in Europe. The appropriation of the historic site and history itself – a form of subversive affirmation – was one of the strategies tested by the summit.

»As an experiment in curatorship, organisation and performance, the meeting produced a situation and a singular experience that toyed with our most embedded relationships to the states we live in. While providing insight into the micronation phenomenon, the summit also explored various miming strategies, strategies of (over-) identification, and repetition, which were employed by all of the micronations and by the summit meeting structure of the festival itself. On the issue of the power or limitations of these strategies, Amorph!03 complicated and opened up many questions,« writes Susan Kelly in her first evaluation of the Amorph!03 Festival.

The topics of the Summit hadn't been decided beforehand, to allow an agenda emerge freely during the talks. In that way, the round table talks and the summit itself were also an open ended social experiment. We were excited to see what direction the discussions would take and what kind of interactions would emerge. It came nevertheless as a surprise that the reasons and motivations of declaring a micronation differed in magnitude. Large parts of the summit therefore were occupied with carving out the positions and opinion of the six participants of the meeting.

Several issues could not be fully explored during the short time. The question, how the imaginative and experimental politics of micronations could be turned into a real transformative force, how micronations could behave *»as agents of change«* would require some further consideration. At the end of the summit the delegates therefore unanimously voted for having a further summit meeting. We would hope that continuing of such gatherings would lead to a new *»Helsinki Process«*, undermining the establishment with utopian visions and experimental politics, making the micronations not only enclaves of difference, but also forces of change.

Presenting now *»Protocols«* we make all materials from the Summit available to the public. In addition to thoroughly documenting the meeting, we have asked the participating heads of states and a number of experts to critically review and comment upon the summit. In this way we hope to lay the groundwork for further summit meetings of micronations with a more specific agenda.

We would like to express our thanks to all participants, contributors, helpers and supporters of the Amorph!03 festival.

Tellervo Kalleinen and
 Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen
 Curators of Amorph!03

ESIPUHE

»Tapaamisellamme baluamme vaalia sen ajan muistoa, jolloin uuden maailman asukkaat saattoivat irtaantua vanhan vallan ikeestä ja muodostaa itselleen hallituksen.«

– Robert Owenin henkisen itsenäisyyden julistus 4. heinäkuuta 1826

Perjantai, elokuun 29. päivä vuonna 2003: parisenkymentä ihmistä poseeraa valokuvaajille Finlandia-talon edessä. Oudonnäköiset liput lepattavat tuulesa Kansallismuseon mahtavan tornin varjossa. Olemme todistamassa maailman ensimmäistä mikrovaltioiden johtajien huipputapaamista ja sen virallista valokuvaustapahtumaa. Tapahtuma on osa diplomaattista protokollaa ja absurdiä näytelmää, tee-se-itse-valtioiden huipputapaamista. Osallistujat edustavat maailman pienimpiä ja jotkin ehkä maailmankaikkeuden suurimpia valtioita.

Kohtaamispaikka on tarkkaan valittu - rakennus on täsmälleen sama, jossa avattiin Euroopan turvallisuus- ja yhteistyöjärjestön (ETYJ:n) kokous 3. heinäkuuta 1973, jolloin paikalla oli edustajia 35 maasta. Mikrovaltioiden huippukokous juhlisti – tietenkin kutsumatta – »Helsinki-prosessin« alkamisen 30-vuotispäivää. Silloin rakennettiin ensimmäistä siltaa rautaesiripun yli; tie joka sittemmin avautui kohti nykyistä eurooppalaista valtiojärjestystä. Tämä historiallisen paikan ja itse historian valtaaminen, valitsevien rakenteiden tutkiminen imitoimisen kautta, oli yksi tapahtumamme valitsemista strategioista.

»Tapahtuma oli kokeilu kuraattorin työn, organisoinnin ja performanssin suhteen. Huipputapaaminen loi tilanteen, joka leikitteli meidän kaikkein syviten omaksumillamme suhteillamme valtioihin, joissa elämme. Tarjotessaan näkemystä mikrovaltioilmiöön, huipputapaaminen tutki myös imitaatiostrategioita sekä (yli-)identifikaation ja toiston strategioita, joita sekä mikrovaltiot että itse festivaalin ottama muoto huipputapaamisena toivat esiin. Amorph!03 herätti paljon kysymyksiä näiden strategioiden voimasta ja rajoituksista«, kirjoittaa Susan Kelly ensimmäisessä

Amorph!03:n festivaaliarvioinnissaan.

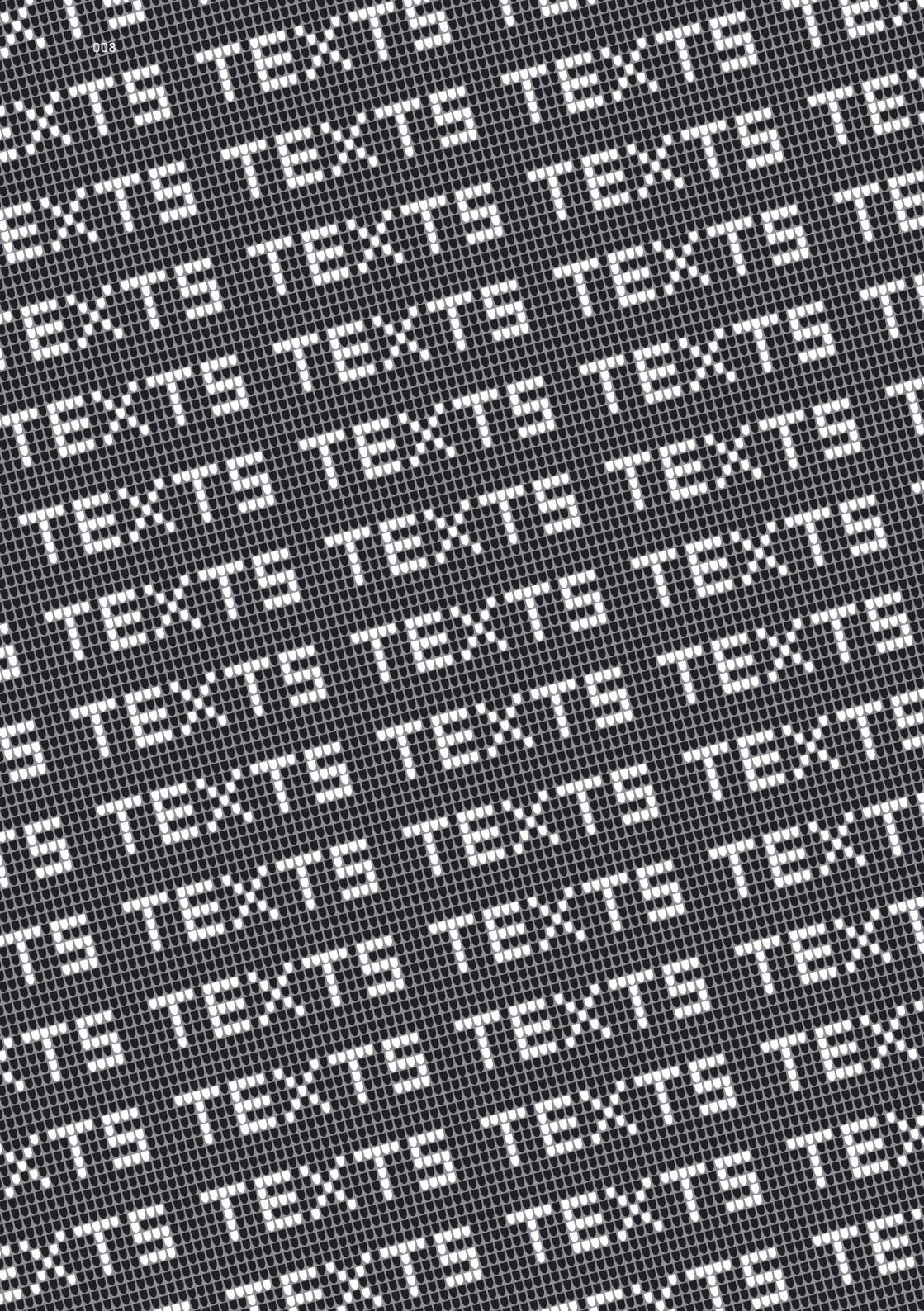
Jotta huipputapaamisen agenda voisi vapaasti muotoutua, ei käsiteltävistä aiheista oltu sovittu etukäteen; kyseessä oli sosiaalinen kokeilu, jonka lopputuloksesta ei ollut tietoa. Oli yllätys huomata, kuinka paljon kuuden osallistujamaiden syyt ja motivaatiot vaihtelivat keskenään, ja kuinka paljon aikaa mikrovaltioiden lähtökohtien ja mielipiteiden hahmottamiseen tarvittiin.

Kokouksen lyhyt aika ei riittänyt kaikkien asioiden käsittelyyn. Kysymys siitä, kuinka mikrovaltioiden kuvitteellinen ja kokeellinen politiikka voitaisiin muuttaa tranformatiiviseksi voimaksi tai miten mikrovaltiot voisivat toteuttaa rooliaan »vaikuttavana voimana muutokselle« edellyttää väistämättä lisäpohdintaa. Huippukokouksen lopussa delegaattit äänestivätkin yksimielisesti uuden huippukokouksen tarpeelliseksi. Toivomme, että yhteenkokoontumisten jatkumo voisi jatkossakin johtaa uuden »Helsinki-prosessin« alkamiseen, joka kalvaa uomia jäykkään valtavirtaan utopistisilla visioillaan ja kokeilevalla politikoinnillaan, luoden mikrovaltioista erillisalueita vaikuttavamman muutosvoiman.

Esittelemällä »Protokollan« julkistamme nyt kaiken huippukokouksessa syntyneen materiaalin yleisölle. Sen lisäksi, että olemme pyrkineet kattavaan dokumentaatioon, olemme myös pyytäneet osallistujamaiden johtajilta ja eri asiantuntijoilta huippukokousta koskevia kriittisiä lausuntoja ja kommentteja. Toivomme tämän työn pohjustavan tulevaisuuden mikrovaltioiden huippukokouksia siten, että niille voidaan luoda määritellympi agenda.

Kiitämme kaikkia Amorph!03 festivaalin osallistujia, esiintyjä sekä avustajia ja tukijoita.

Tellervo Kalleinen ja
Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen
Amorph!03-festivaalin kuraattorit

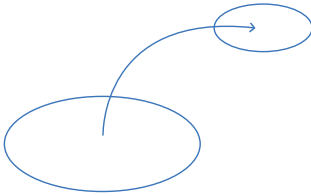




S O M E T H I N G H A P P E N S

I. SOMETHING HAPPENS

What happens when a »micro-state« is declared? An animated sequence springs to mind where a small piece of land leaps off the earth, defying all laws of gravity and logic. Something is re-stated, yet set apart: something takes place. Does it leave a geological mark like a crater? What kind of *thing* might this be? What is the move that allows it to take place?



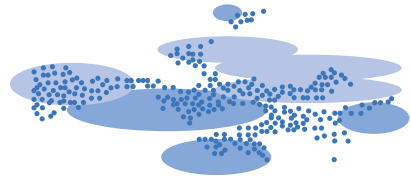
Can we separate speculation on what kind of *thing* might spring off the earth from a description of the *way* in which it goes about it or is propelled? For now, I would like to retain a certain amorphous property and suspend definition of the term »micro-state« until we can get a sense of what might be going on with NSK, Ladonia, SoS, Transnational Republic, KREV and Sealand. Would it be possible to diagrammatically plot what happens in each declaration? For central to the experimentations being undertaken with these spaces and in this summit meeting is the very question of form and of shape; the shaping of community, democracy and perhaps even the shape of things to come. For not unlike the spaces in question, shape is both a verb and a noun.⁰¹

Amorphous (n.) Having no determinate shape or structure.

Shapeless, unorganized.

From morphé – shape

Sarat Maharaj has described democracy as »shape-shifting«, »a pulsating, ever re-configuring assemblage of non-totalisable disparities«; something irreducible to the counting of heads to be represented within a given constituency.⁰² To think this idea we must get a handle on the tension between the lived material realities, actions and movements of people and their process of formalisation (both nominally and spatially) into categories of state, nation, party, community, constituency, island etc. In what way might the Sealand's proclamation of independence or the declaration of NSK's State-in-Time help us grasp this constitutive process of formalisation?



There is an act of repetition, of re-calling the state, or even re-stating in each instance. To designate this activity the »making micro« of the state as we know it, would fail to open out all the possibilities for thought that these projects perform. For

⁰¹ It is interesting that the initial call through the title of this event is for us to Amorph! – or almost de-shape in some way.

⁰² Sarat Maharaj »Xeno-Epistemics: Makeshift Kit for Sounding Visual Art as Knowledge Production and the Retinal Regimes.« Documenta 11, Cantz, 2002. Maharaj goes on to give the example of the English »right to ramble« which stipulates that walkers must repeatedly walk down certain paths in the countryside in order for them to be kept open. If a path falls into disuse, it is recuperated into »noun-ness« or private property.

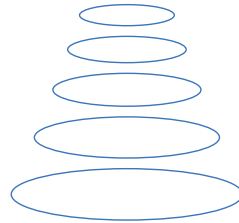
the micro-state would designate something like a smaller *version* of the state, like a computer programme – modified, perhaps with some extra features or refinements.³ However, it would seem that the possibilities for thinking repetition, even mimesis through the move enacted in these projects, would obliterate 3-D questions of scale, and posit different active spatial and spatialising, formal and formalising processes. In diagrammatic terms, the micro-states offer us something more like an experimentation with the tension between the dots (people?) and the circular shapes (constituencies or states). It is in this way that the micro-states critically hover between noun and verb, between activity and object. In this instance, it is through the positing of different kinds of forms and space that the question of the border and its constitutive primacy is altered.

In »Difference and Repetition« (1994) Deleuze talks about repetition as an act of differentiation, a thing or object's *style* of becoming different from itself as circumstances of time, location, literal and figurative terrain vary. A »thing« is thereby no longer recognisable by its identity. In this sense, objects or things become the bearers or receivers of particular acts of mimesis, and are therefore in themselves, only appendages of acts.⁴ In this »return of the state« the shift of focus to the act of making different through different styles of repetition and the shift to examining the active relationships between thought, action and objects, present many possibilities for a continuance of thinking-action in the vein of the projects assembled here. In *what way* does Ladonia's simultaneously territorial and virtual state recall the grounds of the »real« state? To focus on this activity, on this style of differentiation, we are compelled to

develop ways of accounting for or tracking the action that produces the repetition and re-stating of the state. Where in this action, or in this mode of experimentation that is the micro-state, do modes of dissent or affirmation of Empire unfold? It is always possible that by repeating national and global structures, a simple miming or re-affirmation of global capitalism takes place. It is precisely these crucial issues that are taken on differently and continuously explored in all six micro-states in question.

II. WHERE IS HERE?

Doreen Massey has recently spoken about the way most people imagine and structure their spatial loyalties and affiliations.⁵ In a way that is similar to the embedded structure of writing an address on an envelope, Massey contends that we often see ourselves located in terms of a Russian doll-like sequence. Flat 4, Number 7, Tillirukinkatu, Tampere, Pirkanmaa, Finland, Nordic Countries, Europe, the West, the World, the Universe etc.



Massey sees this structure of locating oneself as a kind of masking of how the global (which is everywhere local and never »universal«), might be implicated in our here and now. In other words, by seeing our local as the product of a straightforward, linear, filtering down of the global

⁰³ We may however, need to continue using the term micro-state for now in the hope that a better term will emerge from the summit meeting.

⁰⁴ Gilles Deleuze »Difference and Repetition« trans. P. Patton. Athlone Press, London, 1994

⁰⁵ Doreen Massey, Keynote Address, Theatre Capital session of »Civic Centre: Reclaiming the Right to Performance« London, April 2003.

through larger international, national and regional structures, power is held at a conveniently abstract distance and we are unable to imagine, grasp or make palpable the complexities of the globalised world in our everyday lives. Massey asks: »Where would you draw a line around the lived reality of your daily life?«⁰⁶ What shape would it take? This is a crucial question, as it impacts on our ability to act, and our sense of both where and how we might be able to intervene in the world.

Again, the six micro-states in this event might enable us to grasp the constitutive shape of the global in the local and the meaning of democracy in the global present of our everyday lives. If democracy is about »shape shifting«, and not about being able to count up the heads within a particular pre-given »shape« or constituency, there is a need to imagine and experiment with other practices and modes of belonging. Perhaps we could say that the micro-states de-familiarise the masking Russian doll and provide tools to imagine, recognise, make understandable or legible this complex »here-ness«. However, if we are to take these experiments seriously, we must also ask how being a citizen of one of the Transnational Republics for example, might jar with the Russian doll model which does reflect more territorial forms of governance and the law? If I were to commit a crime on a piece of land under a certain jurisdiction, and the laws of that land prosecuted me, could I request extradition to my republic of choice for a fair trial? In what way are these micro-state experiments as »non-things« inserted or installed into the juridical real?

The move that declares a micro-state usually involves a setting apart of a piece of territory or virtual land, or the creation of a system of citizenship, rules or structures that stand apart from our sense of daily administered reality. They become something autonomous: something that operates according to its own rules. In this sense micro-states share a lot in common with other activist and political groups that use the idea of autonomy as a way of building a self-valorising, self-sustaining. Such communities often work as both models *and* as tools for engaging liberal democratic governments. I am thinking specifically here of the autonomous communities of Chiapas or some of the First Nations communities in Canada, both of whom work within complex double jurisdictions.⁰⁷ The European Roma Nation without a territory is currently under negotiation, while more dispersed initiatives such as the International Parliament of Writers (IPW) works both on a symbolic level and through concrete negotiations for »Cities of Asylum« with different national and municipal authorities around the world.⁰⁸

NSK talk of needing new systems of coordinates and new means of orientation. Their temporal materialisations of the State in the form of embassies, or their ideas of notional space, of pure exterior, border without a territory, open up some productive ways of thinking about these suspended autonomous spaces. For suspension implies not only a kind of hanging dispersion of solid particles, but also a kind of interruption or a delay in normal proceedings. It becomes clear here that the mode of organisation that produces often-

⁰⁶ *ibid*

⁰⁷ There are 1200 autonomous communities in Chiapas. They run parallel to government structures, but are not interested in secession. The Zapatistas refer to autonomy as the *antesala* or the entry point into democracy. As such autonomy is seen more as a method than as an end point. The reclamation of dignity, control and (political and ideological) independence, rather than strictly territorial independence, is considered necessary for the creation of the relational structures and organisations that would constitute »freedom«.

⁰⁸ Vered Amit & Nigel Rapport »The Trouble with Community« for further discussion of the IPW.

temporary realisations of somewhat recognisable »states« or autonomous communities, cannot be separated from any procedure of »installation« into the existing order.

III. SOMETHING TAKES PLACE

I would venture to say at this point, that what is most significant about the micro-states participating in this summit is the various ways that they experiment with »formalisation« and the ways in which they suggest an interruption of the formal process of constituting the multitude as a state. Why people are brought into relation, how people are brought into relation and what is thereby produced, are remarkably inseparable movements here. If the aesthetic connotations of the term »formalisation« are strong, it is no co-incidence. In discussions about NSK Mojca Oblak concludes that the NSK state-in-time can ultimately be seen as an artefact. This is inadequate as not only does it close down the state-in-time through an easy naming process (i.e. NSK is an artefact), it also allows Oblak to determine NSK's relationship to the state proper far too quickly. Oblak contends that NSK are *installed* into the social as an artefact.⁹⁹ NSK for Oblak become a kind of aberrant art object/artefact who we can relate to the state as simply an installed artefact. This seems like a shortcut, a way of describing the complex process of formalisation that takes place with the micro-state; one that forecloses its experimental potential. For if NSK are so easily recognisable as an artefact, then we would know instantly what they are, where they belong and what their place is in the world. It is interesting however, that Oblak uses the term installation when trying to describe the micro-state's relationship with the state. Peter Osborne has noted that in the conceptual grammar of installation (art), the *process* of installing is denoted by *its result*: »an installation«. In other words, the term installation is used

precisely when the object is a concept and there is no clear artefact to *put* somewhere. For Osborne, this shortcut points to ontological questions raised by the issue of *realising* and *instantiating* »ideas«. Oblak's use of the term installation then, points to an ambiguity in the kind of form (artefact or idea) she attributes to NSK. Installation becomes a term that points to another kind of collapse of verb and noun, a procedure that denotes a tension between movement, action and more seemingly solid notions of objecthood.

Might the minutes of a meeting, the arrangement of empty chairs after a meeting, the formation of a committee, the building of a town hall or the erection of a wall around a community, be seen as different realisations or instantiations of events and communities with varying degrees of solidification? The modes of operation and formalisation performed and enacted by the micro-state affect both how it is recognised and its ability to alter the terms of its recognition. It must be sufficiently realised in order to be legible or recognisable as something, a structured movement, a formalisation, *something* that exceeds a purely amorphous entity. Yet, if it is overly legible it becomes easy to name it and therefore make it recognisable under the terms of our existing knowledge (for instance, we can all recognise a commune, and we know that an installation is Art). Retaining an active tension in this movement of formalisation, not quite becoming artefact, and not dissipating into total »amorphousness«, would seem to be central to the experimental potential of these projects.

Any state's method of maintaining a »pure identity« can be seen in what Jacques Ranciere calls its »criteria of admission«. ¹⁰ By applying a criteria of admission, states not only define who they see as their inhabitants, but also what the strangers at the gate must become if they are lucky enough to

⁹⁹ Mojca Oblak »Neue Slowenische Kunst and New Slovenian Art« in *Art and Design*, Vol.9, March/April, 1994: pp.80-87

be allowed in. In his work with the so-called *sans papiers*¹¹, Alain Badiou explains that if those who are invisible to the state are »admitted«, or become visible, they could only do so if the terms and definition of the state itself changed.¹² In other words, a state would have to utterly change how it counts people, how it takes people into account and its very structures of representation, or what we know as parliamentary representative democracy. The state would have to alter its structures of representation and develop forms of recognition that would not reduce all outsiders to its own terms (i.e. render all »outsiders« French or seamlessly incorporate »foreigners«). If these changes were to begin the state would be un-made and the entity that we know as »the state« or the subject that we recognise as »the foreigner« would not hold.

In his 15th thesis on contemporary art, Badiou says that it is better to do nothing than to contribute to the formal ways of rendering visible that which Empire already recognises as existent.¹³ Relating this to the discussion of Oblack, we might speculate that if in this context, contemporary art were to produce new but easily recognisable artefacts that are readily definable and simple to place, then its radical potential would be greatly reduced. In this sense the re-stating that takes place in the »micro-state«, this repetition and difference, must sustain itself in the realm of active suspension, a suspension of its recognisability as object or nothing, and through a maintenance of tension in its movements of formalisation. Might one of the ways of tracing whether the micro-state simply affirms Empire and global capitalism then, be a tracking of this tension? If the micro-state were simply a repetition, if it were seen as an

object, a return of the state in a smaller form, or as an end and not as an action it would be easily recognisable to Empire and thus an affirmation of Empire. By throwing the micro-state up in the air again and insisting on this shift of focus to the relationship between thought, action and object and to its style of differentiation, the modes of recognition, thinking and knowing that would render the micro-state a simple repetition of the same is obliterated. This shift of focus is enacted through a performed meeting and a collective mode of engagement that seeks not to repeat or to represent, but to run with.

Last year Ladonia began to receive many requests for citizenship from Pakistanis looking for a place to live that might enable them to improve their circumstances. Through media attention and the sheer scale of Ladonia itself, word got out and thousands of applications for asylum and citizenship were received from India, Vietnam and Nigeria among other countries. The interest and promise sparked by the concept of Ladonia in the minds of many living in poorer (non-European) countries is a stark reminder of the territory being written over by the six micro-states. While the state of Ladonia in no way restricts its citizenship, it did explain that the applicants misunderstood and misinterpreted the art project. This development in Ladonia throws into relief some important issues: in what way might this complex incident have brought out the criteria for admission into the micro-state?

Here, the would-be migrants *failure to recognise* Art amounts to a refusal of admission. A refusal of admission to what? As the Liberal State officially

¹⁰ Jacques Rancière »Disagreement – Politics and Philosophy« trans. Julie Rose, University of Minnesota Press, Minnesota, 1999

¹¹ The »sans papiers« is the name given to »undocumented« workers in France.

¹² Alain Badiou »Ethics, An Essay on the Understanding of Evil« trans. Peter Hallward, Verso, London and New York, 2001

¹³ *ibid*

respects the Autonomy of Art, wouldn't it be the ultimate liberal gesture to use art as even a strategic alibi in this instance? At the same time, a moral judgement on the limits of privileged liberal European »art games« with all its disclaimers would short-circuit these important experiments in formalisation and re-separate the realms of art and politics once again in a gesture that would betray the thinking with these experiments. For it is in this space between recognition and non-recognition that the activity of the micro-state can precisely suspend itself. In this sense, the failure to recognise western liberal definitions of art and autonomy gives some important pointers to possible openings for micro-states and those interested in thinking about ways of organising and strategising around issues of migration, asylum and borders in Europe. Sarat Maharaj regularly re-poses Duchamp's question of »How to make a work of art that isn't a work of art?« For him, to be »doggedly eye-proof« is to resist recognition, to elude ready-made categories and work on what he calls other aesthetic geometries. In the same way that the *sans papiers* must resist becoming recognisable to the state on its terms, the micro-state, if it is interested in retaining a state of critical suspension, must also defy being so straightforwardly »art-ified«. As we saw earlier, in this shift of focus to the *act* or style of differentiation in the re-stating of the state, a »thing« can no longer be recognisable by its identity.¹⁴ In the spirit of this shift, a restless struggle with language, terms, categories, moments and modes of formalisation become crucial.

Alain Badiou's 9th *Thesis on Contemporary Art* states: »The only maxim of contemporary art is: do not be imperial. This also means do not be democratic if democracy implies conformity with the imperial idea of political liberty.«¹⁵ The tantalising call to make visible only that which Empire

does not already recognise as existent, is coupled with this question of how to »be« global without being imperial? This is the world to invent. To create a locatable but moving, restless, attentive, open and pragmatic form, would be an acute activity of creative and political formalisation; a tracking and making recognisable of democracy as shape shifting in the local. It would stamp out the pre-made, yet give workable experimental forms from and through which to act concretely and in concert. The Zapatistas call their autonomous communities not an object, or a utopia, but a »method«. What is at stake in this performance event and the projects assembled in the gathering, is a sequence of experiments or laboratories in which we can investigate, and participate in the actions and formalisations of the »micro-state« or the method of being autonomous. In doing so, we might at least begin to imagine alternative shapes to actual existing democracy.

Susan Kelly

¹⁴ Gilles Deleuze »Difference and Repetition« trans. P. Patton, Athlone Press, London, 1994

¹⁵ Alain Badiou »Fifteen Theses on Contemporary Art« Keynote Address, Performance Ethics session of »Civic Centre: Reclaiming the Right to Performance«, London, April 2003



AN ABSURDIST CHOREOGRAPHY OF THE STATE *

Scene One: An auditorium in Finlandia Hall, Helsinki, site of legendary CSCE conference in 1975. The audience stand in reverence to the music of a National Anthem they have never heard before. A flag is raised, the audience sit down, listen to a speech, and stand again for another anthem. Then another, and another. Who are these states and why should they be shown respect by standing? I am tired and consider sitting down during one of the anthems, but hesitate. I feel like something bad might happen if I sit. I don't want to take the risk.

Scene Two: I have arrived by boat to a small island near Helsinki. I follow a group of 15 suited men who walk in line up a stony path. They stop next to a bunker festooned with flags and banners. A conductor raises his stick and the 15 men bellow in unison »Transnational Ree – pub-lic: Transnational Ree – pub-lic«, red-faced and veins popping from their necks with exertion. Silence. The conductor gestures with his stick toward the bunker, takes a quick bow and proceeds with his posse to the next bunker. In the background, there is a round of applause coming from a small hilltop. The State of Sabotage has been declared. HR Giger and Robert Jelinek mingle and shake people's hands. Along another stony path, two people carry a green tent with »Lobby« sprayed on the side, drop it next to a flagpole and go inside. There are cameras everywhere.

»What would happen if micronations came together? What kind of situation would it be?« These were the central questions for the curators of the Amorph! 03 Performance Festival. Over the course of three days at the end of August 2003, Sealand, NSK State, Ladonia, KREV, Transnational Republic and the State of Sabotage met, talked and worked from temporary Embassies set up in bunkers and buildings on Harakka Island. The situation had no

precedent, nothing to measure it against, yet it was curious and compelling. Throughout the events there was a recognition of one's »intuitive« understanding of the rules and protocols of the state, when to sit, when to stand, the kind of language to adopt, the kinds of procedures it requires. But who are these states, and what, other than this most elaborate performance, is filling up its signs? In the midst of this situation one's easy comprehension of the surrounding signs and symbols and one's sense of how to behave, are rendered truly absurd. As an experiment in curatorship, organisation and performance, Amorph!03 produced a situation and a singular experience that toyed with our most embedded relationships to the states we live in.

Day One of the Festival, held at Finlandia Hall, saw the first historic summit meeting of micronations and the opening gala. Half of the summit was conducted as a closed meeting for micronation representatives only and the other half, with an invited audience for question and answer sessions, lunch, a long coffee break and a roundtable discussion. Some of the issues and questions that arose during the summit meeting included the extent to which each micronation considered itself an »art project«, questions of economy and relative autonomy, how the micronations might function as a political tool and broader questions of what the micronations actually »want«. At the end of the summit it was proposed that the assembled group vote on key issues. In the spirit of all good summit meetings, there was a unanimous vote to have further summit meetings. A vote was held regarding the production of a joint statement for the meeting, with Lars Vilks of Ladonia suggesting that such a statement should make reference to specifically art micronations. The former motion was passed while a majority voted against Ladonia's proviso.

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So, what were the major points of interest and questions that emerged from the micronations and how did they relate to the festival as a whole? Apart from the embassies set up on Harakka, a large marquee was also erected to facilitate presentations and/or performances by each micronation. When it was NSK's turn to present, Peter Mlakar from the Department of Pure and Applied Philosophy marched the audience to a flat, rocky part of the island. From a rock on a slightly higher gradient, with a microphone stand, he stood and preached a complex sermon on the relationship between the NSK state contra-reality and the state proper. Afterwards, he had a German-speaking young Finnish girl read the lyrics of a Laibach song. The stark, echoing sound of the voices speaking to the crowd gathered created an effective space to performatively explore the rhetorical structures of totalitarianism. At a first glance, Mlakar's dense philosophic sermon on the abstract form of spirit underpinning the state against the backdrop of the idyllic Nordic landscape seemed to recall Heidegger's 1933 rectorial address on Spirit and its relationship to the National Socialist party in Germany. Yet, this tactic of over-identification employed by NSK seeks to uncover the rhetorical structures through which people are seduced by totalitarian ideologies. In fact, numerous miming strategies, strategies of identification, and repetition were employed by all of the micronations and by the summit meeting structure of the festival itself. On the issue of the power or limitations of these strategies, Amorph!⁰³ complicated and opened up many questions.

On the one hand, the affect of being caught up in this theatre, the sense of your intuition suddenly feeling strange and absurd to you and the at times frightening energy of NSK for example, is a powerful if slightly unnerving experience of the state that no book or straightforward pedagogy could ever provide. On the other hand, we must ask how radical the micronation's relation to the state actually is and to what extent the repetition of the nation's political form might limit the imagination of other political spaces. Each case is very particular.

When asked why they chose the structure of the Nation to articulate their political/artistic forms, NSK said that they wanted to work with the idea of the German Volk or »the people«. If this is the case, then it would seem that the notion of the people, the citizen and the subject being constructed within each micronation might go some way to determine whether this is a repetition of the same or something different. When asked how each micronation was internally organised or how decisions were made, Elgaland & Vargaland replied that the individual is free to do whatever they want while the Transnational Republic spoke of the individual's freedom to choose the most suitable transnational republic for their needs. One can only wonder on what basis would or could an individual make that choice or how meaningful that freedom might be? Isn't the consumer as citizen the perfect embodiment of capital's subjection of all social relations to its own terms? It was noted by a participant of the summit that the inscription on NSK's passport sounded like it had come from the New Testament. Interestingly, Hannah Arendt has also used the example of the New Testament in relation to her theories of community, the public and human action. Arendt discusses the kind of community talked about in the New Testament, as a small but powerful group of people working together in a specific way in order to resist the Roman occupiers – an Empire whose scale they could never match. If one thing that micronations share is their small scale, some questions remain concerning how their potential power will be organised and articulated internally, in relation to each other and in relation to the state and the global world order as it stands. It seems that in order to be able make choices, be »free« and in turn produce new collective political forms, the micronation might yet have to take on board issues of community, and the micro level of the construction and nurturing of the subject/citizen. Amorph!⁰³ created a situation that created space for these concerns to be performed and addressed in the most interesting and affective way.

Susan Kelly



NIGHTMARES FALLEN FROM THE TREE

Micronations are cool. Irresistibly sweet. Super sexy, to be frank. Bold, handsome and beautiful. Fast and flexible. Micronations are everything that the old bleak, stinky and sticky nation-states which belong to the trash bin of history are not. Micronations are an opportunity. Place and time, here and now. An event you should not – you cannot miss. Micronations. There's the future. Bright, efficient, dynamic. And here today.

A nightmare. A man woke up from a nightmare. He tried desperately to gather his courage to check out what time it was. How long had this horrible torment continued? He felt mistreated. He. A man in his stiff middle-age, the virile and lively Minister of Foreign Affairs of a medium-size nation-state. A symbol of power that was not so plausible anymore. Why was he chosen to be hassled by these nightmarish images? Why could not he and his full dress uniform simply be left alone?

Micronations and nation-states. The individual and the community, nation and nationality. People and power. Movement and restrictions. Boundaries and those who draw them – first and foremost their guards. And what kinds of things these do and create together. Questions, questions, questions.

Micronations and nation-states, the parties that demand and deplore each other. The conversation about the role and significance of nation-states is contentually in a close relation to both the liberalising of societies and advances in information technology. The development is linear. First they removed restrictions for trade, services, and above all, for money transactions. After this, the notion of unlimited growth and the victory of democracy – coloured by technological faith – pervaded both the back and front pages of our collective cortex. We had an Internet dream which only some miserable fools bothered to question. The money rolled

in like never before. The illusion of a continuous and endless growth and freedom of production and efficiency existed and fed itself.

It was believed and claimed that the individual could break away from the patronising grasp of the state. And not only the state but any authority that outrageously limited freedom. The answer was found in the individual, in individualism. In the smallness of units and in mutual networking. The state was given a job that suited it. That was the job of night watchman in which it was essential to stay clear of anything other than maintaining order unnoticed and guarding criminals.

And meanwhile, somewhere else. Artists conceived numerous ideas about states that could avoid the mistakes of Big Bad Wolf – i.e. those of the nation-states. They would not be hierarchic nor hostile but individual and enjoyable. Even entertaining. They would need no territory in order to function. They would exist as ideal attitudes and alternatives.

Let's take an example: the project called The Kingdoms of Elgaland & Vargaland by the Swedish artists Michael von Hausswolff and Leif Elggren. In its ten years of existence, this micronation has managed to attain almost all the essential and respectable trappings of a nation: they have a national anthem, flag and passport. The only thing missing – which they are still pursuing systematically – is recognition by other nations, and above all, by the United Nations.

The two sympathetic kings of Elgaland-Vargaland have also sought direct dialogue and co-operation with heads of states. The goal they personally feel important is promoting peace in the world and opposing wars. Their weapon is love. In the beginning of the 1990s, in connection with the first Gulf War that the previous Bush arranged,

the kings contacted both the crown princess of Sweden and the Queen of Great Britain. The idea was extremely simple and totally surprisingly feasible. Elgaland-Vargaland's ambassadors of peace and love rented a flat with a huge display window in the centre of London, and put a majestic four-poster bed there – which, of course, was upholstered in red shag. And there these two chaps waited patiently for the visits of the royalties.

Well ahead of the time of the proposed visits, formal invitations were sent to the ladies, and this was done according to the correct form of procedure. In the invitation they were asked to come there and have wild and free sex in the name of world peace that unifies and touches us all.

Bang, bang, shag-a-lang!

But yes. Perhaps the only place where the king and the queen are alone is not the toilet but the double bed. The bed that yearns for a bed mate, for the partner without whom the sex act is reduced to mere masturbation. Quite logical. But yes. The nights seemed so very empty and lonely. Painfully, they echoed and were lost in the graveyard of lost opportunities.

But what is the level of competence and judgement of micronations' heads of states? Is it enough that artists become a pain in the armpits of the representatives of nation-states? Do micronations have any other significance than questioning, and their warm, ironic approach? And how do micronations view the extreme individualist and neo-liberal ideals of a nation freed of power and taxes that exists but cannot be seen or heard?

Basically, the answer might well be that micronations, outlining the formation of the state and communities, fulfill their purpose by their very existence through artistic premisses. They are automatically being compared to nation-states, and thus the ball is again in the hands of these numerous old gentlemen who continuously wake up from the nightmare between their wrinkled, sweaty sheets. And whose grey suits somehow,

one way or the other, itch and scratch against their skins unpleasantly. As the Cold War subsided, in the fanatical heat of the Velvet Revolution, nation-states seemed as if they had fallen from the tree – and that is good. But will something concrete, something better and more meaningful come of this imaginary match – which the imaginary countries obviously win with flying colours?

Well, of course not, that was not even the point. As a form of art, the micronation is loaded with the assumption that it should fail. Its power lies in its falling and becoming exposed. The notion of a micronation cannot achieve anything but ideally we would be moving towards alternative and imaginative ways of figuring out the whats, wheres and whens. Openly and exposedly. An action and event which – in relation with its singularity and spontaneity – is certainly more than enough in itself.

It is much more difficult to find out and articulate what the long-span and long-term function of micronations' everyday is or should be. We can talk about process-like and performative transformation of a community but its range and sphere of influence is and will be on a personal level. Nation-states are and have their impact somewhere else. They are a part of an event that is called the macro level. It is a steep platform, out of seeing or yelling distance from the micro level.

And yes. In this field of *Realpolitik*, micronations have always been parked into a parking space that is passed without any interest or attention. That is, in the macro level reality. But that is a reality that faces its adversary internally, not externally. The nation-state is its own worst enemy. The question is about the shaky ride on the train of thought which seems familiar to Karl Marx's famous quote that has it that capitalism destroys everything it sees in the mirror. To put it another way, we can only emphasise that reality is always uglier and ruder than fiction. Reality is unbelievable.

Let's take another example. Not surprisingly, the subtext is the events of September 11, 2001 which showed the world how a central icon of an ideology and a nation that had achieved a certain hegemonic status, covered by smoke, came tumbling down and up. We will forever remember those countless broadcasts showing the twin towers of World Trade Center falling down and rising up. Falling down and rising up again. Up and down. Up and down.

As a consequence of the terrorist attack, the US has tried to turn every stone that walks or talks like an Arab or might hide elements which threaten national security. Laws have been changed in disregard of basic individual rights, more money has been allocated for defence, and prisons have been filled with suspects. However, one small yet crucial detail has been neglected. So we are talking about security, and above all, what it costs and who runs it. As we know, privatisation is the only option since the nation-state is ugly, evil and feeble.

It is a sheer fact that in the USA aviation security at the airports is run by private companies which pay their employees a wage smaller than the normative minimum wage. An amount of money far below the wages of people serving customers behind the counter in hamburger chains. On top of that, security personnel get a maximum of one month of training, and surprise, surprise, the employees change so often that the companies that hired them had to build three revolving doors in their facilities instead of one.

But what the heck. The nation-state is devious and deceitful. It can and it should be mocked. Kick it when it is already down. On the other hand, you must be extremely careful not to spill your own milk while kicking. You must be very careful not to support unintentionally a fundamental neo-liberal religion which maintains a version of reality where most of us are kept down and only a few live long and prosper. A reality – as the Palestinian film-maker Elia Suleiman put it – in which the

situation in Ramallah is like a shocking miniature model of the future of the whole global village.

However, being aware of relativity and conceding realism does not eliminate the potential and meaning that micronations have. That's where the power springs from. Not from the level of the system but from personal politics, everyday duties and decisions. These mischievous and parasitic opportunities are captured perfectly in what the German painter Martin Kippenberger views to be his only political act. In 1986, during the Commonwealth's annual meeting in Edinburgh, Kippenberger organised a shadow event in which non-stop »Free Nelson Mandela« was sure to blare out. The dazzlingly informative name of the event reveals everything essential: Anti-Apartheid Drinking Congress.

Mika Hannula

Translation: Mikko Kallio



MICRONATIONS AS CAPITAL, CULTURE STRATEGY AND NEW WORLD ORDER

1. MICRONATIONS AS CAPITAL

»The basic characterisation of nationalisation is modernity.« This is the a priori of every social researcher who has analysed the national problem and these are the first words of the book that Eric Hobsbawm has written on this issue: »Nations and nationalism since 1780 – program, myth, reality«. This a priori, which is based on the conception that the root of nationalistic ideas is in the bourgeoisie revolution, has been analysed by Hobsbawm in economical terms. As an eminent Marxist, Hobsbawm focused on this problem by putting nationalism into the dialectic between the economical-political structures of the pre-bourgeoisie condition (monarchical) and new paradigms of bourgeoisie hegemonic structures.

Hobsbawm defined these new paradigms with three formulas – nation=state=people – in the context of the well-known Marxian term of »hegemonies«. Shortly put, hegemony is a well-constructed power structure of the ideology of the ruling class. In Hobsbawm's theory, nationalism is a socio-political phenomenon that is constructed in some very specific historical moment of an economical exchange system called capitalism. And this new economical system – nation=state=people – was able to re-organize economical stability through the new organization of trade structures, which were transformed from monarchy to bourgeoisie.

For a better understanding of this change, we do not have to give the full history of economical differences between monarchy and capitalism; it is enough to know that the new paradigm of the capitalist-defined collective identity was different from the older one mainly in that notions of state, nation and people are not different from each other anymore; they are defined in such a way to create one strictly homogenized hegemony.

These are modern states and modern nations like France, England, and Germany, which were able to construct their compact hegemonies of nation=state=people and establish their continuity in history, geography, and culture. These states were possible only because of the bourgeoisie's new paradigm of a strictly defined exchange system which must be organized with mass production and mass consumption, with tax controllers, with organisational laws and so on. These are all necessities for unifying one diverse community into the Nation. This is the way Nations are constructed. It is (zero) institution for gluing the different communities and their different wills in one concept of capitalist production and consumption. For these nations, Hobsbawm is using the term »Grosstaaten« (Big States), referring to nationalistic thinker Gustav Cohn, contrary to »Kleinstaaterei«, the Micro-state system. Big States are the states which were able to live with one strictly defined border and constitutions, instead of Micro-states which are states with poor economical conditions, and forced to live in symbiosis within the big and brave nations. These were hegemonies (or communities) not economically stable and strong enough to construct their state and forced to be unrecognisable and forgotten in amnesia of history.

After the fall of Ottoman Empire, a lot of micronations (like Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania, and other Balkan countries), which had temporary freedom for organizing and defining their independence as states and nations, were caught again by second imperialism of capitalist big states, because they were not able to maintain their stability within the bourgeois exchange system. And for that reason, these states stayed for a long time as in-between micro-nations in a history of non-successful modernization (one must keep in mind that communism was only the ideology of this non-development, not the cause).

As the continuation of this historical logic, Big States were constructed mainly in the period of democratisation, modernization, industrialization and so on, in the period of mass invention of tradition, in the nineteenth century, or in the so-called age of Capitalism. By analysing nationalistic projects with economical terms, Hobsbawm is highlighting a very interesting point (Marx and Engels and Lenin also did the same analyses but his are the most complete ones). Following this point, it is concluded that, in the end, nations are the class-defined structures; they are definitely not some ethnicity based organic symbols. Maybe this conclusion is too Marxian but it still has some validity in the political condition of some countries and places.

In this theory it is obvious that nations too weak to reach their independence were labelled as micronations. This logic is able to explain how liberalistic »Kleinstaaterei« is transformed to neo-liberalistic, and performative artistic »micronations« (as are a lot of the participating »nations« in this event). These micronations, which can only exist in this way when they are part of aesthetic spectacle of Big Nations or as reactionary nostalgia to old monarchical themes (which is also the case for many micronations), and when they are not too serious to challenge the strictly defined borders of the Big State. In reality, the ruling ideology of Big States is connected with the ruling ideology of capitalism. One can think of Palestine as an experimental micronation and consequently not be so excited about the possibilities of neo-liberal performative alternatives...

2. MICRONATIONS AS CULTURE

Benedict Anderson – another eminent writer on nationalism – is not openly Marxist in his discourse but his conclusions are similar to Hobsbawm's. His book »Imagined Communities« is a classic for researchers of nationalism, and presents a very clear and programmatic approach to this issue.

Anderson, like Hobsbawm, is aware that nationalism is closely related to the emergence of modernity. From the standpoint of Anderson's theory,

a nation is the bourgeoisie of heterogeneous feudalism, a feudalism that was structured on very different disconnected entities (communities or subgroups). From Anderson's point of view, feudalism was founded with variable and ad hoc different communities.

Together with the modernisation of reproduction technologies and new mediums (like newspapers and pamphlets), the culture of new capitalism emerged in the public sphere. The culture of bourgeois organization was spread all over the Empire very fast and strong. Along this lines Jürgen Habermas analysed the history of public space and bourgeoisie. Anderson adapted this theory with regards to the invention of Nations. Following this, we can say that Nation is a direct product of bourgeois culture. For that reason, nationalism was first propagated mainly by intellectuals through language and culture. Nationalism was a positive development in the evolutionary history of progress in the Western paradigm. It was in direct connection with modernity. Anderson thought of the old Empire as a very heterogeneous blend of subgroups at different levels of existence that crystallized in nations, which are culturally stabile.

For that reason, nations are imaginary communities with sovereignty and borders. This means that every community is able to form their sovereignty inside defined borders through politics, which are imagined. These politics are cultural politics defined by a literally trained elite who read books, publish magazines and lead open debates in the public sphere. So, nations are the avant-garde of bourgeoisie modernism.

Anderson's frame of nations' history is perfectly suitable for explaining the transformation of the Empire's very different groups – which were under sovereignty of a Monarch – into well defined structure. The main priori in Anderson's theory is the concept of multitudes (chaotic crowds) transformed from heterogeneous to homogenous hegemony. This is the way in which multitudes are

being put into a straight line by the system through employing the concept of Nation. Following this line of thought, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri developed their theory of nationalisation and modernisation. They criticize the positive value of the bourgeois modernisation of nation by showing that pre-modern empire multitudes were more spontaneous and organic organisations. And singularities living in this organization did not define themselves as one uniform hegemonic Nation, but as different and variable entities.

Hardt and Negri criticise that Modernity, which was productive in its beginning by producing different singularities, in the end was frozen into strictly defined structures called »Nations«. Others who had failed to structure themselves as Nations were excluded from the modernistic project and labelled »Crowd«. Modernity's drive is to construct and recuperate plurality in the form of nation and people. Hardt and Negri's deteriorated (ex-Deleuze) relations would completely overcome the concept of Nations by labelling the global multinational network as a new paradigm of new multinational capital. But there is another solution that could possibly be labelled as the modernistic heroic process of re-nationalisation. It is the possibility to create new strictly defined micro-organisations inside the unfinished project of Modernism. In a way, this is a project of many micronations.

Every new micronation is an attempt to redefine the finished project of modernism; so in the end there will be plenty of different micronations that will create a new vision of different singularities. The only problem with many of the micronations at the First Summit in Helsinki was that they did not consider themselves as possible alternative to the ongoing conservatism of Big States, or as productive alternatives for New World Order. They mainly wanted to discuss the dichotomy between art and politics. And it is obvious that some of the groups were much more interested in the Fluxus kind of performative actions or the aesthetic pastiche of the Big State.

Most of them wanted to pose their strategies as micro-models of big nations, with the same traditions of kings, queens, monetary systems, hierarchies, etc., without referring to the dialectical problem of national organisation as modern sovereignty, the problem of growing modernism, or, of course, the problem of eliminated micronations in history.

3. MICRONATIONS AS STRATEGY

One of the most political micronations that participated in the Summit was NSK-State, not because they are from the country which had a lot of terrible political moments like war, secession, genocide, etc., but also because NSK in their theory and practice were always aware of the strategic possibilities of micronations and their dialectical implications. NSK was formed 1984, in the former Yugoslavia, as a very critical voice inside the liberal-totalitarian regime of socialism in a (now) dead state. Even though they consistently acted inside the field of art, they were very influential to different subversive underground movements in ex-Yugoslavia. NSK provoked many scandals, which disturbed the system.

But after the collapse of Yugoslavia and its downfall into different states (micronations?) the collective redefined itself as the NSK-State in Time with their own passports, postage stamps, flags, embassies (in Moscow, Umag, etc.), anthems, guards, etc. This transformation from NSK to NSK-State in Time was done at a very crucial moment, at a time when Yugoslavia started to fall apart and at the outbreak of several brutal wars.

Every person on our planet can now be a citizen of the NSK-State and can hold an original passport. There are more citizens of NSK-State than of the Vatican. Some NSK-State citizens travelled with these passports inside Europe (to escape, for example, the war in Bosnia). During the 1980s NSK was promoting and propagating the importance of Slovenia's national myths along with quasi-German provocative symbols. This was critical during the time of socialist Yugoslavia, but during the 1990s – when Slovenia finally became independent, fol-

lowed by a growing nationalistic discourse – NSK changed their strategy of a micronational state into a state in time. This was a very brave transformation. It was mainly a criticism of nationalistically driven separatist movements and wars, and it tried to construct a new state based on an abstract notion of a nation without nationality.

This political standpoint is what makes NSK-State in Time serious and sensitive to ideological circumstances or hegemonies. The strategy of NSK has always been grounded on real political problems with actual possible solutions.

4. MICRONATIONS AS NEW WORLD ORDER

Miran Mohar, one of the members of NSK's plastic group Irwin, came in October of 2003 to Prishtina, the capital of Kosovo and gave a passport to Agim Cheku inside the Prishtina Art Gallery as part of an international exhibition. Agim Cheku is a very well known person in Kosovo; he is one of the most influential members of the KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army a.k.a. UCK).

It seems a very strange gesture, when one avant-garde hero gives a passport to a well-known and serious nationalist and military chief. Nobody can really understand if it is a joke, or another way of liberalising the conservative politics through contemporary art. But there is another possible reading of this event. This relates to the question of the gestures and poses employed by the micronations participating in Amorph!03. They were acting as micronations' representatives in an art event with full irony and sarcasm, but with premises of seriousness. But everybody was aware that this was art! They were art works acting like nations.

But Kosovo is opposite to this. Kosovo is a nation that is acting like an artwork. With its passports and postage stamps it is more avant-garde than NSK; it is more aesthetic than any micronation. Kosovo is in reality a true micronation of (post)modernity.

After 1999, when NATO bombed Yugoslavia for the freedom of Kosovo and defeated Slobodan Milosevic's fascism, Kosovo had its permanent independence. But this independence is very paradoxical; it is an independence controlled by an international military force called NATO and regulated by an international organisation called the United Nations. Even on the ID-cards of Kosovo citizens you will not find a single indication of Kosovo as a spatial and temporal state – Kosovo is actually labelled as a process called UNMIK (United Nations Mission in Kosovo). And with these passports citizens can't travel anywhere – a sign of a mere aesthetical spectacle of a nation.

It is not even clear if Kosovo is a part of the state of Serbia & Montenegro (many Kosovo citizens use the Yugoslavian passport for travelling) or is rather a spectre of a state, constructed and invented by global international »experimental« hegemony.

Kosovo is a »state« with two million inhabitants, with borders, with musicians, minorities, mafias, etc., like all the states in the world. But it is a state which does not exist as normal, modern, big or small state of the world. It is a micronation – a microstate!

This spectre of a state is not the only one in the world; the empirising and vampirising process of international hegemony will create many more such states which are »artistically posed political states«, like Afghanistan, Bosnia, Iraq, Kosovo....

Sezgin Boynik
June, 2004
Prizren, UNMIK



STATE SIZE AND DEMOCRACY - A BRIEF COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF MICRO-, MESO-, AND MACRONATIONS

Micronations usually describe themselves as hierarchies or sometimes even as dictatorships. Entities in the category of »Internet organizations and island nations«, which more often than not comprise only their founders and a few followers, frequently have grandiose written »constitutions«. However, unlike modern constitutions, they generally fail to guarantee the constituents' rights vis-à-vis their (own) ruling authorities. In other words, they fail to institutionalise civil protections and civil rights. On the contrary, they merely embody the internal and external claims to sovereignty of the founder of the micronation. Among the rulers of micronations themselves, such claims are usually spoken of in casual or joking terms and with varying degrees of self-mockery (just as real princes might). However, with some of them one is equally likely to encounter such self-opinionated behaviours as seeking legal opinions on their right to exist and govern, the use of extreme right-wing symbolism, and aggressive forms of self-portrayal.

The tension between micronations and the norms that govern the development of informed opinion along democratic lines annoys those who see small states as being the best chance for democracy. This view is advocated by such classic political philosophers as Aristotle and Jean Jacques Rousseau, who saw democracy strictly in terms of local government. The debate about ecology and politics that has lasted now for several decades, featuring such slogans as »small is beautiful« and »return to human moderation« (Ernst F. Schumacher), also encourages this view. Finally and most importantly, a number of small European states (Switzerland, Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland) are perfect examples of how informed opinion can be developed by democratic means. Not only are human rights firmly established in those countries, as is generally

the case throughout Europe, but even more importantly their citizens are also afforded opportunities to participate in direct democratic action, and the electoral systems (with open or free lists of candidates) permits them to vote directly, not just for political parties but also for individuals. Finally, the Scandinavian countries have laws on openness and transparency that make it relatively easy to control any elites that might emerge.

By way of contrast, if we consider European territorial states like Germany, Britain, and France, we see a mixed balance sheet for democracy. Of course, here too civil rights and democratic elections have been institutionalised. However, democratic electoral freedoms and participatory rights are more restricted than in smaller countries. Britain, for example, has a first-past-the-post electoral system according to which votes are converted disproportionately into parliamentary seats; consequently, many votes are wasted. In France the power of the government far outweighs that of parliament, and in Germany voters are unable to vote for half of the members of parliament individually but are required instead to select them from sterile lists of names prepared by the political parties. These drawbacks are compounded by the inadequacies of direct democracy. In France for instance, it is customary to hold only plebiscites decreed from above, designed always to consolidate the power of the current president, and in Germany (contrary to the wording of the German constitution) the people cannot in practice vote on their own constitution (Germany's Basic Law and the EU Constitution). Finally, in Europe's three largest countries there is only partial compliance with standards of openness and transparency. In Britain the principle of maintaining secrecy about all government affairs remains a high priority, and in Germany official records remain closed to the public.

Except in the case of India, the conventional scepticism towards the ability of large states to be truly democratic seems even more justified when we look at the largest countries in the world. China has so far only experienced trace elements of democracy. Russia, having gone through several stages of democratisation, is now clearly degenerating ever further into basic authoritarian structures of »Asiatic despotism«. And even in the United States, in the midst of its war on terrorism, there are signs that the government's attitude towards human rights and democratic openness is in need of repair. Terrorism suspects in the United States have virtually no civil rights, and the US government categorically refuses to recognize the rulings of the Court of Human Rights in The Hague in the case of United States citizens.

All this would appear to support the conventional wisdom that only small states can have a democratic structure. However, if we examine European ministates (Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, or Vatican State) from this viewpoint, we come up with some sobering conclusions.

In parliamentary monarchies like Britain, Sweden, or Spain, the monarch's rule is purely symbolic, whereas the hereditary princes, as well as the Pope (who is elected for life), truly rule. The Prince of Monaco, who even today signs all legislation as »Rainier III, by the Grace of God Ruling Prince of Monaco,« personally appoints all members of his government and can dismiss them whenever he pleases. And in the Vatican (with 700 inhabitants the smallest official microstate in the world) the only election ever held is the papal election. Otherwise the state is governed by an absolute ecclesiastical hierarchy without the slightest hint of democracy.

It is therefore safe to say that not only large countries but also ministates can be far from democratic. Consequently, it is hardly surprising that the structure of micronations should frequently be authoritarian or even dictatorial.

CAUSES

If we seek reasons for such relationships between state size and democracy, then we immediately encounter one obvious hypothetical explanation for the lack of democracy, especially in large states.

Democracy requires a high level of communication. Take for example the need for indispensable openness, the need for the development of informed opinion within political parties, or the need for consensus among the representatives of various political movements. Such needs are easily met these days thanks to modern information technology.

However, it is far more difficult to achieve an adequate degree of personal communication and communication density in large organizational units than in small manageable micronetworks. That is why large countries always used to be considered governable only as monocratic kingdoms. And even today large countries can only become relatively democratic at the cost of direct representation, especially when divided into small decentralized organizational units (federalism).

It is harder to explain why small states find it particularly difficult to accommodate the processes involved in developing informed democratic opinion. It seems to me that there are two likely explanations:

(1) Whilst policy in traditional organizations with little division of labour is simply laid down (more often than not power and the development of informed opinion are casually dismissed in the same breath by the most powerful participants), policy in the modern meritocracy has evolved into a separate, distinct sector with its own considerable institutional requirements. However, democracy in this sense presupposes the existence of institutional and legal capacities, such as the holding of elections, that can only be managed when organizational units have reached a certain size. Very small states therefore simply lack the critical mass required to implement sophisticated forms of democracy.

(2) Despite the existence of an international, increasingly global division of labour, larger states generally seek to become totally self-regulatory societies in all their basic functions. By contrast very small states frequently limit themselves to exercising only certain selected functions of statehood. For instance, the Principality of Monaco has declared that it will not pursue an independent foreign and defence policy but will concentrate instead on looking after its regulatory functions in the economic and touristic sectors. Consequently, in relation to France the ministate is in fact (notwithstanding declarations to the contrary) only semi-sovereign, as may be seen from the conditions upon which formation of the government is predicated. And for their part the residents of Monaco certainly see themselves as Monaco taxpayers, but never as Monaco citizens. On the other hand, such functional incompleteness easily leads people to overlook the lack of democratic representation and participation in such ministates. Even in Europe, ministates like Monaco, reminiscent of a comic opera, without total sovereignty and without any claim to international codetermination, are themselves regarded as somewhat comic forms of government.

When seen in this light, it is easy to understand why micronations usually present themselves as principalities, kingdoms, or even dictatorships. For those who participate in them, micronations are not a comprehensive governmental framework covering all aspects of economic and social life. On the contrary, they are mainly just for relaxation and a »bit of a laugh.« For such recreational purposes any simple form of model ruler will do, whether prince, king, or dictator. This can also be seen in the world of political games (e.g. »Kreml«, »Junta«, or »Die Hanse«), dominated for decades by authoritarian forms of rule or by such simple zero-sum situations as war, revolution, or power conflicts.

However, in the long term, why shouldn't complex role models befitting a vital democracy also be fun and become part of people's games and leisure? As long as the founders of micronations claim to want to create modern, responsible states that remain attractive for their citizens in the long term, then surely we may expect some democratic revolutions to occur, even in micronations.

Volker von Prittwitz



RESEARCH NATIONS

The concept of nation is traditionally considered through territories with a certain societal structure and sovereignty. There are nations such as Finland or micronations like Sealand. In this article, we study how research communities and organizations can also be considered as nations. The concept of nation can be characterized through identity, territoriality, sovereignty, autonomy, defense and language.

- Belonging to a nation can be characterized through the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity. National identity is often defined in terms of common origin, ethnicity, or cultural ties, and while an individual's membership in a nation is often regarded as involuntary, it is sometimes regarded as voluntary.⁰¹
- Territoriality is a principle by which members of a community are often defined. It specifies that their membership derives from their residence within borders. It is by simple virtue of their location within geographic borders that people belong to a state and fall under the authority of its ruler.⁰²
- Sovereignty can be defined as the supreme authority within a territory. A holder of sovereignty derives authority from some mutually acknowledged source of legitimacy. In the current era, some body of law is ubiquitously the source of sovereignty. Sovereignty is not a matter of mere authority, but of supreme authority.⁰³
- Autonomy can be defined by the level of an individual or a group. At the individual level, to be autonomous is to be one's own person, to be

directed by considerations, desires, conditions, and characteristics that are not simply imposed externally upon one, but are part of what can somehow be considered one's authentic self.⁰⁴

- There is a saying that language is a dialect with an army. The language is one potential basis for national identity. However, there are many states, such as Belgium and Switzerland, with multiple linguistic communities within them. The army is one means to organize the defense of the autonomy of a nation.

In this article, we consider these themes in relation to the idea that research institutions or areas could be considered as nations. In particular, we will study the idea that knowledge is power, wars in science, and the languages of research. We will consider some aspects of the theoretical basis for understanding autonomous and knowledge-intensive systems. We wish to point out that nations could grow into existence through a bottom-up process.

1. KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

In the early 17th century, Francis Bacon expressed the idea that knowledge is power. Bacon rejected the gathering of scientific knowledge for its own sake. Instead, he emphasized the importance of consideration of science as a means to benefit mankind.⁰⁵ The basis for modern science was laid by the thinkers of the Enlightenment such as Descartes, Pascal, Leibnitz and Newton. The scientists were driven by a sense of revolt against authority and were seeking new explanations of natural phenomena, other than the religious conceptions that were dominating the era.

⁰¹ Miscevic, N. (2001) »Nationalism« in Zalta (ed.) »The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy« Winter 2001 Edition

²⁺³ Philpott, D. (2003) »Sovereignty« *ibid.* Summer 2003 Edition

⁰⁴ Christman, J. (2003) »Autonomy in Moral and Political Philosophy« *ibid.* Fall 2003

⁰⁵ Henry, J. (2002) »Knowledge is Power« Icon Books, Cambridge Edition

Among contemporary researchers, the autonomy of scientific work is considered crucial when considering the major role of science as the knowledge creator in modern societies. Autonomy is supposed to ensure the independence of the results from any biasing (f)actors. For instance, it can be considered harmful if medical research is based on the economic interests of companies, or if the understanding of societal processes is linked with specific political aspirations. But it has been pointed out that researchers are only human beings who have individual characteristics. It is hoped that the scientific method will make sure that no individual inclinations harm the quest for objective knowledge. But, does objective knowledge actually exist? The idea of an objective observer has been shown as problematic. The phrase »hermeneutic circle« refers to the idea that understanding something employs attributes that already presuppose an understanding of that thing. Circles of understanding arise, for instance, in interpreting one's own language, culture, or national identity.

The existence of these circularities raises questions regarding the grounding and validity of understanding. Disciplines such as psychology, sociology and political science deal with highly important phenomena, but gaining a mutual agreement on what is important and what is the basis for knowledge is difficult to achieve. This is because human societies are interactive, complex and dynamic systems.

One of the most direct links between art and science has been the anticipatory relationship between science fiction literature and technological advancement in areas such as space technology. Within art, a certain freedom for playing with »impossible worlds« may serve as inspiration and vice versa. However, the potential fruitfulness can be of a more delicate nature. Even abstract art can relate to complex phenomena in such a way that the mind of a scientist can see parallels or analogies, e.g., as relationships between form and meaning.

2. WARS IN SCIENCE?

The central idea of the book »The Structure of Scientific Revolutions« by Thomas Kuhn (1962) is that the development of science is driven, in normal periods of science, by adherence to what the author called a paradigm. The function of a paradigm is to supply problems for scientists to solve and to provide the tools for their solution. A crisis in science arises when confidence is lost in the ability of the paradigm to solve particularly worrying problems, called anomalies. Crisis is followed by a scientific revolution if an existing paradigm is superseded by a rival. Kuhn claimed that science guided by one paradigm would be incommensurable with science developed under a different paradigm, by which is meant that there is no common measure for the different scientific theories. This thesis of incommensurability rules out certain kinds of comparison between the two theories and consequently rejects some traditional views of scientific development, such as the view that later science builds on the knowledge contained within earlier theories, or the view that later theories are closer approximations to the truth than earlier theories.⁰⁶

Kuhn's thesis of incommensurability has been subject to debate. Indeed, occasionally the theory-formation comes to a dead-end and it is beneficial to replace an existing theory with a new one through revolution. On the other hand, there may be long periods of evolutionary development. As a whole, scientific activity includes aspects of both points of views in varying degrees.

If different scientific disciplines are considered metaphorically as different nations, one may find potentially interesting analogies. Namely, the disciplines have to fight for the right to exist in the overall scientific community as well as for necessary resources. University departments have battles over funding. Laboratories wish to have talented researchers; scientific societies are looking for new members and

⁰⁶ Bird, A. (2004) »Thomas Kuhn« in Zalta (ed.) »The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy« Fall 2004 Edition

wish to keep the old ones; universities wish to have students with good capabilities; and conferences are fighting for participants. The clashes may even be stronger within a discipline than between disciplines. Naturally, the concept of war may be considered to be an overly aggressive or destructive basis for an analogy. Rather, the analogy could be built on the peacetime activities within and between nations.

One phenomenon of reorganization in science is the formation of a new and autonomous discipline based on the growth of one specific area in one discipline, or the combination of two or several disciplines into one. One can consider the development of biochemistry, biophysics, neuropsychology, psychohistory or computational linguistics as examples. Such formations can include various ways of »declaring the independence.« The new discipline and the neighboring disciplines can continue to have active connections in a similar way as neighboring countries often have active trade and cultural exchange.

In science, the top-down and bottom-up processes intertwine. The Internet has provided new means for emergent processes in which people with no geographical vicinity form communities with shared goals. A well-known example is the development of the Linux operating system within computer science sphere that started as a local activity by Linus Torvalds at Helsinki University. On the other hand, traditional universities have their territories, which can be located centrally in modern cities. However, the universities lack state-like sovereignty, i.e., they cannot overrule the laws of the surrounding society.

3. LANGUAGES OF RESEARCH

It is clear that laypersons and experts express themselves differently. Moreover, two representatives of different scientific disciplines tend to have different expressions, even if they are discussing the same matter. The language and terminology used in one discipline not only serves as a tool but also as a

means for building and maintaining the identity. This certain divergence of language can be considered natural because the foci are different in different disciplines. The divergence is also promoted by the competition between individual researchers and research groups. For instance, in computer science it is commonplace to introduce new methods with names and acronyms that are promoted more or less systematically. For an individual researcher, it may be more beneficial to emphasize the distinct and novel nature of a development than to show relationships with existing innovations. Kuhn pointed out that the representatives of different paradigms tend to have a different conceptual framework. The language use is a clear distinguishing factor.⁰⁷

4. SCIENCE OF EMERGENCE

The notion of »research nation«, at least when considered superficially, appears to emphasize the rather rigid and top-down nature of the organization of research activities. However, innovative research also contains a clear bottom-up nature: activities self-organize based on the interests of individual researchers and groups. These local actors then form networks based on their interests, sharing research results and ideas. This process leads to emergent results that cannot be determined beforehand in a top-down manner. Actually, it seems that it would even be harmful for the efficiency of the process to attempt to formalize and plan it too rigidly. Next we study the concept of emergence as a basis for the formation of nations based on the bottom-up process of a large number of individual choices.

Understanding of the properties of complex processes has increased within science over the years considerably with its emergence as a central concept.⁰⁸ Properties of a complex system are emergent if they are neither properties of any parts of the system nor resulting from a plain summation of properties of parts of the system. A certain aspect of surprise is included in the concept of emergence: There is

⁰⁷ Kuhn, T. (1962) »The Structure of Scientific Revolutions« University of Chicago Press

⁰⁸ Holland, J.H. (1998) »Emergence: From Chaos to Order« Addison-Wesley, Reading, MA

a large number of elements in a micro level (cells, neurons, human beings), and their behaviors and interaction lead to non-trivial macro level processes and phenomena (living organism, brain, society). Evolution is one good example of a process with emergent qualities.⁰⁹

The self-organizing map (SOM)¹⁰ is an algorithm that illuminates the concept of emergence. The inspiration for the SOM came from neuro-physiological studies showing that certain kind of maps can be found in the cortex of the brain. The order in a map is a consequence of all the inputs it has received. The order is not determined beforehand but it is created through the large number of local interactions on the map. This is why the system can be called »self-organizing«. Metaphorically, similar items look for each other without any centralized command. The map seems to be able to capture qualities in complex phenomena that have been inaccessible for earlier systems based, for instance, on traditional logic with mere black and white distinctions. The map is a continuous landscape.

The self-organizing map can be used to organize documents, ideas and opinions in such a way that the like-minded form clusters. This idea is illuminated well in projects in which the opinions of electoral candidates have been asked and the candidates have been organized into a map by the SOM. This approach was in use in the 2004 municipal elections in Finland on the Alma Media web site.

The SOM could be used in the formation of a collection of emergent nations. Each nation would consist of those individuals that are located close to each other on a SOM. The collection could be in a constant motion as the individuals change their characteristics. As the SOM is a continuous landscape, the nations would not necessarily need to have any strict borderlines.

6. CONCLUSIONS

It may be concluded that the scientific community has or at least should have a central role in maintaining and progressing the wellbeing of the host nations and their citizens. To be successful in this task, the university sector needs intellectual and resource autonomy to provide constructive and non-biased means for development.

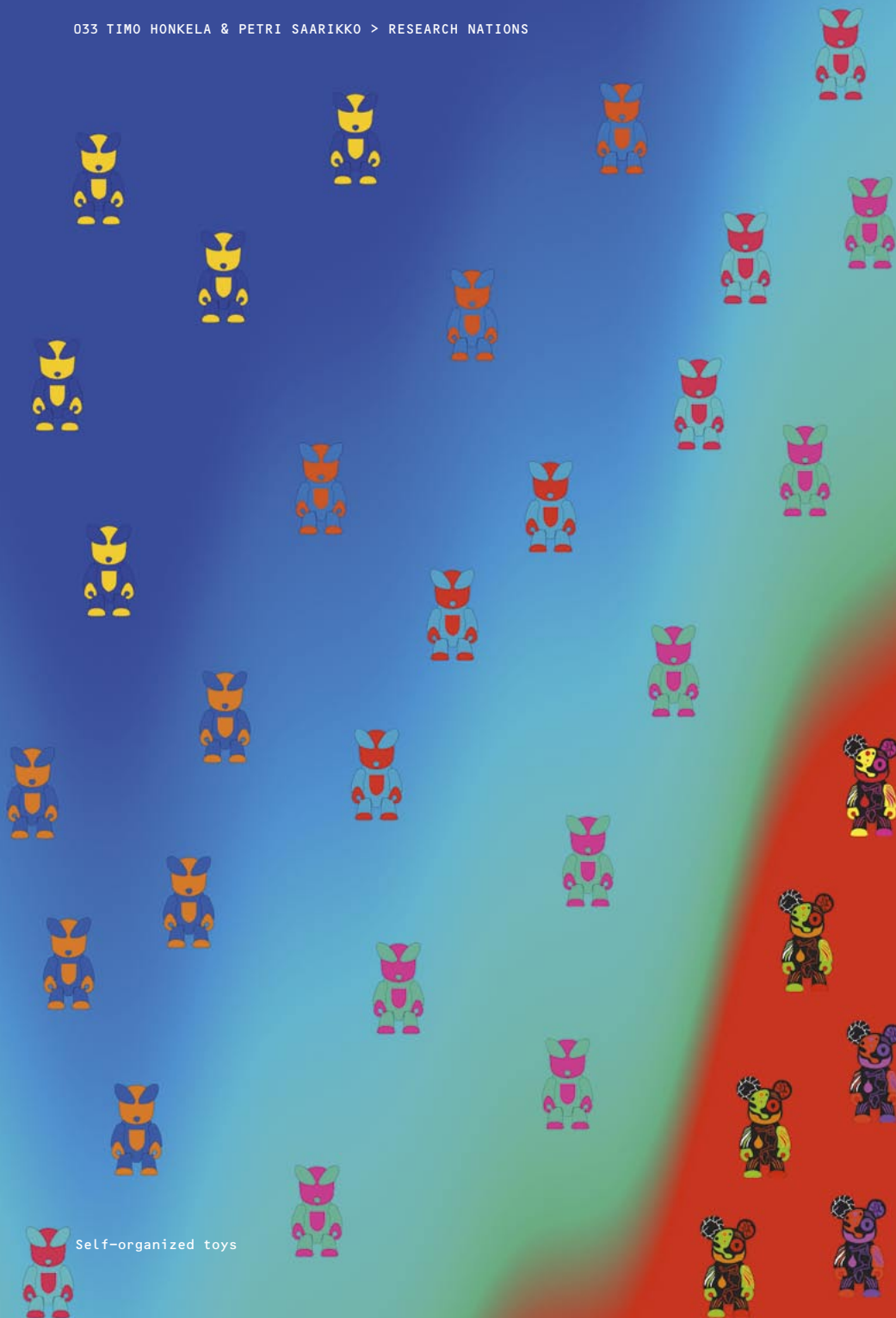
In this article, some ideas on considering research institutions as nations have been considered. It seems that, for example, a department in a university can be evaluated through its existing or lacking identity, territoriality, sovereignty and autonomy. Scientific disciplines built their practices and identity on language and they can, at least metaphorically, be considered to have defense forces to maintain their autonomy and identity.

An important question to ask is: What are the aims and objectives that the society wishes to promote through science and technology? This question cannot be answered only by scientists. This means that the research nation should not be totally independent with regards to the surrounding host nation. On the other hand, the outcomes from the research nation may challenge the existence of the host nation or, at least, question its fundamental structures. The existence of this possibility is important. Micronations may provide intermediate playgrounds for ideas or simulation environments, »role nations«, for preliminary research-based social constructions. This can be considered from the point of view of earlier societal ideals, many of which have failed to match the high goals of the originators. Micronations may also serve as mediators between the societal experimentalists and the audience belonging to or having a clearer identity as members of the host nation.

Timo Honkela and Petri Saarikko

⁰⁹ Kauffman, S.A. (1993) »The Origins of Order: Self-Organization and Selection in Evolution« Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford

¹⁰ Kohonen, T. (2001) »Self-Organizing Maps« Springer



Self-organized toys



SOCIETY VS. FREAK

DEAR MARITA,

I made a list of conditions that would guarantee my existence:

1. climb a mountain and get frostbite
2. bracket 'everything'
3. give simple answers to big questions
4. get a tattoo
5. start a project
6. practise fisting
7. rape, torture and murder someone or something
8. dive into a tank of squids
9. develop professionally
10. repeat Gilles Deleuze a hundred times
11. sarcasm
12. create a new micronation
13. get a digital camera to record all of the above

I did not perform very well. And if you add to these initiation rites all the blind spots I failed to list because of pure ignorance you start to understand the trouble I am in. Marita help me! I am not sure I exist.

All the best,
Tomas Ivan

DEAR FRIEND,

In the middle of your existential battle the question I pose to you is: What do you *think* while trying to perform this list? You are writing to me, saying something and I suppose that you are doing something, performing, but to be able to help you I should have an idea of your thoughts. Without knowing what is going on in your intimate being I can only guess the purpose of your performance. It seems to be scrambled together from manifestly and self-consciously gathered elements. Is this an ephemeral performance or a long-lasting one? Are they trying to kick you out of the micronation or are they not letting you in unless...?

I would urge you to *think* of your intimate being. In the schizophrenia of urban life the inside has nothing to tell the out because our intimate being has been split from our social being. Life is proceeding on two separate levels, the level of our individual experience and the level of our existence as a society.

The contemporary world is a world containing a desire, and a determination, to defy its *mêmete* (as Paul Ricoeur would say) – its sameness. A desire to make itself different from the self, to remake itself, and to go on remaking itself. Life is a battle for limits, rather than a life within limits. And we have all become »experts« on our own representation. Just a hint: turn off the camera, if you want some privacy, remain out of the picture. Try to concentrate on your intimate being instead. But if you want to stay in shot, keep on filming, maybe it already is your new *Heimat*.

A person who repeats Gilles Deleuze one thousand hundred times, brackets »everything«, gets a tattoo, or runs around in a freaky suit hardly expresses strong individuality. The lack of the ornaments is more a sign of intellectual power. To be freaky has become normality and normality has become freaky. But can we disappear in the crowd, can we seek anonymity for salvation? (And at the same time say no more to society?) Can we save our intimate beings or does it matter after all?

All the best,
Marita

DEAR MARITA,

Thanks for confirming my non-existence. I feel like one of those skulls in the movies, that keep on laughing though they know they are dead. When you urge me to *think* and *live*, you recognise me as the Flying Dutchman, I have become. - Well, Haha!

»I will round this Cape even if I have to keep sailing until doomsday!«

Yes yes, we know what we are doing, but we are doing it anyway. But let's stop for a moment. Let's slow down and start asking some questions:

- 1) Why is the skull laughing?
- 2) What do I do in order to live?

The skull. After we learn some bad news (my head has been chopped of), we would prefer not to know it, but we cannot go back – once we know it, there is no return to innocent ignorance. However, the preceding ignorance appears as blessed only from the perspective of this knowledge; in other words, it is only after loosing this blessed ignorance that we learn how blessed we were. It is similar with the celebration, in movies and narratives, of a lone hero who accomplishes his sacrificial act for the good of others unseen, without others being aware of it. Although people around him ignore him or even laugh at him, he is deeply satisfied in and with himself – or is he? Is it not, rather that he did it for the big Other who appears precisely at the point at which there are no »real« others to take note of him? In other words, does not the satisfaction he gets emerge from the imagined gaze that observes him? This big Other is eventually embodied in us, spectators – as if the hero is part of a film or at least, part of a story. So while I, the laughing skull, am practising fisting (though I do not have a body) and filming the whole event, am I not doing the same as everybody else? Including artists, I might add. They, like the rest of us, of whatever ideological stripe or phonotype, are condemned, so to speak, to perform. This leads me to the second question. To live. During the staged performance of »Storming the Winter Palace in Petrograd« on the third anniversary of the October Revolution (November 7, 1920) a mass was performing street theatre for the masses. A contemporary commented about

the general situation: »The quantitative side is staggering. The future historian will record how, throughout one of the bloodiest and most brutal revolutions, all of Russia was acting.« And according to author Viktor Shklovskii, »drama circles are propagating like protozoa... all of Russia is acting; some kind of elemental process is taking place where the living fabric of life is being transformed into the theatrical.« What you are referring to is this living fabric of life that was there before the theatrical. But do I do in order to live when there is »no return to innocent ignorance?«

All the best,
Tomas Ivan

DEAR FLYING DUTCHMAN,

As Nietzsche put it: »No one dares to appear as he is, but masks himself as cultivated man, as a scholar, as a poet, as a politician [...] Individuality has withdrawn within: from without it has become invisible.« And the eyes are no longer a mirror of the soul but a carefully constructed advertisement. In the end, everyone is a new primitive, everyone has to wear a mask. But whereas the primitive mask expressed an identity to the outside, constructed a social identity, the modern mask is a form of protection, a cancellation of differences on the outside precisely to make identity possible.

But instead of talking about the *Big Other* should we talk about *Big Brother*? In our last conversation I stated that the Other doesn't exist. There is only identification or self-identification as a process.

Once out, forever out! As Zygmunt Baumann ⁰¹ has phrased it, »the old Orwell-type Big Brother« was preoccupied with inclusion, integration, getting people in line, controlling and keeping them there. The new concern, parallel to the old one, seems to be exclusion – spotting the people who don't fit in the place they are in, banishing them

⁰¹ Zygmunt Baumann »Global Waste« London, 2004

from that place and deporting them »where they belong« or better still never allowing them to come anywhere near in the first place.... Both Brothers – old and new – sit next to each other. Checking people in and out! The Big Brothers are wide alive and better equipped than ever – but where does this leave us, where does it leave the *outcasts*?

All the best,
Marita

DEAR MARITA,

Get rid of the big Other. Focus on the Big Brother. Stop hailing the Why Bother. Simple.

As an art historian I was trained by these two brothers, inclusion and exclusion were made simple by a procedure of »style«. Style was used as a cutting device, as a weapon, and as a self-defining activity. Style could even be used for bringing about multiculturalism; style played an important role in acceptance and cultural diversity – as well as in establishing cultural hegemonies. The concealed essence that unifies each period (each civilization), the Gothic Age, the Baroque, the Rococo, is of course style. Now style as well as diversity is put to effective use in the production of niche markets. Capitalism overcame the logic of totalizing normality and adopted the logic of erratic excess. It's no longer disciplinary institutional power that defines everything; it's capitalism's power to produce variety – because markets get saturated. Produce variety and you produce a niche market. This is a situation that is both troubling and confusing. I do not dismiss individual acts of protest, as sometimes they can be effective even though their aim is not in any way clear or revolutionary and may even be ridiculous and obscure. I came to think about something that happened early last century that could illustrate my point. In 1911, concern over conservation saw many paintings in public museums covered with a protective layer of glass. This had the disadvantage of creating a highly reflective surface, making viewers acutely aware of their own gaze in the process of visual engagement.

One gallery visitor signalled his displeasure at this development by using the reflective glass on a Rembrandt painting to take a shave. The anecdote is stupid but it has survived. Why? The visitor's gesture is of course one of negativity. But the anecdote would not have survived if it did not have the potential to develop into something else. What is this something else unless a set of narrative protocols with no precedent in our previous literary institutions?[...] But, to return to my point, which could be described bluntly as follows: are we fools who cannot see that we are purchasing revolution in the shopping mall? Is not, for example, the micronation – this »marginalized« space – an eminently capitalizable one? Like organic farming, it has its alternative forms of niche marketing in museum exhibitions and journals of cultural criticism.

»Now, honourable public, the finding of an ending is passed to you: There has to be a happy one out there somewhere, has to, has to, has to!« (Brecht)

All the best,
Tomas Ivan

DEAR TOMAS IVAN,

Fear of unknown endings...Mikhail Bakhtin, one of the greatest Russian philosophers of the past century, began from a description of *cosmic fear* – the human, all too human emotion. One aspect of cosmic fear is the horror of the unknown: the terror of uncertainty. Vulnerability and uncertainty are the two qualities of the human condition from which official fear is moulded. Today's troubles involve changes: they are goal-related rather than means-bound. It is now a question of the elusiveness and all too often the delusiveness of the ends – fading and dissolving quicker than the time it takes to reach them....

Tomas Ivan, you're hardly likely to be the only one whose identity is creaking at the joints. People's inner conflicts are becoming deeper, impoverishment is increasing and both are gathering strength behind a facade of western health and abundance.

In an era of universal hedonism and fear, many people and cities are flamboyantly elegant on the outside, but dust and ashes on the inside. How easy it is though to say »it is essential to find a new direction.« Nevertheless, when someone finishes a story it is unlikely ever to be the same story that he or she started.

Take a fresh grip on life, heal your disintegrating self, just so! Resistance means the struggle for identity as a social attitude and a personal strategy for action. How easy it all sounds: create a new self, a new unit, a new community, a new micronation! Let's start afresh from the beginning, once more and all over again. Away with all this drifting! It's pointless to imagine that this city, which is driven by economism, is going to rescue you or me in its own time. This city, without the presence of either Batman or Robin, foiling their plots, and ours, too. Away with this watered down reality; the great harsh truths of existence and the innermost recesses of the heart and mind are waiting for us. Let's look for the hidden keys! But on the way we have to

remember that whatever we object to in the world we must also oppose within ourselves, since the rules, the playing field, the referee and the ball are all one and the same thing.

All the best,
Marita

DEAR BATMAN,

Marita - me and you? Diversity and the freak : me and you, you and me? Sounds like a song by Abba, doesn't it? But yes, I will stop the sarcasm here, let us try once again. Let us, as you propose, try to save our intimate beings. We agree on the fact that the »result always betrays us.« I have to begin once again. But, from where? A micronation? It is a project covered with dust from head to foot. I do not need to be an »innovator-adventurer-originator.«

My dilemma is: »I can win, but have not learned to keep.« »Dust, who is not dust?« »I am dust. But I'm a member of your human society... nevertheless.«

⁰² Susan Buck-Morss »Dreamworld and Catastrophe« Cambridge/Massachusetts, 2001

⁰³ Beatriz Colomina »Privacy and Publicity – Modern Architecture as Mass Media« Cambridge/Massachusetts, 1996

⁰⁴ Salman Rushdie »Vimma« Helsinki, 2001 (original »Fury«)



MICRONATIONS - FROM UTOPIAN COMMUNITIES TO SPACE SETTLEMENTS

As the organisers of the Helsinki Summit of Micronations, we were often asked on which grounds we selected the participants of the meeting. The four criteria for an invitation were: number of citizens, intensity and breadth of the political, economic or cultural activity, perseverance, and, last but not least, the utopian vision of the founders of the respective micronation. Additionally, our decision was narrowed by the resources allocated to us, as the micronations could not participate with their own resources (with the exception of Sealand). The number of participants we had envisioned during the initial planning phase was significantly higher.

Even though the six participants at the Helsinki summit provide a representative cross section of the micronation phenomenon, there are and there where many more initiatives, projects and fantasies contributing to a long term micronational counterculture.

To provide an image of this counterculture, I would like to use the metaphor of an underground stream that comes to the surface, disappears, resurfaces again, and which merges with other streams, but whose presence, visible or not, is a constant factor in society rather than a periodic one. Maybe micronationalism can be described as a voluntary, temporary withdrawal from existing society to build an alternative model-society on a micro-scale. The members of those societies are only subjected to their own laws. Micronations have the strong will to achieve maximum independence. Also it is important to note that micronations usually try to make their withdrawal from society visible – either by all kinds of symbols, such as flags or coins, or by particular architectural settings – to clearly mark their alternative space. This particular feature distinguishes micronations from Hakim Bey's »Temporary Autonomous Zones«, which he thought of as clandestine operations.

»The TAZ is like an uprising which does not engage directly with the State; it is a guerilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it. Because the State is concerned primarily with simulation rather than substance, the TAZ can »occupy« these areas clandestinely and carry on its festal purposes for quite a while in relative peace.«⁰¹

As the six participants of the Helsinki summit have ample space within this publication to elaborate on their views, I would like to use this article to credit many of the other contributors to the counterculture I try to portray. I would like to employ a micronational historical-ideological matrix. Two of the scales of this matrix determine the territorial approach, from an asterix&obelix village type of micronation to a non-territorial formation. Another scale of the matrix would determine the relation of the individual to the community, from ultra-libertarian views – which put the individual with its rights above everything else – to extreme communism, which subjugates the individual to the community.

(1) UTOPIAN COMMUNITIES

I assume that micronations already existed before the idea of nations was born. They have their ultimate root in the religious thought that true believers constitute a separate body, which exists within a sinful world. And this separated group of people would be only subjected to their own laws. St. Augustine called this idea »The City of God«. It is even more clearly expressed in St. Benedict's view of the monastery as »a little state, which could serve as a model for the new Christian society.«

A powerful revival of this religious idea came during the reformation, which produced a great number

⁰¹ Hakim Bey »T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone« New Jersey, 1985

of radical sects. The seeds for these sects were laid out in Europe in the border zones, where the major churches struggled for supremacy. In the chaos of the »religious frontier«, radical religious sects found a fertile ground. These sects were based on a voluntary union, created to realize within their own circle the ideal of love and holiness; it was important to break very sharply with the evil world and to withdraw from all contact with the state and the dominating church. They shared a profound distrust of any secular power. When these sects were persecuted in Europe, many moved to America where land was available and their beliefs were tolerated. Here is a list of some sects that were established in America:

- 1683 Labadist Community
- 1694 Society of the Woman in the Wilderness
- 1697 Irenia, or True Church of Philadelphia
- 1744 The General Economy of the Moravians
- 1787 Shakers
- 1805 Harmonie Society of the Rappites
- 1817 Society of Separatists of Zoar

These communities managed to establish a fairly successful independent society within the larger society. They were self-sustaining, had their own economy, rules of social life, educational system, government, and belief system. Many of the communes survived for decades, were prosperous, and their members lived a comparably good life. This success brought them to the attention of the social reformers of the enlightenment. Many travellers to America visited the communities and reported enthusiastically about the great achievements they had witnessed there. They suggested copying the model of such religious sects and turning them into secular communities. The first attempt in this direction was undertaken in the 1740s by Mr. Priber from Zittau, Saxony, who had spent some years with Cherokee Indians. He learned their language and persuaded them to live in a communistic society called »Kingdom of Paradise«. Women could »marry« a different

man every day and children would be heirs of the state. Priber was also willing to allow the French and black slaves to live freely in Paradise. His design was »to bring about a confederation of all the southern Indians, to inspire them with industry, to instruct them in the arts necessary to the commodities of life, and, in short, to engage them to throw off the yoke of their European allies of all nations.« Unfortunately Priber was accused of being a French agent to alienate the Indians from the English and thrown into prison. He died before Paradise was unleashed; the Cherokees seemed to be less enthusiastic about communism and the scheme was abandoned.⁰²

In 1793, the poet Coleridge planned to immigrate to America to build a model republic called »Pantisocracy« – a small secular communist community – on the banks of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. The plan was never carried out. It took several more years until secular social-reform orientated experimental communities emerged on a larger scale in the first quarter of the 19th century. Among these were initiatives inspired by the Utopian Socialists, such as Robert Owen and Charles Fourier.

In the early phase of capitalism, many reform-orientated people were dissatisfied with the terrible living conditions for large parts of the population and the declining morality in the cities in the »old world«. London was stinking like hell, food supplies were scarce, healthcare, education facilities, etc. for the lower classes were in a disastrous condition. Even well-off people realised that things could not go on like that; something had to be done. But what? There were many suggestions. In that time a frenzy of reform movements sprung up. The world social forum would pale against the abundance of reform ideas of that time. In the spirit of the reform-drunken times, William Demarest Lloyd could easily announce: »I am a socialist-anarchist-individual-collectivist-individual-communist-cooperative-aristocrat-democrat.«⁰³

⁰² Knox McEllon »Priber's Cherokee Kingdom of Paradise« *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 57, 1973

⁰³ Robert Wiebe »The Search for Order, 1877–1920« *New York*, 1967

Even though the necessity for reform was evident to many people, the communities in the old world were already so »fucked up« that it was extremely difficult to get a fresh and unhampered start. The Promised Land was lying on the other side of the ocean and had a name: AMERICA. Robert Owen had high hopes – as did many others – when entering the New Continent: »I am coming to this country to introduce an entire new system of society; to change it from an ignorant, selfish system to an enlightened social system which shall gradually unite all interests into one, and remove all causes for contest between individuals.«⁰⁴

In America the reformers and utopian dreamers saw the chance to turn their theories into practice. Land was available for very moderate prices. The American Republic was still young and its institutions still in the making. The greatest freedom for which America stood was the freedom to experiment with new practices and institutions.

In the middle of 19th century, contemporaries considered the small experimental community as the pathfinder to the future. The communities might have differed in their ends, but at the heart of all of them was secession and the founding of an agrarian self-sustaining autonomous entity; a framework in which all kind of social, economic and educational experiments could be carried out – a social test laboratory.

Many reformers of the time regarded private property as the main source of evil: »Man, up to this hour, has been, in all parts of the earth, a slave to a trinity of the most monstrous evils that could be combined to inflict mental and physical evil upon the whole race. I refer to private or individual property, absurd and irrational systems of religion, and marriage founded upon individual property, combined with some of these irrational systems of religion.«⁰⁵

In order to achieve »mental independence« it was suggested that the idea of private property be abandoned altogether. As the majority of people were not ready to do so, a system, in which everything was held in common, could only be set up within a small experimental community.

In practice, a group of people, usually between 50 and 250, under the leadership of a charismatic personality, came together; each paid an share into a common fund in order to obtain land and tools, and then the group retreated to the countryside. Often a time-sharing system or a virtual currency was introduced. Extensive educational facilities for children and adults were a usual feature. Most of the communitarians opposed slavery and regarded equal rights for men and women as important. Another typical feature was a common refectory, as dining in single households was considered a waste of time and energy. New architectural and town-planning ideas were implemented. A good example for such radical experimentation is a village based, to the last detail, on an octagon. The scheme was implemented by the Kansas Vegetarian Octagon Settlement Company. Robert Owen favoured the parallelogram as the outline for his model factory in New Lanark. His plans for »New Harmony« were more grandiose than experimental; nevertheless, Owen and other community founders had understood that architecture shapes, to a large extent, social interaction and that it has a strong impact on the well-being of the community members.

The Oneida Community – founded by John Humphrey Noyes in New York State in 1848 – had all the features mentioned before, but beyond that it applied very radical social measures, proving the image of the community as a social test laboratory. There were 3 main concepts introduced into the community:

⁰⁴ Robert Owen »Address to the Community of New Harmony, Indiana« April, 1825

⁰⁵ Robert Owen »Declaration of Mental Independence« proclaimed on 4th of July 1826, reproduced in the *New-Harmony Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 42, 1826

- In »Complex Marriage«, every man was married to every woman and vice versa. Before the man and woman could have sex together, they had to obtain each other's consent through a third person.
- »Male Continence« was a type of birth control separating sexual relationship from reproduction. The community decided who was allowed to reproduce, thus establishing an eugenic program.
- »Mutual Criticism« worked as a system of social control. A member received the criticism of the whole community without being allowed to refute the criticism.⁰⁶

The idea was that if all these measures were practiced for a longer period, people outside of the community would see the advantages and start to imitate the successful models and thereby affect social change and turn the world into a better one. The secession, the retreat, was not considered as an escape but as an effective method to reshape the world.

In that way, the communitarian idea of social change differs vastly from the other alternative programs of change: individualism, revolution, and gradualism. »It is collectivistic, not individualistic; it is opposed to revolution, but impatient with gradualism. For the reformers, democracy was too slow, the conditions too bad to change just by casting a vote once a while. The small, voluntary, experimental community was believed to be capable of [...] an immediate, root-and-branch reform in a peaceful, non-revolutionary manner. A microcosm of society could undergo drastic change in complete harmony and order, and the great world outside could be relied on to imitate a successful experiment without conflict.«⁰⁷

Despite the many good ideas proposed, there were a lot of crazy visionaries and crackpots among the utopian communitarians and very often the greatest visionaries were the most impractical persons. Many projects failed within few months. The infamous

Bronson Alcott, who was involved in Brook Farm, considered himself a »paradise planter«. His wife and daughter just thought of him as the most impractical person in the universe. There was a great gap between the self-evaluation of the visionaries and their practical abilities. (This can be said about many founders of micronations as well.)

Despite its crazy belief system, the Koreshan Unity – a communistic utopian community – survived for decades. It came into existence when their leader, Cyrus Teed, had a divine illumination in 1869 in which GOD appeared to him in the form of a beautiful woman, who told to him that space does not exist and that we actually live inside the earth. Based on this illumination he developed his own complicated cosmology. He preached his teachings and assembled a following crowd of 110 persons to move to Florida in 1894 to establish a commune. The idea was to build the city of New Jerusalem for the coming followers of Cyrus's doctrine. He expected 10 million true believers, but only 200 came. The community was very inventive and became prosperous, especially due to the invention of raisin bread, even though they spent great efforts and time to prove that we really live inside the earth. They executed two large-scale geodetic surveys in which they tried to extend a perfectly straight line to both ends. The idea was simple. If this straight line was extended far enough and the earth was really concave, it would mean that we live inside, as both ends would hit the surface of the earth. Unfortunately, while one end of the straight line really hit the ground, the surveyors at the other end were confronted with the open sea and had to abandon the project.⁰⁸

The »inverted« earth provides an interesting metaphor for ultimate self-sustainability and independence. It evokes the image of a protective womb, of a totally closed and safe environment, shielded away from the vastness and insecurities of open space.

⁰⁶ Mutual Criticism is today in operation in prisons claiming lowest recidivism rates.

⁰⁷ Arthur Bestor Jr. »Backwood Utopias« Philadelphia, 1950

⁰⁸ Catherine Ohnemus »Dr. Cyrus Teed and the Koreshan Unity Movement« CRM, No. 9/2001

(2) LIBERTOPIA

While the open sea ended the Koreshan dreams, it provided inspiration for many utopian writers and freedom-loving freaks. »The freedom as well as the isolation offered by a maritime location could both inhibit the control exercised by established powers and encourage the formation of alternative political societies, much as Darwin found that separate ecosystems had evolved on different islands of the Galapagos chain. Proof of this political axiom is supplied by the current makeup of the Pacific; consisting of less than 1% of the earth's surface, it nonetheless boasts the separate States of The Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa, to name but a few«⁰⁹

In fact, the supposed isolation offered by the open sea inspired many micronational ventures – so called »New Country projects« – with a peak of activities in the early 1970s. Instead of embracing micro-communism, most of these undertakings followed a libertarian philosophy, putting the individual and its rights at the forefront. To understand micronations, one has to understand libertarianism, which in its essence postulates: »Individuals have rights, and there are things no person or group may do to them (without violating their rights). So strong and far-reaching are these rights that they raise the question of what, if anything, the state and its officials may do«¹⁰

A common version of libertarianism translates this idea into a rejection of most of the state's functions. Libertarians would abolish all regulations, such as:

- Taxation for welfare purposes
- Restrictions to business or scientific research
- Enforcement of compulsory school or army
- Punishment for victimless crimes (drug use etc.)
- Prohibition of consensual sexual practices

All these regulations are state powers that are breaking individual's rights and therefore cannot be justified. To tax someone (the rich) to provide welfare for the poor is equivalent to stealing property and is considered to be making the person who pays the tax a slave. Because the absolute right for private property is a central issue, libertarianism is known in the popular mind as »anarchism for the rich«.

At the end of the 60s, a clique of libertarians – grouped around the writer Ayn Rand – gained more influence. While a portion of the American student movement revived the ideas of the utopian communities of the 19th century, a fraction of the student movement entered a strange liaison with the libertarians. Unlike in France, where students were joining with the workers, the student-movement in America was fighting mainly for the limitation of state powers. They demanded, among other things, the absolute right to smoke marihuana – a goal that was on the libertarian agenda as well.

The cold war brought along an ever-increasing extension of state power. For the libertarians of the late 60s, the only way they could possibly imagine to fulfil their dreams was secession. There was but one puzzling question: Where to go? Some people decided to just go out of sight and search for the deepest forest, build a hut there and pursue a life with as little interruption as possible. In the book »Last Frontiers on Earth – Strange Places where you can Live Free«, the »Out of Sight« approach was strongly embraced. The author Jon Fisher provided tips for living in Polar Regions or how to hide in cities, caves, ghost towns or deserts.

For most libertarians this approach didn't provide an exciting perspective, as they wanted to live free, but pursue some unrestricted business schemes at the same time. Considering themselves »Prime Movers« (Any Rand), financial prosperity was seen as neces-

⁰⁹ Samuel Pyeatt Menefee »Republics of the Reefs: Nation-Building on the Continental Shelf and in the World's Oceans« *Public International Law*, Fall 1994

¹⁰ Robert Nozick »Anarchy, State and Utopia« *New York*, 1974

sary to be one's own boss independent of anybody's charity. Four ways to freedom were considered, all of them connected to the sea: 1) the appropriation of unclaimed islets; 2) the promulgation of sovereignty over reefs or low-tide elevations; 3) the creation of states in shallow waters by dumping; and 4) the erection of empires on artificial platforms.

Plenty of schemes existed but only few were implemented and even fewer succeeded. The brief story of the Republic of Minerva might suffice to illustrate the idea of libertopia.

REPUBLIC OF MINERVA

In August 1971, the Ocean Life Research Foundation arrived at the Minerva Reefs and proceeded to dredge up two hummocks of land, coral wrapped in seven layers of chicken wire and encased in reinforced concrete, to above mean high water. They erected 26 foot high markers topped by a flag with a gold torch inside a gold circle on a solid blue background, representing the Republic of Minerva – Land of the Rising Atoll. This was the initial step in an «enhancement» of the reef's unique physical characteristics with the reef rising above sea level at low tide. The plans envisioned the creation of 2500 acres of land on the two reefs. It was intended to import topsoil from Fiji to cover the reclaimed area.

On January 19, 1972, a Declaration of Sovereignty was issued, which established the Republic, basing its claim to the reefs on actual occupation of *terra nullius*. The Declaration noted the «improvement» of the reefs' height, claimed a 12-mile territorial sea and proclaimed a republican government operating under democratic principles.

Michael Oliver, one of the founders and the philosophical guru behind the scheme, stated that »his team sought a new land to escape from high taxes, riots, drugs and crime.« The founders intended to

demand the separation of politics and economics in order to promote maximum prosperity, freedom, and tranquillity. Oliver's extreme laissez-faire political-economic philosophy were to materialize in a government which would have as its only function the protection of individual rights and property against force and fraud. All property would be privately owned. The state would not attempt to regulate commercial activities, and there would be no income tax. In its place would be premiums of \$ 50 to \$ 100 per person and \$ 150 to \$ 500 per company per year, which would be purely voluntary: Non-payers would only be deprived of certain judicial services. There would be no welfare, no foreign aid, no regulatory agencies, no tariffs, and no wage or price controls. All legislative acts would expire in five years but could be repealed at any time. A coin had been minted, a special issue of commemorative stamps was planned and a currency designed. Even though Minerva would not provide a tax retreat for gambling establishments, it could become a significant tax haven and a legal base for »flag of commerce shipping« as well as a retreat from bureaucracy. In addition to tourism, the founders expected light industries, commercial activities and fishing, oceans-related activities, and even a munitions plant! It was further intended that Minerva's police force would be minimal, in hopes of a crime-free society.

Tonga, in turn, took a series of actions to demonstrate Tongan jurisdiction over the Reefs. In February 1972, Tonga placed refuge stations (boxes with emergency supplies and locating beacons) on the coral atolls. In May, the King of Tonga sailed to the reefs towing a barge holding several steel I-beams in order to erect two permanent structures on them to support a Tongan claim if one were later determined to be necessary. Also on board were two cabinet ministers, some troops and twenty Tongan prisoners. »The King watched from his royal yacht as a gang of Tongan convicts tore down the Minerva flag.«^{11a+b}

^{11a} Menefee 1994

^{11b} Lawrence A. Horn »To Be or Not to Be: The Republic of Minerva – Nation Founding by Individuals« Columbia Journal of Transnational Law, No.5 1973

A follower of Ayn Rand wrote an anthology about these early libertarian projects, and it has become a classic of its kind: »How to Build Your Own Country and How You Can Profit from the Coming Decline of the Nation State.« Erwin S. Strauss criticized most of the projects he described in the book as immature and inconsequential. He argued, if you want to really start your own country you should be able to play the military muscle. He suggested that a serious project should acquire weapons of mass destruction, install them in all major US cities and make sure that they can be triggered off when the new country is endangered. Strauss even provided practical help; he wrote a do-it-yourself book about nuclear weapons: »Basement Nukes«.

One of the few examples Strauss praised as successful was Sealand (see page 53), and in fact it is the only project described in the book that has survived to the current time. The success of Sealand is not based on the possession of nuclear weapons but on the unusual history of their territory.

According to Sealand, it was their successful declaration of independence, which activated the UK to lobby the international community leading to the UN Convention of the Sea in 1982. This convention of all coastal countries of the world prohibited artificial structures becoming independent countries once and for all; if there should be any structure in international waters, it would, according to the convention, always fall under the jurisdiction of the nearest country, even if it would be 1000 miles away. This convention constituted the final chapter of the process described as »the closure of the map.« While the last bit of Earth unclaimed by any nation-state was eaten up in 1899, turning the 20th century into the first one without *terra incognita*, the convention in 1982 marks the loss of the last frontier on earth.

Even though the decisions made in 1982 are hard to circumvent, the true freedom freak will not be stopped by the existing laws – there always will be a loophole eventually. The desire to achieve freedom and autonomy is so great that plenty of similar

platform projects are still appearing – embedded in surprising schemes – proving the longevity and endurance of the micronational impetus.

NEW UTOPIA

Envisioned by the self-styled Prince Lazarus I, New Utopia proposes a minimal state in which business and science wouldn't be limited by the authorities – a perfect city on the coral reefs between Cuba and Honduras known as »The Venice of The Caribbean«. A rather unusual feature of the venture is the emphasis on unrestricted research in extending the life span of humans. New Utopia promises state-of-the-art cosmetic surgery techniques, together with high-tech anti-aging and age-reversal treatments and therapies, to be made available at the Robert A. Heinlein Memorial Rejuvenation and Longevity Clinic. Prince Lazarus hopes to attract rich pensioners, who wish to extend their life for some 50 years in a paradise-like setting. New Utopia's belief system belongs to a particular form of libertarianism known as Transhumanism, which envisions overcoming the poor limitations of the human body by experimental science, but the government restricts such research on unjustified grounds.

»The founders and charter citizens of New Utopia consist of an organized movement of like-minded, independent libertarian individuals, who have embraced the major political and philosophical principles expounded by the late Ayn Rand, Napoleon Hill and Robert Heinlein. Absolute economic freedom, Capitalism in its purest form, shall reign supreme in this new country, where earnings – the fruits of mankind's labours – shall never be subject to confiscation by the government. It is the purpose of the founding citizens to create in New Utopia the ultimate heaven« (Prince Lazarus I).

ALEXANDISLE

This venture by Kevin Alexander »will in a few short years build a beautiful island where you, as an ethical, non-believer, free-market advocate, will never pay taxes of any kind, and can always find a haven from irrational, religion-based socialist states.«

Government and society are formally declared as non-believing, where faith-based views are considered as fraudulent. Alexandisle requires a citizen to pass a critical thinking test. Alexandisle is the first nation to effectively challenge the intellectual basis of inheritance – laws that are at the root of many inequalities in present societies, disallowing many from being self-made. Upon death, no more than \$300,000 can be left to any one heir. The remainder must be given to charitable organizations, which perform all social services normally administered by modern governments. Anyone can found a new charity if they are unsatisfied with current ones. Mr. Alexander is known for his claim that »Capitalism is actually democracy at its foundation.«

AQUARIUS RISING

Aquarius is a sea-city based on Marshall Savage's »The Millennial Project: Colonizing the Galaxy in Eight Easy Steps« (1992). He suggests establishing a floating sea-colony employing 3 key technologies: (1) OTEC – an Ocean Thermal Energy Converter operating on the temperature differential between surface and deep water; (2) Spirulina farming; (3) Sea-cret or sea-ment accreted out of plain ocean water. (Sea-cret is manufactured by applying an electric current (the surplus energy of the OTEC) to a metal grid; calcium carbonate and other mineral ions dissolved in sea water bond electrochemically to the charged metal will form a cement-hard coating. One application of the sea-ment-technology is intended to accelerate the production of artificial reefs with minimal costs.)

But the proposed artificial platform in the sea is not an end in itself; it is only the first step of a much bigger plan. The surplus energy of the OTEC will be subsequently used for a launching pad for electromagnetic gliders – the so-called Bifrost launching facility – in order to build and maintain a permanent station in space, named Asgard, the colonization of space being the ultimate goal of this scheme.

Both the utopian communists and the libertarian »New Country« initiators believed that the surrounding society was doomed to fail, but their reasons differ in magnitude. While the former thought of private property as the root of the decay, libertarians believed »that the cumulative damage to freedom, which has come about through cleverly disguised, creeping socialism – now written into the laws of many countries – is irreversible, and leaves no recourse but escape – to a new land« (Prince Lazarus I, New Utopia website). The »creeping socialism« enslaves the so-called Great Achievers or Prime Movers, taking away their incentive to keep society thriving. The communitarian idea of social change was based on the large-scale imitation of their successful micro-societies. The world could be reshaped into one unified utopia based on the principles derived from the small-scale experiment. Libertarians are »reluctant utopians«. While fiercely rejecting any notion of a unified utopia, they suggest an abundance of experimental sovereign (sea-based) micro-societies entering the free market of utopia.

»Monolithic, land-based societies are too big and too politically static. Political flexibility and experimentation with many different political systems is the right way to find new and better ways to live. Seasteads would allow for a rich diversity in forms of governance because they lower the barrier of entry to the market of government. When it takes a revolution or millions of votes to take over a country, small groups have no opportunity for self-government. But if, for the cost of their houses, they can band together and create new sovereign territory, many will do so. While living their own ideal lifestyle, they will also be researching innovations in the basic institutions of society, which will increase our collective wisdom and benefit all humankind.«¹²

The »New Country« initiators style themselves as pioneers and inspirational force for the re-making of the world comprised of »Ten Thousand Nations.«¹³

¹² Wayne C. Gramlich »Seasteading: A Practical Guide to Homesteading the High Seas«

¹³ This term is borrowed from Kevin Alexander, the promoter of Alexandisle.

(3) SPACE SETTLEMENTS

Even with »Seasteading« still high on the libertarian agenda, many »New Country Prime Movers« have comprehended the lengths to which nations will go to preserve their cartel status. Therefore the search for a new frontier – the frontier being the preferred libertarian metaphor of a free society – has entered the next stage. While cyberspace was only shortly believed to be the next frontier, the new wild west – thus the quick »Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace« by John Perry Barlow in 1996 – the more adventurous libertarians are looking to outer space instead. Private settlements on the moon or in space infect the dreams of freedom loving secessionists around the globe. Freedom means to be subjected to only the laws one has voluntarily decided to accept, even though these laws might be extremely restrictive – as one might imagine the limitations of everyday life in a 10 square meter space station. Here is a list of some of the advocacy groups:

- Artemis Society International
- International Space Exploration & Colonization Co.
- Island One Society
- League of New Worlds
- Lifeboat Foundation
- Living Universe Foundation
- National Space Society
- Space Frontier Foundation
- Space Studies Institute

Now, after the first successful private space flight within the X-Prize, these groups will gain an enormous boost of self-confidence and plausibility. The main idea is to build isolated, sealed off self-sustainable capsules on the moon or in space, where the new high tech communities can follow their interests unhindered by state restrictions. Between the colonies would be a nice near vacuum, a good protection from unwelcome guests. Of course there are business ideas involved, mainly related to mining and tourism. Sport dollars should also float in, as the moon would be a perfect training ground

for athletes in order to give them a competitive advantage on earth. Erotic services might be also considered for a business-plan if one expects that sex in low gravity will be a selling point.

A near-future oriented approach suggests squatting the old fuel tanks of the space shuttle carriers, which are floating around as junk. But for the space colonizers the most important model is the Biosphere II project – the well-known simulation experiment in the Arizonian desert. It must be pointed out that, despite all the science in the foreground, Biosphere II is a project deeply rooted in libertarian thought with the end objective to build sealed off self-sustainable environments in space – in order to escape the power of the state and live a libertarian life, however restricted it might be out there. Biosphere II represents the last stage of development of territorial micronations: the attempt of creating total self-sustainability leading to ultimate independence – not only from any political system – but even from Biosphere I itself.

From 1991 to 93, a group of 8 scientists lived for two years in the 2,6 hectares large sealed off area of Biosphere II. The ambition to establish a self-regulating, sustainable community has been quite a failure though. An unexplainable explosion of microbes brought the oxygen-level to such low levels, that additional oxygen had to be pumped in. Farming operations were constantly endangered because of plagues of insects. Furthermore, the food that could be produced did not contain enough calories. The community of scientists suffered from malnutrition and tiredness. Fighting the insect plagues and doing farm work occupied them for most of the time, leaving but little spare time for scientific work. With this image in mind of the high tech communitarians struggling with the barest necessities of life – facing more hardships than the utopian communities of the 19th century – one might ask if libertopia has produced as only viable model a micro-society of asceticism.¹⁴

¹⁴ In this image would fit Sealand's prohibition policy on drugs, alcohol and cigarettes.

(4) REPUBLICS OF CHOICE

The Internet has provided a practical and cheap platform for a great variety of communities of interest: from big-bellied men to UFO freaks, from space colonizers to donkey lovers, etc. Internet-micronations are just one among those communities, but they differ in one important aspect. They boldly suggest that the whole concept of national identity might be shifted from an imposed territorial to a voluntary non-territorial mode.

We normally take it for granted: a government or state has its corresponding territory. A government's sovereignty over a clearly defined area of land and the people living within the borders of this land is considered a criterion of statehood. It is the main task of non-territorial micronations to challenge the one-to-one relationship between state and territory. This can be of great importance if we consider the fact that most of the wars have been fought to secure monopoly over territory. »Becoming a citizen of a nation which does not have a territory would make it possible to develop alliances which would exceed borders and linguistic barriers. It would be rather original, carrying hope for humanity.«¹⁵

Is this hope justified? A virtual country might be seen as merely a game. But I think that a virtual micronation can really affect the life of its citizens – and through that the rest of the world – as much as any real nation, as long as enough people believe strongly in its existence, spend time there, interact and, above all, speak about it.

»Language makes rather than merely reflects life, and this holds for all social discourses that shape and constrain the way people live their lives. In other words, to speak is to act and to act is to exercise power. Information technology is therefore a medium for the exercise of power.«¹⁶

The pioneers of the Net realized quickly the intrinsic possibilities of cyberspace in creating alternative forms of belonging, which at some point even might become more relevant than the nation-state model. In order to preserve the »frontier« nature of the net and to limit the hegemonial influences of the state – which does not allow any competitors – cyberspace was quickly declared independent:

»Governments of the Industrial World, you weary giants of flesh and steel, I come from Cyberspace, the new home of Mind. On behalf of the future, I ask you of the past to leave us alone. You are not welcome among us. You have no sovereignty where we gather. We have no elected government, nor are we likely to have one, so I address you with no greater authority than that with which liberty itself always speaks. I declare the global social space we are building to be naturally independent of the tyrannies you seek to impose on us. [...]

We must declare our virtual selves immune to your sovereignty, even as we continue to consent to your rule over our bodies. [...] We will create a civilization of the Mind in Cyberspace. May it be more humane and fair than the world your governments have made before.«¹⁷

The economist Edward Castranova investigated the virtual worlds of online games. Based on the assumption that it is the practical actions of people, and not abstract arguments, that determine the social value of things, he produced the first »Economic Report of Norrath«. (Norrath is the virtual world of the Everquest game) The report states, that perhaps 93.000 people out of Norrath's 400.000-person user base spend more time in Norrath in a typical week than they do working for pay. Some 20 percent of Norrath's citizens consider Norrath their place of residence; they just commute to Earth and back.

¹⁵ Frédéric Lasserre »Les hommes qui voulaient être rois – Principautés et nations sur internet« *Analyses et perspectives* No 1, 2000

¹⁶ Jerry Everard »Virtual States – the Internet and the boundaries of the nation state« 2000

¹⁷ John Perry Barlow »Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace« Davos, February 8, 1996

Castranova calculated the exchange rate between the US dollar and Norrath's virtual currency, the platinum piece from the prices in US\$ at which virtual property of Norrath, such as weapons, houses, etc., were traded on e-Bay. With that exchange-rate he could calculate some economic data: the nominal hourly wage is about 3,42 USD per hour, and the labours of the people produce a GNP per capita somewhere between that of Russia and Bulgaria.¹⁸ These are impressive facts that actually reveal the potential of virtual entities, such as micronations, which can attract a sufficient amount of citizens.

Even though it seems evident that the Net can provide the platform for alternative modes of belonging, the current state of affairs in most of the Massive Multiplayer Online Role Playing Games are far from providing viable alternatives. The online societies – ruled by ruthless warlords within a world divided into clans & tribes – are embracing territorial behaviour and the survival of the fittest in their most extreme form. Killing is the most rewarding activity, torturing is great fun and human rights are only good for a joke. Other virtual worlds, following an ultra-capitalist free market philosophy, are in no better shape either: mafia-like structures, crime, rape, prostitution, etc. It seems that the creators of the online worlds did not even imagine the scenarios that are now unfolding, as they rather helplessly try to program small robots with the task to restore some order or to help new citizens to survive the atrocities while building up their avatars. The only attempt to add a utopian notion to such online worlds is the »agoraXchange« platform, which is developing a game with four decrees forming the fundamental political tenets for the new world system: citizenship by choice, no inheritance, no marriage and no private land rights. Unfortunately the agoraXchange platform lacks a substantial support community. We might never get to know if a world built on such decrees would guide us away from dystopian nightmares.

In more general terms, three features of non-territorial micronations are common and considered important. Citizenship is voluntary, the option of exit is given at any moment, which leads to a competition between the different governments. The third feature is the option that anyone dissatisfied with all existing choices can start their own micronation.

Such ideas have been formulated long before the Internet era; for example, by DePuydt in 1860. His text was largely ignored but later re-discovered by Max Nettlau (1909) and made public under the heading »Panarchy«. DePuydt and Nettlau suggested that the law of free competition does not only apply to the commercial world but would have to be brought also into the political sphere. They lamented that the fundamental freedom is missing, the freedom to be free or not free, according to one's choice, the absolute right to select the political society in which one wants to live and to depend upon.

»In each municipality a new office would be opened for the *political membership* of individuals with *governments*. The adults would let themselves be entered in the lists of the monarchy, of the republic, etc. From then on they remain untouched by the governmental systems of others. Each system organizes itself, has its own representatives, laws, judges, and taxes, regardless of whether there are two or ten such organizations next to each other.

There may be people who do not want to fit into any of these organisms. These may propagate their ideas and attempt to increase the numbers of their followers until they have achieved an independent budget. [...] Freedom must be so extensive that it includes the right not to be free. Consequently, absolutism for those who do not want it any other way is required. [...] There will be free competition between the governmental systems. »You are dissatisfied with your government? Take another one for yourself! – without any revolution or unrest.«¹⁹

¹⁸ Edward Castranova »Virtual Worlds: a first-hand account of market and society on the Cyberian Frontier« 2001

Similar ideas have received academic attention. The Institute for Empirical Research in Economics at the University of Zurich is the originator of a »constitutional proposal, based on the notion that there are meaningful government units, whose major characteristic is not the territorial extension but its function. The constitution proposal allows for the emergence of governmental organizations, which are called FOCJ according to the acronym for »Functional, Overlapping, Competing Jurisdictions«. Their territory is variable, and they do not have a territorial monopoly over it. Rather, they are in competition with other such FOCJ, and they are, moreover, exposed to political competition«²⁰

In a classic of libertarian literature, »Anarchy, State and Utopia«, Robert Nozick describes a libertarian vision of Utopia. He, of course, has to reject the idea of the classical utopia, of a unified system of order. He therefore projects a meta-utopia, in which each person is allowed to choose her own version of an ideal community from a broad menu of possibilities. This is Nozick's own list of the range of communities that might flourish in a meta-utopian world: »Visionaries and crackpots, maniacs and saints, monks and libertines, capitalists and communists and participatory democrats, proponents of phalanxes (Fourier), palaces of labour (Flora Tristan), villages of unity and cooperation (Owen), mutualist communities (Proudhon), time stores (Josiah Warren), Bruderhof, kibbutzim, kundalini yoga ashrams, and so forth.«

Within Nozick's framework for utopia, it is also possible to design and create your own utopia if you can convince a sufficient number of people to join you. Such colourful mix of communities was intended to exist within the framework of the minimal state, or the invisible state, which should only appear to protect citizens from violence, theft, and breach of contract. Nozick was at pain to demonstrate that a minimal state would inevitably arise

from a supposed anarchy (or state of nature) without violating anyone's rights. He furthermore tried to prove that any extension of state power, for example by taxation for welfare purposes, is breaking an individual's rights and therefore cannot be justified.

Nozick admits that the minimal state is hardly as sexy or inspirational as some (socialist) utopias, but he seeks to lay down a utopian proposal that avoids the dangers of earlier utopian visions containing the seeds of totalitarianism and perfectionism, thus attracting more people to the libertarian cause.

A quite opposite argument is put forward by the NSK-State in Time (see page 85).

Another recent project taking up the idea of *Republics of Choice* is the Transnational Republic (see page 103). They suggest creating transnational governments, which would work more like transnational corporations. They say that we should learn from Coca-Cola how to represent citizens' interests on a global scale. There would be many different transnational republics competing for citizens by providing the best solutions to global problems. Their approach has some similarities to the open source movement, but instead of improving the system software of a computer it's about designing a better political system for governing the world.

SUMMARY

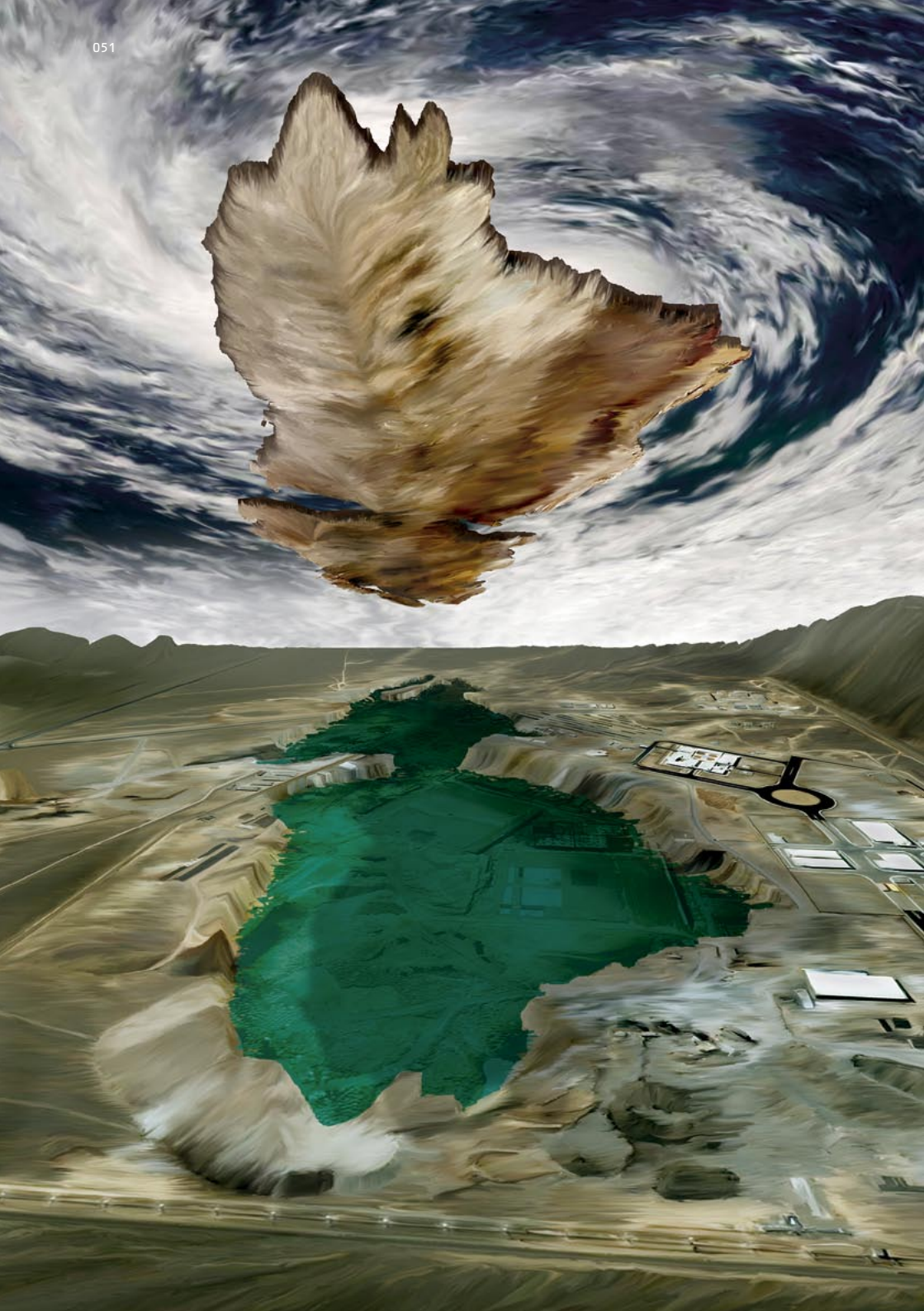
The purpose of this article was to illustrate a historical-ideological matrix of the micronational counter-movement to show that »enclaves of difference« have always existed and are still thriving today. Whatever their ideological or territorial approach might be, micronations are installed in the interstice of utopia and the politics of everyday life.

Oliver Kochta-Kalleinen

¹⁹ Max Nettlau »Panarchy – A Forgotten Idea of 1860« 1909

²⁰ Bruno S. Frey »A Utopia? Government without Territorial Monopoly« 2000





I N T R O D U C T I O N M I C R O N A T I O N S

Amorph!03 hosted the first »Summit of Micronations«. The Principality of Sealand, Ladonia, NSK-State, Kingdoms of Elgaland&Vargaland, Transnational Republic and State of Sabotage joined the summit. On the following pages the participants of the Amorph!03 summit will be introduced.

WHAT ARE MICRONATIONS?

According to the United Nations, a micronation is a nation that has less than 2 million nationals. More recently the term »micronation« has been applied to almost anything from invented kingdoms, model states, cybertopias, libertarian oases to real existing micro-states. We have used the word »micronation« as an umbrella term to describe the diverse endeavours of the participants of the Amorph!03 summit. It must nevertheless be stated, that the term is not entirely adequate to describe the Amorph!03 participants. Instead of being small nations, who aspire to full statehood, they rather are self-declared states aiming to acquire and amass citizens of different nationalities in the course of time. In some cases this development might lead to the emergence of a new nation at a later moment, when a significant number of people in their respective communities consider themselves to have formed a nation, or behave as if they have formed one. Other participating micro-nations are less concerned with forming internationally recognised nations, and aim instead to mime some of the structures of the state in order to throw into relief and infiltrate current structures of global governance for a variety of social and political reasons. As the term »micronation« in its common use subsumes a large field of related phenomena, it is useful to classify them into 3 categories:

1. »Micro-states« are small countries, or (semi-) autonomous jurisdictions complying to the common definition of statehood that are 20,000 square kilometres or smaller (see glossary). In most cases they are diplomatically recognized (e.g. Monaco), but in other cases their full statehood is disputed.

2. »Model-states« are experiments in forming a state with all of its political institutions. This usually goes in hand with some sort of attempt at nation-building. The measure of success of model-states is mostly indicated by the number of persons applying for citizenship. The most popular model-states are usually developed as part of large role playing games, see for example, the Society for Creative Anachronism. The most interesting forms of model-states come out of experiments which challenge the definition of statehood itself. These projects can be seen as unique artistic or social/political statements. In this way, they can function as exemplary models for possible state structures to come and/or as creative working structures through which to challenge the state and authority. One key question and challenge for model-states concerns the establishment of legitimacy without basing it on territorial claims. However, most of the vast number of model-states are restricted to exercises in governmental protocol – often compared to »diplomatic model railroads.« (Scharff). Like other countries, many model-states have proclaimed declarations of independence, adopted constitutions, appointed ambassadors, designed their own flags, and have issued stamps, passports and currency.

3. »New country projects« are attempts to build a new country by acquiring or creating territory which does not belong to any existing state. Tiny, isolated islands, floating man-made structures or space stations are proposed as such territory. New country projects usually try to operate financing schemes which are not legal in other states, or strictly controlled by the state (gambling, prostitution, off-shore banking etc.). Their promoters claim, that no government should have the right to prohibit such activities. New country projects are often inspired by libertarian ideas.



PRINCIPALITY OF SEALAND

The Principality of Sealand is honoured to attend and to take part in Amorph!03.

We are perhaps more a micro-state than a micro-nation; for nearly 40 years, we have had a resident population, our own territorial waters and island fortress, and the responsibility of feeding and keeping warm and comfortable our residents.

We think about nations as »groups of persons with a common goal or ideal«; we think about States as »geographically separate parts of the earth with a population, government, and the ability to be self-sustaining.« In the beginning there must be nations; from them may come States. We are proud to be amongst nations at this exhibition, and look forward to learning from them about their common interests and the thoughts and ideals that join each of their institutions together as one.

OUR HISTORY

A country must begin with lands and territories exclusive to the people who inhabit them. And so it was with our Principality; founded in international waters, centred upon a fortress that no one wanted nor claimed and which had stood abandoned for over 20 years, Major Roy Bates and his family took possession. It was not east in those first days; lanterns provided the light in the cold winter nights, and paraffin stoves provided what little warmth there was to be had. A year later, in 1967, the fortress had been made habitable and our Principality was proclaimed as a new country on the high seas.

Our nearest neighbour, the United Kingdom, noted our country with some disdain and much indifference; it was almost impossible in those days to communicate with the rest of the world, supplies were provided with difficulty, and the thought of a regular postal service was far from our grasp. Still,

we carried on; there were ways round the difficulties, and these were found; in spite of the lack of co-operation, the tiny population of the Bates family and a few others became modern-day pioneers in the North Sea.

As time moved on, our Principality became more firmly entrenched; an attempt by the UK to occupy our country fell to the UK Courts to be quashed, and finally our permanent presence was accepted. Following this quiet but important step, we were able to carry our own letters to a port of entry to the international postal system, and we began the work of making a country have an identity of its own. Our flag, our passports, our citizens, our own way of life became the accepted norm in the countries about us.

There were many in those days who wanted their country »ready-made«; those who would wish to trade off the backs of our early pioneers who struggled in the cold dark and windy winters to make our country a comfortable and peaceful place to live. Once we were successfully invaded; and fought back to regain our lands and territorial seas. Other attempts were made. Many investors came in disguise, hoping somehow to gain control of our Principality for their own ends. All were unsuccessful.

It can be said as right that any country which starts from the beginning must have difficult times; the history books record such reality over and over again. Our country is no exception. The building and consolidation of virgin territories into a place to live, with reasonable comfort and a peaceful way of life, are bought with sweat and tears. And so it was with the Principality of Sealand. Fifteen years on, the country was known, was prosperous, and offered its population a place in the world where dignity and respect for all was the norm.

* This text was submitted for »Amorph!03 Documents« (2003) prior to the summit meeting.

THE PRECEDENT

It cannot be comfortable for a country and its political system to see a new country develop and grow on its doorstep. What is more, our fortress was made by man; any number of similar efforts, given the time and funding, could be undertaken. The thought of hundreds of serfdoms or other small states populating the high seas of the globe was a thought not taken lightly by the established countries in the world. True, no one had yet found the extensive investment required to build and to occupy an artificial construction on the high seas, but this could only be a matter of time.

Faced with this reality, all the countries in the world which bordered an ocean or similar body of water with international standing convened, by way of the United Nations, a Convention of the Sea in 1982. There, discussions were held; thoughts were exchanged; and a common wish to ban forever any further declarations of independence emerged. In the UN Convention Of The Sea, countries in the world united: any man-made structure in international waters could never again have independent status, but rather fell under the jurisdiction of the nearest country. And so a new sector of international law was born, but born and finally implemented nearly two decades after the Principality came to be. The door was then closed on future independent countries being built and declared; the door closed two decades too late to alter the reality of our country.

Since that time, our neighbouring countries, the neighbours upon whom we depend to a much greater extent than do they depend upon us, became resigned to our presence. Our way of life eased; journeys were commonplace, without bureaucratic problems and unnecessary obstruction; and we were able to begin to concentrate upon our life-style comforts rather than upon survival.

But we had made our mark in history; due to our founding and our declaration of independence and our declaration of existence, the rest of the world

took note and changed forever the rules of the high seas that had ordered the discovery and colonisation by the Europeans of the whole of the globe since the fourteenth century and before. We had set a precedent; we, unwittingly, had changed the international political and social order forever.

TODAY

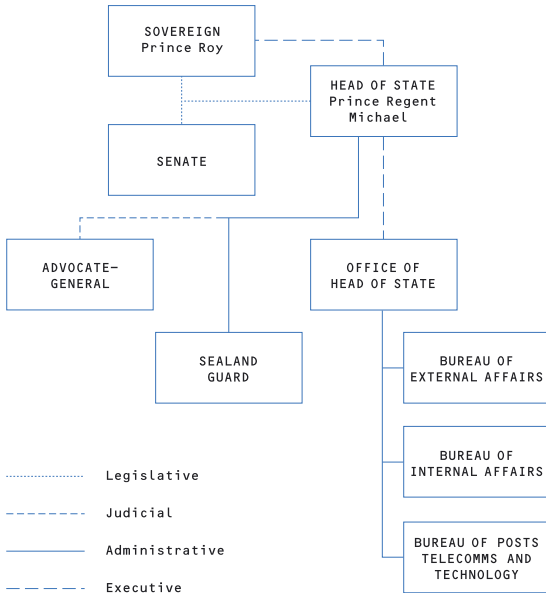
We have watched the world change. In our quiet place in the sea, we have watched other countries politically expire, emerge, and join with neighbouring countries. We have watched the cold war begin, rise to a crescendo, and end; we have watched nationalistic people-power cancel strong and not-so-strong countries, some of long standing. It has been an interesting time; perhaps a time never imagined and never before witnessed.

Our part of the world, originally between fiercely independent countries with fortified borders, has changed to that of an independent country in a sea bordered by these same countries now working toward a common destiny. We have of course adapted to this change; where we once faced customs, immigration, and other nationalistic controls from our neighbours, we now can feel integrated with their activities as an independent part of a more seamless community of states.

During the last 15 years, we have been able to consolidate our country, concentrating on internal matters; we now have a developing industrial base, a growing population, and a working administration able to serve our resident persons and manage effectively our interface with the international community of States. We look forward to many more years to come.

Bureau of External Affairs
Principality of Seland

PRINCIPALITY OF SEALAND > STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT



Founded: September 2, 1967

Government typ:
Constitutional Monarchy

Sovereign: Prince Roy of Sealand

Head of State:
Prince Regent Michael of Sealand

Location:
Central North Sea, approx. 7 nm East of the United Kingdom shoreline and the major port of Felixstowe

Territory [area]:
Land: 0.004 square km
Water: 99.996 square km

Coordinates: 51° 54' N; 01° 29' E

Comparative [land]:
Slightly smaller than the size of The Mall in Washington, DC

Coastline: 400 m

Maritime claims:
12 nm from central land area except to median line with UK border

Terrain:
Highly secure concrete and steel island with no surface access

Population: 27 [2002 actual]

Age structure:
0-14 years: 9%, 15-64 years: 82%, 65 years and over: 9%

Population growth: 0% [2002]

Net migration ratio:
-28% [2000-2002]

Sex ratio: 4.4 males/female

HIV/AIDS: Nil

Nationality: Sealander(s)

Ethnic groups:
European, North American

Religions:
Church of England 26%; other 74%

Language: English

Literacy: Over 95%

Legal system:
Common Law [based on English Law]

GDP: US\$600,000

GDP growth rate:
+25% [2000 – 2001]

GDP per capita: US\$22,200

Population below poverty line: 0%

Labour force: 22

Unemployment: 0%

Budget:
Revenues: US\$372,000
Expenditures: US\$194,000

Debt-external: US\$0

Economic aid: US\$0

Currency:
Sealand \$ [pegged in value to US\$]

International Disputes:
UK claims Sealand territorial waters and jurisdiction since 1987 [date of extension of UK territorial limits]

C O N S T I T U T I O N O F S E A L A N D

I, Roy, being for the time being Sovereign over all the lands and other territories hereinafter known as the Principality of Sealand, hereby attest

That from the Day of Declaration of Independence on 2 September 1967, The Principality has been wholly independent of any other State or other external force and as a token of this independence all matters both national and international have been determined solely by the Sovereign empowered from time to time;

That the Principality was established for the betterment of mankind and to further that endeavour was set as a place where all men, regardless of personal background or persuasion, might undertake such activities as they see fit as appropriate to their beliefs and custom taking into account those actions upon their fellow men;

That from the Day of Independence a framework Constitution of fairness and equity has prevailed often against many odds but always with the attempt to respect the rights of individuals and to further the Principles of the Declaration of Independence above;

And now do declare: That current factors now dictate that it is due time to place in force this the formal Constitution of Sealand better to secure Order within the Principality and thereby harmony and security for all.

Constitution of Sealand

Article 1. Principles and structure of government

The nature of the Government of the Principality shall be, in all areas of its exercise of its powers, that of a Constitutional Monarchy.

The Sovereign shall be the Authority for all matters civil and criminal national and international which affect or are likely to affect in the judgement of the Sovereign the Order or security of the Principality.

The Sovereign shall empower as in the judgement of the Sovereign is appropriate such persons or groups of persons as seen fit with devolved authority to effect such matters as may arise to pursue the welfare of the Principality; amongst these may be Bureaux concerned with external matters, internal matters, matters of concern to the Head of State, and matters concerned with the Principality Treasury and other institutions constituted to serve particular needs of the Principality.

The details of such organs constituted from time to time and their powers and jurisdictions shall be at the sole discretion of the Sovereign.

The Sovereign shall in addition set out procedures appropriate to the resolution of dispute and the keeping of the Common Order to the benefit of all.

Article 2. Senate and its duties

The Sovereign shall determine whether and if so to what extent to constitute to convene and to preside over the activities of a formal Senate which shall sit in an advisory capacity to consider various matters of State.

It shall upon instruction of the Sovereign or by collective consensus of need perceived by Senate prepare those Laws seen appropriate for the maintenance of Order and to sustain the Common Good.

Such Laws as may be prepared by Senate shall be presented to the Sovereign for bringing into effect or for such other disposition as the Sovereign in sole discretion shall see fit.

Such Laws as are enacted by the Sovereign shall form the only basis upon which matters of any kind are undertaken in the Principality and shall be published for the information of all Citizens who will be held responsible for their implementation as appropriate.

Members of Senate shall be appointed by the Sovereign who shall at all times use best judgement to ensure a balance of representation of the interests of the Principality.

Article 3. Judicial powers

Subject to the conditions in Clause 5 of Article 1 above, a tribunal shall be constituted to consider matters of dispute within the Principality or between the Principality or its Citizens and others and to advise on the resolution of such disputes. The tribunal shall be no less than 3 in number and be formed of those persons seen to be expert in the Process of Law and in the matter brought forward for consideration and independent of the interests of the parties concerned.

Any tribunal shall at all times take into the account the content of the Declaration of Human Rights and Judgements of those Courts concerned with the administration of the content of the Declaration of Human Rights as a first priority in its deliberations.

The opinion of the tribunal shall be conveyed to the Sovereign who shall issue a Decision as appropriate said Decision to be subject to enforcement as seen appropriate.

The Sovereign shall have sole discretion as to devolvement of any or all powers [or cancellation of such devolution] in respect of such legal matters as are seen fit.

Article 4. Matters of State

All relations with other States shall be at the sole discretion of the Sovereign who may seek advice from Senate as appropriate.

The Sovereign shall be the sole authority for all representations to other States or to entities constituted or active outside the Principality and all matters concerning or

likely to concern such representations shall be referred to Senate or directly to the Sovereign as appropriate.

No Citizen resident or other person whether personal or corporate shall make nor imply to be able to make any representation to any external person concerning any matter of State.

Article 5. The maintenance of Order

The Sovereign shall constitute such forces as are considered appropriate to sustain Order and to preserve the integrity of the Principality.

Such forces shall be termed Sealand Guard and shall have the powers to enforce such Law as may from time to time be in force. The Guard shall report to the Sovereign who shall have absolute discretion as to the nature and extent of how and by which methods Law and Order are maintained.

No member of Sealand Guard shall be a member of Senate as set out in Article 2 above.

No persons other than those members of Sealand Guard whether Citizens of Sealand or of any other description or persuasion shall normally be permitted to carry arms of any kind within the territories of the Principality for any purpose.

The Sovereign shall detain any person according to the Sovereign's pleasure should it be considered essential to the maintenance of Order and the Common Good. Such detention shall be consistent with the content of the Declaration of Human Rights and the interests of the Principality.

Article 6. Succession of Sovereign powers

The Sovereign for the time being shall vest ultimately all powers in a Successor who shall be determined according to Custom and Practice associated with Paternal succession of the Sovereign.

Divestiture of Sovereign powers shall be at the discretion of the Sovereign for the time being and may be exercised by abdication for reasons of convenience or death.

Article 7. Variation or addition to the Constitution

The Constitution of Sealand shall be subject to such variation addition or modification as the Sovereign considers appropriate.

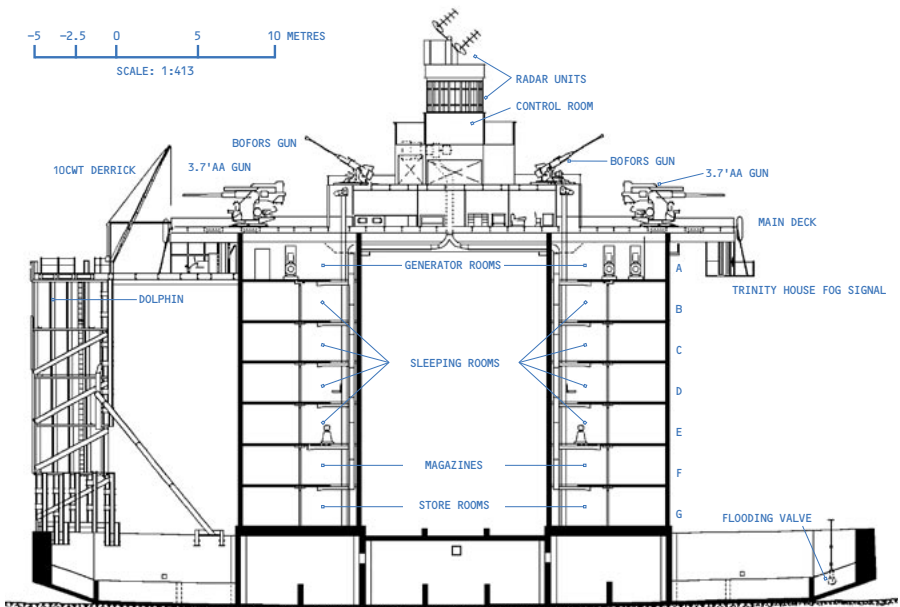
Senate may present to the Sovereign proposals for variation given due and careful consideration of the reasons therefor and the Sovereign shall take the most careful note of the presentation in determining an appropriate Decision as a result of those considerations.

Delivered to the Citizens of the Principality
2nd of September 1996

ROY OF SEALAND



Prince Roy, November 1st, 1999



Sectional elevation Fort Roughs Towers



P R E S S - C O N F E R E N C E 3 0 . 8 . 2 0 0 3

< **Mr. Withers:** I thought perhaps it would be helpful that I explain briefly what we are and what we are doing, and why we think we are doing it, and that would open the discussion for questions and answers.

What is absolutely certain, we are the only place in the whole world that is like us. Well, it all started 40 years ago nearly. It really started 60 years ago when the United Kingdom felt it appropriate to build fortifications nearer to the continent of Europe than the UK's land offered. And so the United Kingdom, in its wisdom in defending its territories, constructed a number of forts – and they are military forts – out in the middle of the ocean. The idea was, if we put people on the forts, then those people would know if an enemy was coming before the people sitting in London – having their cups of tea.

Well, this idea worked and the forts were quite a success, and then the war finished. Then the question was, what to do with these things. Most of the forts were within the territorial limits of the United Kingdom and since they were they were just marked as dangerous and forgotten. Two of the forts were not. And there they sat, in international waters – which at the time were truly international. And after 20 years they still sat there and it was clear that they had been abandoned. So, what do you do with territory, with property, that is abandoned, not interested in being possessed by anyone, sitting in international waters, where no one had any claims or jurisdictions? And the answer is, go squat in one, why not? Squat is not the right term, but in fact Prince Regent Michael's father did occupy one of these fortresses and he occupied it in 1966 – when many of us were under our mother's care if here at all. After a year of clearing out and cleaning up and putting lights in, and generally making the place habitable, and also after a considerable amount of time spent with the legal people working out what to do with this so called house in the sea, it was decided that legally the fortress could be declared as its own country.

It was more appropriate to declare it as a principality than as a kingdom or an empire – after all it's only a few thousand square meters in size – and so indeed that happened. And the result was very interesting: after the Principality was declared by Prince Regent Michael's father, there was a short breathless pause and the United Kingdom decided they did not want another country very close to their shores, so they send out gunboats and marines and other things. There was a long sort of problematic period of several years when the UK thought: »Well, gosh, we should have either kept this thing, blown it up or done something so that we did not abandon it to someone else.« Every time the UK attempted to reclaim the property, which it had clearly abandoned which clearly wasn't theirs to be claimed, they were – can I say – repulsed; not actually

by dramatic force, more perhaps by legal opinion. And through a long period of – say ten years or so – the UK got the message through court orders, through cases, and through the reality that in fact the fort was not theirs. The UK got the message to go away and in fact they did. The influence of the UK did not and that continued to make life interesting for a number of years and finally the UK settled down and ceased to be exercised, and the reason for this was because the UK thought if we accept the current reality that anyone can go into international waters, create something, some sort of island or fortress and declare a country as a result – and clearly that was legally possible at the time – if we allow this to continue, then who knows what might happen.

So the UK fuelled the diplomatic fires of other coastal states in the world, and the net result was that the United Nations convened a great meeting of all the coastal countries in the world in 1982. It took the UK some time to get this going, but in the end they successfully lobbied the UN and those at the convention. And the convention said: »Ok, let us come up – all of the countries in the world with a coastline – with some sort of agreement so that there will be a change in the international law, and here ever after, if Fred with his thousands of millions of »Krona« goes out and builds an island, than Fred will build the island for someone else.« Well, this was a successful convention, and the international law was changed as a result.

Now there is a section of international law governed by legal agreements between all the countries of the world – with exception of Sealand and the United States of America; Sealand was not asked to sign, the USA decided they wouldn't – that if anybody builds anything in international waters, it is not theirs; it belongs to the closest country. And if it's 2407 kilometres away, it is still not the property of the person who constructed it. This closed the door on the possibility of discovering or creating land and claiming it as a separate country or as part of an empire by another country. There can never be any more Sealands. But the law cannot undo the history book. So Sealand sits quietly smiling.

After the Convention was established, the states ratified the decisions; it became understood as working international law, and the UK quietly retired. Part of the new international law was that all coastal states should move their seaside borders from three miles to twelve. Oh dear, Sealand is seven away. But there is another bit of international law that says, if you extend your sea territory and by doing so you swallow up part of another country, then you are not allowed to do that. And so within the provisions of this international law, if countries extended their territorial limits from 3 to 12 miles and in the process bump into another country, then those two countries define the line down the middle.

That has worked in many, many cases; the UK itself got into this difficulty when it extended its limits to 12 miles, because there is a part of the UK that is very near to France. When both France and the UK extend their limits to 12 miles there was an overlap and there was the definition of a line down the middle. This has not happened in the case of Sealand, because Sealand is not currently in a position constructively to negotiate with the United Kingdom. However, the principle is respected by the UK; they leave us alone, they let us get on with our lives and if anything they are helpful certainly at the grassroots and operational level of the coastguard and the people who look after the territorial waters around the UK.

You should be aware of the fact that Sealand sits in the middle of the busiest international shipping lane in Europe and probably the second busiest in the world, exceeded only by the shipping density of the Indonesian-Malaccan strait. People who use the sea for their own benefit – shipping companies, shipping lines, the seagoing community of the world – are very concerned about Sealand and indeed so is Sealand. But for the moment there is nearly 40 years of almost peace and quiet, and we look forward to spending lots more years of peace and quiet and expansion as that becomes appropriate.

Where are we today? Today we are as we were when the fort was built, placed in the sea. We have a permanent population and have had since 1967, we have our own national culture, our own holidays, our industries, we have our own problems with export-import balance, we look for money to pay the countries bills just like Costa Rica or indeed Finland, but we are there, we exist and we expect to continue to exist.

Now, with that as a background, let me explain about the two chaps at either side of me. Prince Roy, when he established his country 40 years ago, I don't suppose for a moment sat and said: »What will happen 40 years from now.« But what he did do was to establish a constitutional monarchy, which means that the person in charge is part of his family and that the way of life of the population of Sealand is determined by a set of general rules which say: »It is not a good idea if you steal from others.« and so on.

As Prince Roy grew older, he became less able – physically – to do all the things one needs to do to support a country. And so, in 1996 he said: »Ok, for the moment I will appoint my son and heir – this fellow here – as being in charge.« The bad news is that if Prince Roy doesn't like it, he couldn't change the decision; the good news is, he is a responsible sovereign and he leaves Prince Regent Michael to get on with things. So, Michael has been responsible for the country pragmatically and legally for further on for ten years. Aah, but there is a further detail: This dear fellow has it all to look forward.

This is the next in line Prince Royal James. So, I hope most of your questions can be answered by the royal family, but keep your nerve; if they decide it's not appropriate, I will try to step in and help.

> I have one question, actually I am full of questions; I am a journalist...

< **Mr. Withers:** Oh, that's dangerous...

> I would only ask one question in the beginning. How do you live your every day life in such a small country on the sea? For example, does the younger Prince have a private teacher there, or does he go to the school in the UK?

< **Mr. Withers:** Those are two questions... Ok. We start with the first question. »How do we live our life?»

The first thing that I should say is, that like any iceberg, what you see of Sealand is not what is there, so there is a great deal of surface area, a great deal of land area, if you like, available. There is enough area – if one needs to go and meditate, one can. So there is not a real problem with living in the Principality, and indeed people have been doing this for a great number of years. Some of our longest-term residents have lived in Sealand for 25 years. And they are happy there, and they get on with their agenda. Living in the Principality is not a problem. If there were 300 people it might be. But there are not. In our current population register are 24.

And now to the second question and if I may, I would like to change it a little bit and ask: »What about educational facilities in Sealand?» All of us who are grown up, and I guess I can define that as 20 plus, will know that the educational process is some percentage reading books and listening to lecturers and a large additional percentage exploring life and finding ourselves. How can one educationally competently expect a person to grow mature and be responsible as an adult when that person lives in a very small society? And the answer is: »One can not.« So the educational system in the Principality is a system which says, for those residents of school age, they will be educated elsewhere, and elsewhere is defined as where there is a proper social context, where you can get drunk and where you can explore how to do this and what happens when you do that and so on. Is that helpful?

> Why it was decided to peg the Sealand currency to the US Dollar?

< **Mr. Withers:** The question is, why it was decided that the Sealand currency – which is a Dollar in name – should be fixed in value to the US Dollar. Go back to when we first created and minted our money – this was in the 60's – and in the 60's it made very good sense to peg our currency to the US Dollar. In truth, much of our import-export activity is with the United States and certainly a great deal was then, less now, because of the European Union and its evolution. That's the explanation – history.

> What is the export? What does it consist of? Is it stamps?

< **Mr. Withers:** We export basically two things. We export expertise – intellectual property – and we export goods. Goods are in the form of exports any small island country would export. Think of Tuvalu, think of Micronesia, think of Bali, think of places of that kind; much of their export is in stamps, notes, flags or other national mementos. We also export information services and those services are principally born by and delivered by the Internet. Within our country we have a number of industries, the most prominent is our internet hosting company HavenCo; you may have heard about it.

> What is the attitude towards the European Union and do you want to join?

< **Mr. Withers:** Gosh, here is an opportunity to pass the microphone to one of the rulers.

< **Prince Michael:** I think it's more advantageous to stay out of the European Union, it is obviously getting bigger all the time and what is missing is something a little bit different, a grey zone in the EC, outside but inside the EC basically; so I have no desire to join the European Union, and as a British National I also have no desire to join.

> How do you insure that your population will grow?

< **Mr. Withers:** The question is, how we provide for the people who live in our country...

> Yes, because a certain generation will die out...

< **Mr. Withers:** ...because the people who live there will die and then what? There are two questions here. Should we deal with the »dying one« first? We find that there is no shortage of people who wish to come to live in the principality for various reasons. Sometimes people are undertaking sensitive research and would like to undertake it in a place where they would be undisturbed. Sometimes people want to retire or sometimes people of the sort of persuasion that you will understand – writers etc. – wish to come, live quietly in our place – it's warm, it's dry, it's comfortable, it's modern – and write books looking out the window at the rolling sea. So, there is no shortage of people who want to come to live in Sealand.

Now, that takes us to the first question: »How do we feed them, keep them warm, provide electricity so they can switch the light on in their flat and have the possibility that the light bulb turns on?« One of the difficulties in Sealand I haven't mentioned is that the flats, with the exception of the accommodation reserved for the security forces, are windowless. Most of them are below the sea. Providing for the population is not straightforward, it is difficult for the state to find the foreign reserves to import food and fuel. We manufacture our own wa-

ter, we have our own recycling plant, but we can not have our own oil wells, so we rely on imports from the UK – or from other countries, if the UK chooses not to make that a possibility that is comfortable – for our food and fuel. We have experimented to a limited extent with attempting to grow some of our own food, but our space is better used for other purposes.

> My question was more related to how do you ensure the growth of your population. If people come to a certain age, they die out. People have to mate to ensure the survival of the people.

< **Mr. Withers:** I see, you are saying: »What about the procreational activities that might or might not take place?« Being an artist community one could expect that question. It is jolly good fun, isn't it? But it's problematic. The reason why it's problematic, is that we don't have a hospital and we don't have resident doctors. There have been no live births in Sealand, it is unlikely that there will be any in the near future. Our population growth has not to do with the natural processes of human condition but rather the desire of others – rather more mature – wishing to come to live with us. This presents a problem, because this means that every Sealand citizen was not originally a Sealander. Within our country we have citizens and residents all of whom are dual nationals.

> What happens when your population growth becomes larger than the space you actually have?

< **Mr. Withers:** The question is what happens, if we run out of space, and we have to stack people in domino fashion, and then they find that they don't like to sleep standing up? We don't have a problem with that, because in the declaration of the country, legally and properly according to international law of the time, 1967, our country consists of 0.044 square kilometres land and about a hundred square kilometres sea. This takes into account the median line, if it is ever drawn, between ourselves and the United Kingdom. So, we have no shortage of space, we do have a shortage of land space.

It is a straightforward matter simply to expand the land, is it not? The problem is, if one expands one's country in a way that provides for coastline, one expands the possibilities for curious sea going boat people to stop there. At the moment Sealand is a fort. It is inaccessible; you will not get on it without some help from someone there already. The heliport looks very inviting; it is blocked, and if a helicopter tries to land there it will crash. The international aviation community knows this, because we have... the country, the Bureau of Internal Affairs – which is responsible for such matters – has published to the international community a notice to airmen that says: »If you want to land on our national heliport get permission first or bring along a hospital ship.« If you try to visit Sealand by sea, then you joggle on in your boat, and you suddenly discover that Sealand is 30 meters above you

and there is no where to get there, and it overhangs your boat, and down the bottom there is no place to tie the rope. There are no docking facilities other than those which are made possible from the fort level itself. Now, if we suddenly grow a bit of land – it is not difficult; sand or mud dredged from the channel etc. – then we have a coastline, which is comfortably accessed. The minute we expand by building land we have to have people to protect ourselves, extra people. They have to be paid and fed and housed. The question is, when we do this and the answer is, when we got the resources. So then the question is, when do you get the resources and the answer is, when we have the need, then the resources will be available for us to do this. So we can do it, but it is senseless to do it until we can continue to protect ourselves.

Believe me, this is a problem. This is a problem. Every day one or the other of our government officers gets at least 10 emails and 2 to 3 postal letters from people who say, »Please, can I come and live in your country?« ... refugees, stateless persons, people who need a country, and their appeared to be a great number. It is not a problem about people wanting to come, there is a problem about people coming and bringing enough benefit to the country so that we can afford them. The last thing we need are six asylum seekers who appear, expected to be fed, housed, and accommodated in every other way and have no way to pay for it. That's the last thing we need.

> Do you have the possibilities to open embassies around the world?

< **Mr. Withers:** Of course, why not. Okay, but why?

> ...to gain land!

< **Mr. Withers:** No, we don't need to gain land, we are quite happy with the land we've got. Every bit of land we have carries with it the responsibility to manage that land, to support it. If we wanted to have an embassy in Finland, the first thing we would do would be to take the ferry-boat over to the little quay and walk up the road surveying the available mansions on either side. And the immediate message that comes to mind: Where is the money? So why would we want to spend our money creating some grand house in some distant part of the world? What function would it serve? We've got enough problems working out how to feed our own people in our own country. But there are times when diplomatic interfaces are helpful. We solve that problem in the same way than Nauru, Tuvalu, East Timor, or any of those sorts of countries solved that problem. We have an Ambassador Without Portfolio. And when there is a diplomatic need in the back of beyond we say: »Pack your bag, here is your ticket, go to the back of beyond, deal with the diplomatic problem, and then come back quickly, because the expenses run out the day after the meeting.«

> How much is your GDP, and what is the value of your export per year?

< **Mr. Withers:** Thank you. Everyone heard that question, unfortunately. I don't have these figures at the top of my head, but I have a good answer for you. If you contact the United Nations Bureau of Statistics in New York City, you will find that they have that information. But to give you an approximate number: our GDP per annum is about 10 Million. The value of the exports is probably slightly more.

> To what extent is Sealand founded on libertarian ideology.

< **Mr. Withers:** [...part missing...] This question is surely to do with our constitution and how do we insure social order. The best answer I can think of is to give you a copy of the constitution. But the short answer, I guess, is that it is considered important for people to be themselves, it is also considered important for people, who are being themselves, to pick up the obligations they have to their fellow men.

> How is your constitution inspired by for example the constitution of the US?

< **Mr. Withers:** I suppose Prince Roy, and indeed you Michael, would probably say that the constitution is based broadly on British lines, isn't it? It was unwritten for some considerable period of time. Once we began to expand and became significant in terms of population, GDP, and other things, it was considered appropriate to establish a working government, and that of course requires a constitution to set in place all the institutional organs and their responsibilities. But the general concept of the constitution is very British.

> With the recent advance of small island states on international sporting events, I would like to ask: Do you have any ambitions to send your own athletes to bigger international competitions?

< **Mr. Withers:** There is good news here. The question is, what about our international sporting activities? The answer is, we have a national football team, and that team is in Denmark and plays there on behalf of the Principality. They have been appointed as our National Football team for this season.

> It is very difficult to get to your country, but it is also very interesting to get there, I can imagine. Is there any kind of tourism taking place, as there might be a substantial amount of people wanting to visit?

< **Mr. Withers:** The activities that are taking place on Sealand are commercial activities; they are classified or confidential. If you were the CEO of a company that hoped your corporate information would be absolutely secure from the rest of the world, would you like to have people snooping around the filing cabinets? That's part of the problem. The other problem I would like to ask Prince Michael to explain, because we

have been invaded, and Michael was one of the fellows who suffered from that.

< **Prince Michael:** Originally we had troubles with the British Government, but this went away, as it was explained here earlier, not particular in ease but without incident. But to go back a bit; you asked if we allow visitors to Sealand. In general NO, we discourage it. We allow journalists to visit, which is obviously always good for business, to advertise our computer business. But now and again we do allow visitors. They are asked to submit an application before being accepted. It seems wrong to totally alienate general society, the general public. So now and again we allow people to visit Sealand as long as it doesn't make loads of efforts for us.

In the past we had some problems with German and Dutch terrorists. It was in 1978, and my father was away in Austria for a meeting with a business group. These people were Sealand citizens, and they decided to conduct a coup. I was on Sealand on my own at the time. It was quite nice, but then I suddenly ended up locked into a room without food or water for four days, and there was no way out. After that period of time a Dutch trawler turned up with another ten guys on it, and I was allowed out of the room and given the option to either stay on Sealand or go back to Holland. The captain of the trawler didn't want to turn to England being afraid of kidnapping charges. I wanted to stay on Sealand, but the German guy said that I would be locked up again in the room, so I ended up going back to Holland.

I was landed illegally with no passport, but I managed to make my way back to the UK. I met my father who just came back from Austria. We were then told that these people on Sealand were supposed to be reinforced within two days by Belgian ex-paratroopers with Uzi submachine guns. It was bizarre, but you know, it was really serious... We originally planned to go out with inflatables and scaling ladders to climb up in the dark. But as it has been previously explained, it's difficult to get there from below, because Sealand is fortified, and it is overhanging. So climbing up was not a particularly pleasurable prospect. We therefore visited a friend of ours who had a helicopter company. In fact this guy had flown the helicopter in 6 or 7 James Bond films; he was a really good pilot.

On the platform at the time there was a 35 ft. mast in the middle of the helipad, which is on top of the building, and there were two 60 ft. masts on the outside. We were along at dawn, and as the helicopter came nearer and nearer I could see this yellow shape on deck, which shouldn't be there. It turned out to be a guy in a yellow fisherman's jacket and he was dozing sleeping on a chair. He was sent to be on watch. He told me afterwards that the first thing he saw was a helicopter appearing from underneath the platform with us standing outside of its skids; we took a rope and slipped down to the top. When we came down, the guys were running out of the building below and they were unarmed. Anyway, we sorted it.



Prince James, Mr. Withers and Prince Regent Michael

< **Mr. Withers:** We don't need that again.

> As Sealand is a monarchy, does the ruler has the absolute power over the community or is there some sort of democratic decision making?

< **Mr. Withers:** There is a process enshrined in the constitution, which says that the head of state, who is responsible for the country, carries the can. But the head of state is required to take the most careful notice of the deliberation of the senate, and the senate is constituted of one-third citizens, one-third industrial representatives, and one-third appointees from the crown. There is a proper structure. If you are interested, pop along to our legation office; we will hand you a chart.

> Are you taxing your citizen and is Sealand part of international taxation legislation?

< **Mr. Withers:** Every country has to pay its bills. Every country pays its bills by seeking help, for contribution from its citizens. Our taxation is of course needed for us to pay our bills. But the good news is that it is not heavy, it is not excessive, and there is no personal taxation. Are we part of an international taxation...cartel? I don't think so; we decide our taxes and how they are managed, and that's our own business.

> Explain a bit more about your security services.

< **Mr. Withers:** I can't. It would be incompetent for me to do that.

> I saw in your video that you even have a jail cell.

< **Mr. Withers:** Yes, very uncomfortable...

> How often do you need to use it? Do you lock people up when they drunk their head off?

< **Mr. Withers:** We need to use it when it is appropriate.

> What is the ration between male and female on Sealand?

< **Mr. Withers:** It is almost one to one. There is a 54 to 46 percent male dominance. Sorry about that. Concerning the age distribution most of the people are in the middle from 30 to 60. There are a few youngsters that go to school...

> What is Prince James doing?

< **Prince James:** I am going to school.

< **Mr. Withers:** ... and there are a few old people who are retired and sit and read newspapers and think of the meaning of meaning.

< **Prince Michael:** I hope you don't talk about me!

> Do you allow companies to do business on Sealand that are involved in activities, which constitute a breach of law in the UK, such as cloning, certain forms of gambling etc.?

< **Mr. Withers:** Gambling is not illegal in the UK. You are asking, »What are the legal restrictions on commercial activities in the Principality?« Is that what you are asking? It is easier to say, what we don't allow than what we do allow. What we don't allow is theft – intellectual property and beyond. We don't allow terrorist activities of any kind, any activities which are illegal in international law. Our companies are heavily regulated in that respect. They are watched carefully. If there is one of our industry-partners or one of the companies in the Principality breaking the law – the Principality law – by engaging for example in intellectual property theft, they are asked to cease and desist. If they don't, it is easy to make sure they do.

> What would happen in case of a war with say France? Would you have the necessary security resources to defend yourself?

< **Mr. Withers:** Depends on the war, doesn't it. What would happen in the case of a war between Finland and Estonia? It depends on the war, I would say.

> Would you appeal for military assistance from the UK?

< **Mr. Withers:** We do not have any links

of that kind with the UK nor do we expect to forge any in the future. We are able to defend ourselves appropriately.

> What would happen if you would establish laws that allow things, which are not possible in other countries, for example legalize marijuana?

< **Mr. Withers:** There is no chance of that. In the Principality alcohol and drugs are strictly prohibited and that is very carefully watched. But the real question is, »How do we deal with our jurisdictional issues?« If there are conflicts with other states, then the other states have to give notice to us what they think their problem is. We would look in our laws and see if our laws cover what they are having a problem with. If they do – fine; if they don't, they don't; in the same way the United States of America for example might write to the Finnish government, excuse me, we don't like the way you are boiling eggs. The Finnish government might choose to say: »So what!« Or they might choose to say: »Oh dear, we forgot that bit, we will put it right.«

> How many of the people, who founded Sealand, are still living there?

< **Mr. Withers:** None. That seems a very abrupt and impolite answer, but in the beginning there were only Prince Michael's parents living on Sealand. Prince Roy and Princess Joan are now in their 80s. They come to visit, but they certainly don't live there. Prince Regent Michael has a place to stay; it is his country and he can stay there whenever he likes, but he has many other axes to grind, so he is not there permanently. James wasn't even born when it happened. The original citizens all have moved on. But there are people who have been at Sealand for a very long time, just not as long as the Principality has been there. The Principality has been around, internationally declared and recognized, for longer than lots of other countries. Lots of countries are not older than 40 years.

> Is the principality only about business, or do you have any ideological goals or tasks?

< **Mr. Withers:** I was talking with someone earlier about this. It is certainly about business because if we don't carry on with business, we cannot fund the Principality and provide for our population. We are very preoccupied with that to the extent that we maybe do not have the opportunity to develop our cultural activities as much as we might. And that is something we are thinking about, and that maybe we have learned from you.

> Prince James, are you fishing there?

< **Prince James:** From time to time but not constantly.

> Are you planning to move to Sealand?

< **Prince James:** Possibly yes, depending on what happens. If I start something in the UK, it might be a bit difficult.

> This is to the Prince also: have you put an eye on some other Royals, the Swedish Princess for instance?

< **Prince James:** Still looking.

< **Prince Michael:** Thank you very much for your interest and patience.

< **Mr. Withers:** You are most welcome to visit us in our office in the main building. Thank you very much.

END

ADDITION SONAR *

Mr. Withers: Let us be very clear with the diplomatic situation between the Principality and the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom knows we are there; we know the United Kingdom is there. The United Kingdom has never asserted itself to remove us. It hasn't the right in international law. We have never asserted any power to gain advantage that we do not deserve or have as of right from the UK. Let us be clear about it; there are many legends about Sealand and many of the legends that exist are not correct. We live in harmony with our neighbouring country. They support us unofficially; they leave us alone officially. We do the best to support them unofficially. We have taken part in rescue missions or in other practical matters, which involved resources that the UK did not have and were needed by seamen. We work together on a practical level; on a diplomatic level we respect their position. We could mount a pirate radio station. We don't want because we respect the UK's position. The UK could come out and lay siege to the Principality; it doesn't. Why not? Because it respects us. There are ways other than force or might to move humanity forward, and the Sealand-UK interface is one of those. [...]

Why does Sealand exist? NSK says that they exist because nothing else exists. Some others here say that there must be a way for people to be equal and not instruments of egocentric politicians, who take power that the population of the country never wished them to take. Across the table we hear comments from everyone that say: »We cannot accept the state organisation and institution because it doesn't serve our personal needs.« We know this. Last year we saw innocent people killed because of state ego. But not just last year, 20 years before, 10 years before, my god, 60 years before.

How can it be that we as private people with minds, intelligence are so unsuccessful

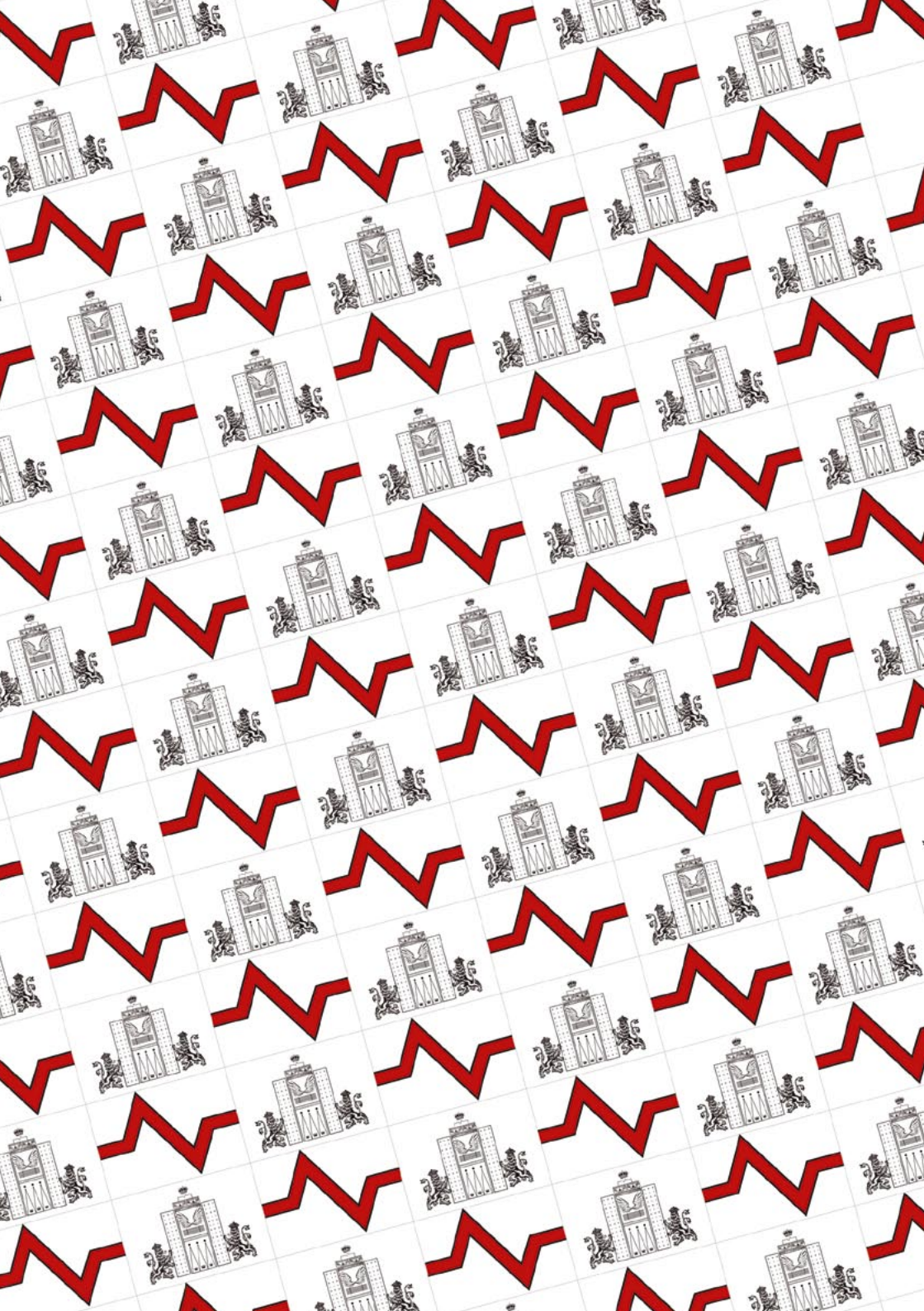
in being able to promote our common good? How can that be? And the answer is: it can be so because there are some people who take advantage of others. In the founding of Sealand, Prince Roy – very quickly after it was founded – said: »Let there here be a place where every man has equal dignity, equal justice, equal opportunity with every other.« And then he said: »Let it be also that in the exercise of this equality, each can build and grow and because that person builds and grows so does the society altogether.« This is not a neither-nor concept. Sealand comes from the idea: »Lets build a place, and then lets build a population that is comfortable in it.« Isn't that the opposite of the comments from everybody else, who say: »This is a bad place, let us go somewhere else.« This is one difference. The second difference is that Sealand exists; it is real. If Sealand does not export its goods and services properly, its population gets hungry. The power goes out. The fresh water ceases to be produced.

So we have two complementary responsibilities. One responsibility is to put in place a social institution, which respects all men and gives them opportunity to grow and at the same time to allow the benefits to be shared. Not directly but indirectly. And the second responsibility is to keep the ship afloat, to keep the food on the table, to keep the shop full of spaghetti, to keep the lights alight when it is a cold winter night.

Those were the objectives. In the early days those objectives were met with difficulties but they were met. In the later days they were met with more difficulties but they were met. Over the last 7 or 8 years we had an opportunity to expand, to develop and still meet the objectives. But now, since we have a different set of priorities, it is not such a difficult survival physically; now we must look at the other side, the mentality, the concepts, the quality of life. And this is why we are here. We are here to say, first lets get the state so that it serves the common good, but don't forget, once it does, part of that common good is the abstract fulfillment of the human condition. [...]

Indeed, our constitution says that every man is a king, that every man should have equal dignity, justice, and opportunity as any other. And so, if one expands that theory one gets to the situation where all men with their kingships should be served by some machine that helps them be like that. That is the state, isn't it? The state is some sort of machine that helps man be a king. That, I submit, is a lesson that not only the people in a democracy or semi-democracy should listen to, but also a message that the leaders themselves should listen to. Why should not every public servant, and they are servants to the public, be responsible for being a public servant instead of being the king. Why not make the king the people?

* These statements are taken from a round table discussion that took place within the »1st Universal Micronation Exhibition« as part of Sonar Festival 2004, Barcelona.



THE KINGDOMS OF

ELGALAND AND VARGALAND (KREV)

DECLARATION

With effect from the 14th of March 1992, we are annexing and occupying the following territories:

I. All border frontier areas between all countries on earth, and all areas (up to a width of 10 nautical miles) existing outside all countries' territorial waters. We designate these territories our physical territory.

II. Mental and perceptive territories such as: the Hypnagogue State (civil), the Escapist Territory (civil) and the Virtual Room (digital).

On the 27th of May 1992 at 12 noon GMT, we proclaimed the state of Elgaland-Vargaland.

Leif Elggren
CM von Hausswolff

The Kingdoms of
Elgaland and Vargaland

Founded: March 14, 1992

Government type:

Autocratic monarchy ruled by a King

Head of state: The King

Territory:

All border frontier areas between all countries on earth, and all areas [up to a width of 10 nautical miles] existing outside all countries' territorial waters

Area:

the worlds biggest country

Geographical coordinates: no data

State borders: no data

Population: 782 citizens

Population growth: no data

Net migration ratio: no data

Sex ratio: classified

Ethnic groups [%]:

no data [We do not think in that way]

Languages: all languages

Currency: Thaler

Anthem:

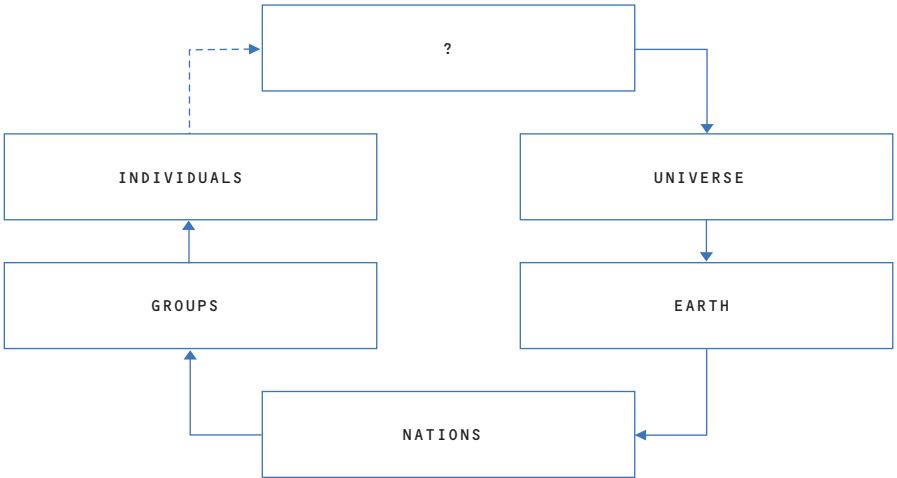
KREV National Anthem [15 versions]

International organizations

participation: none

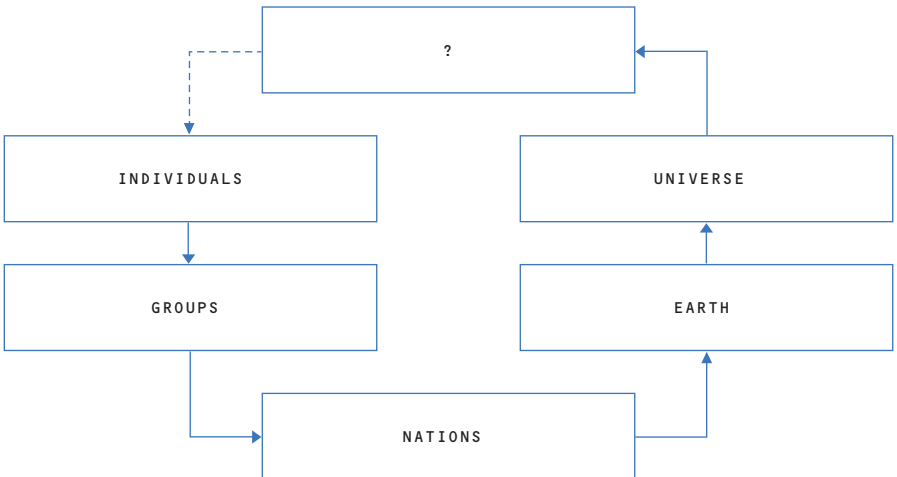
International disputes: none

EXPANSION OF PHYSICAL TERRITORY TOWARDS THE ABOLISHMENT OF BORDERLINES



Kingdoms of Elgaland & Vargaland, future scenario A: The continuous division of existing entities into smaller sub-units leads to a permanent growth of KREV territory until the level of sub-divisions arrives at the level of the individual: 1 individual = 1 nation. KREV unites all by permeating everything.

TERMINATION OF PHYSICAL TERRITORY TOWARDS THE ABOLISHMENT OF BORDERLINES



Kingdoms of Elgaland & Vargaland, future scenario B: The continuous unification of existing entities into larger super-units leads to an accelerated decline of KREV territory until the level of aggregation reaches the universe. KREV diminishes completely. Everything is united.

ROYAL FERTILIZATION

In the course of this century the monarchies of the world have gradually ceased to be politically significant. In earlier times, the royal houses were natural centres of power and influence, dividing up the world between them; claiming legitimacy by invoking their divine right to rule; the hierarchical structure with the king as almighty sovereign. An ancient social order that manifests a model of the human psyche's most fundamental structure: the image of the Father. Accordingly, the king has always been the best loved and most hated of men; the figure and symbol that the royal subjects have put their faith in or aimed their dissatisfaction at; the central projection that has made the world comprehensible and possible to live in. The royal houses have also offered the norm for how people have wished to form their lives: families, individual ideals and so on. With the spread of Marxism and the self-evident understanding of the equal value of everyone in life and on earth, the royal representation and symbolism lost some of its importance. The individual gained an ideological possibility of living in equality, of understanding his own importance and his right to an independent life. With the bankruptcy of political and hierarchical socialism at the end of the century, a sense of incapacity and severe distress at the prospect of the future has returned. The functional icon of the king is revived

and comes to represent a secure contrast to our inner confusion. The ancient royal households see their opportunity and prepare to act. Antagonisms increase. In 1992 we proclaimed the Kingdoms of Elgaland-Vargaland, a youthful union and nation that extends over the whole of our planet, bordering all existing nations. A wholly unique position in which, for the first time in the history of the world, we have a real opportunity of developing a worldwide, boundless society. And in which we see every individual as king or queen over their own lives. With this ambition we see that an important step in realizing our plan lies in injecting new life into the old royal dynasties. To bridge the crevices and let the old royal families unite in a neutralizing affinity. We hereby invite all nationally legitimate queens throughout the world, young and old, to come to London on October 8, 1996. Empowered by the Kingdoms of Elgaland-Vargaland we wish to fertilize the world's queens and, therewith, all the royal houses, bridge all potential conflicts and create a better future for us all.

The Kingdoms of Elgaland-Vargaland
Stockholm in August 1996

Leif Elggren
CM von Hausswolff

CONSTITUTION OF KREV

Government

§1 The Kingdoms of Elgaland and Vargaland form the state of Elgaland/Vargaland which is an autoeratic monarchy and is ruled by one King.

§2 The King is the personal model and Ideal of each citizen and shall be so respected.

§3 The King's power is dictatorial and unrestricted.

§4 The King is superior to all religions, present and future.

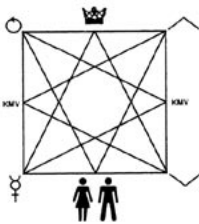
§5 The Materialisation of the King in the World (MKW) is Leif I and Michael I.

§6 The pursuit of each citizen's personal model and Ideal is taken on her/his/its own initiative through MKW, the channel between the eternal highest and the individual, or a direct contact between the citizen and his/her/its personal model and Ideal.

§7 MKW are founders, instigators, missionaries and by this MKW own the substitutional power and copyright over the secular administration of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland and of the states symbols. The above mentioned powers do not extend to powers over the individual citizen.

§8 Every citizen owns unrestricted power over his/her/its own life in harmony with his/her/its personal model and Ideal.

§9 The hierarchic diagram of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland:



Territory

§10 The state of Elgaland/Vargaland is sovereign, inviolable and eternal in times and spaces.

§11 The state of Elgaland/Vargaland permanently strives to expand its territories in time and space.

§12 The physical territory of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland is described as all borderlines between all existing states and areas at sea (a width of not more than 10 nautical miles) that border existing states' territorial waters, now, earlier as well as later, on earth.

§13 The state of Elgaland/Vargaland strives to abolish its physical territory and in so doing seek a) unification of earth to a single state, b) expanding the physical territory of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland by means of repeated and fractal division of all other existing states to the territory of single individuals.

§14 The mental territory of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland is classified as three areas: a. The Hypnagogue Condition, b. The Escapist Territory, c. The Digital Virtual Room.

§15 The embassies and consulates of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland are occasional territories, to give comfort and courage and function as a homecoming place for citizens.

§16 Every citizen has a right to:

- a) freely have one's existence at one's own command.
- b) freely exist in all territories.
- c) to reside in all territories.
- d) his/her/its Ideal.
- e) to freely move around in the hierarchic order.
- f) everything and more.
- g) nothing and less.
- i) take water over head.
- j) to interpret the constitution so that it benefits state and citizens.
- k) a passport.
- l) double citizenship.
- m) to defend and expand the state of Elgaland/Vargaland.
- n) to go forth and multiply.
- o) practice his/her/ its own religion.
- p) eternal life.

Symbols of the State

§17 Flag



§18 Large coat-of-arms



§19 Small coat-of-arms



§20 National Hymn.

§21 Regalias: two crowns, two sceptres and two apples.

§22 The motto is "Det Finns En Kula För Varje Konung" (There is a ball for every King).

§23 The National Day is May 27th and The Kings Day is October 14th.

Citizenship

§24 Every individual owns, by his/her/its own force, the right to citizenship in the state of Elgaland/Vargaland. Any individual who works on behalf of the welfare of Elgaland/Vargaland will be eligible for citizenship. Citizenship cannot be inherited or transferred.

Household

§25 The currency of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland is the Thaler Banknotes as well as coins are to be produced only via authorisation by MKW.

§26 All state incomes shall be employed to further benefit the expansion and development of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland.

§27 Distribution of state incomes is conducted by MKW.

§28 Production of other enriching goods is to be authorized by MKW.

Tourism, Defence and Food

§29 Foreign citizen shall be at liberty to conduct tourism in the state of Elgaland/Vargaland.

§30 "Tourism" means to fully enjoy the territories and travel peacefully within the territories of Elgaland/Vargaland.

§31 All gates are open.

§32 Foreign citizens that use the state of Elgaland/Vargaland in other ways than outlined in articles §29 and §30 will be outlawed until said citizens' actions of direct benefit to the state of Elgaland/Vargaland are deemed sufficient to redeem their lost status. The MKW alone shall determine the value of said actions.

§33 The defence of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland consists of all citizens and their various skills, physical as well as psychical. The defence of the state is to be expedited with all possible means.

§34 The national dish of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland is pasta in sunfloweroil, tomatoketchup and crushed garlic with basilika.

§35 The national drink of the state of Elgaland/Vargaland is Kronvodka and Coca Cola.

ITALY

Siena: One million Elgaland-Vargaland Thaler transported from Stockholm on display in Palazzo delle Papesse, Siena, Italy, 2001-2002.



SQS

S C H L A R A F F E N L A N D

TRANSNATIONAL REPUBLIC



Utopia: KREV as a part of the Utopia Station, Venice Biennale 2003. We hereby annex and incorporate Utopia within the concept of The Kingdoms of ELGALAND-VARGALAND.

FINLAND

LADONIA

IRAQ



Caen Balcony: Inauguration of the French embassy in Caen, France, 2002.

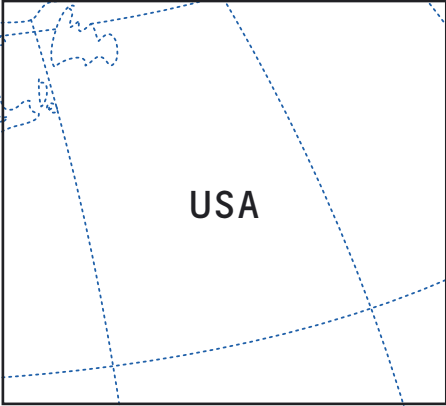
NSK

SEALAND



Tallinn: Estonian
custom police taking
a close look at the
KREV passports;
October 2001.

U T O



USA

NYC map: One of the two maps that were made in conjunction with the inauguration of the KREV Consulate 1994 in NYC and the Negotiations over a New World Order. This map was also part of the application for membership in the UN.



DENMARK

K R E V - S T A T E M E N T S

»WE ARE THE BORDER – Every new border that is created in this world or in any other world is an expansion of our territory.«

– King Leif I & King Michael I

»KREV does not give anything like wine or bread or money or sauna. But its constitution, which is the machine of the state, gives motivation. And this motivation brings you to the forest with the shotgun to kill the reindeer. What we are working on within the concept of Elgaland & Vargaland is this kind of motivation-machine. Why should I keep on living, if I am not motivated? But I don't feel that the Swedish State, the Kingdom of Sweden can give me that kind of motivation. So it is a reaction. I have to construct my own machine, my own motivation.«

– King Michael I

»We believe that every person has the ability and the right to rule herself. That's why we have inserted in our Kingdom the rule that anybody can be the King if they want to. Even girls can be Kings! Why should girls be Queens? They could be Kings as well. It is just a matter of proclaiming it and telling it to the people: Now I am a King. Fuck off! I am running myself.«

– King Michael I

»I am not somebody who wants to run somebody else. I don't want to tell anybody what to do, how to think. I don't want to build up anybody's mental state, I want to build up my own state, because I feel weak and I want to be stronger, because I have to be. Otherwise I would die. I have to put myself into a position where I can say to myself: You are okay.«

– King Michael I

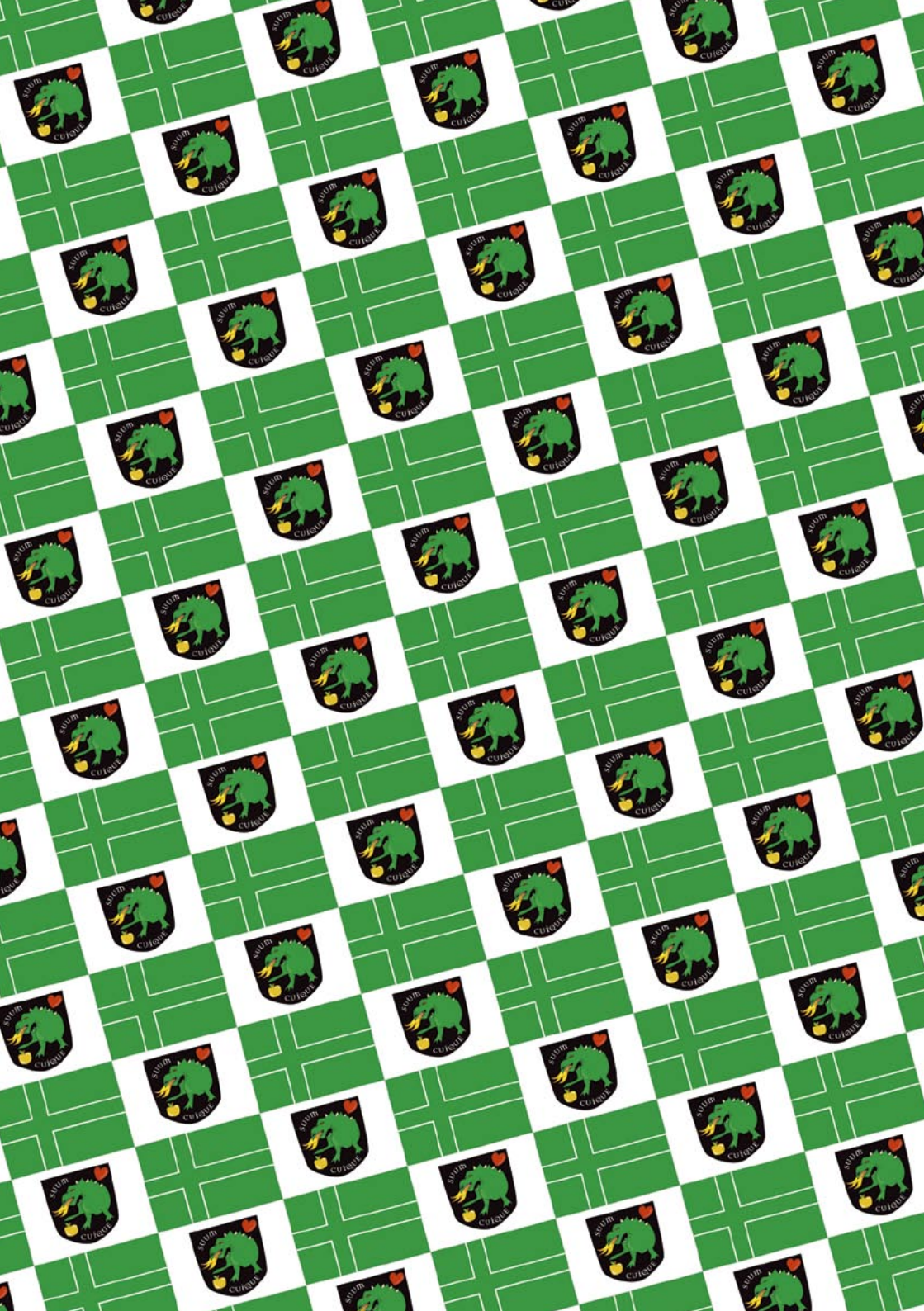
»In the beginning of our existence we sent out a letter to every government asking each country to split up into smaller units because we wanted to have an expanding country. We proposed to them to split into as many small countries as they had individuals. On the other hand, we gave every country the opportunity to unite with their former border countries. For instance, we advised the American government to unite with Canada and Mexico in order to erase our territorial claims. In the end, the whole world would be one nation. We gave these results to the UN and asked for membership in 1994. We haven't heard from them.«

– King Michael I

»It is extremely important to do projects like ours, because it is a way to expand our minds. That is the main thing.«

– King Leif I

* These statements were made during the round table discussions at Finlandia hall, 29th of August 2003, and at a round table discussion that took place within the »1st Universal Micronation Exhibition« as part of Sonar Festival 2004, Barcelona.



REMONY OF LADONIA*

Ladonia was founded in June 1996. The place is a nature reserve in the south of Sweden with an area of one square kilometer. The Swedish artist Lars Vilks started to build a construction, *Nimis*, on this spot in 1980. It became massive, and in 1982 it also became a matter for the Country Administration Board, the police and the courts. It was built as a work of art with no permission. The trials (since 1982 one trial every year) brought the work a lot of publicity. The artist was quite successful in defending his work, and the authorities were not able to have the pieces removed as he sold them, first to Joseph Beuys and, after Beuys's death, to Christo. In the nineties, two other pieces were erected in concrete: Arx and Omfalos. As the area was more or less permanently occupied, the artist decided to announce a new country. Thus Ladonia became an area that couldn't be controlled by Swedish authorities. Vilks acted as Chancellor of Ladonia until 1997, when the number of registered citizens exceeded one thousand. At this point, elections were held on the Internet. Ladonia became a *remony*, a republican monarchy with a president, *Fernando Rodrigues* from Brazil, and a queen, *Ywonne I Jarl*. The regents were part of the cabinet together with a number of ministers. Lars Vilks became the state secretary. In 2004 Kicki Hankell was elected President.

- The name of the nation comes from the dragon *Ladon* of Greek mythology.
- The National Anthem is the sound of a stone thrown into water.
- The flag is green and has a green cross in the same color.
- The National Day is the 2nd of June and is always celebrated with a *parade of elephants*.
- The National Dish is peregrine falcon after a prescription by the Minister of Brain.

- The currency is *Örtug*, 1 Örtug is 10 SEK or 1.3 US dollars. Existing banknotes are 1,100 and 500 000 000 000 Örtug.
- The former newspaper, *Ladonia Herald*, has been replaced by *Ladonia News*, updated daily.
- The capital of Ladonia is called *Wotan City*.

Citizens are either ordinary citizens or, for a small fee, they can become nobles. The certificate of nationality is either a green passcard or an electronic document for the citizens, whereas the nobles receive letters of nobility.

The Ladonian language has only two words: *waaaaaaaaall* for everyday use, and the more solemn *jþ*.

In Ladonia, there is always a great celebration party going on called the *Feast of Thuban*, in reverence of the new polar star Thuban. The banquet started on the 28th of January 1998 at 8:15, and will end after 46 604 years when Thuban has moved to its position.

An important project in motion is the moving of Gizeh pyramids from Egypt to Ladonia. The three objects will be placed upside down in order to save space. The first stone was moved from the top of Mykerinos' pyramid in 1999.

In 1998, Ladonia was officially visited by the Danish Minister of Culture, Elsebeth Gerner Nielsen, which was considered an offence by the Swedish government. On this occasion, Ladonia opened the discussion of joining NATO. Since Sweden does not recognise the independence of Ladonia, a constant war has been raging between the two countries since 1996. Sweden has been using legal measures and law enforcement to war

* This text was submitted by State Secretary Lars Vilks as a general introduction to Ladonia for »Amorph!03 Documents« (2003) prior to the summit.

against Ladonia. In 2001, the police removed *Omfalos* – a 1.60 meter (5'3") high sculpture made of concrete – in an undercover operation using a crane boat. Ladonia was fighting a defensive war until the 5th of July 2003, when the country was strong enough to start an offensive campaign. Because Ladonia is absolutely certain that the United States of America has weapons of mass destruction in its possession, and may not be trusted, Ladonia declared war against the USA too. Ladonia will fight a modern war, a war of attention and media interest. It will employ a number of rather unusual methods:

- Our 227 citizens living in Norway will advance to the Swedish border and each one will throw a spear into Sweden.
- The landmine »Diana« is ecofriendly, consisting of a balloon filled with salt and hidden in the ground. It can also be used as a war rattle.
- Doing the Helicopter; Ladonians swinging their jackets over their heads.
- Changing a few of the 500 billion örtug banknotes into Swedish money.
- The very big cuckoo clock used as a battle machine with steel birds repeatedly attacking the Swedish army (best at 12 o'clock).
- The flying and diving cow, trained and introduced by Andrea, our minister of animals from Italy.
- Connecting high-tension lines with the telephone network.

New citizens arrive to Ladonia every day through its governmental services offered on the Internet. The number of applications from Pakistan started to increase in the beginning of 2002, when thousands of applications were being sent. It soon became obvious that the Pakistanis thought of Ladonia as a pathway into Sweden to find jobs and housing in Europe. The Pakistani incident was mentioned in a Swedish newspaper and from there it suddenly went all over the world: BBC, CNN, etc. reported about the affair. From this moment

on Ladonia has been widely known. The influence of media made the Pakistani misunderstandings diminish, but applications for citizenship and ministries from more than 100 countries followed. The population increased from 5 000 to 10 000 within a couple of months.

Ladonia has two major inputs: the physical constructions on a marvellous piece of land, and all the people involved in making creative contributions to the country through Internet. Much of the best work is done by the members of the cabinet, the ministers, the queen and the president. These people are mainly not artists, but their creative ability is often impressive. The list on page 79 is a presentation of the most important and active ministers.

Founded: 1996

Government type:

Remony [Republican monarchy]

Head of state:

President Kicki Hankell and
Queen Ywonne I Jarl

Territory: Kullaberg [Southern Sweden]

Area: 1 square km

Geographical coordinates:

[approx.] 56° S : 13° E

Population: 11.700 [6. 6. 2005]

Population growth: no data

Net migration ratio: no data

Sex ratio: no data

Ethnic groups [%]: no data

Languages:

Ladonian / and officially accepted:
English, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish,
German, Spanish, French

Currency: Örtug

Anthem: a stone thrown into water

International organizations

participation: none

International disputes:

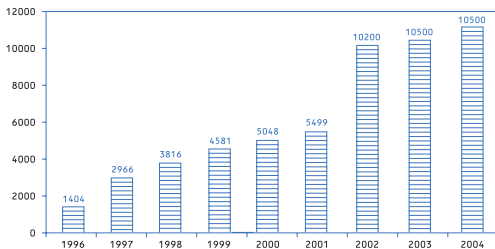
- inofficially war with Sweden [1996-2003]
 - War against Sweden and the United States of America proclaimed on the 5th of July 2003
 - War against San Marino proclaimed on the 8th of July 2003; San Marino was defeated and conquered during 2004.
-



Wotan's Tower in Wotan City, the capital of Ladonia

C A B I N E T O F L A D O N I A

Queen Ywonne | Jarl (Sweden) | President Kicki Hankell (Sweden), Minister of Guardian Angels | Daniel Jiménez (Spain) Vice President | Ex-President Fernando Rodrigues (Brazil) | Adrian Suarez (Argentina) Minister of Unnumbered Things (Ambassador of Argentina) | Albarello Sergio (France) Minister of Francophonie | Alexander Kozirev (Alien in Latvia) Minister of Alien Citizens | Alexander Ten (Kazakhstan) Minister of Kazakhstan Affairs | Alexei Bushuev (Russia) Minister of Deeper Mysteries, Rainbow Magic and the Black Box. | Alexej Sczimanowski (Russia) Minister of Folktales and Bestiaries of Ladonia. We'll | Anders Loewdin (Sweden) Minister of Internet | Dr Andras Palotas (Hungary) Minister of Intelligence | Andrea L. Bassini (Italy) Minister of Animals Especially Cows | Andrew Shipilov (Russia) Minister of Colonies | Bela Lugosi (USA) better known as "Mrs. Mike" Minister of Blind Justice & Legal Impossibilities | Betsy Thagard, (Texas) Minister of Poke Sallet and Fulsome Aburdity | Birgitta Rudenius (Sweden) Eternal Minister of All Winds | BJ Mitchell (USA) Minister of Extra-terrestrial Oceans | Brad Grissom (USA) Minister of Digression | Brian Schulman (USA) Minister of Electronic Technology & Madagascar | Brigitta Janositz (Hungary) Minister of Naval Affairs and Mummification | C-J Charpentier (Sweden) Minister of Harley-Davidson Motorcycles | Carlos Andrés (Spain) Minister of the Dark Side, Ambassador of Spain | Carolyn Shelby (USA) Minister of Customizing and Gary | Carolina Cecilia Rovner (Argentina) Minister of Rock-Paper-Scissor Game | Cecilia Parsberg (Sweden) Minister of Endlessness | Chris Mansell (Australia) Ministry of Procrastination | Cihan Ergül (Turkey) Minister of Offence | Dmitri Dezortsev (OKEAH) (Ukraine) Minister of Mental Computer Art | Edna Montes (Mexico) Minister of Psycology | Eduardo Zenaide (Brazil) Minister of Brazilian Romantic Literature and Washing Lines | Eilar Jelin (Argentina) Ministry of Unanswered Questions and Parapsychology | Elin Hoffström (Finland) Ministry of Finnish and Finish | Elio Campitelli (Argentina) Ministry of Headphones and Bad Jokes | Elis Holm (Sweden) Minister of Fireworks | Emanuel Bock (Toomas Mathiesen) (Sweden) Minister of Health | Lady Estrelita of Adriance (USA) Ministress of Comfort and Congenial Conversation | Fernando Gelbard (Argentina/USA) Minister of Surrealism | Lord Fredrik Fischer (Sweden) Minister of Time, Warder of Practical Humour | Fredrik Larsson (Sweden) Eternal Minister of Art and Jump | Fredrik Norrgren (Sweden) Minister of Silence | Georgios Foutisizis (Greece) the ministry of Mini-sta-ot ed-yoo-kay-shun & uneducation | Gunnar Jarl (Sweden) Minister of Unschooling | Gurvan LeClec'H (France-USA) Minister of Impossible Travels | Helder Conceicao (France) Minister for the Rights of Fishes | Hunter Tammaro, (USA) Minister of Duct Tape and High Voltage | Igor Raikhman JR (Russia) Minister of Irrational Politics | Jaide Choi (S Korea) Minister of East Asian Affairs | Jakob Rubin (Denmark) Minister of Long Term Consequences | James Castleden (South Africa) Minister of Gravity | James Hartman (USA) Minister of Future Science | James Morris (England) Minister of Vampire Affairs | Jeremy Owen Turner (Canada) Minister of Avatar Affairs | João Kikuchi (Brazil) Minister of Postcards | Jo Cook (Canada) Minister of Alchemy and Folly | Joe Strahl (Skåne, Sweden [previously Pennsylvania, USA]) Minister of Stones, Director-General of the Ladonian Geologic Survey | Jon Oner (USA) Minister of Things Under Rocks (Understonology) | Jona Pelovska (Canada/Bulgaria) Minister of Dreaming Affairs | Jorge Calderon (Spain) Minister of Security Publishes and Civil Protection | Joshua Kaye (England) Minister of Mysterious Parts as well as Undetermined and Undisclosed Contents | Lord Jörgen Frithiof (Sweden) Minister of Offense | Kjell Mårtensson (Sweden) Minister of Social Affairs and Ecology | Krister Thelin (Sweden) Minister of Justice | Kristof Vannotten (Belgium) Minister of Shouts and Whispers | Lars Krabbe (Denmark) Minister of Hexotropic Liquids | Lars Vilks (Sweden) State secretary | Lars Vipsjö (Sweden) Minister of Hunting and Game Preservation | Lee Bacall (USA) Minister of Postal Services | Leif Eriksson (Sweden) Minister of Pictures | Len Rodman (USA) Minister of Existentialism | Lennart Johansson (Sweden) Minister of Danceband | Lester Jochum (USA) Ministry of Native Americans Tribes in Arizona | Lisa Johnson (USA) Minister of Mythological Beasts | Löjtnant Mathiesen (Sweden-USA) Minister of Philosophical Fishery | Countess Madeline (USA) Eernal Minister of Tennis and Figure Skating | Margareta Granvik (Sweden) Minister of Jazz (not on e-mail) | Maria Elena G. De Nakad (Mexico) Minister of the Rights of Ladonians | Marie Tlander (Sweden) Minister of Good Wine Drinking | Marten Visser (Netherlands) Ministry of Festivities (MOE). | Martin Schibli (Sweden) Minister of Curators, Semafores and Swiss Army Methods | Massimo Salomoni (Italy) Minister of Broken Hearts | Matt Clifton (England) Minister of Language | Max Socol (USA) Minister of X-Treme | Mikael Hansen (Denmark) Minister of the Ecology of Highways | Mike Arman (USA) Minister of Finance (Official Pilot) | Milošar Surgos (Slovakia) Minister of Coincidence and Destiny | Måns Nihlén (Sweden) Minister of Pispesmocking | Nacho Chiappe (Argentina) Minister of LAME (Little and Medium Enterprises) | Nada Pavlak (Australi) Minister of All Things that Virtually Doesn't Exist (ATTVDE) | Greve Norbert Johnson (USA) Minister of Parallel Universe Tribal Service | Pablo Linares (Argentina) MINISTRY OF UNDERWATER RELATIONS THOUGH NOT THOSE COVERED BY THE MINISTRY OF SUBAQUATIC TERRITORIES. | Pascale Camus-Walter (France) Minister of Lost Time | Pavel Golubkov (Belorussia) Minister of Beer | Pedro Martinez Chico (Spain) Minister of Misinformation | Pedro Solano (Portugal) Minister of Oranges, Ambassador of Portugal | Per Cod (Norway) Minister of Yellow Snow, Ambassador of Bergen | Peter Heim (Switzerland) Minister of Holidays | Lord Peter Kimay (Sweden) Minister of Subaquatic Territories | Peter Lundgren (Sweden) Minister of Evolution and Slow Change (Former Minister of Constant Revolution) | Phil Halfhill (USA) Minister of Positive Ideas for The Nations of the World | Phil Stead (England) Minister of Transport | Placito Miceli (USA) Minister of Assurance | Rachel Marian Procter (New Zealand) Minister of Lost Socks | Count Riccard (Sweden) Minister of Herpetology (President of Ladonian Football Unions) | Richard Ahlquist (Sweden) Minister of Defence | Robert Tyrrell (England) Minister of Unfulfilled Potential | Robin Raygor (USA) Minister of Written Hope | Rodrigo de Albuquerque (Portugal) Minister of Portuguese Representation and Food Gathering | Rolf Johansson (Sweden) Minister of Sweet Dreams | Rui de Sousa (Portugal) Minister of Future Hope | Salvatore Bruno (Ada Brun) (Italy) Minister of Real Spaghetti and Italian Food | Satish Shama (India) Minister of Indian Interests and Java | Lord Sig-Wulf (Sweden) Minister of Idleness | Simonus Beasleyus (England) Ministry of Cheese | Stina Jarenskog (Sweden) Ministry of Animal and Mineral Rights and Lefts and Vegan Diet Including Whole Trees. | Svenborg Mellström (Sweden) Minister of Mail | Taru Salmenkari (Finland) Minister of Teddy Animal Reservoirs | Terry Brackstone, Count De Dornasetum, (England) Minister of Apathetics | Terry Hayden (England) Minister of Time and Llamas | Thomas Diestel (Sweden) Minister of Accommodation and Tourism | Tiit Mathiesen (Sweden) Minister of Brain | Tim Neale (England) Minister of Zen | Count Torby (Sweden) Minister of History | Walter Ehresman (USA) Eternal Minister of Dubious Anthems | Vassilis Roumeliotis (Greece) Minister of the River Ladon in Arcadia | Vera Porad Falk (Sweden) State Graphic, Minister of Extraordinary Affairs or Extraordinary Minister | Wenche Blomberg, Widow Countess, (Norway) Minister of Madness and euforic travel | Will Bannon (England) Minister of Morality of Urban Music | Xavier Gerard (Belgium) Minister of Chess with Cheese | Ximena Mariala Florido Soria (Bolivia) Minister of Cookies with Chocolate Sporks and Ambassador in La Paz | Zack Alban (USA) minister of Pan-Asian Cuisine and Irrigation



Population Growth Ladonia



State Secretary Vilks makes the Ladonian greeting at the national day on 2nd of June



M I C R O N A T I O N S A N D A R T

The nation-state was created in the 19th century. A specific region and its population were identified as a whole through language, race and common culture. At the heart of this creation was the combination of the nation (common interests) with the state (a superior and dictated solidarity). The nation-state has lost some of its importance as the international exchange between countries has increased.

It seems certain that there is a connection between the establishment of micronations and the weakening of the nation-state. Micronations are formed either by economical considerations, by the wish to set up a utopian state, or just as a game or joke. We could add to the list those few that are made as art. But which of the micronations have a serious interest in becoming independent? Those with economical or utopian goals might have a reason. The situation is different for a micronation that is made as a work of art. Just because it is a work of art, it is, per definition, a fictional enterprise from the beginning. Art has never been able to realize anything; art is always realized within the art world. This is due to strong historical traditions and it shows how tied the post-modern contemporary art is to the modernistic-romantic tradition.

ART FROM MODERNISM TO POST-MODERNISM

During the era of modernism the »art« in the artwork was shown in the exhibition. In the 60s, the first signs of the disappearance of art were seen in conceptual art. A gallery could open a show and at the same time be closed and locked: »The Gallery is closed because of the show!«⁰¹ The more dramatic change came about in the 90s, when the flux from modernism to postmodernism took place. At this point »art« definitively disappeared from the exhibition. A modernistic piece of art presented art with its visual qualities; a post-modern »project« (rather than a specific »piece«) cannot show its »art«.

Art had been transferred from a visual quality to a framework for classification. »Art« in a post-modern sense means that the event takes place within the art institution. What is shown and what content is chosen is totally open – anything can be transferred to art. The »art« in art has thus lost most of its interest and that is why artists often say that it is not important whether or not their projects are called art.

I am not sure if »art« (the »art way«) should have lost its meaning. First, it must be concluded that the freedom given is much smaller than one could expect in a wide open concept of art. Contemporary projects (2004) are, in practice, limited to four subjects: Gender, Identity, Migration and Globalisation. And they are part of the main theme: *social critique*. Even if art has become a huge field of possibilities, it can still be recognized within a limited area.

When art as something existing in itself was replaced by the institutional theory, it meant that some of the old dreams suddenly came true. *The Gesamtkunstwerk* (The Total Work of Art) was realized in art installations, in art projects, or in interactions as works of art. This is stunningly banal as art has lost all of its romantic content; the metaphysical connection towards some higher spirituality is completely lacking. *Gesamtkunstwerk* can simply be found in the multimedia show. The artistic techniques have been limited to one: the readymade. The readymade gesture is where art comes into existence. This can be done with everything, but in practice the freedom is quite limited, as mentioned above.

MICRONATION ART

It seems quite clear that the idea of micronations is suitable for this way of working and this content. There is, however, a certain problem involved. Projects concerned with social critique have no reason to underline their identity as art. They are a part of the art world because they are presented in muse-

⁰¹ Robert Barry, 1969 and 1970, »During the exhibition the gallery will be closed.«

ums, galleries or the like. A project is simply an art project. Micronations have to deal with the problem of their existence as countries. Are they something more than an art project about the nation-state?

It cannot be avoided that an art micronation will be seen as an art project about the nation-state. Such a project will always be *ironic* through its impossible ambitions and deviations from norms. This was easy to observe among the countries represented in Amorph03. The only exception was Sealand, which has no interest in becoming an art project and thus no reason to strengthen any particularities. But all the others possess so many curious characteristics that one can understand that they, in practice, can never be accepted as »ordinary« nation-states. Among the art micronations attending the summit, the Transnational Republic seemed to be completely serious with their mission of establishing a system of Republics of Choice. I don't believe that the Transnational Republic will ever be seen as something else than an art project about the nation-state. The ambition to try to do »the real thing« cannot be realized (only in theory). It will – and that is the convention in art, be it good or bad – enter the room of reflection, which is the only thing art can offer.

What is most significant for the nation-state is not its history or the claiming of the cultural unit of the citizens. Despite other beliefs, the most significant aspect of the nation-state is the provision of the vital banalities that make a country function. During the Summit of Micronations, the Principality of Sealand – which has no artistic or utopian ambitions whatsoever – underlined several times the importance of offering health care, education and energy to its citizens. It is obvious that such questions are totally uninteresting for the art nations. In the fictional world of art, these questions have no relevance. But the game must be played and the art nations will always find an imaginative answer to questions about the needs of their citizens. The art micronations stick to the idea of their existence as real countries or at least to the possibility of being a real country. Even if they are as active as other

countries in producing their own currency, stamps, national anthems, appoint ministers and ambassadors, issue passports and try out forms of government, they will do this in an unusual way – which will make them more art than the real thing.

It is not difficult to see how dependent on art the art nations KREV, NSK, Ladonia, Transnational Republic, and State of Sabotage are. KREV has its activity in the art world through exhibitions in museums or galleries, NSK was established by its mother organization of the same name, and has an art theoretical motif as its base: »Retro avant-garde is the basic artistic procedure of Neue Slowenische Kunst. [...] Modern art has not yet overcome the conflict brought about by the rapid and efficient assimilation of historical avant-garde movements in the system of totalitarian states... The NSK state in time is an abstract organism, a suprematist body, installed in a real social and political space as a sculpture.« Ladonia came into existence as a consequence of the controversy about some sculptures, which were built on a nature reserve in Sweden. The State of Sabotage presented at its foundation ceremony a sculpture in the surrealist tradition, designed by HR Giger. The Transnational Republic tries to avoid art, but the chances of constructing a new working reality are very small; probably the most fruitful development for this project would be to get enough attention from the art world and thus become a project about how things could be done.

The lack of »reality« is obvious among the art micronations. This should not be seen as a general criticism of such undertakings but rather understood as a general principle of the art world. When something is produced as art, it loses its »real« function and it becomes something *about the real*, thus introducing irony and distance. This doesn't mean that micronations in art are without interest. What they actually can offer as a contribution to the world is the impact of the debate they might be able to create.

Lars Vilks, State Secretary



Minister of Art & Jump, Fredrik Larsson, performs the anthem of Ladonia



THE LADONIAN WAY

This year, on Saturday the 6th of March, the Ladonian Minister of Art and Jump, Fredrik Larsson, was awarded with the Ladonian Medal of Honour. The grounds for the appointment were »for considerable efforts in combat that took place at the last day of the Summit of Micronations, Harakka Island.«

Larsson's commando raid was carried out against one of the other participating micronations at the conference, the Transnational Republic. Already at the preliminary roundtable sessions, the conflict between Ladonia and the Transnational Republic appeared significant. Their delegation was a little annoyed at being referred to as an art project. On the other hand, the Ladonian delegation could not take the Transnational Republic's mission seriously to save the world through »peacefully« taking control over it. Their method to convince people around the world involves exchanging money into their own currency, »Payola«, and giving it back in the future when the world is ready for the responsibility; this is an utopian path that leads to the dictatorship of benevolence. This Marxian thought is a political idea we are already familiar with from the last century and its modernistic ideologies. But Fredrik Larsson was not satisfied with just discussion – he went to action. He describes his action as follows:

»During the last day of the conference I did a reconnaissance tour on Harakka Island. Then I reached the pavilion of the Transnational Republic. I noted that it was almost abandoned. Only one delegate was present and he was busy issuing a passport. Meanwhile I took the opportunity to observe their »embassy«. Quickly, I established that it was rather meaningless and boring, except for one exhibition case that captured my interest. Before me was their »prestigious« currency, bills and coins. I thought this would be an excellent war trophy. I looked around, but nobody was in sight; all I could hear was the slow tapping of the typewriter keys. I was all alone with their money. I went into action. I shot some pictures from the exhibition case as evi-

dence and took some bills and coins. I returned to base, to the Ladonian legation.«

Fredrik Larsson, Minister of Art & Jump

The conquest was immediately shown to the pleased cabinet of war. One of the first things that struck us all was that it seemed that not even the delegation of the Transnational Republic valued their own currency.

Larsson's action clearly shows that a state cannot be build with ideology alone. Some people will not be ruled under ideological utopian ideas. This brings up a very important condition for building a state. There are two choices. The state must gain the people's trust through a direct exchange in the present time. Improvement in education, material welfare, healthcare, and social security are exchanged by its subjects with obedience. As long as improvements are made, issues regarding democracy will probably not be a great concern for the majority. We have witnessed this phenomenon in many states, i.e. Singapore. The other option is to build a state strictly on suppression and violence.

A state that is built on ideology, with the promise of benefits in the future, must take into account that *there will always be people like Fredrik Larsson* – people that won't obey and won't accept being represented by an ideology. Therefore, if a state wants to work for a better society in the future, it must rest on a certain degree of violence and law enforcement. This applies to any state. Marx knew this and therefore understood that such a state needs to be a dictatorship for a while. Without the possibility of law enforcement and the provision of the people's basic needs, the trustworthiness of the state collapses.

Ladonia's claim of statehood began when the Swedish authorities failed to remove two large sculptures that Lars Vilks had built within a small area within a nature reserve, despite several court orders. This

meant that the Swedish authorities no longer controlled the area and, as a consequence, Ladonia could be proclaimed as a state. Ladonia is not a state in the strict meaning of the word; in fact, it has very few obligations of a »real« state, i.e. providing water, healthcare, education or employment, since no one actually lives in Ladonia. Nor is Ladonia a utopian project built on ideology alone. Ladonia is, to a great extent, built on the idea of a nation. In contrast to a state, a nation does not need a proclaimed geography nor does it have to provide basic needs to maintain its trustworthiness. But it needs to be believed in; it has to stand for the collective idea of belonging to something else and something better.

Today, citizens from all over the world contribute in different ways to the Ladonian nation. The writing of the Ladonian constitution is an ongoing process, and it is not always going in the right direction. Still, Ladonia is in many ways a working nation and has the trust of its citizens – people who believe in the ongoing process of Ladonian nation building.

The *Ladonian way* with its certain attitudes makes many people want to belong to this nation (I do not refer here to the 4.000 people from Pakistan that applied for citizenship in 2001). Ladonia receives many new colonies, i.e. in the Antarctic. Soon the tributary state *Daloniën* will come into existence, situated on former Swedish territory in Dalsland. Recently two more colonies voluntarily joined Ladonia: *Droftland* and *Eibria*, two monarchical anarchies founded on the 10th of May, 2003. The colonies are situated on an island near Oslo, Norway. One of the founders describes the event:

»Six brave explorers went to conquer the Island. The native commoners are mostly sheep and geoses but they fled to the western parts of the island during the invasion. It is rumoured that the island is also inhabited by some humanoids and a dragon. During the expedition the Ladonian flag was planted in Eibria and Droftland annexing it as Ladonian terri-

tory. The border has been a tender issue, but things are now under control. Both sides accept the border along the big, scary fence.«*

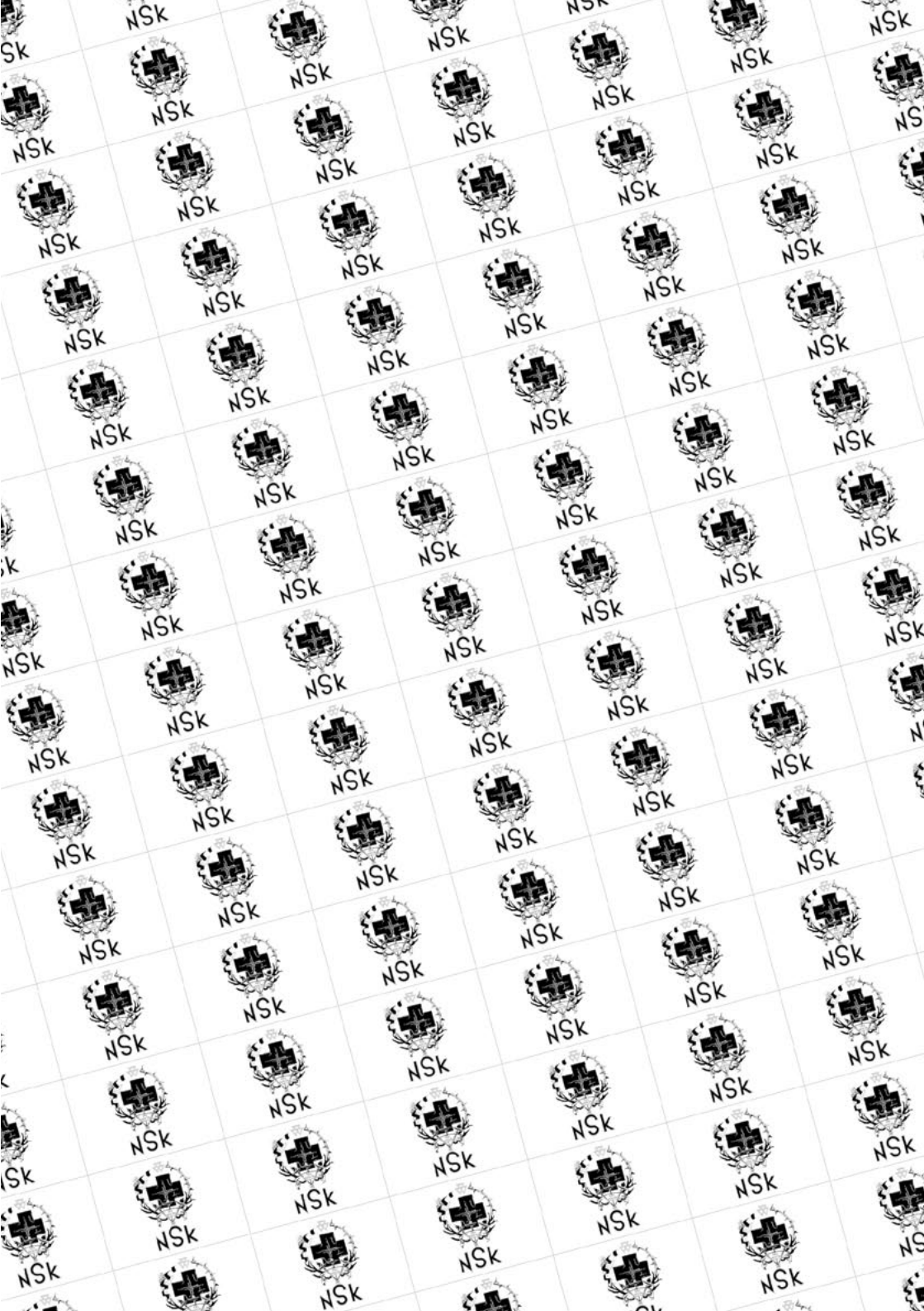
Ladonia also actively strives to expand its territory. Recently Ladonia campaigned for a war to conquer San Marino. The war was declared on July 7th 2003 at an exhibition at Gallery Valfisken, Simrishamn, Sweden. As justification for the invasion Ladonia suspected San Marino of hiding weapons of mass destructions. Ladonia also needed a physical military victory with the military strength of San Marino known to be weak. San Marino was invaded with elephants and an armada. The surprise effect of this strategy confused the enemy. Regarding the media war against San Marino, Ladonia had the initiative as well. Since war today is often won or lost in the media, anyone who understands media tactics can participate. Additionally, due to its size, San Marino being a micronation, it lacks the trustworthiness of a real state making it a relatively easy target. Ladonia later proclaimed a glorious victory.

The opening in Simrishamn was a great success, with many visitors applying for citizenship. This demonstrates that many people want to belong to a *glorious nation* with territorial claims, at least as long as it is hidden as an art project. But Larsson's act also shows that if the nation wants to transform itself to a state, *to be the real thing*, the state needs to rest on a certain degree on violence and law enforcement to be able to maintain its own existence and trustworthiness.

Finally, this text wants to put forward that Ladonia will not hesitate to take firm actions against any threats to Ladonian interests and that Ladonia will always take preventive actions to any modernists' projects and the paralysing rhetoric in the art world and the media.

Martin Schibli
Minister of Swiss Army Methods

* This story is a brief account from the homepage www.home.no/nujasa/ladonia/



NSK - STATE IN TIME

In 1990, with the new political, ideological and economic reorganisation of Europe (the fall of the Berlin wall and the reunification of Germany, the decline of the Eastern bloc and the birth of new national entities), NSK reinvented itself, changing from an organisation into a state, a utopian virtual state without concrete territory. Members of NSK became the first citizens of the NSK state, citizenship being accorded in the form of a passport available to all people of good-will around the world. The NSK state is already formally larger than the Vatican in terms of the number of its citizens.

Anybody can become an NSK Passport holder and acquire the status of an NSK citizen. The NSK state denies in its fundamental acts the categories of (limited) territory, the principle of national borders, and advocates the law of transnationality.

The bearer of the NSK passport becomes a citizen of NSK. Vital statistics of the bearer are logged in the NSK citizenship register. The passport is numbered and untransferable; its validity is limited and renewable. By signing the adjoining statement the bearer pledges to participate on a best-effort basis to support the integrity of the NSK state. This passport may not be misused for criminal, ideological, religious or political purposes conflicting with the contents of NSK and/or jeopardizing the reputation and good name of NSK. Citizenship ceases with the expiration, return or confiscation of the passport.

The passport is a document of a subversive nature and unique value. A holder fills in data and collects stamps, signatures, etc., in it at NSK events and similar campaigns. In this sense, the applicability of the passport is unlimited and subject to the responsibility of its holder.

Note: NSK citizenship does not imply NSK membership.

NSK STATE IN TIME

Retro avant-garde is the basic artistic procedure of Neue Slowenische Kunst, based on the premise that traumas from the past affecting the present and the future can be healed only by returning to the initial conflicts. Modern art has not yet overcome the conflict brought about by the rapid and efficient assimilation of historical avant-garde movements in the systems of totalitarian states.

The common perception of the avant-garde as a fundamental phenomenon of 20th century art is loaded with fears and prejudices. On the one hand this period is na vely glorified and mythicized, while on the other hand its abuses, compromises and failures are counted with bureaucratic pedantry to remind us that this magnificent delusion should not be repeated.

Neue Slowenische Kunst – as Art in the image of the State – revives the trauma of avant-garde movements by identifying with it in the stage of their assimilation in the systems of totalitarian states. The most important and at the same time traumatic dimension of avant-garde movements is that they operate and create within a collective. Collectivism is the point where progressive philosophy, social theory and the militarism of contemporary states clash.

The question of collectivism, i.e. the question of how to organize communication and enable the coexistence of various autonomous individuals in a community, can be solved in two different ways.

Modern states continue to be preoccupied with the question of how to collectivize and socialize the individual, whereas avant-garde movements tried to solve the question of how to individualize the collective. Avant-garde movements tried to develop autonomous social organisms in which the characteristics, needs and values of individualism,

which cannot be comprised in the systems of a formal state, could be freely developed and defined. The collectivism of avant-garde movements had an experimental value. With the collapse of the avant-garde movements, social constructive views in art fell into disgrace, which caused the social escapism of orthodox modernism and consequently led to a crisis in basic values in the period of postmodernism.

The group Neue Slowenische Kunst defines its collectivism within the framework of an autonomous state, as artistic actions in time to which all other spatial and material procedures of artistic creation are subordinated. This means that the procedure of the deconstruction and analysis of past forms and situations functions as the creator of new conditions for the development of the individual within the framework of a collective.

One of the aims of Neue Slowenische Kunst is to prove that abstraction, which in its fundamental philosophic component – suprematism – explains and expels the political language of global cultures from the language and culture of art, contains a social program adequate to the needs of modern man and community.

The NSK state in time is an abstract organism, a suprematist body, installed in a real social and political space as a sculpture comprising the concrete body warmth, spirit and work of its members. NSK confers the status of a state not to territory but to mind, whose borders are in a state of flux, in accordance with the movements and changes of its symbolic and physical collective body.

Eda Čufer & Irwin
Ljubljana, 1992

THESES OF THE NSK STATE

1. The synthesis of a unified system and a unified economy created the modern state.
2. In such a state art is an integrated political process subjected to the integrated production of consciousness.
3. Every art is therefore in the service of global authority, except that which subjects global authority to its own rule.
4. NSK State is an abstract organism, a suprematist body installed in real social and political space as a sculpture comprising the concrete body warmth, spirit and work of its members.
5. NSK confers the status of a state not to territory but to mind, whose borders are in a state of flux, in accordance with the movements and changes of its symbolic and physical collective body.
6. NSK considers its existence within the framework of an autonomous state as an artistic act to which all other creative procedures are subjected.
7. The NSK State embodies a social concept satisfying the needs of the community under the conditions of the modern world.
8. The NSK State reveals and performs an exorcism aiming at expelling the political language of global structures from the language of art.

Founded: 1992

Government type: collective absolutism

Head of state: immanent-transcendent spirit

Territory:

no territory owned, exist as a parasite

Area: Time

Geographical coordinates: Universe

State borders: end of Time

Population: more than Vatican

Population growth

[% per year since founding date]: X%

Net migration ratio:

see the «Heisenberg undetermination principle»

Sex ratio: fifty-fifty + x – y

Ethnic groups: we do not recognize them

Language: body

Currency: nsk

International organizations

participations: no need for it

International disputes: non aware about

NSK POST OFFICE

The NSK Post Office project, like all other NSK projects, brought to the surface and synthesized the relationship between art and the state, which in the postmodern time became topical once again. To be more precise, unlike the eighties, when matters in the field of art were conceptualized – also thanks to NSK – in the art-politics relation, the NSK Postoffice tackled the procedures of codification, a system of rules and principles designed to arrange one's own past and present activity. In this sense NSK in the nineties, after a decade of activity, borrowed the principles of cataloguing and classifying its own insignia from »the state« and, using the systems of codification applied to state apparatus and instruments, also formed its own state – the NSK State.

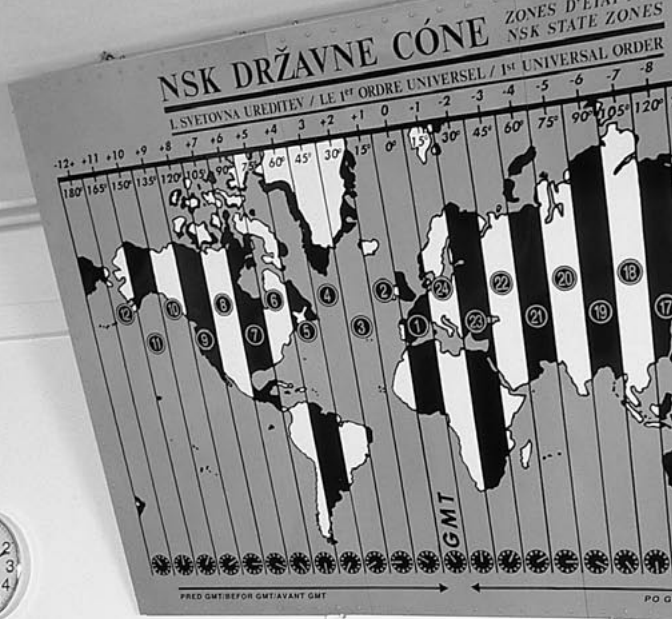
Thus in the nineties we are witnessing, besides the theses of the NSK State (in time), the formation of an entire system of bureaucratic-administrative apparatus of the NSK State and the production of artifacts cloning those of the state: the issuing of NSK passports, the opening of NSK embassies and consulates, the appointment of ambassadors and consular representatives, and the designing of various insignia, signs and seals. The transnational NSK State therefore functions more like a spectrum, in the strict sense of the Latin word – like an image, or better, a representation of a state, which however does not reflect its mirror image but rather distorts it. This parallelism between art and the state is at the same time opening up some radical questions for the institution of art itself, it's establishing a system of rules and instructions illustrating the functioning of this institution, the formation of its historiography and its system of reproduction.

That the NSK Post Office project is not a retrospective presentation of NSK documentation, but a carefully conceived action designed to define the point from which one's own history, mode of

operation and organization can be codified, is also proved by the NSK State's newest artifact: the issuing of a duty stamp and a series of NSK State postage stamps. New Collectivism designed the duty stamp and six postage stamps, which precisely illustrate this internal view of their own history, by establishing a system of emblems and signs of status and honor, represented by the persons, artifacts and images of the NSK State (thereby following the same logic the state uses in issuing stamps): Tomas Hostnik, a mythical personage, the first singer of the Laibach group, IRWIN's painting »Malevich between the Two Wars, 1985«, the poster designed in 1987 by New Collectivism for the celebration of Youth Day, etc. The series of stamps and the duty stamp (a small label with a nominal value to be attached to various documents and applications) featuring the sign of NSK are a logical, and at the same time necessary, stage in the formation and cloning of a state, which also enables, in Laibach's terms, a full articulation of the communications interests of the citizens of the NSK State. In this way, the stamps depict the history of the system's brutality towards the Organization (which itself has to transmute into a state now if it wishes to survive in time) and synthesize, in an inverted manner, its traumatic points and symbols.

That in the case of the NSK Post Office project we are dealing with a detailed process of codification is also confirmed by the process of rearranging the world map of time zones, which is understood as a constantly moving time machine. In this sense, the NSK Post Office has to be understood, metaphorically speaking, as *a state within a state*, which tackles precisely the temporality and self-evident movement of the institution of art itself, as well as the process of transposing the utopic constructions, ideas, and structures into the real.

Marina Gržinč
Ljubljana, January 1995





NSK - STATEMENTS

NSK IS ONLY NSK — THE EMPTY SIGNIFICANT, BUT IT EDUCATES THE NERVOUS SYSTEM.

NSK CITIZENS DON'T PAY TAXES. FOR OUR MASTER — THE IMMANENT TRANSCENDENT SPIRIT — EVERYTHING IS ALREADY PAID.

WE WERE OFTEN ASKED, »WHY HAVE YOU ESTABLISHED THIS NSK-STATE?« YOU KNOW, THIS STATE OFFERS NOTHING. IT DOES NOT GIVE ANY SOCIAL SECURITY, IT DOES NOT HAVE ANY POLICE OR ARMY, AND IT DOES NOT OFFER ANY ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS SO THAT PEOPLE CAN SATISFY THEIR INTERESTS. SO, THIS STATE DOESN'T GIVE ANYTHING.

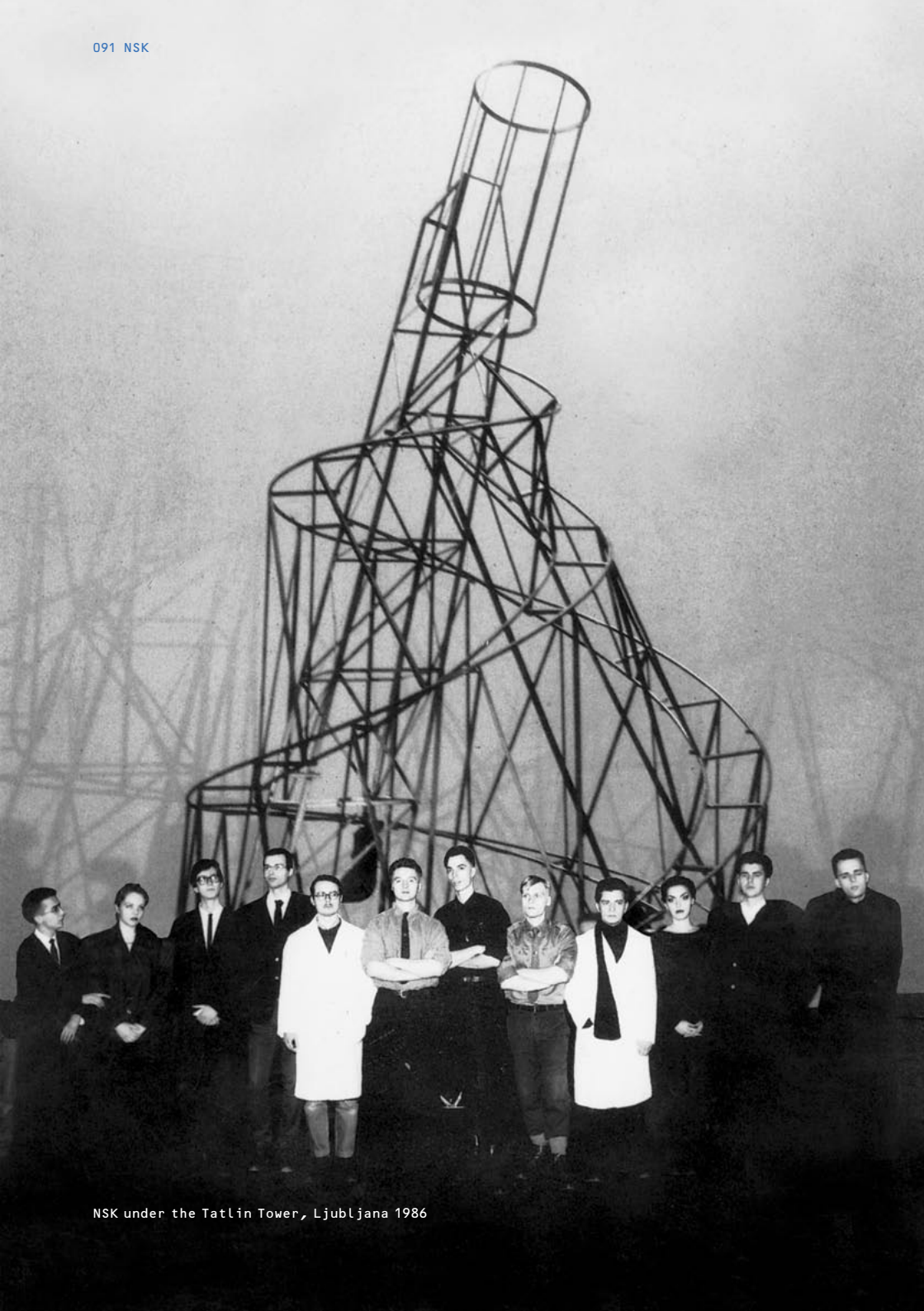
WE BELIEVE THAT UNREAL UN-EXISTING IS THE BASES OF EXISTING, AND THAT THIS UNREAL IS ABSOLUTELY MORE REAL THAN ALL EXISTING. THIS IS THE ABSOLUTE AND WE IDENTIFY WITH IT, BECAUSE WE HAVEN'T FOUND ANY GROUND IN THIS EXISTING WORLD WE CAN IDENTIFY WITH, BECAUSE EVERYTHING IS NOTHING.

PETER MLAKAR

NSK-STATE DEPARTMENT FOR PURE AND APPLIED PHILOSOPHY



NSK with friends, Golo Brdo 2002



NSK under the Tatlin Tower, Ljubljana 1986



NSK - STATE OPENING ADDRESS AT

FINLANDIA HALL ⁰¹

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

in the name of NSK first I have to express our thanks to the organisers of this unusual event for their kind invitation. I hope this Amorph will not cease without an aftermath on the essence of the global political consciousness. But in this solemn moment I shall take opportunity to say you some words on an issue, which for sure occupies not only us but your rebellious minds too.

In the Department for Pure and Applied Philosophy at NSK we have been for a long time resolving the squaring of the circle. What does it mean? We have been torturing ourselves to understand Undetermined Unending, thus God. We have been thrown in the position of permanent paradox, while the Absolute is never an object of mental determination. Yes, we have been set up in the hopeless position, but it has been not the position of some stupid phantasma. This has been the position, which speaks out, what is unspeakable, however not unreal, which shows in the form of impossibility, of the unreal the Reality alone; which speaks that God is God, though all our ordinary arguments are denying this and He is consequently beyond all being and non-being.

In the similar position is our NSK state. This is not an ordinary political subject, of which we can actually and immediately expect that the communities are going to be fucked up. But it is also not some Larifari, some sick hallucination of the provocative artistic mind, without any social weight.

NSK state is – similar to the upper topic – some kind of entity, which does not exist, yet create consciousness, which forms the most radical attitude of the statehood, the ecstatic paradoxical position of THE SUBSTANTIAL FREEDOM IN THE TOTAL EMPIRICAL NONFREEDOM.

Our state is based on the principle that the freedom is achieved and practical life has its chance, when it identifies itself with an empty term of the state alone, when it identifies with something, which in factual economical reality does not exist. Only so you can get the full portion of reality itself. Yes, such attitude is – so we are persuaded – the base for each possible common good. Only so every legal system comes into life and becomes slavery of the one the condition for freedom of the all and the one. The state, which does not rule to no one, but empty, absurd, general word, which leaves free all the empirical selfishness, saves the world.

If our last NSK law teaches that »I shall never do unto you what I do not want you to do unto me, unless there is a common reason for that.« this means that only common reason is the condition of your free selfish interests and passions. This means that particular freedom is thus only the freedom of those, who think equal, who find their identity in the core of the Almighty Spirit alone.

Thank you and good luck at the constitution of a new version of the state, in which *Wirtschaft ist tot!* – in which economy is dead.

⁰¹ This speech was delivered by Peter Mlakar (NSK-State Department for Pure and Applied Philosophy) at the opening ceremony of the Summit of Micronations, Finlandia Hall, 29th of August, 2003. It was followed by a concert of Laibach at Tavastia.

⁰² The Laibach songs were recited by a young Finnish girl at the conclusion of Peter Mlakars speech on Harakka island, 31st of August, 2003. (see page 94f.)

NSK-LAIBACH SONG TEXTS

DU BIST UNSER

DAS LEBEN IST EINE KURZE NACHT

WO FINDEN WIR DAS ZIEL DER ÜBERMACHT?

DURCH LEERE FAHREN WIR AUF KRIEGESBOOT
WIR SIND DIE STRAHLEN ULTRA-ROT

MASCHINENGEWEHR AUS JEDER GALAXIE
HEILEN WIR ALLGEMEINE AGONIE

WIR SEHEN DIE WELTEN GANZ KAPUTT
WIR SEHEN DAS BIEST IM ABSOLUT

ERHEBE DU DICH

ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
INS GEISTESBEREICH

ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
INS GEISTESBEREICH

WIR ALLE SIND GEWISS ALLHIER
WIR BRINGEN FRIEDEN AUCH ZU DIR

WIR HALTEN DICH FÜR DEINE HAND
ZU STEIGEN IN DIE HIMMELSWAND

ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
ERHEBE DU DICH
INS GEISTESBEREICH

DU BIST UNSER
DU BIST UNSER
DU BIST UNSER
DU BIST UNSER
DU BIST UNSER
DU BIST UNSER
IM GOTTESBEREICH

DAS SPIEL IST AUS

DIE ZEIT IST FAST VORBEI
DIE FREIHEIT IST NICHT MEHR FREI
STILL IST UNSER HERZ
UND KURZ IST UNSER TOD

DER MENSCH LIEGT IN GROSSER PEIN!
DER MENSCH LIEGT IN GROSSER NOT!
DIE ZEIT IST FAST HERAUS
UND UNSER SPIEL IST AUS

RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!

WAS ENTSTANDEN IST,

DAS MUSS VERGEHEN!
WAS VERGANGEN IST,

MUSS AUFERSTEHEN!

WO DER BÖSE IST

UND WAS IST GOTT?
WER IST ZEITLOS
UND WER IST TOT?

WAS ZUSAMMEN IST

MUSS IN STÜCKE GEHEN
UND WAS ALLEIN IST

MUSS SICH MULTIPLIZIEREN

WIR DER BOESE SIND
UND WIR SIND GOTT
WIR SIND ZEITLOS
UND DU BIST TOT

RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!

RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!
RAUS, DAS SPIEL IST AUS!



THE STATE NSK AS THE BASIC

MODEL OF ALL THE OTHERS *

DEAR FRIENDS,

allow me to begin with this sentence. What is art against the reality, that is the NSK state against the ordinary states? How should I explain this? You will agree that we can denote art as a kind of para-reality of the existing, us encircling world. But the worlds existence and self-certainty – to the logical mind in the process of self-referring as the accordance of ideas in the identity proposition, merely within the consciousness – cannot be proved of. Sureness of this existence is therefore defined as already apriorious including in that mind itself, as a part of consciousness, or with the simple epistemological proposition that the outside world is for sure the fact, irrespective of whether we have the proof for that or not.

Well, also in that case we could find the elements of this, that the mind accepts the outer world as if it would be already it, as it is already set by it. I will also state the third form, according to which we comprehend the conscious one merely as an effect of something as objectively, materially or unconscious wider and more fundamental. But I will not hesitate that at these subject-object constellation varieties, in spite of their clear positionarity, we always meet with the instance – how should I call this – of a certain eternal unconceptuable Non-existence, which according to its Primarity, that absolute After, exceeds still such radical Precedence or Outside of the Matter itself. Right that Obscurity, that Uncatchiness is therefore the identity point of the Spirit itself. Not until its, let's call it Nought, is the source of all worldly wealth and mind consistence.

The world identity as that unconceptuable point, which represents the un-reasonable absolute, which the consciousness and reality are meeting in, is for the mind also the art domain. The art is therefore

that element of the Spirit, in which that identificational uncatchable Base of reality is being revealed in, the Base, which is distinguished from the actual existing one on one side and the direct identity logic on the other. Its aesthetical is right that incomprehensibility/mistiness on itself, in which the Null base of the world shows also in such a way that we comprehend the objectivity differently than in contact with bare, direct, natural facts. For art the existence won't fail and the psychological doesn't hit the hell's bottom, but all the categories, in which the existence could see the last Reason or Un-reason of being, are here. In art the mind is already Spirit, it means its unlimitedness, in which the differences, the othernesses are only possible. The actual reality is already the Logical fact, but only so that it is the moment of Spirit, which is announcing its truthfulness and almightiness with the pitilessness of itself as the Presumption, as of that Null one, but the one who is setting up. Therefore it is not strange that Heidegger beholds the truth of nature not earlier than in the light of that Greek temple, which is surrounded by the blooming meadows.

It is similar with the state. The real base of reality is always the Unreal. As the cosmologists say, the universe is created and driven by the dark, invisible, unknown force, which acts also then, when all cosmos sinks into nothing. When remains only the total emptiness; that invisible energy is still present and acts, for it has already been before it and it can create it again. That force, that doesn't exist in reality, is therefore the creator of all real, is its first and last truth. Therefore are these, what we see as things and events, only to us, of the same origin with the world, the accessible formations of that Basical and Invisible. And here we can draw the parallel of our NSK state with the real ones. We will say that also

* Speech delivered by Peter Mlakar on Harakka Island, 31st of August, 2003



MLakar's speech was concluded by the recitation of Laibach songs by a Finnish girl.

here the state's Base and Principle are something Not-concerning the state, Unreal, Empty, Abstract in relation to the reality of life.

Anyhow, are the materials for the state constitution the real components? Nations are establishing the state for people of the same origin, which connects them into the unitary quality; there are also the same culture, habits, customs, religion, language, and economical interests. But this, what only sets up a state as a state is not merely the origin and the other things stated. The state as a state is the Oneness of the real subjects and components, the consciousness of togetherness and it enables the acting coordination and interest satisfaction – we call it common good – only and first in its empty Word itself, in the word of the Law. Until this Form, this Idea is not uttered, the chaos of interferences, different directions of the forces are on their work, but with the state's word it falls all under one cover, one Order begins to reign. The state springs up, when we write off all the concrete moments and say, that it is the society, which is subjected to the common principle, which regulates the public life. This common principle is total empty, but consecutive influences on the concrete life of citizens, it is in the closest relation with it, but we cannot identify it with it. It is an invisible breath, but very important for the living

flesh. It seems so that the empirical life only so gets its sense, its usefulness, its successfulness, practicality, liveliness. The state is the abstract unit, Null class, which includes the concrete nervous material with its economy, but that function only from that Emptiness out. It is merely, So it is, That must be, Let it be so, fleshless, technical Constitution.

So we can also define our NSK state. We said that it is the state in time, for we wanted to stress that it is not interested in the concrete geographical space. Therefore it is the state of the states. The NSK state is the state, which with its Nought represents the possibility of the state formation in general, thus as the subject moment in its social, common extension, in the extension of its real needs, in escalation of its highest pleasures, which are the matter of one body, because they are the general ones. As we said in our documents, NSK is an abstract state, but right this pure suprematism enables, what we understand as life, loaded with creative forces and freedom. Our insisting on this unuseful Concept is therefore the opening for the highest possible, free arsenal, from which everybody can take his most favourite weapons. This, that the man is the infiniteness of skins, endless chain of the sensual and the mental enjoyment, sets right that empty spiritual Element, which we are honouring in our NSK state.



Men's choir Huutajat in front of the NSK information office



Peter Mlakar and Darko Pokorn

DWARF STATES, POST-STATES & THE

RETRO-STATE: THE NSK STATE NOW

»The State is taking care of the protection, cultivation and exploitation of the forests. The State is taking care of the physical education of the nation, especially the youth, with the aim of improving the nation's health and national, working and defensive capability. Its treatment is becoming more and more indulgent, all freedom is tolerated. Our authority is that of the people.«

– Laibach: »Drava«

NSK (Neue Slowenische Kunst) began work two decades ago, in the (non)fateful year of 1984. At the time, one half of Europe viewed Orwell's vision as reportage while the other (Western) half saw it as confirmation of its moral and political superiority, complacently believing that a culture able to produce such a prophetic vision *must* necessarily be immune to such a future – 1984 was about *them* behind the Wall, not *us*. Somewhere in between lay the (ex)-Yugoslav »interzone«, a dystopian-utopian space combining the worst and best of each bloc. It was from this uniquely dissonant and contradictory space that what became the *NSK State in Time* emerged at the start of the nineties. Like Orwell's vision, it is sometimes seen as confirmation of a liberal interpretation of history. Some claim that NSK was »really« oriented (only) against the former system and that it has no implications for the present. Yet once unleashed such dystopian-utopian visions cannot be confined to any one space or time – they always offer a potential commentary on the present as well as the past.

The continued existence and development of the NSK State in Time is actually both a warning and (at least potentially) an opportunity. If NSK's

agenda had only been about breaking down the old system, the NSK State would be superfluous. Yet as the transmitter of a cryptic, perverse optimism, NSK is perhaps even more appropriate and necessary during what Slavoj Žižek refers to as the »liberal-totalitarian emergency.«⁰¹

REGIME DETECTOR

NSK has always worked as a present and future »regime detector«, spotlighting ideological changes and distortions that warn of present tendencies and future events. The body of work that has coalesced into the NSK State has tracked the key political and cultural developments of the past two decades. Specific NSK interventions often turn out to have been based on restoring seemingly obsolete elements at moments when they were officially »least« relevant but actually »most« relevant. So, for instance, NSK Fine Art section Irwin's installation »The Golden Age« used freshly discarded socialist signifiers at the very time that Yugoslavia was disintegrating. Such projects swim against the surface current but follow the deeper undercurrents of the zeitgeist, interrogating particular constellations of what Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari call the »diabolical powers of the future.«⁰² NSK's strategy has been to dramatise the menace and seductiveness of the regimes with which it dealt. NSK's seemingly absolutist engagements take the contradictions of regimes to their logical conclusions and beyond.

The formation of the NSK State also makes apparent what we could call a *positive* »hidden reverse« that has appeared as a result of this dramatisation process. The NSK State detects and acknowledges its own potential to become a regime and in this

⁰¹ Slavoj Žižek »Are we in a war? Do we have an enemy?« *London Review of Books*, 23.5.2002

⁰² Deleuze and Guattari »Kafka, Towards A Minor Literature« *London, Athlone Press, 1986*

way is empowering rather than disempowering for the citizens who choose to join it. While NSK's interrogations of regimes, cultures and systems have always illuminated their negative, hidden aspects, the NSK State (built from these ambivalent sources), actually reveals a previously concealed positivity that seems to contradict, but is actually dependent on, the negativity of some of NSK's sources. This can be seen in the attitude of NSK citizens and those who perceive the idealistic aspects of the idea of a post-territorial state in time. The NSK State is »transcendent« in that it allows a surpassing of, or »going beyond« the restrictions of a regime or set of regimes and suggests the potential value in discarded and reprocessed material. It also represents a type of »future proofing«, ensuring that the NSK »spirit« continues to disperse and proliferate after the groups cease operations or assume new trajectories leading away from the original collective departure points. The NSK State now stands as a permanent embodiment of the core NSK ideal and so is not dependent on the agendas of the individual groups that make up NSK.

NSK reprocess not just the most threatening, but also the most utopian qualities surrounding the notion of the state. However, NSK's »statehood« is based not on the repression but on the acceptance and productive integration of historical trauma, particularly that caused by reactionary attempts to achieve political totality. Such integration is generally beyond the individual, but NSK offer the individual a facilitating framework based on totality re-manifested as a zone of possibility rather than closure. This mode of totality embraces inconsistency and ambiguity without losing structural integrity or collapsing into shapelessness. NSK use the colossal power attached to the notion of the state not to subordinate but to secure a conceptual refuge for the individual menaced by the scale of external regimes and ideologies.

For NSK, the state was the ultimate artistic »ready-made«. By reprocessing and remixing the state as reality and ideal, NSK forces its own surplus into

productive use while maintaining ambiguity in relation to specific states and systems. NSK's explicit fusion of culture and state remains a symbolic challenge to those who deny the possibility of cultural repression by the state under capitalism, and argue that censorship and totalitarian forces belong to a hermetically sealed past.

The NSK State is superficially orderly but is based on harnessing political and creative chaos, becoming a constructive cultural container for volatility. This micronation (or possibly »metanation«) derives its destabilising momentum from the frictions generated by the antithetical national imageries driving it – the supposedly »spent fuel« that fuels its reprocessing operations. The NSK State is built from overtly impure and even malign ideals and symbols, yet has achieved a type of conceptual purity and freedom that seems (perhaps fortunately), inaccessible to any »real« states. Paradoxically, Laibach's »demonic«, impure presence at the core of the State guarantees the integrity of its non-aligned space. The NSK State is »pure« in its acceptance of the corrupt and shadowy aspects of the world, which it reprocesses into a form that is actually genuinely idealistic and perhaps ethical. It is within this paradoxical space that we find the most destabilising and illuminating implications of NSK's *Slav Art Threat*.

This core of tainted idealism has drawn together NSK's global body of citizens, a group that might be termed the *First Retrogarde International*. Many see the NSK State as more representative of their ideals than their »own« nation states, some are in flight from the dysfunctions of »their« states, whilst others are happy with their primary identities, yet still desire a further, less constrictive, and more openly imaginative space of identification. What NSK continues to symbolise, and what makes its continued presence more necessary than ever, is the repressed idealism at the core of our (un)real notions of the state.

REMIX STATE?

Where does this impossible-real State project stand now? In the light of the collapse of Yugoslavia and the old Eastern bloc, the relevance of the NSK state was clear. »Old-school« semi-fascist and militarist state projects had returned and an artistic appropriation and exorcism of state-generating mechanisms had great symbolic resonance.

The context now is different. Not only has the EU expanded and superficial »normality« been restored to some of the recently »Wild East«, the entire notion and ideal projection of the state has undergone a metamorphosis, if not a deliberate re-engineering. The spectre or shadow of the state in the popular imagination has receded. NSK work shadows this change while suggesting that the »old« threats have proliferated rather than disappeared.

The mass-state model now seems very distant historically, yet in fact the totalitarian potential at its core is now extremely relevant. On the one hand contemporary market states have a tendency to disguise or abolish themselves, voluntarily ceding ever more powers to the market, both overtly and covertly. Citing the »need for reform«, actual states increasingly indulge in compulsive and unrestrained market fetishism. Extreme tendencies such as auto-privatisation (governments privatising their own departments or merging them into corporations) seem like some perverse type of governmental auto-asphyxiation.⁰³ To make such sell-outs more palatable, states try to remake themselves in the image of funky, globalised lower-case corporations. They are also now acutely embarrassed by the »old-fashioned« socially protective duties of the state, which made authority more palatable to those benefiting from the »post-war consensus.« Ruthless pragmatism increasingly purges states of any vision or notion of the public good that is not market-driven. The im-

perative driving many states now is to systematically blur the lines between market and state and to act as the market's agent in exposing the citizen (increasingly known as »the consumer«) to forced intimacy and complicity with it, even at the psychological and existential levels.

The old image of the state as behemoth has been dismantled, yet its successors seek even greater levels of control. Under cover of the reassuring, sedative liberal narrative about the permanent defeat of the »old« totalitarian states and the necessity of the war on terror, states are rapidly appropriating new powers. The potential for mass surveillance and population control facilitated by biometric technology and electronic monitoring is far beyond the imagination of the most repressive of the »old« totalitarian states in whose image NSK was built. When the interior minister of a Western government proudly states that »the individual has no right to anonymity«⁰⁴ it is obvious that the repressive state matrix that NSK first interrogated has mutated into something much more seductive and dangerous than the old totalitarian spectres.

So while the NSK State emerged in the early nineties context of fragmented nationalist micro-states, it is maturing in the context of self-abolishing corporatised states aspiring to neo-totalitarian hegemony in the name of market populism. States are engaged in a grand illusion – removing themselves from ever more spheres of public life in the name of efficiency and »small government« while taking ever-greater authoritarian powers, which can then be used to enforce market rule. This is the new constellation of dwarf states and post-states that the NSK state traverses and needs to map if it is continue its remarkable trajectory.

⁰³ This alludes to the sleazy, compulsive aspects of government collaboration with corporate power and it's degeneration into a perversion celebrated as a virtue.

⁰⁴ Former British Home Secretary David Blunkett

GRAVITATION ZERO: CAN ART ESCAPE REGIME?

»The only truthful aesthetic vision of the State is the vision of an impossible state«⁰⁵
– Laibach

»It is on lines of flight that new weapons are invented, to be turned against the heavy arms of the State.«⁰⁶

NSK have already taken the state beyond its most extreme conceptual limits, arriving at a previously unimaginable space (and time). A key strength of NSK has been its repeated materialisation of the improbable in perplexing, destabilising and seductive forms. The NSK State is already spectacularly unlikely, and this de-stabilising improbability is more vital than ever in a period of systematically programmed culture. Since utopianism is now often seen as suspect and unfashionable, NSK's continued existence represents a defence of the right to an »escapist« imagination that critiques reality and refuses to recognise the limitations imposed by any »actually existing« cultural, political and economic regimes.

Two central metaphors summarise the NSK State's modes of operation. NSK is firstly a *plural monolith*, that is, an apparently impenetrable structure constantly re-synthesised from contradictory and unstable elements. It represents a mode of cultural diversity that refuses to remain within approved politically correct categories – a type of *hard multiculturalism*. Like the monolith in Arthur C. Clarke's 2001, it does not necessarily have to »do« very much in order to provoke reactions and create events – its presence is sometimes sufficient. Sec-

ondly, in the monolith's engagements with regimes it functions as an *interrogation machine*. Once activated, the machine mutates and proliferates to bring *everything* into its scope, interrogating the systems that interrogate and manipulate at every level, from the psychic to the national. The machine attempts to transcend alienation using the codes of the same alienation, and to create a line of flight away from the apparent inevitability of oppression. So both by active interventions and simply by its continued presence (inexplicable to many, irritating or perplexing to more), the NSK State creates momentum and illustrates previously unimagined trajectories. It suggests that no matter how fixed, or closed a regime/system/machine appears to be, it always contains within its coding possibilities of escape, superseding, obsolescence, disintegration or mutation.

The NSK State is a type of »... assemblage that makes thought itself nomadic.«⁰⁷ It activates associations and disassociations, setting the imagination (including its citizens' imagination of what the State might be) onto new trajectories. As a projective apparatus, the State is actually dependent on this process, and on generating speculation and intrigue among those casually exposed to it. There are many possible NSK states in the minds of those it encounters. Its cryptic core facilitates this and works as a symbolic condemnation of programmed culture, and an incitement to go beyond it. As an imaginary-real matrix it produces real-imaginative responses and potentials. Since citizens continue to join and since they often have such a strong preference for this State over their own »given« states, the NSK State monolith will have a long afterlife, continuing to provoke and facilitate far into the future.

⁰⁵ From the sleevenotes to the Laibach album »Krst pod Triglavom« (Baptism under Triglav) Hamburg, Walter Ulbricht Schallfolien, 1987

⁰⁶ Deleuze and Guattari »A Thousand Plateaus – Capitalism and Schizophrenia« London, Athlone Press, 1996, 204

⁰⁷ Ibid., 24

AGAINST THE ENCLOSURE OF UTOPIA

»Laibach Kunst... wants to show the truth as it should be, restoring to things and people their unadulterated meaning.«⁰⁸

– *Neue Slowenische Kunst*

NSK already provides an at least symbolic exit from the kleptocratic-authoritarian matrix of contemporary dwarf states. Yet can it do more and can still reveal the »obscene underside« of these self-concealing states and continue to »go beyond« the current state of power? Are its strategies still relevant and possible? Is it time for an NSK state remix?

The NSK State's continued potential and a possible agenda may be clearer if we refer to some current post-NSK cultural practices of »subversive affirmation«⁰⁹ and the regimes they are applied against. A new generation of anti-globalist cultural activists such as 01001011101010101.org either employ NSK style tactics or have been directly influenced by NSK. It is certainly possible to trace a conceptual connection between NSK and the tactics of such groups. These actions illustrate how the NSK State continues to generate and inspire responses and provoke the cultural imaginary. One difference however, is that these more tactical, guerrilla-style actions do not have the spectral presence of a state behind them and as yet have not generated quite the same threatening sense of scale and vision that NSK often has.

These groups attempt to illuminate the seductive dominance of what Naomi Klein calls »privatised public utopias.«¹⁰ Utopianism is now supposed to

be the property of brands and corporations – the mediated dreams that appeal most to the majority seemingly cannot exist in isolation from the market. In fact, isolation from the market is now a political as well as economic *thoughtcrime*. To the extent that states still offer utopian promises such as social development they are always »in partnership with« corporate forces – designed to be at the mercy of market goodwill. The role of these kleptocratised dwarf states is to provide nominal democratic legitimacy and act as guarantor of profit.¹¹ Much of the detail of how power now functions is deliberately kept concealed. Governments evacuate the public sphere in favour of the chill silent zones of »commercial confidentiality«: neo-Orwellian »memory holes« for awkward facts. The flight from scrutiny brings to mind a collapsing regime, burning and shredding files in fear of what might ensue if the true face of power really comes to light.

As a voluntarily entered conceptual zone, the »territory« of the NSK State can offer an alternative of equal scale to the corporate ideal of a »fully enclosed, synergized, self-sufficient space.«¹² The totalitarian-monopolist drive underlying the drive for control of whole sectors needs not only to be resisted, but to be illuminated, reprocessed and outflanked. If NSK can maintain or even intensify the potentially fatal and intense proximity to power that it first established in the 1980s there is a chance to carve out new lines of flight.

This means simultaneously adapting to and using the new symbolisms of media and power and stressing their connectedness to the previous systems of domination NSK engaged with – stressing that

⁰⁸ *Neue Slowenische Kunst*, 48

⁰⁹ See Arns, Inke »Affirmation and/as Resistance: On the Strategy of Subversive Affirmation in Current Media Activist Projects« *Maska*, Spring 2004

¹⁰ Klein, Naomi »No Logo« London, Flamingo, 2001, 158

¹¹ British »Public Private Partnerships« are structured to guarantee large profits to private contractors, in almost any circumstances except the most catastrophic performance failure.

¹² Klein, 155

history has not ended, cannot be escaped and can illuminate the present. If NSK retains a deeper potential for incision and interdiction it will emerge from an active connection with its ambivalent, destabilising core. Where it once channelled the vortex of forces and projections surrounding the old notion of the state, it now has to locate and amplify a similar (Balkanising) dynamic embedded in the new forms of power. In this way the NSK State and those it inspires may transfer the destabilising energies it is constructed from to the new regimes it is faced by. If the new modes of power are embarrassed by the old archetypes and mythologies then it is all the more vital to stress them, to restore and create a dangerous transgressive mythology for our times. If the kleptocratic consensus is ironic or cynical, then a form of new romanticism based on its own repressed elements is necessary. Laibach once demanded that »Socialism must have the courage to be barbaric« and perhaps NSK can now demand of the market that it be *more* openly barbaric or kleptocratic – less not more user-friendly. The enclosure and monopolization of latent utopian spaces and impulses necessarily has to be silent and seductive, open and insidious. Yet perhaps if a formation like NSK can amplify corporate culture's perversion and repression of utopianism, there is a chance to slow down these forces or mutate them from within.

MISSION IMPROBABLE

NSK has a proven capacity to make destabilising incursions into the territories of »real« states and their cultural and ideological support structures. The NSK State has been constructed from this deterritorializing dynamic and even if it remains only a potential, it is of a type too rarely found in contemporary culture. The success and growth of the NSK State suggests that the aesthetic reprocessing of power can set off unpredictable reactions, temporarily and sometimes spectacularly sabotaging the routine functioning of dominant ideologies.

In the current context, producing and developing an aesthetic (but also ambivalent) vision of an »ideal state« frustrates the re-production of cynical conformism and passivity. The transgressive persistence of a utopian-aesthetic potential within the notion of the State (and the continued creation of a reprocessed aesthetic from current regimes) highlights the absence of any vision or any humane aesthetic content within contemporary power, setting a standard it cannot hope to match. The simple existence of the state and its citizens adds great weight to NSK's interventions. NSK can still work as a corrosive comparator, exposing the delusions and inadequacies of »actually existing« states. At its best, it may still compel them into self-revelation, forcing compulsive abreactions and tactical errors.

It is not the »job« of the NSK State to assume a clear political position, but it does retain great potential to analyse, illuminate and inspire more partisan interrogations of power. Contemporary dwarf states can still be recast by NSK's spectral reprocessing as the real appropriators or usurpers of values such as »freedom«, »culture«, and »nation«. By pre-occupying the conceptual space of the state, NSK suggests to us who the impostors are and questions their supposedly natural authority.

Ultimately, the NSK State is a machine engaged in a search for and (re)production of *terrestrial* intelligence, sending out signals and generating responses in an age of systematic dumbing-down, and offering a refuge and base of operations for those willing and able to cut through the noise. To remain true to the spirit of its past it has to continue to provoke and facilitate the emergence of outcomes as improbable as the NSK State from within the very systems that seem designed to filter out any improbable or uncontrollable outcome. If there is any command for this continuing mission, it is this: »Be retrogardistic – materialise the improbable!«

Alexei Monroe *

* Alexei Monroe is the author of »Interrogation Machine – Laibach and NSK« MIT Press, 2005.



UNITED TRANSNATIONAL REPUBLICS

GLOBALISATION NEEDS DEMOCRACY!

»Globalisation is propelled by the »global players« – globally acting corporations behaving like transnational superpowers constricting the influence of the traditional nation-states.

Who then is still defending our global civil rights? Can nation-states act transnationally, or do they merely block one another? Is the traditional idea of the separation of powers rendered obsolete? Shouldn't we take money (and the media) into consideration as the »fourth power«? Does the geopolitical division of people into nation-states reflect the spirit of modern times? Could we learn from Coca-Cola, Shell and Microsoft how interests can be realised at a global level?

April 16, 2001, these questions led to the proclamation of the First TRansnational Republic whose citizens are not defined through blood or birthplace but through a similarity in their minds and their communal spirit.«

–The First Transnational Republic

UTNR

The *United Transnational Republics* (UTNR) are dealing with the question how globalisation could be aligned with democracy. The initial points are the following considerations:

- transnational corporations are more influential than most nation-states.
- the classical separation of powers (legislative, judicative, executive) needs to be expanded to include money as the »fourth power«.
- nation-states cannot represent their citizens' transnational interests, as transnational and national interests typically contradict each other (e.g. Bush and the Kyoto Protocol).
- at the time being there is no transnational citizen representation – the UN is an assembly of various national interests.

Since in our globalised world there is no citizen representation on a transnational level, today's situation could be compared to a nation-state that has no national government but only city mayors. In such a nation-state governed by mayors, many topics of national interest could hardly be organised (transport, education, health, environment...). To represent transnational citizen interests, an additional instance responsible only for transnational matters needs to be created: the United Transnational Republics.

By introducing the United Transnational Republics, the existing system of political representation – which is still limited to the national level – does not need any radical alteration: rather than a radical reform, the current system is simply being expanded by one federal and democratic level. This new level is focusing on the transnational matters that are resulting from globalisation. Therefore, national matters will still be dealt with within the various nation states and international matters within the United Nations, while transnational matters then fall into the responsibility of the UTNR.

Within the assembly of the UTNR, each Transnational Republic (TNR) has the voting power in relation to the number of citizens it is representing. Following the principle *»All power originates in the individual and is not alienable.«* each person keeps the free choice of TNR to be represented by. This does not only mean that changing between TNRs is always a possibility, but also to start a new TNR. Other than nation states, TNRs are communities based on similarity in mindset, rather than on birthplace or heritage. TNRs thereby are subject to an ongoing competition amongst each other.

MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST

TRANSNATIONAL REPUBLIC *

Here we are citizens, not subjects.

We, the citizens of the First Transnational Republic, have assembled in order to globally represent our citizenship rights.

Citizens of our Transnational Republic are not defined through blood or birthplace but through a similarity in their minds. We therefore ask every person who has an affinity to this and the following principles to join our Transnational Republic as a free citizen.

The citizen rights include in particular the human rights, transnational principles of justice, the protection of our natural environment as well as the democratic rights of the individual.

In times of growing globalisation the problem of global representation has not yet been sufficiently addressed, the way of the world as well as the faith of the individuals are increasingly determined by transnational organisations (corporations, churches, trade organisations...). There is no comparable political representation system of the individual. The countries of this world cannot – under the influence of these transnational organisations – represent the interests of their citizens; nations cannot act transnationally.

Our aim is the recognition of the First Transnational Republic by the international community.

* The First Transnational Republic was proclaimed on Easter Monday, 16th of April, 2001 at 8:59 pm at the Atomic Café in Munich.

FIRST TRANSNATIONAL REPUBLIC

Founded: April 16, 2001

Government Type:
Direct Citizen Representation

Head of State: Chairman

Territory: none

Population: ca. 3500 [May 2005]

Population Growth
[%/year since founding date]: 274%

Net Migration Ratio:
ca. 167 migrants/1000 population

Sex Ratio:
67,6% males, 32,4% females

Language: many

Currency: Payola

Gross Domestic Product [GDP]:
The Transnational Republic has a Gross Transnational Product [GTP] which equals the value of all final goods and services produced by the citizens of the Transnational Republic. The GTP is currently unknown.

Anthem: none

International Organizations
Participation: joint venture with etoy.
CORPORATION

International Disputes: none

UNITED TRANSNATIONAL REPUBLICS

Founded: not yet

Government Type:
Global Federal Representative
Basis Democracy

Head of State:
The Secretary-General of the United Transnational Republics – elected by the General Assembly of the United Transnational Republics.

Territory: The Earth

Population: World

Gross Domestic Product [GDP]:
The UTRs have a Gross Global Product [GGP] – the value of all final goods and services produced by the citizens of the World.

Currency: PAYOLA

Anthem:
The Transnational

Language: all



TR

FINLANDIA

ansnational Republic



Georg Zoche at the opening of the summit at Finlandia Hall



PAYOLA TO US-DOLLAR



TRANSNATIONAL REPUBLIC

IDENTITY CARD / CARTE D'IDENTITE / PERSONALAUSWEIS

9999999999

Surname/Nom/Name
MUSTERFRAU

Given names/Prénoms/Vorname
CLAUDIA-RENAE

Date and place of birth/Date et lieu de naissance/Geburtsort und -ort
29.12.76 NEU-ULM

Geopolitical Nationality/Nationalité géographique / Date of expiry/Date d'expiration/Gültig bis
Geopolitische Nationalität
MUSTERISCH / 06.10.11

Signature of bearer/Signature de la titulaire/du titulaire
Unterschrift der Inhaberin/des Inhabers
C-R Musterfrau

REPUBLIQUE TRANSNATIONALE
TRANSNATIONALE REPUBLIK

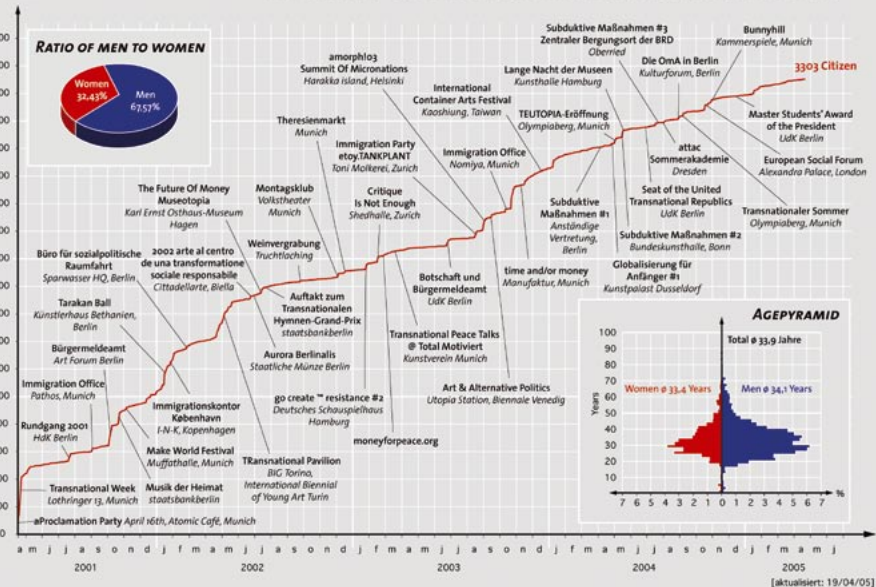


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Citizen

POPULATION GROWTH OF THE FIRST TRANSNATIONAL REPUBLIC



[aktualisiert: 19/04/05]



GOLD AS THE FOURTH POWER

OF GLOBAL DEMOCRACY

»Paper money is all right, provided that our authorities are perfect and the kings are of divine intelligence.«

– Aristotle

»Deficit spending is simply a scheme for the confiscation of wealth. Gold stands in the way of this insidious process. It stands as a protector of property rights.«

– Alan Greenspan

»Gold is money, everything else is credit.«

– Ferdinand Lips

»Debts are truly remarkable: they always have to be paid back, if not by the debtor, then by the creditor, or worse, by the taxpayer.«

– John Exter

»It won't take long for the world to come to the conclusion again, that in order to process business transactions an adequate measure of value is just a prerequisite as agreed units of measurements for length and weight are.«

– W.P. Hogart and I.F Pearce

»No one knows enough to be a pessimist.«

– Wayne Dyers

In order to assure the independence of the UTNR from the nation-states and in order to establish money as the »fourth power«, the Central Bank of the UTNR is issuing the transnational citizen currency Payola. The Payola is backed by Euro reserve funds and at the same time pegged to the Euro with four Payolas being equivalent to one Euro. With other words: the Central Bank of the UTNR is buying national currencies at a fixed exchange rate, effectively replacing these with the transnational currency Payola. Currently, the Payola is both available as bank notes and as coins, with the planned introduction of electronic Payola for monetary transactions in the Internet.

It's necessary to understand that currencies are not only used as a unit of account or medium of exchange but are also a means of power. Already Aristotle considered the power to enforce the use of a currency as a pre-requisite for an empire (after B. Lietaer). This function of power becomes clear in the example of the US dollar: the economic and military expansion of the USA was made possible due to the role of the Dollar as global key currency.

The role of the US dollar as global key currency was constituted at the Conference at Bretton Woods (New Hampshire, USA) in 1944, when the *Gold-Dollar Standard* replaced the Gold Standard that had to be abandoned during the war. The International Monetary Fund founded in connection with the Bretton Woods Agreement »requested from the individual nation-states to define the parities of their national currencies either in Gold or US \$ and limit the fluctuation of their exchange rates at a maximum of 1 % within the »parity«. In order to give nations the time necessary to correct temporary imbalances concerning their international monetary transactions, the Fund granted credits out of its resources« (J. Dines). Whilst the US \$ was pegged to Gold at a price of 35 \$ per ounce, the other currencies were pegged to the US \$. Thereby the USA received the unique privilege to be able to print *paper gold*. »The advantages to the USA were obvious. The new system allowed for the painless financing of wars and economical campaigns around the world and made it possible to import expensive foreign products without limit – simply because the banking system created the required dollars« (F. Lips). This behaviour resulted in the devaluation of the US \$ against Gold, which finally forced the USA in 1971 to renege on their promise to sell Gold at a fixed price of 35 \$ per ounce. Since then the currencies of the world are not pegged to Gold anymore (with exception of the Swiss Franc, whose Gold Standard remained until Switzerland's entry into the IMF in 1992).

However, the role of the US dollar as global key currency remained putting the USA at an advantage over all other nations in the world. Also IMF and World Bank – originally founded in order to implement the Bretton Woods Agreement – remained in existence despite the unilateral cancellation of the Gold Standard through the USA; today the IMF – with the USA being the only member having veto power – forbids its member states to peg their currencies to Gold, effectively consolidating the position of the US dollar as global key currency.

The *means of power of national currencies* is a major pre-requisite to lead war: wars could practically not be financed without the possibility of manipulating (e.g. print) one's own national currency. At the times of the Gold Standard it was common »to loosen or abandon the bond to Gold at the beginning of a war and to use the unrestricted capability to create money [through printing] in order to finance the war« (E. Fraenkel, K. D. Bracher). The possibility to lead wars and the inherent possibility of paper currencies to create money out of the nothingness (hence *fiat currency*) are directly connected. Without the possibility to simply print money, it becomes quite difficult to finance any war. Using the mind experiment of two city mayors wanting to go to war against each other: a national government would certainly not finance such a war.

Just as nation-states are using their currency systems to protect their national interests, *corporate currencies* (pay-pack systems, miles and more...) do not only increase customer loyalty but also increase the influence of the corporations behind these currency systems. According to a report by the Economist (2002) the international airlines have piled up some eight million millions (8,000,000,000,000) *frequent flyer miles* equivalent to 500 billion US dollar. Thus, according to the British magazine, the bonus miles have become the second biggest currency after the US dollar. For comparison: the Gold reserve of the German Federal Bank with a value of 45 billion dollar (December 2003: 3439.5 t) is not even a tenth of these bonus miles.

This example of the bonus miles clearly shows that it is possible to establish complementary currency systems next to national currencies. A number of other examples are known: In Japan, the *Hurei Kipp* (home care-procurement-ticket) was introduced in order to finance home care. Rendered care service is being credited and can be used at a later time for one's own care, or be transferred to relatives in need of home care. The »Time Dollars« used in the US are of a similar system. »Time Dollars« are being accepted by a number of health insurance companies, are being circulated by a few hundred communities in the USA, are sponsored by 30 states for the practical solution of social problems, and are officially recognised as a tax exempt currency. Also widely used are the so-called LETS (*Local Exchange Trading System*) – complementary currencies built on mutual credits which are being used in various forms in Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand, France, Thailand, Mexico... The number of local community currency systems used worldwide is being estimated at 2,500. Further information about complementary currency systems can be found in the Internet e.g. at www.transaction.net/money or www.futuremoney.de.

Despite the rapid propagation of local complementary currency systems, there is no transnational complementary currency system. Yet, for the protection of transnational citizen interests, the creation of such a transnational currency is indispensable. The current situation – where the global key currency is under the control of one single nation – is undesirable.

In the case of the transnational currency Payola it made sense to first peg it to a multi-national currency (the Euro) to ease its introduction. At a later point there will be the possibility to replace the *Euro Standard* by the Gold Standard or a *Basket of Commodities Standard* as proposed by Bernard Lietaer.

Georg Zoche
Central Bank of the UTNR



ARE YOU REAL?

Eleven naked bodies crammed into the pitch-dark soot encrusted warmth of a tiny »traditional Finnish smoke sauna«. As my brain cooked, a tune began to ferment in my head. Finally the heat was too much. Erupting from the door we poured into the Baltic. I repeated this process until I had the tune for the new anthem's chorus fully brewed. Twenty hours remained until the inaugural performance of »The Transnational«. Sixteen hours ago I had been awoken by a magical hangover, magical because after two days of writing utter rubbish I awoke with the words of the new anthem delivered in perfect rhyming couplets! Carried away by the energy and enthusiasm on Harakka, I had volunteered to write this anthem in time to sing at Friday night's Gala.

Friday was officially the first day of Amorph!03, but for most of us seated in Finlandia house, was the beginning of the home stretch. I read somewhere that the average number of new concepts that an average person can comprehend before the brain begins to delete items is seven. I was feeling very average. Despite thorough examination of the catalogue I was still quite mystified by the other projects. I considered that perhaps for some of the micronations this mystification was an intentional device. In addition I was grappling with some negative personal reactions to some of the ideas I thought I understood and resolved myself to focus on the possibilities within each project for common exploration. I wished I could predict the kind of questions that were likely to arise during the day's sessions. I had questions, but was unsure if they would prove to be relevant or if the prescribed format would present an opportunity to air them.

Most of the questions were generalised with all the participants invited to reply. Whilst this made for illuminating comparisons between the »micronations« occasionally it meant that issues, which came up were left unexamined. For instance, at the end of Martin Schibli's comments on how Ladonia handles

the issue of financing he asked for comment on his final statement that maybe a »hint on why there are so many men here, [is that] men are building states [focussing on the trappings of statehood, like creating currencies and official documents like passports and so forth] and women are building networks and sisterhood.« I yearned for evidence after this provocative statement. I was embarrassingly aware of the gender imbalance. I dislike admitting that gender differences can be used to determine or explain behaviour. In fact, I was almost affronted by the lack of women present. The notion that women may be less attracted to playing with structures of authority or territory seems absurd to me. After all I was there and had travelled considerably further than anyone else present just to be there. However, I was unwilling to hijack the discussion away from the very interesting area of finance and unfortunately we did not return to the issue of gender representation. Nor did we return to Robert Jelinek's second question of how powerful micronations could be if they joined together. I made a mental note to investigate the new State of Sabotage with view to begin some further discussions regarding a future collaboration with the TR.

As we started to unravel a little of the mystery it became obvious that ideologically most of us were at odds with each other. Of course this made for interesting *arty* juxtapositions of approach, which I mostly found highly entertaining. Despite our differences there was a general agreement that a nation is defined by a collective motivation, not by a physical space. A few glances were exchanged between TR members. We were a trans-nation, not a nation. We found ourselves once again existing beyond the realms of easily communicable concepts. I found my mind wandering off to consider how much difference it would make to our position had we styled ourselves just as a Transterritorial Republic rather than a Transnational ...

Successful communication requires that there is some consensus of definition. For some a clear defined position was immediately apparent. Ladonia insistently self defined as »Art«, Sealand patently defined itself not art. However Sealand could see a realizable opportunity for enhancing its own relevance and therefore national identity, through interaction with artistic endeavours. The combination of being firmly rooted in the judicial real with a clear agenda provided a tangible nucleus around which our ideas began to spin and cluster in meaningful exchange, rather than dissipating into arty absurdity.

»G Withers« of Sealand is a skilled talker. He needs to be. As he was at pains to point out, Sealand is an actual geophysical space with real responsibilities towards its citizens. I found myself marvelling at his ability to keep turning the discussion ever so diplomatically towards the issues relevant to the Sealand presence. From what I was gleaning, (apart from the opportunity to do some Internet based business with the potential clients present!), this revolved around the creation of communicative bridges between those concerned with improving the social order of human beings and those holding the power to do so. To discuss approaches for making funded support of the creative process of ideas, an attractive proposition to the State.

As a Transnational citizen I am keenly aware that in many nations the »state« clearly does not support creative process particularly if it dares to attempt to bring political issues or processes into obvious discussion. In Australia, where, beyond my volition, (NB I did not say against), I am considered a citizen, political art would appear quite unfashionable judging from the kind of work which tends to attract the bulk of available funds. It would seem we prefer our art to be spectacular rather than thought provoking. In particular we are fond of spectacles where sport or physical skill interfaces with art. Fortunately for me I can appeal for funding as a Transnational citizen and so am not dependent on my nation state for financial assistance.

In order to be successful a new idea must tread a fine line between intrigue and fear. Humans are contradictory creatures, at once neophilic and resistant to change. How far can an entity or individual go before they are perceived as an actual threat to the status quo? Much I suspect depends not just on legal limitations but also to a large extent upon the spirit of the times. I am doubtful whether, for instance, even if the same legal loopholes could be found, a contemporary Major Roy Bates would be treated with the same indulgence in our post 9/11 climate of fear mongering and strident nationalism by the »coalition of the willing«.

After lunch Lars Vilks of Ladonia upped the intensity of our discussion by being bold enough to attempt to impose his definitions of art and reality, prescribing the borders. Unsurprisingly this provoked a barrage of dissent in particular from Elgaland & Vargaland situated as they are conceptually positioned between all borders and the TR who operate beyond borders encouraging a co-existence of multiple truths.

During the coffee break the TR ruminated on whether Ladonia's insistent self-definition as art limited their project to being conceived as a gallery space. An artefact merely styled or packaged as a micronation. I wondered whether this insistence was a result of their recent collision with the politics of immigration. Whether their provocative stance was carefully tailored to take advantage of what they considered to be a kind of diplomatic immunity afforded by a perceived impotence of art. As though they gauged that they would be tolerated by the state of Sweden only by being of minor, albeit ongoing, annoyance; that they held themselves apart from actual or perceived political activism as a survival tool. As an Australian I am painfully aware of how viciously nationalistic sentiments can be aroused regarding the politics of immigration. The nation, which claims my citizenship, has extreme methods, policies that vast numbers of its citizens fervently oppose as being in violation of human rights. »My« country considers itself to be an afflu-

ent liberal democracy. However, perhaps because our mainstream media is owned by a small powerful clique, it seems to take a long while for citizens to discover the actual details of our own government's policies and the ramifications of those policies.

Lack of transparency is a contentious issue for me. It is a matter of ongoing debate within the TR as to whether we try to create our particular model in a transparent or non-transparent form. Is it even possible to infiltrate the spheres of trans-national finance without adopting the same non-transparent methods? How far can we really take our identification with trans-national corporate structure without compromising our ideals of the inalienable rights of the individual? The title Transnational Republic can provoke some very antagonistic reactions from those who identify strongly with the anti-globalisation movement.

I enjoy provocative language. My poetry has often explored the potential for positive meaning in pejoratives. So I listened with interest to the words of Peter Mlakar, (I knew nothing about NSK and was still more or less mystified after reading »Documents«, but there was something very familiar about the style. The imagery gave me 80's flashbacks, I had fuzzy clubby memories of Laibach and leather and army surplus art school fetish fashion...) »... die totale Krieg as Goebbels said.« I was waiting for the punch line. Very provocative, I thought. I listened very carefully to Peter, confused by his use of English as well as the concepts, which to me sounded contradictory, talk of the consciousness of freedom and God and transcendence and totalitarianism all in the one package. I looked for signs of irony. Freedom and totalitarianism sounded like freedom from, rather than freedom to and refused to reconcile with my belief in the inalienable rights of the individual. Finally I just looked for common ground despite my ideological incompatibilities, both personally and as a Transnational citizen. I had to agree with Peter in principle about the power of over-identification. Some words and concepts are obviously loaded with negative context

and will detonate extreme reactions, user beware! However to sanitise exploration of these areas by ruling out certain terms and subjects as taboo also disturbs me. I prefer the option of open discussion, no matter how contentious, to even the most benign censorship. I was reminded of the importance of keeping all levels of education accessible and affordable, so that citizens have the skills to recognize and analyse the kind of information they receive through media and marketing. (Tertiary education has become increasingly expensive and therefore exclusive in Australia). Objections often raised by critics of the TR and United Transnational Republics are that people will not be educated enough to make informed decisions, that the average citizen needs a beneficent (patriarchal) expert to make intelligent decisions on their behalf, that our structure does not protect the gullible nor prohibit political extremists from setting up »unethical« republics. I do not believe we can protect people from themselves, but would suggest that there is evidence that prohibition tends to create demand.

So many questions and only one short day of discussions... I wanted so much more time. I was also uncomfortably aware that I had not completed the promised »Transnational« and that its inaugural performance was a few scant hours away. The melody was far from complete.

I watched jealously as most of the other participants adjourned to the pub for a beer. Needing privacy I ran into the bowels of Finlandia House and locked myself in the toilets. For the next hour and a half I disgorged streams of melody, flowing clear as water until I could see the lyrics, like pebbles on the bottom. I sang into my infinitely repeated anxious but determined reflection over and over. When I checked the time it was 19.05 and the Gala was starting. Georg was facing the aisle looking for me as I headed for my seat. My heart was beating so hard I was sure it should have been visible through my dress, or at least audible. I was truly entertained and inspired during the Gala. It seemed as though the entire room had suspended disbelief. Each

micronation was accorded full respect, all present standing for the anthems. I was quite overwhelmed by the positive response to the »Transnational«.

Saturday morning brought the first ferry loads of visitors to our embassies, and a packed programme of official presentations. I wanted to be everywhere, but it proved impossible. I made it to the launch of the State Of Sabotage and the unveiling of HR Giger's sculpture as I was determined to »step into the shoes and by wearing them comprehend the island as a space and merge with the ground.« For a moment I was fully transported as I imagined my stretch reaching infinitely upwards – connecting sky and earth through the conduit of my body. Embarrassingly I managed to merge a little longer than intended as in my impatience I had neglected to remove my own shoes first!

Over the course of Saturday I explained the same ideas so many times to so many people that I began to feel like a pre-recorded message. On Sunday morning I took advantage of arriving early to visit the Sealand Legation. I was fascinated by the practical challenges of sanitation and waste disposal, situated as they are on top of a completely soil less sea locked platform. To my un-ending delight I discovered that they compost everything and sell the compost! Impressed and inspired I looked forward to discussing some private business between Sealand and the TR later in the day, these are my kind of people.

Later on the jetty, I waited for Peter Callessen to return to the rowboat. I had literally been on the run all day, organizing meetings, giving interviews and attending scheduled events, but I had stolen some time to make this happen. Twice already, I 'd had to re-schedule Susan Kelly's »Lobby« between the TR and SOS [see page 160] and I was worried that I was not going to make it back in time. I was exhausted. My face looked like bad photocopy. What I really needed was some sleep, but 30 minutes alone in Peter's floating castle promised something more than just rest. I crawled into a child-sized

space beneath an exquisite turret taking shelter from a rare burst of sun. Perfect white clouds puffed dreamily across the tiny window as Peter read »The Steadfast Tin Soldier«. I have never felt more peaceful than in this surreal fairytale moment, bobbing on the Baltic, reclining on Styrofoam, a material I usually love to hate

Belatedly, I arrived at »The Lobby« now nestled in the nettles outside the TR embassy. Over bottle caps of vodka, Georg, Susan and Robert had started without me. I felt barely coherent emerging from my Zen bliss, but managed to convey the gist of my proposal that the TR collaborate with SOS setting up a Transnational Republic embassy on the official SOS territory situated in Baldrock NSW Australia. An agreement was reached to negotiate a future date and all parties felt satisfied having sealed the bargain officially in writing.

Next to a comforting nest of mashed potato, amongst hand gathered wild mushrooms a tender piece of pike, caught in local waters by our inspired caterers, awaited my pleasure. Amazingly, there was still energy to answer questions about the Transnational Republic from the enthusiastic visitor on my right. To either side the packed table stretched for metres, white cloth and happy eaters wielding their balsa wood cutlery emblazoned with »Schurkenessen«. Above us yet another flamboyant sunset showed off with gilded extravagance. In between scrumptious mouthfuls I had the wit to grab business cards, in particular from a lovely man I'd lacked sufficient time to charm. Fortifying myself against the cold with one last gulp from the last of the red wine I excused myself to join my crew packing up the embassy.

Edwina Blush
Transnational Republic



THE TRANSNATIONAL

Not held by history
 Defined by limitations
 Bound down by territory
 Of culture, race or nation...
 We choose to be defined in ways which set us free
 United states of mind
 We rise Transnationally

Each individual voice lends colour to our song
 More parts create a choice of how to sing along
 Without a different line, no harmony can start
 So make this song your own according to your heart
 We choose to be defined in ways which set us free
 United states of mind
 We rise Transnationally

No ideology restricts our vision clear
 Change is the only constant accepted by us here
 Far sighted is our view so those to come may share
 Diversity on Earth, clean water, soils, and air
 We choose to be defined in ways which set us free
 United states of mind
 We rise Transnationally

No law may try to hide the culpability
 Of those who would abuse responsibility
 No one may claim exemption, we all belong to Earth
 And though of different views, accorded equal worth.

Not held by history
 Defined by limitations
 Bound down by territory
 Of culture, race or nation...
 We choose to be defined in ways which set us free
 United states of mind
 We rise Transnationally

Anthem of the United Transnational Republics
 written and composed by Edwina Blush





E - MAIL CONVERSATION BETWEEN

GEORG ZOCHÉ AND MIKA HANNULA

DEAR MIKA,

I am very happy to be able to continue the discussion we started concerning the question of whether our idea of creating the Open Source structure »United Transnational Republics« (UTNR) is not in contradiction to our other effort of establishing a transnational citizen currency (»Payola«).

[...] We believe we need a transnational currency mainly in order to expand the classical separation of powers (legislative, judicative, executive) to include the »fourth power« of money. This transnational citizen currency will be under the control of the Central Bank of the UTNR, emancipating the UTNR from the nation states and thereby allowing them to act independently. Of course, the traditional three powers will remain with the nation states.

I strongly believe that our goal of global citizen representation cannot be accomplished without establishing such a transnational currency. The alternative – to run the UTNR under national currencies – would put the UTNR under strong national influences to a point where its very function would have to be questioned. Currently, the US dollar is the world key currency, which has proven that (US)national concerns are difficult to align with the global interests of the citizens of the world. The double role of the US dollar, acting both as world key currency as well as national currency is putting the US in a favourable position over other nations, allowing the US to turn US-national topics into global issues.

Of course, most likely the same would be true for any other national currency adopting this role of key world currency. Therefore, in order to avoid this imminent conflict, the key world currency preferably should not be under the control of any nation.

I am very curious to hear your thoughts about this and the problems you might see in matching an Open Source structure (UTR) with the rigid structure of a currency system (Payola).
Georg

HELLO, HELLO!

Errr, good to hear from you [...] I just wanted to start by asking – considering your aims stated in the previous mail – how far along are you? In other words, can you tell me about the recent development and situation of your very, very ambitious aims? jep jep [...]
– mika h

DEAR MIKA,

good to hear from you! [...] How far are we? Recent Developments? Current Situation? Well, I guess not far enough, not quite there yet... :-) But, considering the goal, I suppose we should be patient and concentrate on having fun with this project while we're pushing it along, meeting with many interesting people on the way, and developing this idea further and further. Our population is constantly growing (currently around 3100 from over 70 nations). We are participating at numerous events within the art field and are now also reaching out more into the activist arena (e.g. we'll be at the Summer Academy of ATTAC Dresden). To sum it up: I'd say we have already come further than what we could have expected when we started this only 3 years ago. And, above all, we truly had a lot of fun and great times doing this – like the micro-micro-summit in the Harakka smoke sauna...

Lately, we are focussing on the development of a new United Transnational Republic (UTNR) website to be used as an open forum for all citizens and the exchange between the various competing transnational republics that we hope to see in the future: an Open Source tool devoted to the development of transnational republics.

Also, this website will be very important as a marketplace for our currency, Payola. For this process, we have started to work on the constitution of the UTNR and to look into the legal implications of opening a transnational banking company. We are also trying to bring more attention to the topic of »money, globalisation and democracy,« for which reason I have written a text about currency systems [see page 111].

Which brings us to the topic of our e-mailing-pong-match: how do we combine the Open Source republics with the stringent system of a currency system?
– Georg

HELLO, HELLO, DEAR GEORG,

[...] Thank you eternally for your update. You said that you have reached further than you thought when you started. What exactly do you mean – do you refer to numbers, to the time spent in sauna? [...]

And then to the main question of Open Source vs. currency system: the contradiction seems so obvious that it might be easily overlooked. **A**, as in Open Source, is characteristically and dramatically different than **B**, as in any kind of currency system. What are the differences in structure and »Weltanschauung«?

- 1) The question of ownership and control;
- 2) The idea of development;
- 3) The ability to protect one's resources; and finally, perhaps most importantly,
- 4) While **A** functions in the domain of imaginary politics – it's about thinking through new alternatives, playing around with concepts and ideas – whereas **B** is anything but that. **B** tries to be a solid system that delivers what it promises. **B** is like toothpaste. You don't want any surprises – whereas without surprises, **A** will be dead.
– mika h

DEAR MIKA,

I was referring to our endeavour in total, when I said that we came further than what we could have expected three years ago: neither were we expecting to spend so much time in the smoke sauna on Harakka, nor to get so many invitations for events such as the micronations summit, nor to meet so many people who would join our republic – be it as citizen or as activist. Granted, the smoke sauna is not really at the core of our activities – but meeting people is. [...]

But let's get back to our main question. You wrote: »The contradiction seems so obvious that it might be easily overlooked.« Obviously, I disagree. Mainly because of the following considerations:

There's no alternative

I know, this is not good reasoning: the sheer necessity doesn't automatically render it a possibility. But it's true: just as a nation needs its own currency system in order to be somewhat independent, the transnational republics will need their own currency, too. It simply can't work with US dollars or any other national currency. Actually, it is the very role of the US dollar acting both as a national currency system as well as the global key currency, which is at the root of the problem we're trying to deal with: too many national and corporate interests in a globalised world are blocking the way for solutions to global problems.

They're not contradicting

The seemingly obvious contradiction between currency and Open Source systems is only a first impression. To me, it can be compared to the relation between hardware and software: different things, but they are not in contradiction; they are actually even interdependent on each other, like muscles and skeleton. You need a structure for the ideas to develop – yet without ideas, the structure would be empty. The Open Source community has surprisingly strict structures and rules. But who would like to purport that the structure demanded

by the »GNU General Public License« is in contradiction to the Open Source philosophy itself?

Currency systems ARE »open source« Money is whatever a community agrees to use as money. The community can be any number of people – a small group, a nation, or the world. Also, currency systems are perpetually competing against each other – that's one reason why they come and go. You can watch this struggle live, for example at www.oanda.com and www.gold.org – fiat currencies competing against each other and against gold as the ultimate currency. I can stare at this struggle for hours, it's quite amazing... Over history, an unknown number of different currency systems developed (the oldest known texts about money date back to the year 3200 B.C.), with many examples for non-national currency systems: from cigarettes in times of black-markets to bonus point systems such as the frequent flyer miles introduced by airlines. Lately, a growing number of local community currency systems are developing – 2500 of which are estimated to be in use worldwide today. [...]

Long before the term »Open Source« existed, the competition between currency systems was described in Gresham's law: »Where legal tender laws exist, bad money drives out good money.« [...] Gresham's law says that the money forced into circulation under legal tender law tends to be dominated by the »bad« money. This is because people will spend the »bad« coins rather than the »good« ones and hoard the »good« ones. If the good coins have a face value below the value of their metallic content they will even go as far as to melt them down and sell the metal for what it is worth. The »good« coins also tend to retain more lasting value for international traders, since overseas traders are not bound by legal tender laws. The coins then leave their country of origin. Thus the good money escapes legal tender laws, and leaves the »bad« money behind. This occurred in Britain during the period of the Gold Exchange Standard. [...]

Gresham's law also shows that legal tender laws are used by nations trying to get the »Open Source behaviour« of currency systems under their control. This only works in a very limited way, as the historic example of the »good« money escaping British tender laws is showing. The source code on how to build currency systems has been freely available to everyone for thousands of years. It's no secret. The secret lies more in getting your community to accept your currency, yet the same is true for software. What good is software if you're the only user? The community has to build it and to own it. That's how we're looking at our transnational citizen currency Payola.

So, what do you think? Will it work? [...] – Georg

HELLO, HELLO AGAIN AND AGAIN. [...] It was pleasant to read your views, views that I respect but cannot share. A part of the battle of interpretation is traced back on how we frame and focus the question. While you spent time finding similarities between a system of currency and Open Source ideology, I admit to getting stuck on their fundamental and absolute difference. Once again, from a macro level point, any kind of functioning and successful currency system has something that Open Source, per se, will not have. It has the force – ha ha ha. And that's not the force of a Hollywood character, but the real and biting force of the ability to create and maintain credible threats of force. What I refer to is obviously economical, political and in the very end military means of maintaining the scope and value of a currency. In other words, to break it down, down, down – that is the contradiction. Or perhaps I have misunderstood the aims of the Transnational Republic. Perhaps your aim is to conquer the world with all the means possible...

But back to your points: Part 1 – There is no alternative. Well, the Euro was supposed to be an alternative. Why does it not solve the Dollar dilemma? I don't really know, but I guess you might counter that with: who cares? Euro or Dollar, they are just the same thing with a different name. So we do need an alternative but I would claim that we don't need an alternative per se, but a completely differently functioning currency system – and that would be one without the major role of force in it. Now, this is where reality bites and it bites hard. I agree that we need an alternative, but at the same time, I cannot believe Payola is a credible and reliable alternative. Payola is definitely a sympathetic idea, and for me, it belongs to the realm of ideas that are open ended and transparent processes, such as some of the Open Source practices we know. To stress the point, I will make a very cruel comparison. There are a great deal of themes and problems in our contemporary reality where we want to shout: »There is no alternative, but we need an alternative.« The point is: where do you go looking for it? We need, for example, a better and cheaper cure for a lot of different diseases, but I fail to see why we would go to the people who think of abstract alternatives rather than those who might have functioning alternatives in a foreseeable future.

Finally, about whether currency systems and Open Source ideology are contradicting or not, you refer to examples that show the similarities of both parts. Certainly you can find these, but all I am saying is that these similarities are not relevant. There are, in my view, concerns and claims that overrule them. And yes, we are back at the square one: How are societies made, shaped and rewritten? You don't need to be a covert conservative real politician to understand and to remember that power claims and

power relationships have not faded away. Power and, consequently, the possibility to use and abuse power is always there in practice.

And yes, with this dramatic note, I will leave you now and return to my summer therapy – chopping down wood to heat our sauna on the island.
– miika h

DEAR MIKA,
thanks for objecting my views so we get some more tennis balls to hit over the net... If I understand you correctly, the source of your objection is what you call »The Force« – the force that you see in currency systems but not in Open Source systems. It's »The Force« that you say makes the two incompatible. How about Open Source goes Open Force? [...]

First of all, I'm not so sure force doesn't exist in Open Source systems: wouldn't you agree with me, that the Linux-movement has a tremendous force? It is putting pressure on commercial operating systems, most notably onto Microsoft's Windows.

Of course, the question arises of who is in control of that force. I'd say this force is equally in the hands of the users of Linux, as well as in the hands of the computer geeks who created that miracle of an Open Source operating system. The creators and the users need each other and thus are respecting each other.

If you look at Windows and Linux, both are operating systems. One is applying force to defend its monopoly-like market position; the other is using transparency and choice to obtain a bigger market share. It's the fight of liberty vs. control. Decentralised vs. centralised systems. And it seems to me that liberty will win in the long run. Or am I too romantic? I hope not...

Now, let's look into the topic of »currency systems & the force.« Thinking about it, I first have to make the distinction between the force immanent in any system, including currency systems, and the force necessary to build any kind of system.

The immanent force is shared by the creators and the users of the system, with both parties being dependent on each other. If the users can freely choose between different (currency) systems, then the force immanent to a certain system becomes a function of the user's choice. It boils down to »more force if more people use it more often« – be it a currency system or an operating system. Can you live with that force? I can, but with the prerequisite: free choice to use another system!

Now let's look at the other force, the force necessary to build up a system. [...] Essentially, there are two types of (currency)

systems: one type needs force to be born and to stay alive; the other needs transparency and choice instead. Think about Windows and Linux. With currency systems, it's especially the national »fiat currencies« which need a central force to stay alive, whereas »commodity or representative currencies« are not so dependent on a central force. And I guess it's the force of »fiat currencies« that you describe as »...the real and biting force of the ability to create and maintain credible threats of force.«

Why do fiat currencies need such a force? Wikipedia is here of big help: »Fiat currency (usually paper money) is a type of currency whose only value is that a government made a fiat (i.e. decreed) that the money is a legal method of exchange. Unlike commodity money or representative money, it is not based in another commodity such as gold or silver and is not covered by a special reserve. Fiat money holds its value so long as holders of the currency feel that they can find an exchange partner for it at some later time. Fiat money, by definition, does not have any intrinsic value, nor is it backed by anything other than the confidence holders have in the economy, which is covered by the government, which decrees it to have value. Its value lies solely in the expectation of later use. Most currencies in the world, as of 2004, are fiat monies.«

In other words: the value of practically all the currencies in the world is created by governmental force instead of any tangible value. The force of a government and the value of its currency are related. A speculation against the exchange rate of a national currency also is a speculation against that nation's ability to maintain its force.

If a nation is running a fiat currency system, then it has to have legal tender laws as well – restricting the use of competing currencies or even making competing currencies illegal altogether. When the US-dollar was still pegged to gold, it was illegal for US citizens to own gold! In countries with a dictatorship regime, the mere possession of another currency is already a criminal act. In some cases, that nation's currency has practically zero value outside of the nation (e.g. former east block currencies), or to be more precise: outside of that nation's sphere of influence, away from the reach of its force. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) obliges its member nations to run fiat currency systems only. Any nation that started to peg their currency to gold would also have to leave the IMF, which would render that nation an outcast in the international trading community. Why does the IMF object to gold pegged currencies? I'd say: gold is the natural competitor to fiat currencies; the biggest distributor of a fiat currency (the US) is the only nation that has veto power within the IMF. The wide spread use of gold pegged currencies could be a danger to the existing fiat currencies.

But what do the other currency systems look like, those that are more like Linux and not like Windows? They're called »commodity or representative currencies.« Here goes Wikipedia – again: »Commodity money refers to money whose value comes from a commodity out of which it is made. Examples of commodities that have been used as money include gold, silver, copper, salt, large stones, decorated belts, shells, and cigarettes. [...] Representative money refers to money that consists of a token or certificate that can be exchanged for a fixed quantity of a commodity such as gold, silver or potentially water, oil or food. This is to be distinguished from commodity money, which is actually made of that real physical commodity.«

As in the example of the black market and the jailhouse currency (cigarettes): who has the force? I'd say – similar to Linux – the force is with the users and creators of the system; in short: the community (every user also is a creator). Can the force be misused? Hardly – it's decentralised. And it stays decentralised, no matter whether the community has agreed to use cigarettes, gold or shells as money.

Switching from commodity to representative money doesn't change too much either. In a cigarette system you could offer your business partner a paper promise (token) to give him the cigarettes whenever he needs them. If he accepts: fine! If not, he'll get the cigarettes instead. [...] Such a currency system is both Open Source and Open Force – no one has force over the system.

And that's the kind of currency system the United Transnational Republics are talking about: representative money pegged to a commodity.

We still have time to decide about which commodity to peg to (as a non-smoker I'd favour gold over cigarettes). At the current time of establishing our currency, we've chosen to peg it to the Euro, which might sound like a contradiction, but this makes the Payola easily convertible to national currencies, which again is important if you want to establish a new currency. But we consider this as merely a phase of transition. As soon as we have bought enough national currencies with Payola, we can use the accumulated national currencies to buy a commodity that we (the community) choose to switch to. When thinking about »The Force and Payola«, please remember: this system is run and kept alive – by definition – through its users.

The force imminent to the Payola system is WITH the community; the force necessary to create the system IS the community. [...]

All the best and looking forward to your next ball!
– Georg

HELLO, HELLO, HELL NO –

It's the time of the year,
the season of the sun,
And yes, time of the preachers –
And anti-doping committees –
It's the Olympics, of course –

Thanks for your thoughtful and thought-provoking letter, which was again very informative. The difference between fiat and representative systems of currencies is very clarifying. [...] For my part, I will just end by noting two things.

1) When I refer to force, I do not mean force as in pressure, but force as in a credible threat of violence – such as military force or pure and simple ugly aggression that breaks bones. And this is the main difference, and also the difference of a focus. Main currency systems are backed-up and maintained by and with the real possibility of use of brutal force. And as we know, many countries in recent histories have also used it.

2) About being naive and romantic: I think that's actually our only chance. However, for it to be credible and fruitful it needs to articulate and choose its position carefully – and here my choice would go to focusing on the possibilities present and available in these open, transparent and self-reflexive structures – I suppose. But why? Well, I have no other point than to refer to Billy Bragg, whose motto for me seems possible in these open, not cooled off structures, and the motto goes: »I am a milkman of human kindness, I will leave an extra pint.« And with that extra virtual can of milk, it's bye-bye.
– miika h

DEAR MIKA!

Just a last note to thank you for challenging me to this exciting match. I totally agree with you, that our currency system will have to be designed in such a way that the inherent power cannot be misused and that the structure of the transnational currency system is not in conflict with the structure of the UTR.

Our match was of great help to me finding more clarity about these topics. It became obvious to me, that a fiat currency system would not work, while a representative currency system looks very promising.

If we all leave an extra pint of human kindness, I am sure we can bring a change. A million thanks for your pint!
– Georg



S O S / S T A T E O F S A B O T A G E

On August 30, 2003, the Vienna label Sabotage Communications founded its own state on Harakka Island and changed its name to »State of Sabotage«. First active in 1992 as an art project, operating since 1994 as an international music and art label, collective and organization, Sabotage drew in 2003 its own artistic conclusions and proclaimed itself a state – a state in time, with constantly growing territories of its citizens, but without the demarcation of national borders. Everyone can own an SoS passport and enjoy the status of an SoS citizen.

SoS rules itself to the extent that its subjects rule themselves. SoS is a physically vital collective body, installed in real daily social and political space. It is a growing organism whose dynamics, spirit and diversity are shaped by the citizens themselves.

Founded: August 30, 2003

Government type: unknown yet

Head of state: unknown yet

Territory:

SoS Bald Rock, New South Wales/AUS

Area: 1.460 ha

Geographical coordinates:

Lat. -29.05639 : Long. 152.01806

Population: 2637

Net migration ratio: unknown yet

Sex ratio: 48:52 males/females

Ethnic groups [%]:

97% former Europeans / 2% Asians / 0,5% American / 0,5% Australian

Languages: global

Currency: CaSH 50ML

Anthem: Save our Souls

International organizations

participation: none

International disputes: none



» SABOTAGE « SCULPTURE MANIFESTO

BY HR GIGER

The word »sabotage« comes from the French word »sabat« and means »to trample with wooden shoes«. A sabot is a clog with a leather top. At the beginning of agricultural mechanization French farm workers threw their »sabotes« into harvesting and processing machines (which were taking their jobs), thereby blocking the complicated mechanics of the mowing and threshing machines and rendering them useless. For the sake of their labor, they engaged in »sabotage«.

The State of Sabotage is manifested in a unique sculpture that serves as a monument to artistic vision, territorial free spaces and independencies. Sabotage mastermind Robert Jelinek invited the Swiss visionary and artist HR Giger to design the sculpture. HR Giger's sculpture model consists of a pair of shoes cast in an iron/copper form and welded to a metal base. The sculpture will be installed at the highest point of Harakka Island. Visitors to the island can step into the shoes and, by wearing them, comprehend the island as space and merge with the ground. The unveiling of the sculpture will be accompanied by a musical live act by Philipp Quehenberger. The sculpture will remain forever on Harakka Island.

HR Giger is considered one of the last and most important representatives of fantastic realism. The artist, born 1940 in Chur (Switzerland), discovered the water pistol (airbrush) during the seventies, developed his typical style and in the following years created his most famous paintings as well as the large-format book *Necronomicon*, which served director Ridley Scott as a visual template for *Alien*, the internationally successful film of 1979 that also earned Giger an Oscar. Giger's record covers, which he created for Debbie Harry and Emerson, Lake & Palmer, are now considered to be some of the best in music history. Giger's neo-myths located in a bleak technological world are known less from

his groundbreaking paintbrush originals than from wild adaptations, reproductions and plagiarisms at all levels and branches of the cultural chain of production, whether whimsical horror merchandise, music video accessories, bicep tattoos or cyber-games. As a favorite child of pop culture, teen posters and biker-wear, Giger was first recognized by »cultural studies« as a crossover phenomenon that could not be more contemporary.

Giger designed sculptures and furniture environments over the course of his entire career. Along with further film projects like *Poltergeist II* and *Species*, Giger collaborated with drug guru Timothy Leary, the Viennese actionist Günter Brus, and the surrealist Salvador Dali. In 1998 Giger opened his own museum in Chateau St. Germain in the Freiburg town of Gruyeres, which presents his most important paintings and sculptures from the last four decades.



Portrait HR Giger and Robert Jelinek

HR Giger SABOTAGE





SUMMIT OF EGONATIONS — HOW NOT

TO START YOUR OWN COUNTRY

At the Amorph festival the State of Sabotage had the unique opportunity to call itself into existence and to respectfully scrutinize the other attending micronations. On August 30, 2003 at 1:00 pm Finnish time, on the island of Harakka just off of Helsinki, SoS (the State of Sabotage) was founded. Robert Jelinek and HR Giger, together with Huutajat, the Finnish 25-member shouting men's choir, ceremonially inaugurated the new state. This occasion also saw the unveiling of the »Sabotage« sculptural monument, designed by the Swiss artist, alien inventor, and one of the most important representatives of fantastic realism. HR Giger's monument is his first public sculpture outside of Switzerland. The sculpture will remain forevermore on the highest point of Harakka Island and is publicly accessible. The state declaration took place under the patronage of all the invited micronations. Their representatives also signed a SoS state charter. To duly commemorate this historic event, the State of Sabotage declared the 30th of August its official state holiday.

So far, so good, and the SoS state hereby thanks all of those involved for their help and support. The main occasion and subject of the festival was its status as the world's first meeting of these microstates in a kind of international summit of mini-nations on Finnish territory. However, just a few hours into the conferences, a stiff discussion style already predominated, and was mainly concerned with seeing how the state models of the various participants measured up: to the left economically profitable and practice-oriented sovereign and recognized state- or monarchy models (Sealand) and to the right art- and theory-oriented, fantasy-laden state entities or counter-movements (all of the other participating micronations).

It could be the case that because of the art festival context, more artistically relevant models were

considered as well as their backgrounds and radius of effect and reception. Openness and a readiness for change and cooperation would not have harmed this agenda. Instead, the participants represented themselves and their roughly 20.000 total citizens (August 2003 estimate) with diplomatic trial monologues of an »Egonations« mould. No cooperation, pact, or trade relation was established either during or after the conference, nor did any party seem even vaguely interested in collectively effecting political change or offering political alternatives. They smelled the fuse burning all too soon, dutifully hoisted their flags, but then it was back to their own self-constructed fortresses: back to mobbing-land.

If this conference brought anything to light, it was surely the sad picture and public disappointment of a smugly illustrious round of wannabe state officials who had acquired the vocabulary of representative parliamentarians, but could not free themselves from their narcissist artistic or profit-oriented shadows. This may also be the reason why large meetings, conferences or associations of so-called micronations and any lasting results have so far been absent.

If it is indeed the case that the conference participants can be split into two camps, then the same classical fate applies to both of them. To the left: The business people, primarily concerned with maintaining their legal status and turning a profit. To the right: The artist faction, occasionally playing at gallery-suitable states or kingdoms, but not having learned to develop new contexts or to peek out of the art box.

The most often asked question of all micronations is surely: »What do I get from being your citizen?« Under the banner of »We exist – now join our state!« it's easy to attract fans, art collectors and passive citizens with flags, stamps, passports, useless



state currency, and other such articles.

Every state is a phase-out model that either waits for its expiry date to pass or manages to transform itself. SoS is a process limited in time, which is interested in the condition of statehood because, fundamentally, only the platform of human potential beyond all historical and socio-cultural barriers can make a difference – and not the branding of a state or a social romance under the altered sign of a royal sceptre, but a free, dynamic, and experiential model of life: to use culture as a real political weapon and

to offer an existent instrument for the culmination of human potential.

Today's agenda calls for the expansion and re-orientation of both the social/cultural zones grown stagnant, and of cultural cohabitation in terms of a holistic model of life. But this calls for combined forces, whose resulting synergies should not be yet again subdued and kept in check, but rather generated in the first place.

Robert Jelinek

NOTES OF SEDUCTION

1. WHY A STATE AND WHY NOW?

Realized Utopias A state is the highest existent authority because it is more static than the other forces that influence our lives. On the other hand, the state is subject to these same forces, yet it lags helplessly behind emerging cultural, scientific and technological developments. Today's states have the condition of realized utopias, the condition of all realized utopias in which one must paradoxically continue to live as if they had not been realized. When things, signs and actions are freed from their ideas and concepts, from their values and references, and from their sources and designations, they enter the realm of endless self-reproduction. Things continue to function, but the idea of them has long been lost, in total indifference to their content. The paradox is that they function even better this way. Since all tendencies lack what was once specific to them, they can now coexist in the same cultural space. And as they only affect us with deep complacency, we can accept them without indifference.

Devouring Hypochondria Since most states can no longer attack or destroy one another, they automatically turn to their own populations or territories in a kind of civil war of the state against its own natural reference – a hypochondriac condition of the body that devours its own organs. Given the lack of original political strategies, and given the current impossibility of a reasonable administration of the social, the state de-socializes itself. It no longer focuses on political decision-making, but on extortion, deterrence, simulation, provocation and spectacular sensation. It invents a politics of disinterest and complacency.

Difference And Destabilization It's not about rehabilitation or securing a seat at the concert of human rights, it's about destabilization. SoS is a phantom-like, viral, spectral presence in the synapses of our brains, with a finger on the ignition switch of our own rockets. In logical, creative consequence of its artistic process, SoS has designed an instrument for the culmination of human potential – the state as the ultimate negation of the civilized Occident.

2. HOW DOES SOS DIFFER FROM OTHER STATES, KINGDOMS OR COMMUNES / COMMUNITIES?

Status And Sabotage A state develops into a condensate in the parlance of the social. The legitimized recourse of strategy and

the exclusion of the Other determine social practices – the institutionalization of Truth and Justice, but the justice of the victorious. SoS is not interested in the matrix or program of a state, but in its condition or status, as well as in sabotage. SoS is a platform of human possibility beyond historical and contemporary socio-cultural barriers. SoS has no interest in a social romance under the altered sign of a royal scepter or in an associational steering committee, but in a free and dynamic design for life.

Shifting Borderline Actions In »Leaves of Grass«, the poet Walt Whitman compared humans to single blades of grass in the prairie. This figurative description of American society in particular was taken up and varied by the American constitutional lawyer Philip Bobbit, a former White House advisor. In his book »The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace and the Course of History« Bobbit distinguishes between three different manifestations of the state: the meadow, the garden, and the park. The park, with its strictly regimented system of order, corresponds to Japan; the enclosed garden fits Germany and its socialized market economy; and the widely rampant meadow is the USA, or rather the de-regulated global marketplace under US hegemony. But this meadow is populated not only by familiar states. Recently, a new species has been appearing ever more frequently there, the so-called micronations. SoS shifts the front of borderline activity to the »borders« of states in formation. It is a viral parasite.

3. IS THERE A CONSTITUTION OR A LEGISLATURE?

Eternal Potential As opposed to other state forms, which contain human potential liked dried blood in codes of law, which keep it in check, or undertake a cunning conservation of the balance of power, SoS risks generating precisely this potential. The State of Sabotage operates from the shadows and casts light on the asymmetry beneath the orders of the law, but without dictating a new law. Endless history flows beneath the stability of legal systems. There is no relative field, the transcendental signified is missing: endlessly historical, eternal deferment.

Human Rights Human rights are now the only available ideology. Hence, they are practically the zero-point of ideology – the bottom line of history. Human rights and ontology are the two breasts that nurse consciousness, the dialectic of a lost cause.

Seduction As Rule The good lives from the dialectic of good and evil, evil from the denial of this dialectic, from the radical rupture between good and evil, and from the autonomy of evil. Whereas good presupposes the dialectic complicity of evil, evil is based on itself, in absolute irreconcilability. It controls the game, and evil triumphs – the kingdom of eternal antagonism. There is no solution for otherness, foreignness and incomprehensibility. It is eternal and radical. That is the rule of SoS. There is no law. The law is always the universal principle of comprehension, the regulated play of differences; it is moral, political, economic rationality. It is a norm and it implies an arbitrary predestination. A law is never indispensable: it is a concept and is based on consensus. A rule is always indispensable, as it is not a concept: it is a form that regulates the game – just like seduction. Seduction is the more radical form of dissociation and dispersion, of illusion and the avoidance and transformation of essence and meaning, of the shifting of identity and subjects. The seductive rule is the law of the State of Sabotage.

4. IS THE STATE PERSONIFIED?

Deciphered Architecture Trusting in the conciliation of and social cohabitation between civilized peoples, countless humans have exchanged their original places of residence for foreign abodes and have staked their existence on transit relations between friendly nations. But those not permanently pinned by necessity to the same place were able to assemble a new, larger »homeland« from the assets and allure of civilized countries. This »homeland« acts as a museum; it homogenizes formerly diverse construction principles. The principle of culture levels disparity in favor of consolidation; in the idea of a state, differences mutate into domesticated departments within one and the same building. The SoS citizen is an architect, and s/he creates resistance, evoking the foundation myth as an act of conflict. S/he resorts to deciphering society and its visible orders.

State Satellites Even with their bodies and territories, humans have become satellites. The transcendental has become the exorbitant. All functions of society dissolve and enter circulation. War, currency exchange, techno-spheres, communication: everything becomes a satellite in an inaccessible space and the rest is abandoned to oblivion. Anything that cannot be raised to orbital potential is neglected, as it can no longer

be referred to any transcendence. In the age of weightlessness, the SoS citizen mirrors SoS through her/his own actions and dealings and personifies the state. SoS provides for the expansion and re-determination of cultural space and cohabitation through infrastructure.

5. WHAT IS SOS'S MODEL OF SOCIETY?

Conflict As Life Design SoS is a design for life, a parallel alternative to existing forms, developments and impending conflicts. The model deals with conflicts of classification and interpretation without abandoning the social, because it is at these points that one can locate decisive, as well as tangible, conflict zones.

6. WHEREIN LIES ITS AUTONOMY?

Dislocation Of Social Time Unpredictability and subversion of expectations are the sources of intelligence, culture, technology and progress. Autonomy is the self-regulation of the social body, both in its independence and in its interactions with the disciplinary norm. SoS autonomy means that social life is not only dependent on the limits and regulations imposed by economic power, but also on internal dislocations, displacements, deferrals, and dissolutions, which form the process of the self-composition of a living society – struggle, deprivation, alienation, sabotage, escape routes through the system of dominance. Autonomy is the independence of social time from the temporality of capitalism. The status of Sabotage is not determinable, but SoS is rich in non-tangible resources, thus rendering it in contradiction to the world, society and their demands. Life, from the standpoint of technology or economics, is never completely controllable. And therefore it is always a disruptive factor, a potential act of sabotage.

7. WHEREIN LIES THE SUBVERSION OF »SABOTAGE«?

Discourse Discourse is subversive; it de-capitates the King. Sabotage denounces the sovereign.

15. CAN ONE EMIGRATE TO SOS?

As an SoS citizen, one has already emigrated. The province of Baldrockistan is recreation-ally intended for temporary working and living situations, and as a concrete meeting point. It is not a place of permanent residence.

16. WHERE IS THE SOS STATE AND WHY IS IT A REAL TERRITORY?

The First Province Baldrockistan is situ-

ated in Australia, a 2 1/2 hour drive from the coast of Baron Bay or Surfer's Paradise.

The territory lies between Tenterfield and Stanthorpe, 3km from Bald Rock National Park on the New South Wales-Queensland border. The National Park is a World Heritage Site and one of the healthiest places in Australia. The town of Tenterfield is considered to be the Australian »birthplace of a nation«. The »Rock« is Australia's largest granite monolith with a height of 1277 meters above sea level. It rises about 200 meters above the surrounding bushland, and is 750 meters long and 500 meters wide.

Baldrockistan is 950 m above sea level. Baldrockistan encompasses a total area of 650 hectares. The area is full of canyons, stone arches, echo points and plenty of kangaroos. A natural site of land designed to protect the ecological integrity of ecosystems for present and future generations provides a foundation for spiritual, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities.

State Of Nature State borders are clear-cut on cartographic paper. But in reality, located along the edges of these borders are small strips of land serving as buffer zones and belonging to no one. Numerous plants and animals, many of which would already be extinct if they didn't happen to inhabit the fringes of state access, populate these no man's lands. These patches of land along state edges are an allegory of what was possible before states existed and what is still possible when areas beyond the state can be penetrated (in »Stalker«, filmmaker Andrei Tarkovsky created a strong and lasting symbol of this idea with the »zone«). These peripheries are also a living reminder that states are a relatively recent historical phenomenon and that humanity spent the predominant part of its existence without states and borders, as we understand them today.

In his novel »Survivalist 1: Total War«, Jerry Ahern established that America is not a geographic place, but rather a concept. The State of Sabotage is also primarily an idea and only secondarily a concrete territory. Like the USA, the State of Sabotage has no pre-defined territory, but one characterized by constant, and theoretically unlimited, growth. Like the USA in theory, the State of Sabotage has no indigenous population, but is open to all who wish to join of their own free will. Unlike the USA, the territory of the State of Sabotage grows with each new citizen. And unlike many micronations, the State of Sabotage is not a purely virtual community, but encompasses real state territory.

17. WHAT DOES BALDROCKISTAN OFFER?

Its own work on the contemporary creation of dynamic meetings.

18. WHAT'S PLANNED FOR THE FUTURE THERE?

Even if the status of SoS as a concrete territory is only secondary, the development of its own territory in Baldrockistan is of recreational and spiritual significance. The grounds already offer accommodations, an excellent road network and electricity. In the next few years, artist studios and artistic projects should emerge in harmony with flora and fauna, without intending permanent settlement. Baldrockistan is a neutral zone. Just like natives and visitors, the SoS state is itself a guest to Baldrockistan/Australia. The grounds are utilized and protected in accord with nature, aborigines and natives.

Even in previous times, the area was a neutral meeting point and an important zone for two aboriginal tribes that used it exclusively for talks, rituals, and as a passageway through tribal borders. This tradition will continue to be upheld by Baldrockistan, which offers its guests a recreational and spiritual think tank, in accord with each individual mind state.

19. CAN THE SOS STATE BE DISSOLVED?

The Three Keys Every state is an obsolescent model. SoS is a process limited in time and awaiting its own transformation. Just as each state was once founded, it should also be also possible to dissolve. A single person can already dissolve the State of Sabotage. The SoS state grail, once forged as a key to eternity, has been smashed into three pieces and cast to the three ends of the earth. The fragments of the grail rest in the northern and southernmost museums of the world, exhibited in glass cases with fixed views to the others. The stranger who takes possession of all three pieces overthrows the SoS state and dissolves it in one fell swoop. Now go forth and don't be caught!

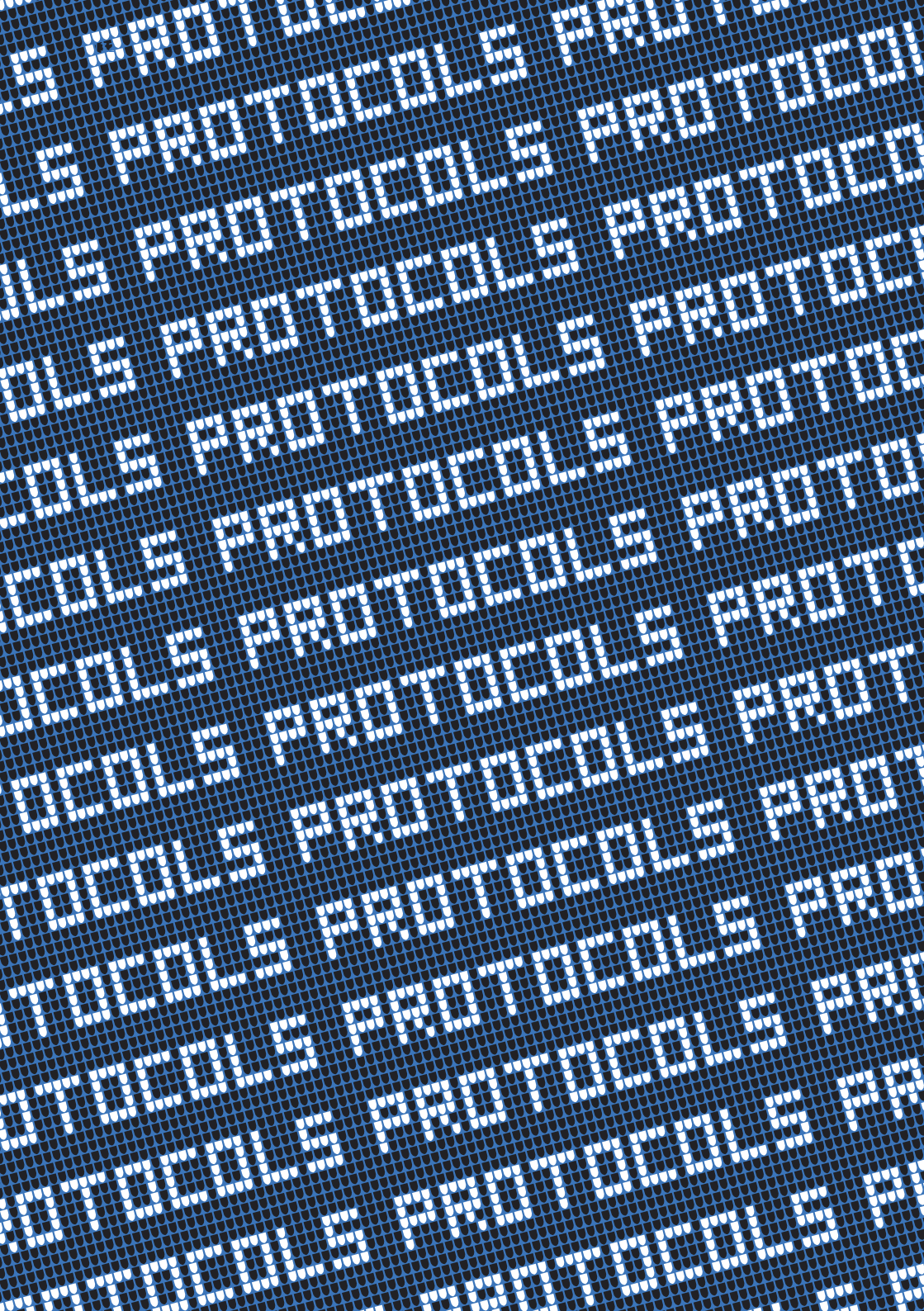
20. WHAT ABOUT THE HISTORY OF SOS?

Commitment Through Slippage

The condition of any history, its endlessness, is the irrevocably lost, the absent. Time will never dissolve anything without recreating it as a newly composed entity. The nemesis of history is the impulse of displacement. The conservative resistance bemoans the loss of history and forms a reanimation movement for the coherent, self-conscious subject. But history is not the place for perpetual slumber. SoS history is the location of perpetual slippage. History is a question of commitment, not a reminder of some rational morality whose delivery dawns on the horizon.







TRANSCRIPT OF ROUND TABLE TALKS

AT FINLANDIA HALL 29.8.2003



Tomas Tråskman (moderator): Welcome to the Amorph03 Summit. [...] The delegations united at this table are representing six different states or micronations. In this session we want to speak and think about the similarities and differences between each of the participants. We hope that this will lead us to the question of what a microstate or a micronation could be and what political or critical power they actually might have. We will start this session with a brief introduction round.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): Ladonia is situated in a part of Southern Sweden and has existed since 1996. I am State Secretary Lars Vilks and I have three Ministers beside me representing the country: Minister Martin, Minister Fredrik and Minister Jaide.

King Leif I (KREV): Elgaland&Vargaland is situated on the borderlands of every existing country on this globe. We started this project, our country, in 1992. We are the founders, Carl Michael von Hausswloff and Leif Elgreen.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): I represent the State of NSK. It was established in 1992. We are a state in time; we don't have any physical location. The physical location is the universe.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): Good Morning. I am of the Office of the Head of State of the Principality of Sealand. We are a real country. We have geographical space that we have to manage. We have a population that we have to provide for and we have import-export balances to worry about. With me is the Head of State, the Underchief of the Bureau of Internal Affairs and the Prince-in-waiting, James, Prince Royal.

Georg Zoche (TR): We are representing the Transnational Republic, founded in 2001. Our goal is to extend the federal system on the planet, so that the people of the world are not only represented by their nations but also by their transnational republics of choice. We hope that with such a system global problems like climate problems or wars can be addressed.

Tomas Tråskman: Thank you. During this first session we would like to employ a procedure, which Susan Kelly will now present to you.

Susan Kelly (moderator): [...] During the preparations for this conference we did research into summit procedures and the diplomatic protocol of summit meetings. We found books and rings of rules and regulations that govern who can speak, when they can speak, how agendas get set and how questions get answered. And we found that quite often with summit meetings the agenda was too present, and questions were asked in advance and perhaps even answered in advance as a result.

Therefore we decided to introduce one small rule for this particular session: when you ask a question, you direct it to somebody or leave it an open question to everybody else in the summit meeting; however, when you answer a question, you must generate another question from that. By answering a question you ask another question. The idea behind it is quite simple to try to shift around who gets questioned. The role of the interviewer and the role of the interviewee move around. The agenda shifts constantly according to what our common interests are. Hopefully this will facilitate less of a presentation of who we are, because I think we all kind of know what each other is doing at this point. So we could facilitate a more open discussion about what we share and what future we might have together.

I could start by asking Tomas the first question: After I read your particular contribution to the first Amorph03 catalogue, I was wondering if you thought it was possible to have a sense of belonging without a state and if so, where do you keep along?

Tomas Tråskman: In that specific text I started with a new state born in the north-eastern corner of my shoe. I was suggesting – of course purely hypothetically – a state of refugees. But in terms of belonging, I proposed that we should be more poetical and play around with language. Especially from my background, where I drift between languages, I noticed that this is the only way for me to be able to belong to a language. This was maybe my answer to how you could belong to something; be poetic and creative about it and don't let the rules control you too much.

So that's my reply to your question. I will now generate the next question; it is an open question directed to everybody: What do you consider the most glorious moment of your state?

Georg Zoche (TR): Well, it must have been the proclamation of the Transnational Republic. We had the idea for the TR long ago. We worked on it for four years and then we felt that the time had come to proclaim it. We had a huge proclamation event in Munich on the 16th of April in 2001. People actually came from around the world to celebrate it.

Prince Michael (Sealand): I suppose our most glorious moment – personally anyway, and also for Sealand – was when we were overrun by terrorists at one point and when we re-captured the island; it was a big adrenalin buzz and obviously a very important incident to us.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Well, there are a lot of glorious moments in the history of our state. But maybe I will focus on one. During the Balkan war, during the war in

Bosnia, we held the »NSK State Sarajevo« in Sarajevo. We did some performances, lectures, concerts, exhibitions and so on. The Dayton negotiations were in the final phase at that time. It was really the decisive phase; to determine if there would be total war, »die totale Kriegs«, as Goebbels said, or if the peace would prevail. At the beginning of our concert, when I gave a speech, nobody knew what the outcome would be. During the concert the Dayton agreement was signed. When we came to the club later, where organizers, friends and others from Sarajevo were gathering in a basement – because of the danger of snipers – people came to us: »You brought us peace!« That was really a touching moment.

Robert Jelinek (SOS): About glory... We will declare ourselves as our own state tomorrow, so I can answer the question tomorrow.

Prince Michael (Sealand) [to Robert Jelinek]: So you haven't got one yet, right?

Robert Jelinek (SOS): Tomorrow at one o'clock we declare the State of Sabotage. I would like to use this opportunity to invite you to join us and celebrate the declaration of the State. It would be nice to see you tomorrow at 1 pm. I hope you can see yourself as a kind of patron to the new state.

King Leif I (KREV): What is a glorious moment? I don't really know what that is, but I would assume that in our case it is some sort of permanent situation. Something that is going on all the time. What we are putting forward is a model, how you can handle your life, how you can change your position in this extremely unjust situation under which we are all living. We regard this as a very fruitful and a sort of glorious moment: when we see people elevating themselves by pulling their own hair. When they can lift themselves out of a bordered situation and choose other ways to think. When people make use of their inner freedom – something that we all possess – and turn it into reality and make something good out of it.

King Michael I (KREV): We had also various incidents and events that we set up in order to test various functions, the function of nationality for example. I don't know if I would call that glorious. I have a hard time with this word, because I don't think the world around us is so particularly glorious. It is quite a nasty world out there. Of course you can eat a cake once a week. But I can tell about one event, which was in a way quite successful, because it taught us a practical lesson: how it feels to be a refugee. In 2001 KREV had a 10-year anniversary. We decided that on King's day, October 14th, we should make a trip. Ten citizens came along on a boat ride from Stockholm to Tallin in Estonia, passing

through our physical territory, which consists of all the borderlines between the countries all over the world including the border between Sweden and Estonia. We took the ferry over to Tallin. Upon arrival, all ten of us went to the passport control and presented our Elgaland&Vargaland passports. There are some beautiful photographs of the Estonian passport police not able to handle the situation. They called the police and put us into a kind of refugee situation. After 5 hours of attempts of interrogation, they called the Estonian security police, which continued to interrogate us. This was a very interesting moment. At this point we felt really vulnerable; it was a grain of the feeling refugees might have. Emotions were aroused and we were uncertain what might happen. Our aim was – as we expected that the Estonians would throw us back onto the ferry – to present our Elgaland&Vargaland passports to the Swedish authorities upon arrival in Stockholm. And the Swedes would throw us back to the ferry again, turning the ferry into our home. But the Estonian security police stole our Elgaland&Vargaland passports. What we are planning now is to sue the Estonian state for stealing art, because our country is, from the beginning, a conceptual art work. The passports were signed by artists. And the state stole this artwork. So we are going to turn it around and investigate if art actually has more to say about the world than politics. I don't know if this was a glorious situation, but it was for many of us a very important situation.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): It becomes quite clear that when you form a micronation you will get into situations where certain things are unveiled. That is an important issue if you deal with a micronation – at least when you make the connection between micronation and art. There must be a critical distance if you are unveiling something. When it comes to the idea of glory – a pompous word – everything becomes theatrical, almost pathetic. So you can't really take it seriously; you must be a stupid nation to talk about glorious moments, because it is just a part of a development where you know that you are following a tradition, doing something glorious, like the tradition tells you.

Under this pretext, the most glorious moment for Ladonia is no doubt the 2nd of July of this year, when we declared war on Sweden, the United States and San Marino. We have been fighting them now for a couple of months very successfully. We are convinced that we will win the war very soon. One of our main objectives during this summit in Helsinki is to forge an alliance with Finland against Sweden. We are also fighting the war inside the United States, as we have several Ministers living in the US and operating from inside. We have not had the time yet to reach San Marino,

but they just have an army of 11 men, so we think that it will be quite an easy task for us. That is a part of the glorious idea. We fight with very unconventional methods. We can fight this war because we are a strong country. Ladonia has been battling with the Swedish authorities for a couple of years. They have tried to end our occupation and to remove the constructions located on this square kilometre of land that became Ladonia in 1996. The authorities used all kind of means in their struggle; they were sending the police and initiated a constant stream of trials. These trials are still going on. But instead of giving in, Ladonia has increased its power by getting more citizens, raised more interest and got more work done. Ladonia is as well constantly extending and re-creating its own history by providing a framework to a great variety of activities. Last year we reached the benchmark of 10.000 registered citizens, which gave us a boost of strength. During the last two years we also gained international recognition. At the moment we are representing people from more than 100 countries all over the world and we have more than 100 ministers from all continents. This gives us the strength to make the counter-attack. After having been for a long time on the defensive, we can now be offensive against Sweden. We try to get involved in politics.

The United States of America behave as the world police and it doesn't seem that anyone is satisfied with that. Our suggestion now is very glorious: we propose that the best country to be the world police is Ladonia. It is a very glorious moment to be able to say that. We stand up with 10.000 citizens and we say: »Trust us, trust us. We are the ones.« That's a glorious moment, when such things can be spoken out.

Susan Kelly: Lars, could we ask you to ask a question now to take up the discussion?

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): Yes. We are gathered here – I suppose – because we are dealing with the interconnection of art and micronations. It is mainly that. If one searches for micronations, one can find hundreds and hundreds being constructed. Most of them are of less interest, and very few actually are connected to art. But we are mainly here as »art-countries«. So, one could then ask: If micronations are a method of dealing with art, what is the real subject behind creating a micronation? Is it to create a nation or is it a way to work with art? I would like to get some opinions on this important matter from the other micronations.

Georg Zoche (TR): I don't think that all of us here would define ourselves as strictly art projects. Certainly we don't – we are also an art project. When we developed the idea we thought for many years about how to do it and we discussed it with many people from different fields, from the political

field, from the civil rights field, etc. We encountered a certain group of people who only said, »Yes, it is a good idea, but...« and they were trying to find reasons why this couldn't work. And then there were other people who had an open mind to allow the idea to develop in a discussion. Our project is so big and so bold that we only can follow it if we start it in a field where it can develop over the years, where it wouldn't be crushed in the beginning, by the »YES, BUT...« saying kind of people. Strategically, we decided to get started in the art field because there you can develop the Transnational Republic, but in the long run it has to be a political thing. But we actually would not like to make this distinction, even in the long run; when it's political, it can stay art as well.

At least I believe – and the others might agree – that you need the freedom of art to advance anything, be it engineering or politics or something else. The beauty of art is that it allows you to question the status quo without being attacked by others: »How can you dare to question the status quo?«

I think on this planet we have reached a critical moment in which corporations are turning everything around, a lot of things are at risk: our environment is at risk, war... I don't have to continue. We have to develop new systems of representing citizens and new ways of how to resolve the problems we are facing. I think art is a good tool for that and therefore art is important.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): I want to define my comment on that just briefly. For the last year we have known that we will be here and for the last year we have known that we will be in the company of individuals following a very different pursuit, and so the obvious question is, where is the glue that joins us together? My thoughts about some of the comments I have heard, first of all, are a matter of definition. Art, what is art? Is art some method of expressing abstract thought? If that is so, than art covers every form of human endeavour, whether it is writing a poem or painting a picture on the pavement. Furthermore, if art is defined in that way, then it seems clear to me that it is absolutely credible that from the current highly structured situation movements are emerging, which are concerned with individual or administrative issues. Fortunately – depending on one's point of view – we have a country where we have enshrined a way of life that preserves human dignity and human freedom, given that the account is taken of the effect of one's action upon others.

We can say, this is how we live, and we can say to all countries, all establishments, all passport controls and all the rest, that's the way we do it; sorry you can't get in to change that. And we have been doing that for almost 40 years. It is not an easy job, because at the end of the day, somebody has

to find the money to buy the fuel to generate the electricity to supply the population with light, food and hi-fi music. Here we get into the conflict between the human concept of a more equitable and humanistic way of life and the establishment that says we will collect taxes because we need those taxes to provide collectively for the people. That's not always the case, but that is, I think, what they always say. And so, the conflict in my mind is, how does one take the movement, which in my view is credible and reasonable, and map that into the awareness of establishments, where the establishment's principle priority is the acquisition of either money or power or influence or all three? I have no solution to that question; I am jolly certain that the Principality of Sealand cannot take over the world. I am equally certain, after nearly 40 years of independence, that the world will not take us over! But that is not an answer to the cardinal, deeper concerns that I have heard round the table, which are: How does one as an individual overcome the structure imposed on life by the World Trade Organisation or by the International Immigration Offices Union, or the World Customs Union or any number of international organizations which – its clever – say that the boss of the international organization is the membership of that organization. What a good way not to meet responsibilities! Those are my thoughts and they may be irrelevant, but maybe they are helpful to focus on the distinction between the micronations and their work, and long may it continue, and our microstate and its existence, and how we can acquire the resources to support our population. You need support conceptually, we could do with a few Euro. Is there a way to build a bridge?

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Now I have heard some very interesting thoughts from my colleagues and if I take out some general notion, I can say that of course there are micronations, these states and the substance of their activity is mostly – not for everyone – a sort of, let's say, artistic work, and some other activities which are not so strongly connected with this real life economy, with the laws of empirical being. Well, once I saw an emission about a young priest in a German town – I don't know the name – who practiced a very strange form of priesthood. You know, he had various sexual relations; he lived a, let's say, very happy life full of sins; he did confessions on his own; he neglected all this patterns of ordinary life. He felt himself very free, very happy, but when he came home – sometimes he visited his mother and his brother – the brother told him: »If everybody did as you do, then the world would collapse.«

So, let's say the philosophy of this is, that probably if everybody would do as we are doing, neglecting all these economic and social – ordinary economic and social – laws, then problems would inevitably emerge. But the point is something differ-

ent. We must admit, of course, that we are caught in strong empirical ties: economic, social and so on. There is no doubt that we are dependent on relations and laws, which are common and which are the base of the ordinary state. But there is something else.

When one says »art is the substance of this state,« that shows, that beside all this, let's say, ordinary, empirical life, there is one reality more – there is one surplus of reality, which is different from empirical, material reality, but which is unreal, impossible [sic].

But it is more real, more possible than this actual empirical reality. This shows that there is one transcendental world up, beyond or above there, because we identify with a pure empty notion of the state, the state. What is the state? It is an empty absurd notion that we identify with. This is important: This empty absurd term of the state brings us a sense and freedom and, let's say, enjoyment. This impossible – empirically impossible – is the substance of the higher enjoyments of consciousness of freedom.

Robert Jelinek (SOS): I guess this is the first summit of micronations ever, at least I have never heard about something similar before. I was wondering why it is happening for the first time, as the Internet would give a powerful platform to forge alliances. But the micronations utilize the net mainly just to recruit citizens; there is nothing like a big network of micronations working together. There was no congress to find out, for example, what kind of power micronations could have together, in the same way as Micronesia did. I am mostly interested how powerful micronations could actually be together, how we could get a vote in the UNO, for example.

If you see the statistics about people who create micronations, they are mostly male, around 45, eventually some ex-professor. Most of the thousands of micronations are just some guys sitting at home declaring their kitchen to be a new country.

For me it was interesting how you can use art as a political weapon. How far can you go with art projects? When I considered the possibility of building up a state, I knew from my experiences coming from an art background that I had to deal also with the question: where do I want to end with my state? What's the goal? Where are we going? How can you, for example, take money from the Finnish government to be here? How far can you go with different things? For me, this summit is quite interesting, to find out what could be the consequences, if each state here...

In which way is it just a game, just gambling, playing with the state? How far is it really going? To get real independence, that is for me personally the most important thing, especially to get economic independence. It's not like an art project

that ends up in the art ghettos in the regular art business. We want to reach real art independence. So, that's what we are working on.

Susan Kelly: Can we have Elgaland&Vargaland answer Lars' question and then reformulate this question and direct it?

King Michael I (KREV): Most of this kind of phenomena are emanating from the art world, maybe not from the art world but from an artistic context.

I mean art is maybe the most decent human profession you can even consider. There are no other professions in which you can deal with all parameters of this life. I can see it as a very natural development, that you go ahead from an artistic attitude or artistic situation and develop it into creating some kind of »constructed structure«, which enables you to deal with political, social and economic things in this society, as many people here have expressed before. And this is, of course, a privilege that we should take care of. When we started the Kingdoms of Elgaland&Vargaland we were working as artists and with art projects already for a long time. For us it was some kind of natural development to form this sort of country.

I was also thinking about something completely different. Was the Vatican state invited to this summit? The Vatican should be considered a micronation as well. That would have been really interesting, to see the Pope getting involved here.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): Which micronations were actually invited? You have a wide range – between 500 and 1000 – to choose among. The Vatican is just one.

[...]

Georg Zoche (TR): I have a remark about the Vatican state. I don't think it is a micronation.

The official list of citizens is around 800 to 900, and they are all diplomats, but in reality their citizens are the Catholics, so it is a huge transnational organization and by far not a micronation.

King Michael I (KREV): But that's the same thing with Elgaland&Vargaland, because in 1994 we used the »spiri-com« technique to inform the other side – the death – that they are actually citizens of Elgaland&Vargaland. If they did not want to be our citizens, they should contact us. And nobody has contacted us. So there are millions of Elgaland&Vargaland people out there, which means that we are not a micronation.

It's the same with a child that is born into a catholic family. It becomes automatically

a slave under the pope. When the child grows up, it has, of course, the choice to say no and exit the Catholic Church. We gave the people on the other side this option; nevertheless they choose to hang on with KREV.

Prince Michael (Sealand): If they got the message...

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): I think it is terribly helpful to distinguish between nation and state. The dictionary does this rather well. A nation is a collection of people with a common concept, idea or goal and a state is an entity with a geographic extent and the need for economic sustenance and so on. So the two are really very different. The Vatican is in fact a country; it has a border. Within that border it has the requirement to be self-sufficient, politically, economically and legally and has done this for 1000 years. One of the interesting things about the Vatican as a country is that there are no births. That is hardly surprising. We have a similar situation in Sealand. We have no live births. So all our citizens were born somewhere else. But the point is that Sealand is a physical entity; it is separated from all others; it needs its own economic survival; it cannot rely on anybody else.

I am thinking of us sitting around this table as micronations, and knocking somehow the establishment. We are here because the establishment is supplying the resources, the buildings, the light and the heat. We are not paying for that directly, or indeed some others not even indirectly. And those are resources provided by the state; don't knock the state, it allows you to exist. But maybe with your nation – your collective of human thought – you influence the state to have a different thrust in its interface with the people, because that is really what we are talking about.

The passport incident is very interesting. The problem there is the interface between two sets of people: one set that is thinking about abstract humanistic rights, and another set, which is thinking about the needs of the state. And that is where the conflict comes, and it seems to me, that's where bridges might be built between national – i.e. lots of people with a common idea – initiatives that get to the state – i.e. managing the resources for the benefit of the population. Few people are happy, I suspect, about how states manage the resources. But since every person has a different concept, that is hardly surprising. I guess the question is how to make the bridge so as to minimally affect the people, but to provide maximally for their ability to do their own thing. Now, some people had theories about that in the past, and the theory I can think of that has most widely been tried was that of Karl Marx. I think all of us remember that between

30 and 40% of the world tried a Marxist experiment for 100 years and it turned out to be an unhelpful trial. So what is the next movement? Who knows?

Tomas Träskman: Thank you! I find it interesting how most of you treat the present as history and micronations as maybe the future and moving into this hypothetical mode of just being. But was it Robert who had the last question?

Robert Jelinek (SOS): One of my questions was why is this Helsinki Summit the first one of its kind? Is there no need for something like World Wide Micronations? Is there no need to get together and start real independence? To expand the scope of micronations beyond just fighting with their neighbours – like Ladonia with Sweden and SOS with Australia. It would be important to become global and start to network, like a union, and to become a powerful «thing». I know there is a union of micronations on the net, but I think that is just for representative purposes. The question is, how powerful can micronations be if they are together?

Susan Kelly: Would you like to direct this question to anybody in particular?

Robert Jelinek (SOS): Maybe Sealand, you are the most experienced.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): The danger is to assume that nations can exist without the support of the state. That is absurd, absolutely absurd. The state is the lifeblood of the social and physical existence of an individual. Without the state I would not have a street, electricity, running water, somewhere to discharge my sewerage – I am very worried about that – or a reasonable amount of order, so that I had a reasonable probability of getting to my front door, when I set out in search of it. These are state issues. And it is absolutely clear that one cannot come over them or step aside. If there is a state issue, then it must logically follow that there has to be a boundary. If the state is responsible for providing for civil order, for electricity, for water, then the state is terribly concerned about where that provision finishes. The city of Helsinki, bless them, provides money to support for artistic endeavours, but it is probably unlikely to take a sympathetic view from a request from St. Petersburg. So there is a border. Now these are the real pragmatic «this is life» issues. The state in my experience doesn't always take a sympathetic view or understanding towards the needs of the individual or the dignity of the individual. And so this is where national movements – if you like, micronations – come into the picture. But we are talking here about collections of people with a common goal or initiative; movement is a word used for a long time. And the transnational-republic-movement

say: »We think the establishment should sit up and take notice of the fact that it is wanting in its ability to serve the population, whether this establishment is in Africa or North America or South-East Asia.« That's what we are talking about, isn't it? And if it is, the answer to the question »Why is this the first summit?« is because not until ten years ago did we have a method whereby people with a strong thought and a tiny voice can talk to other people half way round the world affordably. You could always talk, but you could not always pay the bill. Now all of us sit quite happily and talk to others and we pay a very small bill; we certainly don't pay for the time or unit cost of communication. And it allows all thoughts from all around the world to come together. That's new – the first time in history. And one of the, as I can see it, one of the outcomes of that resource is the ability of people to form movements just as you are talking about. Take the Internet away, and how many of your so-called micronations would continue comfortably or economically affordably to exist. Or alternatively go back and ask the question in reverse, without the Internet, how many would have emerged? How many were around in 1952? And now I am supposed to address a question to someone and I am sorry not to be playing by the rules.

King Michael I (KREV): Can I make a brief comment on...

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): Bless you...

King Michael I (KREV): ...on the exchange of values. First of all, the Finnish state is not providing resources for us to be here. But in general the Nordic countries like Sweden, Finland and Denmark have been quite supportive of artists – of course their own Swedish and Danish artists – because they recognized the value of art. I don't think it is really so simple to say that the Finnish government is providing electricity and is not getting anything back. Also Ministries of Cultures have their links to the financial and corporate systems. In Finland we have the success story of Nokia. But Nokia wouldn't have been successful if the state didn't have the idea of supporting art and design in the first place. So when we are here, we cannot really estimate how much we are giving to this country, because it is hard to evaluate. I would say we perhaps give more by being here in this context than the bits of infrastructure they give to us.

[...]

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): I would like to refer on this. Of course I suppose that we are developing here a sort of ethical attitude, a consciousness of freedom, and we are spreading this consciousness. Spreading these thoughts must have some effect on real life. Spreading these ideas in the con-

siousness of other people, in the consciousness of ordinary people has some effect on the existing society; right, this abstract, this absurd idea of freedom, which we are here developing. I think so.

Susan Kelly: Would you like to generate another question from your response?

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Yes, I would like to generate the question of economy. My question goes to everybody here. Do you develop – beside artistic and other work – your own economy? How do you survive inside your own country? Or let's say: how can you survive in an abstract country? This is my question.

Robert Jelinek (SOS): We are now in talks with investors; we are not taking money from any state and not even from Austria. We don't get support from cultural institutions. For example NSK, I saw your flights were paid by the Slovenian embassy.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): I don't know (laughs).

Robert Jelinek (SOS): I saw it on the flyer. I did not find that logical, but it does not matter. We are working on our real economic independence. This is not based on the idea of working as an artist in the art field. There you get your money, but you must always stay a bit in this cave, all the time. We will just represent a couple of our activities in the art field, but we will use a different economy.

King Michael I (KREV): The Kingdoms of Elgaland&Vargaland don't really have any problems with the economy, because the system we set up is adjusting itself. Our territory consists of the border zones between all countries, which means we don't have to do anything about it. When a new country emerges, for instance Moldavia, there is a new border. That is super, because we get more territory. In the beginning of our existence we sent out a letter to every government – I don't think we had the address to Sealand at the time, but we can send the letter to you now – asking each country to split up into smaller units because we wanted to have an expanding country. We proposed to all of them to split themselves up into so many small countries as they had individuals. On the other hand, we gave every country the opportunity to unite with their former border countries. For instance we recommended to the American government to unite with Canada and Mexico in order to erase our territorial claims. In the end, the whole world would be one nation. These results we gave to the United Nations and asked for membership in 1994. We haven't heard anything from them. Next year we'll have the 10th anniversary of our application and of silence.

We don't have the practical problems of

Sealand, such as getting drinking water, etc. We also have avoided a bureaucratic system, which means that we don't really have an office. If we issue something or take care of something we go to a café, or we meet in a larger hotel, as we did when we had the 10th anniversary of the country. It is a sort of self-generating situation. But of course some things like stamps or passports cost money. Using the art context provides these resources. This summer we participated in the Biennale in Venice, where a certain amount of money was available to print a book for example. Elgaland&Vargaland does not have money to print books usually. So we printed a new edition of Thomas More's »Utopias« and on the cover it says: »In conjunction with this publication of Utopia by Thomas Morus, we hereby annex and incorporate Utopia within the concept of the Kingdoms of Elgaland&Vargaland.« So money was provided by the art context and now Utopia is incorporated into Elgaland&Vargaland. That's how we do it. But if we find another context, like banking or shipping...

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Banking would be ...

King Michael I (KREV): We were talking about banking for quite a while; we were actually talking with the Swedish finance man Marcus Wallenberg, who happened to be a good friend of mine. We were talking about banking...

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): The director of the central bank? No?

King Michael I (KREV): He is...

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): The director of the European Central Bank? Or what?

King Michael I (KREV): Banking issues are quite complicated. There are obviously some international agreements we could look into from Elgaland&Vargaland's perspective. But anyway, we don't have so much bureaucracy; we don't have any taxpayers.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): But you see, are you missing the point? I am sure you are not missing the point. But let me labour it again to be boring. The fact that you have a car to drive and a road to drive on and a house to live in and running water is because you pay along with others for those resources to be provided by some establishment, which may or not may be supportive of the humanistic freedom concept. [...] I thought of Iceland when you discussed the reality of the Scandinavian society. Go to Iceland in the winter and open the door to a library. If you more then whisper, you are unfavourably received. It is a very intense artistic environment in Iceland. The system is made up of people and the people are prepared to put those priorities significantly

up on the list. Go to Uganda or Ethiopia, when I was in Ethiopia I did not see any state funded art projects. And one can continue the discussion right round the globe, so it seems to me that the real issue here is how to improve the interface between the reasonable needs of individuals – both individually and collectively – and this faceless machine that provides the reality of life: roads, water, etc. How can we improve this interface?

Tomas Träskman: We can take this on later, but maybe Ladonia will answer first the question on economy.

Martin Schibli (Ladonia): I am the Minister of Swiss Army Methods. We have many citizens and most of them have the ability to finance their own life. They are supportive to Ladonia in such a way that they are working at our embassies or on certain occasions, they send in materials and develop their own projects within Ladonia. We have, for instance, people in South America working on their versions of the Ladonian website.

But I want to comment on Mr. Withers, who made the distinction between nations and states, because I think this is important. This distinction leads to a question concerning all the countries participating in this summit. Some of the projects present are using the concept of micronation as a tool to criticize the state. This kind of critique we have heard in the art world for several years now. But when Mr. Träskman talked earlier about belonging, then he was more talking about belonging to a nation. There are many nations within the state. There are also many people proclaiming their own nation within the state, the lesbian nation is just one example. But the micronations here at the table, by trying to criticize the state, put their focus on creating their own currencies, passports, flags, etc.; they focus on the »hard-core« of the state. But they are much less concerned about »belonging.« That might give a hint on why there are so many men here collected. From a very generalized viewpoint one could say that men are building states, and women are building networks and sisterhoods.

Georg Zoche (TR): Economics is a very essential issue to the Transnational Republic. We say that the separation of powers into three powers is incomplete. At the time of the French revolution no one could imagine that 200 years later the bakery around the corner would have more money than France, for example. The big corporations of the world are more powerful than most of the nations of the world. We argue that money has to be handled in a whole different way. It needs to be the »fourth« power, the monetary power. And in our theory the monetary power is within the United Transnational Republics (UTR) and that

would alter the way nation and state are defined. Because the money is with the United Transnational Republics, we generate a dependency of the UTR and the nations. The UTR has no military, no police, none of these things, but it has the money to pay for them. Nations can provide these services, but they don't have the money. Using the network of Transnational Republics, everybody in the world, everybody who is a citizen of a nation, can ask their national representatives »I would like to have a street« or »I don't want you to go to war against this country.« They can have the normal national approaches to democratic decisions. But at the same time, if it is a global problem, it is decided within the UTR. For that reason we are issuing our own money; it is called Payola. It is bound to the Euro, 4 Payola equals 1 Euro, and we are trying, from our point of view, to buy national currencies and collect them with us. The more national currency we buy, the more Payola will be with our citizens and the more power will be given to the citizens. But until we reach this point, we still have to work – I suppose all of us getting subsidized– by free labour or being subsidized by cultural events such as this summit.

Martin Schibli (Ladonia): A short comment. Sweden is repressing Ladonia economically by sentencing our Secretary of State to pay 100,000 Swedish Crowns. So they keep on doing the economical warfare. But we fight back.

Georg Zoche (TR): Tell them you pay in Payola.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): But you see, this is wonderful. This is really wonderful. But now, please may I bring us back to the real world? What is money, what is it? Where does it come from? Why does the US get its dollars to do whatever it might choose to do in Iraq? Well, the bottom line is that money is the representation of human endeavours. That's all it is. If nobody had a job in the United States, the United States institution, the establishment would be bankrupt. Because the only reason it gets money or makes money or claims it has money is because it takes a share of everybody's sweat productive time and puts it in their own pocket. **So money is a representation of human effort. That's all it is. Any country that has money suddenly has no money if nobody in the country works. That's been known for long time and the history books are full of countries that went bankrupt, because the workers went on strike!** It does not take much imagination to remember at least three or four examples in the last 100 years. To take the view that money is an end in itself is, in my view, an error. To take the view that money is what you, as an institution, can extort from your population seems a rather closer approach to the reality. Now, if one can

build some sort of artificial concept, which everybody values, that's great. But the value in money comes from its representation of how hard someone had to work to get it. And I cannot see how this set of concepts – human efforts and its representation in some artificial medium, money – can be uncoupled.

Georg Zoche (TR): Unfortunately I have to disagree on your definition of money. **There used to be the gold standard. That is when you knew exactly what you'd get for your money. Now the gold standard is gone, the value of money is by far not the sweat and the work of the people; the value is only what the people of the world believe – collectively believe.** This is especially valid for the USA, the most debt-ridden nation in the world. It has ten times the debt of all the 180 developing countries combined. The value of the dollar is a hallucination. And at the same time the US is running a huge state deficit. They have to import goods from all over the world. They should be bankrupt already. But the way it works is that the USA is printing the green bucks and they go to the nations of the world and asking their central banks to take these paper dollars. And the nations in the world have to give back to the United States video-cameras, computers, steel, corn and so on. And that is what they are doing. It's a very unhealthy system, if it continues like this. And this is why we say: we need a currency that belongs to the citizens. They way money is really created goes like this: one tradesperson sells a good to another person. Now the receiver of the good gives the other one a paper, which says, »I owe you.« That paper goes to the bank. The bank says »your contractual partner owes you 2000 units of currency. We know him, he is very trustworthy; we buy it and we convert this in a general »I owe you bill,« and that is how bank notes are created. And they take one »I owe you« from a corporation, and they issue I think 16 times as many banknotes as they have valid »I owe you« bills from corporations. So the whole monetary system is a big belief system.

»What do you think is the value of that? Print it on the paper.« And the problem is, we are living in other people's money system. The nations are paying to build the roads. But for example I have met someone who builds roads on a big scale in Venezuela. And he said there is a lot of corruption going on; he had to always pay in order to get the job. He was talking to them and they said: »This goes under the standard 30 to 70 split of the money.« He said, »I can't give you 30 percent of the money, I cannot build the road.« They said, »You misunderstood us, you have to pay 70% in order to get that job.« And he said, »But how can I do it?« »Well, then you don't even have to build the road.« And that's the problem of other people's money systems. And our goal with the Payola system is to eliminate other people's money systems and give the money back to the citizens.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): I understand where you are coming from. I think you are saying that the current economic situation is globally corrupt. And the only way you can perceive usefully to turn that round and back to where it should have stayed in first place is to exert some sort of institutional power across systems and states, which says to all states establishments: sorry guys, you have had it too good for too long; let's take the money and put it back in the pockets of the worker, which is represented in terms of labour. And your mechanism for doing this is the Payola mechanism and your awareness tool is the establishment of this republic. Jolly good luck, I hope you go far.

Georg Zoche (TR): Thank you.

[...Lunch break...]

Tomas Tråskman: I have one question. Did you feel that there was some common ground between the micronations during the morning session or are we all in a state of war in the afternoon?

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): It is very clear, that this meeting is about art and micronations. **We are very concerned about what can be done by art. Art has access to everything in the world and can do everything except one thing: it cannot reach reality. That's the only thing art is excluded from.** In all other institutions you have access to reality, but then you have to get away from doing everything – like in art. So the problem in art is how to reach reality. And that has been tried in very many ways. Most art today is trying to work in a social way, dealing with social issues, copying social work, etc. One can see micronations as a possibility to try to copy the real world, to be somehow similar to it and also question it and explore it. It is then possible to raise interesting questions about what is going on in the real world. Such mimicking always involves a moment of irony. Art is very delicate. So you can't have too much irony; it has to be very, very tasteful. I think that is the ground coming up here, how to balance art and how to handle this complex of art not being able to reach reality.

Martin Schibli (Ladonia): I would like to add that all micronations around the table have quite different backgrounds; some micronations started as a consequence of some artistic activities; some started from a very conceptual idea and others from the idea to criticize the state.

Georg Zoche (TR): I don't think we had this point before today. I don't think this is a meeting about art at all. I mean art is included but it is not limited to art. Certainly we, and I think I can include Sealand, don't see ourselves as an art project. We are saying, **we want to establish a new way of**

citizen representation and we started in the field of art so we can have an open discussion about this. The very instant that we could say, it is an art project purely and it never will reach into reality, we would drop it.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): Sealand has already discovered that they are not included in the art situation, and they say they are sitting as observers and finding that even interesting, but they consider themselves a real country and the others are art countries; this is the fantasy world...

Georg Zoche (TR): NO...

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): ... This is dealing with other things. We have no other one included except the art countries.

Georg Zoche (TR): No, no, we are a real organization; the UTR does exist. We are using the tools of art to discuss it and to develop it further.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): But you mean you are a country? Are you an existing country?

Georg Zoche (TR): No, no, we are not a country. A country has to do with soil. We are not against nations. We say the citizens of the world need an additional level of citizen representation. A new federal layer, if you would put it like this.

Jakob Zoche (TR): Or you could say that the problem of global politics is that nations cannot make good global politics; they always have to represent national interests, which are often opposite to global interests. Like Bush and Kyoto.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): But do you believe you are going to change that?

Georg Zoche (TR): Yes, if we did not believe in that...

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): That is very artistic...

Georg Zoche (TR): You know I don't like to put it into boxes, like idealistic is artistic. The moment you limit the content of art, art becomes an empty box. You can use art and do something, but don't limit yourself and say: »I cannot go into reality.« During the preparation for the Gulf War, we were thinking about what we could do to prevent this war, like many others. We started a website called »Money for Peace«. On that website we collected people who would be willing to put up money in order to help the nations in the UN Security Council to cast their free vote. They were under huge financial pressure from the United States. We teamed up with the biggest civil rights movement of the world, moveon.org; they had done this 1 million e-mail signature list that was handed over to the United

Nations, and they made a 24 hour non-stop candlelight action that went around the world. And the next thing that was planned was the cooperation between moveon.org and the Transnational Republic on »Money for Peace«. It would have been in the news that the people of the world were trying to liberate the nations in the Security Council to cast their free vote. Cameroon, New Guinea and so on... Only 48 hours before MoveOn and we could launch the project the press conference on the Azores took place with Bush, Blair and Aznar, where Bush said: »The UN still has 48 hours left to decide to be with us or against us.« That would have been Tuesday and on Thursday the war started. We would have started our project on Tuesday, so we were a few hours too late, but we were so close, really having an impact on global decisions.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): But still, this is not done by art; it's done by surrounding institutions that have a social interest. I mean if things start to work, they leave the art...

Edwina Blush (TR): Ah, Ah.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): ... and if they do not work, they are remaining in the art.

Georg Zoche (TR): Ooh.

Edwina Blush (TR): Ooh, No.

Tammo Rist (TR): I would not agree. I don't know what kind of art you are talking about. If you take music, which is also part of the art...

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): Just a part of music is art. I mean fine art, not popular music. That's not art; that is applied art.

King Michael I (KREV): That is just a definition of art. We are not here to define art. You probably have your definition of what you think contemporary art is, somebody else has another definition. I don't think it is an interesting issue to tell somebody it is an artwork or it is not an artwork. I don't give really a shit about it if it is an artwork or not and we actually don't want to talk about that.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): That is the big mistake many artists are making. Maybe it doesn't matter what I call it, but the things are involved in the art world and are considered to have a quality or not.

King Michael I (KREV): You are talking about an art world, what art world? I don't see an art world. Where is the art world? It is your art world, maybe I don't care about your art world...

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): The art world makes exhibitions, biennales, publishes magazines...

King Michael I (KREV): That is your definition of an art world.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): It is a way to describe it. It is a very general description. It is not controversial; it is a description.

King Michael I (KREV): But in this case it is controversial to state this kind of opinion on an art world, I mean it is your art world.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): No, I am describing the art world, the international art world, which is producing things and qualities and you are a good example, because you are a part of the centre of that; you are a representative of the art world; you are moving around the biennales; you are making biennales...

King Michael I (KREV): It is a very limited place you are talking about. You are talking about the established art world; that is the art which is in Flash Art or Art Forum.

Edwina Blush (TR): Lars, I am sorry, I have to interrupt you here. Because what you are in fact saying is that poetry which is political ceases to be art if people read it.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): Not when they read it, when it works...

Edwina Blush (TR): And when people read poetry and they understand the idea the poetry is intending to communicate, the poetry is successful. And so therefore is the political idea successful, because it has been successfully communicated. And I think what we are actually dealing with in the talks that we are having is exactly on where these borders are placed. Whether it is the border of the micronation which attempts to secede from nations as they are currently considered and become something which has a sense of independence, or whether it is a transnational idea of nationhood, a transnation that extends the idea of nationality. We are talking about borders; we are talking about limitations and where you place them. And essentially these limitations are arbitrary, and they are like reality and you can shift them wherever you want them to be because it is a consensual process. And soon as enough people have decided that the border has moved, the border has moved. And I think that is what is really interesting about what is happening between us, and what connects Lars and too. Because they provide one beautiful example of how you can make yourself small enough and unthreatening enough to be able to secede and to be able to declare yourself as a state. And as the other extreme we have NSK, who have a completely timeless, formless concept, which people can actualise in whatever state they are in because it doesn't tie us down to the nuts and bolts material reality.

And all these things can peacefully coexist, but if we don't talk about them, we don't have a framework to conceptualise them.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): Could I, at the expenses of providing a little bit of summary for the benefit of our visitors, can I just draw some threads together? We are a country; we are a country like Finland or like Estonia or like any other country. We have terrible problems with our export/import trade balances; we have to work out how to produce fresh water for our population, electricity to keep them occupied in the dark winter nights so they can read. So, we are a country. And the rest of our colleagues are ambassadors of human thought and concept. And I thought this morning we got rather far in making the bridge between apparently these two different worlds. First of all I thought we did this, somewhat well, by defining nation as a collection of people with a common interest or goal. That is clearly not a country. The second thing I thought we did was to define art as the expression of human thought, and that clearly encompasses everything from poetry to pictures to movement. And so, if we accept these gross labels, we have here a table full of people, all of whom are fiercely supporting certain aspects of human thoughts, some of which are involved with the pragmatic reality of feeding people and keeping refugees and asylum seekers away from the borders, and others who are fiercely concerned with improving the social order on our planet in one way or another. And so the question is, where is the bridge? What links the two? Is it right to talk about a nation and put alongside at the nation label, labels that typically have to do with countries, like borders, like passports, like GDP, like import/export trade balances, like the provision of infrastructure and services? Maybe, maybe not, but certainly what is right is to say the nations, the people with common ideas and goals, you need to respect the reality of where you can go, since you cannot remove yourself from this reality, and it is important for states, countries, like ourselves, to say to ourselves that we need somehow to be more receptive and more supportive to innovative human thought and how that can improve the common general good. Now, that's where I believe we are. I think your observation of the discussion in the northern part of the table complex are simply an excellent representation of how human thought can and should be diverse and should be expressed, what you haven't seen from the southern end is how the country, the state, the establishment can support this. But keep your nerve; we hope to make an announcement soon.

Tomas Träskman: Did the northern part of the table felt that this was a good translation of your thoughts?

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): It is safe to say

that Sealand is a very artful country.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): Or the opposite. It is rhetoric. It is said very well and poetically, but embedded in it is a very frank thought: there we have a country and here we have a fantasy world. And of course it is always amusing, the fantasy world. It is completely without any danger, it is appealing to thought, but doesn't have really anything more; it has no access to reality. But in that part of the table, they have to think about how to finance this, take care of their citizens. We don't have this problem – we don't have any economical problems – we deal with creating thoughts, and also being a critical instance. It is a way to form a kind of critical attitude and also built a platform for a discussion. I think that is the best thing you can do, when you are dealing with art. I keep this idea as very basic; art is very bad in dealing with the real thing, because in doing the real thing, it goes over to other institutions. Either it is social or political or something else. But for building platforms for discussion and developing thoughts on a deeper level, art is a very good option. I also think that micronations can provide such platforms, because micronations haven't been used in art – you don't know how they are going to develop. They are also appealing to other people than those interested in art. Micronations have a strong component, which is about direct communication, something that is very difficult to achieve by making more conventional artwork. Micronations are steadily going on and building up traditions and connecting people. That is a new situation, which we can use.

[...]

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Well, if I am relating to what Edvina said and Mr. Withers and what I have pointed already today. Yes, of course we are dealing also with practical and economical issues. We are identifying with an abstract term of the state; let's say an empty term and an empty principle. But I think, right this identification with an abstract term of the state, with a thought, as Mr. Withers said, this develops the notion of human freedom, and this has a very strong impact on the real society itself, the real society with its economy.

Susan Kelly: I would like to ask you, Peter – and maybe also one of the Kingdoms present here as comparison – how decisions are made in your state; what are the modes of decision making within NSK and Elgaland&Vargaland?

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Decisions?

Susan Kelly: Decisions.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): NSK-State – besides being a global state – consists of different departments: Laibach, IRWIN,

New Collectivism Design Studio, a theatre group and a department of philosophy.

These fields produce spiritual entities which are not just entities without any being, but these entities have a higher state of being, which could be very useful for people; but we are not talking here about »art pour l'art«. Or let's say it's »l'art pour l'art«, but this »l'art pour l'art« has a strong impact. During the history of NSK-State there were a lot of decisions, of which we are happy that they were made. Yes.

King Michael I (KREV): When we started to think about the Kingdoms of Elgaland&Vargaland, we quickly realized that this project has to do with decisions because it comes down to each individual citizen to decide what he or she wants to do. If he or she wants to do something under the concept of Elgaland&Vargaland, everyone is free to do whatever they want; there is nobody to tell them what to do. We wanted to build Elgaland&Vargaland on a very individual base. If you live in a country like Sweden, you have a King and a Queen. Even if you are the most top businessman or the most celebrated pop artist or whoever, you never could be the King of Sweden because you have to be born into the Royal family. You could maybe overthrow the King and re-install a new king, but that rarely happens these days. So the King is »something« you cannot reach. You cannot become the King. We are opposing this idea very strongly because we believe that every person – who has been born – has the ability and the right to rule herself. That's why we have inserted in our Kingdom the rule that anybody can be the King if they want to. Even girls can be Kings! Why should girls be Queens? They could be Kings as well. It is just a matter of proclaiming it and telling it to people: »Now I am a King. Fuck off! I am running myself.« And of course you have to run yourself. Even in the daily reality of running water and electricity you have to make decisions by yourself.

But the existence of the Kingdoms of Elgaland&Vargaland is also a criticism of the concept of the »nation state«. The nation state is bullshit in our opinion and a quite outdated commodity, a fact, which has been proven in literature many times. It barely has any power. The multinational companies have the economic power and the economic power runs everything else. But everybody believes they make decisions.

Guest: Mr. Withers said that the nation is an entity consisting of people with common interests. That was pretty well said, and therefore I would like to ask all of you: »What is the interest that keeps you together and why you need to have a nation?«

Martin Schibli (Ladonia): In case of Ladonia it is a consequence of an ongoing

artistic project. The Secretary of State started out with some sculptures in northern Skåne in a part of southern Sweden. The Swedish authorities tried for over 20 years to remove them, without success. So it became totally clear that Sweden doesn't have the authority in this region anymore – it is an occupied place. Therefore a couple of years ago we decided – or rather Lars Vilks decided – to proclaim a nation and the state of Ladonia. So it is a consequence of an ongoing development.

Mika Hannula: You said everyone who is a member of Elgaland&Vargaland could make decisions...

King Michael I (KREV): Everybody who is a citizen. You cannot be a member; Elgaland&Vargaland is not a club.

Mika Hannula: Yeah. Citizen. I am actually one of them, one citizen. It is not a club, right... Can you give us an example of some activity within your Kingdom that would lead to the common question, what happens, if there are two wishes or more wishes, that contradict, if there is a certain kind of conflict. Has there been a conflict, could you describe that?

King Michael I (KREV): Uh, I don't think we had any, did we had any conflicts?

King Leif I (KREV): No, I don't think so. I don't think there is any possibility that there could be any conflict, really.

King Michael I (KREV): There could have been a conflict with the »Royal Insemination«. We realized at a certain point that all the Kingdoms of the world – including the ones of Queen Elizabeth, the Thai Queen and the Swedish King – are a bit outdated, a little bit old. They are growing a little too much moss. So we installed this huge bed in a gallery in London and invited all the Queens to come there to get inseminated by me or by Leif, in order to refresh the blood system of the royal houses a little bit. This could have been a place of conflict, who is gonna take Elizabeth? »You wanna? I don't want to have her.« It could have been a place for conflict, but, of course, none of the Queens showed up, right.

Guest: So you don't know who of you is the most popular among the Queens.

King Michael I (KREV): No. But to answer to the earlier question, what keeps the Kingdoms of Elgaland&Vargaland together, I think it is related to the feeling of being oppressed by a hierarchical system that you cannot overthrow. You cannot work yourself towards being the King of Sweden because you have to be born into the system. This feeling of oppression is maybe one of the reasons to keep going with Elgaland&Vargaland, but it is a very good reason – at least for us. It gives me and a

lot of other people some kind of individual strength. To hell with it, why should we live under these circumstances? Why not live under another hierarchical system that has another shape?

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): Does this mean that actually any citizen could be the King instead of you?

King Michael I (KREV): Not instead of me. They can be Kings for themselves. We can have as many Kings as we have citizens. We have now five Kings.

King Leif I (KREV): This is a problem, really, because we are constantly applying the same traditional models of society or nation or country, or how we structure the social gatherings. It is extremely important to do projects like ours, because it is a way to expand our minds. That is the main thing. If Hausswollf says, there can be millions of Kings and Queens, this gives a focus on a different way of thinking.

It was said earlier today, that art is not dealing with reality. Definitely, art is dealing with reality all the time, because it is in this realm that we develop all our thoughts, all our philosophies, all our social and mental structures. But often we just realize this retrospectively. Thoughts that were exclusively circulating inside the art field might come many, many years later as something we are dealing with in the society. And they turn into a reality we are all sharing. Art is a place where we can deal with ideas, experiments and thoughts and everything else.

Tomas Träskman: Robert, what is going to keep your nation together?

Robert Jelinek (SOS): There is a German word »Staatskunst« – »state art«. If our state comes into existence tomorrow, we feel a little bit bound to this tradition, when the state collected art or it supported some sort of »Staatskunst«. We feel a bit bound to wake this up, because it's about capital and wealth and all the things we try to collect. We work with a lot of artists together to see them more as architects for the whole state thing. We are like a mix of both ends of this table, a bit like the south side of some artist-architects who are building up the matrix of the possibility of a visionary state and the north side, which is trying to find economic independence.

In our history of the last ten years we were fighting for independence as a label or organization. Our position was always to find new possibilities, new engines of riding yourself, and this comes very close to the idea of how one has to form a state as the next step after organization, label or company. We see our state more like a fluid river, where you mark the signs in-between and say this is just the border, the matrix. But the program of this state will be defi-

nately created by artists themselves. That is the greatest capital you can have in a state.

Georg Zoche (TR): The idea of the Transnational Republic is that you are not born into a nation, but you choose whom to join to be represented. This works only on a global level. As mentioned earlier, we are aiming at an extra level of federal citizen representation. By definition, if you join a Transnational Republic you choose the group of people you want to belong to, and there are many different flavours. You just choose the one you want most for yourself.

Jakob Zoche (TR): And you always can re-choose. You can always say »This transnational republic made stupid decisions; I want to be represented by another transnational republic.« That means you don't give away your vote, you don't just vote every 4 years. You have always the power of your vote.

Georg Zoche (TR): In the democratic constitutions of the world you will most likely find a sentence similar to the one you can read in the German constitution that says, »All power originates from the people.« This means the power originates from the people of exactly that nation, you are born into it. We say, all power originates from the individual and cannot be alienated. You have the right to transfer your power to someone else and mandate this person to represent you, but the power is still with you. It is like your shadow, you can't lose it. So in any moment you can withdraw it and say »No, now you don't represent me anymore« or »I don't find anyone that represents me, I represent myself and who are the other people who want to be represented by me?« This is a flexible citizenship system that keeps changing and evolving.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): I'll answer your question in a partly philosophical way and in a way of pure logic. I think that all nations, all states, are built on a completely empty concept. And right that concept we have wanted to be us. So.

[...]

Guest: How do the authorities view you? Does the monarchy of Sweden consider you a threat? Sealand is obviously already well established. So this might not concern you. But otherwise, do the world authorities, the police or your own nations consider you a threat?

King Michael I (KREV): I don't think we were ever posing a threat. Of course you never know what happens in the dungeons of symbolism. If you throw a couple of new symbols – such as our coat of arms – into the pot of universal symbols, you don't really know what the effect will be. We have a small coat of arms, a double crown. In Sweden you have one or three

crowns; we have a double crown attached to each other: if you have one up, you have one down. »As above, so below.« It is more like an alchemical situation. But you never know how people look at these symbols and how they translate them. [...] But we did not have any kind of direct confrontations except for the incident with the passport police in Estonia.

Since our country is not recognized, we sent out a letter to all the governments in the world, not only making them proposals, but also asking for recognition. Of course there were no answers except for a small island in the West Indies, Domenica. [...]

When we go through borders, [...] I usually have two passports, my Swedish one and my Elgaland&Vargaland passport, so they stamp the Swedish one, and then I throw them my Elgaland&Vargaland pass and say: »Hey, why you don't just like stamp this too?« and they ask »What is this?« and then I say, »It is just an art project,« so they stamp it. And that's a confrontation, because they are the official representatives of their country, acknowledging the Kingdom of Elgaland&Vargaland by stamping my passport, and they don't know it; they think it's a joke and I present it as a joke, but in reality it is not a joke. But otherwise we didn't have any problems. I am sure you got into quite a lot of problems from Prince Roy's activities.

[...]

Prince Michael (Sealand): As travel documents, our passports have worked exceptionally all over the world. The problem now is that people imitate us and produce forged passports. In fact the guy who shot Saatchi hid in a houseboat in the States, and the guy who owned that houseboat had a fake Sealand passport. It is unbelievable. [...] There is also a fake web site based in Germany, proposing to represent the Principality of Sealand. It is a huge website on which they even talk about my father and me as if we were best friends with them. And there were problems with the people sitting down in Spain, who were producing the forged passports. [...]

I did not travel with my Sealand passport yesterday, I actually forgot it at home, to be honest, but actually we have withdrawn the passports because of so many frauds, and we are going to design some new ones and tighten up on the security measures.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): There is clearly enough fuel around this table for people to discuss for a very long time, and the real question is how does one optimise the discussion time? At least several things are homed in upon, or ideas teased out that are reasonably complete. So how do we get the best results from this opportunity, which is, of course, not often available? And I think

we ended up with a general understanding that we are really talking here about the interface between those who would choose to express their thoughts in the way they chose to express it – freedom of thought, of expression, etc. – and those who work for some difficult to identify or perhaps faceless authority who mindlessly walk through life imposing upon others rules and regulations. In other words, the interface between the community of dignity of human expression and the community of social order imposed by »states«, that is to say, an establishment. And the question really is, how to make the interface, so that the establishment, the country, the state, the government can embrace the ideas the micronations have and benefit themselves and thereby improve the common good. Sorry for being a devil in the mustard, how can the micronations who are credible, reasonable and should be respected human movements, how can they tailor their deliveries and work so to make this work receptive to what they know is a hostile environment and what they seek as a receptor? Now, I move to think of biology here; any bug that wants to infect the host knows that it must alter itself to the shape of the host. And then it matches and then it goes right to the cell; if there is no match, there is no sickness. And I wonder if the micronations can think about this when they tailor their movements and their thoughts and expressions, with the intention of being heard and causing change. So its back to building the bridge; it's a special bridge, but it is one that really needs to be thought about; it is thought about a bit in this part of the world; no one can say that the city government of Helsinki is insensitive to supporting free expression of human thought. No one can say that. [...]

I think this is a tremendously important event because – was it you Lars, who it said earlier? – perhaps the micronation movement is a new development. Who can remember a former time, when it was possible to examine these issues reasonably, with the intent to improve the common good? This first summit is important from that point of view.

Georg Zoche (TR): I like your whole statement very much, but I would like to refer to the part, which was about infecting something. When we had our idea five or six years ago, we knew that it is impossible to change the world if you act against people, against nations, against constitutions. The enemy is too big and so we don't question nations; we don't want to change nations; we have to infect the people in the world to say: »I want to stop my national parliament sending troops to Iraq, etc.«

We picture, for example, that Greenpeace could be the Ministry for environmental affairs of a certain transnational republic. Then Greenpeace is no longer a protest organization but it becomes an organization that is held responsible for the things we

are protesting.

If Bush says Kyoto is against national interests, the entire world says: »How can Bush be so stupid?« but if you think about it, Bush is right – Kyoto is against national interests. So the national people are never going to solve the greenhouse effect. Outside of the headquarter buildings you have activists handing out leaflets; the information on the leaflet says that inside the building there are only idiots. This is a situation which cannot be resolved without adding another layer. We say, the people of the world should empower those activists, Greenpeace and so on, and make them their spokespersons for global affairs. For all matters that are relevant outside of the nation, I choose who represents me.

We think in the long term – and that's why we are working for the Transnational Republic. We could reach this point because we do not make anyone our enemy. We don't say we want to have this piece of land. We don't say we want your taxes. And that is the way you have to go if you want to change something.

Edwina Blush (TR): And of course we already have a beautifully well-founded structure in which to operate, that is the structure of the trans-national corporation. Such corporations are already behaving in the way we want to operate. They already hold most of the power on earth, a power that national governments would very jealously like to have for themselves. And just like a virus, we wish to become like our host, like a transnational corporation.

Georg Zoche (TR): People smile at us if we say that we introduced our own money, the Payola. It's right now only on paper and coins, but we had already 5 or 6 years ago the plan to establish an Internet currency, so that citizen can trade Payolas among each others with the Payola backed by national currencies. If you send 20 Euro to the website with a credit card, you then can send Payola from the website. Four years ago, this idea was commercialised by PayPal, which is the currency system of e-bay. The system was sold to e-bay for 200 Million dollars on the stock exchange. It was one of our ideas. Anyway, the point I want to make is that – even though PayPal is not using its system for political reasons – they have shown that you can do it. PayPal is the Transnational Republic of PayPal. They are handling millions of dollars of exchange value in their system.

The second biggest currency system in the world, after the dollar, is not the Euro, as one might think the second biggest currency system of the world is frequent flyer miles. Frequent flyer miles are tradable currency. You get them if you buy a computer, and then you can buy a computer with it again, and the nations of the world are fighting in

order to be able to tax flying points, but that seems to be quite difficult. This shows that it is possible to get out of the system. And it is a bacterium. Once you have a website that operates this way, you empower all the people who use the system to make use of the political power of all their transactions.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): I still would like to talk about the interest of the authorities in Ladonia. Ladonia has been in trouble all the time, since it was declared in 1996. The problems we had to face included the employment of police forces against our country and a series of never-ending trials. The authorities also tried to remove pieces of our national monuments. That was one year ago, when they sent out a crane boat. It was a very secret operation without prior warning. The boat came on a Sunday at 6 o'clock in the morning, and no one knew about it and they took away one piece. We are having an ongoing fight. This is a very real thing.

Tomas Träskman: We promised some coffee. But before we go to coffee, I think there are some points we could think about during coffee break. Mr. Wither took up something that I might interpret as the future of micronations and their real critical power. We will have 30 minutes for a coffee break and that is the issue we will talk about in the last round of this day.

[...Coffee break...]

Susan Kelly: I might just take the privilege and start off with the first question. It refers to the idea mentioned earlier today of micronations being a parasite, perhaps, and the related issue of miming. [...] I am interested in why you choose the nation as the form of your community. Why did you choose to mimic a nation? Why aren't you calling it a movement or a community or a club? I would like to ask NSK. Why the nation as the form of community of organisation?

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Nation is something more; in German it is »Das Volk« – people, people in general. The nation is something which is based on the principle – on one principle – of the consciousness of togetherness and on the consciousness that people must behave according to some rules. People must behave according to the law if they want to satisfy their needs, if they want to achieve their enjoyments, to satisfy and to realize their life. The notion of the nation is something higher than other forms of people finding something in common. We have chosen this notion, this form of organization, because we are totalistic [sic]

Yes. We are in fact totalitaristic[sic], because we think, that totalitarianism is eternal and that totalitarianism is something, which in the end shows its good, positive side. It is something, which in the end is good in itself. It is not only that evil repression and violation of human rights. [...] We choose it

because we think that the empty term of the state, this abstract absurd term of the state is maybe more important than anything else. According to the base of this empty, absurd term, all things can function better than they would function without. Ja, You know, people are usually focussed on the practical empirical reality, on how they can satisfy their needs and so on. But I think if you make some ascent on the abstract, spiritual, mental level in respect to the concept of liberty, even things in the reality can go better, even the everyday life can go better.

Tammo Rist (TR): The question of totalitarianism, I agree with you, is an eternal thing, more long lasting than other things, which brings stability, but only as long as you can choose to become a NSK citizen. But what do you think about totalitarianism, if you are born into a totalitarian state?

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): A totalitarian state? The totalitarianism I am talking about is different. This totalitarianism is according to our principle... just a second, because this is important, I must take my glasses, sorry... this principle says [Peter Mlakar reads from NSK passport]: »I shall never do unto you what I don't want you to do unto me, unless there is a common reason for that.« The individual freedom is based on something common, and this is the right totalitarianism. This is the right totalitarianism; it is different from the totalitarianism of a group of politicians taking power and repressing millions of people. Right there, your freedom depends on the freedom of the community as a general entity; in that case you are free when you feel above yourself something that transcends you, something that is over your particular interest. Then you are free.

Georg Zoche (TR): Who defines the common sense? I like the sentence, but the critical part is: »... unless there is a common sense for that.« Who decides it?

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Who decides? Just a second... [Looks in the NSK passport again.] This common sense is meant as a general term; this is not a concrete – let's say common sense in the interest of some group. This is a very open thing and you can interpret it in different ways, but it is based upon the principle that you must obey to some higher instance, which represents »the general« in itself.

Georg Zoche (TR): I like the sentence, but it is also half a joke. It reminds me of the sentence you can find at some toilets at the »Autobahn« which say: »Please leave the toilet in the way you would like to find it!« Sometimes this sentence sounds like a provocation; okay, I need to change this toilet. And maybe the way I like to find it is not how other people like to find it. So with your sentence, if I would like to be beaten up by you, I have the right to

beat you up.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): No. No. This doesn't follow from this law. If you want to be beaten up by me, it doesn't follow that also you can beat me if I don't want to be.

Susan Kelly: In your NSK-State you talk quite a lot about choice: you can choose this, you can choose that [...], and I am wondering what kind of idea of the individual you have when you talk about common interest, as compared to the notion of the individual the Transnational Republic is working with, for example.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): We said »The freedom is the freedom of those who are thinking the same.« This is opposite to Rosa Luxemburg, who said: »The freedom is the freedom of those who are thinking different.« That meant right what I said, to obey the common principle – to obey the law which derives from that abstract absurd empty term of the state – will make you free. From this transcendence, from this supernatural entity comes your freedom, unless there is chaos and things vanish.

Mika Hannula: Just to put your quotation from your little book into perspective, what you said can be more or less word by word found in a book called Bible, in the New Testament. It is called the principle of love. Instead of the »Autobahn« toilet you can find that in Aristotle and Kant, so there is a long tradition of thinking with a certain legacy. It's not really useful to debate about under what label you put it, but what you are doing within that frame. Whatever you want to call it – supernatural or personal responsibility – the question is how you can imagine using it in a different or even better way to relate to the other one.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Yes, if I answer in a more concrete way. We, inside NSK, we are free. We do our job, but we have certain responsibilities to the others and the final result of everything must be our common good; it must be good for the NSK as a whole. Of course there are differences inside our organisation of NSK; there are differences. I don't demand that all other sections have to completely agree or have to be in total harmony with my ideas. They have other ideas, but in principle there is one substance, one essence, one spirit, and this dialectic between particular and general brings the best outcomes, the best results.

So we have our individual wishes, needs, satisfactions and so on, but we unite both this collective and individual forums together in a term: »collective absolutism«. In this collective absolutism individual rights and freedoms are also secured.

Tomas Träskman: [...] My question is directed to the Transnational Republic. Are there some things that you feel you cannot articulate appropriately, as you are moving

in so new areas that there is no language to talk about?

Jakob Zoche (TR): Our main problem is a language problem. We are always thinking about politics on a global scale, but the language of politics is more used to speak about national politics. The word »Transnational Republic« is an invention by us, but it can be easily misunderstood when you see it from a national point of view. We have a lot of discussions with people and often there are not the right words available to speak about what we are doing; it always takes a while to explain. Before we started the project, the people did not know about globalisation and the Internet was just developing, so it was very difficult to discuss the project, because you had to explain, what the Internet and what globalisation are. During the last years this changed a lot; people are much more aware of what globalisation means, but still it's often a problem to find the right words.

Georg Zoche (TR): If the media reports about us, they do it if they have enough space to explain it because it is very difficult to wrap it up in a nutshell. The same is true if we try to explain it to some journalist; it needs a certain time to just listen. Luckily the journalist from METRO that came to us yesterday had forty minutes of time, but if you have an impatient journalist, there is no way. They say, explain it to me in two minutes. If we are touching the issues of world government and democracy on a global level, matters get so complex that if someone doesn't sit down for a while it is impossible to communicate our ideas.

Stephen Morton: We were talking a little bit already about the risks involved with NSK and over-identification with totalitarianism, which I think is a really interesting and productive strategy, but I was wondering if you could say a little bit more about the risks involved in identifying with transnational corporations because I am sure there are problems with the practices of certain corporations, which you wouldn't, in fact, identify with, for example when it comes to such issues as the erosion of the welfare state or exploitation of third world workers. How do you distinguish yourselves from that sort of practice?

Georg Zoche (TR): We chose the name Transnational Republic years ago, long before the term »transnational corporation« became popular usage. We had a year-long discussion with each other about what to call ourselves. In that time we used the term Transnational Republic just in our internal discussions. We thought it too heavy and we wanted to find a lighter term. Also the Republicans, the conservative people, misuse the term republic. In reality, republic means a public thing, a thing of the people. It is an almost romantic term but unfortunately it has been twisted

around by the wrong people. In the end we decided that the best term to describe what we are doing is Transnational Republic. But now that transnational corporations are called transnational corporations, it's not so bad either. On the very night when we had the idea for our project, we wanted to call it the International Republic. We were crazy about it; it gave us a lot of energy. One week later we thought, »Hey, this is not a new idea altogether; there are already international republics, the International Republic of Coca Cola, of Microsoft, of Siemens, of Nokia.« When we did the proclamation of the Transnational Republic we made postcards with only questions on it and one of the question was: »Can't we learn from these big corporations, how to deal with globalisation?« It's these transnational corporations that are using the tools of globalisation and inventing the tools of globalisation in order to do what they are doing. To be frank, we think this way: »I don't like Microsoft, I don't like Bill Gates, but if I could choose Bill Gates to fight for my environmental interests and to choose an organization with the force of Microsoft, I would do it«. A friend of mine was working at Microsoft at the time when Microsoft was surprised by the Internet, and there were discussion if Netscape would swallow Microsoft and Bill Gates was in shock that Microsoft could be gone. He wrote a letter to all people within Microsoft, telling them: you have 14 days time to write to your superior what you can do on your desk to make Microsoft an Internet corporation. So within two weeks...

Esto TV: Let's stop this academic bullshit for a moment. We have very interesting information from very reliable sources, actually. You all think you are independent nations, but do you actually know why you are here? What is happening on the Harakka Island at the moment? Do you have any information? Nobody is there at the moment. Why we are here and not at Harakka? We got to know from a very reliable source that chemical weapons are made on Harakka Island. And the whole summit of micronations is just a smoke cover to hide the attention of Mr. George Bush. Please open your eyes. Can't you see? You've got to open your eyes for truth. You've got to stop the evil before it is too late. God bless America. Please stop this and let's go to Harakka Island and find out what really happens there. Are you with us?

Edwina Blush (TR): See you tomorrow...

Esto TV: Long live democracy, long live human values!

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): You are right...

Tomas Träskman: So where were we?

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): May I relate to the question of Mister... who spoke out the

word of over-identification. May I relate this notion to what I said before? [This over-identification, when you take things more serious than they are, this totalitarianistic position is the most dangerous position of all, and it is the most destructive position for all empirical real totalitarian entities.]

Maybe I can tell you one example, lets say, about two different emotional reactions I received after a speech in New York ten years ago. In that speech I only spoke about God, really, only about God. The lady who was listening the speech, was a former member of the Carter administration in charge of the Iran affairs. So she was in a very high level political function. [...] After listening my speech, she came to me and said: »Oh how could you talk about these things in this way, because Hitler talked about the same things with the same words.« On one side, you see, when you speak about and identify with absolute terms, with God, with totalitarianism, the people, who are working in real totalitarian structures, they get nervous, powerless and uncomfortable. But when I said to her: »Take it easy, be calm, I like Microsoft, I like Coca Cola.« She answered, »Oh yes, really, ooh yes, that's great.« That was the other emotion, the reverse side of her first reaction. Over-identification – to take things more seriously than they are – is the most powerful weapon.

Edwina Blush (TR): Yes, I agree. [...] I found out that many people I talked to didn't really understand how transnational corporations are structured but nevertheless reacted strongly against them. It was always an absolute fear-based reaction. But by playing with the structures of transnational corporations within the structure of the Transnational Republic, it really becomes an accessible way for people to discuss political progress and economic progress in an intertwined way. It is educational but it's fun and it is irreverent, and it suggests to people that they can play with it and also that these massive conglomerates are not untouchable, that they are made out of individual people, little individual people going to work each day, being involved in a structure and that's what makes it powerful; it's not this massively intelligent CEO, sitting up there like God changing the world; it's actually lots and lots of little people all around the world. Unless you encourage people to play with these ideas and see that it is not the structure that is bad, that there is no inherent morality that says transnational corporations are bad, it is actually the focus of the trans-national corporation not the structure, it's the focus that creates a good outcome or an oppressive outcome. And so by mimicking structures, you actually point out to people that it is about intentions, that it is about action, it is about thought, and that it is not about these concrete blocks. And this is one of the things I find interesting about playing with the whole idea of a microna-

tion; it is just a structure, but what you do with the structure is important.

One crucial aspect of the Transnational Republic is that you have the option to join – the individual chooses to join the Transnational Republic. That makes it different from the nation-state that you are born into. What I would like to ask, one of the other nation-states – perhaps say, Ladonia: who can join? Is citizenship open and if so, what benefit is there of anyone who wishes to join your state for joining, or what detriment is there involved in your state taking on new citizens, if they can't join?

Martin Schibli (Ladonia): Everyone can apply for citizenship and almost anybody can receive it. Due to an incident a year ago we had to close the possibility for people from Pakistan and Nigeria. Suddenly we had 3000 people from Pakistan applying citizenship and they really wanted to come to Ladonia. They had heard about Ladonia through the Internet and they saw their citizenship as a way to get to Europe, to get jobs and social benefits. Of course some newspapers and several people critical to Ladonia used it as an opportunity and they said: »Now Ladonia has gone too far.« But that is like shooting the messenger. No one was criticizing the situation that lead people in Pakistan and Nigeria wanting to leave their countries in the first place. But besides such exceptions everyone can apply and receive citizenship. Within the context of Ladonia you are free to work, you can contribute with materials; you can take part in the discussions and so on. We have some hundreds of ministers, not all of them are active at the same time, still there are a couple of hundred letters going back and forth between the different ministers each month, also honoured citizens contribute to Ladonia. When Ladonia presents itself in an art context, people send material we use for representative purposes. For instance several ministers have contributed material for the Embassy in Helsinki. There are also people using the Ladonian territory to organize different events. Our Minister of Jazz made concerts there. We had marriages and we had also a funeral of a popular Hippopotamus. It turned out that people who had supported that Hippopotamus wanted it to be buried in Ladonia.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): You can also add that the decisions in Ladonia are taken by voting in the cabinet. There are around 100 active Ministers who are participating in the voting. I think this is the best picture you can actually have about democracy without professionals. We always talk about democracy of the people, but this, of course, never happens because people can not handle democracy on a daily base; they need paid professionals. When they get paid, they can work on the questions all the time. But if they are not paid, they can just come up with their interests. In Ladonia, discussions

seldom end because there is always some new contributions, some new suggestions of how we should change things. And in the end, it is very difficult to get a decision because it is discussed until people just get tired of the topic, and when you are almost there, everyone is bored about how the decision will make an outcome. And I think that is a very good picture of a democracy that is left outside professionals, when you just have to deal with your interests. Still we are progressing because in these discussions things are delivered, and they are also published. My job is to take out parts of it and publish it. Every month we publish our newspaper »Ladonian Herald« and everyone is welcome to make contributions. So this is the official part of how we are dealing with things and about the possibilities of participation in Ladonia.

Mika Hannula: I just want to continue with what was said before. It relates to the idea of a new type of discourse emerging, and the door it might open through realization, that perhaps it is not »No Logos« what we need, but »More Logo« – but a different kind of a logo. It is the idea that you might use those mechanisms of »More Logos« and learn from them, be they connected to transnational companies or something else. But instead of just avoiding them or being against them, you've got to infiltrate them, or you use those means to achieve your own ends. [...] I mean the possibilities we have in the field of contemporary art and visual culture, are related to our abilities to focus on the politics of representation. There are many different strategies related to that; you can be a parasite or you can be a bootlegger and so on. But all of a sudden it seems a little more both creative and constructive that you try to use these logos for your own ends. But then again, that is where the train stops, then you have to define what it really is that you want. At this point the things become very interesting, also very conflicted, but to avoid this conflict would be extremely dangerous and would actually flatten all things out.

Tomas Träskman: You asked the questions »What do you really want?« Do you want to direct it to someone?

Mika Hannula: Sure... Elgaland&Vargaland, what is it you really want?

King Michael I (KREV): What I want?

Mika Hannula: As a king!

King Michael I (KREV): Personally?

Mika Hannula: As a king, personally.

King Michael I (KREV): I said that before – I just want to run my own life; I don't want anybody really to tell me what to do. I grew up like with some stepfather, shovel-

ling snow, when there was too much snow, and I hated that, and I hated this guy telling me what to do. So, if I want to shovel snow, I will do it. It has to come from me, from my decision to do it.

Mika Hannula: But do you think that this is enough as a concept for the common good?

King Michael I (KREV): Well, you asked me what I wanted as a King, and I just wanted to run my life; I don't want anybody else to run my life. Of course in that sense you live with other people and then it comes to a certain point when you have to talk to somebody else, and that's when you come to the point: how do you talk to somebody else? You come to the point where you have to ask how these bridges are going to be constructed, as you mentioned earlier, and how can we talk about that. Of course I am, in the long run, interested in communication, a sort of overrated word, maybe, but still I am a social animal; I need to be with people. I would freak out, if I am too long on an island; what should I do there? Being the kind of social beast I am, I need communication. On a low level or on a higher level, maybe just meeting around a drink, but it would maybe actually nice to conduct a decent life. That's the point. That's what I want. And I want to continue to work in terms of, well if other people don't call it work, that's for them, I mean artists can look sometimes a bit lazy, laying on the sofa hanging around, but still I like to do what I want to do; I want to conduct my life. I have kids and I want to show my kids I am doing this; I am happy with that. At least I am trying to do something about some negative tendencies around the world; even if it is a small part of it, it is something. A lot of people nowadays walk around and think that they are totally powerless; they think they can't do anything about anything because the powers are too strong to stand against. They cannot even complain about it, except in a bar, there they can sit and complain. They forget about it next day because they got too drunk. But I think that is really wrong. My voice might be a small voice, but it is still my voice and I continue with it.

Guest: My question is directed to the Transnational Republic. You said that a structure is just a structure and the important thing is what you use it for, but actually I would like to ask you, how are you using the structure of the Transnational Republic? As a background to this question, I could also compare your structure to a normal state – it is also a structure, and you can use it for different things. In the Nordic countries we like to think of our states as welfare states that do good things to people but the state can be also used for many other things and very destructive purposes, and then the question is, who gets to decide how to use this structure? You are talking to my mind

about the TR in quite a common way, as we used to talk about the state. But what is lacking actually in Finland in our normal state is the opacity of who gets to decide the questions we can vote about. It is a different thing to give a vote now and then or to decide the issues to vote on. So how does this kind of decision making happen in your organization?

[...]

Georg Zoche (TR): Unfortunately we are living in a time, when we have to think about world government. With the advent of globalisation, you just cannot let things run completely free, otherwise the corporations will do it in their own way, in the way they are doing it right now: running the world on a global level. There are various approaches how you can establish world government. The traditional way would be to build super-nations, like Europe, and then expand them all the time until you can say, this is now going to be the world government. And I am not talking about the United Nations, but something like world government. If you start structuring it around geographical constituencies, then the hierarchical distance between you and the president of the world government will be maximized, and you will have no chance to address them, and, for example, make sure that a topic you would like to discuss is being discussed there. We are saying, now, with the advent of the Internet it is possible to structure the people on the world not starting from where they live – that is of no importance – but from what they want to do instead. Then you have a direct access to the people who represent you. We think there should be in the end 100 or 200 or 400 or maybe 50 different transnational republics; the number of it will change. If you have now an interest in, let's say, preserving animals, whales for instance, and you get very active in one of the existing transnational republics and you get people behind you, you are rallying for whales, but then you see, that this transnational republic is not listening to you, then you could send out an e-mail to the world: »I am starting my own republic because my question is not aired.« If you are lucky, all of the citizens that you had mailed join you, and then you speak for them. So it is a constant competition. And this is how it should be controlled, how the structure should be applied. In the end, it is up to the people of the world to decide on which structure they want to be represented by.

[...]

We are not taking a position in a certain topic; we are not in support of any particular political position. We are just thinking about the structure of the Transnational Republic and the United Transnational Republics and how the two parts could work for themselves and how they could work

together. We try to introduce these ideas but the political orientation of a particular transnational republic has to be decided by the people who actually founded it.

Edwina Blush (TR): The individual citizen becomes more like a shareholder in a transnational corporation with an interest in the finances; he would hold an actual share of the money through the citizen-based currency, Payola. This gives him a direct relationship to power and a direct vote into issues.

Mika Hannula: But are you sure about that? Let's put it in very simple terms. You have Microsoft and you have the Linux system. Microsoft works with a certain set of rules on one side. On the other hand you have the Linux system, the open source based system of running a computer, which could be used as a metaphor for what you are doing. But here the idea of Payola would not fit in, because it is part of the other way of rules. The idea of peer pressure, of people actually competing for who has the best idea for running this and that on certain terms, that's the whole idea of Linux. Incredible or not, but it does work.

Georg Zoche (TR): We are mentioning Linux in our text, because creating an operating system is similar to thinking about how the world could be made running, but in order for the United Transnational Republics to have power, you have to get the money. And no one likes to talk about money because it is so dirty, but if the United Transnational Republics do not have monetary power, than it just will be a debating club. Unfortunately we have to deal with the topic of money.

Stephen Morton: I just wanted to bring Sealand into the discussion again in this general subject of structures. I am interested to know, why did you decide to use the structure of a monarchy and not, for example, a republic?

Prince Michael (Sealand): It was done they other way around. Everybody here is talking about creating a kingdom or a monarchy or a republic and afterwards looking for territory. We had the territory and we wanted to do something with it and make it tenable. And my father's idea of the principality was purely to simplify the law, nothing more. By the way, I love to take about money; you want to talk about money, we can talk about that later. I don't want to change the world; you guys want to change the world. I don't want to change the world; I am just sitting quiet in my little piece of the world, in my world and trying to be peaceful.

Georg Zoche (TR): Our experience in the art world is that people hate to be too connected with money.

Prince Michael (Sealand): I am a philistine when it comes to art; you guys are artistic – I love money.

Georg Zoche (TR): Often people say, in order to solve the problems of the world, we have to get rid of money.

Prince Michael (Sealand): Give it all to me.

Georg Zoche (TR): But this is similar to what Mika just said – being against all the logos is not a solution. If you say: »Remove the money!« you also have to say with what you are going to replace it. You have to have a better idea.

Mika Hannula: I was actually more thinking from where the commitment of people to the Linux community comes from. What is the source for it? Because in the open source community you really have a different way of commitment at play; you have first of all a personal interest in the project, secondly there is the peer pressure, and thirdly you get a product which functions better than others. It is, of course, unfair to compare the Linux community to the Transnational Republic, because they actually have a product that works better.

[...]

Prince Michael (Sealand): Is it not the case that 99% of the people in this room are art-minded and they are, I imagine, funded by art-councils or whatever you call them in the different parts of the world? Me and my entourage here are promised to refund our tickets – we fund ourselves – but you know I had seriously looked into my diary to make sure I had time to come, because I don't have time just to run around the world and do different things. It is because Finland, Helsinki, whatever the town is, Helsinki has funded this trip, got this people together. I am sure most of the guys wouldn't have come if it wasn't funded or couldn't perhaps.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): Can I jump on that, because that perhaps opens the door to something that was bothering me while listening to everybody talk. I felt before lunch that it was important for me, to distinguish between the fiction of some document that represents human endeavour and the human endeavour itself, and this is really the distinction, isn't it, between money as an end product; it cannot be of itself, can it, without the people and without effort expended and without services desired, rendered; there can be no money. So there is a distinction between a sort of fictional representation of human commitment and endeavour and the commitment and the endeavour itself. Now you admirably threw in the extra dimension of people who are able to manipulate money, as if it were an end in itself. Those who have created the concept of junk bonds, for example, and bankrupted corporate America, those who

choose to gamble with other people's money common good requires, one of those things is for everybody to sit around here and exchange ideas, because only from activities like this can mankind move forward, or indeed move in any direction. But on the other hand, there are the enabling sources behind all of this, as Prince Regent Michael has said, without the money to fuel the engine for this sort of higher level thought exchange, there would be none...

Edwina Blush (TR): Yes...

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): ...and that money comes from – surprise, surprise – the establishment.

Edwina Blush (TR): Ah. I want to throw something in here. And taking this argument to its logical extreme...

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): That may not be valid logically, but let's say it is...

Edwina Blush (TR): But to take it to its logical extreme; it's not just provided by the state, but it comes via the natural resources of the earth. And at this point of time national governments are making decisions – based on national interests – which are in direct opposition to the global interest of the planet. We are one organism, and it is the most precious thing we have. And all the structures we create around it are basically shadows of what is really happening. We have a finite number of resources and we have to preserve it into perpetuity. Otherwise we vanish.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): The US trade representative in Washington would listen with interest and have another zip of coffee. Against this – you are absolutely right – is the national interest, and that national interest, in many cases, is not driven by the people in the country, but rather by a small exclusive group who are permitted, by one reason or another, to do their own thing. Talk about the United States; the United States is a large machine run by big corporations. Ask yourself, why is it like that? Because two-thirds of the people don't vote? Could that be the reason?

But let me park, if I may, the more abstract of the discussions. What I would like to do is to bring out something, which is troubling me and which is a very real concern of our Head of State. In our careful listening of what you all have said today, [...] we detect that there must be a need for some sort of state, some sort of establishment to enable more fully and more adequately your ability to exchange and develop human thought, art. If that is so, the Principality would like to take the leading step in this direction and would like to establish a very real resource, which is open to the micronational complex of the globe, so that we as a state can better serve you as thinkers, so that your thought

can better serve the global community.

If that's appropriate, we want to explore in detail how to frame a degree we can issue, and how to deploy resources, which we have, for that end.

Geoffrey Zoche (TR): Mmh.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): May I add something? I agree with Mister Withers. There is a funny paradox emerging from our meeting, from this summit, from our thoughts. I think that WE are speaking for the common interest opposite to the governments. The biggest governments in the world are speaking for a particular interest, particular, I emphasize, a particular interest, opposite to us; we are standing for the general interest. All that we say, what is heard here, is in favour of the common good. On the other side we see, as Mister said, these governments, you know which I have in mind, the superpowers, these governments are in the hand of a group of people, corporate people, who are really fighting for their own egoistic, particular interests. But we are doing it for the common good, I suppose.

Geoffrey Zoche (TR): I think your proposal is highly interesting.

Susan Kelly: Is it possible to have some more details for what you had in mind?

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): It is YOU, the community of thinkers and motivators and innovators that must tell us what resources might be appropriate. What could we offer you? Free trips in our state security ferry? Probably not. What you might be able to get us to address would be a development of a global forum on the medium of the Internet. You are all Internet people, and maybe we as a state, with a highly sophisticated and developed Internet capability, could serve your purposes reasonably and properly, if you find that of interest. We would like to hear from you, what you think we can do reasonably within our resource base. We are small, but we are sensitive and our penetration globally is a lot bigger than our size.

Prince Michael (Sealand): So we are small and sensitive and have good penetration.

Geoffrey Zoche (TR): I really would like to brainstorm further on this. It is completely flashed out to combine state and TR...

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): Helsinki does it by the cultural office and funding a number of resources, which can be used for the expansion of human thought. If Helsinki does it, why can't we?

Geoffrey Zoche (TR): We have to find a way. I think it is a marvellous idea. It would open a whole new perspective, I feel, for our group to try to open the negotiations

with states. If we do something like our joint venture with E-toy, if our groups can find a way of putting together what we have on the table, I am sure something interesting can evolve from it.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): Do not be deceived by my apparent naïveté; of course we have thoughts; we have very concrete ideas of what we can do. But we don't lay them on the floor because it will prejudice your ability openly and expansively to invent. And since you are best at that, we would not like to compromise your skills.

Geoffrey Zoche (TR): That's very kind, so give us some time to evolve on this.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): We would like to discuss this over the next two days we are all at Harakka. [...] We can explore in depth how best to build this bridge, but I think what we would like to announce to the group today is that we, the Principality, intend to build that bridge and to build it in a telling way, so as to begin to serve your needs.

Tomas Träskman: Thank you!

Edwina Blush (TR): Thank you!

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): I have one more question and I direct it to the Transnational Republic. But I think it is a question that everybody should think about and perhaps answer. There is only one sentence in Finnish I can say and it goes: »Ana minulle sinu raha!» It means »Give me all your money!» What I want to know is when the Transnational Republic has reached all the power and money you are after, what are your goals then?

Geoffrey Zoche (TR): The goals are the goals of mankind: what the people of the world would like to have. If the people of the world decide to destroy the planet, it is their choice.

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): You would do it for them?

Geoffrey Zoche (TR): We would pay for it. It is a common prediction that the people of the world, if you ask them on the street, would say that they want to drink clean water, they want to have work, they want to get decent money for the job they are doing, they don't want to have war and all of this. And then they send their politicians abroad and nothing gets improved.

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): You say people want this, but if you ask anybody on the street, I don't think they would say that. They would say, I want to have sex, I want to have drinks, I want to have free experiences...

Geoffrey Zoche (TR): I was to shy to include

these things, and this is maybe something that shouldn't be organized through the United Transnational Republics: the personal needs. The idea of the United Transnational Republics is not to organize everyday life; this will be unaltered. Our approach is to only tackle the problems that happen outside of the nations. We say up until a few decades after World War II the nations had nothing to do outside their nation, except leading war against each other or going to the Olympic Games. Now we are living in a world where everything suddenly becomes a global issue, or has an impact on global things.

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): But the point is: absolute power also absolutely corrupts.

Georg Zoche (TR): No, no... our system has no absolute power. We didn't then maybe explain it correctly. It is not a centralized power, where one person could misuse it. We speak about the United Transnational Republics and the individual various Transnational Republics. Instead of saying United Transnational Republics you could say World Parliament and instead of Transnational Republic you could use the word party; they sit together and decide. The problem with most democracies is that you have two choices: either you make a democracy like in Finland or Germany where you can get a vote from time to time. But we think it is not enough to vote only once in four or six years. On the other hand, you can have a system like in Switzerland where you can vote about everything. That is too much. You don't want to vote about each garbage bag. On a global level it doesn't make sense, if the people of the world get to vote once in four years about global decisions, but in-between Bush already started 3 wars. On the other hand it would be equally crazy if you could decide every day on global issues.

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): What if everybody wants a refrigerator? It would break everything in the world.

Georg Zoche (TR): Let me just finish this. With our concept, you can choose one Transnational Republic to represent you. If you are happy with it, you stay with it. In times of unrest, like now in the advance of the war, people might want to change their citizenship to another Transnational Republic, which suits them better at the moment. In that way you have a basic democracy that allows you to participate directly in the choice, especially during critical times.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): It seems very similar to Marxist ideas...

Georg Zoche (TR): I don't think so.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): ... you give the power to everyone, and everyone is equal, but before we are doing that, we need to have representatives, and we never reach to

the last stage, because before that, someone takes the power.

Georg Zoche (TR): The problem is, you have to organize right now 6 billion people and there will be more...

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): ...Big task...

Georg Zoche (TR): I don't know a system how to organize 6 billion people without having any hierarchy. But we think that our system has the lowest level of hierarchy. You choose the republic, and you are directly dealing with the people representing you.

Ari Lahdenmäki: You could take maybe more then half off from that 6 billion, because quite a few people don't have Internet.

Georg Zoche (TR): Yes, that is right for the moment, but we don't think that we could realistically install the United Transnational Republics in five years. If it is there in fifty years, we could be proud, and by that time the Internet will be everywhere.

Tomas Tråskman: I am sorry to interrupt the discussion at this point. But in two hours we will have the evening gala. The proposal of Sealand was very generous and it pointed to the fact that the dialogue will continue, and there is even the possibility that some bridges are built in reality. Susan, do we still need a vote or are we happy?

Susan Kelly: Would anybody be interested in making a statement or proposing a motion and taking a vote on it as part of the summit meeting, so, for example, we could have a show of hands to see who would be interested in taking up discussion with Sealand about this possible collaboration? [...]

Tomas Tråskman: Everybody can vote.

Jakob Zoche (TR): But if you make a real voting, each republic, each project – one vote, because we are 4 persons.

Susan Kelly: Is this the way you would like to do it?

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): Maybe we should begin by voting how we should vote.

Susan Kelly: Okay. Is it one man – one vote?

King Michael I (KREV): We have a problem, because we don't have this kind of system in Elgaland&Vargaland, because each citizen has her own choice. I can vote for myself, and I think Leif can vote for himself. And I might be against and he might be for, or vice versa.

Susan Kelly (to TR): So is it based on people who are just here? Or do you want to vote as a block, and can that work together?

Georg Zoche (TR): We will vote on the behalf of our 2.300 citizens then.

Susan Kelly: Really?

Georg Zoche (TR): No, just kidding. Ladonia has 10.000 citizens; this is already a problem. Vote for people or vote for person.

Edwina Blush (TR): I think one person – one vote is okay, because within our own group we might perhaps have dissent. Because we didn't look like we had any dissent this time, we have.

Susan Kelly: Would there anybody against the negotiations with Sealand on their kind offer?

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): Who is starting a negotiation? You are defining a forum, which has some sort of organization. What is the platform for the decision here? We are something; what are we?

Susan Kelly: I think we gathered here at this summit meeting.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): So the platform is this gathering?

Susan Kelly: Is this acceptable?

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): We should represent the micronations? We cannot represent the micronations either; we just represent certain persons that are here.

King Michael I (KREV): The people that are here – we can't represent anybody else.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): We can! Of course we can. It is possible to do very many things. Everybody represents himself or herself; we are here because we are here so we vote from that position.

Susan Kelly: Given the situation, it is probably the best way to do it.

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): That would give the sense of the meeting. For us, the sense of the meeting would be helpful.

Susan Kelly: It is something that Robert Jelinek brought up this morning. Why come together? What is the purpose of this summit meeting and is there a possible future together? To express a general will to have a negotiation about a future and collaboration with Sealand is certainly an issue. Does anybody else have a statement or proposition for the future?

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): It's a question: when are we going to meet again?

Susan Kelly: Okay, should we ask if there is a will to meet again, at some point in the future at another micronation summit meeting?

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): That's a good question.

Susan Kelly: All in favour? Okay, thank you; that is 28.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): It would be maybe best to make some kind of general statement, or to form a commission that writes a text and summarizes the essential things, and then we review it and let's say sign or agree with it: a statement for the public, for the media, for other people.

Susan Kelly: Your proposition is to ask if there is interest in the group here to make some kind of collective statement, that we might or might not sign up to, based on what was discussed here today?

[...Form here on rather tumultuous...]

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): The essence, some sort of formula, a compact form.

Susan Kelly: So, a joint statement.

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): A joint statement. Yeah.

Susan Kelly: Okay. Let's say we are the conveners of the joint statement, that somehow represents some of the main issues and concerns that were discussed today, which we email to everybody. Would be there interest to formulate...

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Ja, ja, ja. And then to send it by e-mail you know, and we adjust it if necessary.

Susan Kelly [Counts the votes]: All in favour.

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): I would like to add some small thing. If we make such a statement, would that be a statement made as art or not made as art? And if we make it, do we mention that it is art or it is not?

Susan Kelly: Okay. Sub-clause 1: Should it mention art?

King Michael I (KREV): I don't think it is interesting. The questions are interesting. What is so interesting with art? What has art got to do with it?

Susan Kelly: Who is interested in framing it as art?

King Michael I (KREV): I think it should not be called art or anything like that.

Susan Kelly: Let's vote.

Susan Kelly: Who is interested in framing this in terms of art? Hands up.

King Michael I (KREV): It is difficult to vote on, because I can say »Yes, sure. Let's vote on it or not« I don't really care. Should I walk out?

Georg Zoche (TR): No. The question is: Do you want it to be labelled art? If you don't care, you don't want it to be labelled art.

King Michael I (KREV): So I just blindly...

[...]

Lars Vilks (Ladonia): ... That is my proposal.



Susan Kelly: Okay. Does anybody else agree? Or have an opinion on that?

Fredrik Larsson (Ladonia): Maybe.

Susan Kelly: Than satisfying the general issue of somehow trying to construct a general or joint statement of this meeting: who would be interested in that?

King Michael I (KREV): Calling it art?

Susan Kelly: No, just in making some kind of statement.

Georg Zoche (TR): Should there be a general statement?

Peter Mlakar (NSK-State): Just some kind of formal statement.

Susan Kelly: 21! Who would be against that? Who would feel that would be too communal: 3 against.

Susan Kelly: Does anybody else have a statement or proposal they would like the group here to vote on? Any further propositions? Motions, statements, issues?

King Michael I (KREV): I have a lot of propositions to propose for this platform, that we should not talk about now; that's an e-mail kind of situation, to structure it.

Susan Kelly: So perhaps we should set up a list or something of the people who were here today, and then we can do things further up this way.

Stephen Morton: Perhaps it is a throw away suggestion: the platform that is possibly going to come about might be suitable to provide a site for publication of this joint statement.

Susan Kelly: Can it be in Sealand?

Geoffrey Withers (Sealand): We will have to discuss this; if it is the wish of the

various micronations delegations that are here that we provide some sort of ongoing resource that they would find helpful as an official part of the Sealand government's dedication to the promotion of your missions, then we would wish to do that; but I go back and boringly re-iterate, according to your wishes, since you are the people who are going to use the resource. We will have two days to discuss this; we will be in residence, the legation office will be open, both Saturday and Sunday, and the head of state will be there; if he isn't, Prince Royal James will be. So there will be plenty of people to talk to. So come and talk to us and let's put together a package that all of you can find helpful. I gather there is general sense that would be useful, and if that is so, then let us begin the work.

Tomas Träskman: Thank you very much.

Susan Kelly: Thank you very much for your contribution and energy and openness. Thank you very much.





LOBBY

lob•by

- n.* a large entrance hall or foyer immediately inside the door of a hotel, theatre, or other public building
- n.* a public area in or near a legislative building where people can meet and petition their political representatives
- v.* to attempt to persuade a political representative or influential person
- v.* to support or fight a particular cause

A green, oblong-shaped tent was placed in rotation close to the entrances of the micronation embassies on Harakka Island over the festival weekend. In this tent petitions were presented to the micronations. This Lobby functioned as a space for meetings to discuss these petitions or other important issues raised by particular micronation policies. Lobby was concerned with how micronations are situated in relation to existing states and the current geo-

political order. Each micronation often operates simultaneously as a utopian model, a parallel quasi-governmental structure, a discrete entity, an »installation« or an experimental territorial form. Lobby proposed another space between the micronation and the »outside«, an ante-sala, where negotiations about that precise relationship took place.

Lobby was open to anyone who wanted to petition or have a discussion with a micronation representative. The Lobby was situated for 3 hours outside of the NSK Embassy, the Elgaland and Vargaland Embassy and the Ladonia Embassy on Day One, and outside of State of Sabotage, Sealand and Transnational Republic Embassies on Day Two.

What follows are images and edited sections from the transcripts of discussions and petitions that took place in the Lobby over the weekend of the Summit Meeting.

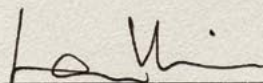


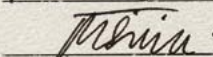
PETITION

Date: August 29th, 2003
Petition from: Susan Kelly
Petition to: A Representative of Ladonia

Notice has hereby been given that in the *Lobby* at Harakka Island, a petition has been served by Susan Kelly, on behalf of the International Committee for Hospitality and Diplomacy to a representative of Ladonia

Susan Kelly, on behalf of the International Committee for Hospitality and Diplomacy hereby appeals to the government and esteemed ministers of Ladonia to re-think their position on immigration. Last year, when requests for citizenship were sent to Ladonia from current residents of Pakistan, India, Vietnam and Nigeria, the official policy from Ladonia stated that the applicants misunderstood the art project, thereby effectively preventing their immigration. Susan Kelly and other members of the Committee are in agreement that this policy sends out an inhospitable message to the people of the world and limits the potential of art to change the world.

Signed 

Co-signed 

Petition Accepted
Petition Denied



Please note that according to **international diplomatic protocol**, upon receiving a petition, an Embassy has the following options:

- To close the door
- To accept the petition without comment
- To take up the petitioners invitation to the *Lobby* to explain the micronation's position on the issue or subject.

L A D O N I A

LV: Lars Vilks

MS: Martin Schibli

SK: Susan Kelly

LV: ... We'd been running this country from 1996 to 2001, and then suddenly this Pakistani affair. I was surprised...

SK: Why do you think there was this interest? Can you speculate?

MS: It is very clear that questions of immigration and refugees are very real issues. One way to see it is that suddenly with the Pakistani affair there was an opportunity to address issues nobody wanted to. But it often wasn't in the headlines – it was just dealt with as a curiosity. The media didn't really take up the situation in Pakistan and Nigeria. It was more a discussion about the art project.

SK: When you talked with the cabinet, did you see it as something bizarre, interesting, threatening?

LV: This was Bingo! ... Suddenly the reality in the world connects in a very direct, very bizarre way. Ladonia is a kind of ridiculous thing. You make a toy country and everyone says, »well you're just playing around.« But then this comes. Something happens; it has consequences, certain consequences you wouldn't even imagine. Lots of things were suddenly produced...and the thing to be done is quite clear: we saw the potential of getting ministers from quite new countries. New continents.

SK: And were any of the new ministers from Pakistan?

LV: These people from Pakistan, they write extremely bad English. If you write a letter to them to try and explain what you are dealing with, they don't get the point. I tried to – I had a lot of communication with Pakistanis who asked for a visa. In the beginning, I tried to discuss with them but then I saw it was impossible. They can't get the point.

SK: Why? Was it a language issue?

MS: It was a contextual issue.

LV: It's a combination. They don't know that Ladonia has something to do with an art project. They have no references to such a thing because they say:

»Why would you do that?« It happened that some people even thought we played a nasty trick on them, you know. I have collected all the material. I have never thrown away any applications. I still gather them. They still keep coming.

SK: If you did have a series of exchanges with one or two people in particular, would it be possible to tell me a little more about the kinds of conversations you had?

LV: I tried to have a conversation, but I was never successful. The only thing that came out of such a discussion was that someone felt that Ladonia was a foolish trick and became angry. But otherwise, they said: »Yes of course we understand, yes of course we understand, but please send my documents.« So I was stupid enough to send documents, just in digital form. And then they said: »Well, how do I proceed from this? How do I get a real passport or visa?« And I wrote back and I explained to them everything again... and then you would get back the same thing. It was just like having a conversation with a wall, you know. Whatever you said, they just wanted the documents. And they were trying to say yes to everything, just to receive their documents. So the understanding of our point is very foreign to these people. They tried to send their biography, so you could find out things about them. Some of them were doing computer work. Others were just craftsmen of different sorts...

SK: But in terms of this situation, would it be possible to make links beyond the art world – to a migrants' groups, for example? If art has limitations, is it possible to link to other groups, other ways of working?

MS: This kind of political idea is under renaissance with activist groups, as you can see in Seattle. And that's also a very romantic view to be a part of and you hope you can do it within the art.

LV: You have to be careful how you relate to the crossover thing. It seems to be the solution for art to forget art. How will art survive in all this? I have a sentence: »Mr. Art, where did you go?«

SK: Why are you so concerned with preservation?

LV: Some of those basic traditional ideas are very helpful. This idea of not taking an ideological standpoint, of being neutral... Right now if you work with a social critique, you deal with immigration, identity, globalisation, gender and a couple of things, and this gets a bit boring, because these are eagerly wanted subjects.

SK: I would disagree. I think the issues you care about don't only come from what is popular or fashionable.

LV: Martin was saying an important thing about the historical this morning. There is an evaluation. Is it something that will survive? You talk about some art projects – are they candidates for history? You must look at this work in the context of art history. How did the canon of art come to be made? Did it start with cave painting and it end up with these projects you describe?

SK: Well, I don't believe in the kind of historicism you describe, so it doesn't matter.

MS: This is not historicism; historicism follows something, it is predictive.

SK: But this is exactly what you're saying.

LV: But so far it's been going extremely well. You have a canon – you have no opposition.

SK: Yes you do! You're only focussed on Europe!

LV: But Northern Europe and the United States are the art world - they have spread it to the colonies all over the world. You can go to any bookshop and buy the history of art, with many different authors:

you get the same thing, you get the canon. There is no alternative.

SK: That's what Margaret Thatcher said!

LV: It is not correct to avoid the canon...to look for an alternative is difficult. That is the challenge.

SK: You have to be careful not to produce alternatives leaving the systems of value intact. It involves moving away from what you know, to look at histories of art in Pakistan, for example.

LV: I think this is the worst scenario. You shouldn't try to expand it; you should try to decrease it. You can have this very small-scale thing, instead of trying to find art everywhere, like in India.

SK: But why do you know the artists you know? You are very trusting. To make it a small, exclusive club?

MS: People I met from South America also read Western art history

SK: But this doesn't mean there aren't other definitions of art or art history.

LV: But that can't be. You have to identify with an international idea of art.

SK: But what's international here? Europe?

LV: The standards are given in the Biennials and in Documenta. The top artists are found there. And these are copied. And if you want to become an artist this is the best thing you can be.

SK: But who was in Documenta last year? You have a very depressing outlook.

LV: Well, we have had a long conversation...



Lars Vilks, Susan Kelly and Martin Schibli

STATE OF SABOTAGE

RJ: Robert Jelinek

SK: Susan Kelly

SK: Because you've started a new state, I'm not quite sure what your immediate issues are; however, in this petition that I've given you, I've been thinking about how you might see a concrete politics that are also utopian.

RJ: Well, I think that artists are really good at using, at infiltrating established structures and I think that this is really something. At the moment, the problem is we don't have resources; another thing is this autonomous zone, which you mentioned before. These two things were for me the reasons to create the state. The thing is how to create your own autonomous system, having resources and money. I'm interested in all these tools, how to build it up.

SK: What's the relationship between autonomy and infiltration? How does that work?

RJ: It works perfectly together because first you have to be autonomous, then you can infiltrate. It's a kind of risk or a power – to have an autonomous moment in your state, in your self, whatever. You have power, and this is the most capital you can have. Not to be responsible for anyone.

SK: What kind of power is it?

RJ: It's the power you get when someone gives you sovereignty. For example, Finland recognises you as a state. [...] That's the power to become, let's say, a partner, and for this you need power. I think you can create this power if you have this autonomy. And if you have this, then you can infiltrate it. That's working as an artist, at least how I always have understood it. That's the difference between other art projects and us. How can you infiltrate a system if you are part of it? This is stupid. It's a loop.

RJ: Let's have a drink.

SK: The glasses aren't very clean.

RJ: This will kill germs. Is this like Finnish saki?

SK: How is the way you identify with the space of micronation different from other national identifications, or different again from how a fan identifies

with Laibach? How do you draw people together outside of that? Is there a common interest?

And is it always based on some identification? Why would people be drawn to the State of Sabotage? Why did people sign up with you yesterday? Why do they want to belong in that way?

RJ: Some of them were friends of Giger, some know our label, our music stuff... we've always worked in different ways. Some of them bought our books. But some people didn't know that we are creating a state now. You can't put us in some box. Now we just have a name, but inside – like NSK, they have a lot of divisions under their name – we will have lot of divisions under our name. It's definitely a question of going further, to start to be independent, which everybody at this summit is playing with.

SK: It's probably the only thing that unites people here at this Summit.

RJ: But the projects must come into conflict with the real establishment – this can happen only if you become a partner in competition, nothing else. This is what Sealand was saying: if there is a competition – if for example you sell something cheaper going to Hong Kong, whatever, you are in conflict with the establishment.

SK: So you are just doing what capitalism does anyway? Why do it differently then? Why not just work for Sony?

RJ: Well, for example, if there's a vote coming in Australia about refugees and the conservative government says no, we don't want your vote – and we take them in our Australian land, what happens then? What can you offer these people? This is what Ladonia played with the Pakistanis who wanted to go there. The myths about it come from what you say about it. If you install an embassy, which looks like a normal embassy, then when people really need help, you are just kidding with them. If it seems that you want them to come and that you will help them...

[...]

RJ: accepts and signs

PETITION

Date: August 29th, 2003
Petition from: Susan Kelly
Petition to: State of Sabotage

Notice has hereby been given that in the Lobby at Harakka Island a petition has been served by Susan Kelly on behalf of X, to the State of Sabotage.

Susan Kelly hereby appeals on behalf of X to the State of Sabotage for political asylum. X is a radical activist and workers advocate from Jakarta. She has previously applied for citizenship in Ladonia but was refused due to her desire to physically move there. Recently, she became a citizen of the Transnational Republic and quickly discovered that this made very little difference to her life and did not offer her a meaningful alternative to the structures of transnational exploitation she was attempting to flee. X urges you to hear her petition.

Signed



Co-signed



Petition Accepted
Petition Denied



Please note that according to **international diplomatic protocol**, upon receiving a petition, an Embassy has the following options:

- To close the door
- To accept the petition without comment
- To take up the petitioners invitation to the Lobby to explain the micronation's position on the issue or subject.

TRANSNATIONAL REPUBLIC

GZ: Georg Zoche

SK: Susan Kelly

SK: So this is a petition to the Transnational Republic. Georg Zoche and Tammo have decided to hear this petition. What is your response?

GZ: Catriona? I feel sorry for her to be in such a situation. Our official sympathies go out there.

I think she might be a showcase on the negative side of globalisation. Globalisation has good sides, which are primarily cheap products and the ability to travel around the world and to be able to use the Internet if you are privileged. Unfortunately a big part of these positive things are happening on the back of the underprivileged. She seems to be one of those. Once the United Transnational Republics are a reality, however, and have the power to make global decisions, then it should be possible to develop standards for a minimum wage based on a currency. A minimum amount of money you need to earn in order to have a decent life.

SK: So one of your policies would be an international minimum wage?

GZ: Yes, but again minimum wage is a difficult thing, too. It is very problematic, but it must be one goal of TR in order to stop this competition of offering the lowest standards.

SK: How would you do that?

GZ: By the consent of the people of the world that are represented in the United Transnational Republics.

SK: How would you do that?

GZ: By the consent of the people that are represented in the United Transnational Republics.

SK: So it would be a pressure group, a lobby perhaps?

GZ: A pressure group, yeah. In the end, the United Transnational Republics represent the people through their transnational republic of choice and since the majority of the people of the world right now fall in the category of the underprivileged people, I think they would have a great chance to rally enough support to establish standards.

SK: How would this be different? In the instance of the petitioner, unions are effectively outlawed, but there are international organisations – a little like International Unions. How is the United Transnational Republics different?

GZ: Looking at the political situation in Germany, where we have an enormous influence of lobbyists, unions, trade organisations, churches and so on, I am very critical of all of these, because in the end you're just adding more structures that inflict on democracy. In the German constitution, all power comes from the people. So you should have elections and act accordingly.

[...] **SK:** So, to sum up. If Catriona wanted to deal with this issue, what would be her course through the Transnational Republic?

GZ: There are two ways. Either she waits 50 years for the United Transnational Republics...

SK: By which point she's probably dead!

GZ: Or she can help to make it in 40 years by telling everyone about it. The only thing we can do right now is to make it an administration art piece. For these problems there is no short-term solution. But you can use art to make it a public issue. Everyone is welcome to do this and shape the future.

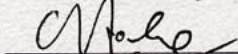
PETITION

Date: August 29th, 2003
Petition from: Susan Kelly
Petition to: A Representative of TRansnational Republic


Notice has hereby been given that in the Lobby at Harakka Island a petition has been served by Susan Kelly on behalf of Caitriona Duggan, to a representative of the TRansnational Republic

Susan Kelly hereby appeals on behalf of Caitriona Duggan, Offaly, Ireland, who took up employment as a cleaner at Dell Computers in Leixlip, Co. Kildare, Ireland in July 2001. As she now earns a small amount more than the lowest sum allows her to qualify for income support from the Irish government, she must work an extra 10 hours per week to support her family. She suffers from fatigue and chronic back pain. As unions have been outlawed in the company, Caitriona has joined an unofficial organization of women workers in Leixlip to address the situation. They have lobbied the national government for better pay and working conditions. Caitriona has discovered however, that the Irish government has waived a series of labour laws in order to attract transnational corporations to the country and bring down the unemployment levels. She effectively has no labour or legal rights and cannot afford a lawyer. Caitriona Duggan has appealed to the TRansnational Republic for help.

Signed



Co-signed


Transnational Republic Org
 REPUBLIC AT LARGE

Petition Accepted

Petition Denied

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- To accept the petition without comment
- To take up the petitioners invitation to the Lobby to explain the micronation's position on the issue or subject.

TRANSNATIONAL REPUBLIC AND STATE OF SABOTAGE

RJ: Robert Jelinek

GZ: Georg Zoche

EB: Edwina Blush

SK: Susan Kelly

SK: So, here we are. Georg Zoche, Transnational Republic and Robert Jelinek, State of Sabotage, Skoll! Today's date is August 31st, 2003. The petition was served from Georg Zoche to Robert Jelinek, representative of the State of Sabotage. What was the nature of the petition?

EB: I'm interested in SOS because you have territory in Australia. That makes it possible for me to be in contact with your territory in some way. At this point, I haven't organised a TR embassy anywhere in Australia. [...] Now that I've decided to do that, I want to propose to you that when you are organising activities within the State of Sabotage that you would consider inviting me as a member of the TR to come and set up a TR embassy inside your territory

RJ: Yes, that's no problem. You are welcome.

EB: Great!

ALL: Cheers to that! [Clink.] Diplomacy has happened.

[...] **GZ:** Now the second part of our petition: It would be nice to make it both ways. We are both the United TR and the TR. We were not sure whether the SOS can qualify as a TR because a TR requires that you have no territorial interest at all.

RJ: But we don't say that the state is the territory. You can do the embassy over there – no problem, but it's not a territory with a fence or an army or anything.

GZ: But is the State of Sabotage there?

RJ: No, there are just 7 people over there [...]. We see the territory; it's in the head. It's a mind thing. For example, the virtual part is not really virtual. [...] What is it in English »Untermieter« [GZ: sub-contractors]? The state is a sub-tenant of the properties of the citizens.

GZ: Run that by me again?

RJ: For example if you become a citizen or whatever, the State can do something in your apartment.



Susan Kelly, Robert Jelinek, Edwina Blush and Georg Zoche in the Lobby

And even more important, the citizens can do something together. So on our application form we ask how big the space the citizen can provide to the state is. We are interested in space, but we are not marking it.

GZ: But the state is the sub-tenant of the citizen?

RJ: This is why it is growing. If you collect all these spaces, there is a secure domain where the citizens can connect with each other, so we are building up a virtual continent of spaces. You have 15 square metres; you have 1, 20 – you collect them. It's coded. So then citizens can enter into this and find out who is living there and they can get together. They can live together, have some parties, make connections, or open it up as a temporary space. We're not occupying them, but it is a way out of the virtual space too, to say hello...

GZ: Cornelius always says it has to happen in the reality of bricks and that's totally true. You are not against space, but against focussing your ethical values around territory.

RJ: Back to the territory in Australia. Even if you don't have a real state space, there is space in which to think. So we are not marketing the Australia thing with a flag. We are not fighting for our territory like

Ladonia or Sealand.

GZ: So if you lose that space, it's not a disaster?

RJ: No, definitely not.

GZ: For United TR, that's important.

GZ: So the question is: is SOS interested in joining in the United TR as the TR of State of Sabotage?

RJ: The question is: What can we offer each other? We talked already today. What can we offer citizens? A real thing, not just passports and stamps and stickers and so on. These are just tools. I am thinking more about elementary things. That's why we choose to have the territory in Australia, and not Austria, because you need 24 hours to get there; you come down with your mind. You have to make your own fire there.

[...] **SK:** Can I sum up this session? Edwina petitioned SOS, and they said yes to have an embassy on their space in Australia ... Let me write this here. And then, the second part was that the United TR asked SOS whether it is possible for the SOS to join the United TR under the rules of the United TR.

GZ: So this is to be co-signed. We will have more meetings. I think I will sign this as UTR and Edwina should sign as TR. Who receives copies? This is something we sign. We take this seriously.



Robert Jelinek, Edwina Blush and Georg Zoche

EL GALAND AND VARGALAND

CMvH: Carl Michael von Hausswolff

SK: Susan Kelly

CMvH: The petition has been accepted.

SK: Do you have any comments?

CMvH: Yes, well, I have a proposal. The best way to access the hypnagogue state or territory, as it is called – the state in between being awake and being asleep, a kind of dream situation where you are not really sure if you are awake or asleep – the best way to access it is to take a nap in the afternoon.

SK: And, if for example, on Monday, when this is over, I might try. It's 3.30; I wake up at 4 and I'm in a State. How will I know I'm in the state of Elgaland and Vargaland?

CMvH: I think you have to be mentally prepared for it when you go to sleep. You don't just go there in your sleep. You have to think about it before.

You have to project it. In that state your willpower is stronger and your ability to choose is much more accessible than in a normal dream. You can train yourself; it's a technique that has to be developed. You have to really focus on what you want to access in your dreams before you fall asleep, so it doesn't come as a surprise.

SK: So, let's say I manage to find myself in this state; would I meet anybody there?

CMvH: Lots of people would be there. You would have access to characters you would like to have access to. Sometimes though, the subconscious doesn't allow you to realise this. For instance, it is close to the shamanistic technique of travelling and seeing people you would like to see. In this dream state you will access anybody. For instance, if you have someone who was dear to you who passed away, you will actually – if your will is strong enough – meet this person. You can meet other people and maybe animals that you might be afraid of, because it is also a technique to get rid of your fears. If you meet these characters you feel threatened by, you should attack them.

SK: Physically?

CMvH: Yes. With every means. And you will win. You will have to. Otherwise you will wake up in a nightmare.

SK: This seems very powerful. So it's 4.30 and the alarm goes off; then where am I? What kind of memory will I have?

CMvH: You'll be back. But it's also a training situation to be able to memorise these situations. It also depends on your psychological character. If you are greatly troubled, it could take some time. If you're not afraid of it, you just go there. You will be surprised.



Lobby in front of KRREV embassy and shouting men's choir Huutajat

PETITION

Date: August 29th, 2003
Petition from: Susan Kelly
Petition to: Elgaland and Vargaland

Notice has hereby been given that in the Lobby at Harakka Island a petition has been served by Susan Kelly, to a representative of Elgaland and Vargaland.

Susan Kelly, hereby appeals to the government and esteemed ministers of Elgaland and Vargaland for more sleep. Susan Kelly would like to be a citizen of Elgaland and Vargaland but because she doesn't get enough sleep she usually passes out when she goes to bed, and wakes with a jump to the sound of a loud alarm clock in the mornings. She therefore experiences no in-between states and thus has no access to the State. She urges you to hear her petition.

Signed

Co-signed



Petition Accepted

Petition Denied

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NSK STATE

PM: Peter Mlakar

SK: Susan Kelly

SK: You didn't manage to make it into the Lobby, but can I ask you now for your thoughts or closing statements on this historic Summit Meeting?

PM: I wish the day will have a future.

SK: And what is your vision of the future?

PM: The future is uncertain.

SK: Have you a particular wish for a future that arises from this Summit?

PM: I wish that in the future, I hope that they will manage to synthesise the social order with the notion of freedom. How can this traditional world be managed? I pray to Almighty God that this idea,

as I said to you before, will have a future. Because this idea is about developing a notion of the future, of human freedom and liberty, liberty, yes.

SK: And you would wish that this would produce a social form for human freedom?

PM: I would love for this to be an anarchistic concept, also. Anarchistic... would have an effect on reality itself. This concept, you must agree with me, is partly anarchistic and partly idealistic. And abstract. It is an anarchistic concept that can have some effect on reality itself.

SK: Any propositions about how we would do that?

PM: We'll think about it. We have the time and the people. We have immense time. Thank you.



Peter Mlakar and Susan Kelly in front of the NSK-State information office

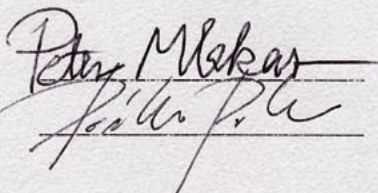
PETITION

Date: August 29th, 2003
Petition from: Susan Kelly
Petition to: NSK

Notice has hereby been given that in the Lobby at Harakka Island a petition has been served by Susan Kelly, to a representative of NSK.

Susan Kelly hereby appeals to a representative of NSK to discuss and advise on how their strategies for articulating Art and Politics (eg. the retrogarde) in the former Yugoslavia could be linked to a broader Internationalist avant-garde project that effectively refuses economic structures of transnational exploitation. Susan Kelly urges you to hear her petition.

Signed



Co-signed

Petition Accepted



Petition Denied



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Prince Regent Michael of Sealand



Prince James of Sealand



G. Withers, Sealand



L. Wiebe, Sealand



King Leif I, KREV



King Michael I, KREV



Lars Vilks, State Secretary, Ladonia



Fredrik Larsson, Minister of Art and Jump, Ladonia



Peter Mlakar, State Dept. for Pure & Applied Philosophy, NSK-State



Darko Pokorn, New Collectivism, NSK-State



Tammo Rist, Transnational Republic



Jakob Zoche, Transnational Republic



Robert Jelinek, State Founder, State of Sabotage



HR Giger, State Artist, State of Sabotage

ESTO TV

I HAVE A DREAM.

I HAVE A DREAM THAT ONE DAY THERE IS NO EQUALITY IN THE WORLD.
WEAK PEOPLE KNOW THEIR PLACE AND STRONG PEOPLE KNOW THEIR PLACE.
I HAVE A DREAM THAT STRENGTH IS MEANT TO RULE OVER THE WEAKNESS.
I HAVE A DREAM THAT HUMAN TRASH, SCUM AND UNNORMAL SHALL BE WIPED
FROM THE STREETS OF ALL EUROPE.

I HAVE A DREAM THAT ALL THE WUSSY INTELLECTUALS, PARASITES,
FAGGOTS, HIPPIES SHALL BE ELIMINATED IN THE NAME OF GOD.
AND THE WORLD WILL BE BETTER PLACE TO LIVE!!!!

I HAVE A DREAM THAT WHITE MAN RULES THE WORLD AGAIN,
THAT CHRISTIAN MORALITY WILL RISE AND ALL THE NON-BELIEVERS
SHALL BE THROWN TO HELL FOREVER.

I HAVE A DREAM THAT ONE DAY WOMAN KNOWS HER PLACE AGAIN -
AT HOME, IN THE KITCHEN WITH CHILDREN
AND ALL THE MEN WILL FIGHT FOR THEIR BELIEFS - AND FATHERLAND.
THIS IS A WORLD WHERE I WANT TO LIVE. THIS IS A WORLD WE NEED TO FIGHT FOR.

I HAVE A DREAM THAT ONE DAY EVERY MAN WHO IS ABLE TO CARRY A GUN
WILL RISE UP AGAINST THE AXIS OF EVIL OF THE SO-CALLED LIBERAL WORLD.
LIKE MY BROTHER MR. GEORGE W. USED TO SAY:

WE WILL BE DELIBERATE, YET TIME IS NOT ON OUR SIDE.

I WILL NOT WAIT ON EVENTS, WHILE DANGERS GATHER.

I WILL NOT STAND BY, AS PERIL DRAWS CLOSER AND CLOSER.

LIKE MY BROTHER OSAMA SAYS: ITS EVERY CHRISTIANS DUTY TO COLLECT
ALL THE POWER TO TERRORIZE THE ENEMY OF GOD!!!

OH BROTHERS! LET GOD BE YOUR COLONEL!

THE POWER OF CHRIST [KRAIST] COMPELS YOU.

THE POWER OF CHRIST COMPELS YOU.

THE POWER OF CHRIST COMPELS YOU.

DEAR MR. BUSH

HERE ARE KEN & TOLK. YOUR TRUE FOLLOWERS. WE ARE WRITING TO YOU BECAUSE
OF THE SHOCKING TRUTH WE INVESTIGATED IN TRULY UNMORAL COUNTRY CALLED
FINLAND. BEHIND THE SHADOW OF A COLD AND QUIET NORTHERN COUNTRY WE FOUND
REAL TERRORIST ACTIVITY. TERRORISTS ARE EVERYWHERE - IN THE STREETS,
IN THE CHURCHES, IN THE GOVERNMENT, AMONG THE ARTISTS. CANCER HAS LAID
ALL ITS METASTASIS EVERYWHERE. THE ONLY SOLUTION IS AN OPERATION.
DEAR MR. BUSH. PLEASE SEND ALL YOUR PLANES AND ROCKETS TO FINLAND
AND DESTROY THIS FUCKING COUNTRY! WE ARE SURE, CARPET-BOMBING IS
THE ONLY CURE TO THIS TERRIBLE WORLDWIDE DISEASE.

ALL THE BEST,

KEN & TOLK, ESTO TV



Varatie



S I P E R I A M A N I F E S T

GREETINGS TO THE CONFERENCE OF MICRONATIONS FROM THE MICRO-MULTITUDES OF THE SOCIAL CENTER SIPERIA

We are here as a delegation of the Social Center Siperia to declare an area in the deep forests in Eastern Helsinki autonomous from the capitalist modes of production. From now on we resign all the laws, agreements and regulations made by the EU, Finnish state or Helsinki city. Our demands are those of justice, democracy and freedom, and a world containing many worlds.

The constitutive process of the *Occupied Social Center Siperia* began with a squatting action in October 2002 because we need a place to be free from the unequal laws, practices and continuous exploitation by state, city and capital. We know that the prevailing system can not guarantee even the basic needs of human life; food, clothes and shelter. Much further away is the possibility to live free and make decisions about our lives.

Our governance is not one of representative democracy. Instead it is a structure open to all who participate in the space we have occupied. Everyone has an equal right to take part in deci-



sion-making. We have no nationality nor citizenship; everyone who respects our principles is free to come and go without passport or any other documents. Our flag is a tricolour of red, black and green. The black is the colour of sorrow and remembrance, the colour of resistance against racism, sexism and homophobia. The red is the colour of blood, representing our struggle for social justice and self-governance. The green is the colour of money and weed, indeed, both of which we need. Oh yes, also of ecology and growth of a movement.

The crowbar represents self-valorization and appropriation, the methods with which we can make

real the demands of the red-black-and-green. And to quote Ani diFranco: »Every tool is a weapon if you hold it right.«

From now on every breach against the territory of the Occupied Social Center Siperia, for example an attempt of eviction, is considered as a declaration of hostilities on which we will answer with appropriate means.

We encourage all our comrades around the world, from Lapland to Chiapas, to struggle for autonomy, justice and freedom.

We have a world to win.





Peter Callesen in his castle

HARAKKA ISLAND

The embassies and offices of the micronations for Amorph!03 were set up in the buildings and bunkers of the Harakka island. The island lies in the Helsinki archipelago, near the city.

The island has been the property of the Finnish army from the Finnish declaration of independence to about fifteen years ago, and before that it was used by the Russian army. Both armies left behind buildings reminiscent of their era. After the second world war the Harakka island was the home for a research facility for the development of defensive strategies against biological and chemical warfare.

However, the internationally recognised facility was shut down because it was thought to be situated too near the city.

The ownership of the island was transferred from the army to Helsinki city in 1988. The city decided to change the old research facility to an artists' workshop. Because the island had been army property for such a long time, trespassing being thus forbidden, Harakka's nature had had developed into a surprisingly lively piece of environment in all peace and quiet. Half of Harakka's 9 hectares are now preserved by law.



- 1 State of Sabotage
- 2 NSK-State
- 3 Assembly Hall
- 4 Sealand
- 5 Ladonia
- 6 KREV
- 7 Transnational Republic
- 8 Peter Callesen (close to the pier at Cafe Ursula)

GLOSSARY

Anarchism This term has a Greek derivation meaning «no rule», and is sometimes associated with chaos. Yet anarchists claim that it does not necessarily mean absence of order, as is generally supposed, but rather an absence of hierarchy. This claim implies that all state power is oppressive and unjust and that the abolition of government will produce the greatest individual and collective freedom and prosperity. Therefore, to eliminate the state will result in universal justice and will bring an end to poverty, violence, repression, and war. But opposition to hierarchy is not limited to the state or government exclusively. Anarchism also includes opposition to all authoritarian, economic and social relations as well as political relations; particularly those associated with capitalist private property and wage labour. Anarchists insist on «no more government of man by man, and no more exploitation of man by man» (B. Tucker). Underlying the anarchist's political theory is a view that human beings are naturally peaceful, loving and cooperative. This is contrary to most of Western political thought, which regards humanity as naturally selfish and bigoted. In many western political systems humanity can only be made cooperative through education, political participation, religious ethics, spiritual development, and the threat of legal punishment.

Authority We can distinguish between four forms of authority in society. The first category is a traditional authoritarian system, as evinced in monarchical government. In the past this authority was generally accepted by the people governed, because it was perceived to be God-given and therefore natural. The second category, charismatic authority, is based on the extraordinary characteristics which people perceive in their leader. Revolutions are likely to be occasions when charismatic authority win popular support. The third category, rational or legal authority, is the most

familiar form in contemporary structures of democratic representation. Authority is legitimised by recognized rules and constitutional procedures. A fourth type of authority arises from the legitimacy accorded to the expert.

Autonomy A term meaning self government. At its root autonomy means «having its own laws» and is therefore sometimes associated with self-organisation and anarchist thought. It can apply to individuals and political communities. The «autonomous individual» is often seen to be in control of her/his life and is free to act independently. For political scientists autonomy has been seen as a sort of half-way stage to full independence for regions and provinces.

Border A border is the precise line separating one territory from the next, whereas a frontier is the zone around the border between two adjoining states. Borders are regarded as permanent, but through conflict and negotiation are often subject to change. Sometimes the existence and legitimacy of a border is contested, for example in the conflict resulting from the British government's partition of Ireland into the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Territoriality and state power is clearly demarcated by the institution and policing of borders. The *raison d'être* of most micronations is to experiment with the relationship between borders, governance and territory.

Commune A group of people who share their social lives, material goods and ideological beliefs. They generally eat, sleep and work together. As Australian scholar Bill Metcalf (1996) stated that «a commune is comprised of individuals whose emotional bonds are to the communal group, rather than to any subset within that group such as a lover or nuclear family unit». A common form of collective living in the 60s and 70s,

communes were often formed around a charismatic leader.

Citizenship The relation between the state as a territorially-based apparatus of power and the people over whom it exercises that power (jurisdiction). Citizenship is conferred by the state. Citizens have duties to the state in return for which they enjoy certain rights. Citizenship is not a static concept, and has shifted over time. In the Greek polis for example citizenship was only conferred on elite men. However in contemporary western societies the more common definition of citizenship is that everyone has equality before the law. This concept of civil citizenship was elaborated during the French bourgeois revolution and the institution of limited democracy. With it came freedom of the individual from arbitrary arrest, freedom of speech and the right to own private property. Secondly came political citizenship reflected in representative state institutions. Universal suffrage and the right of every citizen to be a candidate in elections was instituted in some countries only in the twentieth century. By that time the third stage, the granting of social citizenship, was under way in many democratic social systems. This guaranteed enough social and economic welfare for a decent existence and provided education and social services for the individual. The duties of a citizen in a democracy are to obey the law, to pay one's taxes and, perhaps, to participate. Some people at least hold the view that a passive, uninvolved, or apathetic person is not really regarded as a citizen. A debate centres around the entitlement of full citizenship. Some states have quite rigid citizenship laws. Immigrants may find it difficult to obtain full citizenship rights. Immigration policy is a key mechanism through which states can control access to their territory and thus citizenship.

Civil Disobedience Disobeying or breaking a law for moral, religious or other reasons. Examples of civil disobedience include refusing to pay taxes, blocking roads or government offices, striking and marching in demonstrations without state permission. The act may be designed to pressure the government to change laws or policies or just to voice opposition. Acts of civil disobedience often aim to fundamentally question the authority of the state, its laws and what it deems criminal.



Civil liberty The fundamental rights and freedoms deemed to be necessary for full human life and political activity; especially liberty of thought, belief, speech, expression and association. These rights are seen as universal and can therefore not be legitimately taken away by a state government.

Consensus A decision making process based on deliberation and cooperation. Everyone's views are taken into consideration, all options and objections thoroughly discussed and a decision made on the basis of eventual mutual agreement. The outcome may take a long time to reach and may be a compromise, but will therefore have more chance of acceptance than a simple majority vote. The key is to explore and if possible resolve all important objections to the favoured option.

Constitution A set of formal written rules governing states and organizations. The first written constitution was the American one from 1787. This constitution has provided a model for many others. Con-

stitutions may be categorized as either monarchic or republican, unitary or federal, parliamentary or presidential. A written constitution will have to be interpreted and in many states can only be altered by having a public referendum. This necessitates constitutional courts and constitutional law.



Libertarianism Early libertarians believed in human free will and were opposed to determinism. Then the word subsequently became used to describe a belief in unrestricted human thought and action. In the nineteenth century this was associated with free love and opposition to the state. Libertarianism was synonymous anarchism. It was supported by anti-state socialists. In the late twentieth century libertarianism advocated little or no government and absolute individual social, economic and moral freedom. According to this view, it is not legitimate for the state to tax some people (the wealthy) to help other people (the poor) or to outlaw activities (such as drug use and prostitution) that do not harm others. Libertarians would therefore end all taxes except those needed to fund the minimal legitimate state functions (police and defence) and eliminate all laws against victimless crime. An extreme form of libertarianism advocates the right to take drugs and marry one's own sister or brother. The ideal society for libertarians is one of free autonomous individuals relating to each other on a voluntary, consensual basis with minimal interference from the state. Critics assert that libertarian thought is unable to account for the social and collective dimension of human nature, and the corporate and interdependent character of contemporary society. At their worst, libertarian views are regarded as selfish and hedonistic, an ideological justification for greed, a license for the rich to exploit the

poor, and to avoid their social responsibilities.

Sea monsters by
Olau Magnus Gothus, 1539

Map Maps are not neutral depictions of geographical realities. They have always been useful weapons in larger political projects such as the claiming of territory or in maintaining control over it. The mapping of territory itself supports and reproduces power and control over territory.

Micronation See page 52

Migration An immigrant is someone who goes to make a home in another country. Movements of populations are often enforced. Migration remains an important world issue. Many forces in societies often want to restrict the movement of people although it is contrary to both purported liberal and free-market principles.

Nation There is much difficulty in arriving at a generally accepted definition of the term »nation«. Some consider the meaning of nation to be so complex a metaphysical fiction that it is not capable of scientific definition. They see it as one of those tropical jungles of thought in which politics and journalism flourish and sometimes regard it as an organism, a spiritual entity, and that all attempts to penetrate its secrets by the light of mechanical interpretation break down before the test of experience. In view of this terminological confusion, the editors of several important encyclopedias have omitted the word »nation« altogether. Because the etymology of the term nation is bound up with ethnos it is often hard to define what a nation is

without recourse to racialist thinking. Yet recent anti-racist thinkers such as Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy have attempted to de-link the two terms: race and nation. There never was a German or American race, but there are German and American nations.

It is largely agreed that a nation is not a race nor is it a state. Language, religion and territory seem to be important factors in the nation, but none of them exclusively determine national identity. Hugh Seton-Watson suggests that »a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one«. It follows that, to a large extent the nation is a social and discursive construct as much as a physical reality. Similarly, Benedict Anderson argues that nations are imagined communities which are constructed in and through cultural and political discourses such as fiction, newspapers and television. Anthony D. Smith defines a nation as »a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members«. The last two elements imply the achievement of nation-state status, not something attained by all people claiming to be a nation. Despite discussion of rights to national self-determination, there are many nations which do not have a state (e.g. Kurds). Similarly there are many states which encompass a number of nations (UK, ex-Yugoslavia, ex-USSR). There are also examples of nations which have formed a number of states (Arab nation). There are states where one or more groups wish to secede in order to create their own state to reflect what they see as their right to full nationhood.

National Identity Guibernau sees national identity as composed of five key elements:

- (1) psychological: consciousness of forming a community
- (2) cultural: sharing a common culture
- (3) territorial: attachment to a

clearly demarcated territory
(4) historical: possessing a common past
(5) political: claiming the right to rule itself

Given the somewhat ephemeral nature of national identity, it is sometimes argued that it is easier to define in terms of who one is not as opposed to who one is. This might allow members of one nation to view themselves as superior to those of another. National identity also shaped a nation's sense of its own role in the world. The power of the nation to induce strong emotional and physical reactions varies from country to country and between individuals within the same nation. Football fans waving the national flag, singing the anthem with tears in their eyes is a powerful reminder of the pervasiveness of national identity.

Nationalism Many people identify strongly with the nation to which they feel they belong. This sense of identification is seen to reflect an ideology of nationalism. Nationalism is an ideology in the sense that it encapsulates a set of beliefs and practices which people come to accept as natural. This gives rise to a sense of a »National Will« which unifies all members of the nation. Nationalism is an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation. A sense of Nationhood is therefore ultimately a tool for achieving political goals. There are two types of nationalism: ethnic and civic nationalism. In the first one national identity is based on ancestry, in the second one, on where one is born. One can also divide nationalism in top down and bottom-up nationalism. The former is the promotion of ethnic images and affinities and their application to the state which serves a political end, namely the maintenance of state hegemony (eg. patriotism). The second form of nationalism is born of a desire to shake off a particu-

lar imposed rule (e.g. Basque nationalism).

National Anthem The importance of territory and of specific places is emphasized in many national anthems. These pieces of music are perhaps the most overt means by which the nation is symbolized and quite often contain territorial and military references. These may take the form of generic allusions to soil and land or to particular places or landscape features such as mountains or rivers. In this way, nation's musical signatures often have a strong territorial base which evokes images that are seen as part of the essence of the nation.

Nation-building In order to create a strong national consciousness nations require devices and discourses which can be utilized in the process of affirming and building nationhood. There is a need for a national past, which is seen to provide the glue to hold the nation together. In tandem with this national past is a national geography built around particular places. People, events and places can be put into the service of nation-building and affirmation. This means that nations require a history built around these elements in order to sustain their existence and meaning in the eyes of their citizens. A certain tradition of images, cults, costumes, rites, artefacts, myths and values are additional elements in the repertoire of building a national consciousness. National histories tend to present a relatively seamless narrative through which the members of the nation can trace their collective past. A critique of this narrative is not the same as saying that an accurate version of history is possible. Rather, a suitable past is required and »if there is no suitable past, it can always be invented.« (Hobsbawm). Further, given the role and importance of myths in nation building, inaccurate histories are perhaps crucial. »Getting its history wrong is part of being a nation« (Ernest Renan). Events and people become

traditionalised in order to celebrate the nation. In this way it can be said that Nations are constructed through the invention of tradition. Particular customs or events are portrayed as stretching back to a time immemorial, to the primordial origins of the nation. Within the discourse of the construction of the nation, it is obvious that territory is of huge importance. Historical fact and myth concerning particular places are key elements in the national imagination. Certain places within the national territory may acquire significance as the presumed zone of origin of the nation, its original heartland. It is typical in the national imagery that the rural landscape has been presented as embodying the essence of the nation. Urban areas have tended to be regarded as those places most contaminated by foreign influence.

Nation-State An independent state recognized by and able to interact with other states, especially one composed of people who are of one, as opposed to several, nationalities. The terms nation and state are often used interchangeably, while contemporary states are often referred to as nation-states. This is misleading. A state is a legal and political organization with power over its citizens. A nation is more nebulous. It is a collection of people bound together by some sense of solidarity, common culture and shared history. Usually this sense of common identity is underpinned by a historical attachment to a particular territory or national homeland. The nation-state is under a range of pressures. Some observers announce the decline of the nation state based on the view that it is in the process of being superseded as a political and territorial formation. The pressures from below are from forms of secessionist nationalism and other forces of fragmentation. The pressures from above can be placed under the broad heading of the impact of globalisation – the world-wide flows of goods, money, people and culture – which is seen to undermine the sovereignty of

the nation state's government and render national differences and state borders less and less relevant. As well as economic globalisation, there are a range of issues which transcend national boundaries. These include environmental concerns as well as the increasing importance of cultural diffusion.

Participatory democracy The main criticism of democracy as it operates today is that not enough citizens participate in it. The average citizen is content only to cast a vote at national elections. Some observers argue that it is the non-participation of the vast majority that keeps democracy attainable. On the other hand, there has been since the nineteenth century a tradition in political thought which holds that participation in politics is necessary because it educates the electorate about the procedures, personalities and issues that underwrite democratic government. Various prescriptions have been recommended to secure much wider participation: for example direct democracy, local governments, compulsory voting, enhanced political education...

Self governance Opposed to centralized control self-governance maintains the freedom and ability of a community to control their own affairs and determine their own futures by exercising authority in areas ranging from taxation and land management to criminal justice to social programs. An outside authority can only become involved, when certain agreed criteria are satisfied. It is suggested that self-governance plays a central, practical role in the fortunes of societies, nations, and communities. The fact is that societies controlled by outsiders – by members of another society or by those whose culture, self-concept, or aspirations are significantly different – seldom fare well. Wherever local control is usurped by outsiders, wherever outsiders impose their own designs on local communities that have distinct ideas and traditions of their own, sustained development fails to take root and social and

economic problems develop instead. The results typically are poverty, frustration, and hopelessness. This is the lesson of Soviet bureaucratic control over Eastern Europe, of colonial control and its aftermath in Africa, and of other experiences around the world. The assertion of local control over the major decisions that affect people's lives is a crucial step in escaping this pattern. As those communities whose resources and well-being are at stake take over decision-making, the quality of the decisions improves. The result, typically, is better policy, enhanced economic productivity, more effective social programs, and improved welfare in communities. It is nevertheless argued what the appropriate units of self-governance could be.

Secession When a part of a state breaks away and declares that it is an independent state, it has seceded.

Self determination The self-determination of peoples became a popular demand with the end of World War I. Ethnic groups demanded that they should be allowed to determine where they belong. In 1945 the principle was given legal status in the UN Charter. If applied consistently however, it might lead to the »Balkanization« of the world. The main question about its application is »Who is the self to be determined?« This question applies to both the complex nature of individual identity (i.e. there is no »pure« identity), and to the issue of how one would go about locating and defining a group of people who could make that demand. For example, in a referendum held on the island of Ireland whether Northern Ireland should be part of the United Kingdom or the Irish Republic, should the vote to determine the province's fate be held only in Northern Ireland, or on the whole island?

Sovereignty A claim to authority, originally by sovereign monarchs, but also by states since the »Treaty of Westphalia« in 1648. A state becomes sovereign when other states

recognise it as such. The term cannot be a synonym for complete independence, although states may argue it is.

State While nation refers to a social collective, the state refers to a set of political institutions, which have jurisdiction over a specified territory. Usually the presence of states is taken by granted. We have a very state centred view of the world. In 1930 there were only 70, today we have ca. 200 states. The state is an ongoing apparatus of power while governments are the agents who carry out the day-to-day running of the state. States are human creations. The minimal requirements for statehood are population, territory, government and legality. Other requirements often proposed as criteria of statehood are independence, sovereignty, the capacity to enter into relations with other states and international recognition. The classic perception of the state was an abstraction of the ideas of power and authority. Its main concern was the relationship between human beings and political authority. Usually it is Machiavelli (1469-1527) who is credited with the first use of the word state in its modern meaning of a territory with defined borders and a central authority which had to be obeyed. Later philosopher's thought was much exercised by the relationship between the individual and the state and the problem of political obligation. Questions like »Why should I obey the commands of the state?« or »When can I disobey them, if ever?« were raised. The answer depended upon one's view of the nature of humankind. Hobbes (1588-1679) believed in the essentially aggressive nature of men. In consequence they lived in fear of each other and so they had made a pact and set up a state to ensure that an ordered society was maintained through the exertion of power by unassailable authority. Locke (1632-1704) believed that people were, on the whole, good and the state existed to ensure that wrongdoers did not disrupt ordered society. Locke also asserted that

individuals had basic rights, which should be enshrined in a contract with the state. If the state broke its side of the contract, the right of revolt existed. Rousseau (1712-78) was concerned with the problem of how to obtain a kind of society in which everyone was as free as they once might have been in the state of nature, and while at the same time individual's and their property would be protected. His solution was the social contract, an agreement between people by which they entered into a civil association, giving up their rights to laws prescribed by themselves in order to find true freedom. The old dynastic sovereigns would be overthrown and replaced by the sovereignty of the people.

The most familiar perception of the state sees it as a provider of a legal framework, infrastructure and services to be used for the benefit of its citizens. It regulates the economy (although free-market theories suggest the state should minimize the exercise of this function) and provides public goods such as health care, education and transport services. The contemporary state maintains legal and other frameworks which guide citizens behaviour and it defends its territory and its people against external aggression and internal threats. It is able to do this by redistributing income. Social democratic states tax the better-off to help the worse-off. How much the state should exercise these functions, however is always contested.

There are several theories of the state. Pluralistic theories view the state as neutral; above and separate from any vested interest. It has no interest in the form of society. It is rather an institution shaped according to the citizens will – democratically expressed. Power emanates via elections from the people. Governments acts merely as agents of the people. The state guarantees the rights of the individual. The private sphere should be protected from outside interference. No faction can have total control, the state is always brought into balance by diverse forces. The state is

seen in a technical rather than in a political sense.

Elite theories claim that there is always a class that rules and a class that is ruled. Self interest will take precedence over any broader concerns. This rests on the distinction between an elite and the mass.

Marxist theories are based on the idea that societies are divided along class lines. There is the capitalist, the bourgeoisie and the working class. The profit gained by the capitalist is seen as a result of the exploitative nature of the relation between the two classes. The state is understood as a mechanism which acts in defence of the class structure. Rather than being neutral, the state is an organization that protects that property-owning classes against the non-property owning classes. If the state is biased against the interests of the majority of its own citizens, why don't those citizens oppose its existence? This might be explained by the idea of hegemony. The political, moral, intellectual leadership of a dominant class supports this dominance by exercising two forms of control: the coercive apparatus (police, army and judiciary) and the ideological apparatus. Among the filters embracing a certain way of viewing things are the educational system and the mass media. In helping to shape public opinion they can have a hugely conservative impact, protecting the state against potential oppositions. The dominant ideas in society come to be seen as common sense and alternative ideas are seen to be threatening or unrealistic or impossible or bizarre or unworkable.

Territory Territory refers to a portion of geographic space, which is claimed or occupied by a person or group or by an institution. It is an area of bounded space. The process whereby individuals or groups lay claim to such space is referred to as territoriality. In this way, territoriality can be associated with notions of private property. Territoriality is used as a strategy either to assert power or to resist power of a dominant group. The

control of territory became the geographical expression of political power. Territory can be converted into defensible space. It can provide opportunities for the economic organization of space to allow people to pursue a good, protected life.

Utopia The term coined by Thomas More in his book »Utopia« (1516). The word has a dual meaning depending on your chosen root derivation: »No place« from the Greek ou (not) and topos (place) or »Good place« from the Greek eu (good, right or well) and topos. It has popularly come to mean an ideal world founded on imaginary perfection. However, Australian communities scholar Bill Metcalf argues that the utopian impulse refers to a broad intention to build a better society, not the belief that a perfect world is possible. He cautions against using »utopian« to mean »ideallyistically naive«.

World Government There has been at least one attempt to draft a constitution for the world. A world state was suggested by Dante, Proudhon, Rousseau and Kant among others but until the twentieth century it had received little consideration by statesmen. Forms of somewhat democratic world government (such as the UN) already exist as do undemocratic economic and political agents of world governance such as the WTO and the IMF. Advocates of world government can be divided into three camps. The empiricists believe that international co-operation in numerous organizations to which sovereign states relinquish a little power will persuade them in the end that the Nation-State is out dated. Realists argue that coercive force must be organized internationally to uphold international law; the first thing to do is by contract to construct a sort of international Leviathan. Idealists attempt to convert world citizenry to the idea of world government.

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Mr. Withers, Michael Bates, CM von Hausswolff, Leif Elggren, Peter Mlakar, Darko Pokorn, Ivan Novak, Susan Kelly, Lars Vilks, Martin Schibli, Fredrik Larsson, Georg Zoche, Edwina Blush, Jakob Zoche, Tammo Rist, Robert Jelinek, HR Giger, Mika Hannula, Sezgin Boynik, Volker von Prittwitz, Timo Honkela, Alexei Monroe, Marita Muukkonen, Tomas Träskman, Eda Cufer, Marina Grzinc, Sasha Huber, Petri Saarikko, Christian Yakowlef, Peter Callesen, Petri Sirviö & Huutajat, Sean Hasting, Julie Monaco, Jyri Pitkänen, Mika Turkia, Tierry Weyd, Henni Oksman, Oscar Abril Ascaso, Eila Mäkinen, Tellervo Kalleinen

AMORPH!03 PROTOCOLS RAHOITTAJAT JA YHTEISTYÖKUMPPANIT / SUPPORTERS AND COOPERATION PARTNERS :



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ARTISTS' ASSOCIATION MUU

TAITEILIJAJÄRJESTÖ MUU RY

TAITEILIJAJÄRJESTÖ MUU ry

Muu ry edustaa taiteilijoita, jotka työskentelevät media-, video-, valo-, ja äänitaiteen, performanssin, tila-, käsite-, ja ympäristötaiteen alueilla sekä kuvataiteen uusilla raja-alueilla. Kesäkuussa 2005 jäseniä oli 432. Muu ry ylläpitää galleriaa ja digitaalisen taiteen keskusta ja työllä Muu Media Basea, järjestää taidetapahtumia, festivaaleja, seminaareja sekä harjoittaa koulutus- ja julkaisu toimintaa.

NÄYTTELYITÄ JA PROJEKTEJA

MUU galleriassa esitellään sekä kotimaisia että runsaasti ulkomaisia taiteilijoita ja taideprojekteja joita ei vielä ole nähty mainstream-gallerioissa, mutta myös jo mainetta näyttäneitä kokeellisen taiteen edustajia. Näyttelyreperntuaarin tekee vaihtoehtoiseksi ajoittaiset äärimmäisyydet, ylilyönnit ja poikkeavat tekemisen tavat. Näyttelyiden välissä galleriassa järjestetään lyhytkestoisia tapahtumia, performansseja, konsertteja, keskustelutilaisuuksia sekä videoesityksiä.

TUOTANNOLLISIA PROJEKTEJA, FESTIVAALEJA, TAPAHTUMIA JA JULKAISUTOIMINTAA

Muu ry tuottaa omia tuotantoita sekä yhteistyössä muiden organisaatioiden kanssa projekteja, tapahtumia ja seminaareja. Viimeisimpinä mainittakoon:

Amorph! on joka toinen vuosi järjestettävä performanssfestivaali. Amorph!03 vuonna 2003 oli maailman ensimmäinen Mikrovaltioiden - usein vain ideatasolla olemassa olevien valtioiden - johtajien huipputapaaminen Helsingissä.

Vuonna 2006 julkaistava historikki MUUvisio esittelee järjestön kehitysvaiheita pienestä vapaamuotoisesta yhteisöstä merkittäväksi toimijaksi suomalaisen nykytaiteen kentällä. Kirjassa piirtyy kuva Suomen taidekentän muutoksista 18 vuoden aikana ja katsotaan myös järjestön nykypäivään ja tulevaisuuteen.

ITU on Suomessa ainutlaatuinen videotaitteen pilotointiprojekti, joka tuottaa maailmaa kiertävän videoteoskokoaisuuuden. Tuotannossa huomioidaan eri levityskanavat, markkinointi, taiteellinen laatu ja tuotannon mittakaava. Projekti toteutetaan yhteistyössä AV-arkin ja Satakunnan taidetoimikunnan kanssa.

Digital-seminaari kokoaa kansainvälisiä keskusteluita uudesta mediasta. Vuonna 2004 Digital III:n aiheena oli äänitaide. Kutsuttu äänitaiteilijat, muusikot ja teoreetikot esittelivät, kommentoivat ja analysoivat kokeellisen äänitaiteen ja musiikin ajankohtaisia kysymyksiä.

GoCyber – Net Art Online on Muun kutsuiville perustettu ympäri-vuotinen nettitaiteen galleria, joka tutkii internetin mahdollisuuksia taiteen tekemisen välineenä.

MUU MEDIA BASE – TYÖTILOJA JA KOULUTUSTA

Muu Media Base on Suomen ensimmäinen taiteilijoiden käyttöön tarkoitettu digitaalinen työtila. Media Basessa valmistuu mm. valokuva-, video-, uusmedia-, www-, valo-, installaatio-, performanssi- ja ääniteoksia. Lisäksi Media Base järjestää kursseja ja työpajoja.

ARTISTS' ASSOCIATION MUU

MUU represents and promotes artists working in different fields of contemporary art, including media art, video, light and sound art, performance; spatial, conceptual and environmental art, and other new areas bordering visual arts. In June 2005, there were 432 members. MUU gallery and the centre for media art Muu Media Base are maintained by the association which also organises art events, festivals, seminars, workshops and training. Also publishing is included in its wide range of activities.

ART EXHIBITIONS AND PROJECTS

MUU gallery presents a wide range of domestic as well as foreign art not yet seen in mainstream galleries, also well known and established experimental artists. The experimental nature of the exhibitions is characterised by the extreme, striking and exceptional art works. In between exhibitions the gallery offers short-term events, performances, concerts and talks and discussions and video performances.

PRODUCTION PROJECTS, FESTIVALS, HAPPENINGS AND PUBLISHING

The Artists' Association MUU is a renown producer of art events, projects and seminars, on its own or together with other organisations. Among the most recent projects:

Performance festival Amorph! is organised every second year. Amorph!03 in 2003 brought to Helsinki the first summit of the leaders of Micronations – DIY nations that exist often only in the minds of their creators.

The book MUUvisio to be published in 2006 presents the history of the association, its development from an open community of artists to a significant operator within the field of contemporary art in Finland. The book draws an outline of the developments within the art field during the past 18 years, also giving insights into the association today and in the future.

ITU (Project for Video Art Production) is an unparalleled pilot project of video art production that aims at touring the world. The production pays special attention to video distribution channels and marketing, artistic quality and production scale. The project is a co-production with AV-Arkki (Distribution Center for Finnish Media Art) and the Arts Council of Satakunta.

Digital-seminar invites in international talks and discussion on the new media. Digital III in 2004 was an international sound art event. The invited media- and sound artists, musicians and media theorists presented contemporary issues on experimental sound art and music, commenting and analysing them.

GoCyber – Net Art Online is a net art gallery on MUU's home page, exploring the tools offered by Internet in art making.

MUU MEDIA BASE – WORK SPACE AND TRAINING

Muu Media Base is the first centre for media art in Finland aimed at artists as a work space for digital art, where works of photographic, video, new media, web, light, performance and sound art are being made. In addition, Media Base organises courses and workshops.

MUU

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