

де и јавности. Уз то, ова монографија је могућа и пожељну референца за даљна истраживања на задату тему. Пешићева и Новаковић веома свесно целу проблематику остављају отвореном, на изванредан начин пружајући могућност научне надоградње и простор за „за дискусију“ са читаоцем, управо упућујући на то што би можда могао бити и мото ове монографије: Нема појма слободе без јавности и има ли јавности без појма слободе?

Sexual Decoys, Zillah Eisenstein, London-New York, Zed Books (2007), pp.142.

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RETHINKING CONTEMPORARY BIOPOLITICS

As one of the foremost political theorists and activists of our time, in *Sexual Decoys* Zillah Eisenstein continues to articulate the meaning of dominant neoliberal practices, especially in the context of ongoing US organized wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the ways in which gender and race are mobilized for current imperial democracy. Eisenstein underlines that “many people have been a part of the writing of this book”, reminding that such a task of articulating a discourse of functioning of contemporary biopolitics requires a specific understanding of the relation between theory and practice, from which it comes forth. In such way, *Sexual Decoys* represents a project on which “there is still much work to be done”, a call for further investigations that combine empirical and sociological researches with a philosophical task of formulating the possibility of actual democracy – in contrast to what Eisenstein names as “imperial democracy”.

In *Sexual Decoys* Zillah Eisenstein applies a foucauldian theo-

retical background of inversion of Clausewitz's formula i.e. of *normalization of war* to investigation of contemporary processes in which such normalization leaves direct implications on meaning and use of gender. Aside from Foucault, Eisenstein here draws on both Butler and Agamben: it is exactly the fact that gender is made-up, performed, improvised and multiple that enables its different uses and abuses in current imperialism in which the state of exception becomes the rule and normal juridical order becomes less and less clear. War is not just about dying but also about a life that isn't worth living. That is also the reason why race and sex are in play more fluidly, as bodies are made to become less significant. It is in this context, Eisenstein argues, that *gender appears as politics in another form*, as biopolitics proper, in the sense that phenomena from militarization of gender to human's rights and woman's rights are employed in such a way as to create existing and often prevailing paradoxes of "*neoliberal feminism*" and "*racialized fascist democracy*".

In her writing, Eisenstein traces racialized and gendered silenced stories of militarized neoliberalism, demonstrating how the moment of multiple sexes and genders can be politicized as in contemporary US right-wing politics and concrete political actors. Eisenstein's decisive argument is

that *gender fluidity and racial diversity must not be confused with sexual or gender equality or justice* and, moreover, that in dominant practices this diversity is often *anti-democratic*. It is diversity without equality that figures as a global disguise for the newest revision of neoliberalism as *anti-democratic democracy*. In respect to US university practices of sexual and racial diversity, Eisenstein notes that *radicalism*, whether feminist, liberal, Marxist, nowadays remains a minority voice i.e. that the figure of *radical intellectual* is rare to the extent that there is an actual possibility of "academy capitulating". Reminding once more that Western liberal democracy has never in history been fully democratic and that one should not conflate Western-style democracy with democracy itself, Eisenstein emphasizes that the difference is that new neoliberal practices of contemporary political scene appear as *fascistic* and that, although exceptions, they can too easily become a rule.

What is at stake in such a constellation is that US's unilateral and unipolar stance in this stage of global capitalism requires both more war and militarization in new forms – which implies transformations of the distinctions between public and private, military and civilian, war and peace and established gender differentiations. "If war is politics in another form, and if gender is political

configuration, then the process of gendering males and females is a continuation of politics and war in other forms. The war on terror – in fact, wars of/on terror – is a war to establish the imperial form of democracy.”³⁾ As such, Eisenstein argues, war is more than war itself; war is also a business and a *cultural metaphor* for most processes that take place in public space and there is something of a mentality of war that spills out into everyday life – such is the case with wars on drugs, on AIDS, on cancer, on terrorism...

In the political arena proper, it is even more the case, as Zillah Eisenstein convincingly underlines, that *anti-democratic practices* are couched in the *language of democracy*: bombs are dropped, people detained and tortured abroad, while other rounded up in US to be deported or held in legal limbo. This is especially the case in the so-called justification of anti-terror rhetoric and US foreign policy, where terrorism as the new communism, emerges as the new *enemy* - the constitutive, necessary enemy, right on the line of schmittian paradigm of “*friend and foe*” on which contemporary right-wing US politics rests (a strong motive that has recently also been discussed in works such as Simon Critchley’s *Infinitely Demanding*, Verso, 2007).

As *democracy*, both *gender* and *race* appear as *fiction and*

real phenomena. This happens, according to Eisenstein, precisely because of relation between them and the fact that all terms are used in vaporized form, while on the other hand, it is only the basis of such concepts that a shift towards a *radically democratic world* and “*meaningful democracy*” can be achieved. This is to say that the difference between imperial feminism that manipulates and disguises the anti-democratic politics of the state and woman’s rights discourse that is used to camouflage war on one side, and feminism that aims at realization of social justice and actual democracy arises as decisive. Eisenstein’s programmatic originality and uniqueness of argumentation lies in recognizing that democracy and its relationship to feminism needs to be at the core of any renegotiation of a sexually free and racially diverse conception of justice for all. Possibilities for actualization of such a task lie exactly *in the end of militarization of politics* in global capitalism that instrumentalizes the fluidity of gender formations for contemporary forms of governing. The promissory for social justice, according to Zillah Eisenstein, lies with a degendered and polysexed belief in non-racialized socialist feminisms for today.

3) Eisenstein, Z. *Sexual Decoys*, pp. 12, 59