Commentary (5.1.4.)

Martyrs (5.1.4.1.)
3 notes on Violence (5.1.4.2.)
Headless: Acéphale or Wiki? (5.1.4.3.)
Emotional Rationality (5.1.4.4.)

Martyrs (5.1.4.1.)

If one accepts the death of Khaled Said and the invention of the Silent Stand and the two facebook groups (Arab and English) as the beginning of the events that led to the Egyptian revolution[1], it is highly interesting to note that the first two succesful uprisings in the Middle East – Tunesia and Egypt – both started with performative, symbolic acts. On December 17th 2010, the young Tunesian fruit vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, was harassed by a police officer; frustrated and desperate he went to the square in front of the local govenor's office and set fire to himself. This suicidal sacrifice was the spark that set off the Tunesian uprisings that led to the flight of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali on January 14th, 2011. The act of burning himself spoke directly in a visual symbolic language without words; without any political statement or ideological framework. The sheer desperation of this act was immediately understood by a large crowd of people in his hometown, Sidi Bouzid, and the demonstrations and riots that eventually led to the downfall of the Tunesian regime started. The communication Mohamed Bouazizi makes with his act is emotional and symbolic. It is also – as is the Silent Stand – free of any direct political meaning or message. It is a basic human statement, a statement open for everyone to connect to. Here it is not sadness, but frustration and desperation that is being expressed. Mohamed Bouazizi had just lost his license to sell fruit at the local market, and was facing unemployment and a desperate lack of money to sustain his family with. Burning himself to death on the city square was a pure act of desperation, but to his followers it became a symbolic act expressing all the anger and frustration of the poor, unemployed Tunesian masses. His act became an icon for the revolution.[2]

Since the early 1960s, there has been a widespread international tradition of self-immolation, as the act of setting fire to oneself in public is also called. Starting with some Vietnamese Buddhist monks protesting the Vietnam war, it became a very effective political tool. As, for instance, the 1969 suicide of Czech student, Jan Palach, protesting the Soviet occupation of his country that became an inspiration for political activists all over the world. In the recent uprisings in the Middle East, Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation has inspired a whole wave of similar self-immolation protests.

Since no one else is hurt in this act, it is a very strong symbol of self-sacrifice for the common cause.

> "Self-immolations are often public, dramatic, political, and thus newsworthy. They can be seen as a type of altruistic suicides for the collective cause. Unlike suicide attacks, self-immolations are not intended to inflict physical harm or material damage. They attract attention and become glorified as martyrdom – it maximizes pain and personal suffering, but does not guarantee death."[3]

Both Mohamed Bouazizi and Khaled Said became 'martyrs of the revolution'. In the new Middle East uprisings, there is already a whole range of new 'martyrs', and the idea of fighting for the revolution 'until death if necessary' is widespread and occurs again and again in interviews and statements from central actors in the uprisings. As performance, the self-immolation is irreversible: the act only works, if it is a real sacrifice. The image is only conveyed, if it is performed for real. The performance transforms the performer from a real person to an image. An icon.

Self-immolation is a symbolic act, performed in the real with fatal consequences. In a sense it reverses the argument made in the commentary 'Transcendence? Violence? The Aesthetics of Resistance' (1.1.4.2)[4], where the Black Bloc argues for destruction of private property as a 'shattering and exorcising of the capitalist spell'. Here too, a performative act in the real has an extra layer of symbolic meaning:

> "The real action can only be justified because it has a symbolic meaning, and the symbolic meaning only has an effect when it is actualized by being performed in the real."

The self-immolation is strictly non-violent though; as are the whole range of activist strategies employed in the Egyptian and Tunesian uprisings. In contrast to the Black Bloc strategies, the risks taken and the violence inherent in these actions are always something that the activists expose themselves to.

This willingness to sacrifice oneself for the common cause – in all its fatal consequences – can be hard to grasp as a secular Westerner, but as also described in connection with the 1989 Democracy Movement, where thousands of hunger-strikers pushed themselves close to death, self-inflicted martyrdom is a key factor in the mobilization of the masses, seen both in China 1989 and in the Arab Spring 2010/11. The fact that someone is willing to sacrify their lives for the common good, is a testimony to the truth. An argument performed as an irreversible act of self-immolation is indisputable; in contrast to the intricate corruption of the political elite, suchs acts with fatal consequences are conveyed as pure and truthful on behalf of the suffering masses.

There is a close connection, but also a sharp demarcation, between this phenomenon of self-immolation and the fundamentalist Islamic tradition of suicide bombers. Both the self-immolater and the suicide bomber are seen as martyrs, but whereas the suicide bomber also inflicts damage and death to others - often innocent civilians – the self-immolator only takes his own life. The tradition of self-immolation doesn't spring from a specific religion – it is not especially conncted to Islam as one would assume at first glance – but as described above from a variety of political events in the recent history of global politics.

The willingness to take extreme risks for the sake of the common cause, and the strict non-violence accompanying it, has to be seen as a reaction to the extreme brutality of especially the Egyptian regime. The famous wall-of martyrs on Tahrir Square is not only testimony to the brutality of the regime – to how many were killed by the police forces – but also to the extreme risks taken by the activists for the sake of the common cause. As Mohamed Bouazizi and Khaled Said, these activists become 'martyrs of the revolution'. In martyrdom they are purified. They become icons. They become rolemodels for the masses of illiterate poor, who can identify directly - on a basic emotional level – with these exemplary heroes.

3 notes on Violence (5.1.4.2.)

Extraordinary Renditions[5]

In the aftermath of Khaled Said's brutal killing in the autumn of 2010, another 4 people are beaten or tortured to death by the Egyptian authorities: Mohamed Ali Darweesh, Elsayed Belal, Mostafa Atteya, Ahmed Shaaban.[6] The Egyptian state is notorious for its brutal and inhuman treatment of its enemies. By using the state of emergency laws - in function for 29 years - the government and the police forces keep up a hard-core regime of surveillance, arrests, torture and killing that oppresses all legal opposition.

Although Western governments have been quick to declare their support to human rights groups and democratic movements in the Middle East, a straight line goes from the AbuGhraib scandal in Iraq to the killing of Khaled Said and the other dead torture victims in the last desperate autumn of Hosni Mubaraks regime. When the systematic use of torture by the US military in Iraq and Afghanistan – in the prison-cells of AbuGhraib, Guantanamo and Bagram – was exposed in the international media around 2004/05, the 'coalition of the willing' had to find other ways of interrogating the prisoners taken during the ongoing war on terror. Building up an intricate web of secret, so-called 'renditions', a vast number of prisoners, or illegal combatants, as they are called, are transported around the world by the CIA, to secret prisons in a number of countries in the former eastern Europe and in the Middle East.[7] Here they are being interrogated by local officials who have no problems in using the whole palette of techniques that in other countries are labeled as torture. Egypt was one of the key knots in this network. In the government of Mubarak, CIA was always able to find a reliable partner when torture was needed.[8] The rendition program was secret, but as recent documents revealed by WikiLeaks[9] have probed, a range of European countries more or less willingly let the secret airplanes of CIA cross through their airspace and use their airports. In this sense, the US and their willing coalition did not only work with Mubarak in the light of day as a close Mid-Eastern ally, they were also with him down in the dark torture-cells; paying him off to do the dirty work for them. Encouraging and expanding the business.

Image Politics

The Norwegian writer, Inger Elisabeth Hansen, has described how the Egyptian regime all of a sudden was seen naked at Tahrir Square. How the uptill then 'secret' procedures of humiliation and torture in an instance was caught in the spotlight of the new ever present media:

> "They, the security police, did what they were asked to do and what they had always done: They acted the security police in a dictatorship, they shot, kidnapped, and tortured. But on Tahrir Square they were seen. With all the new media focussed on them as a facet-eyed mirror, they couldn't recognize the image of themselves. They lost dignity, respect and fiction. The leaders of the security police were wrong, they miscalculated the audience. They looked outdated, as without any kind of communicational strategy, completely out of time." [10]

By acting with strict non-violence, the activists in Tahrir Square are able to stage their counterpart as the aggressors. In the new sequence of images being performed directly in the global media, the Egyptian security police are revealed as brutal and unjust.

It is interesting to note that while the 'secret' Egyptian praxis of torture was generally known and accepted before 2010 – the Western governments even used the Egyptians to conduct their own 'extraordinary renderings' – it is only when the Egyptians themselves reveal the monstrosities and risk their lives protesting against it, that the Western democracies – and the Western public voices – react. My point is that it is the imagery performed by the Egyptian activists that turns public opinion, not only in Egypt, but on a global scale. The two images of Khaled Said (before and after his brutal killing), the protests performed in the Silent Stands, on Anger Day and finally on Tahrir Square are by far more convincing than any amount of UN reports, Amnesty petitions and political debates. The images and the radical risks taken in performing these images are what turns the tables and creates the paradigmatic shift in Mid-Eastern politics, now known as the 'Arab Spring'.

Non-violence
The Egyptian opposition consists of a variety of different groups and smaller movements, some them active for years. The most important ones are assembled under the umbrella of 'Coalition of the Youth of the Revolution': We are all Khaled Said, April 6 Youth Movement, Kefaya, Muslim Brotherhood, National Association for Change (led by Mohamed ElBaradei), RS = Revolutionary Socialists. It is generally acknowledged that the April 6 Youth Movement has been one of the deciding factors of the revolution, central in galvanizing the masses to take action. Starting out as a support group for a workers' strike in the spring of 2008, they were from the beginning using facebook, flikr and twitter to mobilize large crowds of people outside the traditional working-class cadres. Already then, in the first round of strikes, they were promoting the idea of wearing black which would later be a central feature of the Silent Stands. April 6 Youth Movement is one of the main reasons that the uprising in Cairo in general and on Tahrir Square especially was so extremely well-organized. They applied and kept to a strategy of strict non-violence, setting up check-points at the entrances to Tahrir Square to prevent armed protesters to steal the focus. Even when the protests were attacked by the counter-revolutionary gangs of Mubarak supporters on February 2nd, the answer was surprisingly non-violent. Even though April 6 leaders played this central role, they continuosly downplay their role and praise the uprisings as 'headless', just as Whael Ghonim, the administrator of the 'We Are All Khaled Said' website (see note 9 and 10).

In the February 9th episode of 'People & Power' on AljazeeraEnglish called 'Egypt: Seeds of Change' by Elizabeth Jones, there is an interview with Srdja Popovic of the Serbian Otpor Movement who is in Cairo to supervise the April 6 Youth Movement on riot strategics:

> "One of the key things is to understand that non-violence struggle is a form of warfare. Non-violence discipline, this is key. Because violence contaminates your movement. And creates your opponents' excuse for using police and military forces, also there is this big problem with media and violence. If you have a march of one hundred thousand people and one single idiot throwing a stone, he is going to be the star of the day. And this is how media operate, so you need to avoid this violence in many different ways, and this is specifically crucial at this stage." [11]

This is exactly what the April 6 Youth Movement is so brilliant at: guiding the masses and keeping a strict non-violence discipline. The Egyptian movements differ from

many of the Scandinavian movements I have investigated in this sense. Here on Tahrir Square, it is the activists who have control of the images projected via the international media. The Egyptian regime looks disorganized, brutal and unfocussed time and time again. To a large extent, the success of the revolution is a consequence of the powerfull 'image-politics' of the activist movement.

In the 3 weeks following January 25th, the struggle on images turns Cairo upside down in the sense that the control and guidance of public space and security is deliberately left unguarded by the police forces in an attempt to designate the consequences of the uprising as chaos and turmoil. The regime even organizes gangs of thugs and criminals to raid the now uncontrolled areas of the city, instigating the chaos needed to portray the uprisings as turmoil and insecurity. These miscalculated and ruthless attempts at staging the opponent – the rapidly growing protest movement – as violent aggressors fail and instead add to the image of the regime as brutal and inhuman.

At the same time, the April 6 Youth Movement and other parts of the new movement manage to secure Tahrir Square, monitor every single person entering the square for weapons and create a peaceful protest with a mass of a million. Even when the protesters in Tahrir Square are attacked directly on February 2nd, they manage to keep the defense of the square relatively peaceful. In contrast to the regime, the new movement are very successful in staging the opponent as agressors.

The strange images of thugs on camels riding directly into the masses, beating up everyone around with metal-bars, still stand as an enigmatic feature of this uneven struggle for the image politics of Tahrir Square.

Inger Elisabeth Hansen calls Tahrir Square the next great icon of liberation after Che Guevara.[12] The monstrous conglomerate of torture, violence and severe dictatorship is the frame from which the new icon emerges. By performing a visionary mixture of strict non-violence, radical self-sacrifice and an expansive and uncontrollable use of social media, the new movement re-defines the meaning of liberation. Tahrir Square, the new icon of liberation, erases the old images of the Arab people as either Islamic fundamentalists or disillusioned, compliant supporters of dictatorship.

Headless: Acéphale or Wiki? (5.1.4.3.)

Khaled Said is turned into a martyr or a legend, when his friends invent the Silent Stands and the Facebook-group "We are all Khaled Said". Khaled Said becomes an image, a symbolic figure. It is one of the extremely interesting and brilliant imaginative moves of this group of activists that they stage a dead person as their leader. His figure becomes a void to be filled with the emotions of the movement that evolves out of his death. His absence becomes a point of identification. It could have been me who was being killed. It could have happened to all of us. Because Khaled Said was so normal – 'so middle-class that all of us young educated Egyptians could immediately identify with him', as one of the 'We are all Khaled Said'-administrators Whael Ghonim states in an interview with on the CBS talkshow 60minutes[13] - he is open for everyone to identify with. Khaled Said is a passive figure, and because of this passivity it is impossible to critizise him. Because he is dead, he is untouchable.

Whael Ghonim and his still anonymous collaborator, are both anonymous all the way through the process, until Whael Ghonim is arrested during the first days of protest after January 25th.[14] Their anonymity has very real practical reasons; in the first long phase of protests, they will immediately be targeted and imprisoned if they go public as organizers of such protests. Later, after Tahrir Square is occupied and the revolutionary momentum has become a global factor, security isn't the prime aspect of their anonymity. Now, it is the headless character of the new movement that is symbolized by anonymity.

Of course there are persons who are more central to the events than others - Ahmad Maher of the April 6 Youth Movement, Whael Ghonim of We Are All Khaled Said and a whole range of other strong figures – but all downplay their personal roles and refrain from taking public leadership. This is an ideal democratic attitude, but it might also be a tool to overcome the stark ideological contrasts within the movement. Consisting of a very disparate myriad of organizations and smaller movements, from the religious Muslim Brotherhood to the secular socialists in RS (Revolutionary Socialists), the new movement spans an enormous political spectrum. Part of the gigantic mobilization of the masses at Tahrir Square must be explained by this miraculous ability to include and open up for almost any kind of political fractions in Egypt. In Tahrir, it is really everyone, 'high and low, rich and poor, young and old, woman and man, Christian and Muslim, even the secular', who joins in.

Acéphale?
The concept of 'headless' refers to George Bataille who wrote about leaderless or headless secret societies, using the term 'acéphale'. Bataille was co-founder of the magazine 'Acéphale' and of an esoteric "secret society" with the same name. What actually went on in this secret society is rather unclear. Bataille only gives fragmented hints in his writings. *The Sacred Conspiracy*, which prefaced the first issue of *Acéphale*, contained an appeal *to go beyond the world*:

> "It is time to abandon the world of the civilized and its light. It is too late to be reasonable and educated which has led to a life without appeal." [15]

Furthermore:

> "A world that cannot be loved to the point of death, in the same way that a man loves a woman, represents only self-interest and the obligation to work. If it is compared to worlds gone by, it is hideous, and appears as the most

failed of all."

Acéphale is, he states, "*ferociously religious*," yet this religion is atheological:

> "The *acephalic man* mythologically expresses sovereignty committed to destruction and the death of God, and in this the identification with the headless man merges and melds with the identification with the superhuman, which is entirely the death of God.'" (Absolute, Enthousiasme). God is the enemy of community, or a creator of false community, associated with tranquillity, absence of movement, the finished, time made finite: a prison." [16]

The Swedish artist duo, goldin+senneby, are currently researching a project called 'Headless'. Here, they investigate the realm of off-shore economy as a contemporary version of Acéphale. As the curator, Lisa Rosendahl, writes:

> "Goldin+Senneby are interested in how the juridical construction of offshore financial centres can be seen as performative acts of fictionalizing place and staging realms of invisibility." [17]

Here, the metaphor of Acéphale makes perfect sense, off-shore invisiblity is about secrecy. What is different from the Egyptian uprisings is the urge for invisibility. Tahrir Square is on the contrary a site of visibility. In Tahrir, the incoming masses of protesters become visible as 'the people'. Tahrir is a stage to be performed, a place to become visible.

The headlessness in Tahrir has to do with how the uprising is organised by a mesh of small independent activist groups who create a non-hierarchical structure. Anonymity is not about secret invisibility. Its rather about the opposite: To become visible, not as an individual, but as one af the many. To become part of the collective body, to synchronize into one.

Wiki [18]
Ward Cunningham and co-author Bo Leuf, in their book *The Wiki Way: Quick Collaboration on the Web*, described the essence of the Wiki concept as follows:

- A wiki invites all users to edit any page or to create new pages within the wiki Web site, using only a plain-vanilla Web browser without any extra add-ons.
- Wiki promotes meaningful topic associations between different pages by making page link creation almost intuitively easy and showing whether an intended target page exists or not.
- A wiki is not a carefully crafted site for casual visitors. Instead, it seeks to involve the visitor in an ongoing process of creation and collaboration that constantly changes the Web site landscape.

> "A wiki enables communities to write documents collaboratively, using a simple markup language and a web browser. A single page in a wiki website is referred to as a "wiki page", while the entire collection of pages, which are usually well interconnected by hyperlinks, is "the wiki". A wiki is essentially a database for creating, browsing, and searching through information. A wiki allows for non-linear, evolving, complex and networked text, argument and interaction." [19]

When Whael Ghonim compares the Egyptian revolution to Wikipedia, it is exactly this 'non-linear, evolving, complex interaction' he is evoking. Again, it is an image, an attitude that he is evoking. By denouncing his own role, giving all credit to the anonymous many - just as he himself was anonymous until he was arrested on January 27th 2011 – the movement becomes all-inclusive. Everyone contributes in equal measure. The power is spread out into the masses. There are no heroes, no leaders, everyone is equal. This is the pure image of democracy, an icon of ideal democracy.

Using the wiki metaphor also links the revolution to new social media on the internet. In his 'normal' life Whael Ghonim is working for Google, and the movement has used facebook, YouTube, twitter and other socials media on the internet extensively. Of course this has huge communicative and logistic functions in connecting activists in fast and uncontrollable ways, but it also gives the revolution a strong profile as 'young, intelligent and connected on a global scale'. The Egyptian revolution was soon named the 'facebook-revolution', a label with massive positive connotations in the international media. This branding made it a revolution for the future, not a fundamentalist return to the dark past, as many in the West feared in the beginning.

Paranoia
In *Study Guide: Egypt and Organization,* the American right-wing commentator, Glenn Beck, traces the international network that the April 6 Youth Movement is part of.[20] He is focussed on an organization called 'Alliance of Youth Movements' (later renamed to 'movements.org'):

> "So what is the Alliance of Youth Movements (AYM)? From their Mission page, they describe themselves as *"*a not-for-profit organization dedicated to helping grassroots activists to build their capacity and make a greater impact on the world." And boy, do they offer a lot of help. AYM was co-founded by Jared Cohen (Director of Google Ideas who formerly worked for the State Dept.) and Jason Liebman (Howcast founder.) AYM partners with MTV, Google, CBS, MSNBC, Facebook, YouTube, National Geographic, Columbia University Law School and even our own State Dept. Annual summits feature workshops from the best in the social networking business."

Ahmad Maher, one of the leaders of the April 6 Youth Movement, takes part in a conference organized by Alliance of Youth Movements in December 2008. Glenn Beck uses this fact to link April 6, not only to the above-mentioned leaders of the global internet-industry, but also to the American Government. Another active member of Alliance of Youth Movement is Maajid Nawaz. Nawaz is formerly on the UK national leadership of the Islamist party Hizb ut-Tahrir. After spending 4 years in Egyptian prisons, he changes his views and is founding the Quilliam Foundation:

> "Quilliam Foundation is the world's first counter-extremism think tank set up to address the unique challenges of citizenship, identity, and belonging in a globalised world. Quilliam stands for religious freedom, human rights, democracy and developing a Muslim identity at home in, and with, the West."[21]

In a statement on February 4, 2011, Maajid Nawaz strongly supports the Egyptian uprising, connecting it with his personal experiences of torture "in the dungeons of Hosni Mubarak's torture facilities".

In a rather paranoid argument, Glenn Beck uses these links to prove that not only is Hizb ut-Tahrir, but also the American Government, the real organizers of the Egyptian revolution. Glenn Beck is way out into conspiracy theory, but the interesting thing is, how he actually points to what kind of network the April 6 Youth Movement already soon after their founding was engaged in. The use of Facebook and other social media on the internet was already from the start backed up by personal contacts to some of the main actors in this field.

Flash Mob
It is not only the communication, networking and mobilization that evolves in social media as facebook, YouTube or twitter. Also the format of the political actions on the ground are inspired by phenomena in the rapidly expanding internet culture. Silent Stand and a variety of other actions – i.e. Anger Day - are formatted after the popular phenomenon, Flash Mob. A small or large group of people agree to meet up somewhere in a public space and perform something collectively: It can be a certain dance taken from a music video, it can be a collective prank or some kind of silly action that surprises the unsuspecting audience of chance passers-by. The action is video-taped and published directly on the internet, most often on YouTube. Flash Mobs are cloned by advertising and commercial music business, but also by political activists, such as the Occupy Movement. In Egypt, the combination of strong, emotionally charged actions in public space and a rapidly growing community of online followers, are crucial in the explosive mobilization of an unprecedented number of protesters.

It is in the intricate double space of cityscape and its media representations on the internet that the 'non-linear, evolving, complex interaction' explodes. This multitextual collectivity is a basic, democratic becoming. It is the development of a new political subject; a leaderless, synchronic identity, where 'everyone contribute small pieces, bits and pieces'[22].

Even though this process is partly taking place via the social media, the physical presence in the actions on Tahrir Square is a crucial element. As described in the commentary, 'Martyrs', the immense risk taken in confronting the authorities is a basic human factor that everyone can identify with. The genuine focus on creating actions that work as platforms for emotional expression – sadness, anger, joy – opens up the movement for the masses. The risks and the very basic human emotions that the actions facilitate are something everyone can connect to, identify with and engage in.

Emotional Rationality (5.1.4.4.)

> "Traditional theories, even those which postulate the rationality of social movements, fail to comprehend the merger of instrumental and aesthetic rationality during moments of the Eros Effect. (..) The emergence of an emotional rationality in the midst of political struggle itself transcended the categories of action which established theories of social action and collective behavior assume."[23]

The merger of instrumental and aesthetic rationality. It is exactly this merging of aesthetic, performative imagery and political action that characterizes the Egyptian (and the Tunesian) uprisings. By creating large-scale participatory scenarios – the Silent Stands, Anger Day & Tahrir Square – the activists enable a massive collective emotional identification. These scenarios are aesthetic in the sense that they are based on basic human emotions: Sadness, anger, solidarity, freedom. This instrumental emotional rationality facilitates the revolutionary becoming, the Eros Effect. The millions of individuals become the people, the millions become one. This is the 'revolutionary becoming' – the formation of a new headless subject.

Notes:

[1] The term 'revolution' is debatable. In a strict sense the uprisings centered on Tahrir Square were not a revolutionary movement. The general intentions of the movement are rather reform-oriented, but the reforms suggested are on such a massive scale that the term 'revolution' might be reasonable anyway. The movement itself uses the phrase' the Egyptian revolution' again and again. I am also using it at various points throughout these texts, but with a consciousness of the arguments against this use.

[2] David Rosenberg: *Self-immolation spreads across Mideast inspiring protest,*
Jerusalem Post 25.1.2011 (http://www.jpost.com/MiddleEast/Article.aspx?id=205180)
+ Biggs, Michael (2005). "Dying Without Killing: Self-Immolations, 1963–2002". In Diego Gambetta. *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*. Oxford University Press

[3] from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Self-immolation

[4] quoted from the commentary: 'Transcendence? Violence? The Aesthetics of Resistance' (1.1.4.2)

[5] British Dictionary: rendition ǀrenˈdiSHənǀ noun
1 a performance or interpretation, esp. of a dramatic role or piece of music: *a wonderful rendition of "Nessun Dorma."*
• a visual representation or reproduction: *a pen-and-ink rendition of Mars with his sword drawn.*
• a translation or transliteration.
2 (also **extraordinary rendition**)the practice of sending a foreign criminal or terrorist suspect covertly to be interrogated in a country with less rigorous regulations for the humane treatment of prisoners. ORIGIN early 17th cent.: from obsolete French, from **rendre 'give back, render.'**

word trends: Although recorded as far back as 1980, the new sense of **rendition** is generally regarded as a product of the 'War on Terror.' It refers to the morally and legally ambiguous practice of sending suspects to be questioned in countries known to use harsh interrogation techniques and even torture. The Oxford English Corpus has shown a steady increase in examples throughout the last decade, with a particular rise in the phrase *extraordinary rendition*, which is now the most common use of **rendition** by far. The practice has also spawned a new sense of the verb **render**, meaning 'send someone abroad for interrogation.' Like *extraordinary rendition*, this has seen a surge in use in the last two years: *he was seized in Pakistan and later secretly rendered to Morocco*.

[6] http://www.facebook.com/elshaheeed.co.uk January 14th 2011 + January 7th 2011 + December 9th 2010 + November 15th 2010
http://ireport.cnn.com/docs/DOC-526968
http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/0,1518,729527,00.html#ref=rss

[7] An informative and in-depth article on secret renditions is to be found at:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extraordinary_rendition_by_the_United_States

[8] MATTHEW COLE and SARAH O. WALI *: New Egyptian VP Ran Mubarak's Security Team, Oversaw Torture* (http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/egypt-crisis-omar-suleiman-cia-rendition/story?id=12812445)
+ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omar_Suleiman
+ Lisa Hajjar: *Suleiman: The CIA's man in Cairo*
(http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/opinion/2011/02/201127114827382865.html)

[9] John Goetz and Matthias Gebauer: *US Pressured Italy to Influence Judiciary*
(http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,735268,00.html)

[10] INGER ELISABETH HANSEN**:** *HVORFOR LUKKET INGEN ØYNENE PÅ CHE (Che i pysjamas med lukkede øyne)*(Why didnt anyone close the eyes of Che (Che in pyjamas with his eyes closed)) folkebiblioteket april 2011, Forlaget Attåt 2011, http://blogg.deichman.no/folkebiblioteket/217-2/

[11] http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/peopleandpower/2011/02/201128145549829916.html

[12] see note 10

[13] Whael Ghonim interviewed on the CBS talkshow 60minutes:
http://www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=7346812n

[14] Whael Ghonim administers the Arab version of the 'We are all Khaled Said'-page. His anonymous collaborator administers the English version.

[15] All 3 quotes taken from: *The Secret Society of Acéphale in Encyclopaedia Acephalica Comprising the Critical Dictionary & Related Texts* (Edited by Georges Bataille), Appendix?, p.152
+
Propositions on the Death of God, *Visions of Excess, Selected Writings, 1927-1939*, ed. Allan Stoeckl, UK: Manchester University Press, 1985; USA: University of Minnesota Press, 1985, pp.199, 201

[16] Bataille's version of God and ' the world of the civilised' compares surprisingly well to 'Dead Time' as it is described by Stine Krøijer and used in various other parts of this project.

[17] http://www.goldinsenneby.com/gs/?p=116

[18] wiki ˈwikēl noun
a Web site that allows collaborative editing of its content and structure by its users. ORIGIN coined by programmer Ward Cunningham (1949-), from Hawaiian *wiki-wiki 'quick-quick.'* (New Oxford American Dictionary)

[19] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wiki + Black, Peter; Delaney, Hayden; Fitzgerald, Brian (2007), *Legal Issues for Wikis: The Challenge of User-generated and Peer-produced Knowledge, Content and Culture*, 14, eLaw J., p. 245

[20] GLENN BECK The Fusion of Entertainment and Enlightenment
http://www.glennbeck.com/2011/02/14/study-guide-egypt-and-organization/

[21] http://www.newstatesman.com/middle-east/2011/02/egypt-brotherhood-uprising

[22] Whael Ghonim interviewed on the CBS talkshow 60minutes:
http://www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=7346812n

[23] Georgy Katsiaficas: *Eroseffectpaper*, p.10 - http://www.eroseffect.com/articles/eroseffectpaper.PDF
included here as Appendix