

IZ KNJIGE *SEDMI ČOVJEK: KNJIGA U SLICI I RIJEČI O ISKUSTVIMA MIGRANTSKIH
RADNIKA U EUROPI* JOHNA BERGERA I JEAN MOHR. NASLOVNICA IZDANJA
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*SEDMI ČOVJEK: KNJIGA U SLICI
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RADNIKA U EUROPI*

John Berger, Jean Mohr

U suradnji sa Svenom Blombergom

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DUBRAVKA

SEKULIĆ

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*A SEVENTH MAN: A BOOK OF IMAGES
AND WORDS ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE
OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN EUROPE*

John Berger, Jean Mohr

With the collaboration of Sven Blomberg

First published by Penguin Books 1975

For this text the re-edition by Verso in

2010 was read.

**FORTY YEARS OF
A SEVENTH MAN**

‘Today the migrant worker experiences, within a few years, what the working population of every industrial city once experienced over generations. To consider his life – its material circumstances and his inner feelings – is to be brought face to face with the fundamental nature of our present societies and their histories. The migrant is not on the margin of modern experience – he is absolutely central to it.’

A Seventh Man

JOHN BERGER AND JEAN MOHR

With a new introduction



FROM THE BOOK *A SEVENTH MAN: A BOOK OF IMAGES AND
WORDS ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN EUROPE*
BY JOHN BERGER AND JEAN MOHR. COVER OF A 2010 VERSO RE-EDITION.

„Danas migrantski radnik proživi unutar nekoliko godina ono što je radna populacija svih industrijskih gradova proživljavala generacijama. Razmotriti njegov život – u materijalnim okolnostima i osobnim osjećajima – znači suočiti se s temeljnom naravi naših današnjih društava i njihovih povijesti. Migrant se ne nalazi na marginama suvremenog iskustva – on je u samom njegovu središtu.”¹

John Berger dobio je 1972. godine Booker Prize za svoju knjigu *G*, jednu od najprestižnijih književnih nagrada u Velikoj Britaniji. Iskristio je tu priliku kako bi „okrenuo nagradu protiv nje same” i progovorio o njezinu problematičnom naslijeđu, budući da nosi ime glavnog sponzora. Berger je ovako objasnio svoju odluku televizijskom izvjestitelju nedugo nakon što je primio nagradu: „Dodjeljuje je tvrtka Booker-McConnell, koja već 130 godina ima znatne trgovinske interese u karipskoj regiji. Tamošnje

izrazito siromaštvo direktna je posljedica izrabljivanja kapitalista poput Bookera i drugih. Stoga kao revolucionarni pisac namjeravam podijeliti ovu nagradu s ljudima koji žive na Karibima ili odande potječu, ljudima koji su uključeni u borbu protiv takvog izrabljivanja s namjerom da naposljetku razvlaste tvrtke poput Bookera. Ustvari, namjeravam dati polovinu nagrade londonskom pokretu Crne pantere (*Black Panthers*).”² Ostatak nagrade Berger je zadržao kako bi financirao istraživanje za *Sedmog čovjeka*, knjigu koja je tema ovog teksta, a na kojoj je surađivao s fotografom Jeanom Mohrom, slikarom Svenom Blombergom i grafičkim dizajnerom Richardom Hollisom. Rad na knjizi koja se bavi iskustvom migrantskih radnika u Europi tijekom prve polovine sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća Berger je smatrao nužnim i sastavnim dijelom svoje političke borbe. Objavljena je 1975. godine, a ime je dobila po činjenici da je u vrijeme pisanja „u Njemačkoj (i Britaniji) jedan od sedam manualnih radnika bio imigrant. U

Francuskoj, Švicarskoj i Belgiji stranci su sačinjavali oko 25 % industrijske radne snage.”³

Zbog čega pišemo o ovoj knjizi 42 godine nakon njezina prvog izdanja? Naši diskursi nikada nisu neutralni. Oni nam služe kao filter koji čini neke odnose vidljivima, dok druge zamagljuje. Današnji značaj teme „migrantskog radnika”, a pogotovo razmjeri „izbjegličke krize”, vraćaju nas na ranija bavljenja tom temom, kontekstom, kritikom te njihovim dosezima tada, no važnije od toga dosezima i uvidima koje nam oni pružaju danas.⁴ „Migrant” i „izbjeglica” glavni su protagonisti današnjega političkog djelovanja. Iz tog je razloga Berger, kada je nakladnička kuća Verso objavila novo izdanje ove knjige 2010. godine, istaknuo u novom predgovoru: „Ponekad se dogodi da knjiga, za razliku od svojih autora, doživi novu mladost s prolaskom vremena. Mislim da se upravo to dogodilo sa *Sedmim čovjekom*.”⁵ Knjiga je pisana s jasnom političkom agendom: „Kada smo Jean Mohr i ja radili

“Today the migrant worker experiences, within a few years, what the working population of every industrial city experienced over generations. To consider his life – its material circumstances and his inner feelings – is to be brought face to face with the fundamental nature of our present societies and their histories. The migrant is not on the margin of modern experience – he is absolutely central to it.”¹

In 1972 for his novel *G* John Berger received the Booker Prize, one of the most esteemed literary prize in the United Kingdom. He used this as an opportunity to “turn the prize against itself,” and address the problematic legacy embedded in this award named after its main sponsor. Berger explained his decision to the television reporter shortly after he was awarded the prize, “the prize is given by Booker-McConnell, who are a firm who have extensive trading interest in the Caribbean for 130 years. The extreme

poverty is the direct consequence of the exploitation of capitalists like Bookers and others. So I intend, as a revolutionary writer, to share this prize, with people in and from the Caribbean, people who are involved in the struggle to resist such exploitation, and eventually to expropriate companies as Booker. I am actually going to give the half of the prize to the London based Black Panther Movement.”² Berger retained the other half of the prize money to fund the research for the book *A Seventh Man*, the focus of this text, on which he collaborated with photographer Jean Mohr, painter Sven Blomberg, and graphic designer Richard Hollis, and which he saw as the necessary and complementary part of his political struggle. The book was published in 1975, and got its name from the fact that at the time it was written, “In Germany (and in Britain) one out of seven manual workers is an immigrant. In France, Switzerland and Belgium about 25 per cent of the industrial labour force are foreigners.”³ Why write about this book 42 years after

it was first published? Our discourses are never neutral; they serve as a filter that renders certain relations visible, while obscuring others. Current importance of the theme “migrant worker,” and the dimensions of “the refugee crisis,”⁴ make us revisit earlier works dealing with those complex themes, context, critique, and the achievements, to understand how in recent past certain authors tried to grapple with the topic, but more importantly, to see which of their approaches and insights we can use today. The “migrant” and the “refugee” are fundamental figures for the political action today. This is why, when in 2010 the publishing house Verso reissued the book, Berger noted in the new forward, “It can happen that a book, unlike its authors, grows younger as the years pass. And this I believe is what may have happened to *A Seventh Man*.”⁵ The book was written with a clear political agenda. “When Jean Mohr and I were working on *A Seventh Man*, our immediate task was to show how the

na *Sedmom čovjeku*, naš je neposredni zadatak bio pokazati kako je šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća ekonomija bogatih europskih zemalja postala ovisnom o radnoj snazi iz nekoliko siromašnijih nacija. Smatramo da je motivacija u pozadini knjige stoga bila političke naravi. Nadali smo se da će pokrenuti raspravu i dati poticaj, između ostaloga, međunarodnoj radničkoj solidarnosti.⁶ Kako bi bila dostupna široj publici, knjiga je objavljena u džepnom izdanju Penguin Books unatoč sadržaju bogatom ilustracijama.⁷ Tijekom rada na knjizi dijelovi su objavljeni i kao teorijski eseji u akademskim časopisima, (zanimljivo) bez slika.⁸ Rijetko se koja knjiga da opisati u jednoj rečenici. Kada bi to bio zadatak za ovu, ta bi rečenica glasila ovako: „Prepoznavši politički značaj fenomena u kojem se zapadna Europa nekoliko desetljeća suočavala s neprestanim priljevom novih migrantskih radnika, ova knjiga nastoji odgovoriti na pitanja ‘Zašto oni dolaze ovamo?’ ili ‘Po što dolaze ovamo?’”

Međutim, takav kratki opis unio bi više nejasnoća nego što bi toga rasvijetlio. Donna Haraway podsjeća nas kako je „važno kojim se stvarima koristimo kako bismo s pomoću njih razmišljali o drugim stvarima; važno je koji čvorovi učvoruju čvorove, koje misli misle o mislima, koji opisi opisuju opise, koje veze vezuju veze. Važno je koje priče stvaraju svjetove, koji svjetovi stvaraju priče.”⁹ Slijedeći Haraway, možemo njezinu nizu dodati kako je važno koja pitanja pitamo kako bismo pitali nova. Naposljetku, sudbina svakog istraživanja, a posebno onog koje teži radikalnoj transformaciji, a ne afirmaciji postojećih odnosa moći predodređena je razumijevanjem ovog niza uvida. Berger je itekako svjestan toga da ovisno o tome kako se postavi pitanje knjiga na koncu može više zakrivati nego što bi otkrila. Stoga u knjizi ističe kako su čak i najjednostavnija pitanja složenija nego što se čini na prvi pogled. „Jednostavna argumentacija ide ovako: od kraja rata, a osobito tijekom posljednjih petnaestak

godina, ekonomija zapadne Europe raste brže od broja stanovnika. To je stvorilo manjak radne snage. Za razliku od toga, u zemljama Sredozemlja postoji problem ‘prenapučenosti’, budući da suvremena medicina, koja potječe iz razvijenih zemalja, posvuda smanjuje smrtnost djece i bolest. Stoga se dogodilo da su muškarci bez posla počeli odlaziti onamo gdje je posla bilo: i to posla koji je objektivno, a pogotovo po njihovim standardima, bio dobro plaćen.”¹⁰ Berger se slaže s tom tvrdnjom, no ukazuje na proturječnost: „Nijedan iskaz u toj hipotezi nije neistinit. No ona prikriva pravu istinu. Paravan riječi doista je neproziran.”¹¹ Stoga postavlja temeljno pitanje knjige: „Je li moguće prodrijeti kroz neprozirnost riječi?”¹²

Važno je koja pitanja pitamo kako bismo pitali nova

Berger shvaća da treba pitati „tko”, „kako” i „za koga” prije nego što se zapita „zašto”. U uvodu uz prvo izdanje Berger

economy of the rich nations in Europe has become dependent during the 1960s on the labour of several poorer nations. The thrust of the book, as we saw it, was political. We hoped to start a debate, and to encourage, amongst other things, international working-class solidarity.⁶ To make it accessible to the general public, despite the image heavy content the book was published as a paperback, by Penguin Books.⁷ While working on the book, parts were published as theoretical essays in academic journals, interestingly, without images.⁸ Books that can be described in one sentence are rare. If we were tasked to write an “elevator pitch” for this one, it would be something like this. “Faced with the steady inflow of migrant workers to Western Europe in the last decades, this books sets out to ask ‘Why do they come here?’ What do they come for?”. However, the short description would obscure more than it would reveal. Donna Haraway reminds us that “It matters what matters we use to think other matters

with; it matters what stories we tell to tell other stories with; it matters what knots knot knots, what thoughts think thoughts, what descriptions describe descriptions, what ties tie ties. It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories.”⁹ Following Haraway, we can to add to her sequence, that it matters what questions we ask to ask other questions. After all, the fate of a study, would it be radically transformative, or power affirmative, is predicated on this understanding. Berger is more than aware that depending on how the question is asked, the book can end up obscuring more than it reveals. Therefore, he discusses in the book that even the simplest of questions are more complex than they initially seem. “The simple argument is as follows. Since the war, and particularly during the last fifteen years, the economy of Western Europe has been expanding faster than the population. This produced a labour shortage. In the Mediterranean countries, by contrast, there is a problem of ‘overpopulation’ because modern

medicine, originating in the developing countries, is reducing infant mortality and disease everywhere. What happened therefore was that men without work began to come to where there was work: work which, on the whole, and certainly by their standards, was well paid.”¹⁰ He affirms the statement above, but points to the contradiction: “No statement in this argument is untrue. Yet it disguises the truth. How opaque the disguise of words.”¹¹ And asks one of the fundamental questions for this book: “Is it possible to see through the opaqueness of the words?”¹²

It matters what questions we ask to ask other questions

Berger understands that questions “who”, “how”, and “for whom” need to be asked first, before asking why is asked. In the introduction to the first edition, Berger explained the two artificial distinctions that had to be enforced on the book in order to make “a clear focus.”¹³ The authors consciously limited

objašnjava dvije umjetno uspostavljene razlike koje je bilo nužno postaviti kako bi se stvorilo „jasno težište“.¹³ Autori su svjesno ograničili fokus na iskustvo muškarca – migrantskog radnika iz Europe. Berger napominje kako je odluka da neće uključiti migrantske radnike iz nekadašnjih kolonija, nego će se usredotočiti na one koji dolaze s juga Europe, proizašla iz shvaćanja da izrabljivački odnosi kolonijalizma i neokolonijalizma, koji dovode migrante iz nekadašnjih kolonija u (nekadašnje) metropole, postoje već stoljećima, dok se masovna europska migracija može smatrati fenomenom razdoblja nakon Drugog svjetskog rata te je ispočetka trebala biti privremena. „Predmet je [ove knjige] europski, ali njegovo je značenje globalno. Njezina je tema nesloboda. Ta nesloboda može se u potpunosti pojmiti samo ako se objektivni ekonomski sustav dovede u odnos sa subjektivnim iskustvom onih koji su u njemu zatočeni. Naposljetku, nesloboda ustvari i jest taj odnos.“¹⁴

Iako je knjiga *Sedmi čovjek* usmjerena na iskustvo muškoga migrantskog radnika iz Europe, u „Napomeni čitateljici“ autori priznaju da „među migrantskim radnicima u Europi vjerojatno ima dva milijuna žena“ te se nadaju kako će i njihova iskustva biti prikazana u nekoj knjizi, napominjući da „neke rade u tvornicama, no većina ih služi po kućama“.¹⁵ Tijekom četiriju desetljeća nakon prvog objavljivanja knjige većinom su žene uzele na sebe zadatak rasvjetljavanja, istraživanja i prikazivanja iskustva migrantskih radnica. Neki od tih radova bili su umjetničke naravi, na primjer onaj rad Margarete Kern, drugi su bili više etnografski, poput putujuće izložbe naslovljene *Put. Žene iz Jugoslavije u Berlinu*, koju je 1987. godine osmislila Bosiljka Schedlich, i sama migrantska radnica, ili pak djela feminističke marksističke teorije, poput radova Silvije Federici.¹⁶ Odlukom o isključivom bavljenju pozicijom i iskustvom migrantskog radnika u društvenim, političkim i ekonomskim uvjetima prve polovice sedamdesetih

autori istraživanja propustili su priliku uočiti i početak procesa transformacije rada očiglednog u slučaju migrantskih radnica. U trenutku objavljivanja knjige prebacivanje tvorničkih pogona iz Europe u Aziju bilo je tek u počecima, a pomak na postfordizam u zapadnoj Europi doveo je do povećane potrebe za radnicima na području uslužnih djelatnosti u domaćinstvima, skrbi i društvene reprodukcije u širem smislu. Upravo je migrantska radnica na svojim plećima iznijela teret te nove potražnje.

Važno je koje slike vidimo kako bismo vidjeli one koje slijede

Vratimo se već citiranoj rečenici „Je li moguće prodrijeti kroz neprozirnost riječi?“¹⁷ i spoznaji da slika može biti moćan sudionik u borbi protiv te neprozirnosti. *Sedmi čovjek* nastavlja pripovjedački eksperiment u kojoj su slika i tekst jednako važni te se nalaze u dijalektičkom, a ne hijerarhijskom odnosu. U *Sedmom čovjeku* format „slika-tekst“, razvijan u dvije prethodne Bergerove

their focus on the experience of a male migrant worker from Europe. Berger notes that the conscious decision not to document the migrant workers from former colonies, and to focus on those coming from the south of Europe, came from the understanding that the exploitative relationships of colonialism and neo-colonialism, which were bringing migrants from former colonies to the (former) metropolis had existed for centuries, while the massive European migration could be seen as a post-World War II phenomenon, and initially intended to be temporary. “The subject [of the book] is European, its meaning is global. Its theme is unfreedom. This unfreedom can only be fully recognized if an objective economic system is related to the subjective experience of those trapped within it. Indeed, finally, the unfreedom is that relationship.”¹⁴

A Seventh Man is consciously focused on the experience of a male migrant worker from Europe. The authors understood that the conscious focus did not aim to omit

women, yet that the centrality on men brought the danger of universalizing that experience, although the circumstances and experience of a female migrant worker were never the same as those of a male worker. In “A Note to Reader”, the authors acknowledge that “among the migrant workers in Europe there are probably two million women” and express the hope that the book on their experience will be written, and note “some work in factories; many work in domestic services.”¹⁵ In the four decades since the book was first published, mostly women undertook the task of shedding light, researching, and writing about the experience of a female migrant worker. Some of this work took form of art, such as the work of Margareta Kern, others of an ethnographic exhibition, such as the travelling exhibition *Journey: Women from Yugoslavia in Berlin (Put. Žene iz Jugoslavij u Berlinu)* developed in 1987 by Bosiljka Schedlich, herself a migrant worker, or feminist Marxist theory, such as the work of Silvia Federici.¹⁶ Focusing

just on the experience of men, the authors who were researching the condition of the migrant worker in the first half of the 1970s missed the opportunity to capture the transformation of work in Western Europe in the moment when it started happening, within the population through which this transformation became most visible. At the moment when the book was published, the transplantation of factories and majority of production from Europe to Asia was in its infancy, and the shift to post-Fordism in West Europe, led to the increasing demand for the workers in the sphere of domestic labour, care, and more generally, of social reproduction. The female migrant workers would bear the brunt of this new demand.

It matters what images we see to see other images

Let us return to the already quoted sentence “Is it possible to see through the opaqueness of the words?”¹⁷ Understanding an image can be a powerful accomplice when fighting the

knjige, dodatno je razrađen. Svjedočenje kao temelj naracije *Sedmi čovjek* dijeli s knjigom *Sretni čovjek – Priča o seoskom liječniku (Fortunate Man – The Story of A Country Doctor)*, izvorno objavljenoj 1967. u suradnji s Jeanom Mohrom. Odnos slike i teksta vjerojatno je najvažnije pitanje kojim se bavi John Berger, a nigdje to nije prisutnije no u *Načinima gledanja (Ways of Seeing)*, knjizi na kojoj je surađivao s grafičkim dizajnerom Richardom Hollisom, a zasnovanoj na iznimno popularnoj istoimenoj televizijskoj emisiji koju je Berger 1972. osmislio za BBC u suradnji s Mikeom Dibbom. Ova je knjiga i metodološki utjecala na istraživanje migrantskog iskustva, budući da prati središnju tezu *Načina gledanja*, naime da na ono što vidimo uvijek utječe čitav niz pretpostavki te da je stoga važno razumjeti proces kojim se konstruira čitanje, budući da je to razumijevanje ključno da bi se započeo bilo kakav dijalog s potencijalom transformacije. U „Napomeni čitateljici” na početku knjige autori daju upute o

tome kako čitati slike, riječi i njihov odnos. „Knjiga se sastoji od slika i riječi. Svaki od tih elemenata treba čitati na njemu primjereni način. Tek se povremeno slika upotrebljava za ilustraciju teksta. [...] Slike u slijedu nešto iskazuju i taj je iskaz jednak i usporediv s onime teksta, no ipak se od njega razlikuje.”¹⁸ Knjiga nikada ne pokušava u potpunosti iscrpiti eksplanatorni potencijal teksta, kao što ni iz slike ne pokušava iscrpiti sav ilustrativni potencijal; mnogo toga izrečeno je montažom, napetošću između riječi i slika, u svakoj mogućoj konstelaciji. Izvorna namjera autora da naprave film¹⁹ trajno je prisutna u načinu na koji je knjiga organizirana: sastoji se od triju dijelova i zamjetna je filmska progresija, ne samo između pojedinih poglavlja nego i unutar njih. Prvi dio naslovljen je „ODLAZAK” (*Departure*) i kontekstualizira razloge zbog kojih ljudi napuštaju svoju zemlju, napominjući kako je ta odluka, iako se uvijek čini osobnom, ustvari strukturalno uvjetovana. „Odluku pojedinca da

IZ KNJIGE *SEDMI ČOVJEK: KNJIGA U SLICI I RIJEČI O ISKUSTVIMA MIGRANTSKIH RADNIKA U EUROPI* JOHN BERGERA I JEANA MOHRA (PRESLIKA STRANICA 48–49). SLIKE U KNJIZI PREDSTAVLJAJU I STATUS KOJI FOTOGRAFIJA IMA U ŽIVOTU MIGRANTSKIH RADNIKA. PRISUTNOST FOTOGRAFIJE U SVAKODNEVNOM ŽIVOTU OBLIJEŽAVA ODSUTNOST OSOBE IZ SVAKODNEVNOG ŽIVOTA. FOTOGRAFIJA (ILI NJEZINA POLOVICA) U TO JE VRIJEME BILA I SREDSTVO OBAVJEŠTAVANJA O SRETNOJ DOLASKU.

becomes a migrant worker. He might have crossed it in a dozen ways. Here are three ways of describing a crossing:

A Turkish peasant, who failed to pass the official medical examination, decided to enter Germany as a tourist. But a Turk in a crowded train, who says he is a tourist, may have to prove himself to the frontier police by showing what currency or cheques he has on him. And so the peasant bought a first-class ticket to Cologne, confident that in a first-class compartment he would have the air of being wealthy enough not to be questioned. He crossed the frontier.



SPANISH MOUNTAINSIDE

Until recently most emigration from Portugal was illegal. Both the Spanish and French frontiers had to be crossed clandestinely. Smugglers in Lisbon arranged such crossings. Their fee was \$350 per person. Having paid this sum, many would-be migrants were cheated. They were led into the mountains just across the Spanish frontier and left there. Totally disorientated, some died of starvation and exposure: some found their way back, \$350 the poorer. (\$350 at this time represented as much as a year's earnings for the average Portuguese peasant. In 1964 the average

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FROM THE BOOK *A SEVENTH MAN: A BOOK OF IMAGES AND WORDS ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN EUROPE* BY JOHN BERGER AND JEAN MOHR (SCANNED PAGES 48–49).

THE IMAGES IN BOOK SHOULD ALSO CONVEY THE STATUS OF A PHOTOGRAPH IN THE LIFE OF THE MIGRANT WORKERS. THE PRESENCE OF A PHOTOGRAPH IN EVERYDAY LIFE MARKS THE ABSENCE OF THE PERSON FROM THE EVERYDAY LIFE. THE PHOTOGRAPH (OR ITS HALF) WAS AT THE TIME ALSO A MEANS TO COMMUNICATE SAFE ARRIVAL.

opaqueness of words. *A Seventh Man* is a continuation of the experimentation with storytelling in the form of a book in which image and text are equally important and have a dialectical rather than a hierarchical relation. The book builds on and takes further the image-text format from two earlier Berger's books. In *A Fortunate Man – The Story of A Country Doctor*, originally published in 1967 in collaboration with Jean Mohr, the authors developed the witness approach to their subject, which they applied again in *A Seventh Man*. In *Ways of Seeing*, book on which Berger collaborated with graphic designer Richard Hollis, and based on the immensely popular eponymous TV program Berger developed for BBC together with Mike Dibb in 1972, the image – text relation is developed further. This book influenced the study on migrant experience also methodologically, as it follows the central thesis of *Ways of Seeing*, i.e. how what we see is always influenced

by a whole host of assumptions, the importance of understanding the process of construction of reading, and centrality of this understanding for starting a conversation with a transformative potential. In “A Note to Reader”, at the beginning of the book, the authors give an instruction on how to read images, words and their relation. “The book consists of images and words. Both should be read in their own terms. Only occasionally is an image used to illustrate the text. [...] The pictures in sequence make a statement: a statement which is equal and comparable to, but different from, that of the text.”¹⁸ Book never tries to completely exhaust the potential of text in order to explain, nor of the image to illustrate; a lot is said in a montage, the tension between the words and images, in every possible constellation. The initial intention of the authors to make a film¹⁹ persists in the way the book is organized. It has three segments and there is a filmic progression, not only between the

emigrira treba sagledati u kontekstu svjetskog ekonomskog sustava. Ne kako bi se dokazala neka politička teorija, nego kako bi se ispravno vrednovalo ono što mu se ustvari događa. Taj je ekonomski sustav neokolonijalizam. Ekonomska teorija može pokazati kako taj sustav, stvarajući nerazvijenost, proizvodi uvjete koji vode u emigraciju: također može pokazati zbog čega je tom sustavu potrebna specifična radna snaga koju migrantski radnici imaju i prodaju.²⁰

Ovaj najopsežniji dio knjige uvodi dvije važne teze o nerazvijenosti kao posljedici razvoja drugih i o „migrantskom protjecanju vremena”, koje omogućuju istovremeno čitanje posljedica migracije na razini planetarne urbanizacije i na razini osobnog otuđenja. Knjiga dobro oslikava proturječnost u kojoj se na migranta uvijek gleda kao na nekoga tko oduzima bogatstvo (i zaposlenje) lokalnim radnicima zemlje domaćina, pridonoseći njihovu osiromašenju, dok se imovinski jaz između zemalja iz kojih migranti dolaze i zemalja koje ih primaju održava stabilnim ili čak produbljuje. Knjiga pokazuje da ova i danas dominantna jednostrana argumentacija prikriva činjenicu da „sa svakim migrantom koji je došao neka nerazvijena ekonomija podupire neku razvijenu”.²¹ Da proces prelaska rezervne radne snage iz jedne zemlje u drugu uvijek ide nauštrb ekonomije iz koje radnik odlazi te da „nerazvijenost” nije neko unaprijed dano stanje, nego je „ekonomija nerazvijena zbog onoga što se događa

oko nje, u njoj i s njome. Postoje akteri koji je ‘podrazvijaju’.²² Dok teza o nerazvijenosti ukazuje na zastoj u razvoju zemlje iz koje potječu migranti, teza o migrantskom protjecanju vremena ukazuje na sličnu vrstu zakočenosti, koja se događa na razini pojedinca. Migracija iz siromašnijih u bogatije krajeve Europe, na koju se knjiga usredotočuje, nije po sebi ništa novo i postoji već stoljećima, no nakon Drugog svjetskog rata promijenili su se njezini temeljni uvjeti. „Ono po čemu se ova migracija razlikuje od drugih, prošlih, jest to što je privremena. Samo se manjini radnika dopušta da se trajno nasele u zemlji u koju su došli. [...] Nisu muškarci ti koji imigriraju, nego radnici za strojevima, smetlari, kopači, mješači cementa, čistači, bušači i tako dalje. To je značenje privremene migracije. Želi li ponovno postati muškarac (suprug, otac, građanin, rodoljub), migrant se mora vratiti kući. U zemlju koju je napustio jer ondje nije bilo budućnosti.”²³ Po Bergeru, migrant kao subjekt

per capita income in Portugal – an average which included the incomes of the upper class – was \$370.) So the migrants devised a system to protect themselves. Before leaving they had their photographs taken. They tore the photograph in half, giving one



half to their ‘guide’ and keeping the other themselves. When they reached France they sent their half of the photograph back to their family in Portugal to show that they had been safely escorted across the frontiers; the ‘guide’ came to the family with his half of the photograph to prove that it was he who had escorted them, and it was only then that the family paid the \$350. The migrants crossed in groups of a hundred or so. Mostly they travelled by night. Hidden in lorries. And on foot.



After nine days he reached Paris. He had the address of a Portuguese friend, but he knew no directions. To find the address he must take a taxi. Before letting him open the door, the taxi

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chapters but also within the chapters themselves.

The first part “DEPARTURE” contextualizes why people are leaving, and that this decision, while it always seems personal, is actually structural. “A man’s resolution to emigrate needs to be seen within the context of a world economic system. Not in order to reinforce a political theory but so that what actually happens to him can be given its proper value. That

economic system is neo-colonialism. Economic theory can show how this system, creating underdevelopment, produces the conditions which lead to emigration: it can also show why the system needs the special labour power which the migrant workers have to sell.”²⁰ The largest segment in the book, introduces two important theses, on the underdevelopment as the product of development of others and on the “migrant progression of time”, that enable reading the impact of migration both on the scale of planetary urbanization and personal alienation.

The book paints well the contradiction in which a migrant is always seen as someone who takes away the wealth (and jobs from local workers) from the host country thus contributing to its pauperization, all the while the wealth gap between the countries from which migrants originated and the host countries was stable, if not increasing. The book is mobilized as a response to

this criticism and how this one-sided argument, which has just gotten louder in the four decades since the book was published, obscures the fact that “with each migrant who arrives, an underdeveloped economy is subsidizing a developed one;”²¹ that the process of transfer of reserve labour power from one country to another comes at the expense to the economy of the country of origin; that “underdeveloped” is not a given condition, but that “an economy is underdeveloped because of what is being done around it, within it, and to it. There are agencies which underdevelop.”²² While the thesis on underdevelopment points to the stasis in the development of the country of origin for migrants, the thesis on migrant progression of time points at a similar type of suspension, which happens on the individual level. The migration from poorer to richer regions in Europe, on which the book focuses, is not a novelty *per se*, and has existed for centuries, but the basic condition of this

postoji samo u sadašnjosti. U tekstu „Prezentistička demokracija: Rekonceptualizacija sadašnjosti” (*Presentist Democracy: Reconceptualising the Present*) Isabel Lorey na osnovi koncepta sada-vremena (*Jetztzeit*) Waltera Benjamina gradi argumentaciju o političkoj potencijalnosti sadašnjosti: „sada-vrijeme jest vrijeme u kojemu se odvijaju borbe”.²⁴ Bez prava na prošlost i bez budućnosti, subjektivizirani migrant raskida s linearnim, građanskim konceptom povijesti i ima potencijal, kao simbol suvremenog trenutka, postati i nositelj neke buduće revolucije. Drugi dio knjige – „RAD” (*Work*) bavi se iskustvima migranata nakon što su napustili rodnu zemlju i započeli s trajnošću privremenog života migranata. Prema Bergeru, vladajuća klasa uspostavlja razliku između migrantskih i domaćih radnika kako bi osujetila klasnu solidarnost među njima.²⁵ „Načelo jednakosti revolucionarno je načelo, ne samo zato što dovodi u pitanje hijerarhije nego zato što tvrdi

kako su svi ljudi jednako cjeloviti. A vrijedi i obrnuto: prihvatiti nejednakost kao nešto prirodno znači fragmentirati se, promatrati sebe kao puki zbroj određenih sposobnosti i potreba.”²⁶ Berger u knjizi razmatra dva načina na koje se prisutnost migrantskog radnika, koji u zemlju privremenog prebivališta dolazi kao gotov proizvod²⁷ čiji je odgoj i obrazovanje platilo neko drugo društvo, upotrebljava u svrhu nadziranja domaće radničke klase. Povijesno gledano, rezervna radna snaga bila je mjesto nastanka revolucionarnog proletarijata, odnosno političkog subjekta koji želi demontirati opresivni sustav. „Međutim, ako se veći dio radne rezerve sastoji od migrantskih radnika, može ih se ‘uvesti’ kada su potrebni i ‘izvesti’ (poslati kući) postanu li privremeno suvišni, pri čemu ne treba biti nikakvih političkih posljedica, budući da emigranti nemaju političkih prava ni gotovo ikakav politički utjecaj.”²⁸ To utječe i na potencijal domaćih radnika za organizaciju. Migrantskog radnika vladajuća je klasa proizvela kao Drugoga,

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AUTORI NASTOJE KORISTITI FOTOGRAFIJU DIALEKTIČKI: NE ŽELE SAMO PRIKAZATI SITUACIJU, NEGO I UKLJUČITI ČITATELJA U PROCES MIŠLJENJA.

another. To talk of entering the other's subjectivity is misleading. The subjectivity of another does not simply constitute a different interior attitude to the same exterior facts. The constellation of facts, of which he is the centre, is different.

He is taught his work. When he can do it, he will earn £40 a week if he works overtime. He watches the gestures made and he learns to imitate them. Words would involve somebody speaking his language.



ASSEMBLY LINE FOR WASHING MACHINES, LYON, FRANCE

Modern mass production presupposes that most of the labour involved in it is unskilled. In the mid-twenties Henry Ford declared that 79 per cent of his workers could learn their job in eight days, and that 43 per cent of them could do so in one day. It is the same today.

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FROM THE BOOK *A SEVENTH MAN: A BOOK OF IMAGES AND WORDS ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN EUROPE* BY JOHN BERGER AND JEAN MOHR (SCANNED PAGES 98–99).

THE AUTHORS TRY TO USE PHOTOGRAPHY DIALECTICALLY: NOT TO DEPICT THE SITUATION, BUT TO INVOLVE IN THE READER INTO THE PROCESS OF THINKING.

migration has changed after the Second World War. “What distinguishes this migration from others in the past is that it is temporary. Only a minority of workers are permitted to settle permanently in the country to which they have come. [...] It is not men who immigrate but machine-minders, sweepers, diggers, cement mixers, cleaners, drillers, etc. This is the significance of temporary migration. To re-become a man (husband, father, citizen, patriot) a migrant has to return home. The home he left because it held no future.”²³

According to Berger, a migrant as a subject exists only in present time. In the text *Presentist Democracy: Reconceptualising the Present*, Isabel Lorey building on Walter Benjamin's concept of now-time (*Jetztzeit*), puts forward the argument on the political potentiality of the present, “now-time is the time in which struggles take place.”²⁴ Without a past and without a future, a subjectivized migrant breaks with the linear bourgeois concept of history,

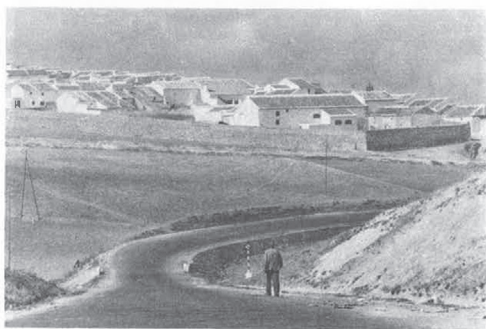
and has a potential to become – as a symbol of a contemporary moment – a revolutionary actor. The second part of the book, “WORK”, is focused on the experience of migrants after they leave the country of origin and start living the permanence of a temporary life as migrants. Berger develops a thesis on the difference between the migrants and the indigenous workers, as constructed by the ruling class, which suspends the potential for class solidarity to develop between the two categories of workers.²⁵ “The principle of equality is the revolutionary principle, not only because it challenges hierarchies, but because it asserts that all men are equally whole. And the converse is just as true: to accept inequality as natural is to become fragmented, is to see oneself as no more than the sum of a set of capacities and needs.”²⁶ It also points to how the presence of a migrant worker, who comes as a ready-made,²⁷ is used to control the indigenous working class, in a twofold way. Historically, the

i kada domaća radnička klasa prihvati tu hijerarhiju kao nešto neizbježno, može je se nadzirati putem „straha da će biti prevarena i lišena svojeg prirodnog i pravednog mjesta u hijerarhiji. Ta se prijetnja doživljava kao nešto što dolazi odozgo i odozdo. Radnička klasa bit će jednako sumnjičava prema šefovima. No vjerojatno će jednako ljubomorno čuvati svoje povlastice pred onima koje smatra prirodno inferiornima.”²⁹

Za Bergera nemogućnost lokalnih radnika

organiziranih u sindikate da u migrantskim radnicima prepoznaju potencijalne suborce i omoguće im samoorganiziranje i uključivanje u organiziranje pridonosi slabljenju utjecaja radničke klase kao političkog subjekta. „Upravo stoga radnička će klasa, prihvati li prirodnu inferiornost migranata, vjerojatno svesti vlastite zahtjeve na one ekonomske, fragmentirati se i na taj način izgubiti svoj politički identitet.”³⁰ Berger je anticipirao ono što se u 40 godina od prvog objavljivanja knjige i dogodilo. Sindikati, koji nikada nisu „sposobni misliti ili djelovati izvan pretpostavke da migrantski radnik pripada u zemlju koju je napustio i stoga ne pripada u onu u kojoj radi”³¹ i uključiti migrantskog radnika u borbu kao ravnopravnog, prihvaćaju mistifikaciju koju riječ „pripadati” ima u ovom kontekstu. Migrant mora vjerovati da još uvijek pripada zemlji koju je napustio kako bi održao san o povratku koji ga održava na životu. Domaća radnička klasa mora vjerovati da migrantski radnik pripada drugamo kako bi ga nastavila smatrati

krivcem za sve gori vlastiti položaj. Treći, najkraći dio knjige naslovljen je „POVRATAK” (*Return*) i pokazuje da iako je želja za povratkom stvarna, mogućnost povratka to nije. Neprestano sanjarenje o povratku kući, koje omogućuje migrantima da izdrže teškoće rada i života u uvjetima izolacije i otuđenja, dobilo je svoj konkretni oblik u snu o kući. „Izgradnja kuće dobiva apsolutni prioritet: kada završi kuću, vratit će se u zavičaj i živjeti u njoj zauvijek.”³² Kuća koju imigrant gradi čitava je protupovijest (arhitekture) koju još valja napisati. Poticaj na odlazak gotovo nikada nije neriješeno stambeno pitanje, a izgradnja kuće tek je privremeni lijek za nerazvijenost, budući da „radna mjesta ne postoje, bez obzira na visinu plaće. Predviđa se da će u idućih nekoliko godina postojati jedva dovoljno radnih mjesta za trećinu radnika koji su sada u inozemstvu, a žele se vratiti.”³³



ROAD TO VILLAGE IN SPAIN

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reserve labour was a site of production of a revolutionary proletariat, i.e. the political subject that wants to dismantle the oppressive system. “If, however, a large part of the labour reserve is made up of migrant workers, they can be ‘imported’ when needed and ‘exported’ (sent home) when made temporarily redundant, and there need be no political repercussions, for the emigrants have no political rights and little political influence.”²⁸ This also influences the potential for organizing of the indigenous workers. The migrant

worker is produced as the other by the ruling class, and once the indigenous working class accepts hierarchy as inevitable, it can be controlled through “fear of being cheated out of one’s natural and rightful place in the hierarchy. The threat is thought of as coming from above and below. The working class will become no less suspicious of the bosses. But they may become equally jealous of their privileges over those they consider to be their natural inferiors.”²⁹

Berger localises the problem of accepting hierarchy in the unions, and how the prevention of organizing of migrant workers, and the inclusion of migrant workers in the local organizing, has ultimately contributed to the undoing of the working class as the political subject. “This is why the working class, if it accepts the natural inferiority of the migrants, is likely to reduce its own demands to economic ones, to fragment itself and to lose its own political identity.”³⁰ In forty years since the book was published, the outcome Berger

anticipated happened. The unions, by never being “able to think or act beyond the proposition that the migrant worker belongs to the country he has left and therefore does not belong where he works,”³¹ nor to include the migrant worker in the struggle as an equal, accept the mystification which the word *belong* has in this context. The migrant has to believe that he still belongs to the country of origin, in order to sustain the dream of return which keeps him alive. The indigenous working class has to believe the migrant worker belongs somewhere else in order to continue to see him as the culprit for his worsening position. The third segment of the book, “RETURN”, is the shortest, and it shows that, while the desire to return is real, the possibility of return is not. The continual dream of the return home, which enabled the migrants to sustain the hardship of working and living in isolating and alienating conditions, was made concrete in a dream of a house. “The building of the house comes before everything;

Važno je koje priče stvaraju svjetove, koji svjetovi stvaraju priče³⁴

Autori pristupaju svojoj temi istraživanja kao promatrači koji putuju na mjesta zbivanja i komuniciraju sa svojim protagonistima. U tom procesu služe se nizom teorijskih radova kao optičkim sredstvima koja im pomažu da shvate procese koje prate i da tako zahvate ispod njihove površine. Riječima autora: „Želimo li shvatiti i pojmiti sile koje upravljaju životom migranta kao dio njegove osobne sudbine, moramo se koristiti manje apstraktnim formulacijama. Potrebna je metafora. Metafora je privremena. Ona ne zamjenjuje teoriju.”³⁵ Iako se teorija time ne zamjenjuje, tretira se kao nevidljiva podrška. Citati su integrirani u tekst bez navodnika, a izvori su navedeni na kraju i tek će vrlo pažljiva čitateljica zamijetiti promjene u stilu, iako one postoje, osobito kada se citiraju dulji ulomci. Uporaba citata nije ograničena na riječi, autori se vješto koriste i vizualnim citatima, uglavnom u obliku zatečenoga vizualnog materijala.

Svrha ove knjige nije bila humanizirati migrante kako bi ih se učinilo prihvatljivijima i upravo je to čini još relevantnijom danas nego u vrijeme kada je prvi put objavljena. Knjiga uspješno svjedoči kako strukturalna nejednakost nije prestala postojati, kako se nejednakost i dalje proizvodi, a nama zainteresiranim čitateljicama omogućila je to svojim fokusom na trenutak netom prije nego što je neoliberalizam ubrzao sve te procese. Još važnije od toga, pokazuje nam kako se blagostanje u jednoj zemlji održava na račun druge, u pogledu ljudskih, kao i materijalnih resursa te kako akteri koji razvijaju na jednoj strani istovremeno djeluju u suprotnom smjeru (na drugoj strani). U sva tri dijela knjige autori se kreću između zemalja iz kojih migranti dolaze (južna Italija, Španjolska, Jugoslavija, Turska itd.) i zemalja domaćina (Švicarska, Njemačka, Francuska) kako bi pokazali da je odnos tih zemalja dijalektički i da se one međusobno proizvode (i potiru). Knjiga se upušta i u analizu složenog

IZ KNJIGE *SEDMI ČOVJEK: KNJIGA U SLICI I RIJEČI O ISKUSTVIMA MIGRANTSKIH RADNIKA U EUROPI* JOHNA BERGERA I JEANA MOHRA (PRESLIKA STRANICA 220-221). ZATEČENI VIZUALNI MATERIJAL KORISTI SE ZAJEDNO S FOTOGRAFIJOM JEANA MOHRA KAO VIZUALNI CITAT.

The final return is mythic. It gives meaning to what might otherwise be meaningless. It is larger than life. It is the stuff of longing and prayers. But it is also mythic in the sense that, as imagined, it never happens. There is no final return.



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FROM THE BOOK *A SEVENTH MAN: A BOOK OF IMAGES AND WORDS ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN EUROPE* BY JOHN BERGER AND JEAN MOHR (SCANNED PAGES 220-221).

THE FOUND VISUAL MATERIAL IS USED TOGETHER WITH JEAN MOHR'S PHOTOGRAPHY AS A VISUAL QUOTATION.

when it is finished, he will come home to live in it for good.”³² A house built by an immigrant constitutes the counter-history (of architecture) yet to be written. The trigger to leave is almost never solely a lack of housing, and the construction of a house is just a temporary remedy to the underdevelopment, as the “the jobs, irrespective of the wages paid, do not exist. It is foreseen that in the next few years there will only be enough jobs for a third of those now abroad who wish to return.”³³

It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories³⁴

The authors approach their research as witnesses who travel to places and communicate with their protagonists. In this processes, they use various theoretical work as optical machinery to understand and go beyond the surface of the processes they are following. In the words of the authors, “and so if the forces which determine the migrant’s life are to be grasped and realized as a part of his personal destiny, a less abstract

formulation is needed. Metaphor is needed. Metaphor is temporary. It does not replace theory.”³⁵ While theory is not replaced, it is treated as the invisible support. Quotes are integrated into the text without quotation marks, with the source acknowledged at the end, and only a careful reader can notice the changes in style, especially when the longer passages are cited. The use of quotations is not limited to words, and there are also visual quotations, mostly in the form of found visual material.

The aim of this book was not to humanize the migrants to make them more acceptable, and precisely this makes this book even more relevant today than when it was initially published. The book captures how the structural inequality did not stop existing and producing uneven geographical development at any time in history, and captures the moment just before neoliberalism accelerated some of the processes. More importantly, it shows that the prosperity in one country comes at a human cost for another country, and that the agencies which develop

odnosa urbanog i ruralnog, oslanjajući se na Raymonda Williama i njegovo djelo *Selo i grad (The Country and the City)* kako bi objasnila da se urbanizacijom i industrijalizacijom ruralno nikada nije odvojilo od urbanoga i da je urbanome potrebno ruralno kao zaleđe iz kojega će crpiti radnu snagu, resurse i energiju. Knjiga tako može poslužiti kao polazište za teorijski rad na čitavom nizu tema koje se ne tiču samo pitanja migracije i rada nego i teritorijalno-geografskog razvoja, na primjer koncepta planetarne

urbanizacije koji su razvili Neil Brenner i Christian Schmidt nadovezujući se na teorije Henrika Lefebvrea o urbanoj revoluciji. No tematska aktualnost nije jedini razlog zbog kojega je potrebno ponovno pročitati ovu knjigu četiri desetljeća nakon njezina prvog objavljivanja. Revolucionarna namjera, otvoreno političko zagovaranje i vjera u revolucionarni potencijal knjige kao forme u pokretanju borbe koja će mijenjati stanje stvari obilježja su zbog kojih su mediji i kritičari isprva odbacili *Sedmog čovjeka*, ali upravo je zbog njih knjiga danas toliko relevantna.

Knjiga se ne stidi svojih nejasnoća i nedorečenosti, ne želi ih krpiti niti ispunjavati praznine. I najvažnije, ne pruža sretnim završetkom izlaz iz nemira koji izaziva tijekom čitanja.

Napetosti koje ostaju neriješene upravo su one koje imaju potencijal za mobilizaciju i mogu biti mjesta solidarnosti, borbe i artikulacije potrebe za promjenom. Autori nastoje mobilizirati

one koji imaju sposobnost stvoriti saveze zasnovane na solidarnosti, postaviti zahtjeve za promjene usmjerene protiv sustavnih uzroka nejednakosti i nepravdi. Medij koji su autori odabrali da pošalju svoju poruku istovremeno je i zastario i bezvremen, posebno u pristupu koji razvijaju autori, bez davanja prednosti riječima nad slikom ili obrnuto. Najvažnije od svega, ova knjiga ima moć da uvede povijesnu spoznaju na područje koje se neprestano održava u izvanpovijesnoj statičnosti trajne prisutnosti, sprječavajući subjektivizaciju i političku artikulaciju potlačenih. „Tradicija potlačenih uči nas da je izvanredno stanje u kojemu živimo pravilo. Moramo doći do pojma povijesti koji tome odgovara.”³⁶

¹ J. Berger i J. Mohr, *A Seventh Man: A Book of Images and Words about the Experience of Migrant Workers in Europe*, Verso, 2010., naslovnica.

² Izvor: „John Berger on the Booker Prize (1972) – YouTube“, <https://www.youtube.com/>



Because the village has scarcely changed since he left, there is still no livelihood there for him. When he carries out one of his plans, he will become the victim of the same economic stagnation which first forced him to leave.

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also simultaneously underdevelop. In all three parts of the book, the authors go between the countries of origin (South of Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Turkey...) to the host countries of migrant workers (Switzerland, Germany, France), and show that the relation between the countries is dialectical, and that they mutually produce (and diminish) each other. The book delves deep into the complex relation between the urban and the rural, and relies on Raymond Williams, and his work *The Country and the City* for

the understanding that the urbanization and industrialization did not disconnect the rural from the urban, but obfuscated existence of the ever intensifying relationship, and that the urban needs the rural as its hinterland from which it sources labour, resources, and energy. The book can be an entry point into theoretical work which deals with a broad array of topics, not only limited to the questions of migration and labour, but also to territorial and geographical development, such as the concept of planetary urbanization, developed by Neil Brenner and Christian Schmidt, following the work of Henri Lefebvre on urban revolution.

Yet the thematic urgency is not the only reason why it is important to revisit this book four decades after it was initially published. The revolutionary intent, the openly political agenda, and the belief in the potential of a book to contribute to initiating the transformative struggle are all the features because of which *A Seventh Man* was initially rejected by the press and the critics, but are those which

make it relevant today.

The book does not shy away from ambiguities; it does not want to patch up and fill in the blanks; there is no happy end. The tensions that are left unresolved are the ones that have the potential for mobilization, and can be a site of establishing solidarity through struggle and articulation of a transformative demand. The authors seek to rally those who would have the ability to make the alliances based on solidarity and make transformative demands that would address the systemic causes of inequalities and injustices. It provided the foundation for where and how to look at the sources of a particular condition, and pointed to the systemic institutional framework in order to nurture it. The medium which the authors chose to transmit their message is simultaneously outdated and timeless, especially in the approach developed by the authors without giving primacy to words over image and *vice versa*. Most importantly, the book also has a power to introduce historical knowledge to the area which

watch?v=otu4tjqrOk0 (pristupljeno 12. rujna 2017.).

³ J. Berger i J. Mohr, bilj. 1., 16.

⁴ „Termin ‚izbjeglička kriza‘, dakle, ne ukazuje samo pa ni prvenstveno na krizu koja ugrožava izbjeglice – ime koje danas označava osobe koje bježe od progona te su po definiciji u krizi – nego na krizu koja prijeti onima koji se osjećaju ugroženima od izbjeglica.” Andrew Herscher, *Displacements*, Berlin, Sternberg Press, 2017., 2.

⁵ J. Berger i J. Mohr, bilj. 1., 7.

⁶ Isto.

⁷ Penguin Press nakladnička je kuća koja je revolucionirala branšu uvođenjem jeftinih džepnih izdanja knjiga o politici, umjetnosti i društvu, čime je izvršila golem utjecaj na britansko društvo od svojih početaka 1935. godine.

⁸ Dio knjige koji najviše funkcionira kao detaljan *case study* o uvjetima u kojima žive i rade migrantski radnici koji grade tunele ispod Ženeve objavljen je pod naslovom „Directions in Hell” u časopisu *New Left Review*, I, 87–88, 1974. Drugi isječak, *The Seventh Man*, preispitivao je političke implikacije migrantskog rada i naslijeđenih proturječja migrantskog položaja, a objavljen je u časopisu *Race and Class* XVI, 3, 1975.

⁹ Donna J. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*, Durham, Duke University Press Books, 2016., 12.

¹⁰ J. Berger i J. Mohr, bilj. 1., 122.

¹¹ Isto.

¹² Isto.

¹³ Isto.

¹⁴ Isto, 11.

¹⁵ Isto, 12.

¹⁶ Tu valja istaknuti ciklus eseja u kojima se ispitivao položaj kućanskog rada u međunarodnoj podjeli rada, okupljenih u zborniku *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*, Oakland, PM Press, 2012.

¹⁷ J. Berger i J. Mohr, bilj. 1., 122.

¹⁸ Isto, 11.

¹⁹ Najistaknutije filmove o iskustvu migrantskih radnika u to doba snimili su jugoslavenski redatelji Želimir Žilnik i Krsto Papić, obojica s osobnim iskustvom migrantskih radnika. Žilnikov film *Nezaposleni ljudi* iz 1968. te Papićevi *Halo München* (1968.) i *Specijalni vlakovi* (1972.) bave se trenucima pred odlazak radnika iz Jugoslavije za Njemačku i događajima povezanim s njihovim privremenim povratkom u rodna sela i zavičaje. Žilnikov film *Inventur – Metzstrasse 11* prikazuje utjecaj gastarbajtera na društvene strukture u Njemačkoj na primjeru jedne stambene zgrade u Münchenu.

²⁰ J. Berger i J. Mohr, bilj. 1., 45.

²¹ Isto, 73.

²² Isto, 45.

²³ Isto, 62.

²⁴ Isabell Lorey, „Presentist Democracy:

IZ KNJIGE *SEDMI ČOVJEK: KNJIGA U SLICI I RIJEČI O ISKUSTVIMA MIGRANTSKIH RADNIKA U EUROPI* JOHNA BERGERA I JOANA MOHRA (PRESLIKA STRANICA 226–227).



TURKISH CARPET-SELLER IN GERMANY. A NUMBER OF MIGRANTS' CORE CAPS ARE VISIBLE IN THE FOREGROUND. HE IS SELLING CARPETS BY A ROAD NEAR A TURKISH BARRACKS

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FROM THE BOOK *A SEVENTH MAN: A BOOK OF IMAGES AND WORDS ABOUT THE EXPERIENCE OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN EUROPE* BY JOHN BERGER AND JEAN MOHR (SCANNED PAGES 226–227).

is consciously kept in the ahistorical stasis of perpetual presence, thus preventing the subjectivation and political articulation of the oppressed. “The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the ‘state of emergency’ in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must attain to a conception of history that is in keeping with this insight.”³⁶

¹ John Berger and Jean Mohr, *A Seventh Man: A Book of Images and Words about the Experience of Migrant Workers in Europe*, Verso, 2010, cover page

² Source: “John Berger on the Booker Prize (1972) – YouTube”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=otu4tjqrOk0> (last accessed on September 12, 2017).

³ J. Berger and J. Mohr (as in n. 1), p. 16

⁴ “The term ‘refugee crisis,’ then does not point only or even primarily to a crisis threatening refugees – the name now given to people who, fleeing persecution, are by definition in crisis – but rather to a crisis facing those who feel threatened by refugees.” Andrew Herscher, *Displacements*, Sternberg Press, Berlin, 2017, p. 2

⁵ J. Berger and J. Mohr (as in n. 1), p. 7

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Penguin press was the publishing house that revolutionised the printing industry with the introduction of inexpensive paperback editions of books on politics, art, and society, thus profoundly influencing British society from its inception in 1935

⁸ The segment of the book which functions the most as the detailed case study of the condition of migrant workers building the tunnels under Geneva, was published under the title *Directions in Hell* in the *New Left Review*, I 87–88 (1974). The second excerpt, *The Seventh Man*, examining the political implications of migrant labour and inherited contradictions of the position of a migrant, was published in the journal *Race and Class*, XVI, 3 (1975)

⁹ Donna J. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*, Duke University Press Books, Durham, 2016, p. 12

¹⁰ J. Berger and J. Mohr (as in n. 1), p. 122

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 20

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 11

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 12

¹⁶ Most notably the series of essays interrogating the position of domestic labour in the international division of labour collected in a volume: Silvia Federici, *Revolution at Point Zero:*

Reconceptualizing the Present”, u: Quinn Latimer i Adam Szymczyk (ur.), *The Documenta 14 Reader*, München, Prestel Verlag, 2017., 170–202, 178.

²⁵ Bergerova argumentacija o nemogućnosti klasne solidarnosti između domaćih i migrantskih radnika može se povezati s analizom nemogućnosti radničke solidarnosti između crnačkih i bjelačkih radnika u SAD-u, koju je W. E. B. Du Bois razradio 1935. godine u ključnom radu *Black Reconstruction in America*.

²⁶ J. Berger i J. Mohr, bilj. 1., 145.

²⁷ „Njihova je radna snaga gotov proizvod. Industrijalizirana zemlja čija će proizvodnja od nje imati koristi nije snosila nikakve troškove njezina stvaranja, baš kao što neće

snositi ni troškove uzdržavanja ozbiljno bolesnoga migrantskog radnika ili onoga koji je postao prestar za rad. Što se tiče ekonomije metropolitanske zemlje, migrantski su radnici besmrtni: besmrtni su jer ih se uvijek može zamijeniti. Oni se ne radaju, ne odgajaju, ne stare, ne umaraju se i ne umiru. Imaju samo jednu funkciju – da rade. Sve druge funkcije njihova života odgovornost su zemlje iz koje dolaze.” Isto, 68.

²⁸ Isto, 141.

²⁹ Isto, 144.

³⁰ Isto, 145.

³¹ Isto, 149 (podcrtani dijelovi u izvorniku).

³² Isto, 212.

³³ Isto, 218.

³⁴ D. J. Haraway, bilj. 9, 12.

³⁵ J. Berger i J. Mohr, bilj. 1., 45.

³⁶ Walter Benjamin, „Theses on the Philosophy of History”, u: Hannah Arendt (ur.), *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, New York, Schocken Books, 1969., 257. Hrvatski prijevod: „Povijesno-filozofijske teze”, u: Walter Benjamin, *Novi andeo*, Zagreb, Antibarbarus, 2008., 121. (prevela Snješka Knežević).



Inventur – Metzstrasse 11 captures the impact of guest workers on the social structures in Germany, by capturing a social structure of one residential building in Munich, Germany.

²⁰ J. Berger and J. Mohr (as in n. 1), p. 45

²¹ Ibid., p. 73

²² Ibid., p. 45

²³ Ibid., p. 62

²⁴ Isabell Lorey, “Presentist Democracy: Reconceptualizing the Present.” In: *The Documenta 14 Reader*, (ed.) Quinn Latimer and Adam Szymczyk, 170–202. Prestel Verlag, München, 2017, p. 178

²⁵ The argument on the impossibility of class solidarity between the indigenous and the migrant worker, which Berger develops, can be connected to the analysis on the impossibility of working class solidarity between black and white workers in the US, developed in 1935 by W. E. B. Du Bois in his seminal work *Black Reconstruction in America*

²⁶ J. Berger and J. Mohr (as in n. 1), p. 145

²⁷ “Their labour power is ready-made. The industrialized country, whose production is going to benefit from it, has not borne any of the cost of creating it, any more than it will bear the cost of supporting a seriously sick migrant worker, or one who has grown too old to work. So far as the economy of the metropolitan country is concerned, migrant workers are immortal: immortal because continually

interchangeable. They are not born: they are not brought up: they do not age: they do not get tired: they do not die. They have a single function – to work. All other functions of their lives are the responsibility of the country they come from.” Ibid., p. 68

²⁸ Ibid., p. 141

²⁹ Ibid., p. 144

³⁰ Ibid., p. 145

³¹ Ibid., p. 149 (originally underlined)

³² Ibid., p. 212

³³ Ibid., p. 218

³⁴ D. J. Haraway (as in no. 9), p. 1

³⁵ J. Berger and J. Mohr (as in n. 1), p. 45

³⁶ Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History.” In: *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, (ed.) Hannah Arendt, Schocken Books, New York, 1969, p. 257

Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle, PM Press, Oakland, 2012

¹⁷ J. Berger and J. Mohr (as in n. 1), p. 122

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 11

¹⁹ Most notable films on the experience of migrant workers at the time were made by Yugoslav directors Želimir Žilnik and Krsto Papić, who both had personal experience as migrant workers. Žilnik’s *The Unemployed* (1968), and Papić’s *Hallo München* (1968) and *Special Trains* (1972) focused on the moments before departure of workers from Yugoslavia to Germany, and the impact of their temporary returns to their home villages and areas. Žilnik’s