

# LIST OF NINE TRIPARTITE SLOGANS ON FREEDOM

**EASY AND QUICK  
TO RECOGNIZE!**



You are holding a **List of Nine Tripartite Slogans on Freedom**, which was made for Zagreb UrbanFestival by Kalle Hamm 2012.

It shows different kinds of ideas on freedom and at the same time offers commentary on the current development through the phases of the French Pavilion. The list is also part of an environmental art work, which is to be exhibited at the French Pavilion from the 4th of October 2012.



<http://urbanfestival.blok.hr>

<http://beelsebub.org/hamm-kamanger-pizza-lists>

## A SHORT HISTORY

### Freedom, Equality, Fraternity!

The motto: Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité found its origins in the 1791 proposition set forth by the Club des Cordeliers, following a speech to the army by the Marquis de Guichardin. During Napoleon's reign no one believed it possible to consolidate individual liberty and equality with fraternity. Liberals accepted liberty and equality, defining the latter as equality of rights but ignored fraternity. Early Socialists rejected an independent conception of liberty, opposing equality. Utopian Socialists only cared about fraternity. In 1834 the Society of Human Rights associated the three terms together: "Any man aspires to liberty, to equality, but he cannot achieve it without the assistance of other men, without fraternity."

### Freedom, Equality, Difference!

Radical democracy, articulated by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, uses the motto: Freedom, Equality, Difference. Its aim is to expand the liberal definition of democracy based on freedom and equality, to include difference. Liberal democracy, in its attempts to build consensus, oppresses races, classes, genders and worldviews. For its part, radical democracy is not only accepting of differences, but is dependent on them. There are oppressive power relations that exist in society and those oppressive relations should be made visible, re-negotiated and altered. By building democracy around difference and dissent, the oppressive relations of power that exist in society are able to come to the forefront so that they can be challenged.

### Work, Family, Fatherland!

The Vichy regime proclaimed its own version of *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* known as *Principes de la Communauté*, in which the French national motto: Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood was replaced by Work, Family, Fatherland. Its origin can be traced to ancient Rome, where it was articulated as Pro Patria. It has also been used by Salazar in Portugal, the Catholic Church in Croatia and Mannerheim in Finland. Salazar's Estado Novo combined fascist social theories, a communist economy system, nationalism and Catholicism. Mannerheim finished his first delivery on the 1st December 1939 with the words: "We will fight for home, religion and fatherland."

## TOWARD PRIVATIZATION

### Freedom, Enterprise, Capitalism!

Capitalist economists emphasize the degree to which the government does not have control over the markets and property rights. They highlight private property, power relations, wage labor and class, and emphasize capitalism as a unique historical formation. Many critics consider capitalism to be irrational, in that the production and direction of the economy is unplanned, creating many inconsistencies and internal contradictions. It also creates social inequality and an unfair distribution of wealth and power, a tendency toward market monopoly, imperialism, counter-revolutionary wars and various forms of economic and cultural exploitation, repression of workers and trade unionists, social alienation, economic inequality, unemployment and economic instability.

### Liberty, Free Markets, Maximization!

Neo-liberalism can be summarized as: "Act in conformity with market forces. Within this limit, act also to maximize the opportunity for others to conform to the market forces generated by your action. Hold no other goals!" If everyone lives by such entrepreneurial precepts, then a world will come into existence in which not just goods and services, but all human and social life, is the product of conformity to market forces. More than classic market-liberals, neo-liberals therefore have a quasi-heroic attitude to the entrepreneur. A classic market-liberal would not say that a free market is less of a free market, because only 10% of the population are entrepreneurs. For neoliberals it is not sufficient that there is a market: there must be nothing which is not a market.

### Individual Liberty, Free Markets, Peace!

Libertarianism is a political philosophy which advocates the maximization of individual liberty in thought and action and the minimization or even elimination of the powers of the state. Though libertarians embrace or dispute many viewpoints upon a broad range of economic strategies, ranging from laissez-faire capitalists such as those who dominate in the US Libertarian Party to libertarian socialists, the political policies they advocate tend toward those of a minimal state (minarchism), or even anarchism, and an insistence on the need to maintain the integrity of individual rights and responsibilities. Their motto is "Individual Liberty, Free Markets, Peace".

## UTOPIAN IRONY

### War, Freedom, Ignorance!

"War is peace", "Freedom is slavery" and "Ignorance is strength" are the slogans of the Party in George Orwell's novel 1984. The protagonist of the novel works at the Ministry of Truth. It is an enormous pyramidal structure of glittering white concrete rising 300 meters into the air, containing over 3000 rooms above ground. On the outside wall are the three slogans of the Party. The Ministry of Truth is involved with the news media, entertainment, the fine arts and educational books. Its purpose is to rewrite history and change the facts to fit Party doctrine for propaganda effect. If Big Brother makes a prediction that turns out to be wrong, the employees of the Ministry of Truth go back and rewrite the prediction so that any prediction Big Brother previously made is accurate.

### Community, Identity, Stability!

"These three words hang in a sign over the Central London Hatchery and Conditioning Centre, which creates and conditions new human life. These words comprise the slogan for society. "Community" means that all persons must work together to maximize the greatest happiness for society as a whole, and it occurs through the artificially implanted ideas of "Identity" that each person has. Some are alphas, betas, gammas, etc., but each person is supposed to be happy with their own identity. Finally, "Stability" is the ultimate goal of society because only through stability can happiness be maintained and all unpleasant feelings and emotions be eradicated."

Aldous Huxley: Brave New World

### Three Word Chant!

Three Word Chant! is an anarchist anti-slogan used in the Battle of Seattle in 1999 to illustrate the reification of the slogan in mass culture. Reification is the consideration of an abstraction, relation or object as if it had human or living existence and abilities, when in reality it does not. Typically it involves separating out something from the original context in which it occurs, and placing it in another context, in which it lacks some or all of its original connections yet seems to have powers or attributes which in truth it does not have. This anti-slogan shows in an ironic way how democratic slogans have turned into empty political rhetoric and are recuperated by right wing and neo-liberal politics.

**FURTHER READING:**

**IVO GOLDSTEIN**

Goldstein, Ivo

**Holokaust u Zagrebu**

Novi liber, Zagreb, 2001

**ALDOUS HUXLEY**

Huxley, Aldous

**New Brave World**

Chatto & Windus, London, 1932

**NAOMI KLEIN**

Klein, Naomi

**The Shock Doctrine:  
The Rise of Disaster Capitalism**

Knopf Canada, 2007

**LACLAU & MOUFFE**

Laclau, Ernesto and Mouffe, Chantal

**Hegemony and Socialist Strategy:  
Towards a Radical Democratic  
Politics**

Verso, London, 1985

**JOHN LOCKE**

Locke, John

**Essay Concerning  
Human Understanding**

Prometheus Books, New York, 1995  
(originally published 1689)

**GEORGE ORWELL**

Orwell, George

**1984**

Secker and Warburg, London, 1949

**MONA OZOUF**

Ozouf, Mona

**Liberté, égalité, fraternité stands  
for peace country and war**

in *Lieux de Mémoire* (dir. Pierre Nora),  
tome III, Quarto Gallimard, 1997

**RECECCA SOLNIT**

Solnit, Rebecca and David

**The Battle of the Story of  
the Battle of Seattle**

AK Press, 2009

**BOJAN BALETIĆ**

Baletić, Bojan (ed.)

**Francuski paviljon,  
prvih 70 godina**

Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2007

**FIND OUT MORE!**

**LIBERTY**  
late 14th century, "free choice, freedom to do as one chooses," from Old French *liberté*, "freedom, free will", from Latin *libertatem*, "freedom, condition of a free man; absence of restraint; permission"



Photo courtesy of the Zagreb City Museum

**THE FRENCH PAVILION**

The French Pavilion at the old site of the Zagreb Fair in Savska street was built by the French architect Bernard Lafaille in 1938. The building was sponsored by the French government and was initially used by French car manufacturers as a showroom and it became one of the symbols of modernity in interwar Zagreb. It also had a big inscription *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* in French revolutionary style.

During the Second World War it was used as a detention camp, which is not spoken of very much. Now it belongs to the Student Center which became the focus of the subversive and critically aware culture of the 60s and 70s, and in whose institutions the conceptual art of Croatia and Yugoslavia was created.

The French Pavilion was in such bad condition by the end of the 90's that it had to be closed due to safety regulations. Now it is under renovation and it should be open to the public sometime during 2012.

**HERITAGE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT?**

There was an inscription *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* on the wall of the French Pavilion; there are no photos of it, only oral testimony. Zdenka Novak tells us in her memoirs how the French Pavilion was used as a detention camp, where Jews were rounded up. She also mentions the inscription:

"Everyone brought one small backpack, because they were told to be ready to be taken to a working camp, but no one knew where and when. Ironically, facing us was the French pavilion with the big inscription - *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*."

The restoration of the pavilion began in 2009 after six years of preparatory work. The Student Center has been destroyed by bad business practices, so its debt must be written off by the repayment and privatization of the land. This means that students and the education system became a commodity of financial gain or debt, a market tool.

The original inscription will not be placed there again. Does that tell us something about the new era? The motto of the Enlightenment has at least got a new interpretation: freedom for privatization, equality in free markets, fraternity in consuming.

**EQUALITY**  
late 14th century, "evenness of surface, uniformity of size;" c. 1400, in reference to amount or number, from Old French *égalité*, from Latin, *aequalitatem*, "equality, similarity, likeness"

**FRATERNITY**  
late 14th century, "body of men associated by common interest," from Old French *fraternité*, from Latin *frater* "brother" and from Proto-Indo-European \*bhrater.

**ENJOY YOUR READING!**

