DROMOLOGICAL SPEED AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Mikhael Dua
Atma Jaya Catholic University, Jakarta

ABSTRACT

Technology does not only help humans to overcome natural challenges, but also has a dromological function in terms of channelling, communicating, connecting goods, information and messages, anonymous masses, and the needs from one pole to another, from one region to another, and even from one organ to another. In treating this phenomenon, Paul Virilio is fascinated by the accident which is assessed as value and danger of technologies. This article, then, aims to deal with the problem of dromological technology and its ethical implications for democracy and human rights.

Introduction

In the 2014 Indonesian presidential debate, the presidential candidate Joko Widodo asserted that he would use the "speed principle" to handle technical and social problems in Indonesia. The candidate who campaigned himself as a "speed-hard worker" has now become the seventh President of Republic of Indonesia.

What the president said is not a simple matter in terms of politics. Speed is a technical principle which is applied to the physics of motion and acceleration, while politics, as Aristotle put it,[1] is a practical problem

which could not be understood on the basis of technical knowledge, but on the basis of people's practical engagement. If speed is applied to politics, then the main problem becomes how politics can adapt to the logic of speed without necessarily disrupting societal coexistence and human rights? Or more broadly, how can the political logic of social values and expectations go hand in hand with the logic of speed which focuses on individual success and efficiency?

These questions are increasingly difficult to answer. Bertrand Russell once described this difficulty in his reflections on the impact of science on society.[2] He found that science and technology have tended to support the development of capitalist economies and despotic powers rather than improve the culture of reason. Even after the Second World War, modern technologies have resulted in wide ecological crises. This critique of modernism and technology has been taken up by phenomenologists like Martin Heidegger and Hans Jonas and much more deeply by members of Frankfurt school like Herbert Marcuse and Theodor Adorno.

A powerful critique of the essence of technology can be found in the thought of the contemporary French philosopher Paul Virilio. Based on his phenomenological understanding of human experience in the world and his observations on speed in the field of transportation and audiovisual technology, Virilio found that politics is increasingly conducted as the practice of speed. The adage 'time is money' that previously prevailed in business, now is applied to politics in a sense that the implementation of the state's policies should be carried out in the shortest possible time. The faster the government works, the more successful a country becomes. Without the speed, the government is ineffective.

This paper aims to discuss the implications of technological speed in politics, especially in developing democratic life and human rights. The first part of the paper will delve into Virilio's ideas on the technological speed in structuring of modern society.[3] The second part of this paper will focus on the emergence of a *dromocratic* society – a society governed by prosthetics - as an implication of the development of *dromological technology*. Since, dromocracy is not automatically coherent with the

ideas of democracy and human rights; an effort to develop a healthy democracy is needed by taking into account the security side of society and its citizens.

Dromological Techniques

Unlike many thinkers who understand modernity as a development of the human mind in all spheres of life, Virilio sees that the essence of modernity lies in the logistical effectiveness of making things possible. Under the influence of Maurice Merleau Ponty, Virilio explains that modernity is not an abstract concept, but a concrete human experience of his world, an experience of logistical movement in human space and time in his world. In such experience of space and time, we can see the history of the city, the division of territory, trading circuits, satellites, and software development. We can also see political landscapes governed by competing technologies of surveillance, mobilization, fortification, and their interdependent administrations. In all these phenomenological experiences, logistics permit mobilization and administration, integration and disintegration, control and coincidence. Without technological logistics, we cannot make sense of modernity.

His thoughts on logistical effectiveness originated from his discussion with Claude Parent, an architect, in the 1960s. Under the influence of Parent, Virilio shifts from topography to dromology, a study and analysis of the ever increasing speed in the field of transportation and communication. The term dromology, derived from the Greek word '*dromos*', which denotes both rapid movement and races, is used to mean the government of differential motility, of harnessing and mobilizing, incarcerating and accelerating things and people. In a broader sense, Virilio uses the term dromology to explain the logistics of governance that serves to map and divide the masses to move according to the direction of an intended path.

The main object of dromology is the city, because the city is a landscape consisting of roads and vehicles which move dynamically through it, and software infrastructure which effectively assists the vehicles and mass transportation. For Virilio, the city is the center of

movement and social revolution, since only there, does mass transportation gain it's logistical meaning. In this city, everyone is not seen as a person, member of a community or society, but as 'passers-by', without a fixed identity - therefore it is difficult to identify everyone according to sociocultural terms. The city, thus, is a fixed place because it is situated between two speeds of transit, acting as brakes against the acceleration of penetration. Therefore, in the analysis of dromology, the city is understood through the opposition between "brake" and "accelerator."[4]

This concept of the city and its logistics has its implication in the design of urban space. Until now we see the map of urban spaces, first of all, as a static picture of the city in which the city is viewed from a geographical location: on a hill, along a river, and near the sea. This geographical picture is certainly important because it is directly related to the understanding of city boundaries and the administration of the city. However, the geographical picture of the city does not show the dynamic space of mass movement. For Virilio, the city is a technological space which performs metabolic functions: channeling, strengthening, bringing to the center, and taming humans and non-humans as parts of the city. Therefore, in this dynamic perspective, the city map can be seen as a depiction of the mass movement from the residence areas of the population to the centers of production and city administration. Also in this dynamic depiction, the road is seen as a rapid flow of movement and communication (river, road, high way and railway). The map of the city, therefore, is not just a geographical picture, but a phenomenological one which depicts the territory of the city as a *habitable circulation*,[5] a space which is suitable for humans to stay in.

> "The new city with its riches, its unheard-of technical facilities, its universities and museums, its stores and permanent holidays, its comforts, its knowledge and its security seemed an ideal spot for the tiring journey to end, the ultimate dock for the mass's migrations and hopes after a perilous crossing."[6]

As the "bloodstream" of the of the body of the city, roads make logistical speed predictable and calculated so that everyday necessities can be obtained by the town's people. In the cycle of the exchange of goods the road plays an important role. Imagine if we were in a supermarket and standing in front of the shelves of goods. The shelves themselves do not stand as isolated facts in the supermarket. Instead, they serve as a meeting place between humans and a number of networking objects: including the networks of supply and demand, of customer relationship management software, of freight containers, factories, and capital exchange protocols - all of which form a complex organization of the economic process of production and distribution. Therefore, we face accompaniment of items consisting of millions of tons of consumer goods that are in the process of transit in the trading zone. This is all thanks to the technological efficiency and legality of the company that governs the transportation, activation, internalization and exteriorization from ship ports to aviation, from banks to the web software that manages data security protocols. So, the street is a dromological path through which we understand the trading network.

In addition to transportation, which consists of trains, airplanes, highways, electric trains, and many others which connect one region to another, Virilio also sees other dromological technologies, namely transmission technology and transplantation technology. Transmission or information technology which was pioneered by the electrical discoveries of Edison and Marconi is a dromological technology that allows humans to interact with one another. Communication studies have long explained the dromological function of radio and television; radio is an informational technology which links community members who share common themes and interests; more than radio, television links people in different parts of the world so it's no wonder that McLuhan explained that television can make the world a 'global village.' For Virilio since the beginning of the 20th century, acceleration is mainly about the increasing speed of information transmission. Transportation has been constantly speeded up too, but the major development is the increasing speed of information transmission. Transmission technologies move us from localized real

space to globalized cyberspace.

Today transplantation technology can also be seen as dromological technology. This type of technology utilizes telecommunication equipment and nano-technology in the human body as if it is a city. We are still in the early stages of augmentations, implants, and stimulators, but Virilio sees the prospect of 'bio-machines', 'hyper-stimulated' people and new bio-elites who may oppress the naturals.[7]

Thus, technology does not only help humans to overcome natural and human challenges, but also has a dromological function, in terms of channeling, communicating, and connecting goods, information and messages, anonymous masses, and the needs from one pole to the other, from one region to another, and even from one organ to another. Like Heidegger and Merleau Ponty, Virilio sees dromological technology having its world network: the city with all its complexity. But more than Heidegger and Merleau Ponty, he adds that we cannot understand our history and technology if we do not come upon the phenomenon of speed and acceleration in many realms of our society: transportation, information, music, and transplantation.

Towards a Dromocratic Society

In the late 1970s, Virilio was concerned about dromocratic conditions. In *Popular Defense & Ecological Struggle*, he discusses the theoretical concept of pure war and makes a practical political case for revolutionary resistance against the tyranny of speed politics and the military industrial complex.

He tells us that since World War II, the development of dromological techniques has been difficult to predict. War and military institutions become the main mode of political logistics. This state of war is also directed by the power of the bourgeoisie as he writes: "with the help of accumulation of capital, pure war can be everywhere and affect all areas of life."[8]

In the dromological perspective the state is the legal bearer of war and will progress at the speed of its weapon systems.[9] Virilio tells us that

the history of totalitarianism everywhere has a direct relationship with the state's ability to handle the mass circulation by using dromological machines in order to violate the constitution. He acknowledges that every totalitarian leader understands this fact when he proclaims war. The Nazis, for example, took over Germany, city after city, street by street, and through the long journey from one country to another, as if the German masses were 'set to move' by their unstoppable leaders. It is just because immediately after seizing power, the Nazi government promised the German people sport and transport/highways in order to seize control of the mass movement.[10]

The apparatus of this totalitarian state includes functions, artifacts, and dromocratic machines which go beyond the constitution. Such a state functions like a machine that processes permanent attacks on the world and human nature[11] which does not only destroy the flora and fauna, but also the social, cultural and existential systems of a nation. With this in mind Virilio wants to say that there was never an industrial revolution that paved the way for democratic thinking. On the contrary, it launched dromocracy, a government determined by artificial logistics, where war is a distinctive form. "In fact there is no 'industrial revolution' but only a 'dromocratic revolution;' there is no democracy, only dromocracy; there is no strategy, only dromology."[12]

In terms of warfare, state logistics are not limited to ground transportation. Virilio sees sea and air transportation as alternatives which open up different spaces. If ground transportation is limited to a territorial field - therefore warfare is restricted to a particular territory - air and sea transportation indicate an open space so that war no longer occurs within a particular territory but becomes infinite. Also, with the advent of the sea and air as open space, the concept of war is changed. War runs in society; as fish lives in water, soldiers run a war in society. In this new space, war is no longer understood in terms of physical resistance, but has a broader meaning, namely economic, social, and cultural resistance. In the new understanding, speed remains the main characteristic of war because it is the hallmark of the dromological progress.

In one interview with James der Debian, Virilio asserts that war always evolves along with the logistics of perception. Traditional warfare is done within the horizon of the eye and the telescope. However, modern wars have different logistical perceptions. Using satellites, modern war has become a global war involving the whole planet. In one sense the Gulf War for example, can be called a local war, because it involves local interests. But since this war involved satellites and remote commands, the war falls into the global war category. Therefore, the more advanced the technology is, the wider and intensive is a war.[13]

The concept of the state as the subject of war had been discussed by Carl Schmitt,[14] a German philosopher at the middle of the 20th century. In Schmitt's thinking, the state is the main political subject who has the right to distinguish the friend from the enemy. War is the consequence of this. However, in a dromological perspective, war is the clearest model of what it means to regulate and control the speed of the masses that are constantly on the move. In line with Joseph Goebbles who wrote, "Who controls the road, controls the state" Virilio states that the main political task is to control the space. And the state has the political right to control the speed of such logistics.

Our history, then, utilizes violence both for the defending the existence of society and for binding together the members of the society. Metaphorically, this conjures the idea of a primordial bunker and the camps of dromocratic society. The first is a result of architecture against the enemy, while the second is a metaphor for the attitude of expelling and fencing others out. Thus the dromocratic life is a life that rubs against others as enemies, prevents them from entering into our world, and confines us in ourselves. Both of these mechanisms are completely defensive.

With these descriptions, Virilio's political theory can hardly be understood as a traditional one. It changes our perception on the history of politics, and suggests that we never build a democratic society but a dromocratic one. Every state employs dromological techniques to exercise power, but as in Michel Foucault, the state apparatuses are functions or artifacts of dromocratic machinations that exceed their constitutions

and incorporations. "Dromocratic intelligence is not exercised against a more or less determined military adversary, but a permanent assault on the world, and through it, on human nature."[15] In phenomenological perspective, total war can be identified as existential experience of fear. Following these insights we can ask if dromocracy has become a world-wide and lasting form of technological society? And if total war is a real condition, how can we maintain some sense of freedom?

The State of Freedom, Fascism, and Nihilism

Nietzsche once described the dramaturgic context of society with regard to the development of the state of freedom.[16] Briefly, he explained that human rights are not a static concept, but have developed according to the balance between two impulses: between the Apollonian which involves the principle of form, order, and individuation, and the Dionysian which involves the powers of intoxication, disorder, and the dissolution of individual ego in collective ecstasy and sensual surrender. He thought that the intense Dionysian passion should be harmonized, spiritualized and refined by Apollonian form. Rather than rejecting the Apollonian principle, Nietzsche calls for a synthesis and conjures the ideal of Socratic society which combines the powers of reason and creativity, the rational and the irrational.

From Nietzsche's perspective, we are now living in a state of imbalance. Under the influence of capitalism, we develop an individualism which ignores intra-and inter-communal solidarity. In such a society it is very difficult for political parties, religious groups, and universities to become a "home" for everyone. People float between traditions without cultivating a certain direction (what is usually known as postmodernism). Everybody remains like a monad living without any relationship with the surrounding community. Gaining great freedom, every individual nonetheless loses their own personal orientation. Emile Durkheim identifies this situation as an anomaly.

In this new context, tools of communication may change the game of power. Although the state is still seen as a dominant organizational

form in the world system, it is not the only one, perhaps not the most powerful. Instead of political power, economic and military power can play a major role in this postmodern society. Thus, we face a new paradox: nationalism is growing everywhere, but as a reaction to a loss of power and control. In such situation, people who lose their orientation may generate direct violence within and between communities. This increasingly widespread cultural violence often cannot be overcome by the state, because the structure of the state is unable to overcome racial, religious and tribal hatred. Violations of human rights which occurred in Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia, and Afghanistan have their base in racial, religious and tribal hatred. The *conflict of civilizations* is the new model of our global society.[17] The question, then, arises as to whether the logic of technological speed can help us develop a social body that gives space for the development of community, critical thinking and human rights?

This question is a difficult one, but Virilio's ideas can offer some help. On the one hand, Virilio himself realizes that war as a 'factory speed' cannot be used as a means to protect human rights and democracy. He explains that if we do it in the name of human rights, then the war will eliminate the chance for us to develop negotiations with our opponents. However, he also adds that if the enemy is an enemy of humanity, then there is no alternative but to mobilize into a total war or perform unconditional surrender.[18]

The fundamental issue behind this dilemma is the possible rebirth of fascism against humanity. Fascism doesn't need to be reborn; it never died.[19] It becomes totalitarian when it intends to be totally dromocratic. Virilio tells us that in China, from 1964 onward, we find the revolutionary slogan: "Take the army as our model." Under this slogan, the entire population was forced to wear a similar uniform, a kind of ambiguous, asexual outfit. In a different way, in France the soldier was called upon to wear the combat uniform, the outfit of the laborer, even during official parades.[20] According to the research led by Department of Philosophy, University of Indonesia in 2006, fascism is still growing through the panopticon techniques directed upon New Order political prisoners

and their families, religious faith based terrorism, and ethnic and racial violence.[21]

Fascism is still alive because "both total war and total peace have engaged the headquarters of the great national bodies (the armies, the forces of production) in a new spatial and temporal process."[22] But, Virilio warns we are not always aware of its presence. He writes "the precious lesson of the camp and the gulag has not been heeded, because it was erroneously presented not only as ideological phenomenon, but also as a static one, an enclosure. Its absolute inhumanity is … the bestiary of the immense biomass, proletariat subsumed under logistical demands."[23] Technological developments in transportation, war and information is a real challenge to democracy and human rights when it is coupled with individualism and racial, religious, and tribal hatred which is growing in our postmodern society.

The emergence of info sphere - a world of information – may become a new possibility of the state of freedom. The searching software today has made our own world into an interactive metaphor between us. Google interactive folder/searching/visual data as well as its programs (API: Application Programming Interface) is a logistics software designed to make personal life more rational. We expect each user to be openly linked. Therefore, information technology becomes one of the important instruments for democracy and vice versa: democracy is virtually impossible to run well without information technology. Through the internet everyone can fight for their aspirations both concerning themselves, society and the environment. We can see how civil society today is building net politics to give a broad influence on global politics to build an emancipatory relationship.[24]

This ability to communicate will reduce our world as a real space. The new space is a social environment that draws us closer to each other. In this information space, the future man will live in a confined feeling and may be more tolerant than the previous society. With this expectation, I think Virilio tacitly agrees with Heidegger that the disclosure of *Dasein* always happens in unity with others.[25] It is possible because people are

given time to move, to feel, to imagine, and to make decisions into the new social space.

Behind these opportunities, however, lies technological nihilism. Thanks to information and communication technologies, everything arrives everywhere at once, including that which is least expected. To privilege the present is however to privilege accidents. New technologies bring into effect three existential problems.[26] The first one is technological control. While the problem with speed is always the problem of accidents, the very rapidity of technologies that stress immediacy and ubiquity bring problems over and above their continued control. These technologies operate so quickly that they leave us little time to judge. In fact, key decisions seem to be ceded to the machines and devices that transport us, our goods and information.

The second problem is the disappearance of contemplation in our culture. Debate and cooperation also become difficult. This means that the very basis of humanity is threatened. Living is replaced by mere existence. Technological acceleration increases existential risks and that collateral damage necessarily accompanies life's new velocities. With increasingly rapid technology, reflexes replaces reflection.

Virtualization is the third existential problem. Technological development means that we no longer live in real time or real space. We dwell in accidental space. Reality has been replaced by technologically-mediated reality effects. Its effect tears at the social fabric such that physical dimensions (including human) lose their meaning. As such all of our traditional benchmarks of intelligibility – norms and values, anchors, standards and reference points – cease to serve or guide us. Instead we live in a perpetual present in which tradition, memory and collective sentiments offer no comfort. Disorientation prevails.

Virtual technology does not just alienate us from time and place; it also estranges us from our own bodies. Our machines are disturbingly lively and we ourselves frighteningly inert. This is because action at a distance, mediated by technological structures, trumps immediate unmediated agency. Our technologies move for us, and do so far faster than we

ever could. We can stay where we are, although there are profound phenomenological implications for us. Since we can extend our actions across time and space our precise location is open to question. Where are we prese nt? And how do we experience our place in the world? Technological speed, then, has deleterious effects on living, over and above the obvious accidents and the damage it does to territory and chronology.

Security and the Metaphysics of Accidents

The Dromological revolution is moving faster than we realize. We live in a world where technological speed becomes the only reality whose objectives is difficult to predict: "All that counts is the speed of the moving body and the undetectability of its path."[27] This observation is not just about war technology, but concerns the speed of technology itself. Speed becomes a destiny, a form of progress, a civilization. Speed is war and war is nothing other than a "speed factory."[28] To succeed is to reach greater speed.

According to this criterion, society will be divided into hopeful populations and despairing populations. The first has access to the speed which provides them with possibilities – that is, the project, the decision, and the infinite, while the second, hindered by inferiority of their technological vehicles, condemns them to live in a finite world. "Western man," Virilio gives an example, "has appeared superior and dominant, despite inferior demographics, because he appeared more rapid. In colonial genocide or ethnocide, he was the survivor because he was in fact super-quick (*sur vif*)."[29] For Virilio, all societies are pyramidal in nature: the higher speed belongs to the upper reaches of society, the slower to the bottom.

What worries Virilio mostly is the fact of accident. He tells us that we can neither understand our history nor the technology which propels it without coming to terms with a related phenomenon of speed and acceleration: the accident.[30] The progress of speed is nothing other than the unleashing of violence. When we invent a new technology we also always invent the possibility of unintended and unfortunate outcomes. The ship's invention creates the shipwreck, the railway's invention

creates derailment, the airplane's invention creates plane crash. Indeed, qualitative achievements in science are accompanied by a quantitative logic: the greater the intensity of techno-scientific progress the greater the catastrophes. The invention of the ocean liner is also the invention of its catastrophic sinking (the sinking of the unsinkable Titanic in 1912), the internal combustion engine is itself the invention of greenhouse gases, the discoveries of genomic science also bring with them the latent horrors of a genetic bomb and comprehensive integration of personal social lives into information networks is also their inevitable crash, taking with them the very social bonds that they contain and mediate for us. Technology is not only a human solution but also increases the scale of our shared risk.

Virilio envisions the most extreme danger in connection with war and communication technologies. He predicts that accidents cannot be restricted in a certain space and time, here and now, but become un-localized. Therefore, accidents in war technology and communications technology in the future will involve the whole of humanity. Not only nuclear war but the spread of the viruses in communication technology. These potential accidents bring us closer to the critical threshold where the possibilities for proper human political action will disappear. Virilio calls this situation a "state of emergency"[31]. This is the state where everything suddenly happens as if each protagonist's own arsenal becomes his enemy, communication between statesmen will stop, in favor of an interconnection of computer systems, modern calculators of strategy, and consequently of politics.

In facing the contemporary regression of strategic arms limitation agreements, Virilio proposes his own idea of the deterrence principle. He agrees that every country should be encouraged to exercise restraint and act rationally by not continuously developing technology just to threaten and destroy others. He writes: "the essential aim of throwing ancient weapons or of shooting off new ones has never been to kill the enemy or destroy his means, but to deter him, in other words, *to force him to interrupt his movement.*"[32] But he also adds that we cannot deter an enemy from inventing new weapons, or from perfecting their

performance. Following Sun Tzu who said that all weapons are tools of "ill omen,"[33] Virilio believes that we need a deterrence that leads us to reduce our own freedom not only of action and decision, but also of conception. "The logic of arms systems is eluding the military framework more and more and moving toward the engineer responsible for research and development."[34] By saying 'to reduce our freedom not only of action and decision, but also of conception', Virilio proposes that all parties should have the willingness to submit to reason – they have to learn to discipline their own passions and to submit to the law even when they think the law is unjust and iniquitous.

He argues that what a social body really needs is security.[35] Even in a liberal-capitalist society, we still need social security in terms of consumption and freedom from fear. The demand for security is a moral basis for the protection of everyone from the misfortunes that they should not have. It has its roots in justice, civil rights and political rights for every citizen. The neglect of the interests of those who are powerless such as the elderly, the poor and the victims of political conflict and war are the real tendencies of the dromocratic society.[36]

Besides this ethical consideration, Virilio invites us to understand the metaphysical meaning of the technological accident. He criticizes two typical ways of understanding it: a philosophical one which denotes accident as the inessential and a common sense one which identifies it as the unexpected. Accidents are neither trivial nor should they be unanticipated. They are programmed into every technology. They are also not relative and contingent, as Aristotle reasoned in the *Metaphysics*.[37] Virilio says, "as soon as something is well established, it is necessarily accompanied by something unreliable, which can trigger off forces to contain at any moment."[38] The technical progress is largely determined by the findings in the mechanics, chemistry, and electricity. A high dependence on the material basis as its substance will position the invention of a technology to always involve the invention of its accompanying accident. The accident therefore reveals the substance of technology. For Virilio, substance and accident are symmetrical.

To deny the dual nature of technology, the substance and the accident, is to fundamentally misconstrue the object. "To censor evidence, as is so often the case, is to practice dissimulation, ensure disinformation, and so contribute to a loss of confidence in the effects of science, analogous today only to what happens in politics."[39] It also means reality is only partially grasped. This is the confusion lying at the heart of today's technological crisis. Discovery and creation beget catastrophe.

Security, then, is not only based on ethical considerations of protection of human life and the environment but also is supported by a metaphysical understanding that every technical body of speed is pregnant with accidents. The security of humanity and nature should be insured by providing a large space for autonomy of individuals, regions, universities, and the media, so they can understand and discuss the relation of technological risks to technological discovery.

Conclusion

I have pointed out that the threat to democracy and human rights does not entirely come from the abuse of political power but also comes from the effectiveness of dromological speed. The authoritarian state is a real danger to humanity, but its powers will not be effective unless it is supported by war as a dromological technology.[40] Beside war, the media is another tool of dromocratic society. Instead of serving to provide accurate information, media can be framed according to political interests. So many important innovations in technological *searching* are sponsored by state security interests to control the power of critical thinking in society. In the dromological perspective, technologies can never become a logistic for democracy.

Starting from the premise that the state is the subject of the technology of warfare, Virilio draws the conclusion that human history evolved with its weapon systems. In this generalization, politics, power, military, and war become the model and the texture of human life. Following his reasoning, Virilio goes far beyond what is thought by other phenomenologists such as Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, and Don

Ihde who still see technology as a vehicle for the personal and social life of man. For Virilio, the state is the subject of technology and therefore the technology will follow the logic of power. In this logic, the bunker, the camp, the city, and the war became models of technological development.

Some experts appreciate Virilio's emphasis on security and develop it in in relation to the architecture of the camp as a space of the exception.[41] This interpretation is given by Giorgio Agamben who sees the camps and forts as extra-legal territory.[42] He explains that State maintains authority and power above the law for the sake of social cohesion. The camps and forts have the status of a "state of exception" in relation to the normal law of a state. The same view was also expressed by Slavoj Žižek who demonstrated that the logic of the camp is beyond the normal power relationships.

But, as Benjamin H. Bratton writes, "the lesson is not the pretentious self-image of hyper-efficiency that such networks communicate, but rather the exception that remains within the exception itself: the accident."[43] The accident-within-the-accident emerges from the identification with the exception that Žižek names, perhaps in ways that Virilio might not himself recognize. The problem of terrorism, as well as the state of emergency which characterizes counter terrorism, is neither entirely a resistance to the law, nor entirely outside it, but instead is related to the sovereign›s power of the state of exception to the law. With this recognition of the accident, we can say that the state cannot negate human rights in the name of a state of emergency.

Behind his analysis of dromocratic society, Virilio wants to make it clear that the only fact in technological society is nihilism.[44] In reality, there is no open society which preserves itself under the principle of democracy or the principles of eternal peace. Maybe there is no social capital which is based on the trust and respect of the people. Politics is just a dromological body that works mechanically. In this way, Virilio has anticipated that politics has no relation to social capitals.[45] The current political institutions and actors in most liberal democracies do not enjoy the trust and respect of the people. Also *the market*, one of the most sanctified

terms today, advances individualistic rather than social goals, in that, the consumers speak the language of 'me'. It sounds pessimistic when Virilio says: "the more speed increases, the faster freedom decreases."[۱۲] But for me, staging the accident, Virilio would have an important instructional function. Three arguments are advanced in favor of it: it helps us become more aware of the risks in our world; it would move us beyond the idea that we are simply passive victims of progress, and it would help restore symmetry between accident and substance. Virilio sees this as nothing less than our responsibility. The museum of accidents therefore provides an important ethical function.

ENDNOTES

[1] Aristotle, *The Politics 1252a1, translated by T.A. Sinclair (London: Penguin Books, 1992), p.54*

[2] Bertrand Russell, *The Impact of Science on Society (London: George Allen & Unwin Publishers Ltd., 1961), chapters 3 and 4*

[3] Paul Virilio, *Speed and Politics, an English translation of Vitesse et Politique by Marc Polizzotti, Los Angeles: Semiotexte, 2006. Virilio was born in 1930 in Paris and studied at the Ecole des Métiers d'art. After World War II he studied phenomenology under Maurice Merleau-Ponty at the Sorbonne.*

[4] Ibid., p.33

[5] Ibid., p.31

[6] Ibid., pp.32-33

[7] Steve Matthewman, "Accidentology: A Critical Assessment of Paul Virilio's Political Economy of Speed"*Cultural Politics Volume 9, Number 3, November 2013*

[8] *Speed and Politics, p. 85*

[9] Ibid., p.90

[10] In this awareness we can understand why in the 1930s, when America was experiencing an economic crisis, the most worrying thing to the authorities was the 'temptation of the road'. The increased transportation capabilities created by mass production of cars (Ford already started in 1914) could empower social assault and revolution, if not controled to support state power by transforming consumer needs.

[11] *Speed and Politics, p.86*

[12] Ibid., p.69

[13] James der Debian, "Interview with Paul Virilio" in Www.infopeace.org/vy2k/futurewar.cfm.

[14] Carl Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen, Text von 1932 mit einem Vorwort und drei Corollarien (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1963), p. 27*

[15] *Speed and Politics, p. 86*

[16] Fr. Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and Other Writings, translated by Ronald Speirs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 6-25*

[17] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" in *Foreign Affairs 72 (1993), Number 3, pp.22-49*

[18] Paul Virilio, *The Vision Machine, translated by Julie Rose (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 34*

[19] *Speed and Politics, 134-135*

[20] Ibid., 135

[21] L.G. Saraswati, et.al. *Hak Asasi Manusia: Teori, Hukum, Kasus* (Jakarta: Filsafat Universitas Indonesia Press, 2006), 306, 323, 356

[22] Paul Virilio, *Popular Defense and Ecological Struggle (New York: Semiotext(e) Foreign Agenes Series, 1986*

[23] *Speed and Politics, 98*

[24] John Armitage, "From Modernism to Hypermodernism and Beyond, An Interview with Paul Virilio" *Theory, Culture and Society, Volume 16 (5-6) (London: Sage, 1999), 25-55*

[25] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time, an English translation of Sein und Zeit by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Incoporated, 1962), 67*

[26] I am following Steve Matthewman, "Accidentology: A Critical Assessment of Paul Virilio's Political Economy of Speed"*Cultural Politics Volume 9, Number 3, November 2013*

[27] *Speed and Politics*, 151

[28] Ibid., 157

[29] Ibid., 70

[30] John Armitage, "From Modernism to Hypermodernism and Beyond, An Interview with Paul Virilio," Op. Cit., 40

[31] *Speed and Politics*, 159

[32] Ibid., 161

[33] Ibid., 164

[34] Ibid., 165

[35] Ibid., 139

[36] Ibid., 140

[37] Aristotle, Metaphysics,1007a20, *The Complete Works of Aristotle, edited by Jonathan Barnes (Princeton: Bolingen Series LXXI.2, 1995), 1590*

[38] Steve Matthewman, "Accidenology: a Critical Assessment of Paul Virilio's Political Economy of Speed" *Cultural Politics, Volume 9, Issue 3, November 2013*

[39] *Speed and Politics*, 81

[40] Compare to Don Ihde, *Technology and the Lifeworld, From Garden to Earth (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 1*

[41] Benjamin H. Bratton, "Logistics of Habitable Circulation" in Paul Virilio, *Speed and Politics, Op. Cit., p. 22*

[42] Agamben, *State of Exception (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 52-64*

[43] Ibid., 23

[44] *Speed and Politics, 110*

[45] Putnam, Robert D, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital", *Journal of Democracy, Volume 6 No. 1, 65-78*

[46] *Speed and Politics*, 158

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