

**SPA
PORT**

SPAPORT
Međunarodna godišnja izložba savremene
umjetnosti
International Annual Exhibition of Con-
temporary Art

GDJE SE SVE TEK TREBA DOGODITI
1. poglavlje: "Možeš li govoriti o tome?
- Da, mogu."

WHERE EVERYTHING IS YET TO HAPPEN
1st chapter: "Can You Speak of This?
-Yes, I Can."

A.C.A.B., The Archive of Self-Management,
Ziad Antar, Yael Bartana, Lutz Becker, Yane
Calovski, Libia Castro & Ólafur Ólafsson,
Chto delat/ What is to be done?, Ronen
Eidelman, Esra Ersen, Ivan Grubanov,
Nicoline van Harskamp (u suradnji sa/in
collaboration with Thijs Gadiot), Aydan
Murtezaoglu, Dragan Nikolic, Florian
Schneider, Slaven Tolj, Sharif Waked, Liu
Wei, Eyal Weizman, Judi Werthein, Arthur
Žmijewski, Želimir Žilnik

Kustosice / Curators
Ivana Bago & Antonia Majača

Ko-kustosi/ce / Co-curators
Anselm Franke, Vít Havránek & Zbyněk
Baladrán, Ana Janevski, Erden Kosova,
Nina Möntmann, Jelena Vesić

Banja Luka, 20.10. – 15.11. 2009 / 20 October - 15
November 2009

Izložbene lokacije / Venues
Galerija Terzić / Terzić Gallery | Salon Muzeja
savremene umjetnosti RS / Salon of The Museum of
Contemporary Art RS | Kastel (Kamena zgrada) / Kas-
tel (Stone building) | Billboardi u javnom prostoru/
Billboards in public space

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Ivana Bago & Antonia Majača

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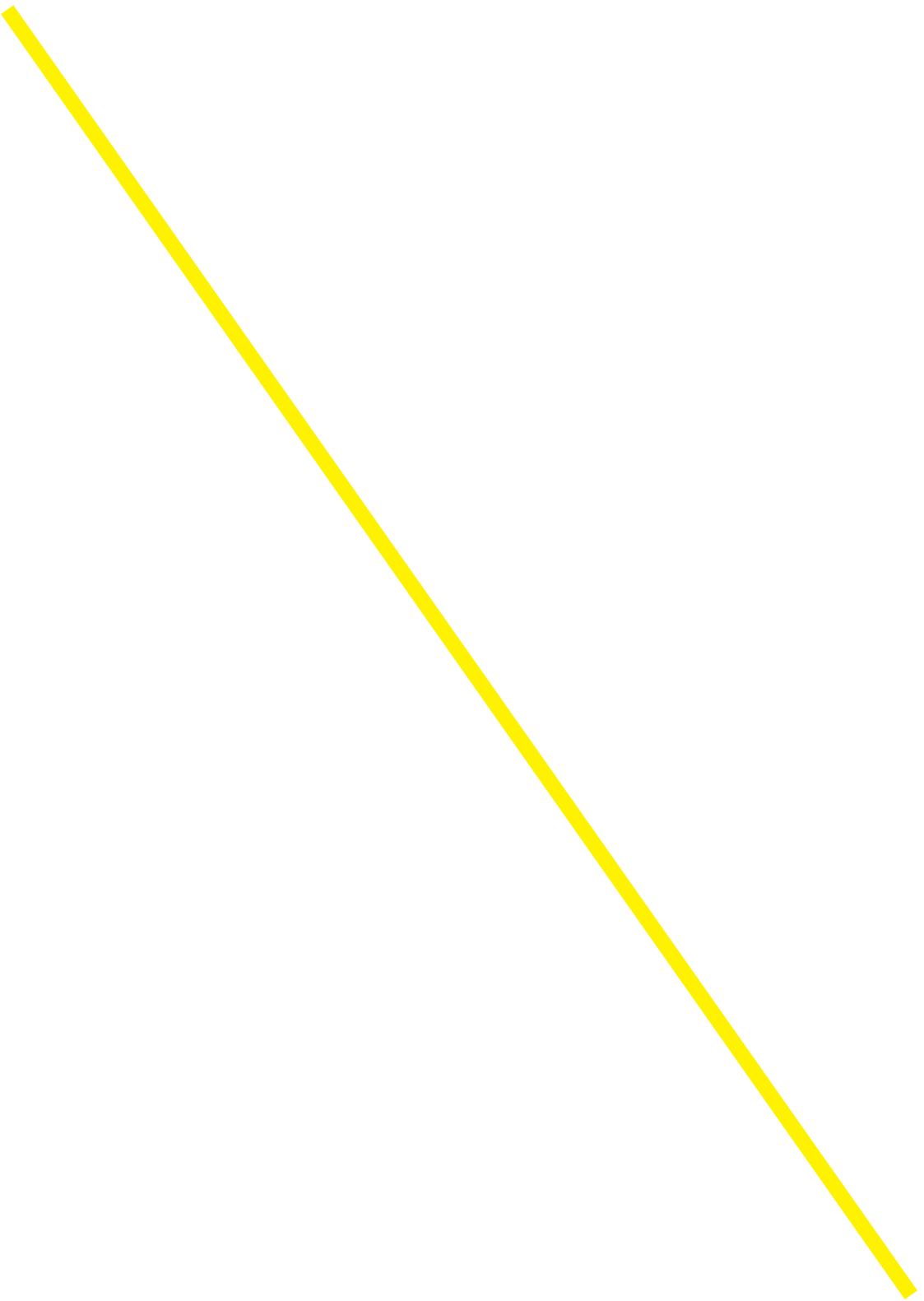
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Banja Luka - mjesto savremene umjetnosti?

Ne radi se o tome da nacionalizam već jednom zauvijek uklonimo, nego da ga napokon u dovoljnoj mjeri – recimo makar u mjeri dostojnog preživljavanja drugih – civiliziramo.

- Ugo Vlaisavljević

Pitanje ustavno-političkog uređenja najteže je i najvažnije pitanje Bosne i Hercegovine, države koja četrnaest godinu po okončanju rata stagnira u rješavanju nekih ključnih pitanja reformskog karaktera. Grubo govoreći, bosanskohercegovačko društvo je radikalno podijeljeno, u njemu se rađaju nove generacije koje odrastaju u mržnji prema drugom i drugaćijem. Zarobljenost bosanskohercegovačkog društva u idejama devetnaestog vijeka djeluje nam kao beskonačni proces nacionalne identifikacije koji traje posljednjih sto godina. Da li upravo ovakva politička realnost može biti mjesto događanja savremene umjetnosti? Krizno područje, podijeljeno društvo, pitanje neriješenih nacionalnih identiteta. Može li upravo takav kontekst biti polazište za angažman na novim umjetničkim projektima? Sa druge strane, geografska pozicioniranost Banja Luke, blizina Zagreba, njena vrlo bliska veza sa Beogradom i upućenost na Sarajevo, kao glavnim gradom Bosne i Hercegovine, daju joj regionalnu specifičnost.

Bosanskohercegovačka savremena umjetnička scena postoji prvenstveno zahvaljujući entuzijazmu umjetnika, umjetničkih organizacija i institucija na prostoru Republike Srbije i cijele Bosne i Hercegovine. SpaPort je inicijativa pokrenuta od strane Centra za vizuelne komunikacije Protok u okviru projekta *Oživljavanje lokalne umjetničke scene*, čiji je cilj bio stvoriti, kroz različite inicijative i programske aktivnosti, ambijent povoljan za formiranje lokalne umjetničke scene i uslove za umjetničku produkciju u različitim kulturnim kontekstima. U posljednje dvije godine kroz SpaPort smo realizovali različite obrazovne programe (predavanja, prezentacije, radionice), koji su bili namijenjeni studentima Akademije umjetnosti i svim zainteresiranim građanima, u cilju bolje lokalne vidljivosti i regionalne kulturne saradnje.

Zahvaljujući prvenstveno finansijskoj podršci Švajcarskog kulturnog programa, Centar za vizuelne komunikacije Protok već drugu godinu organizuje u Banja Luci izložbu regionalno-internacionalnog karaktera. Za realizaciju ovogodišnjeg projekta velike zasluge pripadaju Savjetu SpaPort-a, a prije svega kustoskom timu Ivani Bago i Antoniji Majači. Prijedlog kustosica, a koji je Savjet podržao, je da se njihova konceptacija ostvari kroz dugoročni projekat pod naslovom *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi* a koji će sadržavati više programske faza i linija (2009-2010) te biti realizovan kroz saradnje s brojnim suradnicima iz različitih područja.

Druga međunarodna godišnja izložba SpaPort odvija se tako kao prvo poglavje projekta i nosi podnaslov "Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu.", a kustosice je ostvaruju s grupom saradnika i saradnika - Anselmom Frankeom, Vitom Havranekom & Zbyněkom Baladránom, Anom Janevski, Erdenom Kosova, Ninom Möntmann i Jelenom Vesić.

Vizija članova Savjeta SpaPort-a i Protoka, kao organizatora ove manifestacije, jeste da ovu izložbu 2010. godine zvanično proglašimo bijenalom manifestacijom, te da u budućnosti SpaPort bude platforma koja će pokušati dati odgovore na radikalno promjenjene društvene, geografske, kulturne i umjetničke okolnosti, što je, između ostalog, i cilj dvogodišnjeg projekta *Gde se sve tek treba dogoditi*. Kao i prethodne godine, SpaPort se održava na više lokacija na prostoru grada Banja Luke, uključujući već neke prepoznatljive izložbene prostore, poput Salona muzeja savremene umjetnosti Republike Srpske, Galerije Terzić i ovoga puta, prema prijedlogu kustosica – u Kamenoj zgradi unutar tvrđave Kastel.

SpaPort i u 2009. godini pored izložbe nastavlja svoje aktivnosti i kroz programe povozivanja i edukacije što sve doprinosi njegovoј regionalnoј i internacionalnoј vidljivosti. Okolnosti bosanskohercegovačkog društva u kojem se očituje nepostojanje kulturne politike već duže godina se odražava na status i položaj, ne samo kulturnih manifestacija i umjetnika, već i institucija kulture. Odsustvo strateškog plana u kulturi ili kulturne politike koja će definisati kriterije i prioritete razvoja na nivou entiteta i države onemogućuje bilo kakvo planiranje u budućnosti. U tom smislu, odluka Savjeta manifestacije da u 2010. godini SpaPort bude zvanično proglašen bijenalom, doprinosi naporima organizatora da SpaPort u budućnosti osigura svoj kontinuitet.

Ovim putem bih želio zahvaliti svima na nesebičnoj podršci u realizaciji izložbe SpaPort 2009.: Savjetu SpaPorta, kustosicama Antoniji Majači i Ivani Bago, te njihovom timu ko-kustosa/ica Anselmu Frankeu, Ani Janevski, Vitu Havreniku/Zbyněku Baladránu, Erdenu Kosovi, Nini Möntmann, Jeleni Vesić, kao i svim umjetnicima na razumijevanju i podršci. Svakako treba istaći podršku Švajcarskog kulturnog programa, Ministarstva prosvjete i kulture Republike Srpske, Grada Banja Luke i Ministarstva civilnih poslova Bosne i Hercegovine.

Radenko Milak

Banja Luka – A Site for Contemporary Art?

It is not about finally abolishing nationalism for all times, but about civilizing it to some extent – at least to the extent of letting the others live their lives decently.

- Ugo Vlaisavljević

The issue of constitutional political system has been the most difficult and most important one for Bosnia and Herzegovina, a state that – fourteen years after the war – still stagnates in solving some of its crucial problems in terms of reform. Putting it bluntly, our society is radically divided and the new generations tend to grow up in hatred towards all that is different and represents “the other”. The confinement of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society within its 19th-century ideas seems like a part of the endless process of national identification that has been ongoing for the past hundred years. But perhaps it is precisely this political reality that can become a site for contemporary art? Zones of crisis, a divided society, the question of unsolved national identities – all these aspects may form an essential context for artists to engage in new projects and new productions. Moreover, with a regional specificity provided by the geographic position of Banja Luka: its closeness to Zagreb, its narrow ties to Belgrade, and its orientation towards Sarajevo as the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The contemporary Bosnian-Herzegovinian art scene exists primarily owing to the great enthusiasm of artists and artistic organizations or institutions on the territory of Republika Srpska and all of Bosnia and Herzegovina. SpaPort is an initiative launched by the Centre for Visual Communications Protok in the framework of a project entitled *Reviving the Local Art Scene*. Its aim has been to create, through various initiatives and programmes, an environment that will be suitable for developing a local art scene and establish the conditions for artistic production in various cultural contexts. In the past two years, we have realized various educational programmes within SpaPort (lectures, presentations, workshops) intended for the students of the Academy of Fine Arts, as well as for wider audiences, in order to achieve better local visibility and cultural cooperation in the region.

Owing primarily to the financial support of Swiss Cultural Programme, this has been the second year in which the Centre for Visual Communications Protok organized an exhibition of both regional and international character. The Council of SpaPort and especially the curating duo of Antonia Majača and Ivana Bago, has had a significant role in initiating this project. The suggestion of the curators, supported by the Board, was to realize a long-term project entitled *Where Everything Is Yet to Happen* over the period of 2009/2010

as an initiative comprised of different phases and program lines, developed with numerous collaborators from diverse areas. The Second edition of SpaPort represents the first chapter of the project and bears the subtitle *Can You Speak Of This? Yes, I Can* and was developed by the curators Antonia Majača and Ivana Bago in collaboration with Anselm Franke, Nina Möntmann, Ana Janevski, Erden Kosova, Vit Havránek/Zbyněk Baladrán, and Jelena Vesić.

The vision of SpaPort's Council and Protok, as the organizers of this event, is to transform the exhibition into a Biennial in 2010, thus converting SpaPort into a platform that will seek to respond to the radically changed social, geographic, cultural, and artistic circumstances, which has also been the aim of the two-year project *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi / Where Everything is Yet to Happen*. Same as last year, SpaPort takes place at various locations in the city of Banja Luka, including several prominent exhibition venues such as the Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art of Republika Srpska, Gallery Terzić, and this year, according to the suggestion of the curators' duo - within the Fort Kastel.

SpaPort has also continued with its other activities in 2009, including networking and education, which contributed to its regional and international visibility. The realities of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society, with its absence of a clear cultural policy, has had an impact on the status and position of cultural events and artists, but also on cultural institutions. The lack of a strategic plan in the domain of culture or a cultural policy that would determine the criteria and the priorities on the level of various entities and the state as such, makes it difficult to plan anything definite for the future. In this sense, the pragmatic decision of the Council of SpaPort to proclaim the Biennial in 2010 reflects the efforts of the organizers to secure SpaPort's continuity.

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who generously offered their support in realizing SpaPort: the Council of SpaPort, the curating team of Antonia Majača and Ivana Bago, the co-curating team of Anselm Franke, Ana Janevski, Vit Havránek/Zbyněk Baladrán, Erden Kosova, Nina Möntmann, and Jelena Vesić, as well as to all those artists who participated in any way. I likewise thank the following institutions: Swiss Cultural Programme, the Ministry of Education and Culture of Republika Srpska, City of Banja Luka, and the Ministry of Civil Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ivana Bago & Antonia Majača

WHERE
EVERY-
THING IS
YET TO
HAPPEN

„Can You Speak of This? Yes, I Can“

Učestvuju / With contributions by:

Ziad Antar
Yane Calovski
Libia Castro & Ólafur Ólafsson
Ivan Grubanov
Nicoline van Harskamp
(sa/ in coll. with Thijs Gadiot)
Dragan Nikolić
Slaven Tolj
Liu Wei
Judi Werthein

Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi
("Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu.")

Kada smo, nedugo nakon otvorenja prve izložbe *SpaPort-a* u Banja Luci u rujnu 2008. godine, pozvane od strane Savjeta projekta kao kustosice drugog izdanja ove manifestacije, temeljno pitanje kojim se otvorilo razmišljanje o tome da li – i ako da, na koji način – prihvati taj poziv, bilo je pitanje ambivalentnosti naše vlastite pozicije. Ta ambivalentnost proizlazi, s jedne strane, iz nelagode oko doprinosa proliferaciji bijenala koji zaposjedaju prostore konflikta, nestabilnosti i društveno-političkih tenzija, kako bi ponudili umjetnost kao (manje ili više samouvjereni) odgovor na stanje urgentnosti. S druge strane, naša je pozicija specifična utoliko što, iako pozvane "izvana" u kontekst koji je za nas, u praktičnom smislu, nov, on se nipošto ne može promatrati odvojenim od jednog zajedničkog, post-ratnog i post-jugoslavenskog iskustva kojega svi, na području tzv. Zapadnog Balkana, dijelimo.

Takva konstelacija stvara tenziju između pozicije u kojoj se "zadatku" istovremeno pristupa izvana i iznutra, kroz ambivalentnost pitanja tko "govori" i u čije ime, te kome se taj "govor" obraća.

Izbjegavajući pristup koji bi podrazumijevao upravo "mesijansku" ulogu kulturnih radnika koje bi za cilj imale detekciju "urgentnog stanja" i iznalaženje naznaka njegovog "rješavanja", odlučile smo – i sadržajno i u smislu formata – *ne napraviti "monološku"* izložbu koja bi pritom eksplicitno tematizirala ono što nam se, opet, činilo gotovo predeterminiranim fokusom, a to je reprezentacija Bosne i Hercegovine kao post-ratnog, *pre/post-emergency* prostora nestabilnosti čija se normalizacija zatim odvija i preko ovog kulturnog projekta, inače sponzoriranog od strane jedne švicarske fondacije. S druge strane, postavilo se pitanje i apsolutne nemogućnosti da se ista stvarnost zanemari. Osnovne konture koje su tako, u konačnici razvijene kao okvir projekta, artikulirale su se kroz pojam potencijalnosti, svijesti da se – unatoč neizvjesnosti budućnosti samog projekta i budućnosti samog društveno-političkog konteksta u kojem se on razvija – *može* (ali i *mora*), ući u otvoreni i dugoročni proces imaginacije onoga što nam je unaprijed nametnuto kao "nemoguće". Pritom je riječ o procesu koji prihvaca vlastitu neizvjesnost kao izbor i koji se, uspostavljanjem suradnji i komunikacije na više razina, razvija kao dugoročni projekt u stalnom "nastajanju"; koji pažljivo i malim koracima uspostavlja svoju prisutnost na lokalnoj i internacionalnoj umjetničkoj sceni i u javnosti, čekajući vlastitu artikulaciju, odnosno – artikulaciju onoga što se tek treba dogoditi.

Naslov projekta *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi / Where Everything Is Yet To Happen* (WEIYTH¹) sadrži reference na trajanje, mjesto i variabile očekivanog događaja, od kojih su sva tri parametra objedinjena svjesnim zauzimanjem pozicije radikalne nesigurnosti, pozicije "neznanja", uhvaćenosti u procjep između prošlosti koja ne daje oslonac i budućnosti

koja ne dolazi, prošlosti koja ne nudi (ili u najboljem slučaju zamućuje pogled na) događaj kojemu bismo se, Badiouovim rječnikom rečeno, obvezali na vjernost i budućnosti od koje se "očekuje" upravo to – "čudo" događaja.

Pritom, mjesto "iščekivanja" nipošto nije samo Bosna i Hercegovina ili regija. Upravo suprotno, namjera je subvertirati pogled na Balkan kao simptom, antitetičku periferiju Europe i žarište njenog "nesvesnjog", odnosno uspostaviti ga radije kao uporište pogleda, ogledalo koje izokreće perspektivu i odražava novi trenutak kao i paradokse društvene i političke konstelacije u Europskoj Uniji i Zapadnim neoliberalnim demokracijama općenito: redefiniranje pojma zajednice, krizu kapitalizma, nacionalnih država, nacionalnih identiteta ali i novi globalni trenutak Zapada, u kojem primjerice Barack Obama proklamira "Da, mi to možem!" (Yes, We Can!), i promiče odvažnost nade. Međutim, čak i ako usmjerimo pogled isključivo na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, ona, ironičnim obratom, već u sebi okuplja čitavu "međunarodnu zajednicu" pod čijim je stalnim patronatom i koja ni u jednom trenutku nije imala niti ima danas ulogu nedužna promatrača već je naprotiv – aktivni protagonist i suučesnik.

Iz svih ovih navedenih ishodišta i dinamika proizašao je i format projekta koji, umjesto "reprezentativnosti" daje prednost istraživanju, kritičko-intelektualnoj refleksiji, diskurzivnosti, procesualnosti i modularnosti vlastita pojavljivanja. Zamišljen kao dugotrajan, "divergentno-konvergentan" proces, WEIYTH se razvija kroz nekoliko modula: seriju "predavanja/razgovora/divana" (s umjetnicima, teoretičarima, politologima, piscima i aktivistima); edukacijski modul u formi radionica; izložbe predstavljene ovom publikacijom, seriju novih umjetničkih produkcija tijekom 2010., te izdavačkim projektom u 2011. Jednako tako, segmenti projekta odvijat će se i u drugim gradovima Bosne i Hercegovine ali i kroz suradnje s partnerskim organizacijama "međunarodne zajednice".

"*Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu*" predstavlja izložbu prvog poglavlja projekta koja nastaje na osnovu kustoskog "suučesništva" u pokušaju kritičke artikulacije i refleksije niza problema koje je osnovna koncepcija projekta otvorila: pitanja zajednice, su-bivanja, budućnosti, potencijalnosti, itd. – za koje je Bosna i Hercegovina u mnogome tek metonimija. Upravo zbog "paralakse" vlastitog pogleda na BiH odlučile smo svoju poziciju onih koje "govore" destabilizirati uključivanjem u projekt grupe suradnika – kustosa i kustosica, čiji doprinosi i suradnja na projektu čine ishodište unakrsnih i paralelnih, ali i a(nta)gonističkih pogleda. Taj metodološki korak potaknut je prije svega osjećajem potrebe za stvaranjem polifone strukture i otvaranja različitih niša za promišljanje zajedničkog okvira projekta određenog tek njegovom temeljnom "prospektivnošću" i vrlo širokim pitanjem o "budućnosti zajednice". Već prvi sastanak okupljenog kustoskog tima u Sarajevu i Banja Luci, međutim, pokazao je da je, za sve nas, u trenutnoj slici BiH iz koje projekt kreće promišljanje budućnosti "nemogući" zahtjev. Pozvani da govorimo, mi, predstavnici bliže i dalje "međunarodne zajednice" zatekli smo se istovremeno u šumi govora ali i pred zidom šutnje koji je odjekivao pitanjem: o čemu se uopće može a o čemu mora govoriti danas u Bosni i Hercegovini, u Republici Srpskoj, u Banja Luci, i kojim sredstvima?

Uvjerenje da umjetnost ima moći artikulirati govor i političko, da može "bez opisivanja

opisati” čak i ono o čemu se ne može govoriti, da može ponuditi ne samo “kritiku” postojećeg stanja, nego i aktivno zagovarati nove modele mišljenja i djelovanja, bilo je osnova odluke da se ustraje u realizaciji ovog projekta koji kao i najčešće u regiji –unatoč uvjetima u kojima nedostaje finansijskih sredstava, razvijene institucionalne infrastrukture i profesionalnih ljudskih resursa predstavlja i eksperiment koji dokazuje da se na osnovu predanog i neumornog rada, ogromnog socijalnog kapitala, samoorganizacije i fleksibilne „infrastrukture prijateljstva“ ipak može ne samo (re)prezentirati, već govoriti i djelovati na načine koji mijenjaju postojeće institucionalne i kulturne modele i stvaraju mogućnost aktivne participacije umjetničkih i intelektualnih praksi u javnoj sferi.²

Ono što slijedi razrada je nekih od predmeta “govora”, tema i momenata koji čine svojevrsni “tlocrt” projekta, koji se iscrtavao postepeno, zadobivajući stalno nove konture tijekom proteklih mjeseci, nadgradnjom naših inicijalnih polazišta mnogostranim očišćima koja su osnaživala njegov dijagnostičko-analitički kapacitet, kroz sastanke kustoskog tima, u doslihu i komunikaciji s njihovim pojedinačnim fokusima i doprinosima izložbi. Izložba “Možeš li govoriti o tome? –Da, mogu.” je tako prvo poglavje projekta, svojevrsni thesaurus koji otvara i povezuje niz tema i pitanja, ukazujući istovremeno na mogućnosti artikulacije projekta u budućnosti.

Umjetnički radovi koje predstavljamo u našoj selekciji izložbe “Možeš li govoriti o tome? –Da, mogu” odabrani su kroz proces višesmrjerne komunikacije između polazišnih tema projekta i njihova razvoja kroz dosadašnji diskurzivni program i diskusije s kustosima/-cama izložbe, kao i njihovih pojedinačnih prijedloga umjetničkih i kritičkih pozicija.

Radovi koje mi uključujemo na izložbu tako su, na svojevrstan način, propozicije koje presijecaju i odražavaju čitav proces razvoja i artikulacije projekta ali su ovdje, unatoč mnogim drugim mogućim poveznicama, ujedinjeni upravo zajedničkim nazivnikom preispitivanja same mogućnosti govora, opisivanja neopisivog bez opisa, i emancipirajućeg potencijala odvažnosti artikulacije – čak i ako ona podrazumijeva odbijanje da se govorí. U tome smislu sve bilješke i teme u ovom tekstu više značno su vezane uz sve umjetničke radove koji predstavljene na ovoj izložbi.

-Da, mogu.

Jednog me dana netko iz mase prepoznao. Iza mene je bila mlada žena, usana plavih od hladnoće, koja me dakako nikad prije nije upoznala po imenu, i prekinula šutnju nastalu od iscrpljenosti kojoj smo svi bili podložni, upitavši me šapatom (ondje su svi šaptali): “Možeš li ovo opisati?” Rekla sam da mogu, nakon čega je nešto poput osmijeha prešlo preko onoga što je nekad bilo njezino lice.
- Ana Ahmatova, *Rekvijem*

Svoj esej “O potencijalnosti” Agamben započinje parafrazom navedenog uvoda u poemu *Rekvijem* Ane Ahmatove, koji opisuje susret što se odvio dok je, stojeći u redu ispred lenjingradskog zatvora tijekom Staljinovih čistki, čekala vijesti o svome zatočenom sinu. Na pitanje koje prekida šutnju, uzrokovano ne samo iscrpljenošću, kako navodi Ahmatova,

nego i nemoći jezika pred "neopisivošću" užasa, na pitanje koje zahtjeva upravo artikulaciju užasa, Ahmatova odgovara potvrđno, prihvaćajući zadatak iskazivanja neiskazivog, ali i teret govora u ime svih drugih lica koja šute. Agamben svojom parafrazom odlomka stvara njegovu dodatnu dramaturgiju, uvodeći trenutak napetosti i trenutak tišine koja je prethodila odgovoru pjesnikinje koji ona, pritom, iznalazi "ne znajući kako i zašto".³ Riječ je, doista o događaju koji otvara mogućnost transformacije, ali koji se ne konstituira putem sigurnosti u izvjestan ishod prihvaćene obvezе; "Mogu" ovdje ne znači, kako Agamben naglašava, uvjerenje u posjedovanje određenih sposobnosti koje garantiraju uspješno opisivanje neopisivog, već jedno radikalno prihvaćanje odgovornosti, obvezе definiranja vlastite uloge u postojećem stanju stvari: "Svakoga od nas zatekne trenutak u kojem ona ili on moraju izgovoriti to 'Mogu', koje se ne odnosi na neku sigurnost ili određenu sposobnost, no koje je, unatoč tome, apsolutno obvezujuće. Mimo svih sposobnosti, to 'Mogu' ne znači ništa – a ipak označava ono što je, za svakog od nas, možda najteže i najgorče moguće iskustvo: iskustvo potencijalnosti."⁴

Agamben radi još jednu intervenciju u prijevodu samog pitanja koje prekida šutnjу: u izvornom tekstu i većini prijevoda *Rekvijema*, pitanje koje se postavlja je: "Možeš li to opisati?", međutim u Agambenovom tekstu ono je radikalizirano i glasi: "Možeš li govoriti o tome?", dok bi se s talijanskog izvornika moglo prevesti i kao: "Možeš li to (iz)reći?" Bez obzira je li ta intervencija u prijevodu slučajna ili namjerna, izravna konotacija govora (koja nadilazi specifičnost i *mimesis* sadržan u "opisu") poslužila je kao okvir prve faze projekta *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi*. Prihvaćanje poziva da, unatoč svim paradoksima i poteškoćama, preuzmemmo odgovornost artikulacije vlastitih pozicija u odnosu na njih, te pozivanje drugih u poziciju suočavanja s istim pitanjem, predstavlja temelj pokušaja da se odgovori na pitanje što možemo (i moramo) učiniti ili – što je umjetnost sposobna učiniti.

Kao i u odgovoru Ane Ahmatove kojega preuzimamo kao naslov prvog poglavlja, unatoč "radikalnoj nesigurnosti", radi se ovdje o presudnoj odluci da se govor shvati kao djelovanje.

O govoru i djelovanju / O pričanju i "našim" pričama

Analizirajući odnos između govora i djelovanja J.L. Austin navodi neke kriterije koji moraju biti zadovoljeni: mora postojati jasna konvencionalna procedura, odgovarajući odnos između pojedinaca i okolnosti, a svi uključeni se moraju pridržavati zadane procedure te ne manje važno – sve uključene strane moraju imati određena "mišljenja i osjećaje" i ponašati se shodno tome. Što se međutim događa kada ne postoji podudarnost i kada svi kriteriji nisu zadovoljeni? Zanimljivo je da se govor i uspješnost govora i pregovaranja procjenjuje najčešće opet govorom. Primjerice, da bi se objavila nezavisnost neke države nije dovoljno da je netko naprosto objavi već se o tome mora opet pregovarati; ako se, međutim, prave riječi izgovore na pravom mjestu, u pravom trenutku, od strane prave osobe i pred pravim ljudima – politički ideal ili društvena struktura mogu biti radikalno transformirani.

Koje alate koristiti kako bi se govorilo o onome o čemu se, s jedne strane, treba šutjeti kako bi se nastavilo živjeti svakodnevnicu ali istovremeno potaknuti upravo govor kako bi se konačno moglo ukinuti priče prošlosti i obmane sadašnjosti kao permanentne privremenosti tamo gdje ono potisnuto, kolektivno “zazorno” drži tu istu provizornu zajednicu u stanju “rata bez oružja”? U perpetuiranju kakofonije “pričanja” govor je sveden tek na sredstvo kratkotrajnih partikularnih interesa etničkih i drugih skupina – govor u kojem se subjekti razotkrivaju se ne događa. Istina je evidentna a opet posve skrivena. Kako dakle, započeti, konačno – misliti budućnost?

Peto poglavlje knjige *The Human Condition* Hannah Arendt započinje analizom odnosa govora i djelovanja. Život bez govora i djelovanja za svijet je doslovce mrtav, prestao je biti ljudskim životom zato što se više ne živi među ljudima.⁵ Prema Arendt, upravo se riječju i činom uvrštavamo u ljudski svijet. Odluka na govor znači uvijek i odluku na djelovanje, a ako djelovanje kao početak odgovara činjenici rođenja, ako je ono dakle *conditio humana* onda upravo govor odgovara činjenici različitosti i stvarnoj aktualizaciji *conditio humana*. Ahmatova bi tek pristankom na šutnju pristala na nebivanje, na ne-življenje čovjeka kao različitog i jedinstvenog bića među jednakima. Arendt podsjeća na Platonovu tezu da je *lexis* (govor) bliži istini no *praxis*. Govor i djelovanje nas razotkrivaju – međutim, takvo se “razotkrivanje” događa jedino u obzoru ljudskog zajedništva, u su-bivanju, odnosno onda kada smo niti “protiv” niti “za” već kada smo jednostavno “sa” drugima.⁶ Bez takvog razotkrivanja, djelovanje postaje samo sredstvo – kao u stanju rata. Govor tada postaje puko “pričanje”, tek još jedno sredstvo usmjereni cilju.

U ratu se, i poraću, međutim, do perverzije osnažuje upravo tek pričanje, koje glorificira onu istinu koja se poistovjećuje s ispravnom, “našom” pričom, dok govor kao činjenje (kao političko) prestaje. Priča rata je ona koja osigurava, kako u psihanalitičkom ključu sugerira Ugo Vlaisavljević,⁷ “temeljnu interpretaciju”: svi oni koji je dijele ujedno dijele zajednički nazivnik na kojem se formira identitet – ideju nacije ili, u slučaju regije bivše Jugoslavije a osobito Bosne i Hercegovine, ideju zajedničkog etničkog identiteta. U svojoj elaboraciji teze o modusima proizvodnje etničkog identiteta Vlaisavljević primjećuje da etnopopolitika počiva upravo na narativnoj pragmatici – etnički se identitet tako uviјek kreira pričanjem “najvažnijih priča”, a to su u ovoj regiji uvijek – ratne priče. Rat u tom smislu nije samo sredstvo koje se koristi kada ništa drugo ne preostaje, već je on “najvažnije iskustvo” i pojavljuje se uvijek iznova kao izvor kulturnih vrijednosti i etničkih identifikacija. Upravo je stoga svaka politika danas u Bosni i Hercegovini – ratna politika, a svi kolektivni akteri politike ratni subjekti te, ako govorimo o neophodnosti pomirenja, zaboravljamo da su oni koji se trebaju pomiriti konstituirani u svojoj biti upravo kao ratni subjekti. U tom smislu, Vlaisavljević sugerira – pomiriti se za njih značilo bi doslovno – samouništenje. Kako dakle radikalno ukinuti prošlost i destabilizirati ratne subjekte koji počivaju na pričanju “najvažnijih priča”? Može li govor zauzeti to mjesto priče, priče kao priče prošlosti, priče kao obmane? Potrebno se međutim izložiti istini, priznati, ogoliti, razotkriti u govoru kao djelovanju, stati na kraj prošlosti putem izravnog izlaganja.

Liu Wei 4. lipnja 2005 s kamerom odlazi na Xinhua sveučilište u Pekingu postavljajući studentima jednostavno pitanje: “Koji je danas dan?”. Većina ih odgovora da je danas taj

dan u tjednu i taj datum. Na njegovo daljnje inzistiranje studenti skreću pogled, pokrivaju lica, okreću se i odlaze. Ono što Liu Wei eklatantno pokazuje u radu *Dan za sjećanje* je trenutak zakinuta govora, govora koji se ne događa, govora ispraznjenog od potencijala djelovanja- no time neizravno ukazuje i na ono “opasno“ u govoru, na njegovu moć, politički i transformativni potencijal. Reakcija prolaznika ovdje je srž načina na koji se manifestira neizgovorljivo, ali i izbrisano iz kolektivnog sjećanja. Nakon pokušaja razgovora sa studentima Liu Wei odlazi na samo poprište zločina, na trg Tiananmen kako bi snimio njegovu mirnoću, jednostavnu svakodnevnicu, u kojoj, da bi se kolektivni “progres” događao, treba šutjeti o stvarima koje uznemiruju njegovo nezaustavljivo kretanje. Iskustvo represije, iskustvo zločina, iskustvo traume internalizirano je i potisnuto kao nešto u čemu se može pričati ali ne i govoriti.⁸

Na koji način artikulirati zločin a ipak nadići jednoznačne uloge počinitelja, žrtve, suučesnika i promatrača? Tko je taj koji treba govoriti i kojim sredstvima, ako želi izbjegići puko pričanje (*pravih*) priča, utvrđivanje “temeljnih interpretacija”? Govor se događa drugdje, pregovori i suđenja se događaju drugdje, u istoj toj “međunarodnoj zajednici”, izvan teritorija u kojem je prošlost njegova budućnost i u kojem se može jedino čekati da govor i političko ponovno stupe u sferu javnog?

Govor žrtvi je ipak onaj kojega najčešće čujemo – u medijima, dokumentarnim filmovima i umjetničkim radovima. Kako, međutim, postupati s ulogom počinitelja, ili onoga koji je, pripadnošću određenoj zajednici ili naciji, nagnan poistovjetiti s njom? Rad Dragana Nikolića *Nacionalni park* pokušaj je upravo takve artikulacije. Umjetnik i njegova majka odlaze u Petrovo Selo, mjesto u blizini Nacionalnog parka Đerdap u Srbiji, u kojem je 2001. godine pronađena masovna grobnica s tijelima kosovskih Albanaca, pogubljenih od strane srpske vojske tijekom rata na Kosovu. “Nacionalni park”, koji je nekoliko godina skrивao istinu zločina, na ironičan i simptomatičan način postaje simbol društva koje se nije u stanju suočiti s vlastitom prošlošću. Unatoč tome što u Nikolićevom radu umjetnik ostaje “skriven”, odnosno fizički neprisutan – video predstavlja njegov pothvat da se kao pojedinac i “član” društva poricanja prošlosti, suoči s njom na iznimno osobnoj i intimnoj razini – “koristeći” svoju majku kao vodiča koji ih oboje vodi u priču o obiteljskoj povijesti i uspomenama i krajolicima djetinjstva, ali i mračne recentne prošlosti kojom su isti krajolici danas obilježeni. Majka također igra ulogu istraživačice i novinarke: pozivajući se na stara poznanstva i obiteljske veze, pokušava od ljudi koje susreće u selu, kao i policijskih službenika, dozнати gdje se nalaze ostaci grobova, što je zapravo samo pitanje koje prikriva temeljnu namjeru da se sugovornike dovede u situaciju da pričaju o “neizrecivom”, o onom o čemu radije ne bi znali ništa. Uža obitelj umjetnika, majka i njezine dvije sestre jedine bez zadrške govore pred kamerom, prepričavajući ugodne ali i neugodne anegdote iz obiteljske povijesti, evocirajući ključni moment filma, moment *parresije*, otvorenog izgovaranja istine o vlastitoj “obitelji”.

O prošlosti

Prospektivna uokvirenost projekta naslovom *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi*, pored pozicije “radikalne nesigurnosti” – formulirala se i kroz postavljanje “nemoguće” jednadžbe: ako

je nedavna prošlost ono što čini perverziju političke, društvene i ekonomске sadašnjosti Bosne i Hercegovine; ako je nedavna prošlost – obilježena ratom između njene tri dominantne etničke “zajednice” – jedino što ta zemlja “ima” i što je još uvijek, u određenoj mjeri, čini predmetom interesa i patronata međunarodne zajednice i interesa europskih potpora razvoju demokracije, civilnog društva, tolerancije i multikulturalizma; ako je ta ista prošlost ključna činjenica u izvanjskom imenovanju i mehanizmima “brendiranja” kulturne i umjetničke produkcije BiH od strane “stabilnih” i “uređenih” neoliberalnih demokracija Zapada, sklonih humanitarnoj egzotizaciji i fetišizaciji “patnji drugih” – slijedi da bi tu prošlost, kao i njome paraliziranu sadašnjost, trebalo ukinuti.

Ukinuti tu prošlost, ne u smislu slijepog, eskapističkog poricanja njenog “realiteta”, nego u smislu pokušaja da joj se oduzme legitimnost, da se destabilizira referentno polje u kojem se ona nameće kao jedini, gotovo “prirodan” izvor narativa o sadašnjosti i budućnosti.

Takva destabilizacija bila bi moguća jedino kreiranjem novih narativa (dakako i onih o prošlosti), novih referentnih polja a ona su, u ishodišnoj točki projekta *Gdje se sve treba doći*, bila okrenuta lociranju uporišnih točaka koje omogućavaju mišljenje zajednice kao su-bivanja izvan i nasuprot esencijalističke i totalitarističke konstrukcije zajednice kao immanentnog zajedništva tijela ujedinjenih formulom krvi i tla, ali i izvan jednako manipulativnih i pojednostavujućih formula „multikulturalnosti“ ili „bratstva i jedinstva“.

U performansu *Govor ispred Narodne skupštine* Ivan Grubanov upušta se s jedne strane u hiperbolu, a s druge u ironiju govora. Njegov je govor utopijski poziv “savremenicima, saborcima, sapatnicima, braći i sestrama” na radikalnu imaginaciju identiteta koji počiva izvan nacije. Grubanov se, sam na kranu pred skupštinom, iako ne bez ironije – izlaže, krećući ka otvorenoj agitaciji da se prošlost ukine – prošlost koja “nikada nije imala ovoliki broj pristalica, prošlost kao naš najveći neprijatelj!” Međutim, začetak govora u formi “izvođenja” govora još uvijek je tako nemoćan da “opиše” prošlost i zacrtava konture budućnosti. *Studija za spomen obeležje* tek je potencijal koji nagovještava potrebu za spomenikom, odnosno za “spomenom” – ne u smislu njegove fizičke materijalnosti, već upravo u smislu započinjanja govora. Instalacija sačinjena od monumentalne građevinske skele s tamnim oslikanim monokromima simbol je onoga što se ne može opisati iz istih onih razloga uslijed kojih H. Arendt odustaje od empatije kao etičke i kognitivne pretpostavke. Ikonoklastički monokromi, *Studije za spomen obeležje*, tek su žrtve čiji iskazi ne mogu komunicirati ono što počiva izvan ljudskog razumijevanja. *Studija* je ujedno i skica mjesta na kojem se možemo suočiti s našom izravnom “umiješanosti” i s našom “zajedničkom” krivnjom.

Možda je upravo zajednička krivnja mjesto susreta i prostor zajedništva, ako već ne mjesto pomirenja. U toj krivnji susrećemo se ”mi”, stanovnici ”ovih prostora”, jedni s drugima ali i s onima koji su nam zajednički ”drugi”; predstavnici i simboli fantomske ”međunarodne zajednice“. Rad Ziada Antara je fotografija koja prikazuje samo jedan tenk UN-a čija je bojna cijev usmjerena u nepoznato, u neki neodređeni – možemo samo pretpostaviti – bliskoistočni krajolik, izazivajući pitanje koja je njegova uloga – koga brani, u čije ime govori i tko su žrtve njegove zaštite?

O zajednici i izloženosti

Pišući u svom ogledu *Razdjelovljena zajednica* o povijesnoj opsjednutosti zapadnjačke misli tropom o izgubljenoj zajednici, bilo da je ona utjelovljena u arhaičnim, plemenskim formama, antičkom polisu, ideji kršćanske zajednice, itd., Nancy utvrđuje da “zajednice nikad nije ni bilo” – u onom smislu kako se to želi misliti, te da je ono što nazivamo zajednicom bliže društvu i njegovim različitim, uvijek nedostatnim, formama. Unatoč tome što na horizontu ne postoji neki novi oblik zajednice (i što naš “nenadilazni horizont” više nije komunizam, već upravo njegova pasivizirajuća negacija koja ne donosi ništa novo), Nancy utvrđuje da je naš zadatak upravo da se zajednicu *misli*, “da se misli njen ustrajni i možda još uvijek *nečiveni*, zahtjev”, omkraj komunitarizma i individualizma; da se misli na koji je način moguće reći “mi”.⁹ Za Nancyja, zajednica se formira u su-bivanju, bazičnoj “izloženosti jednih drugima, pri čemu je ključno upravo to “su“, ono “između“ singularnih bića, a ne njihov zbroj u nekoj imaginarnoj cjelovitosti. Nešto kasnije, Nancy će to nazvati *singularno pluralnim bitkom*, u koje “ja“ ne postoji bez “sa“, bez drugog, u kojem je ono uvijek istovremeno i “mi, ti, oni“, su-pojavljivanje, su-esencija - i upravo se ta napetost i neodrediva granica između singularnosti i pluralnosti, tj. upravo se to “sa“ (“koje još nema statusa i upotrebe“) postavlja kao bit zajednice.¹⁰ Takva koncepcija zajednice radikalno se razlikuje od iluzije jedinstvene zajednice tijela okupljenih i prožetih jednim, esencijalnim identitetom, immanentnošću koja se inače potvrđuje i obećava jedino kroz smrt njenih “članova”.¹¹ Pozvan 1993. da napiše “odu miješanosti“ (*mélange*), Jean-Luc Nancy započinje tekst riječima: “Sarajevo je postalo izrazom *par excellence* cjelovitog sistema reduciranoosti na identitet“. Ono, dakle, postoji isključivo kao “identitet“ koji je drugome meta za uništenje, za što je prepostavljena čistoća identiteta istovremeno i preduvjet ali i rezultat. “Miješanje“ i “bastardnost“ su nedopustivi i ugrožavaju samu srž ideje o immanentnosti neke zajednice. Ovo nije jedini put da Nancy spominje Sarajevo ili Bosnu i Hercegovinu. U predgovoru se nalazi referenca na vrijeme u kojem nastaje esej *O singularno pluralnom bitku*, gdje je navedena podugačka lista tada aktualnih poprišta ratnih sukoba u cijelom svijetu, zajedno s njihovim protagonistima, “identitetima“. Upravo u tom vremenu Nancy prepoznaje nužnost da se iznova počne misliti zajednica, da se iznova počne misliti kako reći „mi“.

Rad Libije Castro i Ólafura Ólafssona, izveden kao intervencija u javnom prostoru u Banja Luci, dio je njihovog kontinuiranog projekta u obliku kampanje, započete 2003. godine, u kojoj, koristeći široki dijapazon strategija medijskog oglašavanja, u potpuno različitim društvenim kontekstima i zemljama, ispisuju, uvijek na službenom jeziku te zemlje, istu rečenicu: “Tvoja zemlja ne postoji”. Ovisno o kontekstu, ova rečenica u obliku objave poprima uvijek nova, modificirana značenja, koja je moguće različito čitati. U kontekstu Bosne i Hercegovine čitanje nužno upućuje na činjenicu nepostojanja konsenzusa oko temeljnog uređenja države te perpetuiranja čekanja i nestabilnosti. Rad je izведен na latini i cirilici, dva službena pisma BiH, čime evocira regulaciju prometnih znakova, prema kojoj se oba pisma moraju pojavljivati i u Republici Srpskoj i BiH, što je u Federaciji rezultiralo brojnim intervencijama na natpisima na znakovima od strane prolaznika, kao još jednim simptomom nemogućnosti učinkovitog rješenja za suživot, kao i činjenice da u BiH za mnoge njene stanovnike ta zemlja “ne postoji”. Rad se, međutim, ne bavi Bosnom i Hercegovinom; njega je, prije svega, potrebno čitati i kao agitaciju, intervenciju

kojom se promiče nepristajanje uz nijedan zadati okvir i identitet, te dovođenje u pitanje ideoloških mehanizama koji definiraju oblike pripadnosti.

Testiranje zajednice Nicoline van Harskamp predstavlja jednostavnu intervenciju umjetnice u niz "pronađenih" anketa putem kojih ispitanici mogu procijeniti svoje stavove o politici, moralnosti i vlastitoj osobnosti. Postojeće ankete umjetnica je reorganizirala u cjeline s posebnim poglavljima, koja se fokusiraju na teme poput navika i obrazaca ponašanja prema drugim ljudima i svakodnevnim obavezama, odnos prema moći i načinu na koji se pojedinci postavljaju prema ulozi vođe, definiranje odnosa pojedinca i zajednice, razina identifikacije s neposrednim okruženjem, državom, nacijom i čitavim čovječanstvom, odnos prema pravednosti, etici i moralu. Ključna intervencija umjetnice je da je svako pitanje koje se ispitaniku obraća kao pojedincu zamijenila prvim licem množine, tako da "ja" postaje "mi", stvarajući obrat u kojem je pojedinac prisiljen nužno se poistovjetiti s nekim zamišljenim kolektivom i tako se suočiti s jedne strane apsurdom kolektiviteta ali i s vlastitom ulogom, doprinosom, te krivnjom i suučesništvom u postojećem stanju stvari.

U video radu *An Early Lost Play Yane Calovsky* kamerom prati djevojku Tanju Kjaergaard Jansen tijekom siječnja 2006. godine koji je obilježen burnim raspravama u Danskoj, nakon objavlјivanja karikatura proroka Muhameda u novinama i protestima pripadnika muslimanske zajednice koji su uslijedili. Dok se na prvi pogled čini da Tanju zatičemo u dokumentarnoj situaciji, ubrzano shvaćamo da je umjetnik ovu djevojku (čiji izgled odaje dojam djevojčice) angažirao kao posrednika, istraživačicu i glasnogovornika umjetničkog rada koji nastaje u pozadini "realne" političke drame. Tanja izvodi neuspješnu mimikriju događanja oko nje: hoda šumom i gradom noseći transparente s različitim porukama, pridružujući se demonstracijama na ulici za koje će reći da ima svoje "favorite", ali sama ne sudjeluje u strastvenom zagovaranju neke određene opcije ili stava. Ambivalentnim porukama na transparentima ("Ubili ste mi oca", "Sloboda je sranje", itd.), koje potpuno odskaču od drugih, jasno suprotstavljenih stavova koji zasićuju medijski i javni prostor, djevojka/djevojčica s teatarskom krvlju koja joj "ide iz nosa" otvara poziciju koja sagledava objektivnu stvarnost, ali prije svega vlastiti odnos s njom. Calovsky se svojim projektom dotiče i pitanja formalnog, proceduralnog, europsko-političko-korektnog zahtjeva za oprostom i javnog "medijskog pregovaranja", ali i krize Europskih nacionalnih država u kojoj "multietničko" i "multikulturalno" neće biti samo apstraktni pojmovi koji se nasumično pojavljuju već će pred zajednicu u cjelini staviti izazov stvarnog i življenog međusobnog razumijevanja (*mutual understanding*). Ono, međutim, svakoj strani znači nešto drugo – u „isprici“ danskog premijera islamskom svijetu argument je dakako sloboda govora i stav da govor nije činjenje. Upravo u toj neuralgičnoj točki različite interpretacije odnosa govora i i činjenja dvije kulture trebaju naći mjesto za toleranciju i (pre)govor. Calovsky projekt razvija kroz osam epizoda od kojih je predzadnja naslovljena *Speech to Song* gdje zbor izvodi verziju premijerovog govoru u pjesmi u kojoj umjetnikov *remix* stvara fragmentarnost koja generira simptomatično absurdne fraze poput: *Mi moramo poštovati izazove kombinacije!*

O Bosni i Hercegovini

U kontekstu čitave post-jugoslavenske regije, pitanje – na koji način misliti i kako moći izreći “mi”, odzvanja posebnom težinom, a naročito u kontekstu Bosne i Hercegovine, čija “normalizacija” zaostaje za državama bivše Jugoslavije upravo stoga što ju nije bilo moguće provesti na temelju formule “1 narod = 1 država” i pa su i etničke napetosti između njena tri konstitutivna naroda i same “konstitutivne”, te ne ostavljaju mogućnost neke drukčije političke artikulacije, artikulacije bilo kakve vrste “bastardnosti”.¹² Na neki perverzan način, takva situacija ujedno predstavlja i otpor normalizaciji i otvara mogućnost da upravo Bosna i Hercegovina bude prostor u kojem se može misliti alternativa, navodno “očitom” i “prirodnom” modelu nacije-države, čiji je cilj neometana uspostava slobodnog tržišta, koje poništava sve antagonizme.

Konsocijacionalizam koji se kao moguće “pragmatično rješenje” pojavio u teorijskim, popularnim i političkim razmatranjima političkog uređenja Bosne i Hercegovine u tom svjetlu nije ni najmanje jednostavan izlaz jer namjesto nemoguće formule “države-nacije” podrazumijeva model uređenja u kojem bi sve strane (odnosno političke “elite etnija”) morale voditi “politiku akomodacije”. Te bosanskohercegovačke političke “elite” koje bi trebale u takvom modelu prakticirati “samo-ograničavajuću akomodaciju” provode međutim praksu “ograničene agresivnosti”¹³ i opstaju na vlasti upravo zahvaljujući poticanju nestabilnosti. U takvom stanju svatko je žrtva i svi se bore za poziciju najveće žrtve; u krajnjoj liniji ono što svi dijele je osjećaj da su svi zajedno beznadne žrtve geopolitike. U takvom “zajedničkom osjećaju” gubi se sama bit potencijalnosti svih zajedno i pojedinačno kao protagonista stvarne politike budućnosti. Kao i u svakom (etno) nacionalistički saturiranom okolišu dominacija selektivnog zaborava utvrđuje se kroz kolektivno samo-pravdanje, koje pak tek selektivno ukida prošlost. Ono što se u BiH događa nakon rata nije naprsto povratak u stanje prije rata, prijeratnog mira (“zajednice ravnopravnih naroda i narodnosti”) – prva referenca za mir ovdje je opet sam rat čija analiza jedino može potaknuti imaginaciju nekog “novog mira”, možda onog koji će spojiti “kršćansko učenje o milosrđu i islamsko o suošjećanju”.¹⁴

Je li uistinu nemoguća korjenita promjena u BiH koju trenutno kao državnu konstrukciju drži na okupu sprega besmisleno skupe birokracije na čelu s neefikasnim etno-nacionalističkim vodstvom s jedne te novom ratno-tranzicijski-ekonomski-prosperitetnom klasom u savezu s neoliberalnim kolonijalizmom s druge strane. To su dakle te “elite” koje bi u idealnom konsocijacionalističkom modelu trebale govoriti i “pregovarati” pod okom međunarodne zajednice i njenim europocentričnim, ispraznim floskulama o “multikulturalizmu”.

U takvom je okolišu “građanska” politička identifikacija kao i njena eventualna emancipatorska politička praksa posve marginalizirana, a sam termin podložan manipulaciji i kontaminaciji. Ova “opcija” izvan etno-nacionalističke paradigme čini se upravo u ovim danima doživljava svoj ultimativni poraz. Kao što upućuje Jasmina Husanović¹⁵, u situaciji u kojoj je je “građansko zajedničko” i “građansko individualno” s jedne strane u postdaytonskoj Bosni marginalizirano kao “nepraktično”, i takvom implicitnom depolitizacijom konstituirano kao nemoguće, autentična politička gesta upravo je ona

“uzdrmavanja“ onoga što nam se konvencionalnom politikom postavlja kao moguće ili nemoguće jer – imperativ sautentične politike nije umjetnost mogućeg, nego nemogućeg, kao što upozorava Žižek.

O umjetnosti, o Bartlebyju

Takvu, “autentičnu politiku“, uistinu nije lako njegovati unutar onoga što Husanović naziva “dominantnim pred-političkim bestijarijem BiH” no kritička, intelektualna i umjetnička praksa moraju se nužno okrenuti upravo njoj, događati se u njenom polju i kretati prema “radikalnoj imaginaciji“, umijećem nemogućeg poduprijeti prostor akcije, i “bespovorno zagovarati, oživljavati, proizvoditi i osnaživati“ kulturu političkog.¹⁶ Da, to je naprosto sve što umjetnost može ali u situaciji u kojoj se nalazimo to nipošto nije malo. Političko na nalazimo u polju u (dnevne) politike pa ono stoga može obitati jedino u umjetnosti i teoriji. Međutim, i u tom pogledu, situaciju u BiH, možemo uzeti kao ogledalo globalnog stanja neoliberalnih demokracija, stanja post-političkog, melankolično-potrošačkog, indiferentnog društva u kojemu su dinamike slobodnog tržišta već odavno okupirale mjesto političkog. Ne radi se dakle o tome da se umjetnost “politizira“ nego upravo suprotno: političko ne nalazimo u onom polju “gdje bi mu trebalo biti mjesto“ ili – u konkretnom slučaju BiH – za političko u etno-nacionalističkom realitetu nema mesta, pa ga umjetnost može nakratko “udomiti”.

U svom predavanju “Petnaest postulata o suvremenoj umjetnosti“ Alain Badiou umjetnost definira kao “proizvodnju“ i “proces“ istine: “Umjetnost ne može biti samo iskaz partikularnosti (etničke ili osobne). Umjetnost je ne-osobna proizvodnja istine koja je upućena svima (...) Umjetnost je proces istine, a ta je istina uvijek istina senzibilnog ili senzualnog. To znači: transformacija senzibilnog u događaj Ideje.“¹⁷

Odustajanje od govora odustajanje je od djelovanja, ali moguće ga je tumačiti i kao “negativ akcije“ poput rada *Bez naziva Slavena Tolja*, koji izravnom reakcijom na poziv da govori odgovara negacijom govora. Njegov je prijedlog s jedne strane gesta odustajanja od (su)djelovanja i način da se zaobiđe izravan govor – na neki način, on također preuzima poziciju Bartlebyja, s prijedlogom koji nije ni odbijanje ni prihvatanje, nego upravo nedokučivi prostor potencijalnosti sadržane u odgovoru “Radije ne bih“, koji ipak nije odgovor bez posljedica. U tom smislu Tolj – na poziv da u javnom prostoru Banja Luke nešto izravno izgovori¹⁸ – zaobilazi tu mogućnost, nudeći tek sjećanje na banalnu anegdotu vezanu uz njegov raniji boravak u Banja Luci, na događaj koji se zapravo mogao dogoditi bilo gdje i bilo kad. Ne govoreći ništa o stanju *status quo*, Slaven govori upravo o njemu, istovremeno subvertirajući kustoski *carte blache* ispunjen očekivanjima, otvarajući time i područje “mikro-pregovora“ u kojem dvije strane ne dijele nužno iste pozicije, ista “mišljenja i osjećaje“. Njegova crnohumorna “gesta“ – odluka da obznani svoje “odustajanje“, pesimizam i osjećaj uzaludnosti i nemogućnosti umjetnika da uistinu djeluje, da komunicira, već može tek “pričati“ – rasvjetljava upravo njegovu moć govora. Ovaj rad, međutim, možemo interpretirati upravo kao umjetnikovo radikalno prisvajanje jednog od Badiouovih *Petnaest postulata o umjetnosti* u kojem kaže: “Bolje je ne činiti ništa nego doprinijeti stvaranju formalnih načina vizualizacije onoga što Imperij već prepoznaće

kao postojeće (...) Budući da je svjestan svoje moći da kontrolira čitavu domenu vidljivog i slušljivog putem zakona koji reguliraju komercijalnu cirkulaciju i demokratsku komunikaciju, Imperij više ništa ne cenzurira. Sva umjetnost, sva misao, uništena je onog trenutka kad prihvatimo ovu dozvolu da konzumiramo, komuniciramo i uživamo. Moramo postati beščutni cenzori samih sebe.”

Stvar

Konačno, potrebno je na kraju reći i to zašto Bosna i Hercegovina, unatoč činjenici da je ona polazište projekta, mjesto događaja i rasprave, “ne postoji” na izložbi prvog poglavlja projekta *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi*. Ona zaista nije prisutna ni putem teme, ni putem umjetnika ili umjetnica koji bi ju “predstavlja”. Razlog tome je, među ostalim, i činjenica da projekt odbija promovirati obeshrabrujuće, postojeće stanje stvari koje se dakako reflektira i na suvremenoj umjetničkoj sceni u BiH te će se, nakon otvarajućeg poglavlja, posvetiti razvijanju novih produkcija s umjetnicima i umjetnicama koje će pokušati uspostaviti orientire upravo za promišljanje budućnosti, modela su-bivanja, i načina negiranja nametnutog stanja koje promiče pasivizirajuću i obmanjujuću parolu da ništa drugo nije ni moguće. S druge strane, iako se niti jedan rad na izložbi ne bavi izravno kompleksnom situacijom Bosne i Hercegovine – ona je upravo sve-prožimajuće prisutna, upečatljiva i hiperbolizirana, kao nešto o čemu se gromoglasno šuti, i što se može čitati u svim radovima predstavljenim na izložbi. Ona je poput *Stvari* u djelu Judi Werthein, ogromnog “slona u sobi”, evidentna a nesaglediva istina, koju svi odbijaju ili propuštaju vidjeti.

Ona je, na koncu, prisutna kao Agambenov Bartleby, pisar koji “radije ne bi” pisao, zato jer utjelovljuje čistu potencijalnost. Ta će se potencijalnost, nadamo se, artikulirati kroz naredne faze projekta, upravo nakon završetka prvog poglavlja, koje se vremenski podudara s iščekivanjem novog poglavlja u društveno-političkoj stvarnosti BiH. Ono je, čini se, sve bliže, sudeći po najava tzv. “malog Daytona”, sastanka predstavnika triju naroda i “međunarodne zajednice” (na kojem bi se konačno trebao modificirati poražavajući “veliki Dayton” i donijeti novi Ustav), ali i sudeći po recentnim eskalacijama sukoba i nestabilnosti u zemlji (utjelovljenim u sukobima nogometnih navijača) koje te najave, slučajno ili ne, prate.

Prihvaćanjem poziva da radimo projekt u Bosni i Hercegovini odlučile smo se vjerovati da možemo iznaći metodološke i taktičke načine subvertiranja svih spomenutih kompleksnih dinamika i paradigmi kao i izazova “političke nekorektnosti” “suradnje” s Banjom Lukom kao jednim od epicentara političke manipulacije i perpetuiranja statusa quo u BiH danas, opasnosti instrumentalizacije nas samih, kao i “rezultata” našeg djelovanja u cilju “kulturalizacije politike” i reprezentacije sredine kao civilizirane i uljuđene “republike” čije vlasti ne samo da toleriraju, već eto i podržavaju progresivne i kritičke umjetničke i kulturne prakse. Upravo su, međutim, navedene zamke te koje su osnažile našu odluku da prihvatimo ovaj poziv, jer su takvi, kompleksni uvjeti oni koji nam omogućuju još jednom testirati vlastite postulate da je kritička kustoska i intelektualna praksa ona koja mora kretati iz pozicije radikalne “nesigurnosti” naspram vlastitih pozicija, iz

pozicija kontinuiranog preispitivanja društveno-političkog i institucionalnog konteksta i postojećih modela proizvodnje suvremene umjetnosti i kulture, iz pozicija prihvaćanja rizika te konačno – osjećaja odgovornosti.

*Budućnost neće doći sama, moramo da budemo jaki i stvorimo prostor za nju... Nama treba jedan novi početak. Mi moramo da počnemo sve ispočetka.*¹⁹

1. Skraćenica naslova projekta mogla bi se pri pokušaju izgovora kretati između dvije engleske riječi: wait (čekaj/čekati) i weight (težina)
2. Činjenica da namjerno preuzimamo rečenicu za katalog projekta *Salon revolucije* (HDLU, Zagreb, listopad 2008) dodatno potvrđuje iskaz.
3. Giorgio Agamben, "On Potentiality", u Giorgio Agamben, *Potentialities. Collected Essays in Philosophy*, ur. Daniel Heller-Roazen, Stanford University Press, 2000
4. Ibid
5. Hannah Arendt: *Vita Activa*, Biblioteka August Cesarec, Zagreb, 1991.
6. Razotkrivanje izostaje jedino kod zločinca i dobrotvora: prvi se mora skrivati od drugih a drugi mora biti bez sebe i čuvati anonimnost. Obojica su, prema H. Arendt usamljene figure - jedna protiv svih a druga za sve ljude.
7. Ugo Vlaisavljević: *Rat kao najveći kulturni događaj - Ka semiotici etnonacionalizma*, Maunagić d.o.o.- Mauna-fe, Sarajevo, 2007
8. Nakon pokolja na Tiananmenu 4. lipnja 1989, mnogi studenti emigriraju i nastavljaju svoju borbu za slobodu govora u zapadnim neoliberalnim demokracijama gdje je sloboda govora zajamčena ustavom, gdje argument za slobodu govora počiva upravo na diferencijaciji govora od djelovanja – govorenje se prema njemu ne može izjednačavati s djelovanjem, fizičkim sukobom, agresijom i time, navodno ne može utjecati na (de)stabilizaciju društva.
9. Jean-Luc Nancy, "Razdjelovljena zajednica", u J.L.Nancy, *Dva ogleda*, Multimedijalni institut/Arkzin, Zagreb, 2004.
10. Jean-Luc Nancy, "O singularno pluralnom bitku", u J.L.Nancy, *Dva ogleda*, Multimedijalni institut/Arkzin, Zagreb, 2004.
11. Ono što dijelimo je nemogućnost zajednice i u upravo je u tom dijeljenju naša šansa za zajednicu. To je zajednica koja vas ne može poslati u smrt. Možete poželjeti dobrovoljno umrijeti, to je moguće, ali ne postoje nikakva očekivanja, osim očekivanja dijeljenja, koje nije samo riječ niti apstraktni koncept. Možete samo dijeliti upravo zato jer je u zajednici to nemoguće. To zvuči vrlo nejasno, zvuči kao ništa naspram svih tih velikih obećanja koja imamo o tome što će se desiti kada budemo imali zajednicu, ali upravo je ta nejasnoća, smatram, vrijedna istraživanja.' *Love and Community: A round-table discussion with Jean-Luc Nancy, Avital Ronell and Wolfgang Schirmacher*, August 2001, The European Graduate School, Switzerland.
12. Razbijanje homogenosti identiteta kojeg nudi Nancyjev „singularno pluralni bitak“, ili pak Agambenov „whatever singularity“ transgresija su postojećeg poretku stvari: „Ono što Država, međutim, nikako ne može tolerirati, je to da singularnosti formiraju zajednicu bez afirmiranja identiteta, da ljudi su-pripadaju bez nekog uvjeta pripadanja, kojeg je moguće reprezentirati (pa čak i u vidu neke jednostavne pretpostavke)... Za Državu, dakle, nikad nije bitna singularnost sama po sebi, nego samo njeno uključivanje u neki identitet, bilo-kakav identitet (ali mogućnost da se „bilo-kakvo“ (whatever) preuzme bez identiteta je prijetnja s kojom se Država ne može nositi.“) Giorgio Agamben, citirano prema: Suzana Milevska, „The Phantasm(s) of Belonging: Belonging without Having Something in Common“, Volksgarten Politics of Belonging. Ed. by Adam Budak, Peter Pakesch, Katia Schurl. Kunsthau Graz am Landesmuseum Joanneum, 2008;
13. Asim Mujkić: Ideološki problemi konsocijacijske demokratije u Bosni i Hercegovini , Odjek, proljeće, 2008.
14. Ahmad Beydoun: Civilni, njihove zajednice i država u ratu kao društveni system u Libanonu, Status, br.12, 2007.
15. Jasmina Husanović: Politika je umjetnost (ne)mogućega? O ustavnoj reformi u BiH, dodatak časopisu Dani o ustavnim reformama u BiH, maj 2004.
16. Ibid
17. Alain Badiou, „Fifteen Theses on Contemporary Art“, predavanje održano 4. prosinca 2003, u the Drawing Center u New Yorku. Ovdje citirani dijelovi teksta preuzeti sa: www.lacan.com/frameXXIII7.htm
18. Rad *Bez naziva* izведен je kao seriji billboada u javnom prostoru.
19. Ivan Grubanov, iz teksta govora u performansu *Govor ispred Narodne skupštine*, 2006.

Where Everything is Yet to Happen
("Can you speak of this? -Yes, I can.")

When, not long after the opening of the first *SpaPort* exhibition in Banja Luka in September 2008, we were invited by the project board to be curators of the second version of this show, the basic question that made us think about whether to accept the invitation, and if so, in what way, was the issue of the ambivalence of our own position. This ambivalence stems, on the one hand, from the unease of contributing to the proliferation of biennials, that occupy spaces of conflict, instability and social and political tensions in order to offer art as a (more or less self-confident) response to a state of urgency. On the other hand, our position is particular in that, although invited from outside into a context that is for us, for all practical purposes, new, it certainly cannot be looked at separately from the common, post-war and post-Yugoslav experience that all of us, in the area of the so-called Western Balkans, share.

Such a constellation creates a tension between the position in which one addresses the "task" from both within and without, through the ambivalence of the question of who is "speaking" and in whose name, and to whom this "speech" is addressed.

Avoiding an approach which would assume such "messianic" role for workers in culture who have as their aim the detection of that "state of emergency" and finding an indication of its "resolution", we decided - in substance and in the sense of format - *not* to make a "monologic" exhibition that would explicitly thematise what seems to us once again an almost predetermined focus – a representation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a post-war, *pre/post-emergency* space of instability, the normalisation of which is now unfolding also via this cultural project, sponsored by a Swiss foundation. On the other hand, it was impossible to neglect that same reality.

The basic contours that were thus, ultimately, developed as the framework of the project, were articulated through the concept of potentiality, the awareness that - in spite of the uncertainty of the future of the actual project and the future of the actual social and political context in which it was developing - one *could* (and one *had to*), then, get into an open and long-term process of imagining that which was already in advance constructed as impossible. It is, moreover, a process that embraces uncertainty as its choice and that, through the establishment of collaboration and communication at several levels, develops as a long-term project constantly in the state of "becoming"; a project that is gradually, by small steps, establishing its presence on the local and the international artistic scene and with the public, thus waiting for its own articulation, that is - the articulation of *what is yet to happen*.

The title *Where Everything is Yet to Happen* (WEIYTH)¹, contains references to duration,

location and variables of the expected event, all of which are united by a conscious assumption of a position of radical uncertainty, a position of “not knowing”, of being caught in a breach between a past that does not provide support and a future that does not come, a past that does not offer (or in the best case clouds the view of) an event to which we would, in Badiou’s terms, bind ourselves to fidelity, and a future from which one expects precisely that - the “miracle” of event.

And then, the place of expectation is in no way just Bosnia-Herzegovina, or the region. On the contrary, the intention is to subvert the view of the Balkans as a symptom, an antithetical periphery of Europe, the heart of its “unconscious”, and establish the Balkans rather as originating point of the gaze, a mirror that turns the perspective upside down and reflects a new moment and the paradoxes of the social and political constellation in the European Union and the western neo-liberal democracies in general; redefinition of the concept of community, the crisis of capitalism, of the nation states, the national identities but also a new global moment of the west, in which for example Barack Obama proclaims “Yes, We Can”, and promotes “the audacity of hope”. However, even if we direct the gaze only at Bosnia-Herzegovina, in an ironic turn, in itself it already brings together the whole of the “international community” under whose constant protectorate it is, and which has at no single moment had the role just of an innocent observer - but is on the contrary a leading figure and accomplice.

It is from these points of departure that the format of the project derives, which instead of representativeness, privileges processuality and research, critical and intellectual reflection, discursivity and modularity. Conceived as a long-lasting, “divergent and convergent” process, WEIYTH is developing through several modules: a series of “lectures/talks/divans” (with artists, theorists, political scientists, writers and activists); an educational module in workshop form; the exhibition presented in this publication, a series of new artistic productions during 2010, and finally a publishing project in 2011. Similarly, segments of the project will take place in other cities of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as through the creation of collaboration with partner organisations across the “international community”.

“*Can you speak of this? - Yes, I can*” is the exhibition belonging to the first chapter of the project, developing on the basis of curatorial “complicity” in an attempt at critical articulation and reflection of a number of problems that the basic conception of the project started up: the issues of community, co-existence, the future, potentiality, etc. - and for which Bosnia-Herzegovina is in many ways just a metonym. Precisely because of the “parallax” of our own view of Bosnia-Herzegovina, we decided to “destabilise” our own position of those who “speak” by including into the project a group of associates - curators whose contributions and collaboration on the project formulate points of departure for crisscrossing and parallel, but also a(nta)gonistic views. This methodological step was motivated first of all by a need to create a polyphonic structure and open up different niches for the consideration of the joint framework of the project set only by its underlying prospectiveness and the very broad issue about the future of the community. Already the first meeting of the curatorial team that was brought together in Sarajevo and Banja Luka, however, showed that, for all of us, consideration of the future is an “impossible”

demand. Called upon to speak, we, representatives of the closer and more distant “international community” found ourselves caught at the same time in a forest of speech as well as in front of a wall of silence, which resounded with the question: what, in the first place, *can* one speak about and what *must* one speak about today in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Republika Srpska, in Banja Luka, and with what means?

The conviction that art has the power to articulate speech and the political, that it can “describe without describing” even what cannot be talked of, that it can offer not only a “critique” of the existing situation, but also actively advocate new models of thought and action, has been a precondition for the realisation of this project which - as it is most often the case in the region - “[d]espite circumstances in which we are faced with a lack of financial means, a lack of developed institutional infrastructure and professional staff [...] represents also an experiment which proves that - with enthusiasm, committed and tireless effort, self-organisation and a flexible “infrastructure of friendship” - one can nonetheless not only (re)present, but also speak and act in ways that transform existing institutional and cultural models and create a possibility of active participation of artistic and intellectual practices in the public sphere.”²

What follows is an elaboration of some of the subjects of this “speech”, the themes and moments that make a kind of blueprint of the project, which came into being gradually, obtaining constantly new contours during the past months, through the development of our initial assumptions across multiple viewpoints, that reinforced its “diagnostic” and analytic capacity; through meetings of the curatorial team, in an exchange and communication with their individual focuses and contributions to the exhibition. The exhibition “*Can you speak of this? - Yes, I can*” is thus the first chapter of the project, a kind of thesaurus that opens a series of topics and questions, pointing at the same time to possible future articulations of the project.

The artworks included in our own selection for the exhibition “*Can you speak of this? - Yes, I Can*” have been selected in a process of multidirectional communication between the initial themes of the project, their development through the initial discursive module of the project and through discussions with the co-curators of the exhibition, as well as their individual proposals of artistic and critical positions.

The works that we have included in the exhibition are thus, in many ways, propositions intersecting and reflecting the whole process of the development and articulation of the project and despite many other possible links are here united precisely by the common denominator of questioning the very possibility of speech, describing the indescribable without using description, and the emancipatory potential of the audacity of articulation, even when it implies refusal to speak. In this sense, all notes and themes presented in the text relate on many levels to all the artworks presented in the exhibition.

- Yes, I can

One day someone from out of the crowd recognised me. Behind me a young woman, her lips blue from the cold - who had of course never before known me by name - interrupted the silence created from the exhaustion to which we were all subject, asking me with a whisper (there everybody whispered): Can you describe this? I said I could, after which something like a smile passed over what had once been her face.

Anna Akhmatova, *Requiem*

Agamben starts his essay “On Potentiality” with a paraphrase of this introduction to the poem *Requiem* of Anna Akhmatova, who describes an encounter that took place while, standing in a line in front of the Leningrad jail during the Stalin purges, she awaited news about her imprisoned son. To the question that breaks the silence, brought about not only by exhaustion, as Akhmatova says, but also by the powerlessness of language in front of the “indescribability” of the horror, to a question that requires precisely the articulation of the horror, Akhmatova replies in the affirmative, accepting the task of uttering the unutterable, but also the burden of speech in the name of all the other persons that keep silent. Agamben with his paraphrase of the fragment creates his own additional dramaturgy, bringing in the moment of tension and the moment of silence that had preceded the answer of the poetess, which she, the while, finds “without knowing how or why”.³ This then, is really about an event that opens up a possibility of transformation, but which is not constituted via security in a certain outcome of the obligation taken on: “I can” here does not mean, as Agamben points out, a conviction of the possession of certain capacities that guarantee success in describing the indescribable, but a radical acceptance of responsibility, an obligation to define one’s own role in the existing state of things: “For everyone a moment comes in which she or he must utter this ‘I can’, which does not refer to any certainty or specific capacity but is, nevertheless, absolutely demanding. Beyond all faculties, this ‘I can’ does not mean anything - yet it marks what is, for each of us, perhaps the hardest and bitterest experience possible: the experience of potentiality.”⁴

Agamben intervenes once more in the translation of the actual question that interrupts the silence. In the original text and in most translations of *Requiem*, the question that is asked is: Can you describe this? But in Agamben’s text, it is radicalised, and runs: “Can you speak of this?”, while from the Italian original it could also be translated as “Can you utter this?” Irrespective of whether this intervention in the translation is accidental or deliberate, the direct connotation of speech (which goes beyond the specificity and the mimesis contained in “description”) served as the framework for the first phase of the project *Where Everything is Yet to Happen*. Accepting the invitation to take on the responsibility, in spite of all the paradoxes and difficulties, of articulating our own positions with respect to them, and inviting others to the position of coming to terms with the same question represents the key foundation for an attempt to answer the question what we can (and must) do or - what art is capable of doing.

As in the answer of Anna Akhmatova, which we take as the title of the first chapter of the project, in spite of the “radical uncertainty”, this is to do with a crucial decision that

speech is understood as action.

Of speech and action / Of telling and “our” tales

Analysing the relationship between speech and action, J. L. Austin states some criteria that have to be met: there must be a clear conventional procedure, an appropriate relation between an individual and circumstances; all those involved have to adhere to the set procedure and, not less important, all parties included must have certain “opinions and feelings” and act accordingly. What however happens when there is no correlation and when not all the criteria are met? It is interesting that speech and the success of speech and negotiation are actually mostly evaluated by speech again. For example, for the independence of some state to be proclaimed, it is not enough for someone simply to announce it, rather, it will have to be renegotiated; if, however, the right words are spoken at the right place, at the right moment, by the right person and in front of the right people - the political ideal or the social structure can be radically transformed.

What tools should be used in order for there to be speech about what on the one hand one should be silent about in order to go on living everyday life but at the same time actually to prompt speech so that at last it might be possible to do away with the stories of the past and the deceits of the present, as a permanent interim state where the suppressed, the collective “abject”, holds the same provisional community in a state of constant “war without arms”? In the perpetuation of the cacophony of the “telling” speech is reduced just to a means for short-lived particular interests of ethnic and other groups - speech in which the subjects reveal themselves does not take place. The truth is clear, and yet again completely hidden. How then to start, at last, to think the future?

H. Arendt starts the fifth chapter of the *The Human Condition* with an analysis of the relation between speech and action. Life without speech and actions for the world is literally dead, it has ceased to be human life, because there is no life among people any more.⁵ According to Arendt, it is by word and act that we classify ourselves into the human world. The decision for speech always means a decision to act, and if action as beginning responds to the fact of birth, if it is then the *conditio humana*, then it is actually speech that corresponds to the fact of diversity and to the real effectuation of the *conditio humana*. Akhmatova only by acquiescing in silence would accept not-being, the not-living of man as different and unique being among equals. Arendt recalls Platon’s thesis that *lexis* (speech) is closer to truth than *praxis*. Speech and action reveal us - however, this kind of revelation happens only within the horizon of human community, in being-with, whenever we are neither for nor against, when we are simply “with” others⁶. Without this kind of revelation action becomes just a means, as in a state of war. Speech then becomes mere telling tales, just another means directed towards an end.

In war, and after a war, however, it is just telling that is reinforced to the point of perversion; it glorifies that truth that is identified with the correct, our, story, while speech as doing (as political) ceases. The story of the war is what ensures, as Ugo Vlaisavljević suggests in the psychoanalytic key, the basic interpretation: all those who share it at

the same time share the common denominator upon which identity is formed - the idea of the nation or in the case of the region of the former Yugoslavia and in particular of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the idea of the common ethnic identity.⁷ In his elaboration of the proposition about the modes in which ethnic identity is produced Vlaisavljević observes that ethnic politics rests upon narrative pragmatics - the ethnic identity is always created by the telling of the “most important stories”, and these are always, in this region, war stories. War in this sense is not just a means that is used when nothing else avails, rather it is “the most important experience” and always again appears as a source of cultural values and ethnic identifications. For that reason then every politics today in Bosnia-Herzegovina is war politics, and all the collective actors in politics are war subjects and, if we talk of the inescapability of reconciliation, we are forgetting that those who are to be reconciled are constituted in their own being precisely as war subjects. In this sense, Vlaisavljević suggests - for them, reconciliation would be literally self-destruction. How then radically to do away with the past and destabilise those war subjects who rest on the telling of the “most important tales”? Can speech occupy the place of the tale, tale as tale of the past, tale as delusion? It is necessary, however, to expose oneself to the truth, to confess, to lay bare, to reveal oneself in speech as action, to put an end to the past via direct statement.

On June 4, 2005 Liu Wei went with camera into Xinhua University in Beijing asking the students one simple question: what day is it today? Most of them replied that today is that day in the week, that date. But when he insisted, the students looked away, covered their faces, turned and went. What Liu Wei strikingly shows in the piece *A Day to Remember* is the moment of withheld speech, speech that does not happen, speech emptied of the potential of action - but indirectly thus draws attention to what is dangerous in speech, its power, its political and transformative potential. The reaction of passers-by here is the pith of the manner in which the unutterable is manifested, as well as of what has been erased from the collective memory. After an attempt to talk with the students, Liu Wei went to the scene of the crime itself, to Tiananmen Square, in order to shoot its calmness, its simple everyday life, in which, for the collective progress to happen, it is necessary to keep quiet about things that disturb its unstoppable movement. The experience of repression, experience of crime, experience of traumas, are internalised and suppressed as something about which one can tell, but not speak.⁸

In what manner can one articulate crime and yet surmount the unambiguous role of perpetrator, victim, accomplice and observer? Who is it that should speak, and with what means, if he or she wants to avoid just the telling of (the “true”) stories, the establishment of the “fundamental interpretations”? Speech happens elsewhere, negotiations and judgements happen elsewhere, in the same “international community”, outside the territories in which the past is its future and in which it is only possible to wait for speech and the political to once again step into the sphere of the public?

The speech of victims, however, is what we most often hear - in the media, in documentary films and works of art. However, how is one to proceed with the role of the perpetrator, or of someone who by belonging to a certain community or nation is prompted to identify with the perpetrator? *National Park*, a video by Dragan Nikolić is an attempt

at just such an articulation. The artist and his mother go to Petrovo Selo, a place close to Djerdap National Park in Serbia, in which in 2001 a mass grave was found, with the bodies of Kosovo Albanians, executed by the Serbian army during the war in Kosovo. The “National Park”, which for several years concealed the truth of the crime, in an ironical and symptomatic way, becomes a symbol of a society that is not capable of coming to terms with its own past. In spite of the fact that in Nikolić’s work the artist remains hidden, that is, physically not present, the video represents his personal to face up to the past - as individual and as member of a society that denies it - which he does on an highly intimate a level - “making use” of his mother as guide who leads both of them into the story of the family history and to the memories and landscapes of childhood, as well as the dark recent past by which they are marked today. The mother also plays the role of researcher and journalist; referring to old acquaintanceships and family links, she attempts to find out from the people she meets in the village, as well as police officials, where the remains of the graves are, which is in fact just a question that conceals the basic intention to get the interlocutors to speak about the unutterable, about what they would rather know nothing of. The immediate family of the artist, his mother and two sisters are the only ones to speak in front of the camera without restraint, telling over the pleasant and unpleasant anecdotes from the family history, evoking the key moment of the film, the moment of *parresia*, the open speaking of the truth about one’s own “family”.

Of the past

The prospective framing of the project with the title *Where Everything is Yet to Happen*, alongside the position of “radical uncertainty” - was also formulated through the posing of an “impossible” equation: if the recent past is what creates the perversion of the political, social and economic present of Bosnia-Herzegovina; if the recent past - marked by war between its three dominant ethnic “communities” - is the only thing that this country “has” and that still makes it, to a given extent, an object of interest to and the patronage of the international community and the interest of European support to the development of democracy, civil society, tolerance and multiculturalism; if this same past is a key fact in the external naming and in the mechanisms of “branding” the cultural and art production of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the “stable” and “well-ordered” neo-liberal democracies of the west, apt to humanitarian exoticising and of fetishising the “suffering of others” - it follows that this part, as well as the present paralysed by it, should be done away with.

Do away with the past, not in the sense of a blind, escapist denial of its “reality”, but in the sense of an attempt to delegitimize it, to destabilise the field of reference in which it imposes itself as the only, almost “natural”, source of the narrative about present and future. Such a destabilisation would be possible only by the creation of new narratives (certainly also those of the past), new fields of reference, and they are, in the originating point of the project *Where Everything Is to Happen*, turned towards the location of handholds and footholds that enable the thinking of a community as a being-with outside and against the essentialist and totalitarian construction of the community as immanent

community of bodies united by the formula of blood and soil, but also outside equally manipulative and simplifying formulae of multiculturalism and brotherhood and unity .

In the performance *Speech in front of the National Assembly Building*, Ivan Grubanov adopts on the one hand a hyperbolic, and on the other ironic speech. His speech is a utopian invitation to his “contemporaries, fellows in arms, fellows in suffering, brothers and sisters” radically to imagine an identity beyond the idea of a nation. Grubanov, hoisted alone on a crane in front of the National Assembly building in Belgrade, exposes himself and - although not without irony - begins an explicit agitation aimed at doing away with the past - a past that “has never had so many supporters”, that is “our worst enemy!” The initiation of speech through the form of “performing” speech is, however, still unable to “describe” the past and sketch the contours for the future *The Study for a Memorial* is only a potential that announces the need for a memorial, that is for “memory” - not in the sense of its physical materiality but precisely in the sense of initiating speech. The installation consisting of a monumental scaffolding with dark monochrome paintings is a symbol of what cannot be described, for the same reasons that H. Arendt renounces empathy as an ethical and cognitive supposition. The iconoclastic monochromes of *The Study for a Memorial* are mere victims, whose testimonies cannot communicate what lies beyond human understanding. *The Study...* is also just a sketch of a place in which we can face our direct “complicity” and our “shared” guilt.

Perhaps this shared guilt is exactly the place of encounter and a space of community, if not also a place of reconciliation. In this guilt “we” meet - we, the inhabitants of “these spaces”; in this guilt, we encounter each other but also those who are our shared “others”, the representatives and symbols of the phantom “international community”. The work by Ziad Antar is a photograph showing nothing but a UN tank whose gun is pointing at the unknown, at some undefined - we can only presume - Middle East landscape, provoking the questions: what role does it play, whom does it defend, in whose name does it speak, and who are the victims of its protection?

Of community and exposure

Writing in his essay *The Inoperative Community* about the historical obsession of western thinking with the trope of the lost community - whether it is embodied in archaic and tribal forms, in the ancient polis, in the idea of a Christian community and so on - Nancy states that “there has never been a community” - not in the sense that we wish to define it - and that what we have called community is closer to society and its diverse, always inadequate, forms. In spite of there being no new form of community on the horizon (and of the current “unsurpassable horizon” no longer being communism, but in fact its passivising negation, which alters nothing), Nancy states that to think the community is precisely what is our task, to “[think] its insistent and possibly still *unheard demand*”, beyond communitarianism and individualism; to think in what way it is possible to say “we”.⁹ For Nancy, the community is formed in being-with, in basic exposure to each other, in which that “with” is crucial, that “between” singular beings and not their aggregation in some imaginary completeness. Somewhat later, Nancy is to call this *being*

singular plural, in which “I” does not exist without that “with”, without the other, in which it is always “we, you, they” simultaneously, the co-appearance, the co-essence, and it is actually this tension and the indeterminable border between singularity and plurality, it is precisely that “with” (which does not yet have status and use) that is set as the essence of community.¹⁰ This kind of conception of community is radically different from the illusion of the single collectivity of bodies assembled and merged by a single essential identity, and by immanence that is confirmed and promised only in the death of its “members”.¹¹ Called upon in 1993 to write an “eulogy of the mélange” (mixture), Jean-Luc Nancy starts his text with the words: “Sarajevo has become the expression par excellence of a complete system for the reduction to identity.”¹² It, then, exists exclusively as identity that is for the other a target for destruction, for which the assumed purity of identity is at the same time precondition and also result. Mixing and “bastardry” are impermissible and threaten the very heart of the idea of the immanence of some community. This is not the only time that Nancy has mentioned Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the foreword of *Being Singular Plural* there is a reference to the time in which the essay of the same name came into being, along with a lengthy list of the scenes of wartime conflicts in the world at the time, together with their protagonists, their “identities”. Precisely in this time, Nancy recognises the necessity to start thinking the community again, to start once again thinking how to say “we”.

The work of Libia Castro and Ólafur Ólafsson, done in the form of intervention in public space in Banja Luka, is a part of their continued project in the form of a campaign, started in 2003, in which, making use of a broad range of strategies of media advertising, in totally different social contexts and different countries, they write out, always in the official language of the country, the same sentence: “Your country does not exist”. Depending on the context, this sentence in the form of a proclamation takes on always new and modified meanings that can be read differently. In the context of Bosnia-Herzegovina the reading necessarily draws attention to the fact of the lack of consensus about the fundamental system of the state and the perpetuation of waiting and instability. The work was carried out using Latin and Cyrillic scripts, the two official scripts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus evoking the laws concerning traffic signs, according to which both scripts have to appear in the Republika Srpska and in the Federation BH, which resulted in passers-by intervening on the Cyrillic/latin inscriptions on the signs, one more symptom of the impossibility of an effective solution for coexistence, and the fact that in Bosnia-Herzegovina for many of its inhabitants, this country “does not exist”. The work, however, does not concern itself with Bosnia-Herzegovina; it should primarily be read as agitation, an intervention through which non-adherence to any given framework and identity is promoted, and as a calling into question of the ideological mechanisms that define the forms of belonging.

Testing the community, a work by of Nicoline van Harskamp, presents a simple intervention of the artist into a number of “found” questionnaires via which the respondents can test out their own views about politics, morality and their own personality. The artist reorganised existing questionnaires into groups with special chapters, focusing on topics such as habits and patterns of behaviour with respect to other people and to everyday obligations, the attitude to power and the manner in which individuals adapt to the role

of leader, the definition of relations of individual and community, the level of identification with the immediate surrounds, the state, the nation and the whole of mankind, the attitude towards righteousness, ethics and morality. The key intervention of the artist is that every question that addresses the respondent as individual has been replaced with the first person plural, the "I" thus becoming "we", creating a reversal in which the individual is necessarily forced to identify him/her-self with some imagined collective and thus facing on the one side the absurdity of the collective but also his/her own role, contribution, as well as guilt and complicity in the existing state of affairs.

In the video work *An Early Lost Play* Yane Calovski follows with his camera the girl Tanja Kjaergaard Jansen during January 2006, which was marked by stormy discussions in Denmark of the publication of a caricature of the prophet Mohammed in the papers and the protests of the members of the Muslim community that followed. While at first glance it seems that we come upon Tanja in a documentary situation, we soon understand that the artist has engaged this girl (her appearance actually gives the impression that she is a little girl) as a mediator, a researcher and a spokesperson for the work of art that is created in the background of the "real" political drama. Tanja carries out an unsuccessful mimicking of the events around her; she walks through forest and town bearing banners with various messages, joining in demonstrations on the street in which she will say that she has her favourites, but not taking part herself in the passionate championship of some set option of viewpoint. With the ambivalent messages on the banners ("You Killed My Father", "Freedom Sucks" and so on), which are completely at odds with the other, clearly opposed stances that saturate the media and public space, the girl/little girl with stage blood that comes out of her nose opens up a position that simultaneously takes in objective reality and, above all, her own relationship with it. Calovski, in his project, touches on the questions of the formal, procedural, European-politically-correct requirement for forgiveness and public media negotiation, as well as the crises in European nation states in which the "multi-ethnic" and the "multi-cultural" will not be just abstract concepts that appear at random but will face the community as a whole with the challenge of a real and lived *mutual understanding*. But that means something different for each side - in the "apology" of the Danish prime minister to the Islam world the argument is of course the freedom of speech and the viewpoint that speaking is not doing. In this very sore point of different interpretation of the relations of speech and action the two cultures should find a place for tolerance and negotiation. Calovski develops the project through eight episodes of which the penultimate is called *Speech to Song*, where a choir performs a version of the premier's speech in which the artist's *remix* creates a fragmentariness that generates symptomatically absurd phrases like: "we have to respect the challenges to combine".

Of Bosnia-Herzegovina

In the context of the entire post-Yugoslav region, the question of how to think of and how to be able to utter "we" resounds with a very particular gravity, and particularly in the context of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the normalisation of which lags behind the states of the former Yugoslavia because it was not possible to conduct it on the foundation of the

formula “one nation - one state”, the ethnic tensions between the three constitutive nations being themselves “constitutive” and thus not leaving any possibility for any other political articulation, an articulation of any kind of “bastardry”.¹² In some perverse way, this kind of situation also implies resistance to normalisation and opens up the possibility that it is precisely Bosnia-Herzegovina that could be the space in which one can think of an alternative to the allegedly obvious and natural model of the nation state, the object of which is the unobstructed establishment of a free market, which cancels out all antagonisms.

Consociationalism, which appeared as a possible “pragmatic solution” in the theoretical, popular and political considerations of the political arrangement of Bosnia-Herzegovina is in this light not at all a simple way out, for instead of the impossible formula of nation state it implies a model of organisation in which all sides (or the political “elite of the ethnicities”) would have to conduct a “politics of accommodation”. These Bosnia-Herzegovina political “elites” that would have in such a model to practice “self-restricting accommodation” carry out, in fact, the practice of “restricted aggressiveness”¹³ and stay in power precisely because they encourage instability. In this kind of state everyone is a victim - and all fight for the position of the biggest victim -ultimately, what they all share is the feeling that they are all together helpless victims of geopolitics. In such a “common feeling” the very essence of the potentiality of all together and individual as protagonists of a true politics of the future is lost. Like in every (ethno)nationalism-saturated surrounds, the domination of selective oblivion is entrenched through collective self-justification, which in fact selectively does away with the past. What is happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the war is not simply a return to the state of before the war, the pre-war peace (“community of equal peoples and ethnicities”) - the first reference for peace here is again war itself, the analysis of which can only set off the imagination of some “new peace”, perhaps one that will join the “Christian doctrine of mercy and the Islamic concerning compassion”.¹⁴

Is a radical change really impossible in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is currently, as state construction, kept together by the collusion of a pointlessly expensive bureaucracy headed by inefficient ethno-national leadership on the one hand and the new war-transition-economically-prosperous class in its alliance with neo-liberal colonialism on the other? These are then those “elites” that in an ideal consociationalist model should speak and “negotiate” under the eye of the international community and its eurocentric vapid phrases about “multiculturalism”.

In such an environment, the “civil” political identification and its possible emancipatory political practice is pushed completely to the side, and the very term is subject to manipulation and contamination. This “option” outside the ethno-nationalist paradigm seems actually in these days to be experiencing its final defeat. As Jasmina Husanović¹⁵ informs us, in a situation in which the “civilly common” and the “civilly individual” on the one hand is marginalised in post-Dayton Bosnia as impractical, and through such an implicit depolitisation constituted as impossible, an authentic political gesture is that of “shaking up” what conventional politics puts before us as impossible or impossible for - the imperative of authentic politics is not the art of the possible but the art of the

impossible, as Žižek puts it.

Of art, of Bartleby

It is hard indeed to cultivate the “authentically political” within what Husanović calls the “dominant-pre-political bestiary of Bosnia-Herzegovina” but critical intellectual and artistic practice necessarily has to address it, evolve in its field and move towards a “radical imagination”, using the art of the impossible to endorse a space for action and tirelessly “advocating, reviving, producing and empowering the culture of the political”.¹⁶ Yes, that is simply all that art can do, but in the situation we are in, that is not by any means little. We cannot find the political in the field of “daily” politics, and so it can dwell only in art and theory. However, in this point of view too we can take the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina as a mirror of the global situation of the neo-liberal democracies, the state of post-political, melancholic-consumer, indifferent society in which free market dynamics have long since occupied the place of the political. It is not about art being politicised but the very opposite - we do not find the political there where “its place should be” or - in the specific case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for the political, in the ethno-nationalist reality, there is no place; and so art can, for a short while “host”.

In his lecture “Fifteen Theses on Contemporary Art” Alain Badiou defines art as the “production” and “process” of truth: “Art cannot merely be the expression of a particularity (be it ethnic or personal). Art is the impersonal production of a truth that is addressed to everyone (...) Art is the process of a truth, and this truth is always the truth of the sensible or sensual, the sensible qua sensible. This means: the transformation of the sensible into an happening of the Idea.”¹⁷

Relinquishing speech is relinquishing action, but it can be also explained as the negative of action, like the work *Untitled* by Slaven Tolj, a direct reaction that to the call to speak replies with a negation of speech. His proposal is on the one hand a gesture of giving up on (co)acting and a way of bypassing direct speech - in some way, he also takes up the Bartleby position, with a proposal that is neither a rejection nor an acceptance, but actually an unfathomable potentiality contained in the answer “I would prefer not to”, which however is not an answer unattended by consequences. In this sense, Tolj, at the invitation to say something directly¹⁸ in Banja Luka in a public space avoids this possibility, offering only his memory of a banal anecdote concerned with an earlier stay in Banja Luka, an event that actually can happen anywhere, any time. Saying nothing about the state of the status quo, Slaven actually talks about it at the same time subverting the curators’ carte blanche, filled with expectations, opening up thereby an area of “micro-negotiations” in which the two sides do not necessarily share the same positions, the same “thoughts and feelings”. His black-humour “gesture” - a decision to make plain his “giving up”, his pessimism and feeling of the futility and impossibility of the artist to truly act and communicate, being able of nothing but mere “story telling” - actually throws light on the very power of speech. This work, however, can be interpreted as the artist’s radical appropriation of one of Badiou’s “Fifteen Theses”, in which he says: “It is better to do nothing than to contribute to the invention of formal ways of rendering visible that

which Empire already recognises as existent.” For, “[s]ince it is sure of its ability to control the entire domain of the visible and the audible via the laws governing commercial circulation and democratic communication, Empire no longer censures anything. All art, and all thought, is ruined when we accept this permission to consume, to communicate and to enjoy. We should become the pitiless censors of ourselves.”¹⁸

Thing

Finally, it is necessary at the end to say why Bosnia-Herzegovina, in spite of the fact that it is the point of departure for the project, the place of happening and debate, “does not exist” in this exhibition of the first chapter of the project *Where Everything Is Yet to Happen*. It really is not present, either via theme, or via an artist that would “represent” it. The reason for this is, among other things, the fact that the project refuses to promote a discouraging, existing state of affairs that is of course reflected in the contemporary art scene in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and will, after the opening chapter, be dedicated to the development of new projects with artists, who will endeavour, instead, to set up guidelines for the consideration of the future, a model of being-with, and ways of negating an imposed situation, which promotes a passivising and deceitful catchword that in fact nothing different is possible. On the other hand, although not a single work at the exhibition deals directly with the complex situation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is in fact all-pervasively present, distinct and hyperbolised, as something about which there is a thunderous silence, which can be read in all the works shown at the exhibition. It is like *Cosa (Thing)* in the work of Judi Werthein, a vast “elephant in the room”, a blatant and immense truth that all reject, or simply fail, to see.

It is also at the end, present as Agamben’s Bartleby, the scribe who “would prefer not to” write, because he embodies pure potentiality. This potentiality, we hope, will be articulated in the next phases of the project, immediately after the close of the first chapter, which coincides in time with the expectation of a new chapter in the social and political reality of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is currently ever closer, judging from the announcements of a so-called “little Dayton”, a meeting of the representatives of the three nations and the “international community” (a meeting which at long last is supposed to modify the devastating “big Dayton” and draft a new constitution) - but also judging from the recent escalations of the conflicts and the instability in the country (embodied in the clashes of football fans) that, whether accidentally or not, accompany these announcements.

By accepting the invitation to do the project in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we decided to believe that we could find methodological and tactical ways of subverting all the mentioned complex dynamics and paradigms as well as the challenges of the “political incorrectness” of “collaborating with” Banja Luka, one of the epicentres of political manipulation and the perpetuation of the status quo in Bosnia-Herzegovina today; the possibility of finding ourselves and the “results” of our work instrumentalised for the purposes of a “culturalisation of politics” and of “representing” the milieu as a civilised and decent “republic” the government of which - as the project would show - does not only toler-

ate but also supports progressive critical and artistic practices. But it was actually these possible traps that fortified our decision to accept the invitation to Banja Luka, for it is precisely such complex conditions that enable us once again to test out our own postulates that critical curatorial and intellectual practice is one which is founded on the assumption of “radical insecurity” about its own positions, on continued re-examination, acceptance of risks and ultimately - a feeling of responsibility.

*But the future won't come of its own accord, we must be strong and create room for it
We need a new beginning. We have to start everything all over again.* ²⁰

1 An attempt to pronounce the abbreviation of the project places it somewhere in-between two words: "wait" and "weight".

2 The fact that we intentionally appropriate this sentence from the introductory text in the catalogue of our project *The Salon of Revolution* (HDLU, Zagreb, October, 2008) additionally confirms this thesis.

3 Giorgio Agamben, „On Potentiality“ in: Giorgio Agamben, *Potentialities. Collected Essays in Philosophy*, ur. Daniel Heller-Roazen, Stanford University Press, 2000

4 Ibid.

5 Hannah Arendt: *The Human Condition*, University of Chicago Press, 1998

6 Revelation is missing only with criminal and benefactor; the first must hide from others, and the other must be without self and preserve anonymity. Both, according to Arendt, are isolated figures – one against all, and the other for all people.

7 Ugo Vlaisavljević: *Rat kao najveći kulturni događaj - Ka semiotici etnonacionalizma* [War as the biggest cultural event – towards a semiotics of ethno-nationalism], Maunagić d.o.o.- Mauna-fe, Sarajevo, 2007

8 After the massacre of Tiananmen on June 4, 1989, many students emigrated and went on their fight for freedom of speech in the western neo-liberal democracies where freedom of speech is constitutionally guaranteed, where the argument for freedom of speech rests precisely on the differentiation of speech from action – according to it, speaking cannot be acquainted with action, with physical conflict, with aggression and hence, allegedly, cannot affect the (de)stabilisation of society

9 Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Inoperative Community*, University of Minnesota Press, 1991

10 Jean-Luc Nancy, *Being Singular Plural*, Standford University Press, 2000

11 “You share the impossibility of community and in this sharing there is your chance of community. It is the community which cannot send you to death. You might have a voluntary death, that is a possibility, but there is no expectation except this sharing which is not a word or an abstract concept. You can only share because as a community it is impossible to do so. This sounds very vague, it sounds like nothing compared to all these big promises we have about what will happen if we have community, but this vagueness is, I think, worthwhile to explore”, www.egs.edu/faculty/nancy/nancy-roundtable-discussion2001.html

12 Jean-Luc Nancy, „Eulogy for the Mêlé“, in *Being Singular Plural*, Standford University Press, 2000

13 Breaking up the homogeneity of identity offered by Nancy's being singular plural, or Agamben's whatever singularity is a transgression of the existing order of things: "[w]hat the State cannot tolerate in any way, however, is that the singularities form a community without affirming an identity, that humans co-belong without any representable condition of belonging (even in the form of a simple presupposition)...For the State, therefore, what is important is never singularity as such, but only its inclusion in some identity, whatever identity (but the possibility of the whatever itself being taken up without an identity is a threat the State cannot come to terms with)", quoted in: Suzana Milevska, „The Phantasm(s) of Belonging: Belonging without Having Something in Common“, *Volksgarten Politics of Belonging*. Ed. by Adam Budak, Peter Pakesch, Katia Schurl. Kunsthaus Graz am Landesmuseum Joanneum, 2008

14 Asim Mujkić: “Ideološki problemi konsocijacijske demokratije u Bosni i Hercegovini” [Ideological problems of consociationist democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina], Odjek, spring, 2008.

15 Ahmad Beydoun: “Civili, njihove zajednice i država u ratu kao društveni sistem u Libanonu” [Civilians, their communities and the country in war as the social system in Lebanon], Status, no.12, 2007.

16 Jasmina Husanović: “Politika je umjetnost (ne)mogućega? O ustavnoj reformi u BiH” [Politics is the art of the (im)possible? On constitutional change in BH], supplement to the journal Dani o ustavnim reformama u BiH, May 2004.

17 Ibid.

18 Alain Badiou, „Fifteen Theses on Contemporary Art, lecture held on December 4 2003 in the Drawing Center in New York; the parts cited here are taken from: www.16beavergroup.org/journalisms/archives/000633.php

19 The work *Untitled* is takes the form of a series of billboards in public space.
Alain Badiou, op.cit.

20 Ivan Grubanov, *The Speech in front of the National Parliament*, performance, Belgrade, 2006.

Ziad
Antar

UN Tenk, print u boji
na aluminiju, 70 x
100 cm, 2006

UN Tank, C-print
mounted on alumini-
num dibond, 70 x 100
cm, 2006



Yane Calovski



An Early Lost Play

Rana, zagubljena
predstava

Video, 11'20", 2006

With participation
of / Učestvuje: Tanja
Kjaergaard Jansen
In collaboration with
/ U suradnji sa:
Thomas Paulsen FOS



Yane Calovski

Rana, zagubljena predstava - Izvadak iz scenarija

Epizoda 2b "Šuma": Dali su mi transparent na kojem piše: "Ubili ste mog oca" i "Sloboda je sranje". Prilično smiješno ako uzmete u obzir da nema puno smisla. Ali moglo bi i imati smisla. Nešto poput: "Uništili ste moju bazu, moju istoriju, čak i moju socijalnu sigurnost!" A ta je sloboda nemoguća, frustrirajuća, i netolerantna. Sloboda za neke, ali ne za sve.

Epizoda 4 "Demonstriraj": Danska je ovih dana prilično zajebala. Ljudi konačno počinju da otvoreno iznose svoje stavove, čak i da kritikuju vladu. Ako to ne budu radili, ništa se neće promijeniti. Ja samo izadem napolje i posmatram, stojim i slušam demonstracije. Zasad je moj favorit protest koji su organizovali socijalni demokrati. Znate, onaj koji kaže da se glas Muslimana treba čuti i koji traži "izvinjenje" od premijera. Ali nisam sigurna da su se nakon toga bolje osjećali.

Epizoda 6 "Posjeta": Danas smo posjetili kuću jednog mladog danskog Muslimana. On radi kratke filmove u kojima i glumi. Pokazao nam je filmove, pili smo čaj i razgovarali. Je li sveti rat neophodan? Znaju li zaista drveće i kamenje istinu? Hoće li drveće u Palestini ostati tiho usprkos buci?

Epizoda 7 "Govor u pjesmu"

Transkript govora:

"Danska Vlada proteste i prijetnje shvata veoma ozbiljno. Saradujemo s našim prijateljima i partnerima u muslimanskom svijetu i šire, u cilju smirivanja situacije i uspostavljanja normalnih odnosa između naših naroda i kultura. Danas smo ministar vanjskih poslova i ja informisali strane ambasadore o činjenicama recentne situacije kao i o stavovima vlade. Također smo vodili veoma pozitivan dijalog i drago nam je da su ambasadori iskazali dobru volju da nam pomognu. Ako protesti na ulicama budu dalje eskalirali, to bi moglo imati nesagledive posljedice u svim uključenim zemljama, što znači da bi ovaj problem mogao da preraste u globalni problem, a smatram da je u našem uzajamnom interesu da pronađemo rješenje za to. Još bih vas podsjetio da ja cijelo vrijeme govorim o uzajamnom razumijevanju. Uzajamno razumijevanje podrazumijeva razumijevanje činjenice da religijske zajednice mogu biti uvrijedljene objavljivanjem određenih crteža,

ali uzajamno razumijevanje znači i to da članovi religijskih zajednica moraju razumijeti da su sloboda izražavanja i sloboda štampe ključni temelji demokratije koji se moraju poštivati. Izazov koji stoji pred nama je, dakle, kombinovanje tolerancije i uvažavanja religijskih uvjerenja. Zahvaljujem na pažnji.

Prevod u pjesmu:

*Vlada shvata
Proteste i prijetnje
Objavljinjem određenih crteža
Ja sam informisao ambasadore
Ako protesti na ulicama budu dalje eskalirali
To bi moglo imati
Moramo razumijeti slobodu
U muslimanskom svijetu i šire
Imati
I sloboda štampe je ključni temelj
Moramo poštovati izazove
Kombinovanja.*

Epizoda 8 “Krv iz nosa”: I dalje hodamo okolo dok mi krv curi iz nosa. Uživam u hladnoći. Krv je posvuda. Umjetna krv. Teatarska krv. Savršena za teatarski svijet u kome živimo. S kojim pokušavam da uspostavim odnos, za koga mislim da je u nevolji.

Yane Calovski

An Early Lost Play – Excerpt from the Script

Episode 2b “Forest”: They gave me a sign. It reads “You Killed My Father” and “Freedom Sucks”. This is pretty funny when you consider it does not make much sense. But it could easily make sense, too. Something like: “you have ruined my basis, my history, and even my social security is gone, too!” And that freedom is impossible, frustrating, and intolerant. Freedom for some, not for everyone.

Episode 4 “Demonstrate”: Denmark fucked up pretty bad lately. Finally people are becoming more outspoken and are even starting to criticize the government. If they don't do it, nothing will change. I just go out and observe, stand and listen to the demonstrations. My winner so far was the one organized by the Social Democrats. You know, the one about supporting the Muslim outcry and asking for a “sorry” from the prime minister. But I am not sure they felt better afterwards.

Episode 6 “Visit”: Today we went to the house of a young Danish Muslim. He makes short films and plays in them too. He showed us the films and we drank some tea and talked. Is the holly war necessary? Do the trees and the stones really know the truth? Will the trees in Palestine stay silent despite the noise?

Episode 7 “Speech to song”

Transcript of speech:

“The Danish Government is taking the protests and the treats very seriously. We are working with our friends and partners in the Muslim world and beyond to calm the situation and to restore normal relations between our nations and cultures. Today the foreign minister and I have informed the foreign ambassadors on the facts of the recent situations and we have informed the ambassadors on the government views. We also had very positive and constructive dialogue and we are pleased the ambassadors have expressed their willingness to assist us. If the protests in the streets escalate further we may have unpredictable repercussion in all the affected countries and then the problem can grow in a more global problem and I think it is our mutual interest to find a solution to that. And may I remind you that I am continually speaking about, mutual understanding. Mutual understanding implies that we must understand that people

in religious societies can feel offence when certain drawings are published but mutual understanding also implies that members of religious societies must understand that in a democracy freedom of expression and a free press are vital cornerstone and we have to respect that. So the challenges is to combine the tolerance and respect of religious believes. Thank you very much.

Translation to Song:

*The government is taking
The protest and the threats
When certain drawings are published
And I have informed the ambassadors
If the protests in the streets escalate further
It may have...
We must understand freedom
In the Muslim world and beyond
To have
And the free press is a vital cornerstone
And we have to respect the challenges
To combine.*

Episode 8 “Nose bleed”: We keep walking around while my nose is bleeding. I enjoy the cold. Blood everywhere. Fake blood. Theatre blood. Perfect for the theatrical world I live in. The one I am trying to relate to, the one I think is in trouble.

Libia Castro & Ólafur Ólafsson

Tvoja zemља ne
postoji, 2003 -

Your country
doesn't exist, 2003 -

Tvoja zemља ne
postoji,
Banja Luka, Bosna i
Hercegovina
Your country
doesn't exist, Banja
Luka, Bosnia and
Hercegovina

Your country doesn't
exist, islandski jezik
/language Icelandic.

Javna interven-
cija/zidni crtež /
Public Interven-
tion - Wall painting,
Rambelta, Hafnar-
fjördur Art Festival,
(IS) 2003

Fotografija / Photo-
graph Libia Castro and
Ólafur Ólafsson





Your country doesn't
exist
Jezik nizozemski i
latinski / Language
Dutch and Latin
Kao grbovi na dvije
kamene skulpture
Na Muzeju Gouda /
As the coats of arms
of two sandstone
lyon sculptures
guarding Museum
Gouda (NL) 2004
Fotografija / Photograph
Lars Ejlskov

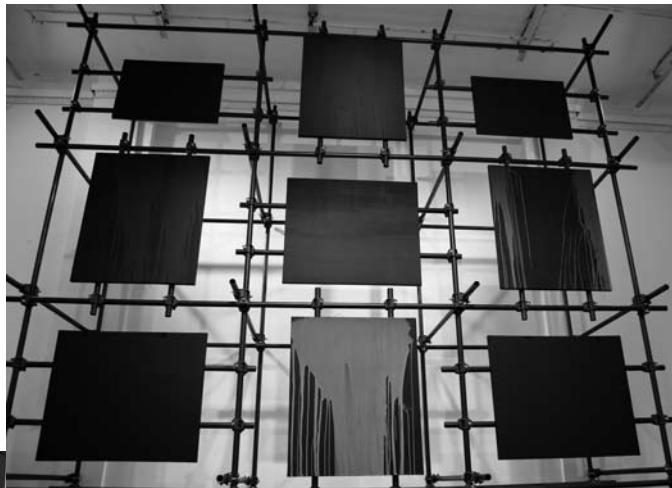


Your country doesn't
exist
engleski jezik / lan-
guage English
Pozivnica / Card for
Re-Shuffle: Notions
of an Itinerant Mu-
seum, Art in General,
New York, (USA)
2006

Ivan Grubanov

Studija za spomen
obeležje, uljane slike
na platnu, met-
alna konstrukcija,
520x530x150cm, 2009

Study for a Memo-
rial, oil on canvas,
metal construction,
520x530x150cm, 2009



Gовор испред Наро-
дне скупштине, пер-
форманс, Београд,
2006

Speech in front of the
National Assembly,
performance, Bel-
grade, 2006



Ivan Grubanov

Govor ispred Narodne skupštine
Beograd. 17. 04. 2006.

Dobro veče, Beograde. Dobro veče, prijatelji. Dobrodošli da podelimo još jednom ovaj trg. Dobrodošli da zajedno poželimo novo sutra. Dobrodošli da zajedno napišemo još jedan pasus teške nam i slavne istorije. Bolje vas našao, savremenici. Bolje vas našao, saborci. Bolje vas našao, sapatnici. Bolje vas našao, braćo i sestre!

Setite se uzbudjenja, setite se misije, setite se vere. Poverujte još jedan put, poverujte zajedno sa mnom, poverujte meni i obećavam da vas nikada neću izneveriti!

Verujte mi kao što ste verovali svima koji su vas obmanjivali i lagali, verujte mi i uspećemo zajedno.

Sutra pripada nama i ništa nam ne sme stajati na putu. Svaku prepreku čemo zajedno ukloniti. Sutra je naše, i ja sam ovde da vas tamo odvedem!

Gorke se istorije nagledao ovaj trg, nagledao i načekao na svežu snagu koja može da raskrstia prošlošću, da pogleda sadašnjosti pravo u oči, i promeni je u čistiju budućnost.

Ali nemojte misliti da je lako izaći na kraj sa takvim protivnicima. Prošlost nas progoni već vekovima, ne da nam mira, uzima danak u životima, upravlja našim sudbinama.

Prošlost je nas najveći neprijatelj!

Prošlost nikada nije bila ovoliko jaka, prošlost nikada nije imala ovoliki broj pristalica.

Prošlost je nastanila sve naše gradove, kao vлага je ušla u pore svake zgrade, kao reka je nabujala preko granice odbrane.

Poput epidemije je zarazila naše organizme. Kroz svaku reč iskašljavamo prošlost, svakim udisajem smrtonosne doze prošlosti silaze u naša pluća.

Prošlost je opasna bolest!

Ali lek još uvek ne postoji, prošlost je neizlečiva!

Od nje moramo sami da se branimo, pomoći nema ni od koga, prostori zaraženi prošlošću bivaju izolovani i niko u njih ne zalazi bez preke potrebe, takvi prostori nisu bezbedni ni za koga.

Od prošlosti se mora bežati!

I sadašnjost je odavno pala pod njen uticaj

Prošlost svojim obmanama zavodi sadašnjost.

Sadašnjosti se više ne može verovati

Sadašnjost je puka marioneta i plaćenik prošlosti, ona ne donosi odluke sama niti joj je budućnost u interesu.

Ona nas sistematski slabi i unazađuje po nalogu prošlosti.

Sadašnjost je izdajnik i sluga prošlosti.

Otvorite oči i uši, sadašnjost vas laže, ne verujte ničemu što se događa pred vama, jer sve počiva na obmanama prošlosti!

Sadašnjost стоји на стакленим nogama našeg verovanja u prošlost, kad dođemo glave prošlosti, sadašnjost će se urušiti kao kula od karata.

Jedino u budućnost možemo da se uzdamo, jedino budućnost može da ispravi sve ne-pravde, jedino budućnost može da nadoknadi sve što su nam prošlost i sadašnjost otele.

U budućnosti svi možemo da budemo jednaki, u budućnosti svi možemo da se rešimo bremena nasleđa, u budućnosti možemo da dobijemo sve izgubljene bitke!

Ali budućnost neće doći sama, moramo da budemo jaki i stvorimo prostor za nju.

Moramo znati kako, i zato, dragi prijatelji, zato sam ja danas među vama.

Reći će vam kako:

Nama treba jedan novi početak.

Mi moramo da počnemo sve ispočetka

Ne treba prošlost samo ostaviti za sobom, prošlost treba potpuno zaboraviti.

Ako je svi zajedno zaboravimo, niko neće moći da nas zbog nje tereti

Ako je svi potpuno izbrišemo, neće biti dovoljno dokaza da je ikad postojala

Ako uzmemo novo lice i novo ime i budemo sveži i spremni za novi početak.

Mi moramo sami da smislimo svoju budućnost, ne smemo da dozvolimo da nam je prošlost uslovjava.

Treba nam nova i sveža budućnost i zato sami treba da budemo novi i sveži.

Da izgubimo sve veze sa onim sto je bilo,

da ne priznajemo ništa što se već dogodilo,

da verujemo samo onome sto će se tek dogoditi,

Da budemo novi i čisti i ničiji i slobodni!

Dosta sa teretom, dosta sa ožiljcima, dosta sa nasleđenim!

Mi moramo napred, u neotkriveno, u neistraženo, u neizvesno, samo tamo možemo zaista da budemo slobodni, samo tamo možemo da budemo sve što poželimo.

Mi ćemo biti prvi ljudi budućnosti!

Mi ćemo biti prvi narod budućnosti!

Da živimo za budućnost i da budućnost živi u nama!

Živeli!

Ivan Grubanov

Transcript of the speech in front of the National Assembly
Belgrade, 17 April, 2006.

Good evening my friends. Great that you are sharing this square with me once more. Great you are here with me to wish for a new tomorrow. To write another paragraph of our difficult and glorious history.

Great that I find you well, my contemporaries, my fellows in arms, my fellows in suffering. Great that I find you well, my brothers and sisters!

Remember the excitement, the mission, the faith. Believe one more time, believe together with me, believe me and I promise I will never let you down!

Trust me as you trusted everyone who deceived you and lied to you; trust me and we will succeed together.

Tomorrow belongs to us and nothing can stand in our way. Together we'll remove every obstacle.

Tomorrow is ours and I am here to take you there!

Bitter history this square has seen, while awaiting a new power that can break with the past, look the present straight in the eye and change it into a purer future.

But do not think that it is easy to deal with such a foe. The past has haunted us for centuries, it wouldn't leave us in peace, and it has taken its toll in lives, governing our destinies.

The past is our worst enemy!

The past has never been so strong, the past has never had so many supporters. The past has inhabited all of our cities. Like mould it has entered the pores of every building, like a river it has flooded beyond its banks. Like an epidemic it has contaminated our organisms. With every word we spit out the past, with every breath a deadly dose of the past enters our lungs.

The past is a dangerous disease!

But there is still no cure: the past is incurable!

We must protect ourselves, no one else will help us. Spaces contaminated by the past are

now being isolated, and no one goes there without a need. Such spaces aren't safe for anyone.

You must flee from the past!

And the present has been under the past's influence for a long time.

The past is deceiving the present.

The present can no longer be trusted.

The present is merely a puppet, a mercenary of the past.

Open your eyes and ears, the present is lying to you. Don't trust anything happening in front of your eyes, because everything contains the deceptions of the past!

The present stands on the unsteady legs of our belief in the past. When we are through with the past, the present will collapse like a house of cards.

Only in the future can we trust, only the future can correct all the injustice, only the future can make up for everything that the past and the present have taken away. In the future we can all be equal, in the future we may all get rid of the burden of this heritage, in the future we can win all our lost battles!

But the future won't come of its own accord, we must be strong and create room for it. We must know how to. And that's why, dear friends, I'm here with you today.

I will tell you how to:

We need a new beginning.

We must start everything all over again.

We mustn't just leave the past behind us, we must completely forget about it.

If all of us forget about it, no one will be able to charge us with it.

If all of us completely erase it, there won't be any evidence that it ever existed.

If we take a new face and a new name, we will be fresh and ready for a new beginning.

We must conceive our own future, we mustn't let the past condition it.

We need a new and fresh future, and that's why we ourselves need to be new and fresh. In order to sever every link with what has been, not to acknowledge anything that has happened, to believe only in the things that are going to happen. In order to be new and clean, and no one's pawn and free!

Enough of the burden, enough of the scars, enough of the inheritance!

We must go forward, into the undiscovered, the unexplored, the uncertain – only there we can truly be free, only there we can be whatever we want to be.

We will be the first people of the future!

We will be the first nation of the future!

Let us live for the future, and let the future live within us!

Let us live!

Nicoline van Harskamp

We're afraid of what we would do if we ever got real power.

- strongly agree
- agree
- disagree
- strongly disagree

Testiranje kolektiva

Testing the Collective

Instalacija/ Installation, 2008

survey design/
dizajn ankete:
Thijs Gadiot

Produkciju rada
omogućili / Made
possible by: Rijk-
sakademie voor
Beeldende Kunsten,
Amsterdam

Dragan Nikolić

Nacionalni park

National Park

video, 27', 2006





It's no secret that there's a mass crypt
here in Petrovo village.



My son was killed, 22 years old,
served an army, returned home,



Great tragedies happened.



It really says "NATIONAL PARK"

Slaven
Tolj

Bez naziva, billboard
u javnom prostoru,
2009

Untitled, street
billboard, 2009

*Shame on you!
Your beard is grey,
you wear a silver
wedding ring.
I bet you also have
kids. What are you
doing here at 4 AM?
Unknown bouncer,
Banja Luka, August
21, 2008*

**SRAM DA TE BUDE!
IMAŠ SIJEDU BRADU, IMAŠ
SREBRENU BURMU.
GARANT I DJECU
IMAŠ.
ŠTA RADIŠ OVDJE U
ČETIRI UJUTRO?**

Nepoznati izbacivač, Banja Luka, 21. August, 2008.

Liu
Wei



Dan za pamćenje

A Day to Remember

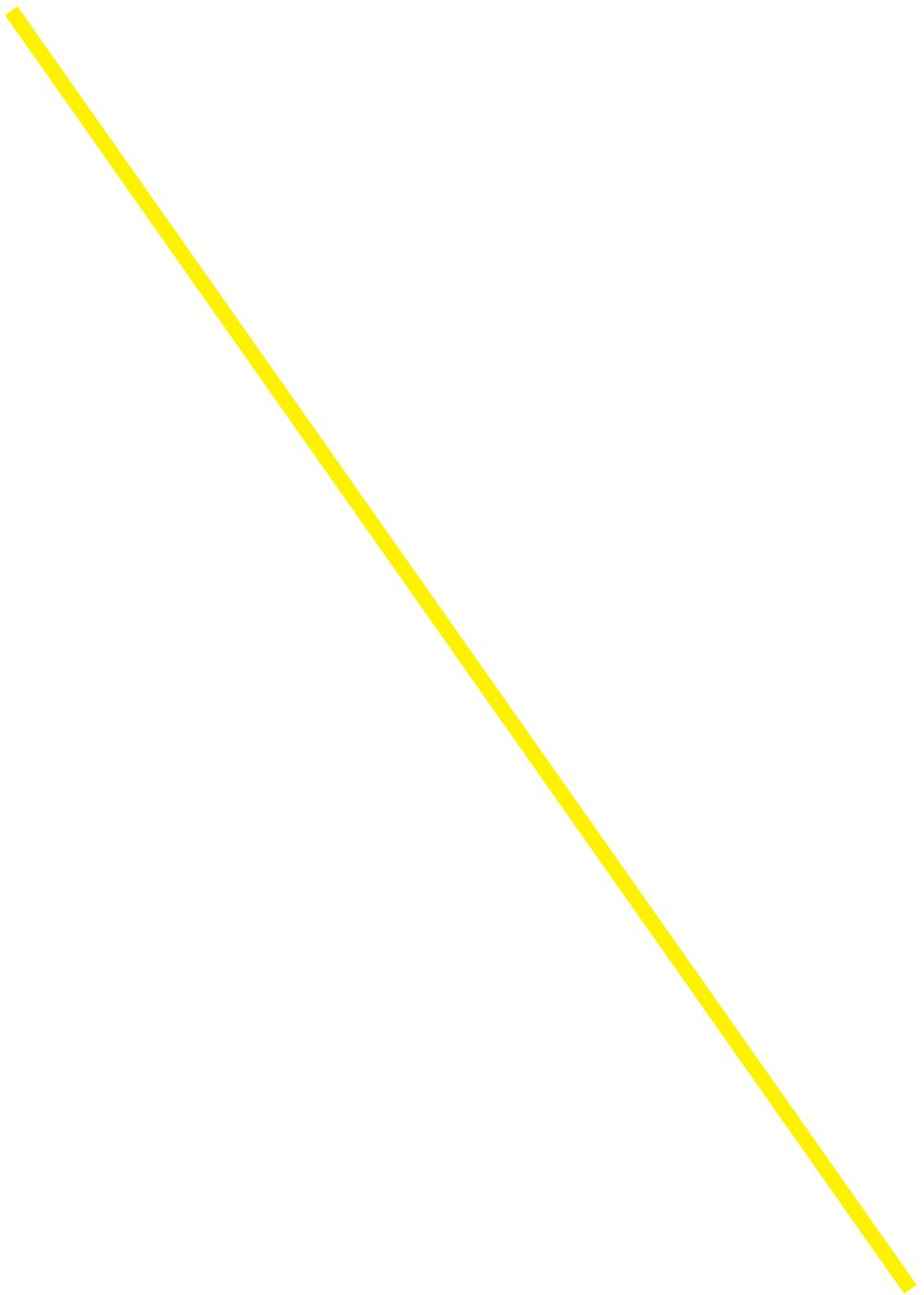
video, 13', 2005

Judy
Werthein

Cosa (Stvar), instal-
lacija, 2009

Cosa (Thing), instal-
lation, 2009





Anselm
Franke

Učestvuju / With contributions by:

*Florian Schneider
Eyal Weizman*

KRUGOVI
SARADNJE

CIRCLES
OF COLLAB-
ORATION

Polazišna tačka ovog projekta su dva teksta, od kojih je jedan izvorno napisao arhitekt Eyal Weizman za zbornik koji je pratio izložbu Manifesta 7 u Italiji 2008. godine, dok je autor drugoga Florian Schneider, koji komentariše „zaokret ka obrazovanju“ do kojega je došlo 2007. godine. Weizmanov tekst bio je pridružen instalaciji prikazanoj na izložbi Manifesta 7, koja se sastojala od video predavanja i video intervjuja koji su predstavili dva paradigmatska „slučaja“ iz novije istorije, u kojima je djelovao isti paradigmatski političko-etički koncept – koncept „manjega zla“. Tekst prikazuje načelo prema kome se čovjek postavlja pred izbor isključivo između neidealnih rješenja, te on naposljetu bira ono što prepoznaje kao „manje zlo“, načelo koje je postalo paradigma savremene politike, između ostalog, u kontekstu takozvanog „rata protiv terora“. Usredsređena na dva slučaja, instalacija opipljivo prikazuje način na koji se to načelo nalazi u srži političkih dešavanja od Drugog svjetskog rata do danas.

Tekst Floriana Schneidera, s druge strane, razotkriva savremeno značenje termina „kolaboracija“ – kao specifične forme koja je, ipak, bliska saradnji, učestvovanju i timskom radu. Tekst je usredsređen na obnovljeno značenje kolaboracije u uslužnoj ekonomiji i u onome što je Gilles Deleuze nazvao „društвom nadzora“ – savremenoj epohi u kojoj se disciplinske mjere sve više povlače u prilog paradigm samoupravljanja i unutrašnjeg, kao i spoljašnjeg nadzora, te novih oblika „relacionalnosti“ kao njihovog rezultata. U svome tekstu Florian Schneider uvodi pomak u značenju termina „kolaboracija“, koji se ranije koristio uglavnom u kontekstu kolaboracije s neprijateljem, posebno, okupatorском silom, te je stoga bio moralno osuđivan koncept, u smjeru njegovog pozitivnog shvatanja kao pokretačkog načela savre-

This project takes its point of departure from two texts, one originally written by architect Eyal Weizman for the reader that accompanied Manifesta 7 in Italy in 2008, the other written by Florian Schneider as a comment on the ‘educational turn’, in 2007. Weizman’s text accompanied an installation in the Manifesta 7 exhibition consisting of video-lectures and video-interviews presenting two paradigmatic ‘cases’ of recent history in which a paradigmatic political/ethical concept was at work, the concept of the “lesser evil”. The text shows how this principle, in which one is presented with the choice only between non-ideal solutions and subsequently chooses what is identified as “the lesser evil”, has become a paradigm of contemporary politics, among others, in the context of the so-called ‘War on Terror’. Through focusing on two cases, the installation makes tangible how this principle has been at the core of political events since WWII.

Florian Schneider’s text, on the other hand, unpacks the contemporary significance of the term “collaboration” – as distinct from, and yet close to cooperation, participation and teamwork. The text focuses on the renewed significance of collaboration in service-economies and in what Gilles Deleuze has called the “society of control” – the contemporary epoch in which disciplinary measures are increasingly withdrawn in favor of the paradigm of self-management and internal as well as external control, and the new forms of “relationality” this gives rise to. In his text, Florian Schneider introduces a shift in the meaning of “collaboration”, which was previously used chiefly in the context of collaborating with an enemy, especially an occupying force, and was a morally condemnable concept, towards a positively understood driving principle of contempo-

menog nematerijalnog rada.

Za ovu izložbu Florian Schneider predložio je tekstove jednog bliskog saradnika Patricea Lumumbe, prvog premijera nezavisnog Konga. Taj saradnik bio je francuski intelektualac Serge Michel, a njegovi tekstovi objavljeni su u hrvatskom Vjesniku početkom šezdesetih godina. Ovdje tekstovi imaju svrhu da učine raspravu složenijom i da je lansiraju preko evropskih granica – postkolonijalna stvarnost ne može se zamisliti, a da se ne uzme u obzir istorija njenih kolaboracija i saučesništava. U tom kontekstu, Serge Michel bio je izuzetak.

Oba teksta artikulišu moguću zajedničku osnovu za ponovno sagledavanje današnjih pejzaža kolaboracije, i oba nude podlogu za mjerjenje njenog istorijskog značaja i genealogije. Oni služe kao matrica za početak proširene rasprave o samim silama koje oblikuju te pejzaže – mrežama, vezama i društvenim ekonomijama današnjice. Ta rasprava neće samo dotaknuti, nego i zauzeti samu crtu koja razdvaja i povezuje politiku i etiku s estetikom, ako se ova posljednja shvati u širem smislu.

Pitanje kolaboracije tiče se mogućnosti i ograničenja individualnog i kolektivnog djelovanja u određenim situacijama, što bi se, takođe, moglo nazvati „pozadinskim uslovima“ ili naprosto skupom datih činjenica koje definišu neku situaciju i koje se prepoznaju kao takve. Svaka situacija postavlja se kao pitanje o tome kako tretirati zadate parametre onoga što je već prisutno kao pozadina u tom smislu. Svaka pozicija aktera u odnosu na bilo koju pozadinu uvijek se kreće između dvaju polova negacije ili afirmacije, te se problematizuje kroz permanentne proračune mogućnosti, prilika, margina i saučesništva te suočavanje s kontradikcijama. To nije samo pitanje racionalnih procjena, nego je

rarey immaterial labour.

For the exhibition, Florian Schneider has suggested displaying the texts of a close associate of Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of the independent Congo. This associate is the French intellectual Serge Michel, whose texts appeared in the Croatian newspaper Vjesnik in the early 60s. They are intended here to complicate the debate and take it beyond European boundaries – a post-colonial reality cannot be conceived without taking the history of its collaborations and complicities into account. Serge Michel, in this context, was an exception.

Both texts articulate a possible common ground for rethinking the landscapes of collaboration today, and both provide a foil against which one can begin to measure its historical significance and genealogy. They serve as a blueprint for the beginning of an extended discussion that investigates the very forces that shape those landscapes – the networks, alignments and social economies of the present day. This discussion is necessarily one that not only traverses, but inhabits the line that separates and binds politics and ethics to aesthetics, if the latter is understood in its wider sense.

The question of collaboration touches upon the possibilities and limitations of individual and collective agency in given situations, what might generally also be called the ‘background conditions’, or simply, a set of given facts which define a situation and are acknowledged as such. Any situation poses itself as a question of how to deal with the parameters set by what is already there as a background in this sense. Any actor’s position in relation to any background always moves between the two poles of negation or affirmation, and is problematized by permanent

duboko prožeto onim što obično nazivamo psihologijom, a od toga zavisi funkcionalisanje čitavih društvenih svjetova.

Možda to pitanje kolaboracije i „pozadine“ moramo upisati u širi narativ sudsbine negativnosti – shvaćene kao ono što se nalazi izvan granica društvene kohezije i zdravog razuma obilježenog pozadinom – i napisljetu preispitati taj spekulativni narativ s obzirom na konkretnost istorije. Jedno je sigurno o tom narativu: dok su „pozitivisajuća“ sredstva disciplinovanog režima (proizvodnja identitetâ) proizvela negativnu „spoljašnjost“ – spoljašnjost reda, racionalnosti, pa čak i jezika – društvo nadzora obuhvata sile negativnosti i „upravlja“ njima. Važnost načela „manjega zla“ direktno je simptom takve paradigmatske promjene: „zlo“ je simptomatična forma koju je u evropskoj istoriji poprimila razarajuća sila negativnosti, a „manje zlo“ je računica čija je svrha da u zagrljaju globalnog „dobra“ to zlo svede na minimum. Mogućnosti i sudsbine negativnosti – između ostalog i njen utopistički imaginarij – napisljetu su transformisale upravo one njene postupke koje artikulišu političko djelovanje, poput odbijanja da se prihvati „datost“ stvarnosti. Međutim, nove forme kolaboracije s pozitivnim konotacijama, koje su nastale u tim okolnostima, povezane su i potajno komuniciraju s geografijom kolaboracije iz prošlosti. Ovaj projekt nastoji da postavi temelje na kojima se može oblikovati razgovor o kolaboraciji, kao i o prikrivenim strujanjima koja povezuju njene istorije.

calculations of possibility, opportunity, margins, complicity and the management of contradictions. It is not only a question of rational judgement, but is heavily invested in what we usually call psychology, in which the enactment of entire social worlds is at stake.

Perhaps we have to inscribe this question of collaboration and the ‘background’ into a larger narrative of the fate of negativity – understood as that which lies beyond the boundary of social cohesion and common sense marked by the background – and subsequently test such a speculative narrative against the concreteness of history. At least that much is known of this narrative: while the ‘positivising’ devices of the disciplinary regime (the production of identities) produced a negative ‘outside’ – an outside of order, rationality, and even language – the society of control embraces and ‘manages’ the forces of negativity. The prominence of the “lesser evil” principle is a direct symptom of such paradigmatic change: “evil” is the symptomatic form the disruptive power of negativity and negation has taken in European history, and the “lesser evil” is a calculation to reduce evil to a minimum, embraced by a global “good”. The possibilities and fates – and not least the utopian imaginary – of negation has subsequently transformed those very gestures of negation that articulate political agency, such as the refusal of recognizing the ‘givenness’ of realities. However, the new, positively connoted forms of collaboration that have emerged under these conditions have ties, and secretly communicate, with the geography of collaboration of the past. This project seeks to lay grounds on which a conversation on collaboration, and the undercurrents that connect its histories, can be shaped.

THE TRUE IDENTITY OF SERGE MICHEL

Following is the translation of an article in Le Courrier d'Afrique, Leopoldville, 24 September 1960.

In an article on Communism in the Brussels daily newspaper La Libre Belgique, a correspondent gives the true identity of Serge Michel.

Who is Serge Michel? Some consider him French; others, Georgian or naturalized French Armenian. In reality, in accordance with what we have been able to learn during an investigation, this spokesman of Lumumba, who has, moreover, just made known that he has parted company with his boss, is of Polish origin. His true name is Mieczyslaw Kokocynski. He was born about 50 years ago in France, near Paris, of emigre Polish parents. When still quite young, he was already a confirmed Communist. In 1936-1939 his trail appeared again in the imbroglio of the civil war in Spain. He was then working as an agent of the Comintern. Highly esteemed by his superiors, he contributed to the training of the famous international brigades.

His trail is then lost for a certain number of years, but he emerges again in the 1950's. This time, North Africa is this Communist agent's field of action. Like many Communists, he placed himself, on orders of Moscow, at the service of the North African nationalists. In Tunis, "Minister of Information" Yazid of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (GPR) employed him for rather vaguely-defined tasks. Whatever his function was, he was often found in the offices of the Information and Press Service of the Algerian National Liberation Front, where he was on regular salary.

Sentenced to death in absentia by the French, he suddenly put in an appearance in Leopoldville last July, where he immediately became the adviser and spokesman of Lumumba and where he began to play a first-rank role. Is it the GPR which put him at the service of Lumumba? This is not at all certain, but this question has not yet been finally cleared up. However, having recently left Lumumba, he reportedly has resumed his former duties at the Press and Information Service of the Algerian rebellion.

Novinski članak o
Serge Michelu, ob-
javljen u Le courrier
d'Afrique, Leopold-
ville, 24.09.1960., u
prijevodu CIA-e

The CIA's translation
of a newspaper article
on Serge Michel,
published in Le
courrier d'Afrique,
Leopoldville, 24
September 1960

Pravi identitet Serge Michela*

(Prijevod članka iz *Le Courier d'Afrique*, Leopoldville, 24. Septembar, 1964.)

Tko je Serge Michel? Neki tvrde da je Francuz, drugi da je Gruzijac, ili naturalizirani francuski Armenac. Zapravo, prema onome ono što smo mi uspjeli saznati tijekom naše istrage, ovaj glasnogovornik Lumumbe koji je, štoviše, upravo obznanio da se rastaje od svog šefa, je porijeklom Poljak. Pravo ime mu je Mieczyslaw Kokoczynski. Rođen prije 50-ak godina u Francuskoj, u blizini Pariza, u obitelji poljskih imigranata. Još je od rane mладости bio zakleti komunist. Na trag mu se, nakon toga, nailazi u razdoblju od 1936.-1939. u burnim događanjima za vrijeme Španjolskog građanskog rata, kada je radio kao agent Kominterne. Visoko cijenjen od strane svojih nadređenih, pripomogao je obuci slavnih internacionalnih brigada.

Zatim mu se, na nekoliko godina, gubi svaki trag, ali ponovno ga pronalazimo tijekom 50-ih godina. Sada je Sjeverna Afrika polje djelovanja ovog komunističkog agenta. Poput mnogih komunista, i on se, po naredbi Moskve, dao na raspolaganje afričkim nacionalistima. U Tunisu ga je Yazid, "Ministar Informiranja" Provizionalne Vlade Alžirske Republike (GPRA), angažirao na dužnostima koje zvuče vrlo nedifinirano i nejasno. Koja god bila njegova funkcija, često se nalazio u Službi za medije i informiranje Alžirskog Nacionalnog Oslobođilačkog fronta, gdje je bio na redovnoj plaći.

Nakon što su ga Francuzi osudili na smrt u odsustvu, iznenada se pojavljuje u Leopoldvileu prošlog sprnja, gdje odmah postaje savjetnik i glasnogovornik Lumumbe, a njegova je uloga postala izuzetno značajna. Je li ga GPRA stavili u službu Lumumbe? To se ne može sa sigurnošću reći i pitanje koje ostaje nerazjašnjeno. Međutim, nakon što je nedavno napustio Lumumbu, navodno je ponovno preuzeo svoje dužnosti Službi za medije i informiranje alžirskih pobunjenika.

Eyal Weizman



665: Manje zlo,
multimedijalna
instalacija, detalji
2008

665: The Lesser Evil,
mixed media instal-
lation, details, 2008

Slučaj I: Arendt
u utopiji / Case I:
Arendt in Utopia

Slučaj II: Najbolji od
svih mogućih zidova
/ Case II: The Best
of All Possible Walls
(na narednoj stranici
/ following page)



In 2003, Palestinians from the village of Bet Surik decided to fight for their lands.
2003. godine Palestinci iz sela Bet Surik odlučili su se boriti za svoje zemlje.



The green line is the pre-1967 border.
Zeleni linija predstavlja granicu pre 1967.



In red they drew the line along which Israeli security contractors started to exert the Wall.
Crvenom je označena linija po kojoj su, prema uputama izraelske službe sigurnosti, započeta građa.



They asked both parties to approach.
Rezultat su obje strane su prešle.



Army: The route proposed by petitioners is unacceptable because it does not take into account the threat to settlements.
Vojска: Linija koju su predlagali potpisnici peticije je neprihvatljiva jer ne uzima u obzir opasnost za naselja.

Florian Schneider

Kolaboracija

Ako se i za jedno načelo može reći da je oblikovalo neprozirnu površinu onoga što se devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća nazivalo „novom ekonomijom“ – pomake i promjene, dinamiku i blokade, hitnosti i formiranja navika koji su se dogadali unutar područja nematerijalne proizvodnje – to bi svakako bilo načelo „Radimo zajedno!“.

U suočavanju s izazovima digitalne tehnologije, globalnih komunikacija i umreženih sredina, kao i njihova inherentnog nepoznavanja od strane tradicionalnih sustava, „zajednički rad“ javio se kao nesustavni modus kolektivnih procesa učenja.

Polagano i gotovo neprimjetno u modu je ušla nova riječ. Na prvi pogled mogla bi se činiti najmanjim značajnjim zajedničkim nazivnikom u opisivanju novih načina zajedničkog rada; međutim, „kolaboracija“ je postala jednim od vodećih termina novonastalog, suvremenog političkog senzibiliteta.

Iako se često svodi na puko utilitarističko shvaćanje, „kolaboracija“ je daleko više od zajedničkog djelovanja, budući da se proteže na mrežu međusobno povezanih pristupa i nastojanja. Iako doslovno označava zajednički rad s drugima, osobito u nekom intelektualnom pothvatu, taj se termin danas uglavnom koristi kako bi se opisali novi oblici radnih odnosa na raznim područjima unutar domene nematerijalne proizvodnje. Ipak, unatoč njegovoj znatnoj prisutnosti, postoji veoma malo istraživanja i teorijskih promišljanja na tu temu. Razlog tome mogao bi biti široki raspon dijelom proturječnih čimbenika koji su isprepleteni na zanimljive načine.

U pogrdnom smislu kolaboracija označava spremno pružanje pomoći neprijatelju vlastite zemlje, osobito nekoj okupacijskoj ili zlonamjernoj sili. To znači surađivati s nekim djelatnim bićem s kojim nismo u direktnoj vezi. Najpoznatija upotreba termina „kolaboracija“ bila je ona u sloganu francuskog višjevskog režima, nakon susreta između Hitlera i Maršala Petaina u mjestu Lontoire-sur-le-Loir u listopadu 1940. godine. U radijskom obraćanju Petain je službeno pozvao francusko stanovništvo da „kolaborira“ s njemačkim okupatorima, a francuski pokret otpora kasnije je stigmatizirao one koji su surađivali s njemačkim snagama kao *collaborateurs*.

Unatoč tom negativnom podrijetlu, termin „kolaboracija“ danas se uglavnom koristi kao sinonim za suradnju. Rječničke definicije i uporaba u svakodnevnom govoru uglavnom se manje ili više poklapaju; ali u etimološkom, povijesnom i političkom pogledu čini se logičnjim analizirati stvarne razlike između različitih supostojećih slojeva značenja.

Je li u načelu moguće relevantno razlikovati između suradnje i kolaboracije i s kojom svrhom? Ako je tako, što karakterizira konstelacije, društvene skupine i odnose u kojima ljudi kolaboriraju? I napoljetku nešto što je itekako važno: ima li to ikakvog utjecaja na trenutnu raspravu o obrazovanju?

U nastavku teksta iznijet će sedam opaski i prijedloga u kojima nastojim raspraviti ta pitanja u obliku preliminarne i eklektične skice.

1.

U pedagoškom diskursu suradnja i kolaboracija relativno su novi pojmovi. Pojavili su se sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća u kontekstu „zajedničkih aktivnosti učenja“ i „učenja na projektu“ (project-based learning), kojima se željelo raskinuti s autoritarnim stilom obrazovanja, usredotočenom na učitelja koji upravlja studentskim mišljenjem. Ono što bismo mogli nazvati „obrazovnim timskim radom“ odgovara ideji koju istodobno promiče teorija menadžmenta; naime, da u sredini u kojoj vlada timski rad ljudi zacijelo shvaćaju i vjeruju kako je mišljenje, planiranje, odlučivanje i djelovanje produktivnije kada se odvija u suradnji.

Početkom prošlog stoljeća i daleko prije svoga vremena Andrew Carnegie, tajkun u industriji čelika i utemeljitelj Carnegie Technical Schools, izjavio je: „Timski rad je sposobnost zajedničkog djelovanja u cilju ostvarenja zajedničke vizije, sposobnost usmjeravanja individualnih postignuća prema ciljevima organizacije. To je gorivo koje omogućuje običnim ljudima da postignu neobično dobre rezultate.“

Do danas je ovaj čuveni citat vjerojatno odigrao istaknutu ulogu u mnogim PPT-prezentacijama menadžera ljudskih resursa diljem planeta, ali njegova središnja argumentacija postala je stvarnošću početkom osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, kada je kriza automobilske industrije potaknula prvi veći procvat koncepta timskog rada u domeni industrijske proizvodnje.

Tvornice koje je do tada karakterizirala izrazito specijalizirana podjela rada, obično popraćena snažnom samoorganizacijom radnika u sindikate, sada su okrenute naglavačke: timski rad počeo se smatrati preduvjetom za slamanje moći sindikata, smanjene troškova radne snage i pomak prema takozvanoj „vitkoj“ proizvodnji, koja je u to vrijeme smatrana odgovorom na globalnu konkureniju i uspjeh japanskog izvoza, osobito u SAD i Europu.

U razvijenom industrijskom kapitalizmu ideja timskog rada predstavljala je podvrgavanje radničke subjektivnosti sveprisutnom i individualiziranom režimu nadzora. Koncept skupine zamijenio je klasični koncept „predradnika“ kao disciplinske sile. Umjesto represijom, učinkovitost je povećavana putem kolegijalnog pritiska i kolektivnog poistovjećivanja unutar relativno malenih skupina višestruko profiliranih suradnika. Model timskoga rada ubrzo se proširio raznim granama industrije i privrede, ali bez većeg uspjeha. U međuvremenu su različite znanstvene studije pokazale kako timovi često donose pogrešne odluke, osobito kada zadatak zahtjeva rješavanje složenijih problema. Timski rad često ne uspije iz jednostavnog razloga što internalizirane moduse suradnje karakterizira „gomilanje“ ili sakupljački duh, što je potpuna suprotnost dijeljenju znanja; u borbi za karijeru relevantne informacije treba skrivati od drugih. Udruživanje snaga u skupini ili timu također uvećava vjerojatnost neuspjeha prije nego uspjeha; nepovoljna grupna dinamika, nepredvidivi pritisci izvana i loše rukovodilačke prakse odgovorne su za ostalo.

Taj sveopći neuspjeh još više zapanjuje imamo li na umu da su brzi tehnološki razvoj i dostupnost globalnih intelektualnih resursa trebali uvećati pritisak na pojedince kako bi razmjenjivali znanje unutar i između skupina. Ali budući da je znanje postalo glavnom proizvodnom snagom, ni slobodarske i dobromjerne, anti-autoritarne strategije ni brutalna sila prisilne suradnje nisu se činile sposobnima uspostaviti bilo kakve nove dimenzije u dinamici „zajedničkog rada“.

2.

Sve je više dokaza za to da se „zajednički rad“ ustvari odvija na prilično nepredvidive i neočekivane načine. Umjesto izražavanja navodne širokogrudnosti u skupini koja je sastavljena od pojedinaca u potrazi za solidarnošću, takav se rad često otkriva kao kruta i čak sebična praksa, u kojoj se pojedinci tim više oslanjaju jedni na druge čim ustrajnije slijede vlastite interese, pri čemu njihova međuvisnost proizlazi iz nastojanja da ostvare svoje privatne planove. Razmjena tako postaje posljedicom nužnosti, a ne uzajamnosti, poistovjećivanja ili želje.

To podrazumijeva početnu razinu diferencijacije između suradnje i kolaboracije: za razliku od suradnje, kolaboracijom upravljuju složene realnosti, a ne romantične ideje o zajedničkim temeljima zajedništva. To je ambivalentan proces koji se uspostavlja kroz skup paradoksalnih odnosa suproizvođača koji utječu jedni na druge.

U knjizi „Le Maître ignorant“, objavljenoj 1983. godine, Jacques Rancière je istaknuo da je neznanje prva vrlina učitelja. On daje primjer Josepha Jacotota, francuskog revolucionara u progonstvu i profesora francuske književnosti na sveučilištu u belgijskom Leuvenu nakon 1815. godine. Jacotot je podučavao francuskom jeziku učenike kojima je materinji bio nizozemski, i to bez ikakvog zajedničkog jezika, s pomoću metode koja se čini sasvim kolaboracijskom: ne slijedeći nikakav opći plan, nego odredivši zajedničku osnovu i komunicirajući s pomoću zajedničkog skupa oruđa, on se “stavio u ruke svojih učenika i poručio im preko tumača da pročitaju polovicu knjige uz pomoć prijevoda, da neprestano ponavljaju što su naučili, da brzo pročitaju drugu polovicu i zatim na francuskom napišu što misle o njoj.” Ta “poduka bez prijenosa znanja”, kako je Rancière definira, činila se nevjerojatno uspješnom, budući da je dopuštala učenicima razinu autonomije u stjecanju vlastitog znanja, a oni su to činili na način koji su smatrali korisnim i neovisno o svome učitelju.

Rancièreov primjer otkriva nam mnogo toga u pogledu kolaboracije i njezina odnosa prema idejama hijerarhije za koje većina kolaboracijskog diskursa smatra da ih je pobijedila. On otkriva licemjerje navodnog anti-autoritarizma koji je ustvari u osnovi mnogih ideja suradnje. To pogrešno shvaćanje moglo bi se smatrati praksom koja liberalno oslabljuje poziciju moći, ali nije svjesna inherentnog paradoksa svoga postupka, tako da se u beskonačnoj liniji regresije moć vraća još snažnija nego prije. Što više pokušava objasniti, posredovati, komunicirati ili podučiti, to više potvrđuje udaljenost, nejednakost i ovisnost onih koji ne posjeduju znanje u odnosu na one za koje se čini da ga posjeduju. Isto se može reći za suradnju i timski rad: pretpostavka o jednakosti ustvari proširuje diskriminaciju i eksploataciju, iako se čini da nudi kontinuirani dokaz koji potkrepljuje takvu iluziju, kao da ne postoje radikalno različiti modusi zajedničkog rada.

3.

Rad Jacototovih učenika može se smatrati oblikom kolaboracije s učiteljem koja poništava hijerarhije i rješava se u potpunosti odnosa učitelja i učenika, a da ga pritom ne romantizira. Kolaboracija ne kritizira hijerarhije niti ih moralno osuđuje ili licemjerno odbacuje. Taj način zajedničkog rada sposoban je ignorirati neznanje neznalice i pauperizirati siromaštvo siromaha upravo zato što kolaboranti ne dovode u pitanje očiti autoritet niti se pretvaraju da su jednaki. Umjesto toga, razradili su način – ne razmjene, nego protoka – u kojemu se te pozicije sasvim izbjegavaju.

Kolaboracije su crne rupe u režimima znanja. One namjerno proizvode ništavilo, obilje i

devijaciju. I upravo je u toj ispraznosti njihova snaga. Za razliku od suradnje, kolaboracija se ne događa iz sentimentalnih razloga, filantropskih poriva ili za volju učinkovitosti; ona nastaje iz čistog osobnog interesa. Kolaboracije mogu otkriti zapanjujući potencijal, pri čemu neznalica, siromah ili na neki drugi način razvlaštena osoba može omogućiti drugoj neznalici, siromahu ili na neki drugi način razvlaštenoj osobi da spozna ono što nije znala i da stekne pristup onome čemu nije mogla pristupiti. To ne podrazumijeva prijenos nečega s onih koji imaju na one koji nemaju, nego stavljanje u pogon niza nepredviđenih pristupa.

Pomaknemo li žarište s njezinih komponenti i ishoda, kolaboracija je performativan i transformativan proces: iznenadna potreba za prelaženjem poznatih granica vlastitog iskustva, vještina i intelektualnih resursa kako bi se kročilo na bezimene i strane teritorije, gdje se sposobnosti koje su ranije smatrane "individualnima" čudesno stapaju sa sposobnostima drugih. U tom slijedu ishodi i procesi su u obrnuto proporcionalnom odnosu, baš kao i odnosi moći. Jer ono što se događa nije 'jamčenje' pristupa, nego ravnopravno priznanje svih onih koji su uključeni u proces, odnosno neočekivana mnogostruktost i neizvjesna lokacija točaka pristupa o kojemu se radi u toj razmjeni.

4.

Prevođenje koncepta kolaboracije natrag u kontekst obrazovanja također ukazuje na obrnuti inženjerинг učiteljeve uloge. Etimološki gledano, na grčkom i latinskom "pedagog" ili "odgajatelj" označava nekoga tko "izvlači" ili "vuče van" te se odnosi na drevnu grčku praksu: obiteljski rob zvan "pedagogom" pratio je dijete od privatne kuće do mjesta učenja. Za razliku od učitelja, koji je trebao posjedovati i prenosići znanje, pedagog je bio osoba koja je pratila učenika na mjesto gdje je učitelj to znanje udjeljivao.

To prilično prostorno poimanje prevodenja nekoga preko neke specifične granice zapanjujuće podsjeća na trgovinu ljudima. Agent za bijeg ili "kojot" – kako ga se naziva na američko-meksičkoj granici – pomaže onima koji prelaze granicu bez dokumenata i žele preći iz jedne nacionalne države u drugu bez nužne administracije. Neprestano u pokretu, samo povremeno zaposlen, bezimen, anoniman, čovjek koji neprestano mijenja lica i strane, kojot je na ironičan način savršen primjer obrazovanja i kolaboracije. Kao metafora, to služi svrsi destabilizacije ideje 'znanja u kretanju', skrećući je s njezinu navodno uvijek progresivnog puta. Umjesto toga, dopušta se određen stupanj nelegitimnosti, koja je inherentna svim oblicima kolaboracije i razlikuje je od uvijek savršeno sankcionirane i legitimne naravi suradnje. Ekstrahirajući načelo mobilnosti i uočavajući pomanjkanje legitimnosti kao izvora snage, za razliku od zločinački neljudskog i oslabljujućeg, 'kojot' – koji može, ali ne mora biti motiviran vlastitom dobiti bez ikakve ideološke predanosti – proizvodi mogućnost čiji se parametri ne mogu točno odrediti.

Motivi "kojota" ostaju nejasni ili, da tako kažemo, uopće nisu važni. "Kojot" je postmoderni pružatelj usluga par excellence. Činjenica da ne postoji nikakvo povjerenje između onih koji su uključeni u transakciju ustvari ne igra nikakvu ulogu u odvijanju njezine drame. Mogli bismo reći da konceptualna nesigurnost prevladava nad finansijskim aspektima kolaboracije i potiče redundantnost afekata i percepcija, osjećaja i reakcija. Oni kojima nije potrebna kojotova pomoć proganjaju ga i demoniziraju; oni koji se oslanjaju na kojotovo tajno znanje i vještine tim više ga cijene. Ekstremna polariziranost tih reakcija pokazuje raspon kolaboracijskog polja i nemogućnost navigacije kroz nj s pomoću moralizirajućih vektora.

Naposljetu, kolaboracija s kojotom generira čisti potencijal u rasponu od sna o boljem životu do stvarnosti čiste žive radne snage koja je spremna za apsolutnu eksplotaciju na neslužbenom tržištu rada. Da nema njezina totalno nereguliranog karaktera, ta bi praksa iznjedrila slične rezultate kao i tradicionalni obrazovni sustavi; mogli bismo reći da se u toj razmjeni ne može prisvojiti ništa što bi se ticalo materijalne egzistencije, a kamoli imovine, ali tu ipak nastaje nešto veoma dragocjeno i sasvim krhko; čista imaginacija, potencijalno moćna preko svake mjere.

5.

S obzirom na pozadinu postmodernog društva nadzora, kolaboracija je stvar potajne razmjene znanja neovisno o granicama. Ona predstavlja pokušaj da se vрати autonomija i dohvate nematerijalni resursi u ekonomiji koju pokreće znanje. Nije više važno tko posjeduje znanje i tko posjeduje resurse; bitno je imati pristup, i to ne velikodušno zajamčen pristup, nego direktni, neposredan i trenutačan pristup, koji se često stječe nelegalno ili nelegitimno.

Dok suradnja uključuje neprepoznatljive pojedince unutar i između organizacija, kolaboracija izražava diferenciran odnos, sačinjen od heterogenih elemenata koji se definiraju kao singularnosti. Kao takvi, oni nisu prepoznatljivi ili podložni jednostavnoj kategorizaciji u pogledu identiteta, nego se definiraju s obzirom na odnos koji među njima nastaje. U tom smislu kolaboracija je neobična jer proizvodi diskontinuitet i označava točku nepredvidivosti, koliko god deterministička bila. Njezina nepredvidivost poprima oblik nemogućnosti potpune kategorizacije komponenata u kolaboracijskom procesu, čak i ako je njezina općenita svrha ili poriv možda usmjeravaju u nekom određenom smjeru.

Racionalnost je tu zamijenjena nekom vrstom relacionalnosti, koja neprestano rastavlja i ponovo sastavlja informacije kako bi se privremeno poslužila neočekivanim dinamikama i kontingenčijama: od burzovne spekulacije do razvoja mrežnih protokola, od proizvodnje novih oblika estetike u umjetnosti i kulturi do generacije političkog aktivizma s globalnim aspiracijama.

Ljudi se okupljaju i rade zajedno u uvjetima gdje se njihova učinkovitost, izvedba i rad ne mogu izdvojiti i izmjeriti individualno; svačiji rad ukazuje na nečiji drugi. Uspostavljanje i održavanje veza čini se važnijim od nastojanja da se uhvate i pohrane ideje. Osobna proizvodnja sasvim je specifična, ali se generira i često umnožava u mrežama sastavljenim od nebrojenih različitih ovisnosti i uspostavlja kroz moć da se utječe na drugoga i primi tuđi utjecaj. Ni u jednom trenutku tog procesa to se ne može zaustaviti i sigurno ustaviti, budući da je njegova snaga u pomanjkanju eksplicitne točke ulaza kakvu bi mogao imati scenarij normativnog rada.

Taj eksces u osnovi je onkraj svakog mjerjenja; kolaboracija se odnosi prema matematičkoj definiciji singularnosti kao točka u kojoj funkcija odlazi u beskonačnost ili se na neki način poremeti. Koncept singularnosti razlikuje kolaboraciju od suradnje i odnosi se na novonastalu ideju krhkosti i sustavne nestabilnosti. To se pak može smatrati krizom koja se asocira uz pomak i prijelaz sa suradnje na kolaboraciju u modusima zajedničkog rada. Mreže volnosti, entuzijazma, kreativnosti, golemog pritiska, sve veće sumnje u sebe i očaja privremene su i fluidne; one poprimaju raznovrsne forme, ali se uvijek odnose na neprekidno stanje nesigurnosti i krhkosti, koje je tipično za raširene oblike zanimanja i zaposlenja unutar društva. One otkrivaju drugu stranu nematerijalnog rada, skrivenu u retorici „zajedničkog rada“.

6.

Danas je od goleme važnosti naučiti kako se uhvatiti u koštač s takvim ekscesom. To nije naprsto domena ekskluzivne manjine geekova, štrebera, asocijalaca i neurotičnih slobodnjaka, nego se odnosi na rapidno rastuću globalnu nematerijalnu radnu snagu koja se suočava s izgledima za doživotno učenje bez komplementarnih izgleda da se ikada susretne s nekim učiteljem ili udžbenikom, budući da se znanje javlja kao beskorisno čim se može komodificirati i reproducirati kao takvo.

Ključno je pitanje kako je moguć oblik obrazovanja za kolaboraciju koji se ne bi sveo ad absurdum i postao primjena jedne banalne fraze za drugom. To svakako ne bi značilo inscenaciju kolaboracijskog procesa u učionici ili drugim mjestima za učenje. Ta debata može se odvijati na meta-razini ili oko pitanja „dezorganizacije“ sebe sama kako bi se razvila svijest i spremnost za buduće izazove kolaboracijskih radnih sredina. Može se odvijati i u fragmentaciji komponenata sklopova znanja i njihove međusobne reorganizacije u skladu s drugačijim načelima. Ili se pak može odvijati tako da se ukinu unaprijed određena usmjerenja vezana uz protoke znanja.

Suradnja se nužno događa u client-server arhitekturama. Ona slijedi metaforičku nartivnu strukturu, gdje se koherentno pridruživanje svakog pojedinog dijela i njegov odnos prema drugima neprestano reproducira. Današnji obrazovni sustav odražava tu strukturu i stoga je bitno nesposoban odgovoriti na suvremene izazove, o budućima da i ne govorimo. Još gore od toga: čim više se sustav nastoji remodernizirati, tim dublje tone u močvaru komodifikacije, homogenizacije i hijerarhizacije. Očito je problem u načinu na koji obrazovni sustav shvaća suvremene imperative i njegovu ustrajanje na tome da oni moraju imati „primjenjivu“ funkciju. Ako se model kolaboracije želi primijeniti na obrazovne kulture, on bi morao prihvati nemogućnost određivanja ishoda unaprijed, čak i ako dijeli s njima skup aspiracija ili direktiva ili ako je usidren u skup priznatih problema-tika.

7.

Kolaboracija podrazumijeva rizomske strukture u kojima znanje bogato raste i množi se na nepredvidive načine. Za razliku od suradnje, koja uvijek podrazumijeva neki organski model i transcendentnu funkciju, kolaboracija je strogo imanentna i divlja praksa. Svaka kolaboracijska aktivnost počinje i završava unutar okvira kolaboracije. Ona nema izvanjskog cilja i ne može se narediti; radi se o strogoj intranzitivnosti koja se događa, da tako kažemo, radi sebe same.

Kolaboracije su proždrljive. Kada se jednom stave u pokret, mogu brzo osvojiti i obojiti čitave načine proizvodnje. Razvoj „besplatnog“ ili „otvorenog“ softvera vjerojatno je najistaknutiji primjer transformacijske moći kolaboracije da „razdefinira“ odnose među autorima i proizvođačima s jedne strane i korisnicima ili potrošačima s druge. On nameće paradigmu koja svakog korisnika tretira kao potencijalnog suradnika koji bi se mogao učinkovito uključiti u razvoj koda, bez obzira na njegove stvarne interese i sposobnosti. Sudjelovanje postaje virtualno: dovoljno je da netko doda neki patch ili ukaže na problem, i nije nužno da to učini kako bi uživao u dinamici, učinkovitosti i bitnoj otvorenosti kolaboracije.

U ovom potonjem primjeru, demokratska ili egalitaristička ambicija prešla je u domenu virtualnosti: skupine koje razvijaju open source obično ne slijede obrasce i pravila reprezentacijske demokracije, a radikalno poimanje jednakosti otkriva se u općem uvjetu

da svatko ima trenutačan i neograničen pristup čitavom skupu resursa koji sačinjavaju razvoj. Rezultat je jednako jednostavan kao što je i uvjerljiv: oni koji se ne slažu mogu se „odcijepiti“ i začeti novi ogrank razvoja, a da pritom ne izgube pristup sredstvima proizvodnje.

Na internetu se distribuirane nehijerarhijske arhitekture informacija očituju kao peer-to-peer (P2P) mreže. Pojavile su se 90-ih godina prošlog stoljeća i potaknule revoluciju konvencionalnog modela distribucije. Te mreže isprva su dizajnirane u svrhu razmjennjanja nematerijalnih resursa poput računalnog vremena ili brzine prijenosa podataka, uglavnom u znanstvenim i akademskim kontekstima. Njihova svrha bila je prevladati tehnološka ograničenja, nemogućnosti i nedostatke kombinacijom postojećih slobodnih resursa.

Od kasnih devedesetih godina ista mrežna arhitektura korištena je za razmjenu relevantnog sadržaja: glazba i filmovi distribuirani su među običnim osobnim računalima koji su djelovali kao čvorovi prema terminalu i od terminala u mrežama koje su se množile poput gljiva.

Golemi uspjeh tih projekata, od „Napstera“ do „BitTorrenta“ – trenutno se procjenjuje da pokrivaju gotovo polovicu internetskog prometa – omogućio je ljudima koji se ne poznaju, a vjerojatno im je tako i draže, da doslovce „dijele“ svoje tvrde diskove. Ustvari se njihovi anonimni odnosi zasnivaju na ironiji dijeljenja, čak i u strogo matematičkom smislu: zahvaljujući besplatnom digitalnom kopiranju bez gubitaka, predmet želje doista se umnožava umjesto da se dijeli.

U krajnjem slučaju, kolaboracije su potaknute željom za stvaranjem različitosti i odbacivanjem apsolutističke vlasti organizacije. Kolaboracija podrazumijeva prevladavanje nestasice i nejednakosti te borbu za slobodu proizvodnje. Ona sadrži golem društveni potencijal, budući da je oblik realizacije i iskustva neograničene kreativnosti u mnogostrukosti svih proizvodnih praksi.

Mogućnost da se ta poimanja kolaboracije dovedu u odnos prema suvremenom obrazovanju i pedagogiji nisu toliko povezana s oponašanjem njihovih operativnih modusa koliko s njihovom sposobnošću da nadahnu reorganizaciju odnosa na tom polju. Budući da to nije ograničeno na naizgled dobre namjere i demokratizirajuće poticaje one dimenzije kolaboracije koja se odnosi na „zajednički rad“, u obrazovanju bi to moglo značiti novo promišljanje smjera i tijeka njegovih aktivnosti. Na primjer, moglo bi doći do odustajanja od isključivog usmjeravanja instruirane osobe od strane instruktora, ili pak pomaka trenutnog smjera razmjena prema cirkulaciji koja vrednuje sve ono što se već nalazi unutar nje. Moglo bi također značiti promišljanje ishoda obrazovanja u smislu udaljavanja od ranije uspostavljenih kriterija i približavanja mogućnosti da se neprestano utječe na vlastito područje i iznova ga se strukturira.

Florian Schneider

Collaboration

If one principle could be seen to inform the opaque surface of what in the 1990s was called a “new economy” – the shifts and changes, the dynamics and blockades, the emergencies and habit formations taking place within the realm of immaterial production – it would certainly be: “Work together”.

Facing the challenges of digital technologies, global communications, and networking environments, as well as the inherent ignorance of traditional systems towards these, “working together” has emerged as an unsystematic mode of collective learning processes.

Slowly and almost unnoticeably, a new word came into vogue. At first sight it might seem the least significant common denominator for describing new modes of working together, yet “collaboration” has become one of the leading terms of an emergent contemporary political sensibility.

Often collapsed into the most utilitarian understanding, “collaboration” is far more than acting together, as it extends towards a network of interconnected approaches and efforts. Literally meaning “working together with others”, especially in an intellectual endeavor, the term is nowadays widely used to describe new forms of labour relations within the realm of immaterial production in various fields; yet despite its significant presence there is very little research and theoretical reflection on it. This might be due to a wide range of partly contradictory factors that are interestingly intertwined.

As a pejorative term, collaboration stands for willingly assisting an enemy of one’s country, especially an occupying force or malevolent power. It means working together with an agency with which one is not immediately connected. Most prominently, “collaboration” became the slogan of the French Vichy regime after the meeting of Hitler and Marshall Petain in Lontoire-sur-le-Loir in October 1940. In a radio speech Petain officially enlisted the French population to “collaborate” with the German occupiers, while the French resistance movement later branded those who cooperated with the German forces as “collaborators”.

Despite these negative origins, the term collaboration is mostly used today as a synonym for cooperation. Dictionary definitions and vernacular uses are generally more or less equivalent; but etymologically, historically and politically it seems to make more sense to elaborate on the actual differences between various coexisting layers of meaning.

Is it in principle, possible to make a relevant distinction between cooperation and collaboration and to what end? If so, what characterizes the constellations, social assemblages and relationships in which people collaborate? And last but not least: does this have any impact for the current debate on education?

What follows are seven notes and propositions in which I try to address these questions in a very preliminary, eclectic and sketchy way.

1.

In pedagogical discourse, both cooperation and collaboration are relatively new terms. They emerged in the 1970s in the context of “joint learning activities” and “project-based learning”, which were supposed to break with an authoritarian teacher-centred style of guiding the thinking of the student.

What might be defined as “educational teamwork” corresponds to an idea promoted at the same time by management theory; that is, in a teamwork environment, people are supposed to understand and believe that thinking, planning, decisions and actions are better when done in cooperation.

At the beginning of the last century and well ahead of his time, Andrew Carnegie, steel-tycoon and founder of Carnegie Technical Schools, said: “Teamwork is the ability to work together toward a common vision, the ability to direct individual accomplishments toward organizational objectives. It is the fuel that allows common people to attain uncommon results.”

To this day, this famous quote has probably featured prominently in a myriad power-point presentations by human resource managers across the globe, but its central argument only became a reality in the early 1980s, when the crisis in the car manufacturing industries triggered the first large scale proliferation of the concept of teamwork in the realm of industrial production.

Factories that had hitherto been characterized by a highly specialized division of labour usually coupled with a strong self-organization of the workers in trade unions were turned upside down: teamwork started being considered as a prerequisite for breaking the power of the unions, dropping labour costs and moving towards so-called “lean” production, which was seen at the time as a response to global competition and the success of Japanese exports to the US and Europe in particular.

In late industrial capitalism the notion of teamwork represented the subjugation of workers’ subjectivity to an omnipresent and individualized control regime. The concept of group replaced the classical one of “foremanship” as the disciplining force. Rather than through repression, cost efficiency was increased by means of peer-pressure and the collective identification of relatively small groups of multi-skilled co-workers.

The model of teamwork soon spread across different industries and branches, yet without any great success. Meanwhile, various research studies showed that teams often make the wrong decisions, especially when the task involves solving rather complex problems. Teamwork frequently fails for the simple fact that internalized modes of cooperation are characterized by “hoarding” or stockpiling, quite the opposite of knowledge sharing: in the pursuit of a career, relevant information must be hidden from others.

Joining forces in a group or team also increases the likelihood of failure rather than success; awkward group dynamics, unforeseeable external pressures and bad management practices are responsible for the rest.

This overall failure is even more staggering if we consider that rapid technological development and the availability of global intellectual resources were supposed to have increased the pressure on individuals to exchange knowledge within and between groups. Yet as knowledge became the main productive force, neither the freewheeling and well-meaning strategies of anti-authoritarianism nor the brutal force of coercing cooperation seemed capable of establishing any new dimensions of the dynamics of “working together”.

2.

Increasing evidence shows that “working together” actually occurs in rather unpredictable and unexpected ways. Rather than through the exertion of the alleged generosity of a group made up of individuals in the pursuit of solidarity, it often works as a brusque and even ungenerous practice, where individuals rely on one another the more they chase their own interests, their mutual dependence arising through the pursuit of their own agendas. Exchange then becomes an effect of necessity rather than one of mutuality, identification or desire.

This entails an initial level of differentiation between cooperation and collaboration: in contrast to cooperation, collaboration is driven by complex realities rather than romantic notions of common grounds or commonality. It is an ambivalent process constituted by a set of paradoxical relationships between co-producers who affect one another.

In *Le maître ignorant*, published in 1983, Jacques Rancière indicates that ignorance is the first virtue of the master or teacher. He gives the example of Joseph Jacotot, an exiled French revolutionary, professor of French literature at the University of Louvain in Belgium from 1815. Jacotot taught French to his Dutch-speaking students in the absence of a shared language, through what appears to be an entirely collaborative method: without setting up a common agenda, identifying a common ground or communicating through a shared set of tools, he “placed himself in his students’ hands and told them, through an interpreter, to read half of the book with the aid of the translation, to repeat constantly what they had learned, to quickly read the other half and then to write in French what they thought about it.” This “teaching without transmitting knowledge”, as Rancière defines it, seemed to be incredibly successful, because it granted a level of autonomy to the students who acquired their own knowledge as they deemed useful and independently from their teacher.

Rancière’s example is particularly enlightening in the context of collaboration and its relation to notions of hierarchy which so much of collaborative discourse deems to have vanquished. It exposes the hypocrisy of the supposed anti-authoritarianism that essentially underlies many notions of cooperation. This misconception might be seen as the practice of liberally weakening the position of power, yet ignoring the inherent paradox of doing so, so that in an infinite line of regression power reappears even stronger than before. The more it tries to explain, mediate, communicate or teach, the more it reaffirms the distance, inequality and dependency of those who lack knowledge on those who seem to possess it. The same applies to cooperation and teamwork: a presumption of equality actually extends both discrimination and exploitation while seemingly providing continuous evidence in support of such an illusion, as if there were no radically different modes of working together.

3.

The work of Jacotot’s students can be seen as a form of collaboration with their teacher that flattens the hierarchies and does away with the teacher-student relationship altogether, without romanticising it. Through collaboration hierarchies are neither criticised nor morally disapproved of and hypocritically discarded. This way of working together is capable of ignoring the ignorance of the ignorant and of pauperizing the poverty of the pauper precisely because collaborators are neither questioning obvious authority nor pretending to be equal. Instead they have worked out a system not of exchange but of

flow in which these positions are avoided altogether.

Collaborations are the black holes of knowledge regimes. They willingly produce nothingness, opulence and ill-behaviour. And it is their very vacuity which is their strength. Unlike cooperation, collaboration does not take place for sentimental reasons, for philanthropical impulses or for the sake of efficiency; it arises out of pure self interest. Collaborations could reveal the amazing potential whereby an ignorant, poor or otherwise property-less person can enable another ignorant, poor or otherwise property-less person to know what he or she did not know and to access what he or she did not access. It does not entail the transmission of something from those who have to those who do not, but rather the setting in motion of a chain of unforeseen accesses.

Shifting the focus away from its components and outcomes, collaboration is a performative and transformative process: the sudden need to cross the familiar boundaries of one's own experiences, skills and intellectual resources to enter nameless and foreign territories where abilities that had been considered 'individual' marvellously merge with those of others. In this sequence, outcomes and processes follow an inverse relation as do the relations of power. For what comes about is not the 'granting' of access but a recognition across the board of those involved in the process, that it is the unexpected multiplicity and uncertain location of the points of access that is at stake in the exchange.

4.

Translating the concept of collaboration back to the context of education also points to a reverse-engineering of the teacher's role. Etymologically, in Greek and Latin "pedagogue" or "educator" means "drawing out" or "pulling out" and refers to an ancient Greek practice: a family slave called "pedagogue" used to walk the child from the private house to a place of learning. Rather than the teacher, who was supposed to have and transmit knowledge, the pedagogue was the person who accompanied the student to the place where the teacher imparted it.

This rather spatial notion of bringing somebody across a specific border evokes striking associations with human trafficking. The escape agent or "coyote" – as it is named at the US-Mexican border – supports undocumented border crossers who want to make it from one nation state to another without the demanded paperwork. Permanently on the move, only temporarily employed, nameless, anonymous and constantly changing faces and sides, the coyote is, in an ironic way, the perfect role-model for both education and collaboration. As a metaphor it serves the purpose of destabilizing the idea of 'knowledge in movement' away from its always assumed progressive direction. Instead it allows for a certain degree of illegitimacy inherent in all forms of collaboration and distinguishes it from the always perfectly sanctioned and legitimate nature of cooperation. By extracting a principle of mobility and perceiving the lack of legitimacy as enabling as opposed to criminally inhuman and disabling, the coyote, who may or may not be motivated by self-gain without ideological commitment, produces a possibility whose parameters cannot be gauged.

The coyote's motivations remain unclear or, shall we say, do not matter at all. The coyote is the postmodern service provider par excellence. The fact that there is no trust whatsoever between those engaging in the transaction does not actually play any part in the unfolding of its play. Here, we might say, conceptual insecurity overrides the financial aspects of the collaboration and triggers a redundancy of affects and perceptions, feel-

ings and reactions. Those who do not need the coyote's support hunt and demonize it; those who rely on the coyote's secret knowledge and skills appreciate it all the more. The extreme polarities of these responses instantiate the range of the collaborative field and the impossibility of navigating it through moralising vectors.

Ultimately, collaboration with a coyote generates pure potential: ranging from the dream of a better life to the reality of pure living labour power ready to be over-exploited in the informal labour market. If it wasn't for its totally deregulated character, this practice would bear similar results to that of traditional educational systems; we might say that in this exchange nothing can be claimed for material existence, let alone possession, but nevertheless something very precious and entirely precarious comes into being; pure imagination, yet potentially powerful beyond measure.

5.

Against the background of postmodern control society, collaboration is about secretly exchanging knowledge independently of borders. It stands for the attempt to regain autonomy and get hold of immaterial resources in a knowledge-driven economy. It no longer matters who has knowledge and who owns the resources; what matters is access: not a generously granted accessibility but a direct, immediate and instant access, often gained illegally or illegitimately.

While cooperation involves identifiable individuals within and between organizations, collaboration expresses a differentiated relationship made up of heterogeneous elements that are defined as singularities. As such they are not identifiable or subject to easy categories of identity, but defined out of an emergent relation between themselves. As such collaboration is extra-ordinary in so far as it produces a discontinuity and marks a point of unpredictability, however deterministic. Its unpredictability takes the form of not being able to entirely categorise the components of the collaborative process, even when its general aim or drive may be steering it in a particular direction.

Rationality has here been replaced by a kind of relationality that constantly decomposes and recomposes information in order to make temporary use of unexpected dynamics and contingencies: from stock market speculation to the development of network protocols, from the production of new forms of aesthetics in art and culture to a generation of political activism with global aspirations.

People meet and work together under circumstances where their efficiency, performance and labour power cannot be singled out and individually measured; everyone's work points to someone else's. Making and maintaining connections seems more important than trying to capture and store ideas. One's own production is very peculiar yet it is generated and often multiplied in networks composed of countless distinct dependencies and constituted by the power to affect and be affected. At no point in the process can this be arrested and ascertained, for it gains its power by not having explicit points of entry or exit as a normative work scenario might.

This excess is essentially beyond measure; collaboration relates to the mathematical definition of singularity as the point where a function goes to infinity or is somehow ill-behaved. The concept of singularity distinguishes collaboration from cooperation and refers to an emerging notion of precariousness, a systemic instability. This in turn can be seen as the crisis associated with the shift and transition from cooperation to collaboration in modes of working together.

The nets of voluntariness, enthusiasm, creativity, immense pressure, ever increasing self-doubt and desperation are temporary and fluid; they take on multiple forms but always refer to a permanent state of insecurity and precariousness, the blueprint for widespread forms of occupation and employment within society. They reveal the other side of immaterial labour, hidden in the rhetoric of ‘working together’.

6.

Today it is tremendously urgent to learn how to deal with such excess. This is not simply the realm of an exclusive minority of geeks, nerds, drop-outs and neurotic freelancers; it invests a rapidly growing global immaterial labour force that is confronted with the prospect of life-long learning without the complimentary prospect of there ever having a teacher or a schoolbook in store, because knowledge emerges as useless as soon as it can be commodified and reproduced as such.

The crucial question is how a form of education to collaboration is possible that is not reduced ad absurdum to become the application of truism after truism. Certainly this would not mean the staging of a collaborative process within the classroom or other spaces of learning. This debate can take place at a meta-level or around the issue of “un-organizing” oneself in order to be aware and ready for the future challenges of collaborative working environments. It can take place in the fragmentation of the components of bodies of knowledge and their re-alignment with one another according to other principles. Or it can take place in the removing of pre-determined directions around the flows of knowledge.

Cooperation necessarily takes place in client-server architectures. It follows a metaphorical narrative structure, where the coherent assignment of each part and its relation to the others gets reproduced over and over again. The current educational system mirrors this structure and is therefore essentially incapable of responding to contemporary challenges, let alone future ones. Even worse, the more the system attempts to re-modernize itself, the more it sinks in the swamp of commodification, homogenization and hierarchization. Obviously the problem lies with the educational system’s understanding of what contemporary imperatives are and its insistence that these must have an ‘applicable’ function. If a model of collaboration were to be applied to educational cultures, then it would have to accept an inability to predetermine outcomes even while sharing a set of aspirations or directives or being anchored in a set of recognised problematics.

7.

Collaboration entails rhizomatic structures where knowledge grows exuberantly and proliferates in unforeseeable ways. In contrast to cooperation, which always implies an organic model and a transcendent function, collaboration is a strictly immanent and wild praxis. Every collaborative activity begins and ends within the framework of the collaboration. It has no external goal and cannot be decreed; it is strict intransitivity, it takes place, so to speak, for its own sake.

Collaborations are voracious. Once they are set into motion they can rapidly beset and affect entire modes of production. “Free” or “open source” software development is probably the most prominent example for the transformative power of collaboration to ‘un-define’ the relationships between authors and producers on one side and users and consumers on the other side. It imposes a paradigm that treats every user as a potential

collaborator who could effectively join the development of the code regardless of their actual interests and capacities. Participation becomes virtual: It is enough that one could contribute a patch or file an issue, one does not necessarily have to do it in order to enjoy the dynamics, the efficacy and the essential openness of a collaboration.

In the last instance, the democratic or egalitarian ambition has migrated into the realm of the virtual: open source developer groups usually do not follow the patterns and rules of representative democracy, the radical notion of equality reveals in the general condition that everyone has instant and unrestricted access to the entire set of resources that form a development. The result is as simple as it is convincing: those who disagree may ‘fork’ and start their own development branch without loosing access to the means of production.

On the internet, distributed non-hierarchical information architectures are characterized as “peer-to-peer” (P2P) networks. They emerged in the 1990s and triggered a revolution of the conventional distribution model. These networks were first designed to exchange immaterial resources such as computing time or bandwidth, mainly in scientific academic contexts. Their aim was to overcome technological limits, incapacities and shortages by combining the existing free resources.

Since the late 1990s the same network architecture has been used to exchange relevant content: music and movies were distributed amongst ordinary personal computers that worked as both downstream and upstream nodes in mushrooming networks.

The enormous success of these projects, from “Napster” to “BitTorrent” – currently estimated to account for nearly half of the total of internet traffic – enabled people who do not know each other and probably prefer to not know each other to actually ‘share’ their hard drives. In fact, their anonymous relationships are based on the irony of sharing, even in a strictly mathematical sense: due to lossless and cost-free digital copying the object of desire is indeed multiplied rather than divided.

In the last instance collaborations are driven by the desire to create difference and refuse the absolutistic power of organization. Collaboration entails overcoming scarcity and inequality and struggling for the freedom to produce. It carries an immense social potential, as it is a form of realisation and experience of the unlimited creativity of a multiplicity of all productive practices.

The possibility of relating these notions of collaboration to contemporary education and pedagogy, have less to do with emulating their operating modes and more to do with their ability to inspire a realignment of the relations in the field. Not limited to the seemingly good intentions and democratising impulses of the ‘working-together’ dimension of collaboration, in education this might mean rethinking both the direction and flow of its activities. For example, the shifting of the focus of attention away from the exclusive direction of instructor to the instructed, or shifting the directions of the exchanges that take place towards a circulation that values everything which is already within it. It might also mean thinking education’s outcomes away from previously established criteria and towards the ability to constantly affect and restructure its own field.

Prije nekoliko mjeseci prijatelj mi je poslao sljedeću izreku talijanskog komičara Beppea Grilla: „Talijani su već dugo u [političkoj] komi. Mi smo uvijek u potrazi za manjim zlom. Ustvari, trebali bismo podići spomenik tom ‘manjem zlu’. Golem spomenik u središtu Rima.“

Kada bi itko ikada od mene zatražio da izgradim takav spomenik, vjerojatno bih potražio neki visoki brežuljak i postavio brojke 665 (poput divovskih holivudskih slova) da se nadvijaju nad središtem grada – samo stupanj manje od zla, brojač koji prikazuje činjenicu da se naše društvo pretvorilo u računalni stroj.

Doista, načelo „manjega zla“ počelo se tako upadljivo poistovjećivati s etičko-političkim temeljima liberalnog kapitalizma (i njegova političkog sustava, koji rado nazivamo demokracijom) i tako ustrajno naturalizirati u običnom govoru da se čini kako je ono postalo “novo dobro”. Komentirajući relativne zasluge demokracije nedugo nakon završetka Drugog svjetskog rata, Winston Churchill je možda začeo taj trend kada je cinično primijetio kako se „kaže da je demokracija najgori oblik vladavine, osim svih drugih koji su povremeno iskušavani“. Otada, a osobito nakon što su se desetak godina nakon početka Hladnoga rata počeli otkrivati užasi Sovjetskog Saveza (i Trećega svijeta), projekcija totalitarnih užasa mobilizirana je, bez obzira na iskrenu brigu za prava pojedinca, kako bi se obustavila svaka potraga za drugačijim oblikom politike. Naposljetu je medijalizirana sablast tih okrutnosti bila ono što je prisililo javnost da neprestano odvaguje liberalni nered u odnosu na gora zla totalitarne tiranije, u prilog onom prvom. U usporedbi s užasima totalitarizma, taj neegalitarni i nepravedni režim predstavljan je kao odgovorno manje zlo“, „najbolji od svih mogućih svjetova“ i nužna barijera prema ponovnom padu u krvave diktature.¹ Taj višestruki politički pomak unutar ljevice uvelike su poticali zapadni “radikali” nakon 1968., prebacivši žarište svojeg političkog angažmana na kritiziranje ljevičarskih totalitarnih režima širom Drugog i Trećeg svijeta, istodobno se zalažući za autonomiju civilnog društva kod kuće. Ideje koje su zastupali ti uglavnom francuski nouveaux philosophes – “držimo se onoga što imamo, jer drugdje je još gore” – pokazale su da je za liberale “zlo” uvijek negdje drugdje, vrebajući iza svakog pokušaja političke transformacije.² Hannah Arendt, koja je dospjela najdalje u analizi i usporedbi političkih sustava totalitarizma, i čije se djelo Izvori totalitarizma veoma često navodi u vezi s tim “anti-totalističkim” pomakom unutar ljevice, uočila je snažan utjecaj načela “manjega zla”, ne samo u operativnom modusu liberalnog kapitalizma, nego i u načinu na koji totalitarni sustav nastoji kamuflirati svoje radikalno djelovanje pred onima koji tek trebaju biti inicirani – a to je većina građanskih podanika koji su potrebni kako bi stvari funkcionirale dok se ne stvori “novi čovjek”. Pišući o kolaboraciji i suradnji običnih Nijemaca s nacističkim režimom, uglavnom onih uposlenih u Civilnoj službi (ali i židovskih vijeća koja su uspostavili nacisti), Arendtova je pokazala kako je ar-

gument manjega zla postao jednim od najvažnijih "mehanizama ugrađenih u mašineriju terora i zločina". Objasnila je kako je "prihvaćanje manjega zla nesvesno korišteno u kondicioniranju vladinih službenika, kao i šireg stanovništva, sve do prihvaćanja zla kao takvog", do te mjere da "oni koji izaberu manje zlo veoma brzo zaborave da su izabrali zlo".³ Protiv svih onih koji su ostali u Njemačkoj kako bi poboljšali stvari iznutra, protiv svih činova suradnje, osobito onih koji su poduzimani radi ublažavanja štete, protiv argumentacije da je "manje zlo" kolaboracije s brutalnim režimima prihvatljivo ako može spriječiti ili odvratiti veća zla, ona je pozvala na individualnu neposlušnost i kolektivni nered. Sudjelovanje, ustrajala je ona, komunicira pristanak; čak što više, ono nudi potporu tlačitelju. Kada ništa drugo nije moguće, ne činiti ništa posljednji je učinkoviti oblik otpora, a praktične posljedice odbijanja gotovo su uvijek bolje, pod uvjetom da to čini dovoljno ljudi. U svome eseju "Jaja progovaraju", što je sarkastična referencija na Staljinovu izreku kako "ne možeš napraviti omlet, a da ne razbiješ nekoliko jaja", Arendtova se založila za "radikalnu negaciju čitavog koncepta manjega zla u politici".⁴

U njezinim spisima načelo manjega zla predstavlja se kao paradigmatski kompromis i česta iznimka u odnosu na "opću etiku", do te mjere da je postalo najčešćim opravdanjem za samu ideju iznimke. Upravo u tom naizgled pragmatičnom pristupu manje zlo naturalizira zločine i druge oblike nepravde, djelujući kao glavni argument u državnom režimu opravdanja – ljudi i režimi skloni su izmišljati retroaktivna objašnjenja za činove okrutnosti. Što više, Arendtova promatra proračun i mjerjenje dobra i zla, poput statističkih trendova u znanostima o društvu, kao nešto što umanjuje vrijednost osobne odgovornosti. Čim se na etiku počne gledati u obliku ekonomije, a problemi se izražavaju u brojkama, te se brojke mogu beskonačno mijenjati i obratiti. I napisljetu, uvjete manjega zla često postavlja sila sa svoga gledišta. Koristeći formulaciju do koje je došla zajedno s Mary McCarthy, Arendtova je objasnila: "Ako ti netko uperi pištolj u glavu i kaže, "Ubij svoga prijatelja ili će ja ubiti tebe", on te dovodi u iskušenje, to je sve".⁵

Važno je primijetiti da je, govoreći o političkim opcijama koje su bile na raspolaganju ljudima u poslijeratnim zapadnim državama, Arendtova izrazila daleko manju osudu u pogledu načela "manjega zla". Implicitala je da tu opcije ipak uključuju različite oblike kompromisa i mjere.⁶ Drugim riječima, prikazala je manje zlo kao lažnu dilemu u suočenosti s totalitarnim režimom, koji po sebi nema koncepta manjega zla (totalitaristi naprosto kamufliraju svoje postupke kao manja zla), ali i kao dio same političke strukture u kontekstu zapadnih demokracija Hladnoga rata. Prihvatali ih mi ili ne, distinkcije na koje je uputila ukazuju na moguću razliku unutar termina te bi nas mogle povesti prema dalnjem otvaranju koncepta. Razne povjesne i filozofske uporabe sintagme manjega zla pokazuju da je ona u različitim razdobljima i različitim situacijama označavala različite stvari za različite ljudе. Postoji razlika između maskiranja zločinačkog čina kao "manjega zla", izbora manjega od dvaju zala i nastojanja da se svijet učini nešto manje zlim, a da se uz to još uvijek pridržavamo svojih ciljeva.

Želio bih podijeliti uporabu sintagme "manje zlo" na dva dijela – specifični i opći. Specifična varijanta predstavlja se nekoj osobi ili skupini kao dilema između dviju (ili više) loših opcija u danoj situaciji. Opća varijanta je strukturalno načelo u ekonomiji etičkih proračuna, a očituje se u pokušajima da se reducira ili umanji ono što je loše i

uveća dobro. Oba slučaja potvrđuju ekonomski model koji je ukorijenjen u samom srcu etike i prema kojemu se, u odsutnosti mogućnosti da se izbjegne svako zlo, moraju proračunati različiti oblici nesreće u međusobnom odnosu (kao da su algoritmi u matematičkom problemu minimuma) te ih procijeniti i postupiti u skladu s time. Načelo manjega zla implicira da ne postoji način izbjegavanja proračuna. Kao dilema, “manje zlo” se predstavlja kao nužnost izbora djelovanja u situacijama gdje su dostupne opcije ograničene ili se takvima čine. To je dilema u klasičnom grčkom smislu riječi – kada svaka od dviju opcija pred koje je postavljen tragični junak nužno vodi u specifičnu vrstu patnje.

Dilema uključuje zatvoreni sustav u kojem se opcije koje su ponuđene na izbor ne mogu dovesti u pitanje niti se o njima može pregovarati. Bez obzira na to koja se opcija odabere, prihvaćanje odgovarajućih uvjeta ostavlja (političku) silu koja je postavila taj “izbor” neizazvanom i čak je ojačava. Upravo je prihvaćanje parametara, u onom obliku u kojem su dati, ono što čini argument manjega zla čisto ideološkim. Stoga dilema, želimo li i dalje razmišljati u tim okvirima, ne bi trebala biti samo u tome koju od loših opcija treba izabrati, nego i treba li uopće birati i na taj način prihvatiti dotične uvjete. Ako se od nas traži da izaberemo između dvaju rogova razjarenog bika, Robert Pirsig je predložio alternative: moguće je “odbiti ući u arenu”, “baciti biku pijesak u oči” ili čak “uspavati bika pjesmom”.⁷

“Počinitelji manjih zala”

Termin “manje zlo” u novije se vrijeme znakovito priziva u kontekstu pokušaja da se ublaže ekscesi zapadnih zemalja, osobito u vezi s pokušajima uspostavljanja nadzora nad ekonomijama nasilja u kontekstu “rata protiv terora” i pokušajima privatnih organizacija da manevriraju kroz paradokse i kompromise u aktivizmu za ljudska prava i humanitarnoj pomoći. Točnije rečeno, manje zlo najčešće se priziva na samom križištu tih dviju sfera djelovanja – vojne i humanitarne. U vezi s “globalnim ratom protiv terora” uvjeti te argumentacije nedavno su artikulirani u knjizi naslovljenoj *The Lesser Evil*, koju je napisao znanstvenik ljudskih prava, a sada i zamjenik vođe kanadske Liberalne stranke, Michael Ignatieff. U toj knjizi Ignatieff tvrdi kako bi liberalne države trebale uspostaviti mehanizme kojima bi se reguliralo kršenje nekih prava i dopustilo njihovim sigurnosnim službama da se upuste u određene oblike izvanpravnog nasilja – koji su u njihovim očima “manja zla” – kako bi se odvratila ili minimalizirala potencijalna “veća zla”, poput daljinjih terorističkih napada na civile u zapadnim državama. Njegova koncepcija manjeg zla predstavlja se kao čin uspostavljanja ravnoteže, budući da bi njegov fleksibilni režim iznimaka trebao biti reguliran procesom “protivničkog preispitivanja u otvorenom demokratskom sustavu” te mu je stoga također svrha spriječiti pretvorbu liberalne države u totalitarnu tako što će “privremeno” dati prvenstvo sigurnosnim službama.⁸ Ignatieff poziva sigurnosne službenike liberalnih demokracija da postanu “počiniteljima manjih zala”.⁹

Ti postmoderni počinitelji (manje zlo tu svakako zamjenjuje “banalnost zla” kao suvremena forma državnih zločina) trebali bi odvagnuti različite tipove destruktivnih mjera na utilitaristički način, ne s obzirom na uništenje koje će proizvesti, nego s obzirom na štetu koju će navodno spriječiti. Međutim, očito je da se u toj računici najčešće radi o

tuđoj patnji. Ignatieffjeva koncepcija “manjega zla” problematična je čak i s obzirom na utilitaristička načela na koja se poziva. Sama ekonomija nasilja pretpostavlja mogućnost manje nasilnih sredstava i rizik od većeg nasilja, ali pitanja nasilja redovito su nepredvidiva i neodređena. Navodno “manje zlo” moglo bi uvijek ispasti nasilnije od nasilja kojemu se suprotstavlja i možda neće biti kraja izazovima koji proistječu iz nemogućnosti proračuna.¹⁰ Manje brutalna mjera također je mjera koju je lako naturalizirati, prihvativi i tolerirati.¹¹ A kada se izuzetne mjere normaliziraju, moguće ih je češće primjenjivati. Navodna vojna sposobnost provođenja “kontroliranog”, “elegantnog”, “krajnje preciznog” i “diskriminirajućeg” ubijanja mogla bi izazvati više uništenja i smrti nego što su to učinile “tradicionalne strategije”, budući da te metode, u kombinaciji s manipulacijskom i euforičnom retorikom koja se koristi kako bi ih se promicalo, potiču donositelje odluka da autoriziraju njihovu čestu i proširenu primjenu. Iluzija o preciznosti, koja je dio državne retorike prisile, daje vojno-političkom aparatu nužno opravdanje za korištenje eksploziva u civilnim sredinama gdje njihova uporaba ne može proći bez ranjanja ili ubijanja civila. Taj proces, koji priziva u sjećanja analizu “represivne tolerancije” Herberta Marcusea, može objasniti način na koji zapadna demokratska društva uspijevaju održavati režime brutalne vojne dominacije, a da ta brutalnost pritom ne ometa njihovu percepciju sebe samih kao prosvijećenih liberala. Na primjer, uzdizanje ciljanih ubojstava (Ignatieff smatra da ciljano ubojstvo pripada “učinkovitom moralno-političkom okviru manjega zla”) ¹² na razinu legalno i moralno prihvatljivog standarda čini ih dijelom državnih zakonskih opcija, dijelom popisa protuterorističkih tehnika, s tim rezultatom da se gubi svaki osjećaj užasa zbog čina ubojstva. Što je niži prag nasilja koji se pripisuje određenom sredstvu i što je niži prag užasa koji izaziva njegova primjena, to ćešćom bi mogla postati njegova uporaba. Budući da pomaže normalizirati konflikt nižeg intenziteta, cjelokupno trajanje tog konflikta moglo bi se produžiti i naposljetu bi iz toga moglo proizaći još više manjih zala, s rezultatom da će se kumulativno počiniti veće zlo.¹³

Humanitarni paradoks manjega zla

Iz te perspektive moguće je uvidjeti da bi se diskurs i praksa humanitarnosti i ljudskih prava mogli paradoksalno okrenuti protiv naroda kojemu navodno pomažu. Kada svaki vojnik u onome što je George W. Bush nazvao “trupama suosjećanja” postane priučenim stručnjakom za humanitarnost, humanitarna skrb mogla bi sasvim lako postati izlikom za opravdanje “neutralnosti” prema nekom brutalnom sukobu (kao u Sarajevu) ili alibi za političku odluku o pokretanju “vojne intervencije” protiv neke suverene države (kao u Iraku).

Osim državnih aktera, među “počinitelje nužnog zla” nužno pripadaju i nedržavne organizacije. Od devedesetih godina do danas nastojanja da se stane na kraj kršenju ljudskih prava sve češće su platforma koja dopušta mogućnost kolaboracije NGO-aktivista i zapadnih vojnih sila. Osim činjenice da je moralizacija politike s pomoću termina kao što su “sloboda”, “ljudska prava” i “liberalna demokracija” dovela do sveopće depolitizacije, paradoks je u tome što ljudska prava i humanitarna akcija ustvari mogu pogoršati situaciju istog onog naroda kojemu se navodno došlo pomoći.

Paradoks manjeg zla pogđa i najneovisnije nevladine organizacije koje sačinjavaju različite sustave u ekologiji suvremenih ratnih i kriznih zona, uz vojsku i vladu.

Manje zlo je uobičajeno opravdanje za vojnog časnika koji pokušava raspolagati nečijim životom (i smrću) na "prosvjećen" način; to je i izvješće nadležnoga za sigurnost koji uvodi nova i "učinkovitija" oružja i prostorno-tehnološka sredstva dominacije, reklamirajući ih kao "humanitarnu tehnologiju". Smanjivanje zla čak je i logika koja određuje djelovanje onih subjekata u režimu koji – ponekad uz potporu organizacija za ljudska prava – ulaže peticije kako bi doveli u pitanje brutalnost takvih sredstava i sila. Manje zlo je argument humanitarnog djelatnika koji zahtijeva vojnu dozvolu za dopremanje živežnih namirnica i medicinske pomoći na mesta gdje je to ustvari dužnost nadležnih vojnih trupa.

Ta logika manjega zla ponekad zastire temeljne moralne razlike između raznih skupina koje sačinjavaju ekologiju sukoba i krize, budući da dopušta ranije spomenute momente suradnje. Znakovito je da je zapadni sustav dominacije naučio služiti se radom lokalnih i međunarodnih organizacija kako bi ispunile prazninu koju su iza sebe ostavile "disfunkcijske" vlade Trećega svijeta i upravljače životom umjesto njih. Štoviše, hitna i važna kritika koju mirovne organizacije često upućuju zapadnim vojnim silama, tvrdeći kako one dehumaniziraju svoje neprijatelje, maskira drugi proces, kojim vojska inkorporira u svoje operacije logiku samih humanitarnih organizacija i organizacija za očuvanje ljudskih prava koje su joj se u prošlosti suprotstavljale, pa čak nastoji s njima i neposredno surađivati.

U srži paradoksa manjega zla nalazi se taktički kompromis koji bi se mogao pogoršati sve do razine strukturalne nemogućnosti – i uvući državu i njezinu oporbu u uzajamni zagrljaj, pretvarajući nedržavne organizacije de facto u sudionike difuznog sustava vlasti. Citiramo li Slavoja Žižeka, država time "eksternalizira svoju etičku samosvijest prebacujući je na neko izvandržavno etičko-političko tijelo, dok to tijelo eksternalizira svoje pretenzije na učinkovitost prebacujući ih na državu".¹⁴ Na taj način ljudska prava i humanitarne nevladine organizacije mogu se baviti etičkim promišljanjima i donekle etičkom praksom, dok njihova država preuzima na sebe ubijanje.

Prostorni poredak suvremene vojne sile ne proizlazi samo iz niza otvorenih činova agresije, nego i iz pokušaja ublažavanja i sputavanja vlastitog nasilja.¹⁵ U novije vrijeme zapadne vojne sile počele su se služiti rječnikom međunarodnog prava, što ima za posljedicu to da su načela ljudskih prava poput "proporcionalnosti" postala kompatibilna s vojnim ciljevima poput "učinkovitosti".¹⁶

Vladavina zla (u dušama)

Uobičajena uporaba termina "manje zlo" skriva bogatu povijest i razne intelektualne putanje. Ono što bi se inače moglo činiti vječnim problemom, endemski prisutnim u etici i političkoj praksi, dilemom koja se naprsto uvijek iznova javlja u svakom pojedinom razdoblju u istom obliku i formi, ustvari otkriva nešto specifično o svakom povijesnom trenutku i situaciji. Različite putanje tog termina bacaju različite sjene na istraživanje manjega zla kao jednog od problema politike današnjice. Ono što slijedi nije sustavna povijest koncepta, nego prije nekoliko njezinih paradigmatskih momenata, početak mogućeg arhiva primjera argumentacije manjega zla.

Jedna od putanja koncepta manjega zla potekla je iz rane kršćanske teologije, nakon čega je sekularizirana i uvrštena u utilitarističke osnove liberalne etike. Ona je stvorila osnovu za filozofiju “etičkog realizma”, koju su različito formulirali George Kennan i Hans Morgenthau. Etički realizam ima korijene u misli sv. Augustina i sv. Tome Akvinskog, a ustraje na nekim etičkim ograničenjima država i vojne akcije. On vidi ulogu liberalnih država i osobito SAD-a u nastojanju da se ostvare moralni ciljevi poput “slobode”, “ljudskih prava” i “demokracije”. Sudbina SAD-a specifično i “Zapada” općenito jest da se bori protiv radikalnog zla, čiji bi se tragovi mogli pronaći u svakom projektu koji u sebi sadrži artikulaciju ideje “dobra” (vjerski fundamentalizam ili komunistički egalitarizam).

Jedna od komponenata ideje manjega zla se, međutim, izgubila u procesu njezine sekularizacije. Za crkvene oce, tolerancija manjega zla, kao što će kasnije pokazati, trebala bi se razumjeti s obzirom na vjerski telos spasenja. Neposredno reguliranje zla od strane Crkve smatrano je dijelom potrage za savršenstvom, koja čini nužnu fazu na putu prema transcendenciji – zamjeni zemaljskog kraljevstva nebeskim. Za razliku od nauka kršćanskih otaca, liberalna težnja za savršenstvom nije potraga za konačnom transformacijom. Bez transcendencije ona je zarobljena u neprekidnoj ekonomiji immanentnosti i mogla bi se bolje interpretirati kao poriv za “optimalizacijom” postojećeg sustava vladavine.¹⁷

Golema ekstrateritorijalna institucionalna mreža crkvenih pastira – Crkve kakva je oformljena i institucionalizirana otprilike početkom 4. stoljeća – suočila se s problemom manjega zla u kontekstu praktičnog i intelektualnog problema “vladavine nad dušama”. U svojim predavanjima o podrijetlu upravljaljivosti Michel Foucault je analizirao kršćanski oblik pastoralne vlasti. “Ekonomski teologija” nastojala je razumjeti upravljanje ljudskim i božanskim nalozima, od kojih svaki ima svoj immanentni red izvršenja. U odnosu na ljudsko djelovanje, božanska regulacija zla je i općenita i partikularna, budući da ima utjecaja i na pojedinca i na društvo, mnoštvo ljudi u stadu. Tako je kršćanski poredak istodobno djelovao individualizirajuće i kolektivizirajuće – pridajući vrijednost i pojedinačnoj osobi i zajednici, odnosno mnoštvu.¹⁸ Spasenje – izbavljenje od sile i kazne grijeha i zla te iskupljenje duše – stoga se nužno odnosi i na sve zajedno i na svakoga posebice. Taj oblik iskupljenja jedan je od aspekata opće i partikularne providnosti. Pastir mora skrbiti ne samo za dobrobit pojedinca i zajednice, nego i za totalitet dobra ili zla koje oni čine osobno i kolektivno.

Rasprave o partikularnoj providnosti organizirane su oko pitanja izbora ili slobodnog izbora – kako prepoznati i slijediti dobro te izbjegići зло. S druge strane, opća providnost oslanja se na izuzetno složenu interpersonalnu ekonomiju zasluga i grešaka – grijeha, poroka i vrlina – te operira prema specifičnim pravilima cirkulacije i prijenosa, sa složenim postupcima, analizama, računicama i taktikama koje dopuštaju upravo tu specifičnu interakciju između sukobljenih dobara i stupnjeva zla.¹⁹

Ali Foucault ne objašnjava kako bi se зло moglo razumjeti u smislu ekonomije. Izvor tog razumijevanja je nauk sv. Augustina. U ranoj kršćanskoj teologiji зло se više nije smatralo jednakopravnom suprotnošću dobru. Uslijed raskida s manihejstvom Augustin je prestao gledati na зло kao na nešto glamurozno demonsko, smatrajući ga otada pukom “odsutnošću dobra”, nedostatkom bića koje nema opstojnost samo po sebi. Zlo je sada relativno i diferencijalno, prepreka na putu prema savršenstvu, ono što стоји između čovjeka i dobra. Budući da зло nije apsolutno, demonsko ili savršeno, ono je zauvijek na

skali od manje ili više nečega, nečeg manjeg ili većeg.

Upravo je s pomoću te koncepcije zla Augustin prišao problemu manjega zla. Za njega manje zlo nije dopustivo, budući da očito krši Pavlovo načelo “ne činimo zlo da dode dobro”. Ipak, ono se može tolerirati u određenim okolnostima. Kako bi se manje zlo moglo tolerirati, situacija treba biti definirana na takav način da je zli ishod koji bi iz nje mogao proizaći nužna i neizbjegljiva posljedica izvršavanja individualnih i kolektivnih dužnosti. U Augustinovoj ekonomiji manjih i većih zala bolje je tolerirati prostitutke u društvu nego riskirati preljud i bolje je ubiti napadača prije nego što on uspije ubiti nedužnog putnika.²⁰ Na taj način načelo manjega zla stapa se s konceptom prevencije, a Augustinovo opravdanje za prevenciju tiče se pravednosti. Čak i rat može biti pravedan pod određenim uvjetima. Prema načelima pravednog rata, rat bi trebalo smatrati “pravednim” ako oni koji ga vode to čine s namjerom da rade dobro ili nastoje ispuniti neku pravednu svrhu (kao što su to stoljećima kasnije bili Križarski ratovi), ili pak sa željom da ostvare mir, što znači da ne vode rat u svrhu vlastite dobiti ili demonstracije sile. Osim toga, pravedne ratove moraju voditi propisno postavljene vlasti s organiziranom vojskom.

Stoga nije slučajnost da se diskurs o manjem zlu razvio u vrijeme kada je kršćanska Crkva stekla pravi apetit i pravu sposobnost za primjenu političke i vojne sile. Augustin, kršćanin iz 4. stoljeća, naučavao je u vrijeme kada je kršćanstvo već steklo moć upravljanja većim društvima te je pokušavao pomiriti kršćanski pacifizam sa svijetom politike i obvezama rimskih građana.

Važno je da je Augustin video smanjenje zla kao dio opće sklonosti prema dobru i potrage za preobrazbom. Za razliku od tradicije liberalne etike koja se na njega pozivala, u Augustinovu nauku napredovanje prema savršenstvu ne postiže se niti zadovoljava manjim nesavršenstvom. Samo želja za savršenstvom može u duši uništiti one aspekte zla koji je kaljaju.²¹ Takvo napredovanje – smanjenje zla – jedini je put prema savršenstvu i konačnoj preobrazbi zemaljskog kraljevstva u nebesko. Pojedinac mora težiti onoj vrsti savršenstva koja će ga dovesti bliže Bogu, pomoći prevladavanju onog zemaljskog i time potaknuti njegovu preobrazbu.

Općeniti aspekti problema manjega zla artikulirani su i u drugim teološkim raspravama o ekonomskoj osnovi božanske vladavine – pitanju o podrijetlu i regulaciji zla. Ono je bilo vezano uz vječno pitanje teološke filozofije: ako Bog upravlja svijetom i ako je Božja ekonomija nužno sasvim savršena, kako možemo objasniti zlo – prirodne katastrofe, bolest, zločine?

U kontekstu istraživanja ekonomije kao oblika upravljačke sile Giorgio Agamben raspravlja o jednoj od prvih formulacija tog pitanja, onoj Aleksandra iz Afrodizije, jednog od kasnijih komentatora Aristotela iz drugog stoljeća: Bog je u svojoj providnosti postavio opće zakone koji su uvijek dobri, ali zlo proizlazi iz tih zakona kao kolateralna nuspojava. Na primjer: kiša je očito nešto dobro, ali su kolateralne nuspojave kiše poplave. Kolateralne posljedice – loše posljedice božanske vladavine – stoga nisu akcidentalne, nego određuju samu strukturu vladalačkog djelovanja. Štoviše, upravo kroz te kolateralne posljedice božanska vladavina postaje djelatnom.

Tisuću petsto godina kasnije, Leibnitz je u svojoj Teodiceji pokušao riješiti isto vječno pitanje na ponešto drugačiji način. Njegova namjera također je bila pomiriti prividne greške i nesavršenosti u svijetu, što on čini tvrdnjom da je ovaj svijet najbolji od svih

mogućih svjetova: "Pokazati da je arhitekt mogao učiniti nešto bolje znači smatrati njegovo djelo manjkavim [...] ako je manje zlo relativno dobro, onda je manje dobro relativno zlo". Leibnitz razvija koncepciju Boga u stvaranju svijeta i upravljanju njime kao matematičar koji rješava problem minimuma u proračunu varijacija. Ovaj svijet mora biti najbolji mogući i najuravnoteženiji svijet, budući da ga je stvorio savršeni Bog. Bog upravlja tako što između beskonačnog broja mogućih svjetova određuje i bira onaj za koji je sveukupnost nužnoga zla minimalna. U Leibnizovoj složenoj božanskoj ekonomiji zlo po definiciji postoji na najnižoj mogućoj razini. Ako se zlo regulira na toj najnižoj razini, onda su sva zla ustvari uvjek manja zla. Iskaz da živimo u "najboljem od svih mogućih svjetova" čuveno je parodirao Voltaire u Candideu, gdje ga njegov lik nalik na Leibniza, dr. Pangloss, ponavlja kao mantru.

Računalni stroj za redukciju zla

Razni aspekti argumentacije manjega zla sekularizirani su i uvršteni u moderne artikulacije etike i politike. Foucault je tvrdio kako je upravo na osnovi "ekomske teologije" suvremena vlast – vladavina nad ljudima i stvarima – poprimila oblik ekonomije: "Mi prelazimo s umijeća vladanja prema načelima koja su bila izvedena iz tradicionalnih vrlina (mudrosti, pravednosti, slobodoumnosti, širokogrudnosti, poštivanja božanskih zakona i ljudskih običaja) [...] na umijeće vladanja koje pronalazi načelo svoje racionalnosti [...] u državi".²² Prema njegovu mišljenju, od kraja šesnaestog do osamnaestog stoljeća naslijede pastoralne vlasti asimilirano je u praksi vladavine – biopolitički oblik vlasti koja se vršio nad stanovništvom u svrhu regulacije i upravljanja njegovim zdravljem, srećom, sposobnošću reprodukcije i produktivnošću – dok se pastoralna vlast nad pojedincem – partikularna providnost – razvila u disciplinarnu tehnologiju koja subjektivizira pojedinca u različitim institucijama i zgradama: zatvoru, kasarni, školi i bolnici.

Nadovezujući se na Foucaultov rad na upravljivosti i disciplini te neposredno promišljajući pitanje manjega zla, filozof Adi Ophir pokazao je kako se panoptikum, osim što je mehanizam discipline, kontrole i subjektivizacije, također može protumačiti kao zatvoreni sustav za regulaciju i redukciju zla.²³ Tu je nužno spomenuti kako Bentham više nije promatrao dobro i zlo kao metafizičke kategorije, nego prije kao sveukupnost dobrih i loših stvari. On je definirao zadaću vlade kao minimalizaciju loših stvari i maksimalizaciju dobrih. Ta je ekonomija u središtu "načela korisnosti". Opći aspekt argumenta manjega zla stoga se tiče oblika u kojima se izražava "veće dobro".

Panoptikum, zatvoreni sustav koji regulira sve što se utječe u nj i istječe iz njega, prema Ophiru je mehanizam sa svrhom da omogući proračun (neka vrsta proto-kompjutera?) i redukciju zala.²⁴ Panoptikum je dizajniran tako da dovodi do savršenstva posljedice svakog čina koji se izvrši unutar njega. Opservacija i kontrola individualnih postupaka, koje panoptikum proizvodi, upravo je onaj uvjet koji čini proračun mogućim. Sustav je konstruiran tako da je, bez obzira na to koliko se zla unijelo, zajamčeno da će iz njega izaći "manje zlo". Iako taj stroj proizvodi kolateralno zlo – a Benthamu je jasno da su i sama kazna i trenje koje stroj proizvodi zlo – on jamči, kako je Bentham nastojao uvjeriti političare svoga vremena, redukciju tih zala i boli koju nanosi njihov tretman na nužni minimum. Ophir stoga tumači Benthamov panoptikum kao perpetuum mobile korisnosti, preteču panoptičkog društva koje je i samo postalo strojem za izračun i redukciju zala; kao sam dijagram biomoralu (nužni pandan biopolitici), usredotočen na povećanje sreće i

redukciju patnje.²⁵

Put prema utopiji popločan je manjim zlima

Argumenti manjega zla ne artikuliraju se samo s gledišta Moći, nego i u odnosu na pokušaje da se ona svrgne i zamjeni. Zanimljiv primjer nalazimo u raspravi o skraćenju radnoga dana u Marxovu *Kapitalu*. Za razliku od revolucionarnih i militantnih komunista koji su prosvjedovali protiv skliznuća u mlaku, reformističku politiku odabiranja manjega zla i ulaska u kompromis s kapitalom, koji bi mogao odvratiti borbu od apsolutnog idealja komunizma, Marx je smatrao da je postizanje desetosatnog radnog dana golema pobjeda za engleski proletarijat. Desetosatni radni dan umanjuje trajanje zla, ali "normalizira" i regulira izrabljivanje. S druge strane, prema Marxu, on omogućuje četrnaest sati provedenih izvan posla, tijekom kojih "radnik može zadovoljiti svoje intelektualne i društvene potrebe", te omogućuje proleterima da organiziraju i nastave borbu. Marxov argument bio je taj da manje zlo daje proleterima prostora za izgradnju organizacijske platforme, svijesti i iskustva koji su im potrebni za preuzimanje sredstava za proizvodnju. Ono stvara produktivne sile koje su sposobne za generiranje dovoljnog viška kako bi se socijalizmu i proletarijatu omogućilo da se nastavi boriti i izgradi nešto bolje.²⁶ Njegov krajnji cilj još uvijek je, dakako, bio ukidanje države. Ali razvijeni kapitalizam nije se samo smatrao manjim zlom u usporedbi s "primitivnom manufakturom", nego je također bio transformacija koja je činila bolji svijet mogućim. Marx je smatrao borbu za skraćenje radnoga dana jednim od putova koji se potencijalno otvara za buduću borbu: "ograničenje radnoga dana preliminarni je uvjet bez kojega bi nužno propali svi daljnji pokušaji poboljšanja i emancipacije".²⁷ Paradoksalna je činjenica, kao što znamo, da je do najveće ekspanzije britanske industrije došlo nakon sporazuma o normalizaciji radnog dana.

Slično tome, iako u drugo vrijeme, Lenjin, Kautsky, Luxemburg, Trocki (!) i Gramsci uhvatili su se u koštač s problemom borbe za kompromisne dobitke, ovdje i sada, s jedne strane, dok su se s druge također borili za bolji svijet. Oni su se u različitim momentima zalagali za taktičke borbe za neposredne dobitke, zastupajući sindikate, čija je funkcija bila postići bolji sporazum za radnike u izrabljivačkom sustavu; ali nitko od njih nije mislio da su sindikati sve što je moguće i nitko od njih nije bio zadovoljan pukim postizanjem boljeg sporazuma u tom izrabljivačkom sustavu.

Napetosti između evolucijskog i revolucionarnog marksizma artikulirale su se različito u odnosu na različite povjesne trenutke: tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata bila je to polemika protiv socijalpatriota, a Lenjin je naglašavao razliku između različitih razdoblja i tren-dova:

Za razliku od jučerašnjice, borba za socijalističku vlast sada je došla na dnevni red u Europi. Socijalistička radnička klasa stupila je na scenu kao kandidat za samu vlast. To znači da će možda još uvijek postojati "manja" i "veća" zla (jer njih će uvijek biti), ali mi ne moramo birati između tih zala, budući da predstavljamo alternativu jednima i drugima, alternativu koja je povijesno zrela. Štoviše, u uvjetima imperijalizma jedino ta revolucionarna alternativa nudi ikakav doista progresivan izlaz, ikakvu mogućnost ishoda koji uopće nije zlo. Oba ratna tabora nude samo reakcionarne posljedice, u "manjoj" ili

“većoj” mjeri.²⁸ Debata koju su artikulirali marksisti u različitim razdobljima vodila se o tome kako bi trebalo provesti političku transformaciju: na evolucijski način – postupnim približavanjem duž putanje poboljšanja (neka vrsta darvinske evolucije u kojoj je vladavina proletarijata povijesna nužnost) – ili pak na revolucionaran način, brzim i odlučnim raskidom s prošlošću. Drugim riječima, marksisti su u različitim razdobljima pitali treba li promjena stići smanjenjem boli – postaju li stvari postupno boljima sve dok ne budu dobre, uz opasnost da sa smanjenjem boli društvo postane zadovoljno i pomirljivo? (U tom slučaju bol bi trebalo smatrati sredstvom samodiscipliniranja). Na jednom kraju spektra u kojem manje zlo zauzima središte nalaze se utopistički apsolutisti, koji vjeruju da je svaki mogući dobitak u sadašnjosti beznačajan s obzirom na bitno kompromisno stanje svijeta. Dio strukture te argumentacije nalazimo u načelu politique du pire – politike koja čini stvari gorima kako bi ubrzala političku promjenu – ili u teoriji dolorizma, koji bol smatra duhovnim iskustvom koje dopušta ljudima da jasnije sagledaju stvarnost. Opasnost je, dakako, bila u tome da se stvari počnu naprsto sve više pogoršavati. Ustvari, marksisti su naizmjence koristili te pristupe u različitim razdobljima i situacijama, na taktički način.

Argument manjega zla artikulirao je na drugačiji način Herbert Marcuse u kontekstu rasprava koje su se ticale marksističkog stajališta prema fašističkoj prijetnji: u usporedbi s neofašističkim društvom, definiranim kao “suspenzija” građanskih prava i sloboda, suzbijanje svake oporbe, militarizacija i totalitarna manipulacija naroda te buržujska demokracija čak su i u svome monopolističkom obliku još uvijek nudili priliku (posljednju priliku?) za tranziciju u socijalizam te za obrazovanje (u teoriji i praksi) i organizaciju kako bi se ta tranzicija pripremila. Suočava li se nova ljevica, dakle, sa zadaćom obrane te demokracije? Obranom kao manjim zlom: manjim od samoubojstva i potlačenosti. A suočena je i sa zadaćom obrane te demokracije dok istodobno napada njezine kapitalističke temelje.²⁹

Marcuse je smatrao da je buržujska demokracija, s njezinom slobodom govora i udruživanja te prostorom za samoorganizaciju (radnika i žena, na primjer) po sebi manje zlo od diktature, ali da također nudi stvarnu mogućnost vlastite subverzije i konačne transformacije. “Braniti demokraciju i istodobno napadati njezine kapitalističke temelje” artikulacija je nužnog paradoksa: može li se braniti demokracija u njezinu liberalnom obliku protiv nadirućeg zla fašizma ako se čitavo to vrijeme napadaju njezini temelji?

Problem koji je artikulirao Marcuse donekle su relevantni za političke nedaće koje danas prate raznovrsne nevladine aktiviste: oni su, na primjer, nepopustljivi u oporbi prema neoliberalnom globalnom poretku i tržišnoj hegemoniji, ali istodobno koriste njihove (infra)strukture te čak povremeno surađuju s njihovim institucijama. Pregovaranje o tom paradoksu – a “pregovaranje” može zaslužiti to ime samo ako nastoji približiti nespojive pozicije – zacijelo je važan izazov za današnje aktiviste. Kako se angažirati u provođenju “manjeg zla”, ali nastojati mobilizirati učinak tog djelovanja u službi većih političkih zahtjeva; kako djelovati “iznutra” u sustavima, a da se istodobno gleda dalje od njih te se čak požuruje njihov kraj? Jasno je da je argument kako je načelo manjeg zla opasno jer može proizvesti više štete kontradiktoran, baš kao što je kontradiktorno tvrditi da je manje zlo izbjegavati argument manjega zla.³⁰ Ne sugeriram niti da bi trebalo dati prednost strašnim spektaklima “većih zala” nad inkrementalnom štetom

koju nanose “manja” ili da bi se nasilje današnjih sukoba trebalo učiniti (još) brutalnijim kako bi se pomirljivo stanovništvo šokiralo i natjeralo u mobilizaciju otpora (prag “nepodnošljivoga” dovoljno je elastičan da navede većinu ljudi da se lako prilagode i naviknu na osjećaj da se stvarnost sve više pogoršava); umjesto toga, želim reći da se oporba i otpor moraju usuditi razmišljati dalje od ekonomije i proračuna nasilja i patnje kakve promiče liberalna etika. Bavljenje političkom etikom manjega zla moglo bi se artikulirati tako da se zaobiđe zatvorena ekonomija koju određena “dilema” suočava s inzistiranjem na proširenju granica problema u prostoru i vremenu – ono prvo tako što će se nastojati prepoznati šire i zamršenije političke veze koje vode do određenog pitanja, a ovo drugo tako što će se gledati dalje u budućnost.

Nadam se da ću nedaće u kojima se nalaze današnje nevladine organizacije detaljnije artikulirati u kasnijim verzijama ovog teksta. Svrha je instalacije “665/The Lesser Evil” na izložbi *hanna* da započne razotkrivati taj problem predstavljajući neke od povijesti i suvremenih taktika takvih nastojanja te načine na koji su humanitarci i aktivisti ljudskih prava uhvaćeni u dileme i borbu dok se nastoje, uspješno ili neuspješno, oslobođiti iz uzajamnog zagrljaja s upravo onim organizacijama kojima se žestoko suprotstavljaju. Mnogi među tim aktivistima jasno vide da je kontraproduktivno prihvataći kratkovidni pragmatizam manjega zla, koji ostavlja netaknutim sadašnji modus vladavine, i traže načine da odu dalje od takvog djelovanja. Njihova današnja promišljanja odražavaju ona povijesna. Strateški planirana ili spontana akcija uvijek je neizbjegno stavljala aktiviste u arenu političkih borbi u kompromisne situacije koje se mogu lako pogoršati i pretvoriti u kontraproduktivno suučesništvo, ali ti oblici prakse moraju naći načina da, simultano i paradoksalno, dovedu u pitanje pretenzije na istinitost i osnove autoriteta sila s kojima surađuju i istodobno im se suprotstavljaju – upravo onih režima koji su pred nas postavili svoje bikove i zatim od nas zatražili da izaberemo manji od njihovih rogova.

Ovaj tekst proizašao je iz rasprava koje se odvijaju u okviru radionica, predavanja i filmove kojima je namjera istražiti strukturu argumenta manjega zla, a koje vodim zajedno s Thomasom Keenanom i Eyalom Sivanom. Želio bih zahvaliti Albertu Toscanu na korisnim komentarima.

Bilješke

1. Alain Badiou je najčešći kritičar tog poimanja: “Ako je žalosna država u kakvoj se nalazimo unatoč tome najbolja od svih realnih država [...] [Ako čovječanstvo] neće iznaci ništa bolje od parlamentarnih država koje trenutno postoje i oblika svijesti koji se s njima povezuju, to naprosto pokazuje da je do sada politička povijest ljudi iznjedriла samo ograničene inovacije i da smo samo likovi u nekoj pretpovijesnoj situaciji [...] [te nismo] na znatno višem stupnju od mrava i slonova”. Vidi: Alain Badiou, “Eight Theses on the Universal”, u: *Theoretical Writings*, ur. i prev. Ray Brassier i Alberto Toscano (London: Continuum, 2004.), 237. Renata Salecl uvela je Badiouov rad u raspravu u radionicu pod naslovom “Manja zla”, koju smo Thomas Keenan, Eyal Sivan i ja organizirali na Bard College u veljači 2008. Prezentacije su održali organizatori i Adi Ophir, Ariella Azoulay, Simon Critchley, Joshua Simon, Olivia Custer, Renata Salecl, Karen Sullivan i Roger Berkowitz. Salecl je uvela Badiouove ideje kroz interpretaciju intervjuja u dva dijela koji je Badiou dao za Cabinet Magazine prije i nakon 11. rujna (<http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/5/alainbadiou.php>). Salecl je dodala i nove, vlastite dvojbe: “Ako uopće ne znamo što su to dobro i zlo, kako možemo izabrati i kalkulirati? Ako zlo pruža toliki užitak, što onda znači “manje zlo”?”

2. Prema mišljenju Saleclove, za Badioua je zlo kada čovjeku nedostaje snaga za potragu za dobrom. Politika manjeg zla odustaje od tog događanja, odriče se tog poriva. Tijekom radionice na Bardu ona je postavila pitanje: “Postoji li nova teorija dobra, spremna za borbu protiv samozadovoljstva liberalizma?”

3. Hannah Arendt, *Responsibility and Judgment* (New York: Schocken, 2005.), 35. U svojoj prezentaciji na radionici Roger Berkowitz prikazao je argumentaciju Arendtovе protiv "manjeg zla" u kontekstu njezine misli o prosudbi, kao dio onoga što je nazvala "krizom prosudbe".
4. Hannah Arendt, "The Eggs Speak Up" (1950.), u: *Essays in Understanding, 1930-1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*, ur. Jerome Kohn (New York: Schocken, 2005.), 270-284; vidi osobito str. 271. Arendtova tvrdi kako je jedini Staljinov originalni doprinos socijalizmu bio taj što je razbijanje jaja pretvorio iz tragične nužnosti u revolucionarnu vrlinu.
5. Hannah Arendt, *Responsibility and Judgment* (New York: Schocken, 2005.), 37
6. U članku o segregaciji u južnjačkim školama, nakon što je natjerala čitatelje da shvate kako je protiv svakog oblika rasizma, Arendtova je izrazila skepsu u pogledu federalno promicane integracije, tvrdeći kako to politizira obrazovni sustav, za koji je vjerovala da treba biti imun na takve sile, i ustrajući na tome da bi opstanak Republike mogao zahtijevati da se borbena linija povuče negdje drugdje. Hannah Arendt, "Reflections on Little Rock", Dissent 6, no. 1 (1959.): 45-56.
7. Robert Pirsig, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (New York: Bantam, 1974.).
8. Michael Ignatieff, *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.).
9. Ibid., 152.
10. Tijekom radionice „Manja zla“ na Bardu, interpretirajući Ignatieffljevu knjigu, Thomas Keenan je ukazao na nemogućnost proračuna zala. Odbacujući ideju o stupnjevima nasilja, upotrijebio je Derridinu formulaciju i ustvrdio: "Nije li i najblaže nasilje uvijek istodobno najveće nasilje?" Također je ukazao na zabluđu u pretpostavljenoj razlici između kvalitativne i kvantitativne prosudbe zla, pitajući ne može li kvantitativna preči prag i također postati kvalitativnom.
11. Adi Ophir, *The Order of Evils*, sekcija 7.100, kao i 7.2 i 7.3. Vidi, na primjer, 7.335.
12. I to pod sljedećim uvjetima: da se "primjenjuju na najmanji mogući broj ljudi, koriste kao zadnje pribježište i provode pod protivničkim nadzorom u otvorenom demokratskom sustavu". Također, "ubojsvo se može opravdati samo ako alternativne poput uhićenja i zarobljavanja, koje manje nasilno ugrožavaju [...] osoblje i civilne, nisu moguće i ondje gdje su poduzete sve razumne mјere predostrožnosti kako bi se minimalizirala kolateralna šteta i poštujeli civilni". Ignatieff, *The Lesser Evil*, 8, 129-133.
13. Upravo je to načelo ono što jamči, paradoksalno, da bi sva "veća dobra" mogla nužno postati "veća zla". Zdravstveni ekonomisti imaju jezovitu i zanimljivu verziju te ekonomije proračuna, "vrijednost statističkog života" ili VSL (value of statistical life), koja im pomaže da izadu na kraj s onime što neki od njezinih zagovornika smatraju doskočicom: "sprečavanje svake slučajne smrti bilo bi nedopustivo skupo u pogledu novca i također kvalitete života". Vidi: Nina Power i Alberto Toscano, "The Philosophy of Restoration: Alain Badiou and the Enemies of May", uskoro izlazi u: Boundary 2.
14. Slavoj Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes* (London: Verso, 2008.), 349.
15. Michel Feher, "The Governed in Politics", u: *Nongovernmental Politics*, ur. Michel Feher (New York: Zone, 2007.), 12-27, osobito 21.
16. David Kennedy, *The Dark Sides of Virtue: Reassessing International Humanitarianism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.), 235-323, osobito 295.
17. Anatol Lieven i John Hulsman, *Ethical Realism: A Vision for America's Role in the World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006.).
18. Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977-1978*, ur. Arnold I. Davidson, prev. Graham Burchell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.), 164-173. Imanentni nered koji su provodili pastiri

sastojao se u "vještini rukovodenja, upravljanja, vodstva, upućivanja, uzimanja u svoje ruke i manipuliranja ljudima, vještini nadgledanja i uređivanja ljudi... vještini preuzimanja vodstva nad ljudima kolektivno i individualno, tijekom čitavog života i u svakom trenutku njihova postojanja" (173).

19. Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*.
(fali referenca)

20. Augustin je smatrao da prostitutke valja tolerirati "zato što ispunjavaju sličnu funkciju u društvu kao što je ona kanalizacije u palači". Govoreći kroz Evodija, on kaže sljedeće: "Daleko je prikladnije ubiti čovjeka koji napadne život drugoga nego da strada onaj koji brani vlastiti život; i daleko je okrutnije dopustiti da netko podnosi nasilje nego da nasilnika ubije onaj koji je trebao postati njegovom žrtvom" (118, De lib. arb. I.v.12)<>. U svojoj prezentaciji tijekom radionice o Manjim zlima na Bardu Karen Sullivan je prikazala Augustinov nauk o laži kao jedan od rijetkih slučajeva u kojima kompromis manjega zla čak nije niti moguć. "Laž je zločin protiv istine, izopačavanje govora" i imperativ protiv njega ne smije se prekršiti ni u kojem slučaju, čak ni kako bi se spasilo nedužne ljude. Budući da ima tako univerzalan učinak, laž je gora od ubojstva; jer ovo potonje može se tolerirati u određenim okolnostima, u skladu s načelom manjega zla.

21. Simone Weil, *Oppression and Liberty* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2001.), navod u: Peter Paik Yoonsuk, "The Pessimist Rearmed: Zizek On Christianity And Revolution", Theory & Event 8, no. 2 (2005.). Karen Sullivan je zaključila nešto slično u svojoj raspravi o Augustinu.

22. Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 163, 183.

23. Adi Ophir tijekom radionice o Manjim zlima na Bardu.

24. Benthamov predgovor Panoptikumu otvara se popisom prednosti koje može donijeti ta inspekcijska kuća: "Reforma morala – očuvanje zdravlja – oživljavanje privrede – širenje obrazovanja – otorećenje države – stabilizacija ekonomije [...] sve to zahvaljujući jednostavnoj arhitektonskoj ideji".

25. Bentham je vjerovao da bi se panoptikum mogao odmah ispraviti. Za razliku od toga, Ophir je primijetio kako "zatvoreni sustavi kojima upravljaju nesavršeni djelatnici i u kojima su izlazni troškovi veliki obično proizvode veća, a ne manja zla..." Termin "biomoral" preuzet je od Žižeka, *In Defence of Lost Causes* (London: Verso, 2008.), 50.

26. Engels se zalaže za pozitivni učinak sporazuma o desetosatnom radnom danu iz sasvim drugačijih razloga: "Da je Zakon o desetosatnom radnom danu konačna mjera, Engleska bi bila uništena, ali budući da on nužno zahtijeva donošenje dodatnih mjeru, koje moraju povesti Englesku sasvim drugačijim putem od onoga kojim je išla do sada, to će značiti napredak". Kada bi engleska privreda podlegla konkurenциji stranih zemalja, revolucija bi bila neizbjegljiva.

27. Karl Marx, *Kapital*, englesko izdanje <http://www.bibliomania.com/2/1/261/1294/frameset.html>"<http://www.bibliomania.com/2/1/261/1294/frameset.html>". Vidi: "The Working Day", osobito sekcije 6 i 7.

28. Hal Draper, "The Myth of Lenin's 'Revolutionary Defeatism'", <http://www.marxists.org/archive/draper/1953/defeat/chap1.htm>"<http://www.marxists.org/archive/draper/1953/defeat/chap1.htm>.

29. Herbert Marcuse, *Towards a Critical Theory of Society*, sv. 2 (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2001.), 169. Doprinos Joshue Simona radionici o Manjim zlima na Bardu bila je interpretacija Marxova Osammaestog brumairea Louisa Bonapartea, gdje je iznio iste zaključke o odnosu marksizma i fašizma.

30. Tijekom radionice na Bardu Adi Ophir je to usporedio s izjavom samog Bentham-a: "Načelo korisnosti (kako sam čuo) opasno je načelo: u određenim okolnostima opasno mu je pribjeći' To praktički znači što? Da nije u skladu s korisnošću pribjeći korisnosti: ukratko, da joj se pribjegava ne pribjegavajući joj". Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789.), pogl. 1, "Of The Principle Of Utility".

31. Feher, *Nongovernmental Politics*, 21.

Eyal Weizman

665/The Lesser Evil

A few months ago a friend sent me the following lines by the Italian comedian Beppe Grillo: “For a long time Italians have been in a [political] coma. We are always in search of the lesser evil. In fact, we should construct a monument for the ‘lesser evil’. A huge monument in the middle of Rome”.

If anyone ever asked me to build such a monument, in Rome or elsewhere, I would probably look for a high hill and place the digits 665 (like giant Hollywood letters) overlooking the city centre – a notch less than evil, a counter displaying the fact that our society has become a calculating machine.

Indeed the principle of the “lesser evil” has become so prominently identified with the ethico-political foundations of liberal capitalism (and its political system that we like to call democracy) and so firmly naturalized in common speech that it seems to have become the ‘new good’. Commenting upon the comparative merits of democracy shortly after the end of World War II, Winston Churchill may have inaugurated this trend when he sardonically noted that “it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time”. Since then and increasingly since Soviet (and Third World) horrors began to be exposed a decade into the Cold War, the projection of totalitarian horrors has been mobilized, beyond a frank concern for individual rights, to stop all search for a different form of politics. It was ultimately the mediated spectre of these atrocities that compelled the public to constantly weigh liberal disorder against the worse evils of totalitarian tyranny in favour of the former. In comparison to the horrors of totalitarianism, this inegalitarian and unjust regime was presented as a responsible “lesser evil”, “the best of all worlds possible”, and as a necessary barrier against regress to bloody dictatorships.¹ This multifaceted political shift within the left was largely promoted by post-1968 Western ‘radicals’ who switched the focus of their political engagement to criticizing left-totalitarian regimes across the Second and Third worlds, while arguing for the autonomy of civil society at home. The notions espoused by these largely French *nouveaux philosophes* – “Let’s hold on to what we have, because there is worse elsewhere” – demonstrated that for liberals “evil” was always somewhere else, lurking behind any attempt at political transformation.²

Hannah Arendt, the thinker who has done most to analyze and compare the political systems of totalitarianism, and whose work *The Origins of Totalitarianism* was most often mobilized in relation to this ‘anti-totalitarian’ shift in the left, saw the principle of the “lesser evil” strongly at work, not only in the ‘making-do’ of liberal capitalism but in the way the totalitarian system tended to camouflage its radical actions from those yet to be initiated – the majority of bourgeois subjects needed to run things until a ‘new man’ was created. Writing about the collaboration and cooperation of ordinary Germans with the Nazi regime, mainly by those employed in the Civil Service (but also by the Jewish

councils set up by the Nazis), she showed how the argument for the “lesser evil” has become one of the most important “mechanisms built into the machinery of terror and crimes”. She explained that “acceptance of lesser evils [has been] consciously used in conditioning government officials as well as the population at large to the acceptance of evil as such”, to the degree that “those who choose the lesser evil forget very quickly that they chose evil”.³ Against all those who stayed in Germany to make things better from within, against all acts of collaboration, especially those undertaken for the sake of the moderation of harm, against the argument that the “lesser evil” of collaboration with brutal regimes is acceptable if it might prevent or divert greater evils, she called for individual disobedience and collective disorder. Participation, she insisted, communicated consent; moreover, it handed support to the oppressor. When nothing else was possible, to do *nothing* was the last effective form of resistance, and the practical consequences of refusal were nearly always better if enough people refused. In her essay “The Eggs Speak Up”, a sarcastic reference to Stalin’s dictum that “you can’t make an omelet without breaking a few eggs”, Arendt pleaded for “a radical negation of the whole concept of lesser evil in politics”.⁴

In Arendt’s writings the principle of the “lesser evil” is presented as a pragmatic compromise and frequent exception to ‘common ethics’, to the degree that it has become the most common justification for the very notion of exception. It is in this seemingly pragmatic approach that the principle of the lesser evil naturalizes crimes and other forms of injustice, acting as a main argument in the state’s regime of justification – people and regimes tend to invent retroactive explanations for atrocious actions. Furthermore, Arendt saw the calculation and measurement of goods and evils, like statistical trends in the social sciences, as diminishing the value of personal responsibility. Once ethics is seen in the form of an economy, when issues are put into numbers, they can be changed and turned around endlessly. And lastly, the terms of the “lesser evil” are most often posed by and from the point of view of power. Using a formulation she conceived with Mary McCarthy, Arendt explained: “If somebody points a gun at you and says, ‘Kill your friend or I will kill you’, he is tempting you, that is all”.⁵

It is important to note that when speaking about the political options available to people living in the postwar western states, Arendt was much less damning about the principle of the “lesser evil”. She implied that these options did include various forms of compromise and measure.⁶ In other words, she described the “lesser evil” as a false dilemma when faced with a totalitarian regime that itself has no concept of the “lesser evil” (totalitarians simply camouflage their acts as lesser evils), but as a part of the very structure of politics in the context of Cold War western democracies. Whether we accept them or not, the distinctions she implied point to a possible difference within the term, and could lead us to open up the concept further. The various historical and philosophical uses of the “lesser evil” idiom demonstrate that it meant different things to different people at different periods in different situations. There is a difference between masking an act of perpetration as a “lesser evil”, choosing the lesser of two evils and trying to make the world a little less evil while still pursuing a cause.

I would like to divide the use of the idiom “lesser evil” into two – particular and general. The particular case is presented to a person or to a group of people as a dilemma

between two (or more) bad options in a given situation. The general case is the structuring principle in an economy of ethical calculations, manifested in attempts to reduce or lessen the bad and increase the good. Both cases affirm an economic model embedded at the heart of ethics according to which, in absence of the possibility to avoid all harm, various forms of misfortune must be calculated against each other (as if they were algorithms in a mathematical minimum problem), evaluated, and acted upon. The principle of the lesser evil implies that there is no way out of calculations.

As a dilemma, the “lesser evil” is presented as the necessity of a choice of action in situations where the available options are or seem to be limited. It is a dilemma in the classical Greek sense of the word – when each of the two options presented to the tragic hero necessarily lead to different forms of suffering. The dilemma implies a closed system in which the options presented for choice could not be questioned or negotiated. Regardless of what option is chosen, accepting the terms of the question leaves the (political) power that presented this ‘choice’ unchallenged and even reinforced. It is in accepting the parameters as given that the lesser evil argument is properly ideological. The dilemma, if we are still to think in its terms, should thus not only be about which of the bad options to choose, but whether to choose at all and thus accept the very terms of the question. When asked to choose between the two horns of an angry bull, Robert Pirsig suggested alternatives: one can “refuse to enter the arena”, “throw sand in the bull’s eyes”, or even “sing the bull to sleep”.⁷

The “Perpetrators of Lesser Evils”

The term “lesser evil” has recently been prominently invoked in the context of attempts to moderate the excesses of western states, in particular in relation to attempts to govern the economics of violence in the context of the ‘War on Terror’, and in private organizations’ attempts to manoeuvre through the paradoxes and complices of human rights action and humanitarian aid. More specifically, the “lesser evil” has been most often invoked at the very intersection of these two spheres of action – military and humanitarian. In relation to the ‘global War on Terror’, the terms of this argument were recently articulated in a book titled *The Lesser Evil* by human rights scholar and now deputy leader of the Liberal Party of Canada, Michael Ignatieff. In his book, Ignatieff suggests that liberal states should establish mechanisms to regulate the breach of some rights and allow their security services to engage in forms of extrajudicial violence – in his eyes, “lesser evils” – in order to fend off or minimize potential ‘greater evils’, such as further terror attacks on civilians of the western states. His conception of the “lesser evil” is presented as a balancing act because its flexible regime of exceptions should be regulated through a process of “adversarial scrutiny of an open democratic system” and is thus also aimed to prevent the transformation, through the ‘temporary’ primacy given to the security services, of the liberal state into a totalitarian one.⁸ Ignatieff calls for the security officials of liberal democracies to become the “perpetrators of lesser evils”.⁹ These postmodern perpetrators (the “lesser evil” should surely replace the “banality of evil” as the contemporary form of perpetration of crimes of state) should weigh various types of destructive measures in a utilitarian fashion, in relation not to the damage they produce but to the harm they purportedly prevent. The calculation, however, is obvi-

ously most often about the suffering of somebody else.

Ignatieff's conception of the "lesser evil" is problematic even according to the utilitarian principles invoked. The very economy of violence assumes the possibility of less violent means and the risk of more violence, but questions of violence are forever unpredictable and undetermined. The supposed "lesser evil" may always be more violent than the violence it opposes, and there can be no end to the challenges that stem from the impossibility of calculation.¹⁰ A less brutal measure is also one that can easily be naturalized, accepted and tolerated.¹¹ When exceptional means are normalised, they can be more frequently applied. The purported military ability to perform 'controlled', 'elegant', 'pin-point accurate', 'discriminate' killing could bring about more destruction and death than 'traditional' strategies did because these methods, combined with the manipulative and euphoric rhetoric used to promulgate them, induce decision makers to authorize their frequent and extended use. The illusion of precision, part of the state's rhetoric of restraint, gives the military-political apparatus the necessary justification to use explosives in civilian environments where they cannot be used without injuring or killing civilians. This process, recalling Herbert Marcuse's analysis of "repressive tolerance" may explain the way western democratic societies can maintain regimes of brutal military domination without this brutality affecting their self-perception as enlightened liberals. Elevating, for example, targeted assassinations (Ignatieff considers targeted assassination to fall "within the effective moral-political framework of the lesser evil")¹² to a legally and morally acceptable standard makes them part of the state's legal options, part of a list of counterterrorism techniques, with the result that all sense of horror at the act of murder is now lost. The lower the threshold of violence attributed to a certain means and the lower the threshold of horror implied in its use, the more frequent its application could become. Because they help normalise low-intensity conflict, the overall duration of this conflict could be extended and finally more "lesser evils" could be committed, with the result of the greater evil reached cumulatively.¹³

The Humanitarian Paradox of the "Lesser Evil"

From this perspective it is possible to see that the discourse and practice of humanitarianism and human rights might paradoxically turn against the people it claims to help. When every soldier in what George W. Bush has called "the armies of compassion" becomes a proxy expert in humanitarianism, humanitarian concerns could easily become a pretext to justify 'neutrality' with respect to a brutal conflict (as in Sarajevo) or an alibi for a political decision to mount a 'military intervention' against a sovereign state (as in Iraq).

Beyond state agents, the "perpetrators of lesser evil" must also include non-state organizations. Putting an end to human rights violations has become, increasingly since the 1990s, the platform that allows for the possibility of collaboration between NGO activists and Western militaries. Beyond the fact that the moralization of politics through the terms "freedom", "human rights" and "liberal democracy" has led to a general depolitization, the paradox is that human rights and humanitarian action can in fact aggravate the situation of the very people it purportedly comes to aid.

The paradox of the "lesser evil" impacts most independent non-governmental organiza-

tions that make up the various systems in the ecology of contemporary war and crisis zones, in addition to the military and the government.

“Lesser evil” is the common justification of the military officer who attempts to administer life (and death) in an ‘enlightened’ manner; it is the brief of the security contractor who introduces new and more ‘efficient’ weapons and spatio-technological means of domination and advertises them as ‘humanitarian technology’. Lessening evil is moreover the logic defining the actions of the subjects of this regime, who, sometimes assisted by human rights organizations, lodge petitions challenging the brutality of these means and powers. “Lesser evil” is the argument of the humanitarian agent as he seeks military permission for providing life substances and medical help in places where it is in fact the duty of the military in control.

This logic of the “lesser evil” somewhat obscures the fundamental moral differences between the various groups that compose the ecologies of conflict and crisis in allowing for the aforementioned moments of cooperation. Significantly, the Western system of domination learned to use the work of local and international organizations to fill the void left by ‘dysfunctional’ Third World governments and manage life in their stead. Indeed, the urgent and important criticism that peace organizations often level at Western militaries, to the effect that they de-humanize their enemies, masks another process by which the military incorporates into its operations the logic of, and even seeks to cooperate directly with, the very humanitarian and human rights organizations that in the past opposed it.

At the core of the paradoxes of the lesser evil is a tactical compromise that could deteriorate into a structural impossibility – one that would entangle the state and its opposition in a mutual embrace, making non-state organizations *de facto* participants in a diffused system of government. In Slavoj Žižek’s words, the state thus “externalizes its ethical self-consciousness in an extra-statal ethico-political agency, and this agency externalizes its claim to effectiveness in the state”.¹⁴ In this manner, human rights and humanitarian NGOs could do the ethical thinking and some of the ethical practice, while their state does the killing.

The spatial order of contemporary military power does not only emerge from a series of open acts of aggression, but through attempts at the moderation and restraint of its own violence.¹⁵ Recently, western militaries began using the vocabulary of international law, with the effect that human rights principles such as ‘proportionality’ have become compatible with military goals such as ‘efficiency’.¹⁶

The Government of Evil (in Souls)

The common use of the term “lesser evil” masks a rich history and various intellectual trajectories. What may otherwise seem to be a perennial problem endemic to ethics and political practice, a dilemma that simply reappears at every period anew in the same shape and form, in fact reveals something peculiar about each historical moment and situation. The different trajectories of the term cast different shadows on the investigation of the lesser evil as one of the problems of the politics of the present. What follows is not a sustained history of the concept but rather several of its paradigmatic moments,

the beginning of a possible archive of probes into the “lesser evil” argument.

One of the trajectories of the concept of the “lesser evil” originated in early Christian theology and was secularized into the utilitarian foundations of liberal ethics. It formed the basis for the philosophy of “ethical realism”, differently formulated by George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau. Ethical realism traces its origins to St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas and insists on some ethical constraints on states and military action. It sees the role of liberal states and especially that of the United States in the pursuit of moral goals such as “freedom”, “human rights” and “democracy”. The destiny of the United States in particular and ‘the West’ in general is to fight radical evil, whose traces could be found in any project predicated on an articulation of the idea of the ‘good’ (religious fundamentalism or communist egalitarianism).

One component in the idea of the lesser evil, however, has gone missing in its secularization. For the Christian fathers the toleration of the lesser evil, as I will later show, should be understood in relation to the religious telos of salvation. The immanent management of evil on behalf of the church was conceived as part of a quest for perfection which forms a necessary stage on the way to transcendence – the replacement of the earthly kingdom with a heavenly one. Unlike the teachings of the Christian fathers, the liberal striving for perfection is not a quest for eventual transformation. Without transcendence it is locked within a perpetual economy of immanence and could be better interpreted as a drive for the ‘optimization’ of the existing system of government.¹⁷

The vast extraterritorial institutional network of the ecclesiastical pastorate – the Church as it was formed and institutionalized from around the turn of the fourth century – dealt with the problem of the “lesser evil” in the context of the practical and intellectual problem of “the government of souls”. In his lectures on the origins of governmentality Michel Foucault analyzed the Christian form of pastoral power. “Economical theology” sought to understand the management of both human and divine orders, each with its immanent order of execution. In relation to human action the divine management of evil is both general and particular, bearing on both the individual and society, the multitude of people in the flock. The Christian order thus operated by simultaneously individualizing and collectivizing – granting as much value to a single person as to the community and the multitude.¹⁸ Salvation – deliverance from the power and penalty of sin and evil and the redemption of the soul – must address thus all and each. This form of salvation is one of the aspects of general and particular providence. The pastor must account not only for the well-being of individual and community but for the totality of good or evil they perform personally and collectively.

Discussions of particular providence are organized around the question of choice, or of free choice – how to identify and pursue good and avoid evil. General providence, on the other hand, invokes a vastly complex intrapersonal economy of merits and faults – of sin, vice and virtue – operating according to specific rules of circulation and transfer, with complex procedures, analyses, calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very

specific interplay between conflicting goods and degrees of evil.¹⁹

But Foucault does not explain how evil could be understood in terms of an economy. The source of this understanding is the teaching of St. Augustine. In early Christian theology evil is no longer seen as the equal opposite of good. In the course of his break from Manichaeism, St. Augustine stopped seeing evil as glamorously demonic but rather merely as “the absence of good”, a deficiency of being that has no standing by itself. Evil is relative and differential, an obstacle to perfection, that which stands between man and the good. Because evil is not absolute, demonic or perfect it is forever on a scale of less and more, lesser and greater.

It is through this conception of evil that St. Augustine addressed the problem of the lesser evil. For Augustine, the lesser evil is not permissible, as it clearly violates the Pauline principle ‘do no evil that good may come’. It could however be tolerated in certain circumstances. For the “lesser evil” to be tolerated the situation has to be defined in such a way that a possible resultant evil outcome is a necessary and unavoidable consequence of the performance of individual and collective duties.

In his economy of lesser and greater evils, it is better to tolerate prostitutes in society than to risk adultery, and it is better to kill an assailant before he may kill an innocent traveler.²⁰ In this way the principle of the “lesser evil” is conflated with the concept of preemption, and Augustine’s rationale for preemption is one of justice. Even war could be just under certain conditions. Under the principles of just war, a war should be considered ‘just’ if those waging it do so with the intention of doing good or pursuing a just purpose (such as, centuries later, the crusades), or with a desire to reach peace rather than wage wars for one’s own gain or as an exercise of power. Furthermore, just wars must be waged by properly instituted authorities of organized arms.

It is thus not coincidental that the discourse of the lesser evil developed at a time when the Christian church acquired real appetite and the real ability to exercise political and military power. Augustine, a fourth-century Christian, was teaching at the time Christianity had acquired the power to govern larger societies, and tried to reconcile Christian pacifism with the world of politics and the obligations of Roman citizens.

Importantly, Augustine saw the lessening of evil as part of a general inclination to pursue the good and a quest for transformation. Unlike in the tradition of liberal ethics that invoked him, in Augustine’s teachings progress towards a lesser imperfection is not produced by or content with a lesser imperfection. Only the desire for perfection could destroy in the soul these aspects of the evil that defile it.²¹ This progress – the lessening of evil – is the only way towards perfection and the ultimate transformation of the kingdom from earth to heaven. The individual must strive for the kind of perfection that would put her closer to God, overreach the earthly and thereby help transform it.

The general aspects of the problem of the lesser evil are also articulated in other theological discussions about the economic basis of divine government – the question of the origins and management of evil. It addressed the perennial question of theological phi-

losophy: If God governs the world and if God's economy is necessarily the most perfect one, how can we explain evil – natural catastrophe, illness, crimes?

In the context of his investigation of *economia*, a form of governmental power, Giorgio Agamben discussed one of the first formulations of this question by Alexander of Aphrodisia, a late Aristotelian commentator of the second century: God in his providence establishes general laws which are always good, but evil results from these laws as a collateral side effect. For example: rain is obviously a good thing, but as a collateral effect of the rain there are floods. Collateral effects – the bad effects of the divine government – are thus not accidental, but define the very structure of the action of government. Furthermore, it is through these collateral effects that the divine government becomes effective.

A millennium and a half later, in his *Théodicée*, Leibnitz attempted to resolve the same perennial question in a somewhat different manner. His intention is similarly to reconcile the apparent faults and imperfections in the world, which he does by claiming that the world is optimal among all possible worlds: “to show that an architect could have done better is to find fault with his work [...] [if] a lesser evil is relatively good, so a lesser good is relatively evil”. Leibnitz unfolds a conception of God in the creation and management of the world as a mathematician who is solving a minimum problem in the calculus of variations. The world must be the best possible and most balanced world because it was created by a perfect God. God governs by determining and choosing, among an infinite number of possible worlds, that one for which the sum of necessary evil is at a minimum. In Leibnitz’s complex divine economy evil exists by definition at its minimum possible level. If evil is managed at its minimum level, then all evils are in fact always lesser evils. The statement that we live in “the best of all possible worlds” was famously parodied by Voltaire in Candide when he has a Leibnitz-like character, Dr. Pangloss, repeat it like a mantra.

A Calculating Machine for the Reduction of Evil

Different aspects of the “lesser evil” argument were secularized into the modern articulations of ethics and politics. Foucault argued that it is on the basis of “economical theology” that modern power – the government of men and things – has taken the form of an economy: “We pass from an art of governing whose principles were derived from the traditional virtues (wisdom, justice, liberality, respect for divine laws and human customs) [...] to an art of governing that finds the principle of its rationality [...] in the state”.

²² He argued that from the end of the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, the legacy of pastoral power was assimilated into the practice of government—a biopolitical form of power exercised upon a population to regulate and manage its health, felicity, reproducibility and productivity, while the pastoral power over the individual – particular providence – has evolved into disciplinary technology that subjectivizes the individual in various institutions and buildings: the prison, the military barracks, the school, and the hospital.

Continuing Foucault's work on governmentality and discipline and directly reflecting on the question of the lesser evil, the philosopher Adi Ophir has shown how the panopticon, beyond being a mechanism of discipline, control and subjectivization, could also be interpreted as a closed system for the management and reduction of evils.²³ Here it is necessary to mention that Bentham no longer saw good and evil as metaphysical categories, but rather as the sum total of good and bad things. He defined the task of government as minimising the bad things and maximising the good ones. This economy is at the centre of "the principle of utility". The general aspect of the lesser evil argument is thus one of the forms by which the 'greater good' expresses itself.

The panopticon, a closed system that regulates everything that flows in and out of it, is according to Ophir a mechanism whose purpose is to make the calculation (a kind of proto-computer?) and reduction of evils possible.²⁴ The panopticon is designed to bring to perfection the consequences of every action undertaken within it. The observation and control of individual actions that the panopticon produces is the very condition that makes the calculus possible. The system is constructed in such a way that however much evil is put in, 'less evil' is guaranteed to come out. Although the machine produces collateral evil – and Bentham is clear that both punishment itself and the friction the machine produces are evil – it guarantees, so Bentham tried to convince his contemporary politicians, the reduction of these evils and of the pain of the treatment to the necessary minimum. Ophir thus interprets Bentham's panopticon as a Perpetuum Mobile of utility, a precursor to a panoptical society that has in itself now become a machine for the calculation and reduction of evils; the very diagram of biomorality (the necessary counterpart to biopolitics) which is focused on the increase of happiness and the reduction of suffering.²⁵

The Road to Utopia is Paved with Lesser Evils

"Lesser evil" arguments are not only articulated from the point of view of Power but also in relation to attempts to subvert and replace it. An interesting example is provided in the discussion about the shortening of the working day in Marx's *Capital*. Unlike the revolutionary and militant communists who protested the drift towards a timid, reformist politics of choosing the lesser evil, of making the kind of compromises with capital that may divert the struggle from the absolute ideal of communism, Marx thought that the winning of the ten-hour day was a huge victory for the English proletariat. The ten-hour working day reduces the duration of evil, but 'normalizes' and regularizes exploitation. According to Marx, on the other hand, a ten-hour day allowed fourteen hours of non-work, in which "the laborer can satisfy his intellectual and social wants" and which would allow the proletarians to organize and continue fighting. Marx's argument was that this lesser evil gives the proletarians the space to build an organizational platform, the consciousness and experience needed to take over the means of production. It created the productive forces capable of generating a sufficient surplus to enable socialism and the proletariat to continue fighting and build something better.²⁶ His ultimate aim was still of course to abolish the state. But advanced capitalism was not only seen as a lesser evil compared to 'primitive manufacture', it was also a transformation that made

a better world possible. Marx saw the struggle for the shortening working day as one corridor, potentially opening into future struggles: “the limitation of the working-day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation must prove abortive”.²⁷ Paradoxically, as we now know, the greatest expansion of British industry occurred after the deal for the normalization of the working day.

Similarly, at different times, Lenin, Kautski, Luxemburg, Trotsky (!) and Gramsci grappled with the problem of fighting for compromised gains here and now on the one hand while also fighting for a better world on the other. At various points they stood for tactical struggles for immediate gains, advocating trade unions, whose function was to win a better deal for workers in an exploitative system; but none of them thought that trade unions were all that was possible, and none of them were satisfied with simply winning a better deal in this exploitative system.

Tensions between evolutionary and revolutionary Marxism were articulated differently in relation to different historical moments: throughout his World War I polemics against the social patriots, Lenin emphasized the difference between various periods and trends:

“[U]nlike yesterday, the struggle for socialist power is on the order of the day in Europe. The socialist working class is on the scene as a contender for power itself. This means: There may still be ‘lesser’ and ‘greater’ evils (there always will be) but we do not have to choose between these evils, for we represent the alternative to both of them, an alternative which is historically ripe. Moreover, under conditions of imperialism, only this revolutionary alternative offers any really progressive way out, offers any possibility of an outcome which is no evil at all. Both war camps offer only reactionary consequences, to a ‘lesser’ or ‘greater’ degree.”²⁸

The debate articulated by Marxists in different periods was about how political transformation should be brought about: in an evolutionary fashion – a step by step approach along a trajectory of improvement (a kind of Darwinian evolution by which the reign of the proletarians is a historical necessity) – or rather in a revolutionary manner, with a fast and decisive break with the past. In other words, Marxists in various periods asked whether change arrive through the reduction of pain – do things become gradually better until they become good, with the danger that with the reduction of pain society should become content and complicit? (In which case pain should be seen as a self-disciplining device). At one of the ends of the spectrum in which the lesser evil argument occupies the middle are the utopian absolutists who believe that every possible gain at present is insignificant in light of the essentially compromised state of the world. Part of the structure of this argument is found the principle of the *politique du pire* – the politics of making things worse in order to hasten political change—or the theory of Dolorism, which sees pain as a spiritual experience that allows people to see reality more clearly. The danger was of course that things simply get worse and worse. In fact Marxists used these approaches alternately, in a tactical manner, in different periods and situations.

The lesser evil argument was articulated in another way by Herbert Marcuse in the context of discussions regarding the Marxist attitude to the danger of fascism:
Compared with a neo-fascist society, defined in terms of a ‘suspension’ of civil rights and

liberties, suppression of all opposition, militarization and totalitarian manipulation of the people, bourgeois democracy, even in its monopolistic form, still provides a chance (the last chance?) for the transition to socialism, for the education (in theory and practice) and organization to prepare this transition. The New Left is therefore faced with the task of defending this democracy? Defend it as the lesser evil: lesser than suicide and suppression. And it is faced with the task of defending this democracy while attacking its capitalist foundations.²⁹

Marcuse saw bourgeois democracy, with its freedom of speech and association, with space for self-organization (of, for example, workers and women) as a lesser evil to dictatorship in as such but also inasmuch as it would provide a real opportunity for its subversion and eventual transformation. “Defending democracy while attacking its capitalist foundations” is an articulation of a necessary paradox: could one simultaneously defend democracy in its liberal form against the encroaching evil of fascism, all the while attacking its foundations?

The problem articulated by Marcuse are somewhat relevant to the political predicaments pertaining to different kinds of contemporary non governmental activists: being intransigently in opposition to the neoliberal global order and market hegemony, for example, while, at the same time using their (infra)structures, and even momentarily cooperating with their institutions. Negotiating this paradox—and ‘negotiation’ could only merit its name if it seeks to bring together incompatible positions – must be the most important challenge to these contemporary activists. How to engage in practiced of “lesser evil”, but seek to mobilize the effect of these actions in the service of larger political claims; how to work from ‘inside’ systems while simultaneously seeing beyond them, even precipitating their end?

Obviously, the argument that the principle of the “lesser evil” is dangerous because it may produce more harm is a contradiction as blatant as saying that it is a lesser evil to avoid the lesser evil argument.³⁰ I am also not suggesting that the horrific spectacles of ‘greater evils’ should be preferred to the incremental damage of ‘lesser’ ones, that the violence of the present conflicts should be made (even) more brutal in order to shock a complacent population into mobilizing resistance (the threshold of the ‘intolerable’ is elastic enough to make most people easily accommodate and domesticate a sense of an ever worsening reality); rather, that opposition and resistance must dare to think beyond the economy and the calculations of violence and suffering that liberal ethics touts forward. Dealing with the political ethics of the lesser evil could be articulated by bypassing the closed economy that a particular ‘dilemma’ presents with an insistence on the expansion of the limits of the problem in both space and time – the former by seeking to identify more extended and intricate political connections leading to the issue at stake and the latter by looking further into the future.

More about the predicament of contemporary non governmental organizations I hope to articulate in later versions of this text. The installation 665/*The Lesser Evil* in Mani-

festa⁷ seeks to start unpacking this problem by presenting some of the histories and contemporary tactics of such attempts and the humanitarian and human rights activists caught up in dilemmas and struggling, successfully or not, to liberate themselves from a mutual embrace with the very organizations they vehemently oppose. Many of these activists clearly realize that it is counterproductive to accept the myopic pragmatism of the “lesser evil”, one that leaves a given mode of government intact, and seek ways to go beyond these actions. Their contemporary deliberations reflect historical ones.

Strategically planned or spontaneous action would always inevitably put activists on the ground within an arena of political struggles in compromising situations that can easily deteriorate into a counterproductive complicity, but these forms of practice must look for ways to, simultaneously and paradoxically, challenge the truth claims and thus the basis of the authority of the powers they both cooperate with and confront – the very regimes that placed their bulls before us and then asked us to choose the lesser of their two horns.

This text originates in discussions around an ongoing programme of workshops, lectures and films exploring the structure of the “lesser evil” argument that I run together with Thomas Keenan and Eyal Sivan. I would like to thank Alberto Toscano for his useful comments.

Notes

1. Alain Badiou has been the strongest critic of this notion: “If the lamentable state in which we find ourselves is nonetheless the best of all real states [...] [If humanity] will not find anything better than currently existing parliamentary states, and the forms of consciousness associated with them, this simply proves that up to now the political history of men has only given birth to restricted innovations and we are but characters in a pre-historic situation [...] [that] will not rank much higher than ants and elephants”. See Alain Badiou, “Eight Theses on the Universal”, in *Theoretical Writings*, ed. and trans. Ray Brassier and Alberto Toscano (London: Continuum, 2004), 237. Renata Salecl introduced Badiou’s work to the discussion in a workshop titled “Lesser Evils” organized by Thomas Keenan, Eyal Sivan and myself at Bard College in February 2008. Presentations were given by the organizers and by Adi Ophir, Ariella Azoulay, Simon Critchley, Joshua Simon, Olivia Custer, Renata Salecl, Karen Sullivan and Roger Berkowitz. Salecl introduced Badiou’s ideas through a reading of an interview in two parts Badiou gave to Cabinet Magazine before and after 9/11 (<http://www.cabinetmagazine.org/issues/5/alainbadiou.php>). Salecl added new doubts of her own: “Not even knowing what good and evil are, how can we choose and calculate? When evil is so enjoyable, what does ‘lesser evil’ mean?”

2. For Badiou, according to Salecl, evil is when one lacks the strength to search for the good. The politics of the “lesser evil” give up on the event, renounce the drive. At the Bard workshop, she asked: “Is there a new theory of the good ready to fight the self-contents of liberalism?”

3. Hannah Arendt, *Responsibility and Judgment* (New York: Schocken, 2005), 35. In his presentation to the workshop, Roger Berkowitz presented Arendt’s argument against the “lesser evil” in the context of her thought on judgment, as part of what she identified as “the crisis of judgment”.

4. Hannah Arendt, “The Eggs Speak Up” (1950), in *Essays in Understanding, 1930–1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*, ed. Jerome Kohn (New York: Schocken, 2005), 270–284; see especially 271. Arendt claims that Stalin’s “only original contribution” to socialism was to transform the breaking of eggs from a tragic necessity into a revolutionary virtue.

5. Hannah Arendt, *Responsibility and Judgment*

6. In an article on segregation in southern schools, after making her readers understand she was against all forms of racism, she voiced scepticism about federally enforced integration, claiming it politicized the educational system, which she believed should be immune to such forces, and insisting that the survival of the Republic may require that the battle line be drawn somewhere else. Hannah Arendt, "Reflections on Little Rock", *Dissent* 6, no. 1 (1959): 45–56.

7. Robert Pirsig, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (New York: Bantam, 1974).

8. Michael Ignatieff, *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

9. *Ibid.*, 152.

10. In the "Lesser Evils" workshop at Bard, reading Ignatieff's book, Thomas Keenan pointed to the impossibility of calculating evils. Rejecting the notion of grades of violence, he used a Derridean formulation when he argued: "Is not the slightest violence always already the greatest violence?" He pointed as well to the fallacy in the supposed difference between qualitative and quantitative judgment on evil, asking whether the quantitative cannot cross a threshold and become qualitative itself.

11. Adi Ophir, *The Order of Evils*, section 7.100 as well as 7.2 and 7.3. See for example 7.335.

12. This under the following conditions: that they are "applied to the smallest number of people, used as a last resort, and kept under the adversarial scrutiny of an open democratic system". Furthermore, "assassination can be justified only if [...] less violent alternatives, like arrest and capture, endanger [...] personnel or civilians are not possible, and] where all reasonable precautions are taken to minimize collateral damage and civilian harm". Ignatieff, *The Lesser Evil*, 8, 129–133.

13. It is this principle that guarantees, paradoxically, that all 'greater goods' could necessarily become 'greater evils'. Health economists have a chilling and interesting version of this economy of calculations, a "value of statistical life", or VSL, to cope with what some of its proponents see as the following conundrum: the 'prevention of every possible accidental death would be intolerably costly in terms of both money and the quality of life'. See Nina Power and Alberto Toscano, *The Philosophy of Restoration: Alain Badiou and the Enemies of May*, forthcoming in Boundary 2.

14. Slavoj Žižek, *In Defence of Lost Causes* (London: Verso, 2008), 349.

15. Michel Feher, "The Governed in Politics", in *Non-governmental Politics*, ed. Michel Feher (New York: Zone, 2007), 12–27, esp. 21.

16. David Kennedy, *The Dark Sides of Virtue: Reassessing International Humanitarianism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 235–323, esp. 295.

17. Anatol Lieven and John Hulsman, *Ethical Realism: A Vision for America's Role in the World* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006).

18. Michel Foucault, Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977–1978, ed. Arnold I. Davidson, trans. Graham Burchell (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 164–173. The immanent disorder exercised by the pastorate was "an art of conducting, directing, leading, guiding, taking in hand, and manipulating men, an art of monitoring them and arranging them...an art of taking charge of men collectively and individually throughout their life and at every moment of their existence" (173).

19. Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*.

20. Augustine thought that prostitutes should be tolerated "because they fulfill a similar function in society to that of the cesspool in the palace". Speaking through Evodius, Augustine says: "It is much more suitable that the man who attacks the life of another should be slain than he who defends his own life; and it is much more cruel that a man should suffer violation than that the violator should be slain by his intended victim" (118, De

lib. arb. I.v.12). In her presentation for the “Lesser Evils” workshop at Bard, Karen Sullivan presented Augustine’s teachings against lying as one of the only cases in which a compromise for the lesser evil is not even possible. “A lie is an offence against truth, perversion of speech”, and the imperative against it should in no case be breached, even to save innocent people. Having such universal effect, lying is worse than killing; the latter is tolerated under certain conditions of the lesser evil principle.

21. Simone Weil, *Oppression and Liberty* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2001), quoted in Peter Paik Yoonsuk, “The Pessimist Rearmed: Žižek On Christianity And Revolution”, *Theory & Event* 8, no. 2 (2005). Karen Sullivan made a similar point in her discussion of Augustine.

22. Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, missing reference, 163, 183.

23. Adi Ophir in the Lesser Evils workshop at Bard.

24. Bentham’s preface to the *Panopticon* opens with a list of the benefits to be obtained from this inspection house: “Morals reformed – health preserved – industry invigorated – instruction diffused – public burthens lightened – economy seated [...] all by a simple idea of architecture”.

25. Bentham believed the panopticon could correct itself instantly. Ophir to the contrary observed that “closed systems which are run by imperfect agents and in which the costs of exit are high tend to produce greater rather than lesser evils...” The term biomorality comes from Žižek, of *Lost Causes* (London: Verso, 2008), 50.

26. Engels argues for the positive effect of the deal for the ten-hour day on completely different grounds: “Were the Ten Hour Day Bill a final measure, England would be ruined, but because it necessarily involves the passing of subsequent measures, which must lead England into a path quite different from that she has traveled up till now, it will mean progress”. If English industry were to succumb to foreign competition the revolution would be unavoidable.

27. Karl Marx, Capital, <http://www.bibliomania.com/2/1/261/1294/frameset.html>. See “The Working Day”, especially sections 6 and 7.

28. Hal Draper, “The Myth of Lenin’s ‘Revolutionary Defeatism’”, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/draper/1953/defeat/chap1.htm>.

29. Herbert Marcuse, *Towards a Critical Theory of Society*, Vol. 2 (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2001), 169. Joshua Simon’s contribution to the “Lesser Evils” workshop at Bard was a reading of Marx’s *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, where he made similar points about Marxism’s relation to Fascism.

30. In the Bard workshop, Adi Ophir compared this to Bentham’s own statement: “The principle of utility, (I have heard it said) is a dangerous principle: it is dangerous on certain occasions to consult it.’ This is as much as to say, what? that it is not consonant to utility, to consult utility: in short, that it is not consulting it, to consult it”. Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789), ch. 1, “Of The Principle Of Utility”.

31. Feher, *Nongovernmental Politics*, 21.

Vít Havránek &
Zbyněk Baladrán

ARHIVA
SAMOUPRA-
VLJANJA

THE ARCHIVE
OF SELF-
MANAGEMENT

Namjera našeg priloga je stvaranje arhive dokumenata koji svjedoče o samoupravljanju u Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Republici Jugoslaviji.

Radi se dakle o produkciji novog arhiva o fenomenu koji više ne postoji – mogli bismo reći da je naš čin manifestacija uobičajenog procesa historizacije, pri čemu je metoda koju koristimo (stvaranje arhiva) ustaljena metoda koju koriste uglavnom istoričari i arheolozi.

Naš cilj, međutim, nije istraživanje društveno-ekonomskog prostora recentne prošlosti uz pomoć ustaljenih istoričarskih metoda. Arhiva nam služi kao promjenjivo sučelje. Pisani dokumenti, fotografije, audio zapisi, arhive, slike i objekti su nepredvidljiv agregat svjedočanstava o samom fenomenu samoupravljanja, o istorijskoj svijesti o tom razdoblju danas, o prošlim imaginacijama, o prošlim potencijalnostima.

1. Samoupravljanje je u realnom socijalizmu predstavljalo oblik prevazilaženja centralistički planiranog sistema. Ono sadrži određene emancipatorske elemente; nije bilo vođeno odozgo, nego odozdo – neposredno od strane radnika pojedinih firmi. Radi se o nekoj vrsti prijelazne forme između realnog socijalizma i komunizma koja je bila jedinstvena i specifična za samo jednu državu – Socijalističku Federativnu Republiku Jugoslaviju. Vjerovatno je simptomatično da samoupravljanje, samim svojim imenom, privlači one koji nemaju iskustva s njim i koji u njemu nisu živjeli. Ono obuhvaća određeni potencijal komunističke vlasti da stvara također i hibridne forme, koje su bile jedan oblik samoizdaje te vlasti i njenog približavanja idealima marksističke teorije.

2. Poput bilo koje druge arhive koja se stvara iznova, i ova arhiva nudi dvije temeljne mogućnosti organizacije. Sadržaj

The intent of our contribution is the creation of an archive of documents that provide a record of the 'self-management' of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. It is therefore a production of a new archive about a phenomenon that does not exist anymore – we could say that this operation is an expression of a standard process of historicisation, whereby the applied method (creation of an archive) is a settled method used mostly by historians and archeologists.

Our goal however is not to use a settled historical method for research into the socio-economic space of the recent past. The archive serves us as a variable interface. Written documents, photographs, oral records, archives, paintings, objects are an unforeseeable aggregate of testimonies about the phenomenon itself, testimony of the historical consciousness of this period today, testimony about past imaginations, about past potentialities.

1. During real socialism, self-management was a form of surpassing the centrally planned system. It held certain elements of emancipation; it was not directed from above, but from below – directly by the workers of the company. It was a certain transitional form between the real socialism and communism whereby it was unique and specific to a single state – the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. It is probably symptomatic that self-management attracts, by its very name, people who have no experience with it and who have not lived through it. It encompasses a sort of potential of the communist state to create hybrid forms, by which it betrayed itself and came closer to the ideals of Marxist theory.

2. Like any other archive created from scratch, this archive provides two basic possibilities for its own organization. The

archive moguće je strukturirati prema postojećim klasifikacijama znanja o problematici samoupravljanja, ili koristiti a priori klasifikaciju a zatim metodom usporedbe s našom arhivom procijeniti je li preuzeta klasifikacija adekvatna. Moguće je također arhivu koristiti kao nultu tačku iz koje će se generisati nova klasifikacija problematike samoupravljanja na temelju (zaista nasumično) kreiranih grupacija predmeta, a tu je dobivenu klasifikaciju zatim moguće uspoređivati sa sličnim arhivama ili teorijama o datoj problematici. Ukratko, radi se o metodama inkorporirane indukcije ili dedukcije, u kojima funkcionalni kontrolni mehanizam služi kao osnova za komparaciju.

3. Prema Freudovoj teoriji premještanja i zamjene nije moguće jednostavnom analizom traumatskih iskaza doći do izvora traume, jer psihološka aktivnost vodi traumu kroz putanje nesvesnog na način da one gube direktnu uzročnu vezu.

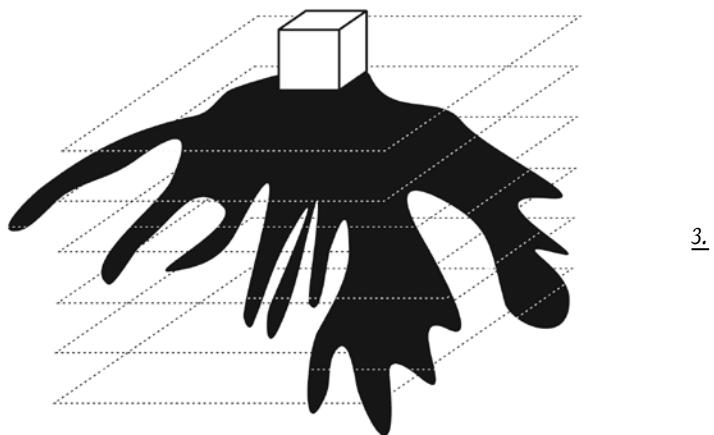
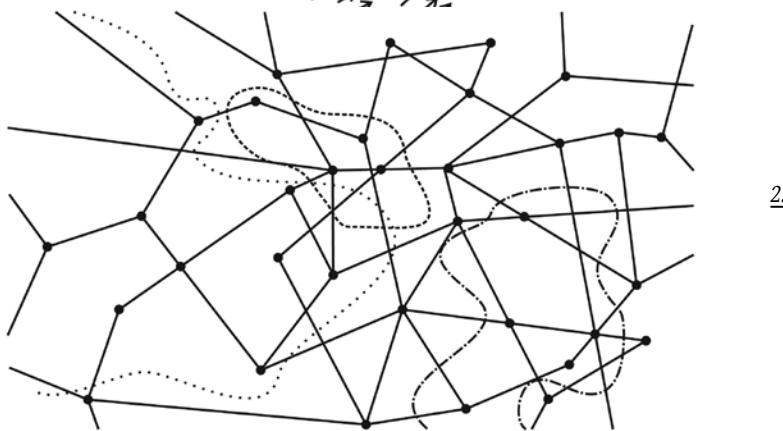
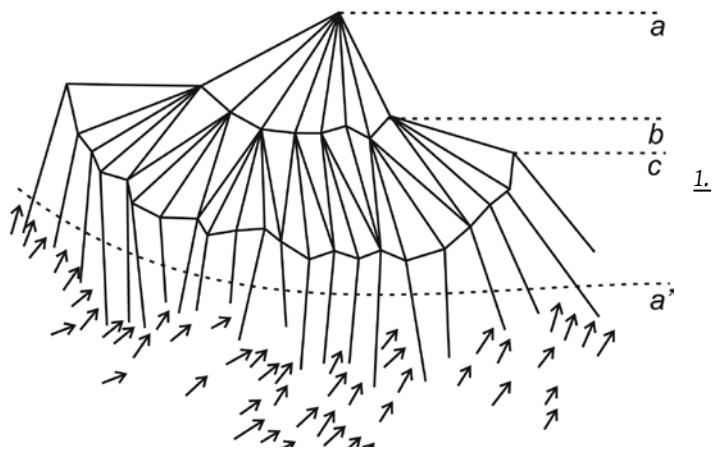
U ovom projektu nas ne interesira sam fenomen samoupravljanja, nego načini na koje su danas prisutna sjećanja na Socijalističku Federativnu Republiku Jugoslaviju (relativno ne-konfliktno vrijeme, prije ratnih sukoba), kao i sjećanja na nekadašnje jedinstvo. Fenomen samoupravljanja može postati jedna forma, putem koje danas možemo govoriti o prošlosti Jugoslavije.

Kako smo naglasili, arhiva samoupravljanja – koja se tek treba stvoriti i o kojoj za sada ne znamo ništa – za nas predstavlja sučelje. 1, 2 i 3 su tri hipotetske (deduktivske) radne metode. Ta tri čvorišta moguće je vizualizirati kao tri točke na trokutu koje opisuju tri kruga. Krugovi se presjecaju, a predstavljaju mogućnosti sadržane u izloženim metodama.

inventory of the archive can be organized according to existing classifications of knowledge of self-management, or according to an a priori classification whose adequacy to our own archive can be estimated by method of comparison. It is also possible to use the archive itself as a zero point from which a new classification of the problematics of self-management is generated on the basis of a (de facto randomly) created group of objects. The new classification could then be compared with similar archives or theories on the subject. Simply put, these are methods of incorporated induction or deduction, where the functioning control mechanism is the principal of comparison.

3. Freud's theory of displacement and replacement states that by a simple analysis of traumatic expressions we can't arrive at the sources of the trauma, since the psychological activity leads the trauma through trajectories of the unconscious in a way that makes it lose the direct causal linkage. The Archive of Self-Management is not interested in the phenomenon of self-management itself, but rather in the now existing memories of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (pre-war, relatively conflict free) – a unity in the past. The phenomenon of self-management could become a form, through which we can today speak about the past of Yugoslavia.

As was stated, The Archive of Self-Management, which has yet to be created and about which we now know nothing, is for us an interface. 1, 2, and 3 are three hypothetical (deductive) working methods. These three nodes could be visualized as three points of a triangle circumscribed by three circles. The circles intersect each other and represent possibilities incorporated in these methods.



Učestvuju / With contributions by:

Yael Bartana
Danilo Kiš
Artur Žmijewski
Želimir Žilnik

Ana Janevski

AKO ŽELITE,
OTPUTOVAT
ČEMO ZAJEDNO
NA MJESEC

IF YOU WANT,
WE'LL TRAVEL
TO THE MOON
TOGETHER

“S jeseni, kada počnu vetrovi, lišće divlje divlje kestena pada strmoglavce, s peteljkom naniže. Onda se čuje zvuk: kao da je ptica udarila kljunom u zemlju.” Ta prva rečenica iz *Ranih Jada Danila Kiša* pala mi je na pamet tijekom prošlogodišnjeg posjeta Banja Luci, u ranu jesen, povodom prve izložbe Spaport. Provlačila se tijekom cijelog boravka, a, iskreno rečeno, ne znam ima li u Banja Luci stabala divljih kestena, čisto sumnjam. U pitanju je jedan od onih knjiških citata iz srednjoškolskih dana koje i dalje pamtim te koji su pomno opisivali tadašnja raspoloženja, misli i dvojbe. Materiel d'apprentissage, odnosno odgojni materijal. Uostalom i Kiševi *Rani Jadi* su neka vrsta odgojnog romana zajedno sа ostalim djelima triptiha, *Baštom, pepelom i Peščanikom*. Njihova tema je duhovni razvoj pripovjedačeve ličnosti, dječaka Andreasa Sama, i njegovo traganje za izgubljenim ocem i vlastitim identitetom.

Iako prvi put u Banja Luci, osjećala sam neku čudnu familijarnost, te asocijacije na tinejdžerske dane, a ujedno i na 90-te, nisu bile slučajne. Tada su Kiševi romani i riječi pružali precizne i lucidne komentare na dramatične ratne događaje koji su se odvijali na tzv. „našim prostorima“. „Nacionalizam je, kao kolektivna pojava, posledica zavisti i straha, a iznad svega, posledica gubljenja individualne svesti; te prema tome, kolektivna paranoja i nije ništa drugo do zbir individualnih paranoja doveđen do paroksizma.“ Te Kiševe pominjanje Sartrovog Julesa, „to je onaj koji prebledi ako se pomene tema Engleza“. „Nemojte pred njim pominjati engleski čaj, jer će vam svi za stolom namigivati, davaće vam znake rukama i nogama, jer Žil je osetljiv na Engleze....“

Dramatična i kompleksna pitanja su i dalje prisutna i aktualna, a BiH je možda epicentar svih trenutnih nevolja na tzv. ‘našim prostorima’. Iako svjesni važnosti

“In autumn, when the winds start, the leaves of the horse chestnut fall headlong, stalk downwards. Then a sound is heard: as if a bird had struck the earth beak-first.” This first sentence from *Early Sorrows* by Danilo Kiš came to mind during last year’s visit to Banja Luka, in the early autumn, on the occasion of the first Spa Port exhibition. It endured the whole of my stay, although to be quite honest I don’t know if there are any horse chestnuts in Banja Luka; I very much doubt it. It’s rather about one of those quotes from secondary school days, which I still remember, and that precisely described the moods, thoughts and doubts of the time. Materiel d'apprentissage, or educational material. And anyway, Kiš’s *Early Sorrows* is a kind of bildungsroman together with the other parts of the triptych, *Garden, Ashes and Hourglass*. Their topic is the spiritual development of the narrator’s persona, the boy Andreas Sam, and his search for his lost father and his own identity.

Although that was my first time in Banja Luka, I felt a strange kind of familiarity, and associations with my teen days, and also with the 1990s, which was not accidental. Then Kiš’s novels and words provided precise and lucid comments on the dramatic events of the war that were unfolding in what were called „our spaces“. „Nationalism, as a collective phenomenon, is the consequence of envy and fear, and above all, the consequence of the loss of individual awareness; and accordingly, collective paranoia is nothing but a sum of individual paranoias brought to the point of paroxysm.“ I often remember Kiš’s reference to Sartre’s Jules, who is the one that pales if the theme of the English is mentioned. “Don’t mention English tea in front of him, because everyone at table will wink at you, make signs at you with their hands and legs, because Jules is sensitive about the English...”

da se ovakva vrst manifestacije kao što je Spaport podržava i održava u Banja Luci, bili smo suočeni, u čestim razgovorima s kustosicama i članovima savjeta, s mnogim neudomicama: kako reagirati na kontekst, kako uključiti (blisku) prošlost a da se ne upadne u zamku eksploracije prošlosti, kako stvoriti prostor kritičkog promišljanja i razgovora, koja je naša deontološka i etička pozicija, koja je uloga umjetnosti... Formiranjem kustoskog tima, razvojem projekta u nekoliko modula i faza, uključivanjem i drugih gradova BiH, pronađeni su odgovori na jedan dio dvojbi, ili nam barem tako izgleda. A da bi se našli odgovori i na ostala pitanja postavljena u opisu projekta, potrebno ih je isprovocirati ili barem pokušati.

Potaknuta prvom asocijacijom na *Rane Jade* te prvim susretom s Banja Lukom, počela sam razmišljati o temi povratka i (ne) pripadanja zajednici, o postojanju tenzije između egzila i povratka te suočavanja s novom realnošću, kao okosnicama za selekciju "prvog poglavlja" projekta *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi, izložbe Can You Speak of This? -Yes, I Can (Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu).*

"Gospodine, da li biste znali da mi kažete gde se nalazi ulica divljih kestenova? Ne sećate se? A mora da je negde ovde, imena se više i ne sećam. Ali znam pouzdano da je negde ovde..."

"Ulica divljih kestenova", obavljena u katalogu izložbe, je ujedno i prva pri-povijetka iz zbirke Rani jadi - za decu i osetljive. Kiševno djelo je u znaku biografije, multietničkog porijekla, stapanja raznih kultura i tragike ličnog iskustva u ratnom i poratnom periodu. Njegove priče su kratke i jasne, jednostavno ispričane, kao da je riječ o nevažnim stvarima koje bi mogle ostati i neispričane. Ali upravo u svakom od tih odlomaka, činom prepričavanja,

The dramatic and complex issues are still present, still current, and Bosnia-Herzegovina is perhaps the epicentre of all current troubles in what are called our spaces. Although aware of the importance of this kind of event, such as Spaport, being supported and held in Banja Luka, we were confronted, in the frequent talks with the curators and members of the board with a great deal of quandaries: how does one react to the context, how does one bring in the recent past without falling into the trap of exploiting the past, how does one create a space for critical thinking and discussion about what our deontological and ethical positions are, what the role of art is... When the team of curators was once formed, when the project had developed into several modules and phases, and other cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina had been included, answers were found to some of the dilemmas, or so it seemed to us. And for answers to be found to the other questions posed in the description of the project, it was necessary to provoke them, or at least to try to.

Prompted by my first association with *Early Sorrows* and my first encounter with Banja Luka, I started thinking about the theme of return and of (not) belonging to the community, of the existence of tension between exile and return, and facing the new reality, as the backbones for the selection of the „first chapter“ of the project *Where Everything Is Yet to Happen, the exhibition Can You Speak of This? -Yes, I Can.*

"Excuse me, sir, could you possibly tell me where the street of horse chestnuts is? You don't recall? Yet it must be here somewhere, I no longer remember its name. But I know for sure it is here somewhere..."

"The Street of Horse Chestnuts", published in the exhibition catalogue, is also the first tale in the collection *Early Sorrows – For*

prožimanjem fakata i fikcije, Kiš provokira povijesnu reprezentaciju, s pozadinom svijesti o holokaustu i inim masovnim nasiljima 20. stoljeća.

Jedna od posljedica rata na području bivše Jugoslavije je prinudno napuštanje mjesta porijekla i boravka, egzil. Povratak, ako do njega i dođe, je često bolan te podrazumijeva sučeljavanje s novim: državom, jezikom, ljudima, imenima ulica, a integracija je spor i kompleksan proces koji često podrazumijeva netolerantnost i građansku neaktivnost. Zasigurno je uz te probleme vezan još i nedostatak javne rasprave, artikulacije problema te rada na traumi. Ulicu divljih kestenova teško je prepoznati, od kestenova ni traga, sasjeklo ih rat, ljudi ili jednostavno vrijeme, a na njihovom mjestu zasađen je "lepi zeleni praziluk".

Film Želimira Žilnika Kenedi se vraća kući ukazuje upravo na tu istu traumatičnu jezgru, ali na različit način. U pitanju je dokumentarac o specifičnoj i katastrofalnoj situaciji u kojoj su se našle romske obitelji nakon završetka rata u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Romima i njihovim obiteljima dopušteno je da, u sklopu humanitarne akcije, dođu u Njemačku otprilike kada je počeo rat u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Otad su živjeli u Njemačkoj, najprije kao izbjeglice, a kasnije su dobili mogućnost zapošljavanja, rađala su im se djeca i imali su osjećaj normalnog života. Tijekom 2002. i 2003. bez ikakve javne rasprave stotine Roma s obiteljima tiho su i potajno deportirani iz Njemačke u zemlju svog «porijekla». U Njemačkoj su za sobom morali ostaviti sve. U Srbiji se te obitelji suočavaju s velikom tragedijom, smatrani su marginom, lišeni svih prava koja su imali u Njemačkoj, dok mlađi članovi obitelji ne znaju nijedan drugi jezik osim njemačkog. Do danas ni u Njemačkoj ni u Srbiji u javnosti nije bilo

Children and the Sensitive. Kiš's work is conditioned by biography, multiethnic origin, the merging of cultures and the tragedy of personal experience in the wartime and post-war period. His stories are short and clear, simply narrated, as if it were all about unimportant things that could have remained untold. But in fact, in each one of these fragments, through the act of retailing, the interweaving of fact and fiction, Kiš provokes a historical representation, with a background of awareness about the holocaust and the mass violence of the 20th century.

One of the consequences of the war in former Yugoslavia was being forced to abandon one's place of origin and residence, exile. The return, if it ever comes about, is often painful, and involves confrontation with the new: a new state, language, people, street names, and integration is a slow and complex process that often involves intolerance and civil inertia. And, which must be connected with these problems, there is also the absence of public debate, of the articulation of problems, and of work on the traumas.

It is difficult to recognise the street of horse chestnuts, there is no trace of the chestnuts, they have been felled by the war, by people or simply by time, and in their place "nice green leeks have been planted."

Kenedi comes back home, the film by Želimir Žilnik, actually draws attention to the same traumatic core, but in a different way. What is at issue is a documentary about a specific and catastrophic situation in which Roma families were situated after the end of the war in the former Yugoslavia. The Roma and their families were allowed, as part of humanitarian campaign to get into Germany at about the same

nikakvih kritičkih masovnih reakcija na taj očiti čin nasilja nad osnovnim ljudskim pravima.

Protagonisti Žilnikovih filmova predstavljaju mješavinu fikcije i dokumentarizma, u pitanju su uvijek marginalizirani likovi, neuklopljeni u postojeće društvene okvire. U prvim filmovima krajem 60-ih i početkom 70-ih to su nezaposleni, beskućnici, zlostavljeni romska djeca; u skorije vrijeme to su žrtve kontradikcija liberalne politike i demokratizacije Europe te tržišne ekonomije. Jedan od njih je upravo Kenedi Hasani, koji dočekuje prinudno vraćene Rome na beogradskom aerodromu.

U svojim ranijim filmovima Žilnik ukazuje na paradoks jugoslavenskog društva, na brutalne državne mehanizme na jednoj strani i proklamirane humanističke vrijednosti na drugoj, koji predstavljaju materiel d'apprentissage za razumijevanje mehanizma raspada Jugoslavije, daleko od prikaza egzotične plemenske zemlje Balkana. Žilnikovi filmovi sadrže važnu liniju kritičnosti i političke angažiranosti, i to ne samo u razdoblju socijalizma nego i danas, u općenitoj europskoj stvarnosti.

U opisu projekta *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi* stoji: "Projekt također promatra regiju Balkana kao svojevrsno ogledalo koje odražava novi trenutak i paradokse društvene i političke konstelacije u Evropskoj Uniji i zapadnim neoliberalnim demokracijama općenito: redifiniranje pojma kolektiviteta, krizu kapitalizma, nacionalnih država, zajedničkih nacionalnih identiteta..." Nakon posjeta Banja Luci vraćala sam se Varšavi, gdje trenutno živim i radim. Dok je Banja Luka u meni budila gore navedene asocijacije i još pregršt konkretnih političkih pitanja i problema koje nisam imenovala u ovom tekstu, kod mojih kolega i prijatelja spomen na Banja Luku izazivao je smijeh.

time that the war in Yugoslavia began. After that they lived in Germany, first of all as refugees, and later on were allowed to get jobs, they had children, and had the sense of a normal life. During 2002 and 2003, without any public debate, hundreds of Roma and their families were secretly deported from Germany to their "countries of origin". They had to leave everything behind them in Germany. In Serbia these families were faced with an enormous tragedy, were considered marginal, deprived of all the rights that they had in Germany, while the younger members of their families knew no language but German. To date, neither in Germany nor in Serbia have there been any critical mass reactions to this patent action of violence against fundamental human rights.

The protagonists of Žilnik's films represent a mixture of fiction and documentary film, with still marginalised people at issue, who cannot be fitted into the existing social frameworks. In the first films, at the end of the 60s and in the early 70s, these were the unemployed, the homeless, abused Roma children; in more recent times they were the victims of the contradictions of liberal politics and the democratisation of Europe and the market economy. One of them was this very Kenedi Hasani, who is waiting for the other forcibly repatriated Romas at Belgrade airport. In his earlier films, Žilnik refers to the paradox of Yugoslav society, to the brutal mechanisms of the state on the one hand and the vaunted human values on the other, and represent the materiel d'apprentissage for the understanding of the mechanisms of the breakdown of Yugoslavia, very far from a depiction of an exotic tribal country of the Balkans. Žilnik's films contain an important line of criticism and political engagement, and not only in the period of socialism, but today too, and in the universal European

Naime, u poljsko-hrvatskom, a zasigurno i poljsko-bosanskom i poljsko- srpskom rječniku, jasno piše:

banialuka – glupost, bedastoća
plesci, mowic banialuki – pričati, (valjati,
lupetati) gluposti

I sam naziv izložbe *Spaport* poigrava se s etimološkim paradoksom i zabludom. U poljskom slučaju Banialuka se prvi put spominje 1650. kao naslov knjige, a u pitanju je, naravno, Smješna priča dobre princeze Banialuke iz Istočne zemlje. Nema nikakvih naznaka zašto je princezino ime baš Banialuka. S konotacijom gluposti i bedastoće se pojavljuje se i kod poznatog poljskog komediografa, Aleksandra Fredra. Izgleda da je Napoleon obećao da će se o pitanju Poljske raspravljati u Banja Luci, ali do te rasprave nikada nije došlo. No, izvori su nepouzdani pa je moguće da je posrijedi još jedan "spaport" slučaj. Poljska banialuka obogatila je izvore i karakteristike stereotipne slike Balkana te usprkos kreativnim poticajima ipak sam posegnula za drugim referencama u poljskom okruženju.

Jedna od zanimljivih strana života u postsocijalističkom, tranzicijskom društvu, a dolazeći pak iz drugog postsocijalističkog, tranzicijskog društva, jest prepoznavanje neizbjegnih konfliktnih čvorista tranzicije prema liberalnom kapitalizmu, čije su posljedice klasne razlike, kulturno i duhovno osiromašenje, ravnodušnost, letargija, manjak solidarnosti, i još mnoge druge. Naravno, postoje i razlike uslovljene prvenstveno različitim povijesnim i inim kontekstima, jer "Istočna Europa" nije uniformirani pojam. Posebno je zanimljivo promatrati se pojedino društvo, njegova službena politika, mediji, intelektualni krugovi, naravno i suvremena umjetnost, odnose prema daljnoj i

reality.

The description of the project *Where Everything is Yet to Happen* stated that "[it] also considers the Balkan region as a kind of mirror that reflects the new moment and the paradoxes of the open social and political constellation in the EU and in western liberal democracies in general: the redefinition of the concept of collectivity, the crisis of capitalism, of national states, common national identities." After the visit to Banja Luka, I returned to Warsaw, where I currently live and work. While Banja Luka aroused in me the associations given above and a few more concrete political issues and problems, which I didn't mention by name in the text, the mention of Banja Luka aroused laughter among my friends and colleagues. In the Polish-Croatian and most likely in the Polish-Bosnian and Polish-Serbian dictionary is clearly written:

banialuka – stupidity, nonsense
mówić banialuki- speak rubbish.

The actual name of the *Spaport* exhibition plays with an etymological paradox and fallacy. In the Polish case Banialuka is mentioned for the first time in 1650 as the title of a book, and at issue of course is The ridiculous story of the good Princess Banialuka from the Eastern country. There are no hints as to why the princess' name is just Banialuka. It appears with connotations of stupidity and ridiculousness with the well-known Polish comedy writer Alexander Fredro. It seems that Napoleon promised that the Polish question would be discussed in Banja Luka, but that there was never actually any such discussion. But the sources are unreliable and it is possible that one more "Spaport" is concerned. The Polish banialuka enriched the sources and characteristics of the stereo-

bližoj prošlosti.

U filmu izraelske umjetnice Yael Bartana, Mary Koszmary [Noćne more], mladi lider poljske ljevice i urednik ljevičarskog časopisa *Krytyka Polityczna*, Sławomir Sierakowski, poziva 3 milijuna Židova da se vrate u Poljsku i da promijene život 40 milijuna Poljaka. Govor Szeierakowskog, sastavljen isključivo za film zajedno sa sociologinjom Kingom Dunin, in medias res stavlja traume i simptome poljskog društva i povijesti te dekonstruira najmračniju stranu poljske kolektivne nesvijesti.

U njegovom obraćanju povijesne se činjenice tek daju naslutiti, dok književne reference i slike evociraju uhićenja, pogrome i deportacije Židova. Njegov govor koristi dobro poznat jezik antisemitske, katoličke i komunističke propagande, ali s pozitivnom inverzijom, propagirajući pomirenje u ime zajedničke budućnosti.

“Poziv na povratak” razotkriva višeslojnu poljsku povijest, potisnute demone koji su se pretvorili u košmare, koje treba prihvati i prisvojiti: suradnja s nacistima i indiferentnost jednog dijela poljskog stanovništva u židovskim progonima tijekom 2. svjetskog rata, a i u periodu poslije rata. Te su teme tek od nedavno aktualne u poljskoj javnosti, kao i saznanje da je rad na traumi jedini način ozdravljenja, zacjeljivanja rana i oslobođenja od straha.

Poziv Židovima od strane Poljaka ukaže i na ne-mogućnosti i neminovnosti zajedničkog života u budućnosti te postaje zrcalo drugih situacija koje se zbivaju negdje drugdje, u BiH, kao i u ostalim djelovima Europe. Povratak Židova izazvat će radikalne promjene. “Vratite se danas i Poljska će se promijeniti. Europa će se promijeniti, svijet će se promijeniti. Vratite se, ne kao sjene prošlosti, već kao nada u budućnost.”

type image of the Balkans and in spite of creative potential I nevertheless looked for other references in the Polish environment.

One of the interesting sides of life in a post-socialist, transitional society, when one is coming from another post-socialist transitional society is recognising the inevitable nodes of conflict on the way to liberal capitalism, the consequences of which are class differences, cultural and spiritual impoverishment, indifference, lethargy, lack of solidarity and many other things. Naturally there are differences conditioned primarily by various historical and other contexts, for Eastern Europe is not a uniform phenomenon. It is particularly interesting to watch how a given society, its official policy, the media, the intellectual circles and of course contemporary art, relate to the close and distant past.

In the film of Israeli artist Yael Bartana, Mary Koszmary [Nightmares], the young leader of the Polish left and editor of the leftish magazine *Krytyka Polityczna*, Sławomir Sierakowski, calls upon 3 million Jews to return to Poland and change the lives of 40 million Poles. The speech of Sierakowski, composed exclusively for the film with the sociologist King Dunin, reveals in media res the traumas and symptoms of Polish society and history, and deconstructs the darkest side of the Polish collective unconscious. In his appeal the historical facts can only just be made out, while the literary references and images evoke the arrests, the pogroms and deportations of the Jews. His speech uses the familiar language of anti-Semitic, Catholic and communist propaganda, but with a positive inversion, propagating reconciliation in the name of a common future. “The call to return” reveals the many layers of Polish history, the suppressed demons

Danas Poljaci žive u etnički čistoj Poljskoj, upućeni isključivo jedni na druge. „Danas nam je dozlogrdilo gledati u naša lica koja sva nalikuju jedna drugima. Na ulicama naših velikih gradova tragamo za strancima i pomno slušamo kada progovore”, kaže Sierakowski u istom “pozivu”.

Međutim, ta “slična” lica tek neadekvatno maskiraju činjenicu da ni nacionalna homogenost nije lišena podijeljenosti i kontestacije, pa ni netolerancije. U filmu

Artura Žmijewskog *Oni četiri*

antagonističke političke grupe prisutne na poljskoj političkoj sceni – skupina “slušateljica katoličkog radija Radio Marija”, članovi radikalno-desne “Sve-Polske Mladeži”, članovi jedne ljevičarske organizacije i skupina mlađih Poljskih Židova – sudjeluju u radionici organiziranoj od strane umjetnika. Kroz niz vizualnih vježbi i akcija četiri strane se međusobno sučeljavaju, a od samog početka kod svake je izraženo čvrsto uvjerenje u vlastite stavove. Početni razgovori, kasnija suprotstavljanja, a potom i direktna sučeljavanja, ukazuju na nemogućnost međusobne tolerancije i suživota različitih i oprečnih orientacija i mišljenja. Model radionice, atelijera koji je Žmijewski pohađao u studentskim danima kod profesora Grzegorza Kowalskog, stvara kontekst u kojem se upotreboom vizualnih simbola razotkrivaju mehanizmi mržnje, ekskluzije i netolerancije.

Žmijewski smatra da umjetnost može biti socijalno učinkovito oruđe, koje pruža znanje i osvjedočenje te odbacuje autonomiju umjetnosti kao discipline koja je lišena socijalnih i kognitivnih procedura. U manifestu *Primijenjena socijalna umjetnost* Žmijewski tvrdi: “Svi smo izgubili zbog propusta što nismo u većoj mjeri koristili spoznajne procedure razvijene u umjetnosti, procedure temeljene na intuiciji i imaginaciji, procedure temeljene na os-

that have turned into nightmares, which need to be accepted and internalised: the collaboration with the Nazis and the indifference of part of the Polish population in the pogroms of the Jews during World War 2 and during the post-war period. These themes have only just become topical in the Polish public, as has the knowledge that work on a trauma is the only way of coming to health, healing the wounds and liberating oneself from fear.

The call to Jews from a Pole draws attention to the impossibilities and inevitabilities of common life in the future and are a mirror of other situations that are happening elsewhere, in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in other parts of Europe. When the Jews return, radical changes will come about. “Return today and Poland will change. Europe will change, the world will change (...) Return not as shadows of the past but as hope for the future.”

Today the Polish live in an ethnically clean Poland, relating exclusively to each other. “Today we are fed up by looking at our similar faces. On the streets of our great cities, we are on the lookout for strangers, listening intently when they speak”, states Sierakowski in the same “call”. These “similar” faces, however, are nothing but and inadequate disguise of the fact that national homogeneity is far from being free of divides and contestations, and even intolerance. In Artur Žmijewski’s film *Them*, four antagonistic groups visible on the Polish political scene – a group of female catholics (listeners of “Radio Maryja”), members of the far-right All-Polish Youth group, members of a left-wing organisation and a group of young Polish Jews – take part in a workshop organised by the artist. Through a number of visual exercises and actions, the 4 sides are mutually confronted, and from the very beginning, in each side, a firm belief in their own views is expressed.

poravanju nečije ‘ispravnosti’ i na odustajanju od osuđivanja. Intuicija i imaginacija prihvaćaju potisnute i osporene fantazije, želje i potrebe, i pomažu u potrazi za načinima njihovog zadovoljavanja. Odricanje od uloge suca otkrit će naše kolektivno i individualno sudioništvo u nepravdi sistema. Onda to više neće biti “oni” nego mi koji ćemo dijeliti odgovornost za to kako naša zajednička stvarnost izgleda”.

Navodeći moguće zajedničke i buduće projekte, Sierakowski predlaže: “Ako želite, otpustovat ćemo zajedno na Mjesec”. I dok na prvi pogled odlazak na mjesec zvuči kao “banialuka”, uz kolektivni trud moguće je ostvariti i to.

The initial conversations, the later oppositions and then direct confrontations indicate the impossibility of mutual tolerance and coexistence of diverse and contrary orientations and ways of thinking. The model of the workshop, the studio, which attended in his student days with Professor Grzegorz Kowalsky, creates a context in which through the use of visual symbols the mechanisms of hatred, exclusion and intolerance are revealed.

Żmijewski thinks that art can be a socially effective tool that provides knowledge and testimony and rejects the autonomy of art as a discipline that is devoid of social and cognitive procedures. In the manifesto *Applied Social Arts* Żmijewski states: “We all lost out on our failure to use the cognitive procedures developed by art to any greater extent. Procedures based on intuition and imagination, procedures based on denying one’s righteousness and giving up judgementalism. Intuition and imagination embrace repressed and denied fantasies, desires and needs, and help search for ways to satisfy them. Renouncing the role of judge will reveal our collective and individual complicity in the injustice of the system. Then it will no longer be “them” but us who will share responsibility for the way in which our common reality appears.”

Stating possible joint and future projects, Sierakowski proposes: “If you like, we’ll travel to the moon together”. And while at the first glance a trip to the moon sounds like ‘banialuka’, with collective effort, even a journey to the moon can be brought off.

Yael Bartana



Mary Koszmary
(*Nočne more*), 2007.
16mm film prebačen
na DVD, 10'50"

Mary Koszmary
(*Nightmares*), 2007
16 mm film trans-
ferred to DVD, 10'50"

Ljubaznosć / Courtesy of Annet Gelink
Gallery

Yael Bartana

Jevreji! Sunarodnici! Narode! Naaaaarode!

Mislite da vas starica koja još uvijek spava pod Rifkeinim pokrivačem ne želi vidjeti? Da je zaboravila na vas? Niste u pravu. Sanja vas svake noći. Sanja i drhti od straha. Od one večeri kad ste otišli i kad je njena majka uzela vaš pokrivač, neprestano traju njene noćne more. Loši snovi. Samo ih vi možete otjerati. Neka tri miliona Jevreja koji nedostaju Poljskoj stanu pored njenog kreveta i konačno otjeraju demone.

Vratite se u Poljsku, u vašu/našu zemlju! Stanite pored njenog kreveta i položite ruke na taj stari pokrivač. Tanak kao čat, s podstavom koja se odavno istrošila. Položite vaše ruke, kažem vam, na nju, i recite joj: „Darujemo ti ovaj pokrivač“.

„Šta bismo mi s njim? Više u njemu nema podstave, ima samo boli. Izlijecite naše rane i mi ćemo izlijeciti vaše.“ I bićemo opet zajedno.

Ovo je poziv, ne mrtvima nego živima. Mi želimo da se tri miliona Jevreja vrate u Poljsku, želimo da opet živite s nama. Potrebni ste nam! Molimo vas da se vratite!

Kad ste otišli, krišom smo se radovali. Govorili smo: „Barem smo svoji na svome.“ Poljski Poljak u Poljskoj, kojeg нико не ometa. No, kako ni tada nismo bili srećni, s vremenom na vrijeme pronašli bismo nekog Jevreja i rekli mu da napusti Poljsku. Čak i kada je bilo jasno da vas više nema, još uvijek je bilo onih koji su vam govorili da odete. I, šta?

Danas nam je dozlogrdilo da gledamo u naša lica koja sva nalikuju jedna drugima. Na ulicama naših velikih gradova tragamo za strancima i pažljivo slušamo kada progovore. Da! Danas znamo da ne možemo živjeti sami. Potreban nam je neko drugi, a nema bližeg drugoga od vas! Dodite! Isti, ali drugačiji. Živjećemo zajedno. Bićemo različiti, ali jedni neće nauditi drugima. Mi ćemo konačno biti mi, a vi ćete biti vi. Mi ćemo postati vi, a vi ćete postati mi. Bićemo lokalni i otvoreni prema svijetu. Zajedno ćemo stvoriti djela ruku i misli koje svijet još nije bio. A Evropa će biti zapanjena. Svi će od nas naučiti kako se može istovremeno biti i svoj i drugi.

Uzmite sa sobom što imate i što vam nedostaje. Nedostajete nam! Naučimo iznova naše pjesme i napišimo nove. Naučimo naše molitve i naučimo živjeti bez molitve.

Vratite se – tako ćemo i mi i vi konačno prestati biti odabrali narod. Odabran za patnju, odabran za primanje rana i odabran za nanošenje rana. Vratite se, da konačno postanemo Evropljani.

Jednim jezikom, ne možemo govoriti.

Jednom religijom, ne možemo slušati.

Jednom bojom, ne možemo vidjeti.

Jednom kulturom, ne možemo osjećati.
Bez vas se čak ne možemo ni sjećati.
Bez vas, ostaćemo zarobljeni u istoriji – s vama, za nas će se otvoriti budućnost.

Nema budućnosti za odabранe narode. Nema budućnosti ni za kakve narode. Kad se pogledamo oči u oči, oklop će pasti i zajedno ćemo ostvariti ono što filozofi nisu mogli ni sanjati.

Jevreji! Sunarodnici! Naaaaarode!

Ako ne sad, onda kad? Ako ne mi, onda ko? Ko će izvući Poljsku iz blata, da ne potone? Ne čekajmo da nas globalno tržište sve učini sličnima, ne čekajmo na novi uzlet nacionalizama – tih tumora na tijelu slobodnog tržišta – da nas još jednom pokrene jedne protiv drugih ili protiv drugih drugih. Umjesto identični, postanimo jedno. Više nikada nećemo izrabljivati jedni druge, ponižavati jedni druge, krasti jedni drugima plodove njihova rada. Uz groblja ćemo sagraditi škole i bolnice. Zasadićemo drveća i sagraditi puteve. Ako želite, otpotovaćemo na Mjesec zajedno.

Vratite se danas i Poljska će se promijeniti, Evropa će se promijeniti, svijet će se promijeniti. I vi ćete postati drugačiji. Vratite se, ne kao sjene prošlosti nego kao nada za budućnost.

Dobrodošli!

*The English version of the text is in the catalogue section dedicated to the contribution of Nina Möntmann / Engelska verzija teksta nalazi se u sekciji kataloga posvećenoj kustoskom prilogu Nine Möntmann

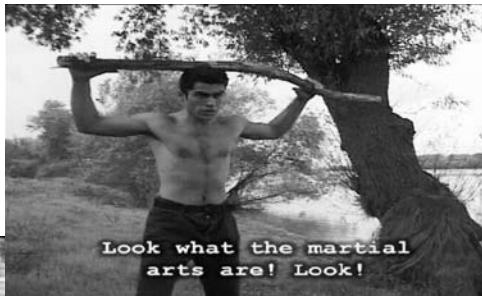
Artur Żmijewski

Oni
Them
2007

Courtesy of Foksal
Gallery Foundation



Želimir Žilnik



Look what the martial arts are! Look!



Kenedi se vraća kući

Kenedi comes back home

Film, 74', 2003

-How do you like to speak?
German or Romani?



-First he's from Germany,
now he's from Belgrade!

Danilo Kiš

Ulica divljih kestenova

Gospodine, da li biste znali da mi kažete gde se nalazi Ulica divljih kestenova? Ne sećate se? A mora da je negde ovde, imena se više i ne sećam. Ali znam pouzdano da je negde ovde. Šta kažete, nema ovde nigde ulice s drvoredom kestenova? A ja znam, gospodine, da ona tu mora da postoji, nemoguće je da uspomene toliko varaju.

Da, još pre rata... Na uglu se nalazila škola, a pred školom arteški bunar. Ne mislite, valjda, da sam sve to izmislio. U toj školi sam išao u prvi razred, a pre toga u zabavište. Učiteljica se zvala gospodica Fani. Mogu vam, gospodine, pokazati jednu fotografiju gde smo svi na okupu: gospodica Fani, naša učiteljica, da, taj što sedi pored nje, to sam ja, Andreas Sam, moja sestra Ana, Fredi Fuks, vođa naše bande... Da, gospodine, odlično, sada sam se setio. Ulica mora da se zvala Bemova ulica, jer ja sam bio borac u bandi čuvenih bemovac, čiji je vođa bio Fredi Fuks (zvani Aca Dugonja), Folksdjojčer. Sjajno gospodine, da nije bilo ovog našeg razgovora, ja se uopšte ne bih setio da se ta ulica zvala Bemova ulica, po čuvenom poljskom generalu, četrdesetosmašu. Da li vam, možda, gospodine, to ime govori nešto: Bem, Bemova ulica. O, da, izvinite, naravno vi se ne možete setiti, ukoliko niste tu živeli pre rata, no bar biste mogli znati da li ima tu negde neka ulica s drvoredom divljih kestenova? Ti su kestenovi cvetali s proleća, tako da je cela ulica mirisala pomalo otužno i teško, osim posle kiše. Tada je, izmešan sa ozonom, miris divljeg kestenovog cveta lebdeo svuda naokolo.

Oh, ja sam se zapričao, oprostite, moraću da pitam još nekog, mora da ima nekog ko će se setiti te ulice, pre rata se zvala Bemova, a bila je zasađena drvoredom divljih kestenova.

Zar se ne sećate, gospodine? Ni vi? Eto, sve što još mogu da vam kažem, to je da je na uglu bio jedan bunar, arteški, ispred škole. U blizini je bila kasarna, levo, izaугла, na drugom kraju ulice. Mi, deca, dotle smo smeli da odlazimo. Tu saobraćaj nije bio živ. A na uglu, kod kasarne, počinjale su šine (mali žuti i plavi tramvaji). Da, gospodine, zaboravio sam vam reći da je pored drvoreda kestenova, s desne strane, bilo uoči rata iskopano sklonište, u cikcak. Tu je boravila naša banda. Da vam, možda, taj podatak neće pomoći da se setite: bilo je iskopano veliko sklonište.

Naravno, svuda je bilo skloništa, ali dobro se sećam da divljih kestenova nije bilo osim u našoj ulici. Naravno, sve su to detalji, no hoću samo da vam kažem da se sasvim pouzdano sećam da je ta ulica bila zasanena divljim kestenom, a ovo, gospodine, ovo je bagrem, a bunar nigde ne vidim, pa ipak mi se čini da je to nemoguće, možda ste vi pogrešili, mora da se neka druga ulica zvala Bemova, ova mi se čini premala. Uostalom, hvala vam, proveriću. Zakućaču na neka vrata i pitaću: Da li se ova ulica pre rata zvala Bemova

ulica, jer sve mi je to vrlo sumnjivo, gospodine, ne verujem da bi tolika kestenova stabla nestala, makar bi jedno ostalo, drveće, valjda, ima duži vek, kestenovi, gospodine, ne umiru tek tako.

Eto, ne verujem, gospodo, svojim očima. Niko nije u stanju da mi objasni gde su nestali ti kestenovi, i da nije vas, ja bih posumnjao da sam sve to izmislio ili sanjao. Jer, znate, tako je to sa uspomenama, čovek nikad nije siguran. Veliko vam hvala, gospođo, idem da potražim kuću u kojoj sam živeo. Ne, hvala vam, više bih voleo da budem sam.

Onda on prine jednim vratima, mada to nisu bila ona vrata, i pritisnu zvonce. Izvinite, reče sasvim običnim glasom, da li tu stanuje Andreas Sam? Ne, ne, reče žena, zar ne umete da čitate? Ovde stanuje profesor Smerdel.

Da li ste sigurni, ponovi on, da ovde ne stanuje Andreas Sam? Pre rata je stanovao ovde, znam pouzdano. Možda se sećate njegovog oca? Eduard Sam, s naočarima. Ili se, možda, sećate njegove majke. Marija Sam, visoka, lepa, vrlo tiha. Ili njegove sestre, Ana Sam, uvek s masnicom u kosi. Eto, vidite, onde gde je ona leja s lukom, tamo je bio njihov krevet. Vidite, gospođo, ja se sasvim dobro sećam. Tu je stajala šivača mašina njegove majke, Marije Sam. Bila je to singer mašina, s nožnom pedalom.

O, ništa ne brinite, gospođo, samo evociram uspomene, znate, posle toliko godina sve nestaje. Eto, vidite, na mom je uzglavlju izrasla jabuka, a singerica se pretvorila u bokor ruža. Od kestenova pak, gospođo, vidite, nema ni traga. To je zato, gospođo, što kestenovi nemaju svoje uspomene.

Čuli ste, kuće nema. Na mom je uzglavlju izrasla jabuka. Jedno kvrgavo, povijeno stablo bez ploda. Soba mog detinjstva pretvorila se u leju s lukom, a na mestu gde je stajala singerica moje majke - bokor ruža. Pored bašte se uzdiže nova trospratnica, u njoj stanuje profesor Smerdel. Kestenove su posekali, rat, ljudi ili prosto - vreme. A evo šta se tu zbilo, u Bemovoj dvadeset sedam. Pre dvadesetak godina, koje sam htio da preskočim jednim lirskim skokom unapred. Ulazi moj otac, dva-tri meseca po našem odlasku, u kuću broj 27 u Bemovoj i iznosi naše stvari: dva ormara, dva kreveta, singericu moje majke. Kad su izneli i poslednji deo nameštaja, a to je bio onaj otoman u kojem pevaju federi, evo - gospođo Smerdel, ja još uvek s vama govorim - šta se zbilo: "Kada smo izneli i poslednji deo nameštaja, draga moja Olga, a to je bio onaj otoman u kojem pevaju federi, kuća se srušila kao kula od karata. Ne znam ni sam kakvim sam čudom uspeo..." (Iz pisma Eduarda Sama, moga oca, svojoj sestri Olgi Sam-Urfi).

Sada je tu posađen luk, lepi zeleni praziluk, gospođo...

Objavljeno u knjizi priповјетка Danilo Kiš: 'Rani jadi', 1970

Pravo na objavljivanje ljubazno nam je ustupila gospođa Mirjana Miočinović na čemu joj zahvaljujemo.

Danilo Kiš

The Street of Horse Chestnuts

Excuse me, sir, could you possibly tell me where the street of horse chestnuts is? You don't recall? Yet it must be here somewhere, I no longer remember its name. But I know for sure it is here somewhere. What do you say, there's nowhere a street here with a row of horse chestnuts? But I know that it must be here, it's impossible that memories can cheat so much.

Yes, before the war still... At the corner, there was a school, and an artesian well in front of the school. Surely you can't think I have made it all up? I went to the first grade in that school, before that to the playgroup. The teacher's name was Fani, Miss Fani. I can show you a photograph with us all together: Miss Fani, our teacher, yes, that one, sitting next to her, that's me, Andreas Sam, my sister Ana, Fredi Fuks, the leader of our gang... Yes, sir, wonderful, now I can remember. The street was called Bemova Street, after the celebrated Polish general of forty-eight. Does the name mean anything to you sir, Bem, Bemova Ulica? Oh, yes, excuse me, of course, you can't remember, if you didn't live here before the war, but you might at least know if there is some street around here with a row of horse chestnuts. These chestnuts bloomed in the spring, and the whole of the street would have a kind of sad and heavy fragrance, except following the rain. Then, mixed with the ozone, the scent of the horse chestnut flowers would float everywhere around.

Oh, I have

gone on, sorry, I shall have to ask someone else, there must be someone who can remember the street, it was called Bemova before the war, and it was planted with a row of horse chestnuts.

Don't you really remember, sir? Not you either? Look, the only other thing I can tell you is that at the corner there was a well, an artesian well, in front of the school. Close by was the barracks, to the left, round the corner, at the other end of the street. We nippers were allowed to go as far as that. The traffic wasn't very lively. And at the corner, by the barracks, the tracks started (the little blue and yellow tram). Yes, sir, forgotten to tell you, that alongside the row of horse chestnuts, on the right, they dug out a shelter, all zigzag, just before the war. This was where our gang would gather. Doesn't that fact perhaps help you to remember, a large shelter was dug out? Of course, there were shelters everywhere, but I recall very well that there were no horse chestnuts except in our street. Of course, all these are details, but I just want to tell you that I remember completely surely that the street was planted with horse chestnuts, and this, sir, this is an acacia, and I can't see a well anywhere, and so I think it's impossible, perhaps you've made a mistake, some other street must have been called Bemova, seems to me this is too

small. But anyway, thank you, I shall check. I shall knock on some door and ask: Was this street called Bemova Street before the war? For it is all very suspicious to me, sir, I can't believe so many horse chestnuts could have vanished, at least one would have remained, the trees, I suppose have a long life, chestnuts, sir, don't die out just like that.

Well, sirs, I can't believe my own eyes. No one can possibly explain to me where these chestnuts have vanished, and if it were not for you, I would suspect myself of having invented or dreamed it all up. You know, that's how it is with memories, you can never be sure. Thank you very much, madam, I shall go to look for the house I lived in. No, thank you, I would rather be alone.

Then he goes up to a door, although it wasn't the door, and pushes the bell. Excuse me, he says in a completely normal voice, does Andreas Sam live here? No, no, says the woman, can't you read? Professor Smerdel lives here.

But are you sure, he repeats, that Andreas Sam doesn't live here? He lived here before the war, I know for certain. Perhaps you recall his father? Eduard Sam, with glasses? Or perhaps you recall his mother, Marija Sam, tall, pretty, very quiet? Or his sister, Ana Sam, always had a ribbon in her hair? There, you see, where that bed of onions is, that's where their bed was. You see, madam, I can remember perfectly well. That's where the sewing machine stood, his mother's, Marija Sam's. It was a Singer, with a treadle.

Oh, don't worry, madam, I am just recalling some memories, you know, after so many years, it all vanishes. There, do you see, at my bedhead an apple tree has grown, and the Singer has turned into a rose bush. A new four storey house has gone up by the garden, and Professor Smerdel lives in it. They have cut down the chestnuts – war, people, or just time.

And this is what happened, at Bemova Twenty Seven. Some score of years ago, that I wanted to skip with lyrical leap forward. My father, two or three months after our departure, entered house number 27 in Bemova and took out our things, two wardrobes, two beds, the Singer of my mother. When they had taken out the last bit of furniture, and that was the ottoman the springs sing in, you see Mrs Smerdel, I am still speaking to you, what happened. "When we had taken out the last bit of furniture, my dear Olga, and that was the ottoman the springs sing in, the building collapsed like a house of cards. I don't know myself by what miracle I managed to..." (From the letter of my father, Eduard Sam, to his sister, Olga Sam-Urga).

Now onions are planted here, nice green leeks, madam....

Erden
Kosova

Učestvuju / With contributions by:

A.C.A.B.
Ronen Eidelman
Aydan Murtezaoglu

KORAK
USTRANU

STEPPING
SIDEWAYS

Neka geografska područja muče svoje stanovnike uvjetima društvene bezizlaznosti, dubokim usjecima unutar društva te osjećajem kolektivne deprivacije, izolacije i osifikacije. Ako interakcija neprijateljskih aktera u kohabitaciji ne popusti pred postupnom i konstruktivnom razgradnjom postojećih polarizacija, preostaje samo melankolična ili fatalistička introvertiranost uz gubitak nade u postizanje sretnije budućnosti ili pak pribjegavanje kompenzacijskim strategijama na osobnoj razini, disidentifikaciji ili praksama dvostrukе izdaje (možda čak i trostrukе ili višeslojne) kako bi se minimalizirale posljedice društvene zatvorenosti. Ili se pak anticipiraju spontane eksplozivne reakcije, trenuci kolektivne epifanije ili dolazak neke izvanjske, gotovo mesijanske sile koja će poremetiti taj društveni stagnum. Za izložbu koju smo prije četiri godine postavili u raskoljenom gradu Nikoziji, Katerina Gregos i ja smislili smo naslov *Leaps of Faith*, što se na ironičan, ali i ponešto autoreferencijalan način odnosilo na sličan polureligiozni optimizam u pogledu izgleda za topljenje političkih i psiholoških granica između dviju strana na podijeljenom Cipru i rezultata donkihotskih i ustajnih nastojanja otočkih intelektualaca i umjetnika. Ako je ikada bilo ikakvih obrata vjere u pogledu suživota u novijem razdoblju – što je prilično dvojbeno – to nije imalo nikakvog utjecaja na političku sferu. Jedino što nam stoji na raspolaganju su oscilacije između puke nade u novi početak i gorkog realizma zbog postojeće zatvorenosti.

Hip Activities (2003.-09.), fotografski ciklus Aydan Murtezaoglu, umjetnice koja živi i radi u Istanbulu, zasniva se na takvom osjećaju optimizma. Ona tu govori o trenucima susreta između aktivističkih masa ljevice i ljudi koji naizgled ne pripadaju sociologiji prosvjednika, nego se javljaju

Some geographies torment their inhabitants with conditions of social impasses, deepening rifts within the society, a sense of collective deprivation, isolation and ossification. If the interaction between the antagonistic actors in cohabitation does not yield to a gradual and constructive undoing of the existing polarisations, one is left either with a melancholic or fatalist introversion by loss of the hope to attain a more fortunate future or one tries to pursue compensatory strategies, at the personal level, of disidentification or practices of double betrayal (perhaps even triple, or more layered) in order to minimize the effects of social closures. Or otherwise one anticipates spontaneously exploding reactions, moments of collective epiphany or an external, almost messianic force to arrive for queering the pitch of the social stale. For the exhibition we curated together in the divided city of Nicosia four years ago, Katerina Gregos and myself came up with the title *Leaps of Faith* which in an ironic but also somewhat self-regarding way appealed to a similarly semi-religious optimism about the prospect of a melting down of political and psychological borders between the two sides of the partition in Cyprus, about the results of the quixotic and enduring efforts of the intellectuals and artists of the island. If there was any *leap* in the faith for living together in this last period – which is quite doubtful – it had no impact on the political sphere. Oscillation between sheer hope of new beginnings and bitter realism of existing closures is what we have in hand.

Hip Activities (2003-09), the photographic series of Istanbul-based artist Aydan Murtezaoglu employs a similar sense of optimism. It is based on the moments of encounter between activist crowds from the left and people who do not seemingly

kao građani koji "poštuju red", obilježeni odjećom koja otkriva njihovo donekle povlašteno klasno podrijetlo. Nedostaje im angažman koji posjeduju prosvjednici i stoga ih je lako poistovjetiti s neprogresivnom, srednjom osnovom društva; ali ono na što Murtezaogluova želi ukazati jest činjenica da uspjeh svakog političkog aktivizma u potpunosti ovisi o svjedočanstvu tih prolaznika i svjedoka. U ranijim radovima umjetnica je nastojala problematizirati olako odbacivanje masa od strane inteligencije, kao i praksu samočestitanja, demonizacije i polarizacije koja je iz toga proizašla.

Hip Activities predstavlja trenutak u kojemu napetost između tih dvaju društvenih segmenta ustupa mjesto njihovu prolaznom, ali suosjećajnom približavanju, iako su njihove razlike i dalje prisutne te se čak naglašavaju kroz očiti anakronizam. Slike "pratnje" koja se infiltrira u ulične mase i "svjedoka" koji radoznalo promatraju događaje sa svojih balkona ne pripadaju sadašnjosti poput prosvjeda, nego nekom drugom vremenu, naime kraju šezdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, povijesnom razdoblju obilježenom društvenim nemirima koji su na mahove osiguravali političkom aktivizmu potporu javnosti.

Optimistički ton u ciklusu fotografija *Hip Activities* paradoksalno je našteto načinu na koji je djelo izlagano. Murtezaogluova je osjetila potrebu da ga povuče s velike izložbe u Beirutu 2005. jer je šokantno ubojstvo Rafika Haririja nekoliko tjedana prije otvaranja izložbe potpuno dislociralo euforiju kojom je ciklus bio prožet. Isto se dogodilo 2007. godine, kada je umjetnica otkazala prezentaciju fotografskog ciklusa u Turskom paviljonu na Bijenalnu u Veneciji nakon traumatičnog ubojstva Hranta Dinka u Istanbulu: čak je i indirektno predstavljanje zemlje nakon tog ubojstva za nju

belong to the sociology of the demonstrators, but rather appear as "orderly" citizens marked by the dress-code disclosing their slightly more privileged class formation. They lack the engagement the demonstrators possess, therefore they can be easily associated with the non-progressive middle ground of the society; but what Murtezaoglu tries to hint at is the fact that the success of any political activism is fully dependent on the testimony of these passers-by and witnesses. In her previous works, the artist tried to problematise the hasty dismissal of the masses by the intelligentsia and the consequent practices of self-congratulation, demonisation and polarisation.

Hip Activities presents the moment in which the tension between these two social segments gives way to a transient but sympathetic approximation, while their differences are maintained, or even accentuated by an obvious anachronism. The images of the "escorts" that fuse into the crowd on the street and the "witnesses" that watch the events curiously from their balcony belong not to the present as the demonstrations do, but rather to another date, namely the end of sixties, a historical period which was marked by social upheavals that momentarily granted political activism public support.

The optimistic tone in the *Hip Activities* paradoxically harmed the way the work has been exhibited. Murtezaoglu felt the urge to withdraw the piece from a major show in Beirut in 2005 since the shocking assassination of Rafik Hariri a couple of weeks before the exhibition opening completely displaced the euphoria invested in it. The same happened in 2007; the artist cancelled the presentation of the photographic series from the Turkish pavilion in Venice Biennial after the traumatic as-

postalo neodrživim. Sačuvala je ciklus za prigode u kojima bi njegov optimizam imao smisla i bio funkcionalan.

Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi / Where Everything is Yet to Happen uključuje neumjetnički, ali vizualno bogat doprinos pod nazivom A.C.A.B. Taj naslov, preuzet iz britanske kulture skinheadsa i anarchističke pankerske scene, sastoji se od prvih slova određenog slogana, a usvojile su ga brojne radikalne skupine nogometnih navijača. Pogrdno asocirane s huliganstvom, te radikalne skupine ukidaju međusobni antagonizam i udružuju se kako bi se suprotstavile ekscesivnim sigurnosnim mjerama kojima je svrha disciplinirati okorjele nogometne navijače koji se ne uklapaju u profil pristojnog "gledateљa" u paranoičnom društvenom uređenju kakvo se razvilo nakon 11. rujna. Bez obzira na njihove razlike i tenzije klupskog, etničkog ili nacionalnog karaktera, osobe koje se osjećaju poveznima s A.C.A.B. etikom pozivaju se na globalno zajednički jezik otpora protiv sterilizacije kulturnog života, gentrifikacije stadiona i uništenja navijačke kulture u nogometu.

U projektu *Medinat Weimar* Ronen Eidelman, umjetnik i aktivist koji živi i radi u Tel Avivu, usmjerava oštricu svoga rada prema povlaštenim zemljama čije obilježavanje drugih geografskih područja kao zona sukoba implicira da su njihovi vlastiti teritoriji sigurni i izuzeti iz sličnih antagonizama. Dok je studirao u Weimaru, gradu koji simbolizira visoku kulturu njemačke prošlosti, Eidelman je shvatio da proces "suočavanja s poviješću" u Njemačkoj ustvari nije dovršen, a referencije na nekadašnju židovsku prisutnost u navodno uglađenom gradu poput Weimara još uvijek mogu izazvati nervozne reakcije. Kako bi dosegao sam korijen problema, Eidelman je dizajnirao projekt u kojemu

sassination of Hrant Dink in Istanbul: even an indirect representation of the country after this murder became unsustainable for her. She preserved the series for occasions in which its optimism would matter and function.

Where Everything is Yet to Happen hosts a non-artistic but visually rich contribution from A.C.A.B. This title, inherited from British skinhead culture and anarcho-punk scenes based on the initials of a certain slogan, has been appropriated by numerous ultras groups from the sphere of football. Associated pejoratively with hooliganism these ultras-groups suspend their mutual antagonisms and join forces to defy excessive security measures designed to discipline diehard football supporters that do not fit in to the well-behaved "spectator" profile of the paranoid post-11/9 social management. Regardless of their club-based, ethnical or national differences and tensions, people who affiliate with A.C.A.B. ethics appeal to a globally shared language of resistance to the sterilisation of cultural life, the gentrification of stadiums and destruction of supporter culture in football.

In his project *Medinat Weimar*, Tel Aviv-based artist/activist Ronen Eidelman directs the biting edge of his work towards privileged countries whose branding of some other geographies as conflict zones implicate that their territories is safely exempted from similar antagonisms. While studying in Weimar, the symbol city of the high culture of the German past, Eidelman realised that the process of "coming to terms with history" has actually not been completed in Germany, and references to the past Jewish presence in a supposedly civil city like Weimar could still trigger nervous reactions. In order to reach the roots of the problem Eidelman designed a

predlaže uspostavu židovske države unutar njemačke savezne pokrajine Tiringije. Nadovezujući se na ranije umjetničke projekte o mikrodržavama i formulirajući neesencijalističko shvaćanje državljanstva, *Medinat Weimar* problematizira stabilnost granica nacionalne države na geografskom području gdje se one čine sasvim prirodima. U ironičnom obratu on izokreće uloge u intervencionizmu i arogantnom inženjeringu političkih topografija drugih naroda, ističući sve dublju ksenofobiju i antisemitizam unutar Utvrde Europe.

project that proposed the establishment of Jewish state within the Bundes-state of Thuringia. Informed by previous artistic projects on microstates and formulating a non-essentialist sense of citizenship *Medinat Weimar* problematises the stability of the borders of the nation-state in a geography in which they appear most natural. In an ironic twist, it reverses the roles within interventionism and arrogant engineering on the political topographies of other peoples, and highlight the deepening xenophobia and anti-Semitism within Fortress Europe.

A.C.A.B.



Multimedijalna
instalacija, izbor
materijala: Erden
Kosova

Multimedia
installation, materi-
als selected by Erden
Kosova

Ronen Eidelman

Medinat Weimar,
dokumentacija pro-
jekta i multimedijal-
na instalacija, 2008

Medinat Weimar,
project documenta-
tion and multimedia
installation, 2008



Medinat Weimar The Movement for a Jewish State in Thuringia. Deutschland.

We are in the process of drafting support for the movement. We invite and encourage people from any background and nationality to become active members of the movement and take part in forwarding the vision based on our Thirteen Principles.

Press Visit our website for more information, to learn about our principles and to sign up in support.



www.medinatweimar.org

Medinat Weimar otvara biro u sklopu izložbe *Možeš li govoriti o tome? -Da, mogu*, u Banja Luci, u Bosni i Hercegovini, gdje uspostavlja svoje privremeno sjedište. Namjera biroa je da lokalnu javnost educira o pokretu i pozove ih da podrže njegovu ideju. Vjerujemo da Bosna i Hercegovina – sa svojom istorijom nacionalizma i etničkog nasilja, sa svojim kompleksnim odnosom s Evropskom Unijom, sa kompleksnim multi-religijskim tradicijama – može doprinijeti u širenju vizije pokreta i može uvjeriti Evropljane u vitalnost ove ideje. Vjerujemo da se stanovnici regije mogu poistovjetiti sa našom vizijom i pronaći nadu u idjemu Medinat Weimara.

Medinat Weimar is opening a bureau at the exhibition *Can You Speak Of This? -Yes, I Can* in Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and is establishing its temporary headquarters there. The purpose of the office is to educate the local public about the movement and encourage them to support the idea. We believe that Bosnia-Herzegovina – with its history of nationalism and ethnic violence, and its complicated relationship to the European Union, with its complex multi-religious traditions – can play a role in forwarding the vision of the movement and can help persuade the European people in the vitality of the idea. We believe that the people of the region can relate to our vision and find hope in the ideas of Medinat Weimar.





Ronen Eidelman

Trinaest principa

1. Medinat Vajmar želi da kreira jevrejsku državu u Turingiji, u Njemačkoj, sa Vajmarom kao glavnim gradom.
2. Medinat Vajmar je rješenje za prevazilaženje trenutne krize i liječenje jevrejske traume, njemačke krivice, istočnomediterskih konflikata, problema istočne Njemačke, kao i drugih problema u svijetu.
3. Medinat Vajmar koristiće autonomiju umjetnosti i umjetničke institucije, kao i sredstva koja se koriste u političkim kampanjama i aktivizmu uz pomoć koga bi trebalo uvjeriti građane Njemačke, Evropske unije, svjetske jevrejske zajednice i nacionalnu zajednicu da podrže ostvarenje države.
4. Medinat Vajmar definiše jevrejstvo, ne pomoću krvi ili porijekla, već kroz sličnost u razmišljanjima, kroz kulturu, zajedničku istoriju i jedinstvo sudbine. Smatra se da Jevreji evropskog porijekla, Jevreji neevropskog porijekla, palestinski Arapi (poput muslimana i hrišćana) i ostale strane pod uticajem aktivnosti države Izrael dijele istu sudbinu.
5. Medinat Vajmar poziva i ohrabruje ljude različitih sredina i nacija da postanu aktivni članovi pokreta i učestvuju u proširenju vizije.
6. Medinat Vajmar može igrati važnu ulogu u liječenju antisemitizma, Schuldabwehrantisemitismusa (antisemitizam nastao odbranom od krivice), problematične ekspresije prosemnitizma, te njemačke i jevrejske samomržnje i aktuelnih konflikata između jevrejskih, arapskih i muslimanskih zajednica.
7. Medinat Vajmar nije zamjena za sadašnju državu Izrael, već drugačija jevrejska država. Država čiji će cilj biti da ispunи očekivanja vizije da postane „svjetlo nacije“, omogućavajući ponovno kulturno i duhovno rođenje, kao i miran dom u skladu sa neuspjehom zionističkog pokušaja da se „normalizuju“ jevrejski narodi i ostvari siguran raj.
8. Medinat Vajmar vjeruje da ljudi imaju pravo ne samo na samoodređenje, nego i samopreodređenje, i redefinisanje, takođe.
9. Medinat Vajmar želi da prevaziđe sve ideološke, kulturne i religijske prepreke unutar izraelskog, kao i njemačkog diskursa.
10. Medinat Vajmar vjeruje da Turingija sa svojim važnim mjestom u njemačkoj kul-

turi, istoriji antisemitizma i njemačkog nacionalizma, nasljedstva jevrejskog života i kulture, kao i opadajućom populacijom i slabom ekonomijom jeste optimalno mjesto za novu jevrejsku državu. Jevrejska država u Turginiji neće pružiti samo rješenje nevoljama jevrejskog svijeta, nego i ekonomskim i kulturnim neprilikama Turginije, kao problematičnoj bivšoj provinciji Istočne Njemačke.

11. Medinat Vajmar je realno i antifašističko rješenje mnogih problema s kojima se Turginija kao bivša provincija Istočne Njemačke suočava, pa će kao takva pomoći razvoju zemlje i biti od koristi svim stanovnicima. Jevrejska država nije kazna, već nagrada. Kroz Turginiju nudimo svim Nijemcima priliku za iskupljenje, kao i oslobođanje od duhova prošlosti.

12. Medinat Vajmar takođe želi ispitati i istražiti uspon nacionalizma protiv realnosti globalizacije i migracije i ponovno javljanje religije kao kulturnog identiteta protiv svjetovne globalizacije kapitala.

13. Medinat Vajmar nije realan pokret, već više onaj koji želi da uznemiri i provocira nerazumne zaključke koji ilustruju njihovu unutrašnju logiku i absurd.

Pružamo ruku svim narodima Turginije u potrazi za mirom i dobrim susjedstvom, i molimo ih da ostvare veze kooperacije i međusobnu pomoć sa našim pokretom budućim suverenim jevrejskim narodom koji će naseljavati te prostore.

Medinat Vajmar je spremam da uradi svoj dio u zajedničkom naporu za unapređenjem cijelog regiona.

Ronen Eidelman

The Thirteen Principles

1. Medinat Weimar wishes to establish a Jewish state in Thuringia, Germany, with the city of Weimar as its capital.
2. Medinat Weimar is a solution to overcome the present crises and heal Jewish trauma, German guilt, East Mediterranean conflicts, East German troubles and many other problems in the world.
3. Medinat Weimar will utilize the autonomy of art and its institutions, as well as use the tools of political campaigning and activism to convince the citizens of Germany, the European Union, the worlds Jewish communities and the international community to support the founding of the state.
4. Medinat Weimar defines Jewish not through blood or ancestry but through similarity in mind, culture, common history and unity of fate. Jews from European origin, Jews from non-European origin, Palestinians Arabs (Muslim and Christian alike) and all other parties affected by the activities of the state of Israel are considered to share a common fate.
5. Medinat Weimar invites and encourages people from any background and nationally to become active members of the movement and take part in forwarding the vision.
6. Medinat Weimar can play an important role in healing anti-Semitism, Schuld-abwehrantisemitismus (guilt-defensiveness anti-Semitism) problematic expressions of Philosemitismus, both german and jewish self hatred and the ongoing conflict between the Jewish, Arab and Muslim communities.
7. Medinat Weimar is not a replacement of the current state of Israel but a different Jewish state. A state apprising to live up to the vision of being a “light to the nations”, generating a cultural and spiritual renaissance as well as a peaceful home addressing the failure of the Zionist claim to “normalize” the Jewish people and establish a safe haven.
8. Medinat Weimar believes peoples maintain not only the rights of selfdetermination and self-definition, but self-redetermination and self-redefinition as well.
9. Medinat Weimar wants to transverse all ideological, cultural and religious trenches within the Israeli as well as the German discourse.

More information on Medinat Weimar's goals and principles: www.medinatweimar.org

10. Medinat Weimar believes that Thuringia with its important place in German culture, history of anti-Semitism and German nationalism, legacy of Jewish life and culture as well as its shrinking population and a weak economy is the optimal place for a new Jewish state. A Jewish state in Thuringia will not only provide a resolution to the plight of world Jewry, but also an economic and cultural resolution to Thuringia's plight as a struggling former East German province.
11. Medinat Weimar is a sober and anti-fascist solution to many problems that the state of Thuringia is facing as a former East German province and will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants. A Jewish state is not a punishment but a prize. Through Thuringia we offer all German people an opportunity for redemption as well as liberation from the ghosts of their past.
12. Medinat Weimar wants to question and explore the rise of nationalism versus the reality of globalization and migration and the re-emergence of religion as a cultural identifier versus the secular globalization of capital.
13. Medinat Weimar is not a realistic movement, but rather one that seeks to agitate and provoke by taking anti-Semitic, neo-liberal, nationalistic, Zionist arguments to their unreasonable conclusions illustrating their inner logic and absurdity.

We extend our hand to all the peoples of Thuringia in an offer of peace and good neighbourliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with our movement and to the future sovereign Jewish people settled in the land. Medinat Weimar is prepared to do its share in a common effort for the advancement of the entire region.

Aydan Murtezaoğlu



HIP ACTIVIST - LIVE
(iz/from HIP ACTIVITIES-Escort Series),
2003-2004 fotografija
/photograph: 120 x 150 cm



ESCORTS (from HIP ACTIVITIES-Escort Series), 2003-2005, fotografija/photograph: 120 x 170 cm

DISPLACEMENT (iz/
from HIP AC-
TIVITIES- Balcony
Series), 2003-2006,
fotografija: različite
dimenzije/photo-
graph: dimensions
variable



AIRBAG (iz/from HIP
ACTIVITIES- Woman
Driver Series), 2003-
2009, fotografija:
različite dimenzije/
photograph: dimen-
sions variable



NO WAR (SAVAŞA
HAYIR) (from HIP
ACTIVITIES- Bal-
cony Series), 2003-
2006 , fotografija /
photograph: 120 x
170 cm

Nina
Möntmann

Učestvuju / With contributions by:

Yael Bartana
Esra Ersen
Sharif Waked

ČUJEMO KAKO
GOVORITE
TAJNIM DIJALE-
KTIMA

WE HEAR YOU
SPEAKING IN SE-
CRET DIALECTS

Moj prilog izložbi *Gdje se sve tek treba dogoditi* usredsređen je na ulogu jezika i komunikacije u procesu stvaranja osjećaja pripadnosti, te problematizuje kulturne implikacije jezika, istražujući djelovanje koje se može postići strateškom (zlo)upotrebljom jezika.

Uz religiju i nacionalnost, jezik je važan element u procesu stvaranja nacionalnog narativa i identiteta. Tu sposobnost jezika Benedict Anderson opisuje kao sposobnost generisanja „imaginarnih zajednica“. Nacionalne zajednice su imaginarne jer se velika većina ljudi nikada u životu međusobno ne upozna i nužno ne dijeli interes, iskustva i ideale. Ti ljudi oblikuju zajednicu prema čisto esencijalističkoj definiciji. Evropski nacionalizam je, na primjer, bio ukorijenjen u jezičnim razlikama, uglavnom između geografskih područja, ali i između suverena i podređenih. Stoga se jezik, kao sredstvo komunikacije i razumijevanja među ljudima, koristi u svrhu manifestacije nacionalnih interesa i odnosa moći.

Obmanjujuća upotreba jezika u umjetničkim djelima, prikazanim na ovoj izložbi, sastoji se u potkopavanju, upravo tog hegemonijskog nacionalnog narativa i njegovih implikacija, čime se usmjerava pažnja na subjektivne istorije, individualnu neposlušnost i buntovni potencijal društvenih mreža.

Migracija, na primjer, stavlja ljude u poziciju navigacije izvan dominantnog prostora uzajamnog razumijevanja. Ali, oni stvaraju i treći prostor, onaj „prostor između“ koji se otvara u razdoblju tranzicije, kada narod preseli u neku novu zemlju, te pokušava naučiti njen jezik i približiti svoje „kulturne“ navike njenima.

Naposlijetu, u eri „kulture susreta“ u neoliberalnom svijetu biznisa, komunikacija se često praktikuje kao svrha sebi samoj, te

My contribution to *Where Everything Is Yet to Happen* is focussing on the role of language and communication in the process of creating a sense of belonging. It discusses the cultural implications of language and explores the agency that can be instituted by a strategic (mis)use of language.

Language constitutes, besides religion and ethnicity, an important element in the process of creating a national narrative and identity. This capacity of language is described by Benedict Anderson as the capacity for generating “imagined communities”. Those national communities are imagined, because the vast majority of people never meet in their lives, nor do they necessarily share interests, experiences or ideals. By a merely essentialist definition they form a community. The nationalism of Europe was for example rooted in language distinctions mainly between geographic areas but also between sovereigns and subalterns. Therefore language, a means of communication and understanding among people, is used as an instrument to manifest national interests and power relations.

The delusive use of language in the artworks in this exhibition is there to undermine exactly the hegemonic national narrative and its implications, and by this draws attention to subjective histories, individual disobedience as well as the seductive potential of social networks.

Migration for example puts people in the position to navigate outside the dominant space of mutual understanding. But it also produces a third space, an in-between-space that opens up in this period of transition, when people move to a new country and try to learn its language and approximate “cultural” habits.

zamjenjuje pravo istraživanje i pripremu. Prikrivenе i subverzivne komunikacijske strategije ili strateško odbijanje komunikacije suprotstavljaju se glavnoj struji i imaju važnu ulogu u stvaranju karaktera i kvaliteta novih društvenih formacija.

Svi video radovi u mom prilogu izložbi prikazuju slike nekog govornika koji izokreće standarde komunikacije. Tako, dinamičan političar koga Yael Bartana prikazuje u radu *Mary Koszmary* iz 2008. godine koristi jezik propagande iz Drugog svjetskog rata, zalažući se za povratak Jevreja u Poljsku, te empatično propovijeda praznom stadionu, dok lijepo obučeni bombaš-samoubica u videu Sharifa Wakeda *To Be Continued* iz 2009. godine umjesto mučeničke poruke pripovijeda priče iz Hiljadu i jedne noći. U radu Esre Ersen *If You Could Speak Swedish* iz 2001. godine narod koji se preselio u novu, stranu zemlju sluša kurs jezika i pripovijeda lične priče iz nekadašnjeg zavičaja na švedskom, iako ne razumije taj novi jezik.

Jezički čin je u svim radovima posebno irritantan, s obzirom da je stavljen u neobičan kontekst ili, pak, potpuno izokreće očekivani sadržaj i govornu intenciju. Umjetnici se poigravaju stereotipima jezika i očekivanjima koja ti stereotipi kreiraju.

Video Sharifa Wakeda *To Be Continued* iz 2009. godine prikazuje dobro poznati vizuelni jezik video poruke bombaš-samoubice neposredno prije nego što krene da ispuni svoju misiju, odnosno postane mučenik. Ali, umjesto njegovih posljednjih riječi, čovjek na video snimku čita priče iz *Hiljadu i jedne noći*, odgađajući – poput Šeherezade – trenutak smrti. Waked razrješava tu zgusnutu vezu i uzajamnu podršku vizuelnog jezika i izgovorene riječi, koja nam je postala isuvrše poznata iz novijih televizijskih emisija, i kojom se

Finally in the age of a “meeting culture” in a neoliberal business world, communication is often practiced as an end in itself and replaces proper research and preparation. Covert and subversive communication strategies or the strategic refusal of communication are opposed to the mainstream use of communication and play a significant role in creating the character and quality of new social formations.

All video works in my contribution to the exhibition show images of a speaker, who converts communication standards: Yael Bartana's dynamic politician in *Mary Koszmary*, 2008, uses propaganda language from WWII to plead for Jews to return to Poland, and is emphatically preaching to an empty stadium; the dressed-up suicide-bomber in Sharif Waked's video *To Be Continued*, 2009, is narrating tales from the Thousand and One Nights instead of a martyr message; and in Esra Ersen's *If You Could Speak Swedish*, 2001, people, who moved to a new foreign country participate in a language course and are telling personal stories from his/her homeland in Swedish, without already understanding the new language.

The act of speech is highly irritating in all the works, because it is set in an unusual context or completely controverts the expected content and intention of speech. The artists are playing with stereotypes of language and the expectations these are creating.

Sharif Waked's video *To Be Continued*, 2009, exposes the familiar visual language of the video message of a suicide bomber, just before he is going to fulfil his mission to become a martyr. But instead of his final words, the man in the video reads stories from the *Thousand and One Nights*, delaying - like Scheherazade - the moment of his death. Waked resolves the dense connec-

rasistički kliše o nasilnom muslimanskom fanatiku predstavio globalnoj javnosti. Umjesto toga, on otvara prostor imaginacije tako što mučeniku daje da koristi jezik smrti koji je legitimisan u domenu bajki i priča o nestvarnom. Kada Šeherezada pripovijeda te priče, ona pokušava sebe da spasi od smrti, što stvara tenziju nasuprot navodnom počinitelju u liku mučenika.

Yael Bartana se u radu *Mary Koszmary* iz 2008. godine bavi pitanjem zamjene u postnacionalnoj eri. U empatičnom govoru mladić u savršenom poslovnom odijelu (neki Poljaci mogli bi u njemu prepoznati Sławomira Sierakowskog, sociologa posvećenog ponovnom oživljavanju lijeve politike u Poljskoj) poziva tri miliona Jevreja – a to je broj Jevreja koji su živjeli u Poljskoj prije holokausta – da se „vrate“ u zemlju jer su potrebni Poljskoj. Govor razotkriva utopističku sliku nove Evrope, koja prevladava mržnju i rado prihvata raznolikosti, istovremeno izokrećući nacionalističku ideologiju cionizma. Govornik se služi propagandnim jezikom iz Drugog svjetskog rata, zaodijevajući time svoju pomirljivu poruku u jezik rata i dominacije. Naslov u prevodu glasi „noćne more“ i doprinosi sumnjama u istinitost jezika.

U video radu *If You Could Speak Swedish* iz 2001. godine Esra Ersen prikazuje kurs jezika za imigrante u Švedskoj. Ali, nešto je tu drugačije, jer polaznici kursa ne uče, kao što je uobičajeno, rečenice koje govore o životu, istoriji i tradiciji Švedske. Umjesto toga, Ersenova je zamolila da svaki od njih kaže švedskom narodu ono što bi želio. Njihovi odgovori odnosili su se na vlastiti zavičaj, poput Iraka ili Rumunije. Izvorno su bili napisani na materinjim jezicima, ali ih je nakon toga preveo profesionalni prevodilac, te su ih napislijetku autori samo pročitali, ovoga puta na švedskom.

tion and mutual support of visual language and the spoken word that have become all too familiar in recent broadcasts, and through which the racist cliché of the violent Muslim fanatic was manifested in the world public. Instead he opens up the space of imagination by having the martyr use a language of death that is legitimated in the realm of fairy tales and surreal stories. When Scheherazade was narrating these tales, she was following the intention to save herself from execution, which creates a tension with the alleged perpetrator in the figure of the martyr.

Yael Bartana, *Mary Koszmary*, 2008, deals with the issue of replacement in a post-national era. In an emphatic speech, a young man in a perfect business suit, (some Polish people might recognize him as Sławomir Sierakowski, a sociologist committed to re-establishing left wing politics in Poland) is calling upon three million Jews - the number of Jews, who lived in Poland before the Holocaust - to “return” to the country, because Poland needs them. The speech unveils a utopian image of a new Europe that overcomes hatred and embraces diversity in addition to inverting the nationalist ideology of Zionism. The man uses the propaganda language of WWII, and by this dresses his conciliatory message into a language of warfare and domination. The title means “nightmares” in English and contributes to the doubts about the truthfulness of the speech.

In her video *If You Could Speak Swedish*, 2001, Esra Ersen shows a language course for immigrants in Sweden. But something is different; the language students are not learning, as usual, sentences that tell about the life, history and traditions in Sweden. Instead Ersen has asked what each of them would like to say to Swedish people. Their answers have to do with their own respec-

Njihove muke, okljevanja i nedoumice u korištenju švedskog jezika preklapaju se vizuelno i akustički s različitim porijeklom polaznika, njihovim različitim emocionalnim iskustvima i nadama vezanim za nove živote. Uhvativši te konkretnе trenutke u procesu ovladavanja novim jezikom, ovaj rad uspijeva da kritički sagleda prošlost, sadašnjost i budućnost. Rezultat tog transjezičkog govornog čina ne uključuje samo one koji će „postati“ Švedani, nego i one koji na taj način učimo kako on može baciti novo svjetlo na trenutnu situaciju i ostaviti traga u toj zemlji.

tive home country, like Iraq or Romania. They were originally written down in each person's mother language, but were then translated by a professional translator, and afterwards just read out by the authors of the statements, only this time in Swedish. Their struggles, hesitations and confusions in using the Swedish language visually and acoustically overlap with the diverse backgrounds, mixed emotional experiences and hopes for new lives they hold. Capturing these concrete moments within the process of mastering a new language, the work succeeds in critically reflecting past, present and future. The effect of this trans-lingual speech act does not only include those who are to 'become' Swedes; we also learn that it can shed new light on the present situation and leave traces in that country.

Yael Bartana

Mary Koszmary
(Nightmares)

Mary Koszmary
(Noćne more)
2007

16mm film
prebačen na DVD /
16 mm film trans-
ferred to DVD,
10'50"

Courtesy of Annet
Gelink Gallery



Yael Bartana

Jews! Fellow countrymen! People! Peeeeople!

You think the old woman who still sleeps under Rifke's quilt doesn't want to see you? Has forgotten about you? You're wrong. She dreams about you every night. Dreams and trembles with fear. Since the night you were gone and her mother reached for your quilt, she has had nightmares. Bad dreams. Only you can chase them away. Let the three million Jews that Poland has missed stand by her bed and finally chase away the demons.

Return to Poland, to your country! Stand by her bed and lay your hands on that old quilt. Thin as a sheet, with the down long gone. I'm telling you, lay your hands on her, and tell her, 'We're giving this quilt to you'.

'What do we need it for? There's no longer any down in it, only pain. Heal our wounds, and you'll heal yours'. And we'll be together again.

This is a call, not to the dead but to the living. We want three million Jews to return to Poland, to live with us again. We need you! We are asking you to return!
When you left, we were secretly happy. We kept saying, 'At last we're home by ourselves'. The Polish Pole in Poland, with no one disturbing us. And because we still weren't happy, from time to time we found a Jew and told him to leave Poland. Even when it was clear that none of you were left, there were still those who kept telling you to go. And what?

Today we are fed up looking at our similar faces. On the streets of our great cities, we are on the lookout for strangers and listening intently when they speak. Yes! Today we know that we cannot live alone. We need the other, and there's no closer other for us than you! Come! The same but changed. Let us live together. Let us be different, but let one not harm the other. We will be us at last, and you will be you. We will become you, and you will become us. We will be local and open to the world. Together we shall create works of hands and minds the world has never seen. And Europe will be stunned. Everyone will learn from us how to be themselves and how to be everyone else.

Take with you what you have and what you miss. We miss you! Let us learn our songs again and let us write new ones. Let us learn our prayers and let us learn to live without prayer. Return, and both you and us will finally cease to be the chosen people. Chosen for suffering, chosen for taking wounds, and chosen for inflicting wounds. Return, and we shall finally become Europeans.

With one language, we cannot speak.

With one religion, we cannot listen.
With one colour, we cannot see.
With one culture, we cannot feel.
Without you, we cannot even remember.
Without you, we will remain locked away in the past, with you, a future will open up for us.

There is no future for chosen peoples. There is no future for peoples in general. When we look each other in the eye, the armour will fall and together we shall achieve things the philosophers didn't dream were possible.

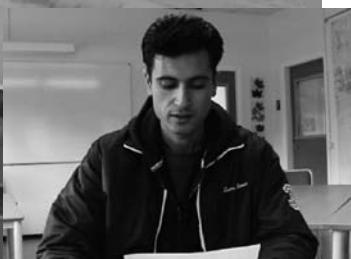
Jews! Fellow countrymen! People! Peeeeople!

If not now, then when? If not us, then who? Who will pull Poland out of the mire so that it doesn't sink? Let us not wait for the global market to make us all similar, let us not wait for a new outbreak of nationalisms – these tumours on the body of the free market – to pit us against each other or against others. Instead of identical, let us become one. We will never again exploit each other, humiliate each other, steal the fruit of each other's work. Next to the cemeteries we will build schools and hospitals. We will plant trees and build roads. If you want, we'll travel to the moon together.

Return today, and Poland will change, Europe will change, the world will change. And you will become different. Return not as shadows of the past but as hope for the future.

Welcome!

Esra Ersen



If You Could Speak
Swedish

Kad biste govorili
švedski

video, 23', 2001

Courtesy of the Moderna Museet and the artist

Sharif Waked

Nastavit če se...

To Be Continued...

Video, 41'33" 2009



Jelena
Vesić

Učestvuju / With contributions by:

Lutz Becker
Chto delat / What is to be done?

BUDUĆNOST JE
NASTAVAK
PROŠLOSTI DRUGIM
SREDSTVIMA^{1.}

THE FUTURE IS THE
EXTENSION OF THE
PAST BY OTHER
MEANS^{1.}

Naslov projekta *Gde se sve tek treba do-goditi* postavlja pred kustosa, umetnika i kritičara odgovoran zadatak – on na prvi pogled zabranjuje svaku trenutnu refleksiju ili retrospektivno mišljenje i tera nas na odlučan skok u budućnost, na zamišljanje još-ne-postojećeg. Dok je budućnost kao vera u bolje sutra i nezaustavljivi progres čovečanstva bila sastavni deo modernističkog projekta, danas se ta ista vizija reproducuje i multiplikuje kao nostalgična slika nekog boljeg “juče”.

Anticipacija–projekcija–optimizam, zahtevi su korporativnih politika budućnosti – mislite pozitivno, iako smo vas juče otpustili sa radnog mesta; glasajte za nas, iako su vaši ratovi i vaša beda primarni resursi našeg kapitala. Ako vam se budućnost ne čini dovoljno lepom, pokušajte da je zamislite ponovo.

A šta je sa savremenom umetnošću?
A šta je sa savremenom umetnošću?

Savremena umetnost voli budućnost, zato što smatra da budućnost nudi neobavezujući beg iz nepodnošljivog sada. Savremena umetnost voli utopiju, zato što misli da je po sredi društvena fantazija koja garantuje neograničenu slobodu. Savremena umetnost ne voli jasne planove, političku propagandu, didaktičke vrednosti i moralizam. Savremena umetnost voli ambivalencije i neopredeljenost. Savremena umetnost misli budućnost kao puku apstrakciju, kao nešto što se nalazi izvan istorije.

A budućnost se ipak ne događa izvan istorije, već predstavlja njen integralni deo. Štaviše, budućnost nikada nije figurisala kroz potpuno izostavljanje prošlosti, već je uvek bila u aktivnom odnosu sa njom. Modernizmi i avangarde, zabljesnuti

The title of the project, *Where Everything Is Yet to Happen*, places a responsible task in front of curator, artist and critic – at first glance it bans every momentary reflection or retrospective thinking and drives us to a determined leap into the future, thinking out the still-not-existing. While the future, as belief in a better tomorrow and the inexorable progress of humanity was a component part of the Modernist project, today the same vision is reproduced and multiplied as a nostalgic picture of a better “yesterday”.

Anticipation – projection – optimism are the requirements of the corporate politics of the future – think positive, although we made you redundant yesterday; vote for us, although your wars and your poverty are the primary resources of our capital. If the future doesn't seem nice enough to you, try to rethink it.

And what about contemporary art?
And what about contemporary art?

Contemporary art loves the future, because it thinks the future offers the non-obligatory flight from the unbearable now. Contemporary art loves utopia, because it thinks that it is about a social fantasy that guarantees unlimited liberty. Contemporary art does not like clear plans, political propaganda, didactic values and moralism. Contemporary art loves ambivalences and not taking sides. Contemporary art thinks of the future as a mere abstraction, something that is located outside history.

And the future does after all not happen outside history, but rather represents an integral part of it. What is more, the future has never figured through a total omission of the past, rather it has always had

svetlošću sa horizonta revolucije, mislili su 'bolje sutra' kao novum koji raskida sa prošlošću. Čak je i science fiction ustanovio pogled u vreme koje dolazi, sa glavom okrenutom unazad ... barem u smeru metamorfoza sadašnjice.

Projekcija budućnosti se samim tim uvek pojavljuje kao neka vrsta kritičke korekcije prošlosti i sadašnjosti.

Gde se sve tek treba dogoditi nije poziv na iskorak u bestežinsko stanje, već predlog koji ima svoje prostorne i vremenske koordinate, i koji postavlja akcenat na geopolitičku konstelaciju događaja. On uzima Bosnu i Hercegovinu kao mesto odakle budućnost treba da se misli upravo zbog post-Jugoslovenskih konfliktata, zločina i genocida, beskrajnog protektorata međunarodne zajednice i etno-politike kao jedine aktivne politike.

A šta su perspektive budućnosti u periferijskom neo-liberalizmu, obeleženom brzim bogaćenjem i još bržim osiromašenjem, permanentnim nestabilnostima i baukom fašizma?

Tumačenje broj 1.

BUDUĆNOST U (PERIFERALNOM) NEO-LIBERALIZMU ^{2.}

Prelov Kolektiv, Avgust 2007.

Postoji upečatljiva razlika između onoga kako budućnost shvatamo danas i načina na koji je ona bila shvatana pre 30 godina. Od 19. veka ideju modernosti karakteriše snažno uverenje u nezaustavljiv tehnološki progres koji se smatrao glavnim sredstvom napretka čitavog čovečanstva. O takvoj perspektivi blistave budućnosti svedoči i science fiction koji se razvija u novu nauku – futurologiju. S postmodernističkom mišlju ovakva ideja progresa je dovedena u pitanje i tokom vremena je odbačena. Međutim, ta promena ne označava toliko

an active relationship with it. Modernisms and the avant-gardes, radiating light from the horizon of the revolution, thought of a better tomorrow as an invention that breaks with the past. Even science fiction established a view into the time that is coming, with its head turned backwards... at least in the direction of a metamorphosis of the present.

A projection of the future thus by the mere fact always appears as a kind of critical correction of past and present.

Where Everything Is Yet to Happen is not a call to a dive into a state of weightlessness, but a proposal that has its own spatial and temporal coordinates, and that places its accent on the geopolitical constellation of events. It takes Bosnia and Herzegovina as a place whence the future should be thought about precisely because of the post-Yugoslav conflicts, crimes and genocides, the endless protectorate of the international community and ethno-politics as the only active politics.

And what is the outlook of a future in a peripheral neo-liberalism, marked by rapid enrichment and still faster impoverishment, permanent instabilities and the menace of fascism?

Interpretation No 1.

FUTURE IN A (PERIPHERAL) NEO-LIBERALISM ^{2.}

Prelov Kolektiv, August 2007

There is a stark difference between how the future is perceived nowadays and how it was presented some 30 years ago. From the outset of the 19th Century the idea of modernity was characterized by a firm belief in the unstoppable technological progress that was considered the main vehicle of betterment for all mankind. This view of a glorious future is evident from the development of science fiction to the founding

prevrat koji se desio samo u području ‘epochalne svesti’, već pre upućuje na transformaciju ekonomskih uslova života. Takozvana država blagostanja (bez obzira da je li je reč o ‘zapadnim demokratijama’ ili ‘realnom socijalizmu’) bila je utemeljena na mogućnosti planiranja ekonomskog razvoja, a upravo je taj horizont planiranja uništen nastupom neoliberalizma. Na području svakodnevnog života to postaje evidentno pojavom sveopštег prekariteta. Budućnost stoga više nije nekakva tehnoutopija koja će ljudima osigurati sve više slobodnog vremena – jer će radni proces prepustiti mašinama i robotima – nego perpetuirajuća istost pokušaja da se glava održi iznad vode. Budućnost u neoliberalizmu označava samo nadolazeću ratu kredita, ili nadolazeći radni dan. Budućnost se spominje samo kada se govori o prirodnim katastrofama, uništenju okoline ili nemovitosti nadolazeće ekonomске krize.

Šta možemo da kažemo o razotkrivanju budućnosti u perifernim područjima? To će svakako biti suprotno ‘ideologiji progresu’ koja tvrdi da se procesi modernizacije generišu u ekonomski najrazvijenijim područjima iz kojih se zatim šire dalje. Na području tzv. Zapadnog Balkana potencijali budućnosti su dvostruki. S jedne strane, imamo priliku da svedočimo o destruktivnim stranama neoliberalizma na mnogo otvoreniji i okrutniji način – procesi deregulacije i tržišna ekonomija, propast mreža socijalne sigurnosti ili destrukcija samog socijalnog tkiva u korist atomiziranih individua i hobsjanskog principa homo homini lupus est. S druge strane, upravo je u perifernim područjima moguće pronaći vernakularne strategije suprotstavljanja ovim destruktivnim učincima, s obzirom da postoji mnoštvo ‘sivih’ zona i aktivnosti koje izmiču ingerencijama vlade, policije i sudstva. Međutim, istraživanje mogućnosti koje se otvaraju za budućnost ne može da

of a new science – futurology. With the advent of postmodern thought this idea of progress was challenged and, eventually, destroyed. But this change is less of a shift that occurred solely within the realm of ‘epochal conscience’ and more a transformation within economic circumstances. The so-called welfare state (no matter if it was the one of ‘western democracies’ or the ‘really existing socialism’) was based on the possibility of planning economic growth, and it is precisely this horizon of planning that was destroyed by the dominance of neo-liberalism. In terms of everyday life this becomes evident through the generalized precariousness. Therefore, the future is not anymore some techno-utopia that enables more and more free time for the people – since the labour processes are left to machines and robots – but a perpetual sameness of the effort to keep one’s head above water. The future in neo-liberalism stands only for the next instalment, or the next work-day. The only mention of the future is to be found in terms of natural catastrophes, the destruction of the environment or the inevitability of an upcoming economic contraction.

What can we say about discovering the future in peripheral areas? This is obviously going to be contrary to the ‘ideology of progress’ which claimed that modernization processes are generated in the most economically developed areas and then disseminated further. In the so-called Western Balkans the potentialities of the future are twofold. On the one hand, we have the opportunity to witness the destructive sides of neo-liberalism in a more open and harsh manner – the processes of deregulation and free market economy, the downfall of social security networks or the destruction of the very social fabric in terms of atomized individuals and the Hobbesian principle homo homini lupus

se zaustavi na lociranju ovih 'negativnih' i 'pozitivnih' strana perifernog neoliberalizma. Koncept budućnosti moguće je otkrivati upravo ovde, jer periferna područja predstavljaju – lenjinističkim rečnikom rečeno – najslabiju kariku suvremenog kapitalističkog sistema. Istraživanje budućnosti se stoga može i mora sastojati od pronalaženja mesta preloma – slabe ili najslabije karike u lancu neoliberalizma.

Umetnički predlog broj 1.

Chto Delat, PARTIZANSKI SONGSPIEL,
BEOGRADSKA PRIČA, Avgust 2009.

Video *Partizanski Songspiel. Beogradska priča* moskovsko-petrogradske grupe Šta da se radi (Chto Delat) snimljen je nedavno u Beogradu, sa uporištem u konkretnom istorijskom događaju, ali i političkom narativu primenljivom u širem kontekstu neo-liberalne periferije i specifično u post-konfliktnom prostoru bivše Jugoslavije. Partizanski Songspiel polazi od analize konkretne situacije. U pitanju je politička opresija gradskih vlasti nad romima smeštenim u okolini luksuznog naselja Belvil, uoči letnje Univerzijade, 2009. godine. Istovremeno, po sredi je univerzalna politička poruka, utemeljena na ideji klasne borbe. Pozicije opresora i opresovanih oštro su polarizovane: u ovom slučaju to su gradske vlasti, ratni profiteri i biznis tajkuni protiv grupu obespravljenih – radnika, NGO aktivista, ratnih invalida i drugih identitarnih grupa. 'Horizont istorijske svesti' predstavljen je kroz glasove hora poginulih partizana koji komentarišu dijalog između grupe opresora i opresovanih i pozivaju na ujedinjenje u borbi za društvenu pravdu. Poruka ove inscenirane drame leži u zahtevu za prevazilaženjem antagonizama prisutnih u sferi 'politika identiteta' i potrebi za iznalaženjem nove univerzalne politike otpora koja će ujediniti opresovane grupe

est. On the other hand, it is possible to find precisely in the peripheral areas some vernacular strategies for countering those destructive effects, since there are a lot of 'grey' areas of activity that escape governmental, police or juridical ordering. But those 'negative' and 'positive' sides of peripheral neo-liberalism cannot be the end of an exploration of future possibilities. The concept of the future can be discovered there because peripheral areas represent – in terms that invoke Leninist theory – the weakest link in the contemporary capitalist system. The exploration of the future, therefore, can and must consist in finding the loci of break – the weak(est) links in the neo-liberal chain.

Artistic proposal no. 1

Chto Delat, PARTISAN SONGSPIEL, BELGRADE STORY, August 2009

The video *Partisan Songspiel, Belgrade Story* by the Moscow-Belgrade group What is to be done / Chto Delat was shot not long ago in Belgrade, drawing on a concrete historical event, as well as a political narrative applicable in the broader context of a neo-liberal periphery and specifically in the post-conflict space of ex-Yugoslavia. Partisan Songspiel takes off from an analysis of a concrete situation. At issue is city hall's political oppression of the Roma located in the surroundings of the luxury settlement of Belvil on the eve of the summer University Games of 2009. At the same time, it is a universal political message, based on the idea of the class struggle. The positions of oppressor and oppressed are sharply polarised: in this case, the city hall, war profiteers and business tycoons against the class of the disenfranchised – working class people, NGO activists, war invalids and other identity groups. The horizon of historical consciousness is presented through the voices of the choir of dead

u borbi protiv fašističko-kapitalističkog bloka. Film se završava rečima: *Tražite nove partizane! Zbijajte redove drugovi!*

Partizanski Songspiel:

IZVOD IZ SKRIPTA ZA FILM

(Tekst pisali: Vladan Jeremić, Rena Rädle, Tsaplya i Dmitry Vilensky)

[...]

Političarka (veselo i razdragano):
Eto, približava se Univerzijada omladine i studenata.

Pod okriljem otadžbine Srbije okupiće se sve zdrave snage sveta! Time što dočekujemo te divne mlade ljude i ujedinjujemo ih na prekrasnim, tek izgrađenim stadionima, mi kažemo Evropskoj Uniji: DA!

Gradimo nova zdanja i popravljamo stara, sadimo ruže, a sa naših ulica uklanjamo đubre. Naš slogan je: Očistimo Srbiju!

Doduše, u našoj zemlji postoje snage koje se opiru velikoj, ujedinjujućoj snazi Univerzijade, kao i sportu i sportskim aktivnostima u celini. Ko su oni? To su Romi i drugi, koji su nezakonito zauzeli gradsko zemljište. Svojim besmislenim ponašanjem oni ometaju izgradnju novih objekata.

[...]

Radnik (pokazuje na Romkinju):

Pogledajte, to je Romkinja. Njen ples se zove „Moja kuća je srušena“. Ona i njena porodica su izbeglice s Kosova. Prebegli su u Nemačku, ali tamo su im rekli: „Rat je završen! Vratite se kući!“ Ali oni kuću više nisu imali. Izgradili su baraku od dasaka i živelii ispod mosta. [...] Odjednom, ispod mosta su došli policajci i buldožeri i srušili im kuće, sa sve imovinom. Ona pita: Dokle bre ovako?!

Hor:

Svi potlačeni treba da stupe u borbu za pravdu. Romi su se borili u našim redovima! U borbi protiv fašizma! Potlačeni - napred!

Partisans who comment on the dialogue between the group of oppressors and that of the oppressed and call on unification in the fight for social justice. The message of this staged drama lies in the demand for overcoming antagonisms present in the sphere of the politics of identity and the need to find new universal politics of resistance, which unites the oppressed groups in a battle against the fascist-capitalist bloc. The film ends with the words: *Seek the new Partisans, Close your ranks, comrades.*

Partisan Songspiel:

EXCERPT FROM THE FILM SCRIPT

(Text by: Vladan Jeremić, Rena Rädle, Tsaplya and Dmitry Vilensky)

[...]

Woman Politician:

The University Games for youth and students are approaching.

Healthy forces from all around the globe will be gathered under the auspices of our fatherland Serbia! Welcoming these beautiful young people and uniting them in magnificent, newly built stadiums, we say YES! to the European Union. We are erecting new buildings and fixing up old ones; we are planting flowers and removing garbage from our streets. Our slogan is “Clean up Serbia!”

Admittedly, there are forces in our country that resist the great, unifying force of the University Games, as well as sport and sports activities in general. Who are they? They are Roma and others who illegally occupy city lots. With their ridiculous actions, they obstruct the building of new sporting sites.

[...]

Worker (pointing at the Romany Woman):

Look, this is the Romany Woman. Her dance is called “My House Is Torn Down.” She and her family are refugees from Kosovo. They fled to Germany, but there they told them, “The war is over! Go back home!” But they didn’t have

*Bratstvo i jedinstvo!
Komunizam – progres čovečanstva!*

Tajkun:

Treba pod hitno da se uključimo u globalno tržište.

Ja sam pravi patriota. Brinem se o svom narodu tako što otvaram nova radna mesta, hranim mnoge porodice. U mojim supermarketima se prodaje roba po niskim cenama.

A šta se ovde događa? Pogledajte: ti Romi su blokirali put! Blokirali su slobodan prilaz mom supermarketu. A to znači da građani ne mogu da kupuju prehrambene proizvode! Oni pošteno rade, zarađuju novac i hoće dobro da se hrane! Nećemo trpeti taj bezobrazluk!

[...]

Lezbejka (pokazuje na radnika):

Ovo je radnik. Njegov ples se zove „Ples odsečenog prsta“. On i njegovi drugovi štrajkuju glađu. Neko je otkupio njihovu fabriku, zatvorio je i nikome nije isplatio ništa. On kaže da se bori za one kojima je još gore, koji nisu u stanju da se bore za sebe. Odsekao je sebi prst zato što nije imao drugog izlaza – niko ne obraća pažnju na njegovu borbu. On misli da ćemo se uskoro svi hraniti delovima našeg tela – jedinim što nam je preostalo. U kapitalizmu su svi ljudi robovi.

Hor:

*Nemoj zaboraviti, Radniče – ti si suveren!
Tvoja borba je – klasna!
Vodi za sobom sve, Radniče.
Napred, druže,
Napred, ka komunizmu!*

Tajkun:

*A šta može da preduzme jedan radnik!?
Sve rešava vlasnik! Šef!*

Klerofašista:

*Komunisti su uništili našu zemlju!
Ubijali su! Prave patriote su ubijali!*

Romkinja (pokazujući na invalida):

a home anymore. They built a shanty out of boards and lived under the bridge. [...] But suddenly police and bulldozers arrived under the bridge and tore down their houses, with all their belongings. She asks: How long is this going to last?

Chorus:

All the Oppressed should join the fight for justice.

*The Roma fought in our ranks
In the fight against fascism!
Forward, all who are oppressed!
Brotherhood and unity! Unity!
Communism—that is the progress of humanity!*

Oligarch:

But, all that aside, I am a true patriot. I look after my people by creating new jobs and feeding many families. In my supermarkets I sell low-price products. But what's happening here? Look: these Roma have blocked the road! They are blocking free access to my supermarket. This means that citizens cannot buy groceries! They work hard and earn money, and they want to eat well! We won't tolerate this impudence!

Lesbian Activist (pointing toward Worker):
This is the Worker. His dance is called the “Dance of the Severed Finger.” He and his fellow workers are on hunger strike. Someone bought their factory and closed it without paying anyone anything. He says that he is fighting for people who have it even worse, the ones incapable of fighting for themselves. He cut off his finger because he had no other choice—no one pays attention to his struggle. He believes that soon we will all be feeding on our body parts, the only things left to us. Because all people are slaves under capitalism.

Chorus:

*Don't forget, Worker—you are the sovereign!
Your struggle is the class struggle
Everyone will rally round you!*

Ovo je invalid. Naziv njegovog plesa je „Ja sam se kao pravi muškarac borio za svoju domovinu, a to niko ne ceni“. On kaže da je u 23. godini pošao u rat za svoju državu i naciju, zato što je mislio da se bez tih vrednosti života nema. Jednom, na frontu, udrani talas od eksplozije ga je bacio u vazduh i u padu je razbio glavu. Danas dobija malu invalidsku penziju i živi u podrumu s porodicom. Nedavno su komšije iz zgrade pozvali policiju da ih izbace iz podruma, iako taj podrum niko ne koristi. On kaže kako ne razume zašto Romima obećavaju neke stanove, a da to kako on živi ne zanima nikog.

Hor:

Naša deca ubijaju jedni druge u krvavom ratu!
U nepravdenom ratu!
Naša deca!
U krvavom ratu!
SREBRENICA! SREBRENICA!
Brat je krenuo protiv brata!
Brat je krenuo protiv brata!
SREBRENICA! SREBRENICA!
Ne dozvolite da našu smrt učine besmislenom –
Mi smo umrli zato da biste vi živeli u miru...

Mafijaš:

Bezobrazluk! Vređaju ratne veterane! Evo, na primer, ja, učesnik rata i pravi patriota, uvek pomažem našim ratnicima (pokazuje na svoje obezbedenje). Dajem im posao. A zašto? Zato što sam široke duše! Svi znaju koliko sam uradio za naš narod. Mnogo sam uradio i za naš sport, za fudbalske klubove. A šta je fudbal bez navijača? I više od toga – šta je Srbija bez navijača?

Invalid (pokazuje na lezbejku):

Ovo je lezbejka. Njen ples se zove: „Ljubav je revolucionarna sila“. Za vreme rata, ona i njene drugarice su podržavale dezertere i sve one koji nisu hteli da ratuju. Ona smatra da svi ratni zločinci moraju biti kažnjeni. Sada je aktivistkinja pokreta za prava seksualnih manjina i socijalna radnica. Ona kaže da malim koracima možemo promeniti svet, a da ljubav treba da bude slobodna. Ona smatra da je brak ozakon-

Forward, comrade,
Forward, towards communism!

Oligarch:

But what do the workers decide!?
The owner decides everything! The boss!

Nationalist:

The communists destroyed our country!
They destroyed it! They murdered true patriots!

Romany Woman (pointing to the Disabled Veteran):

This is the Disabled Veteran. His dance is called “I Fought for My Country like a Real Man, but No One Appreciates This.” He says that he went to war for his country and his people when he was twenty-three because he thought life was impossible without these values. Once, on the frontline, the blast wave from an explosion threw him in the air and when he fell, he cracked his skull. Today he receives a small disability pension and lives in a basement with his family. Neighbours from the building recently called the police to evict them from the basement, although no one uses it. He says he doesn’t understand why they are promising apartments to the Roma, while no one is interested in how he lives. He fought for these people after all.

Chorus:

Our children killed each other in a bloody war!
In an unjust war!
Our children! In a bloody war!
SREBRENICA! SREBRENICA!
Brother fought against brother!
Brother fought against brother!
SREBRENICA! SREBRENICA!
Don’t let them make our death meaningless—
We died so you could live in peace...

Mafioso:

What a disgrace! They’re insulting the war veterans! Take me: I’m a war hero myself and a true patriot, and I always help our veterans

*jena prostitucija i pomaže ženama žrtvama
nasilja u porodici.
Tokom poslednje parade ponosa, u tuči s neon-
acistima, navijačima i popovima, razbili su joj
glavu.*

Hor:

*Kada smo prolivali krv za našu svetlu
budućnost,
nismo se delili na muškarce i žene.
Bili smo drugovi i drugarice.
I najvažnije - to je bila ljubav prema našoj
zajedničkoj domovini!
Ljubav!
Prema zajedničkoj Domovini
Ljubav...
Naša Domovina je Revolucija!
[...]*

* * *

Jedan od problema delovanja u polju umetnosti i kulture u post-konfliktnom regionu bivše Jugoslavije jeste da se savremena umetnost često predstavlja kao avantgarda društvene "normalizacije" (na političkom planu normalizacija bi značila izgradnju nacionalne države i kapitalističkog društvenog poretku, kao i težnju ka Evropskoj Uniji). Gentrifikacija zastarelih umetničkih manifestacija u velike međunarodne izložbe bijenalnog formata, baš kao što je slučaj sa Spaportom, široko je rasprostranjena pojava. Upravo kao i u slučaju Beogradske Univerzijade iz Partizanskog Songspiel-a, kroz ovakve događaje se realizuje simboličko približavanje civilizovanom Zapadu i pokazuje se da se progresivne i kreativne snage sveta mogu okupiti i na nekada konfliktnom Balkanu – zemlji 'krvi i meda'. To bi bio jedan od eklatantnih primera kulturalizacije politike na ovim prostorima.

* * *

(points to his security guards). I give them jobs. And why? Because I'm generous! Everyone knows how much I've done for our people. I've also done a lot to support sports, to support our football clubs. And what's football without football fans? I'll say even more—what's Serbia without fans?

Disabled Veteran (pointing to the Lesbian): *This is the Lesbian. Her dance is called "Love Is a Revolutionary Force." During the war, she and her friends supported the deserters and all the others who didn't want to fight. She feels that all war criminals should be punished. Now she's an activist for the rights of sexual minorities and a social worker. She says we can change the world with small steps, and that love should be free. She believes marriage is legalized prostitution, and she helps female victims of domestic violence. During the last gay pride parade, during a fight with neo-Nazis, football hooligans, and priests, someone cracked her skull.*

Chorus (with passion):

*When we spilled blood for your bright future,
We didn't divide ourselves into men and
women:
We were comrades.
But the most important thing
Was love for our common homeland!
Love...
Our Homeland is the Revolution!
[...]*

* * *

One of the problems of working in the field of art and culture in the post-conflict region of ex-Yugoslavia is that contemporary art is often presented as the avant-garde of social normalisation (at the political level, normalisation would be the construction of a national state and a capitalist social system, as well as an aspiration to join the EU). The gentrification of old art events into great international exhibitions with a biennial rhythm, as was the case with

Tumačenje broj 2.

NEO-LIBERALNA INSTITUCIJA KULTURE I

KRITIKA KULTURALIZACIJE ³.

Prelom Kolektiv, Novembar 2007.

Tokom poslednjih decenija svedoci smo neo-liberalnih napora da se 'kultura' podredi ekonomskim mehanizmima slobodnog tržišta u smislu kulturalizacije ekonomije ili, obratno, ekonomizacije kulture. Principi slobodno-tržišne konkuren- cije i preduzimaštva uvedeni su u nekada privilegovano polje umetničke ili intelek- tualne proizvodnje. To ne znači samo jed- nostavno uvođenje tržišnih odnosa u 'sferu kulture', već pre ukazuje na uspostavljanje praksi preduzimaštva na individualnom nivou – na nivou subjekta.

Ovakva logika savremene upotrebe 'kul- ture' uočljiva je u neo-liberalnoj strategiji kulturalizacije političkih odnosa – kako je to formulisao Boris Buden⁴. Ona u man- joj meri ukazuje na gotovo potpuni slom 'političke sfere' u njenom modernom smislu, a više na njenu značajnu trans- formaciju. Artikulacija političkih borbi i društvenih antagonizama izmeštena je iz 'klasičnog' domena državnih aparata kao što su političke partije, parlamentarni sistem i procedure pravne države ka ra- sutom polju konkureninskih 'kulturnih op- cija'. Međutim, kulturalizacija prevazilazi jednostavno transformisanje političkih problema u probleme kulture. Kultural- izacija je takođe 'škola kulture': obrazo- vanje, kultivisanje i uzgajanje subjekata dominantne kulture. 'Kultura' je samim tim samo jedan momenat ideološke edu- kacije ili, još bolje, kreiranja (nemačka reč Bildung obuhvata oba značenja) 'narodnih masa' – precizno govoreći, subjekata (u oba značenja te reči: podanika i autonomnih delatnika) kapitalističkog poretka.

'Kultura' u savremenim post-jugoslovens-

SpaPort, is a widely dispersed phenom- enon. Just as in the case with the Belgrade University Games from the Partisan Songspiel, through such events a symbolic rapprochement with the civilised West is produced and it is shown that the progres- sive and creative powers of the world can get together in the one-time conflictive Balkans, land of blood and honey. This was one of the striking examples of the cultur- alisation of politics in the area.

* * *

Interpretation No 2.

THE NEOLIBERAL INSTITUTION OF CUL- TURE AND THE CRITIQUE OF CULTURAL- IZATION ³.

Prelom Kolektiv, November, 2007

During the recent decades we have wit- nessed an obvious neoliberal effort to subdue 'culture' to the mechanisms of the free-market economy in the sense of the culturalization of the economy or, con- versely, the economization of culture. The principles of free-market competitiveness and entrepreneurship have been intro- duced into the once privileged sphere of artistic and intellectual production. This means not only simply bringing market relations into the 'sphere of culture', but is more about establishing the practices of entrepreneurship at the individual level – at the level of the subject.

The logic of the contemporary usage of 'culture' is evident in the neoliberal strategy of the culturalization of politi- cal relations – as Boris Buden has called it ⁴. What it indicates is less an almost total breakdown of the 'political sphere' in its modern sense, but more its signifi- cant transformation. The articulation of political struggles and social antagonisms have moved from the 'classical' domain of

kim uslovima svakako deli gore pomenute opšte crte neo-liberalnog kapitalizma, ali takođe poseduje i neke specifičnosti koje su formativne za kontekst u kome delujemo. U post-konfliktnom regionu ‘Zapadnog Balkana’⁵, umetnost i kultura bi trebalo da odigraju ulogu izmiritelja su-protstavljenih strana, sa jasnim zadatkom omogućavanja mirne koegzistencije razlika (religioznih, etničkih, kulturnih itd). One nas kulturalizuju kako bismo odbacili naše ‘ne-građanske’ ili, jednostavno ‘necivilizovane’ načine rešavanja konfliktata prihvatanjem ‘ne-nasilnih’, simboličkih mehanizama koje nam ‘polje kulture’ navodno pruža. Ukratko, ‘kultura’ je ta koja treba da osigura da se tolerancija Drugo(g) poštuje, dok neposredni problemi siromaštva i nezaposlenosti, razaranje svih mreža društvene sigurnosti, besramna mafijaška privatizacija i rasipanje prirodnih resursa, kao i kontrola tajkuna nad politikom, ostaju sakriveni iza ovog vela folklora ili multikulturalizma. Samim tim, kulturalizacija igra značajnu ulogu u sadašnjem neo-liberalnom kapitalističkom poretku – funkciju pacifikacije i neutralizacije savremenih društvenih antagonizama.

Umetnički predlog broj 2:
Lutz Becker, KINO BELEŠKE, Oktobar 1975.

Kino Beleške Lutza Beckera bave se odnosom jezika umetnosti i sistema umetnosti, i šire, društva u celini. Nasuprot danas vitalne strategije kulturalizacije politike, ovaj film nas vraća na goruća pitanja politizacije umetnosti – tendencije koja polako nestaje na horizontu savremenog tržišnog individualizma. *Kino Beleške* baš kao i Partisan Songspiel polaze od analize konkretne situacije: u ovom slučaju to je kontekst jugoslovenskog samoupravnog socijalizma i koncept savremene umetnosti u svom kritičkom modusu, onako kako je postavljen u okviru Novih umetničkih

state apparatuses such as political parties, the parliamentary system and the procedures of the Rule of Law to the dispersed field of competing ‘cultural options’. Yet culturalization exceeds the simple translation of political issues to cultural ones. Culturalization is also a ‘school of culture’: the education, cultivation, and breeding of subjects for the dominant culture. ‘Culture’ is, therefore, only one moment in the ideological education or, better yet, formation (the German word Bildung encompasses both of meanings) of the ‘popular masses’ – properly speaking, of the subjects (in both senses of this term in English) of the capitalist order.

‘Culture’ in the contemporary post-Yugoslavian condition certainly shares the aforementioned general traits of neoliberal capitalism, but it also possesses some specificities formative for the context in which we are working. In the post-conflictual region of the ‘Western Balkans’⁵, art and culture are supposed to play the role of reconciling the opposing sides, with the clear task of enabling the peaceful coexistence of differences (religious, ethnic, cultural, etc.). They culturalize us in order to renounce the ‘non-civil’ or, simply, ‘un-civilized’ ways of solving conflicts by adopting the ‘non-violent’, symbolic mechanisms that the ‘cultural field’ supposedly offers. In short, ‘culture’ has to insure that tolerance for the Other is respected, while the pressing problems of poverty and unemployment, the dismantling of all social security networks, shameless gang-style privatization and waste of natural resources, as well as the control of politics by tycoons, remain hidden behind this screen of folklore or multiculturalism. Therefore, culturalization has an important function within today’s neoliberal capitalist system – the function of the pacification and neutralization of contemporary social

praksi 1970-ih godina. Tekstualni izvor za ovaj film su stejtmenti umetnika, kustosa i kritičara nastali u okviru projekta Oktobar 75 u Beogradskom Studentskom Kulturnom Centru. SKC je redovno organizovao alternativne 'oktobarske događaje' nasuprot državnoj manifestaciji Oktobarski Salon koja je nosila buržoaski prerogativ 'salon' i bila uopšteno *l'art pour l'art*-ističke orijentacije. Godine 1975, Dunja Blažević, u to vreme urednica programa za vizuelne umetnosti predložila je pojedincima i grupama okupljenim oko ove alternativne kulturne institucije projekat kolektivnog promišljanja koncepta samoupravljanja kroz afirmativno ili kritičko pozicioniranje. *Kino beleške* su komponovane od verbalnih stejtmenta i performativnih gestova brojnih protagonisti Novih umetničkih praksi. Umetnički stavovi koje ovde vidimo usmereni su na promišljanje društvene uloge umetnosti kroz koncepte 'forme', 'autonomije', 'ekonomije', 'politike' i 'institucije' savremene umetnosti. Polje umetnosti je u ovom filmu prikazano kao polje debate kroz koju se oštro profilišu različiti pristupi i strategije delovanja.

Kino Beleške
IZVOD IZ SKRIPTA ZA FILM

(Učestvuju: Bojana Pejić, Raša Todosijević, Goran Đorđević, Ješa Denegri, Jasna Tijardović, Marina Abramović, Dragica Vukadinović, Slavko Timotijević, Zoran Popović, Dragomir Zupanc, Biljana Tomić, Dunja Blažević, Nebojša Filopović, Goran Trbuljak, Gergelj Urkom)

Dunja Blažević: Rekla bih da se nalazimo u Jugoslaviji, da se nalazimo u Studenskom kulturnom centru u Beogradu, da živimo u samoupravljanju ili da pokušavamo nekako sa ostalima da ga gradimo. [...]

Dragomir Zupanc: Ovo je velika dvorana

antagonisms.

Artistic proposal no. 2

Lutz Becker, CINEMA NOTES, October 1975

Cinema Notes by Lutz Becker deals with the relation of the language of art and the system of art, and, more widely, of society as a whole. As against the today vital strategy of the culturalization of politics, this film takes us back to the burning problem of the politicization of art – a tendency that is gradually disappearing on the horizon of contemporary market individualism. *Cinema Notes*, just like Partisan Songspiel, starts off from the analysis of a concrete situation: in this case the context of Yugoslav self-managing socialism and the concept of contemporary art in its critical mode, as set up within the framework of the New Artistic Practices of the 1970s. The textual source for this film lies in the statements of artists, curators and critics created in the framework of the project October 75 in the Belgrade Students' Culture Centre. The SCC regularly organized alternative 'October events' set against the state-managed event the October Salon, which appropriated the bourgeois prerogative of salon and was in general of *l'art pour l'art* orientation. In 1975, Dunja Blažević, at that time an editor for a visual arts programme, proposed to individuals and groups collected around this alternative cultural institution a project of collective thinking through the concept of self-management via affirmative or critical positioning. *Cinema Notes* is composed of verbal statements and performative gestures by numerous protagonists of the New Artistic Practice. The artistic views that we see here are directed towards the consideration of the social role of art through the concepts of form, autonomy, economy, politics and the institutionalization of contemporary art. The field of art

Studenskog kulturnog centra u Beogradu i u njoj se prikazuju filmovi. Moj prijatelj Luc Becker je komponovao ovaj kadar po uzoru na jedan kadar u filmu Samuraj Žan Pjer Melvila. Taj će se film prikazivati u ovoj dvorani kroz jedno mesec dana. [...]

Jasna Tijardović: *Volela bih da ovaj film nema simboliku o nikome i o nečemu. Ispada da je uvek lakše govoriti o nečemu drugom...nego o samom sebi.*

Raša Todosijević: *Moje ideje su antropološka učila u oblasti umetnosti. Tačnije, učila koja demonstriraju i razjašnjavaju umetnost putem mehanički izradjenih umetničkih objekata. [...]*

Ješa Denegri: *Perspektive razrešavanja kriznih situacija unutar kojih se umetnost u svim postojećim društveno-ekonomskim sistemima danas kreće, ne nalaze se u zahtevu za nekim, zapravo nemogućim poboljšavanjem interne strukture umetničkih jezika ili pak, u zahtevu za isto tako nemogućim povratkom na navodne vrednosti koje je ona u svojoj daljoj ili bližoj prošlosti posedovala. Te perspektive se pre svega nalaze u zahtevu za radikalnim preobražajem same društveno-ekonomske baze, što bi nadalje uslovilo daljnje proširenje individualnih i javnih sloboda, kao i optimalne načine kolektivnog korišćenja rezultata tih sloboda. [...]*

Goran Đordjević: [...]

Ciljevi umetničke aktivnosti su u svojoj osnovi ili nedovoljno precizno definisani, ili podložni mistifikaciji, ili neostvarljivi. Umetnost je u klasnom društvu imantan oblik svesti i delatosti i predstavlja jedan od perfidnijih instrumenata vladajuće klase u procesu eksploatacije većine. Pošto je karakter rezultata umetničke delatnosti, karakter umetničkih dela, direktno determinisan zahtevima mehanizma koji obezbeđuje uslove, pre svega materijalne, za njihovu realizaciju i prezentaciju, normalno je što ti rezultati nisu u stanju da efikasno ugrose

in this film is shown as a field of debate through which various approaches and action strategies are sharply polarized.

Cinema Notes:
EXCERPT FROM THE FILM SCRIPT

(Participants: Bojana Pejić, Raša Todosijević, Goran Đordjević, Ješa Denegri, Jasna Tijardović, Marina Abramović, Dragica Vukadinović, Slavko Timotijević, Zoran Popović, Dragomir Zupanc, Biljana Tomić, Dunja Blažević, Nebojša Filopović, Goran Trbuljak, Gergelj Urkom)

Dunja Blažević: *I would say that we are in Yugoslavia, that we are at the Students' Cultural Centre in Belgrade, that we live under self-management or are trying to build it with others somehow.*

Dragomir Zupanc: *This is the big hall of the Students' Cultural Centre in Belgrade, where films are shown. My friend Lutz Becker has modelled this scene on a scene from Jean-Pierre Melville's film *Samurai*. That film will be shown in this hall in about a month.[...]*

Jasna Tijardović: *I'd like this film not to be symbolic of anyone or anything. It turns out it's always easier to talk about something else... than about yourself.*

Raša Todosijević: *My ideas are anthropological teaching aids in the sphere of art. To put it more precisely, these are teaching aids that demonstrate and clarify art by means of mechanically produced art objects. [...]*

Ješa Denegri: *The perspectives of resolving the crises within the framework of which art moves in all the existing social-economic systems today do not lie in a request for some, actually impossible, improvement of the internal structure of artistic languages, or in a request for an equally impossible return to the putative*

funkcionisanje tog mehanizma, nego su po pravilu usmereni su tako da mu služe. Mislim da se glavni uzroci zbog kojih su pojedini pokreti u okviru umetnosti bili nedovoljno efikasni u odnosu na društvenu praksu, kriju u neshvatanju prave klasne prirode umetničke svesti i delatnosti. [...]

Marina Abramović:
*Umetnik mora biti lep,
umetnost mora biti lepa.
[...]*

Slavko Timotijević: *Kada kažem – “Ja sam za slobodu stvaranja i demokratiju umetnosti”, mogu to da kažem kao jednu ordinarnu frazu koja nema pozadinu u praksi i tu rečenicu koristim samo u prigodnim prilikama. Isto tako mogu da imam veoma jasne selektivne kriterijume šta podrazumevam pod pojmom umetnost, ali se to iz predhodne rečenice nikako ne može naslutiti. [...]*

Braco Dimitrijević: *Ovo mesto bi moglo biti od istorijskog značaja.*

Bojana Pejić: *Ovaj film bi mogao biti od istorijskog značaja.*

Goran Trbuljak: *Pre nekog vremena gledao sam jedan film od King Vidora koji se zove Gomila. U njemu glavni junak se vozi ulicom, na početku filma, i gleda jednog čoveka koji ima na sebi plakat i koji baca loptice u zrak. On se tom čoveku na neki način podsmehuje jer smatra da je žalosno da jedan čovek mora raditi takvu profesiju. Taj čovek sa puno talenta kroz celi film pokazuje različite načine na koje hoće afirmisati svoju ličnost, hoće da bude slikar itd., uglavnom mnogo stvari pokušava kroz celi film. Medutim, na kraju filma se desi to da on završi kao taj čovek koji baca tri kuglice i koji nosi sendvić. Ja sam samo htio da vidim da li sam ja u stanju da tri minuta bacam kuglice-to je sve.*

Zoran Popović: *Umetničko delo, odnosno*

values that it had in its recent or distant past; they primarily lie in a demand for a radical transformation of the social-economic base itself, which would lead to a further broadening of the sphere of individual and public freedoms, as well as the optimum ways of exercising collectively the results of those freedoms. [...]

Goran Đordjević: [...] Since the character of the results of artistic activity, the character of works of art, is directly determined by the requirements of the mechanism that ensures the conditions, first of all the material ones, for their realisation and presentation, it is normal that these results cannot effectively threaten the functioning of this mechanism, but are, as a rule, oriented so as to serve it. I think that the main reasons why certain movements in art were insufficiently effective in relation to the social practice lie in their failure to understand the real class nature of artistic consciousness and activity. [...]

Marina Abramović:
*Art must be beautiful.
The artist must be beautiful.
[...]*

Slavko Timotijević: *When I say, “I am in favour of freedom of creation and democracy of art”, I can say that as a mere phrase that is not substantiated by practice, and only use that particular sentence on solemn occasions. Also, I can have very clear selective criteria when it comes to what I mean by the term art, but that cannot be inferred from the above sentence. [...]*

Braco Dimitrijević: *This place could be of historical significance.*

Bojana Pejić: *This film could be of historical significance.*

Goran Trbuljak: *A while ago, I saw King Vidor’s film The Crowd. At the beginning of the movie, the protagonist drives along a street,*

umetnička aktivnost trebalo bi da u sebi sadrži novi postulat kao alternativu koja bi bila radikalno kritična prema praksi koja joj prethodi. Taj novi postulat ili alternativa trebalo bi da se pojavi u cilju prevazilaženja postojećeg umetničkog konformizma (postojećeg društvenog poretka), gde se promene pojavljuju samo na nivou forme, tj. gde jedan umetnički kontekst zamenjuje drugi, dok establišment ostaje nepromjenjen. Politizacija umetnosti je stoga neophodna. Umetnost mora biti negativna, kritična, kako prema spoljašnjem svetu, tako u odnosu na svoj sopstveni jezik, svoju sopstvenu (umetničku) praksu.

A šta je zadatak kustosa?

A šta je zadatak kustosa?

Zadatak kustosa nije samo virtuzozni idea-making i dobar menadžment.

Zadatak kustosa je uvek aktivan odnos prema sredstvima umetnosti i njenim strategijama edukacije. Konačno, institucionalni zadatak kustosa jeste da kreira objedinjujuću priču koju tvore materijali različitog porekla – nešto poput zaključnog izlaganja advokata pre nego što će slučaj biti dat na presudu.

Kustoski predlog *Budućnost je nastavak prošlosti drugim sredstvima* bavio se odnosima politizacije vs. kulturalizacije umetničkih praksi na primerima radova *Partisan Songspiel* grupe Chto Delat i Lutz Beckerovih *Kino Beleški*. Objedinjujuće kakteristike ova dva rada su višestruke: oba se bave (post-)jugoslovenskom situacijom na radikalalan način, koristeći metod ‘distanciranog pogleda’ i avangardne umetničke procedure (to je struktura filmskih žurnala Dzige Vertova u slučaju Lutza Beckera i brehtijanska opera u slučaju Chto Delat); oba rada polaze od analize konkretnе situacije – kontra-kulturni i politički okviri delovanja alternativne umetničke

watching a placard man who is juggling balls in the air. In a way, he mocks this man, for he thinks it's sad that one must pursue such a profession. Throughout the movie, that very talented man shows various ways of trying to affirm his own person, he wants to be a painter, etc., he tries a whole lot of things throughout the movie. I just wanted to see whether I could manage to juggle balls for three minutes – that's all.

Zoran Popović: *The work of art, an artistic activity would have to contain within itself a new postulate as an alternative, which would be radically critical of the previous practice. This new postulate or alternative should appear for the purpose of overcoming the existing artistic conformism (the existing social order), where changes occur only on the level of form, that is to say, where one artistic context replaces another, while the establishment remains unchangeable. Hence a politicisation of art is necessary. Art must be negative, critical, both towards the external world and in relation to its own language, its own (artistic) practice. [...]*

But what is the task of the curator?

But what is the task of the curator?

The task of the curator is not just virtuosic idea-making and good management.

The task of the curator is always an active relation to the means of art and its strategies of education. Finally, the institutional task of the curator is to create a uniting story that is created by materials of different origins – something like the closing address of counsel before the case is handed over for a verdict.

The curatorial project *The Future is the Extension of the Past by Other Means* deals with the relations of the politicization and culturalization of artistic practices using the examples of the works *Partisan Songspiel* by the Chto Delat group and Lutz

scene u jugoslovenskom samoupravnom socijalizmu (Lutz Becker) i periferalne globalizacije sa evropejskim licem i fašistickim naličjem koja prati otvaranje Univerzijade u Beogradu (Chto Delat); Konačno, oba rada polaze od jednog konkretnog istorijsko-geopolitičkog trenutka kako bi došli do univerzalnih političkih pitanja koja se mogu predstaviti kao internacionalna. Pretpostavljam da je upravo na taj način vredno govoriti o internacionalizaciji savremene umetnosti danas i ovde, a u pravcu neke bolje budućnosti.

1. Iz rada *Die Zukunft (Budućnost)* grupe Société Réaliste predstavljenog na ovogodišnjem istanbulskom bijenalu pod nazivom What Keeps Mankind Alive. Reč je o parafrazi čuvene rečenice "Rat je nastavak politike drugim sredstvima" pruskog vojnika i vojnog teoretičara Carl Philipp Gottlieb von Clausewitz-a.

2. Prelom Kolektiv (Dušan Grlja), Lexicon of Provisional Futures, 2007. <http://www.provisionalfutures.net/?p=106>

3. Prelom Kolektiv (Jelena Vesić i Dušan Grlja), "Neoliberalna institucija kulture i kritika kulturalizacije", Transversal (Post-jugoslovensko stanje institucionalne kritike), <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0208/prelom/sr>

4. Boris Buden, "The Pit of Babel or The Society that Mistook Culture for Politics" i "Translation is Impossible. Let's Do It!" na www.eipcp.net; kao i Boris Buden, Kaptolski kolodvor, Centar za savremenu umetnost, Beograd, 2002. i Vavilonska jama: O (ne)prevodivosti kulture, Fabrika knjiga, Beograd, 2007.

5. Zapadni Balkan je termin koji proizilazi iz politike 'evropskih integracija'. Zapadni Balkan u suštini znači bivša Jugoslavija, minus Slovenija, plus Albanija.

Becker's *Cinema Notes*. The unifying characteristics of these two pieces are manifold: both works start off from an analysis of a concrete situation – the counter-culture and political frameworks for action of the alternative artistic scene in Yugoslav self-managing socialism (Lutz Becker) and of peripheral globalization with the European obverse and fascist reverse that keeps up with the opening of the University Games in Belgrade (Chto Delat). Finally both pieces start off from a concrete historical and geopolitical moment in order to arrive at universal political issues that can be presented as international. I assume that in precisely this way it is worthwhile talking about the internationalization of contemporary art today and here, in the direction of some better future.

1. From the work *Die Zukunft (The Future)* of the group Société Realiste presented at this year's Istanbul Biennale under the title What Keeps Mankind Alive. It is a reworking of the famed sentence "War is a continuation of politics by other means" by the Prussian soldier and military theorist von Clausewitz.

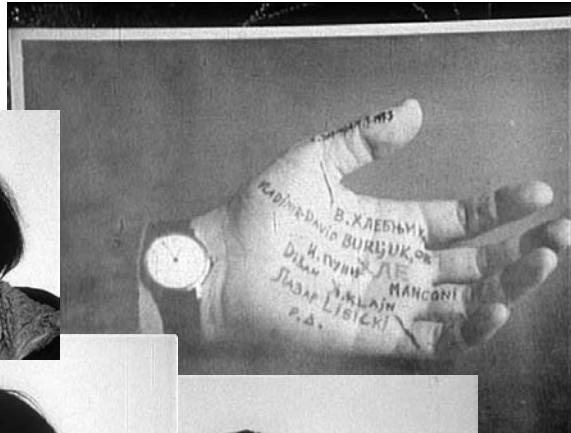
2. Prelom Kolektiv (Dušan Grlja), Lexicon of Provisional Futures, 2007. <http://www.provisionalfutures.net/?p=106>

3. Prelom Kolektiv (Jelena Vesić i Dušan Grlja), "Neoliberal institution of culture and critique of culturalization", Transversal (Post-Yugoslavian Condition of Institutional Critique), <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0208/prelom/en>

4. Boris Buden, "The Pit of Babel or The Society that Mistook Culture for Politics" and "Translation is Impossible. Let's Do It!" available at www.eipcp.net; also in Boris Buden: Kaptolski kolodvor, Centar za savremenu umetnost, Beograd, 2002. i Vavilonska jama: O (ne)prevodivosti kulture, Fabrika knjiga: Beograd, 2007

5. The Western Balkans is a term that derives from the politics of European integration. The Western Balkans in essence means the former Yugoslavia, minus Slovenia but plus Albania.

Lutz Becker



КИНО
БЕЛЕШКЕ
БР. 1



Kino beleške,
Film 29', Oktobar
1975.

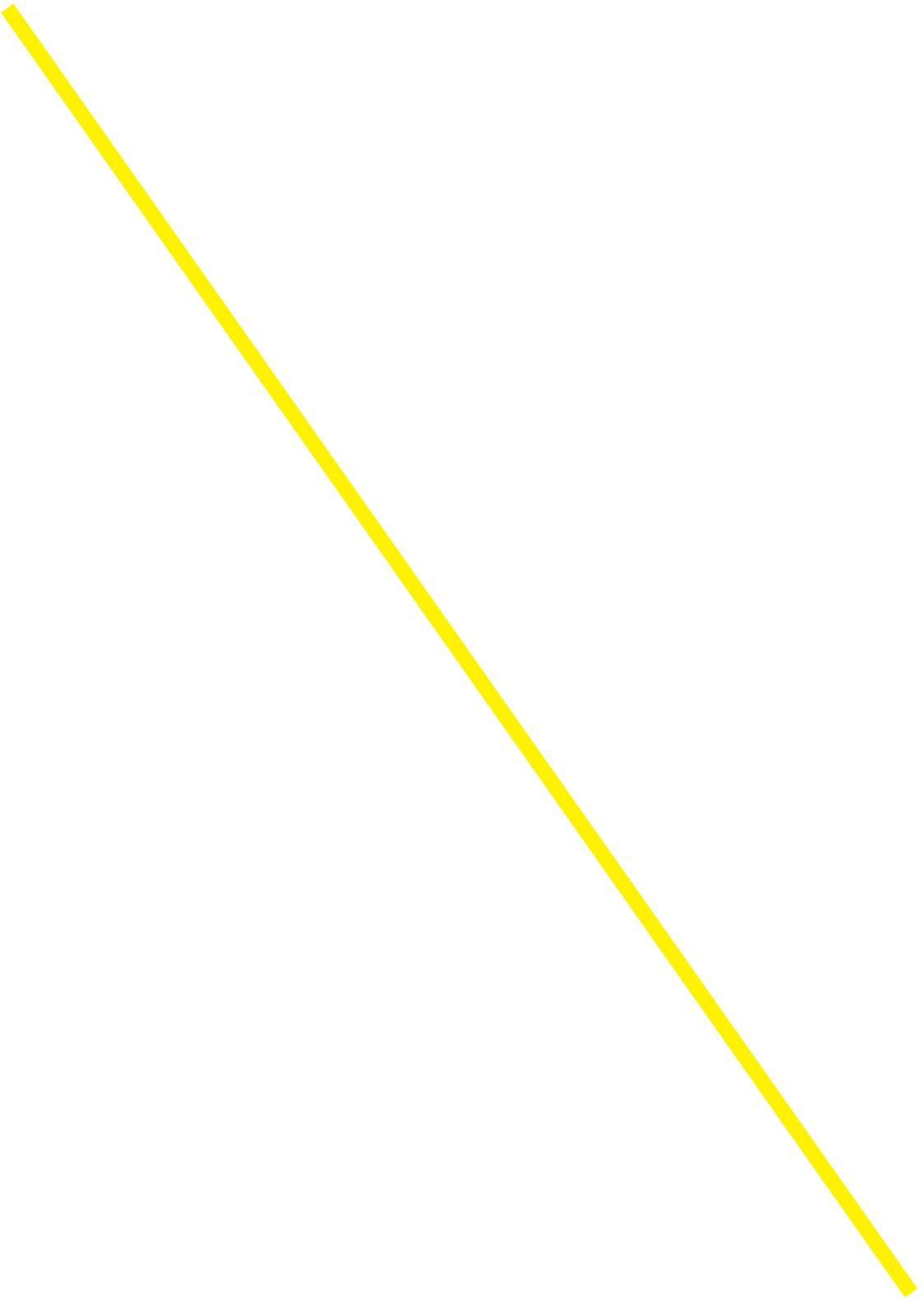
Cinema Notes,
film, 29', October,
1975

Chto delat / What is to be done?

Partizanska glaz-
bena komedija,
Beogradska priča
Partisan Songspiel,
Belgrade Story

Video, 29'27" 2009
(u suradnji sa /in
collaboration with
BiroBeograd - Vla-
dan Jeremić i/and
Rena Raedle)





Biografije / Biographies

A.C.A.B. je parola koja znači „All Cop(per)s Are Bastards“ („svi policajci su gadovi“). Ovom se parolom najčešće koriste navijači, ispisuje se u obliku tetovaža, uličnih grafita i na transparentima tijekom utakmica.

A.C.A.B. is a slogan, abbreviation for “All Cop(per)s Are Bastards”. It is used mostly by football fans, in the form of tattoos, street graffiti or banners displayed during football matches.

Ziad Antar živi i radi u Saidi, Libanonu i u Parizu, Francuskoj. Završio je studij agronomije 2001, a fotografijom i videom se bavi od 2002. Boravio je na jedno-godišnjim rezidencijalnim programima u Palais de Tokyo u Parizu i na École des Beaux-Arts de Paris. Njegovi video radovi su, između ostalih: *Tokyo Tonight* (2003), *WA* (2004), *Tambourro* (2004), *Safe Sound* (2006), *Tank You* (2006), *Marche Turque* (2007), *Mdardara* (2007). Njegov prvi dokumentarac iz 2002. bavio se francuskim fotografom Jean-Luc Moulèneom, a kasniji dokumentarci, u produkciji arapskog informativnog kanala al-Arabiya, uključuju: *L'Islam et la laïcité* (2004), *Lebanon and its Partners* (2005), *The Role of Europe* (2007).

Ziad Antar lives and works between Saida (Lebanon) and Paris (France). He graduated with a degree in agricultural engineering in 2001, and has been working in photography and video since 2002. He completed a one-year residency at the Palais de Tokyo in Paris in 2003 and a one year residency at the École des Beaux-Arts de Paris. Videos include, *Tokyo Tonight* (2003), *WA* (2004), *Tambourro* (2004), *Safe Sound* (2006), *Tank You* (2006), *Marche Turque* (2007), *Mdardara* (2007). He directed his first documentary in 2002 on the French photographer Jean-Luc Moulène, and has since made several documentaries for the Arabic news channel al-Arabiya, including, *L'Islam et la laïcité* (2004), *Lebanon and its Partners* (2005), *The Role of Europe* (2007).

Ivana Bago i Antonia Majača su povjesničarke umjetnosti i kustosice iz Zagreba gdje vode Galeriju Miroslav Kraljević (G-MK) te istraživačku organizaciju Institut za trajanje, mjesto i varijable (DeLVe). Zajedno su kurirale brojne projekte u G-MK te međunarodne izložbe i projekte: *Stalking With Stories - The Pioneers of the Immemorable* (Apexart, New York, 2007.), *Be A Happy Worker: Work-to-Rule!* (G-MK, Zagreb, 2008.), *Salon Revolucije* (HDLU, Zagreb, 2008.), *Where to go? Notes on Transformation after 1989* (Rotor, Graz, 2009.), *And Then Nothing Turned Itself Inside Out* (Kunsthalle Exnergasse, Beč, 2009.), *Izvađeni iz gomile. Sudbina udaljenih planeta* (Galerija Škuc, Ljubljana, 2009.). Bile su gošće urednice časopisa Život umjetnosti pod nazivom *Izda(va)nje revolucije* (IPU, 83/2009.). Voditeljice su i autorice nekoliko edukacijskih projekata, među kojima je i godišnji seminar u sklopu projekta *Kustoska platforma* koji je ostvaren u suradnji s Kulturom promjene Studentskog centra u Zagrebu.

Ivana Bago and Antonia Majača are art historians and curators from Zagreb where they run Galerija Miroslav Kraljević (G-MK), as well as the research organization Institute for Duration, Location and Variables and (DeLe). Alongside numerous projects in G-MK, together they have curated international exhibitions and projects *Stalking With Stories - The Pioneers of the Immemo-
rable* (Apexart, New York, 2007); *Be A Happy Worker: Work-to-Rule!* (G-MK, Zagreb, 2008), *The Salon
of Revolution* (HDLU, Zagreb, 2008), *Where to go? Notes on Transformation After 1989* (Rotor, Graz,
2009), *Where Everything Is Yet to Happen / SPAPORT* (Banja Luka, 2009), *And Then Nothing Turned It-
self Inside Out* (Kunsthalle Exnergasse, Vienna, 2009), *Removed From the Crowd - the Fate of the Outer
Planets* (Škuc Gallery, Ljubljana, 2009). They have edited the 83rd issue of the periodical Život um-
jetnosti titled *Issu(ing) the Revolution*. (published by the Institute of Art History). They are authors
of several education projects, including a one-year seminar within the project *Kustoska platforma*
realised with Culture of change, Student Center in Zagreb.

Zbyněk Baladrán je umjetnik, pisac i organizator koji živi i radi u Pragu, u Češkoj. Studirao je isto-
riju umjetnosti na Karlovom Univerzitetu u Pragu i umjetnost na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti,
također u Pragu. Izlagao je na brojnim internacionalnim izložbama, među kojima su: *Manifesta 5*,
2004, *Donostia, San Sebastián, The Need to Document*, Basel, Luenenburg, 2005, *Praguebiennale 2 & 3*,
Prague, 2005/2007, *Auditorium, Stage, Backstage*, Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt, 2006, *October*,
Exit, Memory and Desir 08, *Glossary*, Secession Vitrine, Vienna, 2008, Gyumri Biennial, Gyumri,
Armenia, 2008, *Try again, fail again, fail better*, Műcsarnok, Budapest, 2008, *The Provocation of the Real*,
National Center for the Arts, Mexico, 2008, *Be a Happy Worker: Work-to-Rule*, G-MK, Zagreb, 2008,
Another City, Zacheta, Warszawa, 2008, *Same Democracy*, Neon>Campobase, Bologna, 2008, Castillo/
Coralles, Paris, 2008, i dr. Također piše o umjetnosti i srodnim disciplinama. Jedan je od osnivača
praške Galerije Display i Galerije tranzitdisplay, prostora za suvremenu umjetnost koji postoji od
2001. i koji se prvenstveno fokusira na prezentaciju internacionalne suvremene umjetnosti. Od
2007. surađuje s teoretičarem Vitom Havranekom na projektu *Monument to Transformation*, koji se
bavi društvenim promjenama proteklih 30 godina.

Zbyněk Baladrán is an artist, author and organizer based in Prague, Czech Republic. He studied
art history at the Charles University and at the Academy of Fine Arts, both in Prague. He has
shown his work in numerous international exhibitions, including *Manifesta 5*, 2004, *Donos-
tia, San Sebastián, The Need to Document*, Basel, Luenenburg, 2005, *Praguebiennale 2 & 3*, Prague,
2005/2007, *Auditorium, Stage, Backstage*, Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt, 2006, *October*, *Exit*,
Memory and Desire, Artra gallery, Milan, 2007, *Why do you Resist?*, Forum Stadtpark, Graz, 2007,
Stalking With Stories, Apexart, New York, 2007, *Synonyma, MtT 1989-1968-2009*, Index, Stockholm,
2007, *What History do they represent?*, together with Vangelis Vlahos, *Blow de la Barra*, London, 2008,
Glossary, Secession Vitrine, Vienna, 2008, Gyumri Biennial, Gyumri, Armenia, 2008, *Try again, fail
again, fail better*, Műcsarnok, Budapest, 2008, *The Provocation of the Real*, National Center for the
Arts, Mexico, 2008, *Be a Happy Worker: Work-to-Rule*, G-MK, Zagreb, 2008, *Another City* Zacheta, War-
szawa, 2008, *Same Democracy*, Neon>Campobase, Bologna, 2008, Castillo/Coralles, Paris, 2008, and
others. He also writes text about art and close disciplines. He was one of the co-founders of the
Prague Display gallery and tranzitdisplay gallery, space for contemporary art, that presented its
first exhibition in 2001 and is focused to presenting international contemporary art. Since 2007
he has collaborates with theoretician Vit Havranek on the project *Monument to Transformation*,
which is focused on changes in society last 30 years.

Yael Bartana (r. 1970, Afula, Israel) živi i radi u Amsterdamu i Tel Avivu. Diplomu je stekla na
Bezalel akademji umjetnosti i dizajna u Jeruzalemu, a magisterij na Školi vizuelnih umjetnosti
u New Yorku. Također je bila učesnica rezidencijalnog programa na Rijksakademie (2000-2001).

U svom radu bavi se uglavnom odnosom između identiteta i rituala u izraelskom društvu, sagledavajući prakse koje konstituišu identitet, naročito u odnosu na tradicionalna i savremena shvatanja roda, mesta i etniciteta. Njen rad je bio predstavljen na brojnim samostalnim izložbama, između ostalog u: Galerija Foksal, Varšava, Poljska (2008); Centar za savremenu umjetnost, Tel Aviv, Izrael (2008); The Power Plant, Toronto, Kanada (2007); Kunstverein Hamburg, Hamburg, Njemačka (2006); Museum St. Gallen, St. Gallen, Švajcarska (2005); Sommer Contemporary Art, Tel Aviv, Izrael (2004); MIT List Visual Arts Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts, SAD (2004). Također je učestvovala u brojnim grupnim izložbama, između ostalog u: Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, Velika Britanija (2008); Museo de Arte Contemporaneo de Castilla y Leon, Španija (2008); Documenta 12, Kassel, Njemačka (2007); Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, SAD (2007); Centre Pompidou, Pariz, Francuska (2007); 27. Bijenale u São Paulo, Brazil (2007); Tàpies Foundation, Barcelona, Španija (2006); i 9. Bijenale u Istanbulu, Turska (2005).

Yael Bartana (b. 1970, Afula, Israel) lives and works in Amsterdam and Tel Aviv. She has a BFA from the Bezalel Academy of Art and Design in Jerusalem, an MFA from the New York School of Visual Arts and participated in the Rijksakademie artist-in-residence program from 2000-2001. Her work focuses mainly on the relationship between ritual and identity in Israeli society, looking at the practices that constitute identity, especially in its relation with traditional and contemporary notions of gender, place and ethnicity. She has had numerous solo exhibitions including: Foksal Gallery, Warsaw, Poland (2008); Center for Contemporary Art, Tel Aviv, Israel (2008); The Power Plant, Toronto, Canada (2007); Kunstverein Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany (2006); Museum St. Gallen, St. Gallen, Switzerland (2005); Sommer Contemporary Art, Tel Aviv, Israel (2004); MIT List Visual Arts Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA (2004). She has also been included in many group exhibitions including: Henry Moore Institute, Leeds, United Kingdom (2008); Museo de Arte Contemporaneo de Castilla y Leon, Spain (2008); Documenta 12, Kassel, Germany (2007); Walker Art Center, Minneapolis (2007); Centre Pompidou, Paris, France (2007); 27th Bienal de São Paulo, Brasil (2007); Tàpies Foundation, Barcelona, Spain (2006); and the 9th Istanbul Biennial, Istanbul, Turkey (2005).

Lutz Becker (r. 1941, u Njemačkoj) živi i radi u Londonu. Studirao je na Slade School of Fine Art u Londonu gdje je i diplomirao u klasi Thorolda Dickinsona. Kasnije je postao uvaženi redatelj političkih i umjetničkih dokumentaraca poput *Nuremberg in History* (2006.), *Art in Revolution* (1971.), *Double Headed Eagle* (1972.), *Lion of Judah* (1981.) i *Vita Futurista* (1987.). Pored bavljenja slikarstvom, radi i kao kustos. Učestvovao je u nastajanju niza velikih izložbi u Galeriji Hayward: *Art and Revolution* (1971.), *Piscator and Political Theatre* (1972.), *The Romantic Spirit in German Art* (1994), *Art and Power: Europe under the dictators 1930-45* (1995.). Lutz Becker radio je kao kustos na mnogim izložbama koje su se bavile ruskim i sovjetskim avantgardnom umjetnošću, na primjer *Century City: Moscow*, Tate Modern, London (2001.), *Construction: Tatlin and After*, State Museum for Contemporary Art, Thessaloniki (2002.) te *Cut and Paste: Photomontage 1920-1945*, Estorick Foundation, London, (2008./09.).

Lutz Becker (b. 1941, Germany) lives and works in London. He studied at the Slade School of Fine Art, London, where he graduated under Thorold Dickinson. Later he became a distinguished director of political and art documentaries such as *Nuremberg in History* (2006), *Art in Revolution* (1971), *Double Headed Eagle* (1972), *Lion of Judah* (1981) and *Vita Fururista* (1987/2009). A practicing painter, he is also a curator of exhibitions. He collaborated with the Hayward Gallery on a series of large exhibition projects: *Art and Revolution* (1971), *Piscator and Political Theatre* (1972), *The Romantic Spirit in German Art* (1994), *Art and Power: Europe under the dictators 1930-45* (1995). Lutz Becker participated as curator on many exhibition projects that dealt with Russian and Soviet

avantgarde art, including *Century City: Moscow*, Tate Modern, London (2001), *Construction: Tatlin and After*, State Museum for Contemporary Art, Thessaloniki (2002) and *Cut and Paste: Photomontage 1920-1945*, Estorick Foundation, London, (2008/09).

Yane Calovski je umjetnik čiji rad uključuje pisanje, crtež, video, javne akcije, publikacije i instalacije. Njegov rad bio je predstavljen na brojnim izložbama, a najrecentnija je samostalna izložba u European Kunsthalle u Kelnu i izložba Manifesta 7 u Bolzanu, u Italiji. Studirao je na Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts na University of Pennsylvania i na Bennington College, a post-diplomske studijske programe pohađao je u CCA Kitakyushu, Japan (1999/00), i na Jan van Eyck Academy u Maastrichtu, Holandija (2002/04). Također djeluje kao kustos i predavač, te je osnivač i urednik magazina *D magazine* (*D is for drawing*).

Yane Calovski's work incorporates writing, drawing, video, public actions, publications, and installations. His work has been exhibited and published internationally, most recently in a solo exhibition at the European Kunsthalle in Cologne and Manifesta 7 in Bolzano. He studied art and architecture at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and Bennington College and participated in the post-graduate studio program both at the CCA Kitakyushu, Japan (1999/00) and at the Jan van Eyck Academy, Maastricht (2002/04). In addition, he curates and lectures internationally, and is the founding member of press to exit project space in Skopje and founding editor of *D magazine* (*D is for drawing*).

Libia Castro & Ólafur Ólafsson (Španija/Island, sarađuju od 1997.), koji se često opisuju kao "stanovnici svijeta", su roterdamsko-berlinski umjetnički tandem čiji se rad temelji na multidisciplinarnom pristupu i čiji se projekti kreću između različitih konteksta i referentnih okvira. Njihov rad često uključuje saradnju s drugima: grupama, pojedincima, aktivistima, umjetnicima i drugim profesionalcima. Refleksijom na svakodnevni život u različitim mjestima na kojima rade, nastoje aktivno izoštriti percepciju postavljajući pitanja o stvarnosti čovječanstva, usredotočavajući se na egzistencijalne, kulturne, prostorne, društveno-ekonomski i političke aspekte. Njihov najnoviji video rad, *Lobisti*, snimljen u Bruxellesu i Strasbourg, uz podlogu dub muzike prikazuje lobiste u njihovom radnom okruženju, dok pokušavaju utjecati na donošenje odluka u Evropskom Parlamentu. Recentne izložbe na kojima su učestvovali su: *Favoured Nations*, Momentum, 5. Nordijsko Bijenale, Moss; *Invasion of Sound*, Zacheta National Gallery, Varšava; *Bienale Cuveel*, O.K Center-Arbeiter Kamer, Linz; *Principle Hope*, Manifesta 7, Rovereto; *Be(com)ing Dutch*, Van Abbe Museum, Eindhoven, te samostalne izložbe u Galerie Opdahl, Berlin, Galleria Riccardo Crespi, Milano i *Everybody is doing what they can*, Reykjavík Art Museum.

Libia Castro & Ólafur Ólafsson (ES/IS, collaborating since 1997), often described as "citizens of the world," the Rotterdam/Berlin based duo work from out of a conceptual and multidisciplinary approach, moving with their projects between different contexts and frames of reference. In their projects they often collaborate with other people: groups, individuals, activists, artists and other professionals. While reflecting upon everyday life in the different places in which they work, they actively try to sensitize perception by raising questions and provoking dialogue about the human condition, focusing on existential, cultural, spatial, socio-economical and political aspects. Their last video work, *Lobbyists*, recorded in Brussels and Strasbourg, vocalized to dub music, portrays lobbyists performing under working conditions as they try to influence decision-making in the European Parliament. Recent shows they have participated in include *Favoured Nations*, Momentum, 5th Nordic Biennial, Moss; *Invasion of Sound*, Zacheta National Gallery, Warsaw; *Bienale Cuveel*, O.K Center-Arbeiter Kamer, Linz; *Principle Hope*, Manifesta 7, Rovereto; *Be(com)ing*

Dutch, Van Abbe Museum, Eindhoven and solo shows at Galerie Opdahl, Berlin, Galleria Riccardo Crespi, Milan and *Everybody is doing what they can* at Reykjavík Art Museum.

Chto delat/What is to be done? je radna skupina umjetnika, kritičara, filozofa i pisaca iz Petrograda i Nižnog Novgoroda, osnovana 2003. u Petrogradu, s ciljem spajanja političke teorije, umjetnosti i aktivizma. Od početka svog djelovanja, skupina izdaje novine na engleskom i ruskom jeziku koje se bave ključnim temama vezanim uz angažovanu kulturu, s posebnim naglaskom na odnos između repolitizacije ruske intelektualne kulture i njenog šireg međunarodnog konteksta. Novine se obično proizvode u kontekstu zajedničkih inicijativa kao što su umjetnički projekti ili konferencije.

Chto delat/What is to be done? was founded in early 2003 in Petersburg by a group of artists, critics, philosophers, and writers from Petersburg, Moscow, and Nizhny Novgorod with the goal of merging political theory, art, and activism. Since then, Chto delat has been publishing an English-Russian newspaper on issues central to engaged culture, with a special focus on the relationship between a repoliticization of Russian intellectual culture and its broader international context. These newspapers are usually produced in the context of collective initiatives such as art projects or conferences.

Ronen Eidelman je umjetnik, pisac i aktivist koji djeluje na povezivanju umjetnosti, kulture i grassroots političkih praksi. Učestvovao je na brojnim izložbama i festivalima, te realizovao nezavisne projekte u javnom prostoru. Rođen je u New Yorku, odrastao je u Jeruzalemu, a danas živi u Tel-Avivu i Jaffi i Izraelu. Suosnivač je i urednik magazina Ma'arav (www.maarav.org.il), vodećeg internetskog magazina za umjetnost i kulturu u Izraelu. Završio je magisterski studij "Umjetnosti u javnom prostoru i novih umjetničkih strategija" na Univerzitetu Bauhaus u Weimar, u Njemačkoj. Više od deset godina aktivan je u anti-okupacijskim i anti-kapitalističkim aktivističkim grupama. Ronen voli šešire i uživa u eksperimentiranju sa odjećom.

Ronen Eidelman is an artist, writer and activist engaged with linking art, culture and grassroots politics. Participated in many exhibitions and festivals, as well as creating independent projects in the public sphere. Born in New York City, grew up in Jerusalem and based in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Israel, Co-founder and editor of "Ma'arav" (www.maarav.org.il) leading online art and culture magazine from Israel. Graduate of the MFA program for "Public Art and New Artistic Strategies" at Bauhaus University in Weimar, Germany, and for more than ten years active in anti-occupation and anti-capitalist activists groups. Ronen likes hats and enjoys wearing many kinds.

Esra Ersen radi s različitim medijima, od videa do instalacija i fotografije. Njeni radovi posreduju sferu društvenosti kroz intimne susrete. Pojmovi poput integracije, regeneracije, gentrifikacije, rehabilitacije, socijalne demokracije i održive moći dovode se u pitanje njihovim postavljanjem u odnos sa zajednicama čije živote ti pojmovi određuju. Ideja zajednice, njeni temelji i uvjetovanost, reflektiraju se u verbalnom i vizualnom, upućujući na nastanak društvenih, političkih, ekonomskih, psiholoških, senzualnih i fizičkih aspekata takvih formacija. Samostalne izložbe uključuju: *Passengers*, Tanas, Berlin, 2009, Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt, 2006, O.K Center for Contemporary Art, Linz, 2005, Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 2001. Izabrane grupne izložbe uključuju: *Translation/Tarjama*, Queens Museum of Art, New York, 2009, *Personal Protocols and Other Preferences*, CCS Galleries, Bard College, New York, 2008 *Modern and Beyond*, Santral Istanbul, Istanbul, Turkey, 2007, Liverpool Biennial, Liverpool, UK, 2006, 27. Sao Paulo Biennale, 2006, 8.

Bijenale u Istanbulu, 2003, Manifesta 4, Frankfurt, 2002, 4. Kwangju Biennial, Kwangju, 2002, 4. Bijenale u Istanbulu, Turska, 1995. Esra Ersen živi i radi u Berlinu i Istanbulu.

Esra Ersen works with various media, from video to installation and to photography. Her works mediate the domain of the social through intimate encounters. Notions such as integration, regeneration, gentrification, rehabilitation, social democracy and sustaining power are put into question through relating to the communities who are under their influence. The idea of community, its foundations and conditions sparkle through the verbal and the visual, leading the emergence of social, political, economic, psychological, sensual and physical aspects of such formation. Selected solo exhibitions include: *Passengers*, Tanas, Berlin, 2009, Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt, 2006, O.K Center for Contemporary Art, Linz, 2005, Moderna Museet, Stockholm, 2001. Selected group exhibitions include: *Translation/Tarjama*, Queens Museum of Art, New York City, 2009, *Personal Protocols and Other Preferences*, CCS Galleries, Bard College, New York, 2008 *Modern and Beyond*, Santral Istanbul, Istanbul, Turkey, 2007, Liverpool Biennial , Liverpool, UK, 2006, 27th Sao Paulo Biennale, 2006, 8th International Istanbul Biennial, Turkey, 2003, *Manifesta 4*, Frankfurt, 2002, 4 th Kwangju Biennial, Kwangju, 2002, 4th International Istanbul Biennial, 1995. Esra Ersen slives and works in Berlin and Istanbul.

Anselm Franke je kustos i kritičar koji živi i radi u Briselu i Berlinu. Umjetnički je direktor Centra za savremenu umjetnost Extra City u Antwerpenu. Bio je ko-kustos Manifeste 7, Trentino-Alto Adige, Italija, 2008. godine. Do 2006. Franke je radio kao kustos u KW Institute for Contemporary Art u Berlinu, gdje je organizirao izložbe, među kojima su: *Territories. Islands, Camps and Other States of Utopia* (2003); *Image Archives* (2001/2002); *The Imaginary Number* (2005, s Hilom Peleg), i *B-Zone - Becoming Europe and Beyond* (2006), i bio ko-autor projekta *No Matter How Bright the Light, the Crossing Occurs At Night* (2006). Bio je urednik i izdavač mnogih publikacija, a redovito piše za magazine *Metropolis M*, *Piktogram*, i *Cabinet*.

Anselm Franke is a curator and writer based in Brussels and Berlin. He is the Artistic Director of Extra City Center for Contemporary Art in Antwerp, and he was a co-curator of Manifesta 7 in Trentino-Alto Adige, Italy, in 2008 (Trento). Previously, Franke acted as curator of KW Institute for Contemporary Art in Berlin until 2006, where he organized exhibitions such as *Territories. Islands, Camps and Other States of Utopia* (2003); *Image Archives* (2001/2002); *The Imaginary Number* (2005, together with Hila Peleg), and *B-Zone - Becoming Europe and Beyond* (2006) and he co-developed the project *No Matter How Bright the Light, the Crossing Occurs At Night* (2006). He has edited and published various publications and is a contributor to magazines such as *Metropolis M*, *Piktogram*, and *Cabinet*.

Ivan Grubanov je rođen 9. marta 1976. godine u Beogradu. Nakon diplome na slikarskom odsjeku beogradskog Fakulteta likovnih umjetnosti (2001), odlazi na dvogodišnje usavršavanje na Rijksakademie van beeldende kunsten u Amsterdamu (2002-2003), jednogodišnji rezidencijalni program u Delfina Studios u Londonu i kao stipendist u Casa de Velazquez u Madridu. Samostalno je izlagao u Loock Galerie u Berlinu, Laboratorio 987 u okviru Muzeja savremene umjetnosti Kastilje u Leonu, Le Grand Café Centre d'Art Contemporain u Sen Nazeru, Galeriji Beogradskog kulturnog centra i Salonu Muzeja savremene umjetnosti u Beogradu, Nogueras Blanchard u Barceloni, Stroom Centru za savremenu umetnost u Hagu, RONMANDOS u Roterdamu. Učestvovao je na brojnim grupnim izložbama, između ostalog u Gradskoj galeriji u Pragu, na 3. Bijenalu mladih umetnika u Bukureštu, na 10. Bijenalu u Istanbulu, na 1. Bijenalu u Solunu, u Institutu za savremenu umjetnost i misao u Atini, u Museo d'Arte Contemporanea Sannio u Beneventu, u

Muzeju Stedelijk, SMART Project Space i De Appel u Amsterdamu, u Drawing Center i Apex Art u New Yorku, Kunsthalle u Bernu, Forum Stadpark u Grazu, Office Baroque Gallery i Extra City u Antverpenu, South London Gallery, Blackwood Gallery u Torontu, Modernoj galeriji u Ljubljani, Henie Onstad Art Center u Oslu.

Ivan Grubanov was born on the 9th of March 1976 in Belgrade, Serbia. Following a diploma in painting from the Belgrade Academy of Fine Arts, he undertook a two-year residency at the Rijksakademie van beeldende kunsten in Amsterdam, a one-year residency at the Delfina Studios in London and a fellowship at the Casa de Velazquez in Madrid. Solo shows include Loock Galerie in Berlin, Laboratorio 987 at MUSAC in Leon, Le Grand Cafe Centre d'Art Contemporain in St Nazaire, Gallery of the Belgrade Cultural Center and Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, Nogueras Blanchard in Barcelona, Stroom Center for Contemporary Art in Den Haag, RONMANDOS in Rotterdam. Recent participations in group shows include the City Gallery in Prague, the 3rd Bucharest Biennial of Young Artists, the 10th Istanbul Biennial, the 1st Thessaloniki Biennial, Institute for Contemporary Art and Thought, Athens, Museo d'Arte Contemporanea Sannio in Benevento, Stedelijk Museum CS, SMART Project Space and De Appel in Amsterdam, the Drawing Center and Apex Art in New York, Kunsthalle Bern, Forum Stadpark in Graz, Office Baroque Gallery and Extra City in Antwerp, South London Gallery, Blackwood Gallery in Toronto, Moderna Galerija in Ljubljana, Henie Onstad Art Center in Oslo.

Nicoline van Harskamp završila je magistarski studij skulpture na Chelsea Collegeu 1997., od kada razvija umjetničke projekte u Velikoj Britaniji i izvan nje. Njena umjetnička praksa uključuje izrazito fokusirano istraživanje o distribuciji moći vladanja i moći pojedinca, kao i o individualnom i kolektivnom otporu postojećim političkim sistemima. Nicoline van Harskamp je mnogo puta predstavljala i diskutovala svoj rad, uvijek insistirajući na tome da ne radi samo u umjetničkom kontekstu nego i izvan njega. Među njenim samostalnim izložbama su *Any other Business*, De Balie/SMBA/SKOR, Amsterdam, 2009, *To Live Outside the Law...*, Nikolaj CCAC, Copenhagen, 2007; Casco projects, Utrecht, 2007; California Museum of Photography, California, 2006. Učestvovala je u mnogim grupnim izložbama, između ostalog na *Monument to Transformation*, Prag, 2009, *Be(com)ing Dutch*, Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, 2008, YYZ Artists' Outlet, Toronto, 2008; Gasworks, London, 2008; *Error #9: Shadow Cabinet (Three Rendezvous)*, Extra City, Antwerp, 2008; Sparwasser HQ, Berlin, 2006; De Appel, Amsterdam, 2005. Godine 2009. osvojila je prvu nagradu na Prix de Rome, u Nizozemskoj. Njen najnoviji projekt, *Any Other Business - Communicative Excellence in Civil Society and Politics*, preuzima formu inscenovane konferencije, u kojoj 36 glumaca, tokom šest sati, izvode deset sastanaka s unaprijed napisanim scenarijem.

Nicoline van Harskamp completed an MA in sculpture at Chelsea College in 1997 and has produced art projects in and outside the UK since. Van Harskamp's artistic practice involves highly concentrated research on the distribution of governmental and private power; as well as individual and collective resistance to existing political systems. Nicoline van Harskamp has widely screened and discussed her work, making a point of doing so both inside and outside the context of art. Her solo exhibitions include *To Live Outside the Law...* at Nikolaj CCAC, Copenhagen, 2007; Casco projects, Utrecht, 2007; California Museum of Photography, California, 2006. She has participated in numerous group exhibitions including *Monument to Transformation*, Prag, 2009, *Be(com)ing Dutch*, Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven, 2008, YYZ Artists' Outlet, Toronto, 2008; Gasworks, London, 2008; *Error #9: Shadow Cabinet (Three Rendezvous)*, Extra City, Antwerp, 2008; Sparwasser HQ, Berlin, 2006; De Appel, Amsterdam, 2005. In 2009 she received the first prize of the Prix de Rome, NL. Her most recent project, *Any Other Business - Communicative Excellence in Civil Society and Politics*, takes the form of a scripted conference, where thirty-five actors, over the

course of six hours, perform ten scripted meetings.

Vít Havránek je teoretičar i organizator koji živi i radi u Pragu. Od 2002. radi kao projektni voditelj inicijative za savremenu umjetnost tranzit (www.tranzit.org), koju podržava Erste Bank Grupa. Radio je kao kustos Gradske Galerije u Pragu i Nacionalne Galerije u Pragu. Predaje savremenu umjetnost na Akademiji primjenjenih umjetnosti u Pragu. Bio je kustos i ko-kustos brojnih izložbi, među kojima su: *A CDEFGHIJK MNOP STUV Z*, dio Société Anonyme, Le Plateau, Paris, 2007, *tranzit – Auditorium, Stage Backstage*, Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt 2006, *I, series of exhibitions in three acts* (Secession Vienna, Futura Prague, tranzit workshops Bratislava, 2006), projekta *The Need to Document* (Basel, Luenenburg, Prag, 2005), *Definitions of Everyday* (2. Bijenale u Pragu, 2005), *Lanterna Magika* (Pariz, 2002), *Jiri Kovanda* (Brno, 2004), *Otto Piene* (Prag 2002), *action, word, movement, space* (Prag, 1999). Urednik je publikacija i kataloga o savremenoj umjetnosti. Uradio je seriju publikacija tranzita u izdanju jrp | ringier (Jan Mančuška, Jiří Kovanda i dr.), uredio i ko-uredio publikacije *Autobiographies, revolver, Secession tranzit*, 2006, *The Need to Document*, 2005, *Lanterna Magika*, 2002, *action, word, movement, space*, 1999 te pisao za magazine o suvremenoj umjetnosti (*Springerin, Artist, Flash Art* i dr.).

Vít Havránek is a theoretician and organizer based in Prague, Czech Republic. Since 2002 working as a project leader of the initiative for contemporary art tranzit (www.tranzit.org) supported by the Erste Bank Group. He worked as a curator for the Municipal Gallery, Prague and National Gallery in Prague. He lectures in contemporary art at the Academy of Applied Arts, Prague. He has curated and co-curated number of exhibitions, amongst which are: *A CDEFGHIJK MNOP STUV Z*, part of Societe Anonyme, Le Plateau, Paris, 2007, *tranzit – Auditorium, Stage Backstage*, Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt 2006, *I, series of exhibitions in three acts* (Secession Vienna, Futura Prague, tranzit workshops Bratislava, 2006), project *The Need to Document* (Basel, Luenenburg, Prague, 2005), *Definitions of Everyday* (Prague Biennale 2, 2005), *Lanterna Magika* (Paris, 2002), *Jiri Kovanda* (Brno, 2004), *Otto Piene* (Prague 2002), *action, word, movement, space* (Prague, 1999). He has edited publications on contemporary art and catalogues. He is editor of tranzit series published by jrp | ringier (Jan Mančuška, Jiří Kovanda and others), edited and co-edited books *Autobiographies, revolver, Secession tranzit*, 2006, *The Need to Document*, 2005, *Lanterna Magika*, 2002, *action, word, movement, space*, 1999 and has written for contemporary art magazines (*Springerin, Artist, Flash Art* and others).

Ana Janevski je kustosica u Muzeju moderne umjetnosti u Varšavi, gdje je kurirala izložbu *čim otvorim oči vidim film - eksperimenti u jugoslavenskoj umjetnosti 60-ih i 70-ih*, samostalnu izložbu Ahlam Shibli *Unhoming*, a nedavno je bila ko-kustosica projekta *Warsaw Under Construction*, začetak novog festivala posvećenog dizajnu. Trenutno sarađuje s umjetnicom Sanjom Ivezović na projektu u javnom prostoru u Varšavi. Ko-urednica je magazina *Muzeum*. Magistrirala je na univerzitetu EHESS u Parizu, s radom "Artikulacija balkanizma u suvremenoj umjetnosti". Kurirala je nekoliko izložbi u Hrvatskoj, gdje je programska voditeljica Galerije PM u Zagrebu.

Ana Janevski is curator in the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, where she curated the exhibition *As soon as I open my eyes I see a film - Experiments in Yugoslav art in 60s and 70s*, the solo show of Ahlam Shibli *Unhoming* and recently co-curated the project *Warsaw Under Construction*, a trailer of a new festival focused on designing. Currently she is collaborating with the artist Sanja Ivezović on a project in public space in Warsaw. She is the co-editor of the magazine *Muzeum*. She received her Mphil at the EHESS in Paris, with the thesis "Articulation of Balkanism in contemporary art". She has curated several shows in Croatia, where she is the program director of the PM Gallery in Zagreb.

Erden Kosova je kritičar koji živi i radi u Istanbulu. Kao tekstopisac i urednik, saradivao je s istanbulskim magazinima *art-ist-om* i *Resmi Gorus-om*, dva magazina o savremenoj umjetnosti bazirana u Istanbulu. Kosova je koautor knjige *Szene Türkei: Abseits aber Tor!* (Jahresring & Walther König, 2004) i član post-anarhističkog kolektiva koji vodi projekt Siyahi. Bio je ko-kustos izložbe *Leaps of Faith*, koja je bila održana na obje strane podijeljenog grada Nikozije, 2005. Također je kurirao izložbu *Along the Gates of the Urban* u Galeriji K & S u Berlinu i prostoru Oda Projesi u Istanbulu. Trenutno radi za istanbulske socijalističke novine Birgun, i završava doktorat na Odsjeku za vizuelnu kulturu na Goldsmithsu, Univerzitet u Londonu.

Erden Kosova is an art critic living in Istanbul. As a writer and editor, he has contributed to *art-ist* and *Resmi Gorus*, two contemporary art magazines based in Istanbul. Kosova co-authored the book *Szene Türkei: Abseits aber Tor!* (Jahresring & Walther König, 2004), and he is also a member of the post-anarchist collective that runs the magazine project *Siyahi*. He co-curated *Leaps of Faith*, an exhibition that was held in both sections of the divided city of Nicosia in 2005, as well as the exhibition *Along the Gates of the Urban* in Galerie K&S in Berlin and in Oda Projesi in Istanbul. He currently works for the Istanbul-based socialist newspaper Birgun, and is a PhD candidate at the Visual Cultures Department of Goldsmiths at the University of London.

Nina Möntmann je profesorica i voditeljica Odsjeka za teoriju umjetnosti i povijest ideja pri Royal University College of Fine Arts u Stockholmu. Od 2003. do 2006. kustosica NIFCA-e (Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art) u Helsinkiju, 2007. godine kustosica armenijskog paviljona na 52. venecijanskom bijenalu, a 2008. kustoska savjetnica Manifesta 7. Nedavno je kurirala grupnu izložbu *If We Can't Get It Together* u galeriji The Power Plant u Torontu (decembar, 2008), i izložbu *The Jerusalem Syndrome*, Jerusalem Show, Al-Ma'mal Foundation, Jeruzalem, koju kurira u saradnji sa Jackom Persekianom. Dopisnica *Artforum*, saradnica u više časopisa, između ostalih u: *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Parachute*, *metropolis m*, *Frieze*. Autorica i urednica više publikacija, između ostalih: Rana Dasgupta, Nina Montmann, Avi Pitchon (ur.), *Manifesta 7 Companion Book*, Milano 2008; Nina Montmann (ur.) *Art and its Institutions*, London (Black Dog Publishing), 2006; Nina Montmann, Yilmaz Dziewior (ur.), *Mapping a City*, Stuttgart (Hatje Cantz), 2005; Nina Montmann, *Kunst als sozialer Raum*, Koln (Walther Konig), 2002. Živi i radi u Hamburgu i Stockholmu.

Nina Möntmann is professor and director of the Department for Art Theory and History of Ideas, at the Royal University College of Fine Arts, in Stockholm. From 2003 to 2006 she was a curator at NIFCA (Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art) in Helsinki; in 2007 she curated the Armenian pavilion at the Venice Biennial, and in 2008 was a curatorial adviser for Manifesta 7. Recently, she curated the exhibition *If We Can't Get It Together* at The Power Plant in Toronto (december 2008) and *The Jerusalem Syndrome*, Jerusalem Show, Al-Ma'mal Foundation, Jerusalem, 2009 (co-curated with Jack Persekian). She is frequently contributing to magazines such as *Artforum*, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Parachute*, *Frieze*. She is the author and editor of numerous publications, including: Rana Dasgupta, Nina Montmann, Avi Pitchon (ur.), *Manifesta 7 Companion Book*, Milano 2008; Nina Montmann (ur.) *Art and its Institutions*, London (Black Dog Publishing), 2006; Nina Montmann, Yilmaz Dziewior (ur.), *Mapping a City*, Stuttgart (Hatje Cantz), 2005; Nina Montmann, *Kunst als sozialer Raum*, Koln (Walther Konig), 2002. Lives and works in Hamburg and Stockholm.

Aydan Murtezaoglu je rođena 1961. godine, živi i radi u Turskoj. Murtezaoglu je na akademiji studirala slikarstvo, i još uvijek se identificira s tom ulogom slikarice, one koja individualno "ispunjava prazan prostor", ali to posljednjih godina podrazumijeva i korištenje filma, fotografije, i instalacije. Njene "posebne" intervencije gotovo uvijek počinju s nečim osobnim – auto-

portretom, porodičnom fotografijom, itd. Od osobnog ili autobiografskog kreće prema problematizaciji društvenih pitanja, kao što je tradicionalna uloga žene u islamskoj kulturi. Nekoliko umjetničkih serija bave se nelagodom iskazivanja ženske seksualnosti unutar ograničavajućeg konteksta turskog društva. Izlagala je na brojnim samostalnim i grupnim izložbama, a recentno na *What Keeps Mankind Alive?*, 11. Bijenale u Istanbulu, gdje je predstavila projekt *Nezaposleni zaposlenici - našli smo vam novi posao!*, koji je nastao u koprodukciji sa Bülentom Şangarom.

Aydan Murtezaoglu, born 1961, lives and works in Istanbul, Turkey. Murtezaoglu began in the art academy as a painter and still identifies herself with the role of a painter, "to individually fill an empty space." In more recent years this has come to encompass film, photography, and installations. Her "special" interventions almost always begin with something personal – a self-portrait, family photos, etc. From the personal or autobiographical she moves into larger social issues such as the traditional roles of women in an Islamic culture. Several bodies of work address the discomfort with the expression of female sexuality within the confining context of Turkish society. Her work has been shown on numerous solo and group exhibitions, most recently at *What Keeps Mankind Alive?* - 11th İstanbul Biennial, where she presented the new project *Unemployed Employees - I found you a new job!*, made in co-production with Büлent Şangar.

Dragan Nikolić rođen je u Zaječaru 1974. godine. Student je završne godine na beogradskom Fakultetu dramskih umjetnosti – odsjek za dramaturgiju. Studira i filozofiju na Filozofском fakultetu. Scenarist je, pisac kazališnih komada i redatelj. Radio je kao koscenarist i asistent redatelja na kratkom igranom filmu *Run Rabbit Run* (2003.), kao koscenarist na cjebovečernjem dokumentarcu *Made in Serbia* (2005.), kao direktor fotografije i snimatelj na filmu *Bar de Zi* (2007.) te kao redatelj, scenarist i snimatelj na dokumentarcima *Hot Line* (2006.), *Nacionalni park* (2006.), *Kaviar Konekšn* (2008.).

Dragan Nikolić was born in Zaječar in 1974. He is in the final year of studies at the Belgrade Faculty of Drama Arts, Department of Dramaturgy and is also a student of philosophy at the Faculty of Philosophy. He works as a theater play wright, script writer and director. He was the co-author of the script and assistant director for the short feature film *Run Rabbit Run* (2003), co-author of the script for the documentary film *Made in Serbia* (2005), director of photography and cameraman for the film *Bar de Zi* (2007) and director, script writer and cameraman for documentary films *Hot Line* (2006), *National Park* (2006), and *The Caviar Connection* (2008).

Florian Schneider je filmski režiser, pisac i kustos. Njegov rad fokusira se na prekoračivanje granica između *mainstream* i nezavisnih medija, umjetnosti i aktivizma, teorije i tehnologije otvorenog koda. Kao filmski režiser, autor je nekoliko nagrađivanih dokumentaraca, a osmislio je i realizovao dvije tematske večeri na njemačko-francuskoj TV stanici arte, na temu migracije i aktivizma. Jedan je od inicijatora kampanje KEIN MENSCH IST ILLEGAL (niko nije ilegalan) koja je lansirana na documenti X, kao i nastavaka tog projekta – "noborder network" i internetska platforma KEIN.ORG. Osnivač je i ko-organizator festivala medijske umjetnosti MAKEWORLD (2001.), NEURO-networking europe (2004.), *Borderline Academy* (2005.), SUMMIT-a nesvrstanih inicijativa u edukacijskoj kulturi, kao i multimedijiskog projekta *Dictionary of War* (2006. -). Predavao je na univerzitetima, muzejima, i konferencijama širom svijeta. Od 2006. predaje teoriju na umjetničkoj akademiji u Trondheimu. Od 2008. radi na Jan van Eyck Academie u Maastrichtu kao savjetnik/istraživač. Trenutno radi na svom doktoratu "Imaginarno vlasništvo", na Institute for Research Architecture in Goldsmiths College, London. 2008. učestvovao je s performansima i video instalacijama, na bijenalima u Gwangjuu, Taipeiu i Briselu, kao i Manifesta 7 (Trento i Bolzano).

Ko-urednik je knjige *Wörterbuch des Krieges*, Merve-Verlag, Berlin 2008.

Florian Schneider is a filmmaker, writer, and curator. In his work he focusses on bordercrossings between mainstream and independent media, art and activism, theory and open source technology. As a filmmaker he directed several award-winning documentaries and designed and realized two theme-evenings for the German-French TV station arte on the topics of migration and activism. He is one of the initiators of the KEIN MENSCH IST ILLEGAL (no one is illegal) campaign at documenta X and subsequent projects such as the “noborder network” and the internet platform KEIN.ORG. He initiated and co-organized the new media festivals MAKEWORLD (2001), NEURO-networking europe (2004), “Borderline Academy” (2005), “SUMMIT - nonaligned initiatives in education culture” and the multimedia project “DICTIONARY OF WAR” (2006 -). He has lectured at universities, museums, and conferences worldwide. Since 2006 he teaches theory at the art academy Trondheim. Since autumn 2008 he is advising researcher at Jan van Eyck Academie Maastricht. At the moment he is working on his PHD-project on “Imaginary property” at the Institute for Research Architecture in Goldsmiths College, London. In 2008 he participated with performances and video installations at the biennales in Gwangju, Taipei and Brussels, as well as Manifesta 7 (Trento and Bolzano). He is co-editor of *Wörterbuch des Krieges*, Merve-Verlag, Berlin 2008.

Slaven Tolj rođen je 1964. u Dubrovniku. Diplomirao je na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti u Sarajevu 1987. godine. Sudjelovao je na brojnim samostalnim i skupnim izložbama u zemlji i inozemstvu (Documenta Kassel 1997, Body and the East, Moderna galerija Ljubljana 1998, Muzej suvremene umjetnosti Zagreb 1998, Apex Art, New York 2000,). Od 1988. godine voditelj je programa Art radionice Lazareti.

Slaven Tolj was born in 1964 in Dubrovnik. He studied at the Academy of Contemporary Art in Sarajevo, where he graduated in 1987. He participated at numerous solo and group exhibitions in Croatia and abroad (Documenta, Kassel 1997, Body and the East, Moderna galerija Ljubljana 1998, Muzej suvremene umjetnosti Zagreb 1998, Apex Art, New York 2000.). Od 1988. godine voditelj je programa Art radionice Lazareti

Jelena Vesić je nezavisna kustosica, umjetnička kritičarka koja živi i radi u Beogradu. Ko-urednica je časopisa *Prelov* i članica Prelov Kolektiva. Njen rad je uglavnom posvećen politikama reprezentacije u umjetnosti i vizuelnoj kulturi, kao i kritičkom istraživanju novih modela interakcije između teorije i umjetnosti u širem društvenom polju. Njena kustoska praksa često eksperimentiše sa okvirima, metodologijama, te kontekstualnim i kolaborativnim aspektima predstavljanja umetnosti. Objavljivala je svoje tekstove u različitim umetničkim časopisima i publikacijama kao što su: *Idea/art+socieity/* (Cluj), *Version* (Paris), *Galerija Nova Newspapers* (Zagreb), *Afterartnews /Onestarpress/* (Paris), *(An)other Publication* (Rotterdam), *Blue Monday art-critical blog / LabForCulture/* (Amsterdam), *transform /eipcp/* (Vienna), *Chto Delat/What is to be Done* (St.Petersburg/Moscow), *Prelov* (Belgrade), *mag.net 3* (Rome/Amsterdam), *Život Umjetnosti* (Zagreb), *Doubles* (Kiev), *Read Thread* (Istanbul) etc. Njeni noviji kustoski projekti su: *No More Reality: Crowd and Performance*, Depo, Istanbul, 2009; *No More Reality step 3: Documentation Centre*, De Appel Institute for Contemporary Art, Amsterdam, 2008; *The case of Students Cultural Centre – Belgrade in the 1970s*, shown in SKUC (Ljubljana), Galerija Nova (Zagreb), CCA/pro.ba (Sarajevo), Salon of Museum of Contemporary Art (Belgrade), Badischer Kunstverein (Karlsruhe) and Transit (Budapest), 2008; *Back to the Future*, Borderline video festival, Beijing, 2007; *Breaking Step: Displacement, Compassion and Humor in Recent Art from Britain*, Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, 2007.

Jelena Vesić is independent curator, art critic and editor who lives and works in Belgrade. She is also co-editor of *Prelom* Journal and member of Prelom Collective [www.prelomkolektiv.org]. Her work is mostly dedicated to the politics of representation in art and visual culture and critical examination of new models of interacting between theory and art in the broader social field. Her curatorial practice often experiments with frameworks, methodologies, contextual and collaborative aspects of presentation of art.. She was publishing her texts in various art magazines, journals and publications such are: *Idea/art+society/* (Cluj), *Version* (Paris), *Galerija Nova Newspapers* (Zagreb), *Afterartnews /Onestarpress/* (Paris), *(An)other Publication* (Rotterdam), *Blue Monday art-critical blog /LabForCulture/* (Amsterdam), *transform /eipcp/* (Vienna), *Chto Delat/What is to be Done?* (St. Petersburg/Moscow), *Prelom* (Belgrade), *mag.net 3* (Rome/Amsterdam), *Život Umjetnosti* (Zagreb), *Doubles* (Kiev), *Read Thread* (Istanbul) etc. Her recent curatorial projects are: *No More Reality: Crowd and Performance*, Depo, Istanbul, 2009; *No More Reality step 3: Documentation Centre*, De Appel Institute for Contemporary Art, Amsterdam, 2008; *The case of Students Cultural Centre - Belgrade in the 1970s*, shown in SKUC (Ljubljana), Galerija Nova (Zagreb), CCA/pro.ba (Sarajevo), Salon of Museum of Contemporary Art (Belgrade), Badischer Kunstverein (Karlsruhe) and Transit (Budapest), 2008; *Back to the Future*, Borderline video festival, Beijing, 2007; *Breaking Step: Displacement, Compassion and Humor in Recent Art from Britain*, Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade, 2007.

Liu Wei živi i radi u Pekingu. Diplomirao je na Odsjeku likovnih umjetnosti na China Central Academy of Drama, a završio studije na "Simpoziju za relaciju između religije i kulture", na Univerzitetu u Pekingu. Njegovi radovi bave se ličnim iskustvima i sjećanjem, kao i realnošću i ubrzanim istorijom savremene Kine. "Sjećanje" je glavna tema njegovih radova, jer povezuje istoriju s jedne i stvarnost s druge strane. Izlagao je na brojnim izložbama u mnogim internacionalnim institucijama, između ostalog u: ZKM Center for Art and Media, Karlsruhe; Centre Pompidou, Pariz; Nasher Museum of Art, USA; Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin; Musée Fabre, Montpellier; The Centre of Contemporary Art Palau de la Virreina, Barcelona; Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin; Taipei Fine Art Museum i The Guangdong Museum of Art China itd.

Liu Wei lives and works in Beijing. He graduated from the Department of Fine Arts of China Central Academy of Drama and completed his studies at the Symposium on the Relationship between Religion and Culture, hosted by the Beijing University. His works are closely related to personal experience and memory, as well as the reality and rapidly changing history of contemporary China. "Memory" is the main subject in his practice, connecting history on one side and reality on the other. His works have been exhibited at internationally including institutions such as ZKM Center for Art and Media in Karlsruhe; the Centre Pompidou in Paris; Nasher Museum of Art in U.S; Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin; Musée Fabre in Montpellier; The Centre of Contemporary Art Palau de la Virreina in Barcelona; the Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin; Taipei Fine Art Museum and The Guangdong Museum of Art China etc.

Sharif Waked rođen je 1964. u Nazaretu kao izbjeglica iz palestinskog sela Mjedil. Radi i živi na relaciji Haifa/Nazaret. Ironičnom refleksijom moći i politike, Waked izokreće ustaljene estetske formacije i promišlja absurdnu stvarnost političkog konflikta. Waked je učestvovao na brojnim bijenalima i izložbama u muzejima Bliskog Istoka, Evrope i SAD-a, uključujući: (2009) Contemporary Art Centre of South Australia; Queens Museum of Art, New York City; Sharjah Biennial 9, United Arab Emirates; (2008) Huarte Centro de Arte Contemporáneo, Spain; Bluecoat Gallery, Liverpool; Artists Space, New York; The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. (2007) Meeting Points 5, Berlin; The Nobel Peace Centre, Oslo; The Seconde Riwaq Biennale, Ramallah; Tate Modern, London. (2006) École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Charlottenborg Exhibition Hall,

Copenhagen. (2005) The Oberhausen Short Film Festival; Transmediale 05, International Media Art Festival, Berlin. (2004) Macro al Mattatoio, Museum of Contemporary Art, Rome; Institute of Contemporary Arts, ICA, London; Herziliya Museum of Contemporary Art. (2003) Witte de Witt Museum, Rotterdam; Home Works II, Beirut; Sharjah International Biennial 6, UAE. (2002) Ars Electronica, Linz. Wakedovi radovi nalaze se u kolekcijama Muzeja Guggenheim u New Yorku, Fondation Louis Vuitton pour la Creation, Sharjah Art Foundation i Israel Museum.

Sharif Waked was born in Nazareth to a Palestinian refugee family from the village of Mjedil. He lives and works in Haifa/Nazareth. Through ironic reflections on power and politics, Waked overturns established aesthetic formations and ponders the absurd realities of political conflict. Waked has exhibited at various biennials and museums in the Middle East, Europe and the U.S.A including: (2009) Contemporary Art Centre of South Australia; Queens Museum of Art, New York City; Sharjah Biennial 9, United Arab Emirates; (2008) Huarte Centro de Arte Contemporaneo, Spain; Bluecoat Gallery, Liverpool; Artists Space, New York; The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. (2007) Meeting Points 5, Berlin; The Nobel Peace Centre, Oslo; The Seconde Riwaq Biennale, Ramallah; Tate Modern, London. (2006) ´Ecole Nationale Superieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Charlottenborg Exhibition Hall, Copenhagen. (2005) The Oberhausen Short Film Festival; Transmediale 05, International Media Art Festival, Berlin. (2004) Macro al Mattatoio, Museum of Contemporary Art, Rome; Institute of Contemporary Arts, ICA, London; Herziliya Museum of Contemporary Art. (2003) Witte de Witt Museum, Rotterdam; Home Works II, Beirut; Sharjah International Biennial 6, UAE. (2002) Ars Electronica, Linz. Waked's work is part of the permanent collections of the Solomon Guggenheim-New York, the Fondation Louis Vuitton pour la Creation, the Sharjah Art Foundation, and the Israel Museum.

Eyal Weizman je arhitekt koji živi i radi u Londonu. Studirao je arhitekturu pri Architectural Association u Londonu, a doktorirao je na London Consortium, Birkbeck College. Trenutačno je direktor Centra za istraživanja u arhitekturi na Goldsmiths-koledžu, a prije toga je predavao arhitekturu u Beču na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti. Od 2008. je član upravnog odbora B'Tselem managing board. Djeluje kao predavač, kustos, te organizator konferencija u institucijama širom svijeta. Weizman saraduje sa brojnim nevladinim organizacijama u Izraelu/Palestini, a sudjelovao je i u brojnim umjetničkim projektima. Bio je kurator izložbe "Civilna okupacija - politika izraelske okupacije" koja je izazvala mnoge kontroverze u Izraelu ali i medunarodno. Autor je knjige *A Civilian Occupation* (Verso Books 2003.), *Hollow Land* (Verso Books 2007.), serije *Territories 1, 2 and 3*, *Yellow Rhythms* i mnogih članaka u časopisima, magazinima, i publikacijama. Weizman je član uredničkog savjeta inflexion journal-a i glavni je član uredništva *Cabinet Magazine*-a (New York). Weizman je dobitnik Nagrade James Stirling Memorial Lecture Prize za 2006.-2007.

Eyal Weizman is an architect based in London. He studied architecture at the Architectural Association in London and completed his Ph.D. at the London Consortium, Birkbeck College. He is the director of the Center for Research Architecture at Goldsmiths College, University of London. Before this role, Weizman was Professor of Architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. Since 2008 he has been a member of B'Tselem managing board. Weizman has taught, lectured, curated, and organized conferences in many institutions worldwide. Weizman collaborated with many NGOs in Israel/Palestine, and has participated in numerous art projects. He curated the exhibition Civil occupation – the politics of Israeli occupation, which sparked controversies in Israel but also internationally. His books include *Hollow Land* (Verso Books, 2007), *A Civilian Occupation* (Verso Books, 2003), the series *Territories 1, 2 and 3*, *Yellow Rhythms* and many articles in journals, magazines and edited books. Weizman is a member of editorial advisory board to inflexion journal and is an editor-at-large for *Cabinet Magazine* (New York). Weizman is the recipi-

ent of the James Stirling Memorial Lecture Prize for 2006-2007.

Judi Werthein rođena je u Buenos Airesu u Argentini, gdje je završila postdiplomski studij arhitekture i urbanizma. Živi i radi u Buenos Airesu i New Yorku. U svojim se radovima Werthein nastoji odreći kontrole, izvodeći umjetnost iz galerijskih zidova u vanjski svijet, gdje je moguće propitivanje njezine moći i efikasnosti. "Prepoznajući individualnu moć publike", piše Werthein, "nastojim im omogućiti dokidanje i ponovno definiranje granica stvarnosti koje strukturiraju naše postojanje." Njezini su radovi, između ostalog, izlagani u Tate Modernu u Londonu, De Appelu u Amsterdamu, Muzeju savremene umjetnosti Aldrich u Ridgefieldu (Connecticut) i Centru za savremenu umjetnost u Vilniusu (Litva). Werthein je također učestvovala na Manifesti 7 u Bolzanu (Italija), InSite_05 u San Diegu i Tijuani, Bienal de Pontevedra u Galiciji te na 7. bijenalu u Havani (Kuba).

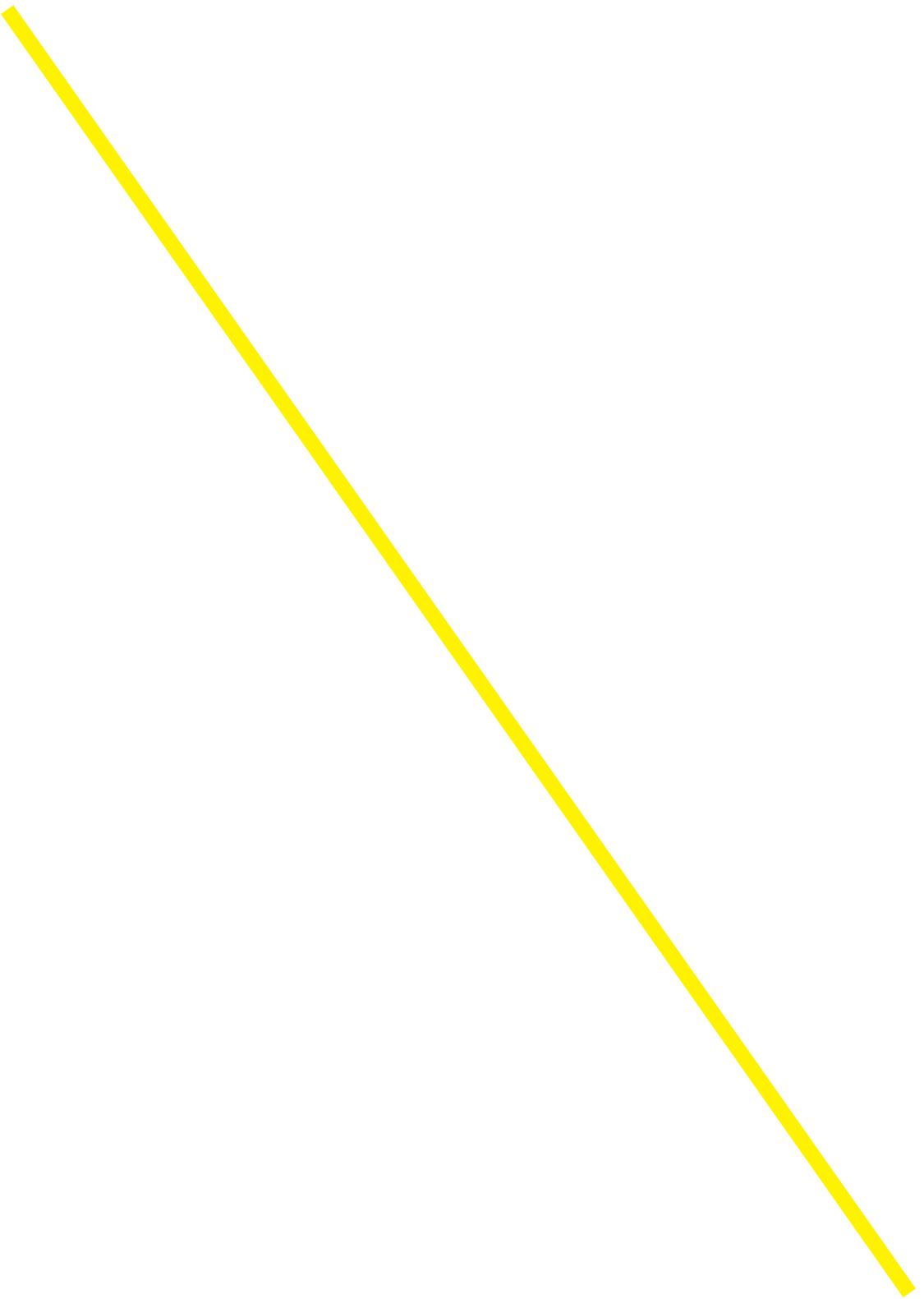
Judi Werthein was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where she received an MA in Architecture and Urbanism from the Universidad de Buenos Aires. In her work Judi Werthein relishes in relinquishing control, moving art from the gallery into the world, where its power and effectiveness can be questioned. "Recognizing the individual power of the audience", Werthein writes, "I attempt to provide them with an opportunity to recast the limitations of reality that structure our existence". Her work has been included in exhibitions at the Tate Modern, London, UK; De Appel, Amsterdam, The Netherlands; the Aldrich Museum of Contemporary Art, Ridgefield, Connecticut; and the Center for Contemporary Art, Vilnius, Lithuania. Werthein has also participated in Manifesta 7, Bolzano, Italy; InSite_05, San Diego/Tijuana; Bienal de Pontevedra, Galicia; and the 7th Bienal de La Habana, Havana, Cuba, among others.

Artur Źmijewski je rođen u Varšavi 1956. Završio je studij skulpture na Akademiji lijepih umjetnosti u Varšavi (1990.-1995.), gdje je diplomirao 1995. u klasi profesora Grzegorza Kowalskog. Tokom 1995. bio je stipendist Akademije Gerrit Rietveld u Amsterdamu. U sklopu izložbe *Guaréne Arte 2000*, primio je nagradu *Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo Per L'Arte* za rad *Oko za oko*. Na Bijenalu u Veneciji 2005. njegov film *Ponavljjanje* bio je predstavljen u Poljskom paviljonu. Film *Oni* (2007) predstavljen je na Documenta, u Kassel, 2007. Tokom 2007.-2008. bio je stipendist umjetničkog rezidencijalnog programa DAAD u Berlinu, gdje je producirao *Demokatije*, jedan među njegovim najnovijim projektiima. U svom radu Źmijewski koristi instalacije, fotografске objekte, fotografije, video radove i film. Bio je urednik magazina *Czereja*, a aktivna je također i kao umjetnički kritičar i kustos. 29. oktobra 2009. godine održat će se njegova, prva samostalna izložba u MoMI, New Yorku okviru projekta *Projects 91*.

Artur Źmijewski was born in Warsaw in 1966. He studied at the Faculty of Sculpture of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw (1990-1995) and graduated in 1995 at the studio of Professor Grzegorz Kowalski. In 1995 he was a bursar of Gerrit Rietveld Academie in Amsterdam. In the framework of the exhibition *Guaréne Arte 2000* he was given the *Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo Per L'Arte Prize* for the work *An eye for an eye*. In 2005 his film *Repetition* was shown in Polish Pavilion in a frame of Venice Biennale. His film *Them* (2007) was shown at Documenta, Kassel, 2007. In 2007-2008 he was a bursar of DAAD Artists in Residence in Berlin were he produced *Democracies*, one of his recent projects. He creates installations, photographs' objects, photographs, video realisations and films. Zmijewski was an editor of *Czereja* magazine and is also active as an art critic and curator. On October 29, 2009, he will open his solo show in MoMA, New York, in the frame of *Projects 91*.

Želimir Žilnik (1942, živi i radi u Novom Sadu), autor brojnih igranih i dokumentarnih filmova, jedan od začetnika žanra doku-drama, nagrađivan na internacionalnim filmskim festivalima. Od samog početka profesionalnog rada na filmu, okrenut je savremenim temama, koje uključuju društvenu, političku i ekonomsku kritiku svakodnevice Studentske demonstracije 1968. godine, tema su i Žilnikovog prvog igranog filma *Rani radovi* (1969) nagrađenog Zlatnim medvjedom na Berlinskom filmskom festivalu. Nakon problema sa cenzurom u Jugoslaviji, te zaustavljanja rada na narednom igranom filmu *Sloboda ili strip* (1972), Žilnik sredinu sedamdesetih godina provodi u Nemačkoj, radeći za nezavisnu filmsku industriju. Po povratku u zemlju osamdesetih godina režira seriju dobro primljenih televizijskih doku-drama koje u fokusu imaju nagoveštaj nadolazećih nacionalističkih tenzija te raspad Jugoslavije. Tokom devedesetih, u nezavisnim filmskim i medijskim produkcijama realizuje niz igranih i dokumentarnih filmova na temu kataklizme na Balkanu (*Tito po drugi put među Srbima*, *Marble Ass*, *Do jaja*, *Kud plovi ovaj brod i dr.*). Slom sistema vrednosti u post-tranzicijskim zemljama Centralne i Istočne Evrope, problemi izbeglištva i migracija u novonastalim okolnostima „proširene Evrope”, okvir su tekućeg tematskog ciklusa započetog filmovima *Tvrđava Evropa* (2000), *Kenedi se vraća kući* (2003), *Gde je Kenedi bio dve godine?* (2005), *Evropa preko plota* (2005), *Dunavska sapunska opera* (2006) i *Kenedi se ženi* (2007).

Želimir Žilnik (born in 1942; currently living and working in Novi Sad) has written and directed numerous feature and documentary films which have reaped many awards at domestic and international film festivals. From the very beginning his films have focussed on contemporary issues, featuring social, political and economic assessments of everyday life. The student demonstrations of 1968 are at the centre of Žilnik's first feature film *Early Works* (1969) which was awarded the "Golden Bear" at the Berlin Film Festival. After facing problems with censorship in Yugoslavia while working on his next feature film *Freedom or Cartoons* (filmed in 1972, never finished), Žilnik spent the mid-seventies in Germany, where he independently produced and made seven documentaries and one feature film, *Paradise* (1976). Following his return to Yugoslavia, he directed a substantial series of television films and docudramas. By the end of the eighties Žilnik was making films through a cooperative structure of television and cinema production. All these works foreshadowed the growing tensions and looming political and social changes that were to affect the country. Turning to independent film and media production in the nineties, he went on to make a series of feature and documentary films centring around the cataclysmic events befalling the Balkans (*Tito among the Serbs for the Second Time*, *Marble Ass*, *Throwing off the Yolks of Bondage*, *Wanderlust* and other). The breakdown of the system of values in post-transitional Central and Eastern European countries and the problems facing refugees and immigrants within the new circumstances of an extended Europe became the focus of Žilnik's most recent films: *Fortress Europe* (2000), *Kenedi Goes Back Home* (2003), *Kenedi, Lost and Found* (2005), *Europe Next Door* (2005), *Soap in Danube Opera* (2006), *Kenedi is Getting Married* (2007).



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- Da, mogu."

WHERE EVERYTHING IS YET TO HAPPEN
1st chapter: "Can You Speak of This?
-Yes, I Can."

Banja Luka, 20.10. – 15.11. 2009

Organizacija i produkcija / Organisation and production

Centar za vizuelne komunikacije Protok /
Center for Visual Communications Protok
Veselina Masleše 1/11 | 78 000 Banja Luka,
BiH

Tel/Fax +38751212059 | Mob: +38765235414
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Koordinatori izložbe / Exhibition coordinators

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Karin Rolle, Robert Bosch Stiftung

Tehnički direktor / Technical director
Miloš Lužajić

Tehnička služba / Technical service
Vaso Milak

Video dokumentacija / Video documentation

Miodrag Manojlović, Ernest Zavila, Ana Vidović

Foto dokumentacija / Photo documentation
Kateřina Držková

Dizajn / Design
Rafaela Dražić
www.rafaeladrazic.net

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Koncepcija i urednice / Concept and editors
Ivana Bago & Antonia Majača

Autori tekstova / Texts by
Ivana Bago & Antonia Majača
Yael Bartana
Yane Calovski
Ronen Eidelman
Anselm Franke
Ivan Grubanov
Vít Havránek & Zbyněk Baladrán
Ana Janevski
Erden Kosova
Radenko Milak
Nina Möntmann
Florian Schneider
Jelena Vesić
Eyal Weizman

Prijevodi / Translations
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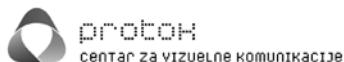
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