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THE POLITICALITY  
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PERFORMANSA: UVODNA REČ

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Odnos između performansa i politike čini se jednom od najvažnijih tema u izvođačkim umetnostima danas. Ovim izdanjem časopisa *TkH* želimo da stvorimo kritičku i analitičku osnovu za promišljanje upravo te činjenice, kao i da donesemo nove relevantne doprinose raspravama koje ona u poslednje vreme izaziva.

Posmatran iz jedne šire povesne perspektive, društveni položaj umetnosti čini se marginalnim, što bi se moglo iskoristiti kao polazište za razmišljanje o tome šta bi danas *političnost performansa* uopšte mogla da znači. Takođe, čini se da je politička važnost umetnosti dovedena u pitanje, komercijalizacijom i komodifikacijom kroz industrije zabave i kreativne industrije, barem delimičnim prisvajanjem njene političke važnosti od strane masmedija, kao i ukupnom „estetizacijom života” tokom 20. veka, da navedemo tek nekoliko mogućih činilaca. Ali u isto vreme, sama tema privlači pažnju sve većeg broja umetnika i teoretičara. Ovo izdanje časopisa *TkH* posvećujemo temi političnosti performansa zato što želimo da otvorimo veći prostor promišljanju ove dve, čini se, nepomirljive pojave. Između ostalih, rasprava obuhvata i sledeća pitanja: Šta ovi pojmovi danas znače i kako su oni međusobno povezani ili nepovezani? Zašto predloženu temu smatramo važnom ili, jednostavnije rečeno, zašto su izvođačke umetnosti danas toliko zaokupljene političkim? Da nije to samo alibi smišljen da bi se obezbedila podrška javnih fondova i drugih fondacija? Možda je to naš očajnički pokušaj da steknemo priznanje kao praksa od društvenog značaja, a ne kao jedan elitistički vid zabave? Ili je to možda samo deo *statusa quo* neoliberalnog kapitalizma, koji zama-gluje granice između različitih društvenih praksi, i u kojem neka stara pitanja – na primer, kako se danas baviti politikom i gde se ona danas nalazi – i dalje čekaju na odgovor?

S druge strane, ovim brojem želimo da podstaknemo promišljanje iz različitih uglova i perspektiva, kao i da ponudimo odgovore na jedno izravno i veoma jednostavno ali u isti mah izazovno pitanje: koliki je politički domet performansa u trenutnom društvenom kontekstu? Da li je njegov domet u najboljem slučaju da omogući publici da se „dobro oseća”, tako što će barem privremeno i imaginarno zadovoljiti njenu potrebu da bude kritična i pruža otpor? Ili pak performans ima određenog materijalnog uticaja na političke procese i društvene promene? Ako ga ima, onda kojim sredstvima i koje je vrste taj uticaj? Ako ne, nije li sam pojam političkog performansa protivrečan? Jesmo li kadri da prepoznamo razlike u političnosti performansa između dva glavna tipa društvenog uređenja 20. veka: socijalizma/komunizma i kapitalizma/neoliberalizma? Kako njihovo nasleđe oblikuje ono što se danas obično naziva međunarodnim kontekstom i scenom?

Uvodeći pojam *političnosti* u naslovu izdanja, želimo da naglasimo da nismo usredsređeni na bilo koju posebnu politiku izvođačkih umetnosti. Umesto toga, naš je cilj da pokušamo sagledati političnost performansa kao aspekt te umetničke prakse koji se odnosi na načine na koje ona deluje i interveniše u javnoj sferi, u vezi s raspravama i sukobima oko sledećih pitanja: subjekata i objekata koji u njoj učestvuju; raspodele mesta i moći među njima; kao i ideoloških diskursa koji oblikuju zajednički simbolički i čulni poredak društva, a koji utiče na njegove materijalne strukture i deobe. Nije nam, dakle, namera da zagovaramo politički performans, niti da razvrstavamo performanse po uobičajenim kategorijama (angažovan, larpurlartistički itd.). Umesto toga, želimo da podstaknemo kritičko i analitičko promišljanje jedne široke i složene *mreže političnosti*, kao aspekta koji odlikuje baš svaki performans – bio on navodno političan ili apolitičan, transformativan ili pokoran, rezistentan ili saučesnički – kao društveni događaj koji se odvija u javnoj sferi.

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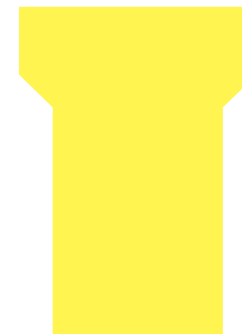
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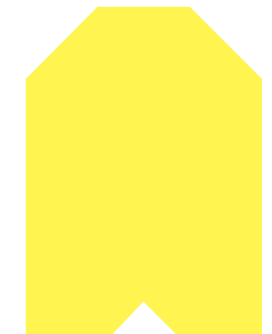
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Ceo svet je *ready-  
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# IZVEDBA JANELLE REINELT NA RASKRŠĆIMA GRAĐANSKOSTI\*

*Politika je delatnost bavljenja opštim uređenjem određenog skupa ljudi, koji, u smislu zajedničkog priznavanja načina na koji se tim uređenjem bave, čine jednu jedinstvenu zajednicu [...] Ova delatnost, dakle, ne proističe ni iz trenutnih želja, ni iz opštih načela, već iz samih postojećih tradicija ponašanja. Ona se realizuje u obliku – pošto nijedan drugi ne može imati – popravki postojećeg uređenja, putem istraživanja i traganja za onim što ono nagoveštava.*

Michael Oakeshott (Oakeshott 1962, 112)

Izabrala sam pojam građanskosti kao preseka više isprepletanih sfera u kojima postmoderni ljudi žive svoje živote i u ovom ću tekstu posmatrati odnos građanskosti i političnosti kroz svoju prizmu teoretičarke pozorišta i performansa. Građanskost je jedan od temeljnih pojmova političke teorije, kao i ključna komponenta demokratije. U smislu igranja uloga, izvedbe, predstavljanja i društvene inicijative, on je takođe ključan za odnos između političnosti i izvedbe.

Iako značaj ove rasprave za prakse izvođačkih umetnosti možda na prvi pogled nije očigledan, više novijih pojava u našem polju umešano je ili povezano s diskursom građanskosti. Prvo, više autora je svojim radom oslabilo ili čak odbacilo pojam „političkog pozorišta“, čime je taj pojam izgubio značaj za društvenu i mobilnišuću moć pozorišta kao jednog od činilaca društvene sfere. Čini se da je društvenu moć koju je kvalifikacija „politička“ ranije donosila izvođačkim umetnostima oslabila, s jedne strane, trivijalizacija umetnosti pomenuta u Pozivu za priloge ovom izdanju, a s druge težina svetsko-istorijskih događaja. Dok se umetnicima binarnog mišljenja u doba Hladnog rata protivljenje vladajućem poretku činilo mogućim i delotvornim, protivljenje danas, u eri globalizacije i neoliberalnog stapanja, izgleda manje održivo od neke vrste besciljnog otpora. Bojazan od gubljenja dodira sa svetom, koju opisujem dalje u tekstu, pripada ovom novom stanju. Značenje građanske pripadnosti takođe preti da nam izmakne. Drugo, jedan nov univerzalizam, bilo kako ga zamišljaju mislioci poput Alaina Badioua (Wickstrom 2012), bilo u verziji neokantovskog kosmopolitizma (Rebellato 2009), povezuje se s nipodaštavanjem politike identiteta kao „gotove“, nebitne za bilo kakvu naprednu izvođačku praksu (Read 2009).<sup>1</sup> (Ovakvi stavovi često nailaze na podršku mislilaca kao što su Judith Butler i Wendy Brown u SAD i Badiou, Jacques Rancière i Giorgio Agamben u Evropi). Njihova primena na izvedbu znači da se kritičko usredsređenje na rasna, klasna, te pitanja roda i pola u izvedbi (reprezentacija, i kao mimezis i, u političkom smislu, kao predstavljanje i zastupanje), koje je tokom trideset godina odlikovalo anglo-američke studije u ovoj oblasti, danas smatra ili promašenim ili zastarelim. Treće, izuzetno uticajni diskurs postdramskog pozorišta, kako ga je Hans-Thies Lehmann opisao u knjizi *Postdramatisches Theater* (Postdramsko kazalište) iz 1999. godine, ostavio je dubok trag na teoriju pozorišta i izvedbe, preusmerivši pažnju s bilo kakve izravne veze pozorišta i političkog života van pozorišta na unutarnje procese samog pozorišnog aparata i njegove unutrašnje politike: „Kazalište postaje političkim ne više izravnim tematiziranjem političkoga, nego implicitnim sadržajem svojeg načina predstavljanja“ (Lehmann 2004, 334).

Na ova ću se nova gledišta u teoriji pozorišta i performansa još vraćati, ali ću sada najpre izložiti neka svoja lična zapažanja ponukana događajima ovog leta i podvrgnuti ih kritičkom barometru građanskosti.

\* Ovde preuzimamo možda ne najelegantniji ali svakako najprecizniji srpski ekvivalent koji je Aljoša Mimica prvi upotrebio za francuski izraz *citoyenneté* (engl. *citizenship*, ital. *cittadinità*), u svom prevodu knjige *Nous, citoyens d'Europe* Étiennea Balibara, zato što tu nikako nije reč samo o pravnoj kategoriji državljanstva, a još manje o društvenom sloju, staležu ili klasi (*građanstvo, buržoazija*), već o *svojstvu, statusu, praksama*, pa i manje ili više opravdanim *težnjama* građana u savremenoj demokratiji – prim. prev.

1 Nova knjiga Maurye Wickstom, *Performance in the Blockades of Neoliberalism* (Izvedba pod blokadama neoliberalizma), Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2012, donosi snažnu kritiku saučesništva humanitarizma, diskursa ljudskih prava i velikog dela onoga što se ranije nazivalo „političkim pozorištem“ sa strategijama neoliberalizma, s teorijskim osloncem na Badioua. U svojoj knjizi *Theatre and Globalization* (Pozorište i globalizacija), Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2009, Dan Rebellato se zalaže za univerzalizam, u smislu da „ista načela važe za sve“ i brani ga od argumenata zasnovanih na raznolikosti, u vezi s predstavom *Mnemonic* (1999.) pozorišta Complicite. Alan Read, možda najpolemičniji u ovoj skupini teoretičara, piše, gotovo uzgredno, da se tvrdokornost politike identiteta „očituje pozivanjem na manjine, koje su počele da se fetišizuju zbog svoje sposobnosti da pruže političku verodostojnost svakom diskursu u potrazi za žrtvom“; vid. Read, Alan, *Theatre, Intimacy & Engagement: The Last Human Venue* (Pozorište, intimnost i posvećenje: poslednje ljudsko utočište), Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2008, str. 9.

Bila sam zatečena vrtoglavim rasponom napada na moju pažnju koje su vesti vršile svake noći: tokom samo jedne sedmice, kada sam po okončanoj školskoj godini iz Kalifornije doletela natrag kući u London, izbio je skandal s telefonskim prisluškivanjem i Rupert Murdoch je pozvan da svedoči pred anketnim odborom britanskog parlamenta; u isto vreme, borba u američkom Kongresu oko podizanja zakonske granice zaduživanja države donosila nam je izveštaje svakog sata i vanredna obraćanja iz Bele kuće i sa Kapitola, dok su se predsednik Obama i vođe Kongresa nadmetali za moć i uticaj na domaćem planu, u isti mah igrajući u velike uloge i na međunarodnom. Dve nedelje kasnije, masakr grupe mladih ljudi, polaznika letnje političke škole, eksplodirao je preko naših ekrana, dok su se istovremeno alarmantni izveštaji o gladi u Somaliji i amaterski snimci napadâ sirijske vojske na civile borili za našu pažnju. Čovek više nije znao gde da se okrene i mogućnost da bi bilo koji od ovih ključnih događaja mogao da mu isklizne iz svesti usled te bujice vesti činila se sablažnjivom ali i neumitnom.<sup>2</sup>

Zbunjenost i vrtoglavica koje opisujem delimično se mogu objasniti razmatranjem problematike građanskosti. Vladanje političkih vođa u ime građana u SAD i Velikoj Britaniji, zatim konkretan napad i uništenje građanskosti u masakru u Norveškoj, napad na privatnost građana u skandalu s prisluškivanjem, kao i borba za zbacivanje tiranije u ime novih demokratskih pokreta u Siriji (kao i u Libiji i širom arapskog sveta), mogu se razumeti kao političke borbe sa ozbiljnim posledicama po građanskost kroz veoma teatralizovane izvedbe moći. Svest o ovim događajima provlači se kroz pozorišne slike i zvukove koji nam skreću pažnju na njihovu izvedbenu snagu i posredovanu dramaturgiju. Svaka od ovih „priča“ vrši upliv daleko izvan mesta ili okolnosti svog nastanka: napad na multikulturalizam i „kulturni marksizam“ u Norveškoj od strane jednog hrišćanskog, desničarskog ekstremiste rezonira s pojedinim elementima ideologije konzervativne hrišćanske desnice u SAD i takođe se često može čuti u raspravama o vrednosti multikulturalizma u Evropi.<sup>3</sup> Mladi ljudi koji su se izlagali pogibelji ne bi li promenili političke sisteme tokom takozvanog „arapskog proleća“, ukazali su na isključenja iz suvereniteta pod postojećim porecima, zahtevajući svoje građansko pravo na učešće u oblikovanju vlastite budućnosti. Humanitarna kriza zastrašujućih razmera u Somaliji delimično je posledica i nefunkcionalne vlasti u toj zemlji, umešane u građanski rat. Dok izbeglice beže u Etiopiju i Keniju, zemlje koje su takođe u nestabilnom položaju, problematika građanskosti poprma drugačije razmere, između onoga što Agamben naziva „golim životom“ i neophodnosti prevazilaženja restriktivnih političkih kategorija u kontekstu tako ozbiljne opasnosti po ljudske živote.

U nastavku ću se direktnije vratiti na ulogu teorije pozorišta i izvedbe, ali najpre želim dalje da ispitam probleme promišljanja građanskosti kao delotvorne političke kategorije za jedno globalno doba.

## GDE/KO JE NAROD?

Pišući konkretno o slomu reprezentativne demokratije u savremenoj Evropi, Étienne Balibar ubedljivo tvrdi da se suočavamo s krizom suvereniteta, čija je osnova u „iščezavanju naroda, u isti mah kao instance simboličke legitimacije i instance stvarne kontrole“. Prateći slično slabljenje u pravu, to stanje postaje nepodnošljivo: „No, čini se da bez naroda i zakona postoji samo fantomska javna sfera, koja predstavlja *nazadak* a ne napredak u odnosu na istoriju demokratskih država“ (kurziv u izvorniku) (Balibar 2003, 355–356). Premda Balibar ovde govori o Evropi i posebnim teškoćama koje zapaža na panevropskoj razini suvereniteta i prava, „iščezavanje naroda“ i „fantomska javna sfera“ jesu vidovi našeg trenutnog problema, kako globalno, tako i na razini daleko manjih društvenih jedinica.

Ovo je politička kriza zato što se tiče sloma sredstava koja čine građane i kojima građani ostvaruju svoje učešće u raznim delatnostima kojima zajedno izvode samoupravu i demokratsku pripadnost. Bilo da je reč o lokalnim ili nacionalnim, ili pak opet transnacionalnim kontekstima, simptomi ove krize mogu se naći ne samo u isključivanju velikih delova stanovništva iz okrilja državne zaštite u državama u kojima žive (kao u slučaju Somalije i imigranata, izbeglica i azilanata u mnogim drugim zemljama), već i u samoisključivanju nezadovoljne „tihe većine“, koja odbija da prihvati svoju građansku interpelaciju.<sup>4</sup> Osim ka isključenju i

2 Bilo je i drugih takođe važnih događanja – ali ja ovde pominjem samo one koji su izvršili najsnažniji upliv na mene kao političkog subjekta i građanku, bilo Velike Britanije ili sveta.

3 Prema brojnim izveštajima, Anders Breivik naveo je svoje motive kao uperene protiv islama i multikulturalizma, koji on vidi kao kulturni marksizam. Na primer, vid. Marquez, Miguel i Lee Ferran, „Norway Shooting Suspect Anders Breivik: Attacks Were 'Price of Their Treason'“, <http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/anders-breivik-hearing-closed-pulpit-alleged-shooter/story?id=14152129> (19. 08. 2011).

4 Ovaj izraz, „tihu većinu“, popularisao je Richard Nixon 1969. godine, opisujući njime u kontekstu SAD prosečnog neaktivnog građanina koji ne učestvuje u politici ni u političkom diskursu, u suprotnosti s radikalnim elementima koji su učestvovali u demonstracijama protiv rata u Vijetnamu i u drugim društvenim pokretima toga vremena.

nepripadanju u okviru lokalnih ili nacionalnih društava, uslovi globalne pokretljivosti i nepostojanosti takođe vode ka složenim promenama višestrukih odnosa spram mesta i prostora na ogromnim teritorijama, kao i ka umnožavanju identifikacija i odnosa s drugima, bilo u istoj sredini ili na suprotnoj strani sveta. Na ovoj raspršenoj razini takođe, odsustvo „naroda“ ili nemogućnost da se „narod“ zamisli koči razvoj delotvornih političkih strategija, dok neoliberalna ekonomija, sa svojom reduktivnom homogenizacijom, osvaja sve vidove globalne kulture a javna sfera, sve više zamišljena kao prostor na internetu, ne samo što isključuje mnoge sa scene, već izgleda da postavlja marketing i komodifikaciju kao jedina dva svoja jezika.

#### TEORIJE GRAĐANSKOSTI I IDENTITETA

Zapadna teorija građanskosti poznaje dve preovlađujuće tradicije: (1) klasični građanski republikanizam, sa njegovim pojmovima opšteg dobra, javnog duha, brige za zajednicu i učešća u građanskom i političkom životu, koji građanskost shvata kao pripadnost i (2) moderni liberalizam, usredsređen na prava pojedinca i lične interese, gde se građanskost vidi kao pravni status koji svaki pojedinac uživa podjednako sa ostalima.<sup>5</sup> Shodno ovom modelu, pojedinac je nosilac građanskih prava, a građanskost jamči država-nacija. Ovo liberalno shvatanje preovladavalo je tokom većeg dela 20. veka, dok nije dospelo pod pritisak globalizacije, kao i multikulturalizma. Kako je indijska politikološkinja Anupama Roy napisala,

U nestabilnim kontekstima kasnog 20. veka – globalizacija, prekogranične migracije, multikulturalne populacije država itd. – dosadašnji načini shvatanja građanskosti su redefinisani. U tom je kontekstu postalo prihvatljivo govoriti o shvatanjima (1) globalne/svetske građanskosti na osnovu ljudskih prava, razdvajajući građanskost od države-nacije, do tada neprikosnovene jedinice članstva i (2) diferencijalna prava i diferencijalno državljanstvo za članove kulturnih grupa, koje im daje ne samo prava pojedinaca, već i prava članova tih grupa, u zavisnosti od njihovog članstva u njima i oblikovana shodno njihovim posebnim potrebama. (Roy 2005, 21–22).

Jasno je da je ovaj noviji vid mišljenja bliži republikanskim nego liberalnim pojmovima, naročito u smislu naglašavanja učestvovanja i brige za zajednicu. Feministkinje koje su se usredsređivale na etiku staranja i brisanje dualizma između javnoga i privatnoga svakako su doprinele uobličavanju ovog viđenja građanskosti. Na primer, Iris Marion Young je još 1990. godine skovala pojam „diferencirane građanskosti“, obrazlažući zašto bi se prema članovima određenih grupa trebalo odnositi ne samo kao prema pojedincima već i preko grupa kojima pripadaju, tvrdeći da je „pokušaj stvaranja sveobuhvatnog pojma građanskosti prenebregavajući razlike između pojedinačnih grupa u osnovi nepravedan, zato što tlači povosno skrajnute grupe“.<sup>6</sup>

Međutim, umesto otvorene politike koju su Young i drugi izveli iz ovog načina mišljenja, republikanski konzervativizam je oštro reagovao na prisustvo stranaca, naglašavajući merila isključivanja u određivanju ko se uopšte može smatrati građaninom (državljaninom), a ko ne. Ovo je delimično i posledica stalne napetosti između uključivanja i isključivanja, koja je građanskosti svojstvena. S naginjanjem politike na desno u mnogim zemljama Zapada, imigracijski su zakoni sve strožiji a građani se žale da imigranti i izbeglice zauzimaju resurse potrebne starosedecima. Ovde se zamisli opšteg dobra i brige o zajednici okreću protiv stranaca, u pokušaju da se njihov dolazak spreči. Usled rušenja države blagostanja, Tvrdava Evropa je postala naročito podložna ovakvom razmišljanju, posebno tokom poslednjih meseci i privrednog sloma u Irskoj, Grčkoj i Portugalu.

Za to vreme, neoliberalni režimi, delujući na transnacionalnoj razini ali i ojačani ustupcima koje nacionalne vlade čine svetskom biznisu, preoblikovale su liberalno poimanje građanskosti kao još individualnije i odsečenije od bilo kakvih društvenih zahteva, čineći ga gotovo isključivo pravnom kategorijom. Ovo je stanovište u skladu s neoliberalnom strategijom ličnih interesa pojedinaca i dinamike tržišta, gde građanskost podrazumeva samo pravnu zaštitu a ta se osnovna članska kartica još dodatno tanji „krinkom“, da posudimo Royin sugestivni, pozorišni izraz, koja zakonski prekriva sve kontekstualne, kulturne i povosne razlike – to je ono što Roy u kontekstu Indije naziva „snagom odricanja“, hegemonističkog zahteva odricanja, budući da je politička zajednica u koju njeni članovi ulaze pošto se određuju svojim prvobitnih identiteta unapred označena kao ograničena na hindu ili bele muškarce viših klasa, odnosno kasti. „Pod ovim okolnostima, formalna građanska prava nemaju uticaja na uslove koji posedovanje državljanstva čine nedelotvornim, ako ne i bezvrednim“ (Roy 2005, 238). Ovde jasno vidimo kritiku univerzalizma u odnosu na građanskost: univerzalizam prikriva svojstva pojedinaca i grupa koja zahtevaju drugačiji odnos prema njima da bi se ispunila merila pravednosti ili jednakosti. Ipak, ma kako ubedljiva bila prava grupa

<sup>5</sup> Shodno jednoj konvencionalnoj povosnoj putanji, genealogije ovih kategorija građanskosti mogu se ispratiti do Grčke (republikanizam) i Rima (liberalizam).

<sup>6</sup> Citirano u Roy 2005, str. 239. Young je svoju teoriju razlike u celini izložila u Young, Iris Marion, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1990. [Hrvatski prevod: Young, Iris Marion, *Pravednost i politika razlike*, prev. Tamara Slišković, Naklada Jesenski i Turk, Zagreb, 2005; prim. prev.]

i jasno izražene razlike za postizanje pravde i jednakosti, republikansko je stanovište takođe opterećeno i vlastitim unutarnjim teškoćama; one su najočitije u raspravama o multikulturalizmu.

Ova suprotstavljena viđenja građanskosti duboko se preklapaju unutar diskursâ multikulturalizma. Njegovi se zagovarači protive prvenstvu ovog prerusenog pojedinca, nosioca pravâ, zato što obespravluje pripadnike manjinskih zajednica. Međutim, kao državna politika, i multikulturalizam je izložen ozbiljnim kritikama i to ne samo s desna: ono što se naziva „efektom silosa“ navodno nastaje kada država razdvaja svoje građane i odnosi se spram njih različito, shodno njihovim urođenim odlikama.

#### MULTIKULTURALIZAM U KONTEKSTU GRAĐANSKOSTI

Da bi se videlo kako se multikulturalizmu može protiviti i s desna i s leva, mora se uočiti da taj pojam nosi dva različita značenja; drugim rečima, mora se uočiti razlika između multikulturalizma kao opisa stanja stvari (mešavine različitih ljudi koji zajedno žive u istoj sredini) i normativne politike ili vrednosti propagiranih političkim sredstvima (političkog programa multikulturalizma), jer ta dva značenja multikulturalizma nisu ista. Većini laika, pak, ova razlika nije jasna i ona se čak u političkom diskursu ponekad i namerno zamagljuje iz retoričkih pobuda. Na primer, to se zimus (2011.) dogodilo u Velikoj Britaniji, kada je predsednik vlade David Cameron objavio da multikulturalizam nije uspeo i da bi ga stoga trebalo napustiti.<sup>7</sup> U jednom kritičkom govoru održanom u Minhenu prošlog februara, Cameron je izneo jednu uopštenu osudu, ne samo napad na politiku prethodne, laburističke vlade, već i poricanje stanja stvari multikulturalizma na terenu – što taj govor čini ekstremno desničarskim i reakcionarnim, a ne njegova kritika jedne konkretne politike (koja je zbilja podložna kritici). Zamagljujući granice između te politike i opisa stanja stvari, Cameron je odbacio *de facto* svakodnevnne uslove života u multikulturalnoj Velikoj Britaniji. Zapravo, bilo je još gore: Cameron je to izrekao u govoru o pooštravanju mera protiv terorista, u kojem je i ustvrdio da je tolerisanje islamiističkih ekstremista posledica politike multikulturalizma. Sužavajući opseg multikulturalizma na muslimane i dalje na islamiste, Cameron se ustremio ne samo na te dve skupine, već je i prekrpio ili prerusio velik broj nemuslimana koji su došli u Veliku Britaniju iz nekadašnjih kolonija ili istočne Evrope i koji su zainteresovani za stvaranje i poboljšavanje multikulturalnog društva. Levičarsko stanovište u prilog multikulturalizmu bilo je da će građani, neki od njih u čak tri naraštaja, pod konzervativnom koalicijskom vladom protivnom multikulturalizmu izgubiti pažnju i brigu države.

Međutim, usvajanje multikulturalizma kao konkretne državne politike je uistinu podložno kritici, usled loše promišljenog pristupa različitim zajednicama koje žive u Velikoj Britaniji. Mada su 1990ih godina novi laburisti pod Tonyjem Blairom multikulturalizam proglasili državnom politikom, ta politika na kraju nije pogodovala multikulturalizmu u životnoj praksi. Mere novih laburista podležu kritikama, kao što su nedostatak brige o beloj radničkoj klasi, obespravljenoj posebnim programima za pomoć imigrantskim ili multirasnim grupama; isticanje pojedinih vođa ili grupa kao glasnogovornika kulturnih slojeva koji ih nisu doživljavali kao svoje predstavnike; delegiranje tim predvodničkim grupa odgovornost za održavanje reda i mira na ulicama, umesto izravnog hvatanja u koštac s problemima; stvaranje efekta silosa (odnosno separatizma) na konceptualnoj razini, kojem bi politika multikulturalizma morala da se protivi. To su glavni činoci kritike multikulturalizma kao neuspele politike, mada je po reakcionarnijem obliku kritike multikulturalizam propao iz jednostavnog razloga što nema te kohezije koja bi mogla okupiti sve građane Velike Britanije, što je stanovište koje neizbežno uspostavlja dualizam između starosedelaca – nas – i uljeza – njih.

Kenan Malik, britanski politički novinar indijskog porekla, zastupa razumniju, ali ništa manje izraženu i bespoštednu kritiku multikulturalizma. Pišući nakon napada na London „domaćih“ terorista iz gradova na severu zemlje 7. jula 2005, Malik okrivljuje dugi proces stvaranja diskursa i praksi u kojima je kultura postala važnija od politike: Vremenom, podizvođačima je delegirano [...] ne samo socijalno staranje, već i politička vlast. Umesto da se muslimanima izravno obrate kao građanima Velike Britanije i pokušaju da ih uvuku u redovne političke tokove, političari i tvorci socijalne politike počeli su ih posmatrati kao ljude prvenstveno odane svojoj veri, sa kojima se politički može opštiti jedino preko muslimanskih „lokalnih predvodnika“. Ta je politika navela muslimane da vide sebe kao poluisključene Britance – a to je neizbežno išlo na ruku radikalnim islamistima (Malik 2009, 76). Po Malikovom mišljenju, multikulturalizam je prebacio težište s politike i demokratskih procesa na kulturne razlike, stvarajući kulturne podele tamo gde se mogao postići dogovor na političkim osnovama.

Dakle, da bi se rezimirale do sad iznete napetosti u shvatanju građanskosti danas, mora se s jedne strane uvideti rastući pritisak neoliberalizma u pravcu poricanja bilo kakvih

<sup>7</sup> Na konferenciji o bezbednosti u Minhenu, 5. februara 2011. godine, David Cameron je kritikovao državni multikulturalizam kao „neuspelu politiku“. V. izvod i snimak na <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12371994> (10. 07. 2011).

kontekstualnih ili kulturnih odlika izvan zakonskih prava pojedinca i s druge strane prepoznati opasnosti zahtevâ za diferencijalnim državljanstvom, zasnovanih na politici identiteta i posebnosti, koji i sami mogu okoštati i tako tlačiti pojedince smatrane devijantnima unutar njihovih grupa – na primer, homoseksualce unutar muslimanskih zajednica; druga opasnost leži u davanju previše moći rukovodećim kadrovima koji ne predstavljaju svoje zajednice, ili ih vode u pravcu polarizacije umesto dogovora s drugim grupama i pojedincima koji čine društvo. Iskustva svakog pojedinca počivaju u nekom posebnom društvenom položaju, proizvodeći različita značenja i vrednosti državljanstva i to je upravo ono što teorija građanskosti treba da uzme u obzir. Po rečima Engina Isina i Patricie Wood, umesto da građanskost i identitet smatramo suprotstavljenim načelima, mi prepoznajemo nastanak novih identiteta i zahteva za prava grupa kao izazov *modernom* tumačenju opšte građanskosti, koje je i sâmo jedan oblik grupnog identiteta. Nije nam cilj da poništimo ili izravnamo napetost između građanskosti i identiteta, već da je iskoristimo na produktivan način. Tragamo za jednim novim poimanjem građanskosti [...] s težištem na demokratskoj praksi, koje će zadovoljiti potrebe raznolikog stanovništva suočenog sa izazovima razvijenog kapitalizma (Isin i Wood 1999, 4).

Naravno, osmisliti ovu novu praksu pokazalo se teškim. Možda nam ovde pozorište (i druge umetnosti) mogu pomoći – svojom velikom sposobnošću da osmisle i postave nešto od ovog življenog poimanja građanskosti. Ovome ćemo se još vraćati dalje u tekstu.

### GLOBALNO MESTO VIŠESTRUKIH PRIPADNOSTI

Do sada sam pokazala samo na razini države ili nacije kako poimanje građanskosti, bilo republikansko ili liberalno, ipak može izneveriti svoje obećanje otvorenosti. Kada pak razmišljamo globalno, pojavljuje se još jedan skup protivrečnosti u preseku sa ovim teritorijalnim pitanjima. Studije migracija, dijasporâ i globalizacije su zabeležile dramatične promene u pokretljivosti velikog broja ljudi i njihove pripadnosti mestima i identitetima usled nestabilnog i često rastućeg skupa identifikacijâ i mreža. Dok su posedovanje više od jednog pasoša i munjevitno promenljive okolnosti istanjile veze postmodernog pokretljivog pojedinca s nasleđem, mestom i kulturom rođenja, jedan broj siromašnih građana zapadnih zemalja oseća se „zaglavljeno“ ili „zarobljeno“ – bez koristi od mogućnosti koje pruža globalizacijska pokretljivost. Dok su neki pokretljivi pojedinci primorani ili čak naterani na svoje pokretljive živote, drugi koriste prednosti onoga što Aihwa Ong naziva „fleksibilnim državljanstvom“ u oblikovanju preduzimljivosti zasnovane na posedovanju više pasošâ i nepripadanju nijednom mestu ili zajednici posebno, što je neka vrsta hiperliberalnog državljanstva sveta.<sup>8</sup> Ono bi se, prema republikanskom poimanju građanskosti, moglo kritikovati kao manjak odgovornosti i učešća u opštem dobru, mada bi, s druge strane, ovi građani sveta mogli smatrati da su, ograničavajući svoje učešće na zakonski status svojih prava proisteklih iz posedovanja pasoša, s pravom izbegli zamke država u kojima žive.

Povlašćenost ovih pokretljivih elita u oštroj je suprotnosti s položajem onih koji nemaju izbora, koji su ili obezbravljeni ili svedeni na goli život, po Agambenovoj teoriji, ili onih koji su zarobljeni u situacijama gde njihovi identiteti ili nepovoljni položaji nisu priznati, već se prema njima odnosi isključivo kao prema jednakima pred zakonom. Oblikovanje opštih teorija ljudskih prava i drugih liberalističkih teoretizacija prerušeni razlika pod navodno ravnopravnim položajem svakog ljudskog bića ili građanina sveta u skladu je s neoliberalističkim usredsređenjem na obezbeđivanje ljudskih prava samo u smislu podrške ličnom preduzetništvu i ne uzima u obzir situirane i višestruke živote i identitete ovih građana sveta. Kosmopolitanizam se, dakle, sa svojom naklonjenošću globalnoj (republikanskoj) ideologiji učestvovanja i međusobnog staranja, može uglaviti u (neo)liberalnu prečicu za one koji žele zaobići škakljivo prihvatanje političkih obaveza. Na svetskoj su razini, prema tome, malobrojne strukture podrške građanskim vrlinama ili aktima, a povlašćenost pokretljivosti je i ograničena i potencijalno depolitizujuća.

### POZORIŠTE KAO GRADILIŠTE DEMOKRATIJE

Bilo kakva nova politička inicijativa u vezi s građanskošću moraće da uzme u obzir ova ukrštena ali raznorodna pitanja isključivanja i namernog nepripadanja. Ovde se vraćam na Étiennea Balibara, koji je razvio zamisao „gradilištâ demokratije“: Ne verujem, naime, da je o preobražajima, društvenim kretanjima i intelektualnim procesima moguće razmišljati po uzoru na ono što je Gramši nazivao „pozicionim ratom“, ili neposrednim sudarom, već pre u skladu s modelom „mobilnog rata“, naime kao o tendencijskoj izgradnji jedne nove istorijske hegemonije, to jest novog načina mišljenja ili kolektivnog „zdravog razuma“ i, u isti mah, interakcija višestrukih intervencija koje podjednako spadaju u građansko društvo i javnu sferu (Balibar 2003, 373).

<sup>8</sup> Vid. Ong, Aihwa, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC, 1999.

Razlika u odnosu na kosmopolitanizam je ta „što je za rad na izgradnji demokratije potrebna *određena građa*, a ne samo etika i pravne norme, a ta građa je nužno data u *određenoj situaciji*“. Ta situacija, i lokalno i globalno, podrazumeva da „pojedinci [i grupe] ne mogu spontano *ni da se razdvoje, ni da se usaglase*“ (Balibar 2003, 373–374). Zato se svi moramo uključiti u građansku političku praksu u nastajanju. Balibara se četiri gradilišta posebno tiču problemâ Evrope:

1. Pitanja pravosuđa, koje se tiče prava ali i zakonodavstva, zaštite pojedinca i grupe, načina i sredstava borbe protiv korupcije i mnogih drugih pitanja;
2. Sindikalne borbe u smislu napora da se društvena delatnost prizna kao rad, vrednovanje proizvodnog rada kao proizvodnje društvenosti, kao i dobara i usluga;
3. Demokratizacije granica;
4. U vezi s kulturom, napora da se pronađe odgovor na jezičke razlike koji potvrđuje „prevodenje“ kao sredstvo opštenja i jedan ključni jezik iznad svih ostalih, nasuprot centralizovanim nacionalnim jezicima i naročito obrazovnim sistemima.

Gradilišta se mogu smeštati u evropski kontekst, ali bi, uz razna prilagođavanja, bez sumnje mogla biti korisne žiže u drugim konkretnim situacijama širom sveta. Neka pitanja vezana za pravdu i uslove rada podložna su višestruko lociranim inicijativama; a moguće je i prekogranično umrežavanje, kao i lokalne radne grupe. Ja bih predložila pozorište kao gradilište demokratije i građanskosti u Balibarovom smislu. Vrsta rada društvenih čimbenika sa određenom građom, koju Balibar postavlja kao ključnu za svoju zamisao gradilišta, upravo je ona vrsta otelotvorenog repertoara dostupna u pozorišnoj izvedbi. S jedne tačke gledišta, doprinos pozorišta javnoj sferi je ograničen na njegov lokalni upliv, ali budući da izvedbe putuju i imajući Balibarovo usredsređenje na prevodenje na umu, pozorište u svom proticanju takođe doprinosi sektorima izvan lokalnog, čak i globalnome. Neke izvedbe svakako postaju uticajnije od drugih i teoretičari izvedbe i sami potpomažu njihov uticaj usmeravajući pažnju javnosti na njih kroz naše akademske mreže, koje bismo mogli posmatrati kao našu vlastitu kontrajavnost, kako je Michael Warner opisuje.<sup>9</sup> Takođe smatram da javna sfera funkcioniše tako što okuplja različite diskurzivne struje oko određenih tema, kao što je milion *tweetova* u trenutku zemljotresa u Japanu, zatim razna pozorišna dela koja se bave, na primer, državljanstvom, koje u kombinaciji s drugim diskurzivnim oblicima, filmovima, esejima, demonstracijama, umetničkim postavkama, predanim novinarstvom – svim vidovima izraza – mogu stvoriti žamor ili krug pažnje u kojem se materijalizuju politički pregovori nečega što gotovo može konstituisati narod. To je područje političnosti u javnom prostoru, bilo virtuelnom, bilo konkretnom.

Takođe, pojam „gradilištâ“ u pozorištu je i jedan moguć odgovor na ubeđenje Hans-Thiesa Lehmana da se pozorište ne može izravno baviti politikom. Jedno od njegovih najsnažnijih uverenja jeste da medijatizacija vesti vodi „eroziji čina opštenja“. Usled bombardovanja slikama tokom leta 2011. koje sam gore opisala, veza između pošiljaoca i primaoca u prometu znakova je, po Lehmannu, prekinuta. „Struktura medijski posredovanog opažanja jest takva da se između pojedinačnih primljenih slika, no prije svega između primanja i odašiljanja znakova, ne doživljava povezanost, odnos nagovora i odgovora“. Lehmann poziva pozorište da razvije *politiku opažanja*, „koja bi se ujedno mogla zvati i *estetikom odgovornosti*“ (Lehmann 2004, 343). Mada osnovni društveni položaj pozorišta podleže vidu kruga opštenja za koji se Lehmann opredeljuje – putem svoje izravnosti i živosti – to nije jedina osnova političnosti koju pozorište kao jedno demokratsko gradilište nudi. Zbilja, suprotnost između visoko medijatizovanih i događaja uživo je već potkopana i dovedena u pitanje i tu mislim da nema povratka.<sup>10</sup> Smislenije je sagledavati pozorište kako svoja istraživanja i intervencije vrši uz ali i protiv drugih čvorišta u datoj mreži opštenja. Iz svojih otelotvorenih i konkretnih praksi i predstavljanja mogućih načina „poštovanja dogovorâ“, pozorište može prilagođavati ili osporavati, ili čak ponekad podržavati druge podatke ili načine saznavanja koji se obraćaju društvu. Pozorište neće uvek kršiti tabue (*pace* Lehmann 2004, 342–344); mogu postojati i situacije u kojima će doprinosenje putevima kompromisa, prevazilaženje naizgled nepomirljivih razlika i oblikovanje odnosa između postojećeg stanja i stanja kakvo bi moglo biti, biti među njegovim pravim zadacima. Insistiranje da umetnost može biti samo transgresivna i individualna čini se nasleđem revolucionarnog romantizma. Napisati da bi „[s]âmo pozorište teško [...] nastalo bez hibridnog čina da se pojedinac izdvojio iz kolektiva, da je težio u nepoznato, u neku neizmislivu mogućnost; bez hrabrosti za prekoračivanje granica, svih granica kolektiva“ otkriva poimanje pozorišta unutar posebne ideologije umetničke slave i *viae negativae* koja se teško može uklopiti s replikom iz Brechtovog *Fatzera* koju Lehmann citira kao potporu svom argumentu da je „nemerljivo jedinstveno“ ključno svojstvo umetnosti (Lehmann 2004, 335).

Političnost se nalazi u neprestanom i neophodnom ocenjivanju i pregovaranju sa odnosima moći u onim oblicima u kojima se javljaju u našim svakodnevnim životima – i s mikro i s

<sup>9</sup> „Kontra-javnosti se definišu svojim napetostima u odnosu na širu javnost. Njihovi su učesnici obeleženi kao odvojeni od običnih osoba ili građana. Prema tom shvatanju, rasprave unutar takve javnosti ne podležu pravilima koja inače važe u svetu, budući da ih strukturišu alternativni dispozitivi ili protokoli, stvarajući drugačije pretpostavke o onome što se može izreći ili se podrazumeva“ (Warner 2002, 56–57).

<sup>10</sup> Ovde mislim, na primer, na ključnu knjigu Philipa Auslandera, *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture*, Routledge, London i New York, 1999.

makroodnosima moći – u njihovom izazivanju, dekonstruisanju ili kršenju, ali i u prilagođavanju, poboljšavanju ili održavanju (nisu svi odnosi moći nepravedni; nisu svi uslovi tih odnosa fiksirani). Prepoznavanje značajnih slučajeva ovih pregovora i zamišljanje novih mogućnosti za drugačija uređenja mogu i kritikovati svet kakav jeste i predlagati buduće svetove kakvi bi mogli ili kakvi bi trebalo da budu. Hrabrost i energija za uključivanje u ovakvu političku praksu je ono što ja zamišljam da se gradi u Balibarovim demokratskim gradilištima; pozorište može osvežiti privrženost „istrajavanju u istrajavanju“ u svakodnevnoj borbi da se radu u pozorištu dâ nekakav afirmativan horizont, koji se neće svoditi na puko ispitivanje vlastitog aparata ili kršenje tabua da bi se odvijalo „zaigrano uspostavljanje situacija u kojima se oslobađa afekt“ (Lehmann 2004, 344).

Pozivajući se na nepoverenje u instrumentalnu racionalnost koja podupire neoliberalnu ekonomiju i filozofiju, Lehmann i drugi zastupnici „afekta“ zalažu se za ponovno uzgajanje spontanih nagona i krajnosti osećanja kao načina da se dostigne politička sposobnost rasuđivanja i delanja izvan predodređenih i sumnjivih „racionalnih prethodnih razmatranja“. Mada bih mogla da prihvatim ovu mogućnost bavljenja politikom u pozorištu, ona ne bi smela da bude i jedina. Nije neophodno prihvatiti Habermasa da bi se uvidelo da su određene vrste upotrebe logike, razuma i argumentacije upravo ono što nedostaje u javnoj sferi i globalizovanim medijima.<sup>11</sup>

#### POSTAVLJANJE DISKRETNIH IDENTITETA NA SCENU

Iz svega što je do sada rečeno, verovatno je jasno da ja politiku identiteta ne smatram potrošenom u kontekstu izvedbe. Pozorište je mesto na kojem konkretni pojedinci izlaze pred druge u otelotvorenim praksama. Reći da kritička obeležja situiranih identiteta više nisu korisna na pozornici ni u analizi izvedbe znači samo odreći se rovovske borbe u manevrisanju određenom građom koja je pred nama. Kao i liberalna teorija građanskosti, takvo odricanje sakriva razliku i favorizuje hegemoniju. Navešću samo jedan primer: zamisao davanja uloga bez obzira na rasnu pripadnost je oduvek bila pogrešna, zato što se, kao i liberalno poimanje građanskosti, pokušava pretvarati da će svi ljudi istovetno doživeti dramsku situaciju bez obzira na – u ovom slučaju – svoju rasnu ili etničku pripadnost. Dok je sasvim tačno da, kao što Lehmann piše, „[t]o da se na pozornici pokazuju oni koji su politički tlačeni, kazalište ne čini političkim“ (Lehmann 2004, 334), takođe je sasvim tačno da određeni ljudi, ako uopšte nemaju predstavnikâ na pozornici, neće u svojoj društvenoj sredini biti priznati kao (politički) subjekti. Ukoliko upravničke pozorišta ne zanima kakvi im ljudi dolaze na predstavu, onda odsustvo određenih demografskih grupa neće biti primećeno. Ako u javnom diskursu razlike među građanima više ne budu razmatrane, ko će primetiti nejednakosti ili raspolagati jezikom da bi ih opisao i pozabavio se njima?

S druge strane, ovo nije odbrana staromodnog pozorišta opterećenog političkom porukom i statičnom ideologijom. Jednostavne postavke razlike svakako ne dosežu daleko. Međutim, ovo *jeste* odbrana jednog pluralističkog prostora estetike i eksperimenta, koji bi mogli da obuhvate više stilova i vrsta demokratske umetnosti. Umesto da se prepiremo kakva bi idealna izvedba trebalo da bude, ne bismo li mogli slaviti mnoštvo delotvornih postavki političnosti, pridružujući se publici u stvaranju tih postavki na gradilištima građanskosti?

#### JEDAN VIŠESTRUK I HIBRIDAN ODNOS

Evo tri primera iz Velike Britanije, izabranih zato što se međusobno razlikuju a ipak svi upućuju na neka od pitanja vezanih za problematiku građanskosti kojima se ovaj rad bavi. Dok bi se za prvi moglo reći da svesno iskazuje jednu identitetsku politiku, drugi bi se u svom osnovnom usmerenju mogao videti kao univerzalan i kosmopolitski. Treći je, pak, opit u smislu za koji mislim da bi ga Lehmann odobrio – politike kao opažanja u pozorištu i osećajnog afekta kao heurističkog sredstva. Tvrdim da jedino objedinjavanjem ove tri vrste estetičkog bavljenja političnošću možemo početi da shvatamo pozorište kao gradilište demokratije i prostor u kojem se poimanje građanskosti prikladno našem globalnome dobu može odgajiti.

Počeu od najtradicionalnijeg i najmanje postdramskog primera, predstave Davida Edgara *Testing the Echo* (Ispitivanje odjeka), napisane za pozorišnu trupu Maxa Stafforda Out of Joint (Izmešteni) i tokom 2008. godine igranu širom Velike Britanije, od Solzburijske do Edinburške i od Vorike i Birminghamske do Londona. Ova se predstava bavila raspravama o problematici građanskosti i o tome šta znači biti Britanka/Britanac i odražavala je jedno multikulturalno društvo koje muče pitanja i vrednosti života u Velikoj Britaniji. Bio je to odgovor, po Edgarovom doživljaju, reakcionarnom utvrđivanju protiv pridošlica nakon bombaških napada 7. jula 2005. godine. Mnogima se separatizam manjinskih kulturnih zajednica, naročito verskih zajednica, činio „semenom“ terorizma. Po tom shvatanju, ljudi su podeljeni, bez osećaja pripadnosti Velikoj Britaniji i dok god nemaju osećanja odanosti ili poistovećivanja

11 U vezi s funkcijama javne sfere, vidi moj obračun s Habermasom u Reinelt, Janelle, „Rethinking the Public Sphere for a Global Age“, *Performance Research* 16/2, 2011, str. 16–27.

s Velikom Britanijom, biće skloni pokušajima da je izdaju. Edgar je pak uviđao da ljudi postaju građani Velike Britanije iz različitih pobuda i da se pripadnost oblikuje mnogim putevima i odnosima porodice i srodstva. U tematici ove predstave možemo prepoznati probleme republikanskog poimanja građanskosti, u smislu poistovećivanja, brige i odgovornosti prema zajednici, kao i gore opisane rasprave o multikulturalizmu. Edgar je verovatno otelotvorenje političkog pisca koga odlikuju odanost tezi, zasnovanost na narativu i koherentna argumentacija, ali ova predstava u znatnoj meri napušta njegov pređašnji profil.<sup>12</sup> Mada poseduje dramaturški oblik i dramska lica, predstava nema jak narativ i svakako ne zastupa jednu sveobuhvatnu tezu, pa čak ni gledište, osim pažljive ravnoteže između legitimnih ali različitih vrednosti i iskustava, izraženih u rečenici koju više likova ponavlja kada god izražavaju nešto do čega im je duboko stalo: „Mada ti to sigurno drugačije vidiš“. Ako ova predstava i ima neki politički cilj, onda je taj cilj da osposobi gledaoce da razmotre kako se različito pozicionirani subjekti mogu odnositi prema pravilima demokratije, građanskosti, porodice, radnog mesta i zakona. Predstava *Testing the Echo* je nastala iz razgovora s ljudima koji su se ili spremali da polažu ispit za sticanje britanskog državljanstva ili pohađali časove građanskog obrazovanja. Predstava takođe sadrži citate iz različitih tekstova koji treba da opišu šta znači biti Britanac/Britanka ili došljacima ponude „prežvakanu“ verziju britanske istorije i življenja u zajednici. Svaki od osmoro glumaca igra po više uloga, različite rasne i etničke pripadnosti, da bi predstavili presek ljudi koji traže britansko državljanstvo; takođe, tu su i nastavnica engleskog kao stranog jezika i njena porodica, kao i neke „domaće“ kolege jednog kandidata za sticanje državljanstva. Edgar dramatiizuje različite pobude iz kojih ljudi traže britansko državljanstvo i gledaocima se pruža prilika da shvate da poistovećivanje s jednom građanskom zajednicom počiva na međusobnom priznavanju i učestvovanju u vrednovanim delatnostima. Ovo pozorište je antiuniverzalističko i bavi se jasno navedenim posebnim identitetima i političkim temama – verujem da još ima mesta ovakvom političkom pozorištu, u nizu progresivnih izvedbi.

Drugi primer potiče od jedne eksperimentalne pozorišne grupe iz Birminghama koja se zove Stan's Cafe (Stanov kafe). Članovi grupe rade kolektivno, ali pod vođstvom Jamesa Yarkera i nastupaju i lokalno i na gostovanjima, uključujući i inostranstvo. Predstava koju ću ovde opisati tiče se globalne problematike građanskosti, ali ne izravno, već kroz ono na šta upućuje gledaoce da zamisle o sebi i drugima. *Of All the People in All the World* (O svim ljudima na celom svetu) je instalacija s glumcima i nešto interakcije s publikom. „Ona se služi zrnima pirinča da bi formalno apstraktnim statističkim podacima udahnula život, moćno i impresivno. Svako zrno pirinča predstavlja jednu osobu, a vi ste pozvani da uporedite ono zrno koje predstavlja vas s milionima drugih zrna koja predstavljaju druge.“<sup>13</sup>

Pre početka izvedbe, jedan skup izvođača pažljivo odmeri različite količine pirinča, koje predstavljaju razne statističke podatke vezane za ljude, kao što su:

- broj stanovnika raznih gradova i sela;
- broj lekara ili broj vojnika na raznim mestima i u raznim situacijama;
- broj ljudi rođenih svakog dana i broj ljudi koji svakog dana umru;
- sve ljude koji su hodali po Mesecu;
- sve ljude pobijene u Holokaustu.

Tako dobijene gomile pirinča se zatim razmeštaju i stvaraju različite pirinčane krajolike. Statistički podaci koje gomile pirinča predstavljaju i njihova sapostavljanja mogu delovati potresno, šokantno, radosno, duhovito i provokativno. Trupa prilagođava predstavu mestu i vremenu izvodeńja, dodajući statističke podatke od kritičnog lokalnog i aktuelnog značaja. Na primer, u julu 2011. godine, predstava bi mogla sadržati podatak o broju poginulih u poslednjem tsunamiju u Japanu. Takođe, količina potrošenog pirinča razlikuje se od verzije do verzije. U verziji *Of All the People in All the World: UK*, trupa iskoristi 1000 kg pirinča, što predstavlja 60 000 000 Britanaca; u verziji *Of All the People in All the World: Europe*, iskoristi se 12 tona. Izvođači su u predstavi kostimirani i prikazani kako mere i broje zrna pirinča, a gledaocima je omogućeno da opšte s njima i postavljaju im pitanja. Naravno, predstava će izvršiti različit upliv na svakoga, ali ona zaista podstiče meditaciju o poimanju naroda i sveta u odnosu na gledaočevu subjektivnost. Svojim zrnima pirinča, ona se zbilja, čini se, poziva na jedno univerzalističko poimanje liberalne građanskosti i kosmopolitanizma. Evo kako je Dan Rebellato opisuje, ističući je kao zaseban primer kosmopolitske umetnosti, koju on zagovara: *Of All the People in All the World* pothranjuje kosmopolitsku maštu, dajući nam nove načine da shvatimo svu ogromnost sveta, a mašta pothranjuje naše opažanje eksponata, dok osobenošću i značenjem prožimamo – na donekle pozorišan način – praznu jednoobraznost svake od gomilâ pirinča (Rebellato 2009, 74).

12 Za više informacija o Edgaru, vid. Reinelt, Janelle i Gerald Hewitt, *The Political Theatre of David Edgar: Negotiation and Retrieval*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011.

13 <http://www.stanscafe.co.uk/ofallthepeople/index.html> (19. 08. 2011).

Treći je primer kontroverzno izvođenje teksta *The Author* (Autor) Tima Croucha 2009. godine u londonskom Royal Courtu i 2010. na edinburškom festivalu, gde je naišlo na veliku popularnost i izazvalo mnogo burnih javnih rasprava, *blogovanja* i društvenog umrežavanja. Predstava se igra među publikom i od publike se uistinu traži da sudi o vlastitim gledalačkim praksama. Na svom *websiteu*, Crouch ovako opisuje predstavu:

*The Author* je predstava o tome šta znači biti gledalac, kao i o odgovornosti nas kao gledalaca. Ona istražuje veze između onoga što vidimo i onoga što činimo. Imam jak utisak da smo izgubili nit odgovornosti za ono što biramo da gledamo. *The Author* koristi samo reči u prikazivanju stvari i ponekad su stvari koje nam te reči prikazuju uznemirujuće. Ovo nije igra za decu ali JESTE igra za publiku.<sup>14</sup>

Bez otkrivanja strategijâ ove igre, pošto je čitav njen smisao da gledaoci suoče svoja vlastita osećanja i izbore sa onim što doživljavaju u tom trenutku, reći ću samo da mislim da veza ove predstave sa ovim raspravama o građanskosti počiva u njenom izazivanju odbijanja pripadnosti u liberalnoj građanskosti, kao i fleksibilne građanskosti koja trguje pasošima ali odbija odgovornost za one zajednice sa kojima je povezana. Drugim rečima, predstava se obraća upravo građanskoj publici konvencionalne javne sfere, čiji velik deo odbija republikanske aspekte građanskosti i njene brige za opšte dobro. Istovremeno, ona je duboko metateatarska i postavlja pitanja o tome što se na pozornici događa i šta čini jedan etički vid opažanja ili prisustvovanja takvom prizoru. Činjenica da je ova konkretna pozorišna publika, koja je videla ovu predstavu, reagovala tako javno, putem raznih društvenih mrežâ i raspravâ licem u lice, mera je njene provokativnosti. Ona je jasno postdramska i odgovara Lehmannovom pozivu na osećajno sučeljavanje i iskoračenje. Tema predstave su upravo opažanja gledalaca.

Iako bi se za sva tri rada moglo reći da se bave građanskošću na načine koje bi Balibar odobrio, mene uzbuđuje razmišljanje o njima skupa – i, šta više, shvatanje ove tri predstave kao da se preklapaju ili odnose jedna prema drugoj, što bi činilo njihov najbolji ili najvažniji upliv. Promišljanjem kako se *The Author* sučeljava s našim vlastitim voajerizmom i saučesništvom u odbijanju odgovornosti, u sklopu s meditacijom Stan's Cafea, postiže se složeniji učinak. Ako *Testing the Echo* uvodi pojam višestrukih modaliteta i namernosti građanskosti, ta predstava takođe predočava konkretne, otelotvorene živote koji se mogu i ustremiti na zrna pirinča koja predstavljaju apstraktne ljude s kojima smo povezani u globalnom selu; takođe, ona se preseca s predstavom *The Author* na zanimljive načine, pošto se prilikom svečane zakletve na kraju predstave, kandidati kao društvena grupa ujedine da bi prekinuli svečanost i omogućili jednoj od svojih članica da dovrši svoju zakletvu. To je spontan čin ljudi koji se međusobno ne poznaju ali u posebnom trenutku odluke deluju zajedno. To je jedan od mogućih odgovora na problem koji *The Author* postavlja: možete ostati, otići ili zaustaviti to što se događa.

Pozorište se, dakle, kao gradilište stalno procesualnih, promenljivih izvedbi građanskosti, može obraćati raznim pozicijama i protivrečnostima, koristeći bezbroj estetičkih sredstava. Ono može doprinosti javnoj sferi tako što će svoje izvedbe udruživati s drugim vidovima intervencija sličnih i različitih javnosti, da bi se izvršio uticaj na određeni sadržaj naših lokalnih i globalnih svakodnevnih života. Ono se može baviti političnošću tako što će se osećati političkim i podsticati političko mišljenje i dela, kao i tako što će se zanimati za uređenje naše aktuelne društvenosti.

#### ZAKLJUČAK

Izazov ovog izdanja posvećenog političnosti bio je da pokuša da razume uslove pod kojima živimo svoje živote zajedno, u jednom globalnom vremenu koje je takođe i strogo lokalno i prostorno. Citat sa početka, donekle zamršen pokušaj Michaela Oakshotta da opiše šta znači biti ugrađen u društvene prakse i manevrisati da bi ih se ocenilo, da bi se zamislile alternative i postiglo to teško „popravljanje postojećih odnosa“, izražava ono što ja podrazumevam pod političnošću – trajne i neizbežne veze pojedinaca i grupâ i njihovu lepljivu zbrkanost. Takođe, političnost obuhvata i odnose moći, ali oni nisu odvojeni u jednoj kliničkoj političkoj sferi – ne, oni se tiču svake društvene prakse i način na koji doživljavamo i reagujemo na te odnose, sami i svi skupa, sačinjava živu građu svakodnevnog života, kao i svetsko-istorijskih događaja.

Prema tome, pozorište jedino i može biti natopljeno političnošću. Ono što pozorište svojoj publici neumitno prikazuje jesu skupovi ovih „aranžmana“ i ljudskih pokušaja da ih poprave ili poboljšaju. Toliko se bar čini neizbežnim, ali to ne znači da će pozorište svakako uspeti da osvetli ili podstakne bilo kakav boljitak tih intervencija. To je zapravo njegov izazov, naročito u ovo naše vreme, jedno doba koje pati od svih teškoća o kojima je ovde bilo reči. To znači sagledavanje pozorišta kao dela jednog višestrukog i hibridnog društvenog angažmana, naseljenog različitim javnostima, koji svoj doprinos daje ne kao jedan ogroman, samostalan događaj ili artefakt, već kao jedan čvor opštenja unutar mreže sasvim

14 <http://www.timcrouchtheatre.co.uk/shows/the-author/the-author> (19. 08. 2011).

različitih i ponekad protivrečnih čvorišta koji skupa čine javni diskurs. Njegova delotvornost nije usamljenička – ne, pozorište ne može promeniti svet – ali može i ponekad zaista doprinosi promenama, u sklopu s brojnim drugim kanalima javnog izražavanja.

Sagledavajući građanskost kao pojam u neprestanoj evoluciji i promenama, uslovljen mnogim činiocima i podlozan dramaturgijama kako divljaštva, tako i gostoprimstva, u ovom sam tekstu pokušala da obrazložim kako problemi pripadanja, isključivanja, predstavljanja, igranja uloga i odgovornosti, koji protiču kroz razna jezička uobličena građanskosti, dele nešto s pozorišnim repertoarom gestova, s njegovim strukturnim teškoćama u pogledu spektakla i posmatranja, vidljivosti i nevidljivosti, razuma i afekta.

Konačno, ovo je bio pokušaj da se ubede teoretičari pozorišta da s kukoljem ne spale i žito; to jest, da ne ugase zahtev pozorišta za dubokim bavljenjem političkim stvarima, da ne poriču da pozorište ponekad zamišlja, kritikuje ili osvetljava naše staze, da ne odustaju od potrage za novim pozorišnim prikazima strategijâ za zajednički život.

Sa engleskog preveo Žarko Cvejić

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# VIŠE OD ARTIVIZMA, MANJE OD UMETNOSTI

ALEKSANDRA JOVIĆEVIĆ

Gotovo je neverovatno zvučala vest da je posednji haški optuženik u Srbiji, Goran Hadžić, uhapšen tako što je pokušao da proda jednu sliku Amadea Modiglianija kupljenu novcem zarađenim pljačkom i prodajom nafte početkom jugoslovenskih ratova 1991. godine. Prema tvrdnji srpske Bezbednosno-informativne agencije, BIA, od tada (2007) bilo je dovoljno pratiti tokove novca i uspešno locirati begunca. *Portret (nepoznatog) muškarca*, koji je Modigliani naslikao pred kraj života (1918), za koga još uvek nije pronađen kupac, procenjen na 10-15 miliona evra, iskorišten je kao sredstvo hapšenja čoveka optuženog za zločine koji se kose sa etikom ratovanja. Dakle, ne radi se o običnoj sprezi zločina i tržišta umetnina, već o međunarodnom ratnom zločincu koji je najzad izveden pred međunarodni sud pravde, zahvaljujući malverzacijama oko jednog umetničkog dela. Félix Guattari opisuje umetnost ne kao nešto što se prikazuje na zidovima muzeja, već kao nešto što se neprestano vraća u naše sećanje i čula kao stvarno prisutno, odvojeno od svih stvari koje se mogu definisati i posedovati s preciznošću.<sup>1</sup> Prema opšte prihvaćenoj, širokoj definiciji artivizma, krajnji cilj umetnosti je promena neke društvene anomalije, odnosno postizanja nekog političkog prevrata, što je u ovom slučaju postignuto, iako u veoma apstraktnom vidu. Takođe, Riccardo Muti, slavni italijanski dirigent može se smatrati artivistom, pošto je na rimskom izvođenju Verdijeve opere *Nabucco*, u martu 2011. iskoristio oduševljenje publike izvedbom horske arije „Oh, mia patria, bella e perduta“ („O, moja lepa i izgubljena domovino“) da prekine izvođenje i apeluje na italijanske političare u publici da razmisle o poslednjim budžetskim restrikcijama u kulturi, i da pozove publiku da zajedno sa horom otpeva još jednom istu ariju, kao demonstraciju otpora prema odluci koja je ugrozila italijansku kulturu. Mutijeva kampanja je urodila plodom, i budžet za kulturu je revidiran, makar simbolično.

Stoga bi, umesto velikih, globalnih, radikalnih pokreta ili umetničkih akcija, moglo da se govori o *mikroartivizmima*, pre svega u okviru elitističke umetnosti. Možda bi trebalo razmotriti načine na koje umetnost (*art*) odnosi prevagu nad aktivizmom (*activism*), ali jednako postiže njegov krajnji cilj: subverzivnost u odnosu na postojeći red stvari, miniranje normalnog i prihvaćenog modela ponašanja, transformaciju društvenog života i njegovih etičkih parametara. Koje rezultate može da očekuje/postigne subverzivna umetnost u političkoj/društvenoj areni? Koji su joj dometi i ograničenja? I šta to, u stvari, znači?

Polazna osnova za moje preispitivanje odnosa između umetnosti, artivizma, politike i nove tržišne logike predstavljaju dela Jacquesa Rancièrea, Alana Badioua, Gillesa Deleuzea, Félixia Guattarija, Theodora Adorna, Bertolta Brechta i Waltera Benjamina, kao i nasleđe istorijske avangarde i situacionizma. Jer ne radi se samo o tome da se razviju oblici otpora prema neprestanim društvenim i ekonomskim promenama, već i o tome da se preuzmu nasledeni oblici umetničke solidarnosti i borbe, da oni evoluiraju u nove instrumente, nove oblike, nove koncepte koje će opet dovesti umetnost u antitezu sa društvom (Adorno). Prema tvrdnji Augusta Boala, tvorca „pozorišta potlačenih“, dužnost umetnika je da neprestano menja društvo u kome živi. Ako je to tačno, onda istorijski presek artivizma počinje od ranih performansa italijanskih i ruskih futurista. Dadaisti se takođe mogu smatrati artivistima zbog njihovih političkih stavova i performansa kojima su nastojali da učine svoju umetnost vidljivom. Ruski umetnički eksperiment, agitprop, politički teatar Piscatora, Brechta itd. između dva svetska rata, Situacionistička internacionala i talas studentskih protesta tokom 68. godine u Evropi, neoavangarda u Americi, samo su neki od istorijskih primera.

Krajem 1960ih započinje i novi talas političnosti umetnosti: Augusto Boal, Bread & Puppet, Living theatre, Guerilla Theatre, Performance Group, ali i novih parateatarskih oblika, poput hepeninga, performansa itd. Tada su postavljeni temelji onoga što možemo nazvati *teatralnost politike*, odnosno mesta reprezentacije u stvaranju političke svesti, kao i manifestnih oblika politike. Prvi koji su to uočili bili su Benjamin i Brecht. Brecht je bio još radikalniji od Benjamina i njegovog zahteva da bi se fašističkoj estetizaciji politike trebalo suprotstaviti revolucionarnom politizacijom umetnosti, tako što je ovu teorijsku misao pojačao stvarnim eksperimentima, umetničkom invencijom, otkrivši snažnu i jedinstvenu vezu koja postoji između teatralnosti i politike.

<sup>1</sup> Guattari, F., „Cartografia schizoanalitica“, u Deleuze, G. i Guattari, F., *Mille piani, Capitalismo e schizofrenia*, Castelvecchi, Roma, 2006, str. 6.

Moguće je da je teatralnost politike proizašla iz nove uloge koje je počela da se pripisuje masama u istorijskim delanjima, počev od Sovjetske revolucije 1917. Badiou citira misao Trockog, prema kome naše doba karakteriše „proboj masa na istorijsku scenu“. (Badiou 2007b, 62) Kategorije revolucije, proleterijata, populizma, fašizma... upućuju na oblike masovnog proboja, na jake kolektivne reprezentacije, na besmrtnu scene *velikog spektakla* juriša na Zimski dvorac (a ne pravog zauzimanja koje nikada nije ni bilo snimljeno) ili fašističkog marša na Rim. Kroz sve ove događaje se uporno proteže isto pitanje: kakav je odnos između individualne sudbine i istorijskog proboja masa? Ili pozorišnim rečnikom rečeno, stalno su se nametala pitanja: ko je protagonista, a ko hor, u kakvom komadu, na kojoj sceni i u čijoj režiji? Brechtova teza o odnosu teatralnosti i politike ne samo da je opstala do danas, već je evoluirala u raznim pravcima. Na primer, Rancière pravi oštru razliku između *stvarne* (nemoguće, nedostignute) i *predstavljene* (postojeće, izvedene) *demokratije*, smatrajući da je, u naše vreme, postignut izvestan stepen hegemonije između Države i društva, jer je neorepublička ideologija izbrisala politiku samu po sebi: od države se zahteva da sledi uputstva i ponašanja prosvetene elite. U tom smislu, posebno je interesantna Rancièreova dugogodišnja inklinacija ka demokratskoj emancipaciji i idiosinkrazija prema elitističkom procenivanju položaja radničke klase, obespravljenih, kao i nametanje promena. Tu se, kao misao, nameće i njegova inverzija Marxove teze o Feuerbachu: „Pokušali smo da promenimo svet na različite načine, a sada bi trebalo da ga objasnimo (interpretiramo)“.

Rancière definiše demokratiju kao *nedostižnu utopiju*, jer je uočio da se – kao i u obrazovanju („učitelj neznalica“) – ceo sistem zasniva na segregaciji između obrazovane elite i neobrazovane mase (proletarijat, manjine), odnosno između onih koji *učestvuju* u odlučivanju i onih koji su *izopšteni* iz sistema odlučivanja, što stvara *estetsku* razliku između vidljivog i nevidljivog, izrečenog i neizrečenog, čujnog i nečujnog. Demokratija će biti dostignuta samo onog trenutka kada se kao jedini mogući subjekat politike pojavi *narod* ili *demos*, tj. oni koji nemaju ime, i postane deo *poretka*, kroz *subjektivizaciju* koja će neprestano menjati estetske kordinate određene zajednice, implementacijom univerzalne premise da su svi ljudi jednaki. Međutim, kao što *jednakost* nije cilj koji treba dostići, već pretpostavka koju stalno treba proveravati i potvrđivati, *demokratija* nije ni državno uređenje, niti stil društvenog života; ona je neprestani, ali i slučajan proces. Demokratska emancipacija je proces koji menja sistem odnosa, bez mogućnosti da garantuje apsolutnu eliminaciju društvenih nejednakosti koje su inherentne svakom društvenom poretku, radije nego politici (Rancière takođe pravi razliku između poretka i politike).<sup>2</sup>

S obzirom da su izvođačke umetnosti, po tome kako je istorijski definisana njihova unutrašnja priroda, najbliže diskursu političke filozofije, one bi trebalo da predstavljaju tekuću, istorijsku, a ne sudbinsku prirodu ljudskih problema. Prema Badiouu, Brecht se sve vreme pitao kako upravo u pozorištu da predstavi, prikaže i razvije odnos između individualne sudbine, lika i bezličnog istorijskog razvoja, masovnog proboja: Dvadeseti vek ponovo oživljava pitanje hora i protagoniste; njegovo [Brechtovo] pozorište je više grčko nego što je romantično. [...] Pozorište u XX veku nije samo izvođenje komada. S pravom ili ne, mislimo da se njegov ulog promenio, da je od sada u pitanju jedno kolektivno istorijsko razjašnjavanje. (Badiou 2007b, 63) Za jednog marksistu, kakav je bio Brecht, misija je bila organski vezana za svoju sastavnu funkciju, a to je *transformisati društvo preko publike koja odlazi u teatar*. Brecht je smatrao da bi umetnost morala da preispituje svet oko sebe, da umetnost i nauka imaju iste zadatke, kao i da ne postoji nešto poput „esencije“ večne umetnosti, već da svako određeno društvo mora da stvara sopstvena umetnička dela koja će najbolje odraziti stanje u kome se nalazi.

Na primer, savremeni nemački pisac i reditelj, René Pollesch, u želji da demistifikuje reprezentativni teatar u kome se samo prividno neguje kritički stav, smatra da bi društvene postupke trebalo kritikovati kroz njihovo neprestano ponavljanje na sceni. Upravo u Polleschovim (postdramskim) predstavama, glumac ili glumica približavaju se umetnicima performansa, jer živost (*liveness*) njihovog izvođenja predstavlja njihovo *provokativno prisustvo* koje stupa u prvi plan, radije nego što je to predstavljanje nekog lika. U Polleschovim komadima, koji sebe smatra Brechtovim naslednikom u teatru, glumci u konfrontaciji s publikom pokušavaju da pretoče njegove ideje/tekstove u život, kako bi se gledaoci potpuno „uvukli“ u te tekstove, koji su najčešće teorijski. U svom radu, Pollesch često ispituje mnoge strane neoliberalnog kapitalizma, pod motom „Ne želim da ga živim“. Za predstavu *Pablo u supermarketu Plus (Pablo in der Plusfiliale, 2004)* – koja je prividno izgledala

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Rancière, Jacques, *Hatred of Democracy*, Verso, New York, 2006; *Le partage du sensible: esthétique et politique*, La fabrique, 2000; i *On the Shores of Politics*, Verso, 1995. Njegova jedinstvena metodologija, eklektičizam u izboru tema i načinu istraživanja, čini ga bliskim Foucaultu i „arheologiji znanja“, odnosno određenom akademskom „anarhizmu“. Kako je Alain Badiou zaključio, Rancière ne pripada nijednoj akademskoj zajednici posebno, već deluje u područjima „između istorije i filozofije, između filozofije i politike, i između dokumentarnosti i fikcije“. Ja bih dodala, i između estetike i politike, što ga sve čini bliskim studijama performansa, kako su one danas strukturisane: decentralizovane i otvorene za različita tumačenja, bliske filozofiji, politici i estetici.

kao proizvod estetike kupona, telenovela, različitih tekstova koji su varirali između treša i teorije, Interneta i reklame, a koja je zasnovana na grotesknom izgledu iz 70ih, pri čemu su zvuci iz te epohe podloga za velike blokove tekstova – Pollesch je koristio teorijske tekstove ekonomskih stručnjaka, tvrdeći da su njihovi autori često očarani načinom na koji ih predstavlja i što u njegovim postavkama „vide ljudska tela i subjekte koji se do kraja unose u njihov sadržaj”, iznoseći probleme neposredno i telesno.<sup>3</sup>

Teorijski jezik ekonomije u ovoj predstavi je na paradoksalan način blizak monolozima likova. Tokom ovog procesa, kao i u svim Polleschovim predstavama, nije postojala priča, ni glavni junaci, niti mogućnost za identifikaciju.<sup>4</sup> Polleschovi likovi postali su objekti sveopšte kapitalizacije, višestrukih interfejsova i prikaza društva. Koristeći tehnološki i neoliberalni žargon, protagonist govore o sopstvenom postojanju kao da je to najočiglednija stvar na svetu. Tokom proba, ali i kada je predstava po prvi put prikazana pred publikom, nisu postojali stalni likovi, rodovi i identiteti. Glumci u Polleschovim komadima nisu samo puki interpretatori njegovih ideja, već debatuju i tumače sopstvene ideje. Tako, kada glume, oni prihvataju određeni rizik, jer nikada ne znaju kako će publika razumeti njihovu izvedbu i kako će se završiti – predstave namerno deluju kao nedovršene, pa čak neuspele.

U knjizi Jona McKenzieja, *Izvedi ili snosi posledice*, koja analizira sve oblike performansa kao paradigmu savremenog Zapadnog društva i njegovog zahteva za znanjem i moći, kulturno izvođenje je određeno, pre svega, socijalnim uspehom (*efficacy*), kao i njegovim izazovom savremenom društvu.<sup>5</sup> Stoga, tržište i umetnost najčešće nisu u suprotnosti, već se mogu udružiti za zajedničko dobro. Ovaj odnos između izvođenja i nove tržišne logike, omogućava nam da iz novog ugla osvetlimo funkcionisanje današnje umetničke scene. Njena osnovna odlika nije samo toliko kritikovana *komodifikacija kulture* (stvaranje umetničkih proizvoda za tržište), nego i manje zapaženo, ali možda još važnije, kretanje u suprotnom smeru: sve veća *kulturalizacija* same tržišne ekonomije, okretanjem tercijarnoj ekonomiji (kulturni turizam, izdavačka i filmska industrija, festivali), postajući tako ne samo jedna sfera tržišta, već njegova centralna komponenta (od softverske industrije zabave do drugih medijskih proizvoda). Taj *kratki spoj* između tržišta i kulture povlači sa sobom nestajanje stare, modernističke, avangardne logike provokacije i šokiranja establišmenta. U osnovi, to je teza Adornove *Estetske teorije*. Čak i kada se krije iza modernističke maske, umetnost je do te mere neodvojiva od svog *Warencharactera* (potrošačke prirode) da svi njeni pokušaji ostaju površni i neprimetni, čineći eksces prihvatljivim. Danas, da bi se reprodukovao u uslovima tržišne konkurencije, kulturno-ekonomski aparat sve više mora ne samo da toleriše, već i da direktno podstiče sve šokantnije efekte i proizvode. U postmodernizmu, prekomerni eksces gubi svoju šokirajuću vrednost i potpuno se integriše u etablirano umetničko tržište, što se može uočiti i dokazati na primeru burne karijere nemačkog reditelja, performerera i aktiviste, Christofa Schlingensiefela.

Često osporavan, kritikovan i hapšen, ignorisan od establišmenta, a potom slavljn pred kraj života kao veliki umetnik, prerano umrl Schlingensiefel (2010) nije doživeo da primi Zlatnog lava koji je na ovogodišnjem Venecijanskom bijenalu (2011), dodeljen upravo nemačkom paviljonu posvećenom njegovom delu. Ali, da parafraziramo jednu rečenicu iz nemačkog *Spiegela* – samo mrtav Schlingensiefel je dobar Schlingensiefel!<sup>6</sup> Upravo zbog činjenice da je umro u sred priprema za venecijansko bijenale, ni njegova smrt nikog nije ostavila ravnodušnim, jer je izazvala ogromnu polemiku u Nemačkoj da li da ceo paviljon bude posvećen umetnosti sada već pokojnog umetnika. Međutim, Susanne Gaensheimer, komesarka nemačkog paviljona koja se izborila za ovu postavku, na određen način je uspela da „vaskrsne” i zaokruži njegovu neobičnu karijeru koja je neprestano oscilirala između pozorišta, filma, vizuelne umetnosti, performansa i artvizma.<sup>7</sup> Stoga je ovaj paviljon zaokruženje, ali i kraj jedne provokativne, uzbudljive i radikalne karijere koja će vrlo je malo verovatno nadživeti svog stvaraoca. Uostalom, njegovi početni koraci su bili inspirisani anarhodadaizmom i pankom, pokretima koji su anulirali sami sebe.

Za razumevanje Schlingensiefelove karijere, jako je važno opisati izgled nemačkog paviljona.<sup>8</sup> Kada se uđe, prvo što posetilac ugleda je instalacija unutrašnjosti crkve, sa oltarom, vitražom i svom pratećom crkvenom rekvizitom

<sup>3</sup> Pollesch je krenuo od knjige *Learning From* Johana Beckera, u kojoj on objašnjava otkud interes moćnih zapadnih finansijsko-industrijskih metropola za organizaciju života i rada gradova u južnoj hemisferi, npr. Lagosa ili Sao Paola koja predstavljaju potencijalna tržišta. Za ovu predstavu su bili takođe važni članci „Atraktivnost neformalnog” Elmara Altwatera i „Deformalizacija urbanog prostora” Birgit Mankopf, jer se u njima govori o samoorganizovanoj trgovini koja postoji uz normalnu i regulisanu, a koja se razvija u favelama ovih gradova, kao nasušna potreba njihovih stanovnika.

<sup>4</sup> U predstavi *Hallo Hotel* (2004) Pollesch je koristio bez ikavih izmena tekstove Giorgija Agambena u vidu ljubavnih izjava između dve žene.

<sup>5</sup> McKenzie, Jon, *Izvedi ili snosi posledice*, CDU, Zagreb, 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Tačnije, u tekstu piše: „Only Schlingensiefel without Schlingensiefel reveals true Schlingensiefel,” vid. Diez, Georg i Reinhardt, Nora, „Death in Venice: Resurrecting Schlingensiefel at the Biennale,” <http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/> (6. 3. 2011)

<sup>7</sup> Radi potpunijeg uvida u njegovu karijeru, vid. <http://www.schlingensiefel.com/>

– što je inače bio Schlingensiefelov projekat *Crkva straha protiv stranca u sebi* (*A Church of Fear vs. the Alien Within*, 2007) – i predstavlja repliku unutrašnjosti katoličke crkve u Oberhauzenu, gde je Schlingensiefel služio kao oltarski pomoćnik. Iste godine, postavio je i predstavu, *Rekvijem za neumrlu osobu* (*Requiem für einen Untoten*), u kojoj se, kao i u svim svojim predstavama, pojavio u ulozi naratora i ceremonijal majstora, u nadi da će ipak uspeti da nekako nadživi svoju dijagnozu raka pluća. I instalacija i predstava predstavljale su ogroman zaokret u njegovoj karijeri, od društveno angažovanog umetnika prema umetniku koji se u potpunosti okrenuo sebi i svojoj bolesti. U levom krilu se nalazi izložba koja prikazuje sve faze njegovog poslednjeg projekta: operskog naselja blizu Ouagadougoua u Burkini Faso, koju je nazvao „socijalnom skulpturom”; dok se u desnom prikazuje šest njegovih filmova, počev od *Egomanije* (1986) do tzv. Nemačke trilogije, sa već legendarnim filmom *Nemački pokolj motornom testerom* (*Das deutsche Kettensägenmassaker*, 1990). Ipak, ovi filmovi nisu zamišljeni kao retrospektiva, već kao uvod u Schlingensiefelov opus, odnosno u dve stvari koje su ga opsedale, Nemačku (njenu istoriju i politiku), kao i njegovu bolest koja ga je odvela u Afriku, u vidu spasenja.

Ovo su dve centralne teme u njegovom celokupnom opusu. Činjenica da je svet sagledavao ne samo kao opozicionar, već i kao bolesnik, dovodi ga u situaciju da je on bio rana, pukotina na društvu koje je neprestano nastojalo da izgradi idealnu sliku o samom sebi. U suštini, Schlingensiefel je oduvek znao da „fašizam svakodnevnice i ekonomija ožiljaka koji sve dublje ulaze u pukotine društvenog, a naročito u smislu otimačine i preuzimanja sredstava proizvodnje znanja i kritičkog delovanja ne dopuštaju ustupke kada se govori o radikalnoj istini.” (Husanović 2010, 9) Pad berlinskog zida, 1989. godine, bio je povod za njegov film *Nemački pokolj motornom testerom*, očajnički i divalji, koji nije ostavio na miru nijedan kliše, nijednu pseudo bezazlenu šalu nedernutom, jer je predstavio nemačko ujedinjene kao užasnu poplavu krvi i masakra, pod zajedničkim motom: „Bili su prijatelji i pretvorili su se u kobasice.” Ko ne poznaje tradiciju nemačkog kabaretskog humora i songova teško da će razumeti slojeve u ovom filmu, pseudo horror žanra, gde je prikazan jedan mesar opsednut čistoćom, seksom i nacionalizmom. Schlingensiefel je bio pravi nastavljač nemačkih romantičara, ali i satiričara poput Lubitscha, Murnaua, Fassbindera, Vallentina i Wedekinda. Njegov prezir prema svojoj domovini bio je mnogo dublji od toga, neka vrsta mešovine gađenja i fascinacije. Za Schlingensiefela, umetnost aktivizma je bila vid samoodbrane u strogo kontrolisanoj demokratiji. Prvi deo ove nemačke trilogije je film *Sto godina Adolfa Hitlera* (*100 Jahre Adolf Hitler*) koji govori o umetnikovom odnosu prema istoriji kao klopci: ljudi prave svoju vlastitu historiju, ali je ne prave po svojoj volji, ne pod okolnostima koje su sami izabrali, nego pod okolnostima koje su neposredno zatekli, koje su dane, naslijeđene. Tradicija svih mrtvih generacija pritiskuje kao mora mozak živih ljudi. (Marx, *Osamnaesti brimer Louisa Bonapartea*: Husanović 2010, 10)

Glumac u ulozi Hitlera, Udo Kier, igra Hitlerov život u bunkeru u vidu delirijuma izazvan kokainom, u filmu koji je prepun je referenci na nemačku istoriju i tadašnju stvarnost. U jednom od intervju, Schlingensiefel je izjavio da je njegova baka bila daleka rođaka Josepha Goebbelsa, tvrdeći da je to nelagodnost koju nosi u sebi, koje je želeo da se oslobodi, predstavljanjem svoje vizije Hitlera za publiku. Od tada počinje njegova vrtoglava karijera, ali ne u smislu uspona, već neumorne provokacije na svim nivoima, nekada sa više, a nekada sa manje uspeha. Njegova neobuzdanost i kreativnost onemogućavale su objektivno sagledavanje i definisanje njegove umetnosti, jer se on pojavljivao u svim medijima, bez prethodnih priprema, što u televizijskim *talk-showima*, na radiju, u predstavama ili performansima u vidu akcionog slikarstva. U to vreme je počeo da radi predstave za berlinski Volksbühne, kao što su *Kühnen 1994*; *Donesi mi glavu Adolfa Hitlera!* (*Kühnen '94. Bring mir den Kopf von Adolf Hitler!*) i *Rocky Dutschke '68*, u kojima je nastavljao da presipituje nemačku dalju i bližu istoriju. Haotične, hermetične i neobuzdane, ove predstave su zahtevale da on uvek bude prisutan na sceni, ne samo kao ceremonijal-majstor, već i narator, kako bi objasnio sve aspekte priče gledaocima. Rad u pozorištu smatrao je nekom vrstom društvenog rada, zasnovanog na kolektivnom iskustvu i improvizaciji, odnosu između članova glumačkog ansambla, potom trupe i publike, koja je često dovođena u centar zbivanja. Jedna od njegovih notornih performansa je „predstava” je *Molimo vas, volite Austriju* (*Bitte liebt Österreich*, 2000), napravljena za Wiener Festwochen, gde se nekoliko imigranta „borilo” za stalnu dozvolu boravka u Austriji, dok je publika, po ugledu na TV-emisiju *Veliki brat*, birala pobjednika. Predstava je, naravno, razotkrila duboke korene austrijske ksenofobije. Subverzija i alteracija kapitalističkih medija u eksperimentalnom izvođenju, približilo je ovo izvođenje onome što Brian Holms definiše kao *reverse engineering*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.deutscher-pavillon.org/en>

<sup>9</sup> On kao primer navodi performans/instalaciju *Nike Ground* grupe 0100101110101101.org, organizovanu takođe u Beču, tokom koje je izvršeno lažno preimenovanje Karlsplatzu u Nikeplatz. Uprkos burnim protestima građana, sve se posle pretvorilo u neku vrstu simboličke i bezazlene akcije. Holmes se pita kako je moguće intenzivirati odgovore na sve jače oblike zloupotrebe i represije, i kako bi umetnost mogla da razvije subverzivnost u okviru strogo kontrolisanog društva? Vid. Holmes, Brian, „Ricatturare la sovversione. Rovesciare le regole del gioco culturale,” u *L'arte della sovversione*, manifestolibri, Roma, 2009, str. 25-44, ovo na str. 28.

Ali, sve dok su Schlingensiefove „akcije“ bile sporovođene u okviru društveno omeđenih disciplina, filma i pozorišta, delovalo je kao da je sve pod kontrolom. Međutim, svaka njegova akcija u javnosti, pod budnim medijskim okom, izazivala je ogromne skandale koji su se nekad završavali hapšenjem, kao na primer, njegov poziv da se ubije Helmut Kohl, na Dokumentima u Kaselu 1999, ili „skupljanje“ million maraka u apoenima od pet maraka koje bi se bacile na prisutne na otvaranju kupole novog Reichstaga, ili osnivanje partije nezaposlenih, beskućnika, prostitutki i zatvorenika, Chance 2000 za nemačke izbore 1998. godine.

Od trenutka kada mu je dijagnosticiran rak, dolazi do obrta u Schlingensiefovoj karijeri, jer istovremeno dobija angažman da režira Wagnerovog *Parsifala* u Bajrotu (2004), iako se često rugao Wagnerovim naslednicima. Izgleda kao da ga od trenutka nemačka istorija i stvarnost prestaju da ga zanimaju. Tako je, kada je započeo rad na paviljonu u Veneciji, smatrao je da bi trebalo uneti novi život u nemački paviljon koji je previše bio okrenut nacističkoj prošlosti. Njegovo novo pitanje javnosti bilo je: zašto hoćemo da pomognemo Africi, ako već ne možemo da pomognemo sebi samima? Zamislio je paviljon kao neku vrstu medicinskog karnevala, mitskog mesta, koji je trebalo da predstavlja nešto između nemačkog kulta Afrike i spektakla savremene manije preventivne medicine, *wellnessa* i biogenetike. Jedna od zamisli bila je da posetioci mogu da se popnu na krov paviljona i posmatraju svet odozgo, kao da gledaju kroz objektiv, dok su filmske slike afričkih pejzaža trebalo da budu projektovane na platno, a svaka 24. slika je trebalo da prikaže afričku decu kako umiru od gladi, decu vojnike itd. u vidu brutalne parodije na etnološke i kolonijalne izložbe.

Paviljon je namerno ostavljen nedovršen, sa puno nesavršenosti, kao neka vrsta *miss-performancea*, graničnog izvođenja sa puno pukotina, nesporazuma i gneva. U stvari, jedna od ideja komesarke bila je da se prikaže zbog čega je Schlingensief bio jedan od najznačajnijih nemačkih umetnika posle Drugog svetskog rata, umetnika koji je bio neka vrsta medija, čije je čitavo biće i delo upijalo i odražavalo društvene anomalije. Paviljon precizno odražava raniju tezu da je, u stvari, čitava njegova aktivistička karijera do 2004. bila potpuno negirana, i da su ga mnogi smatrali najobičnijim provokatorom, šarlatanom, cirkus-majstorom, sve dok ga nije prihvatila ona ista elitna kultura protiv koje se sve vreme borio. Stoga je njegova karijera jedna od najneobičnijih karijera poslednjih 20 godina, jer je posthumno, dobio još jednu nagradu: nagradu Bambi, najviše nemačko priznanje u oblasti medija. Ovaj paradoks zakasnele ljubavi prema Schlingensiefu ne ukazuje na to da se nešto promenilo u Nemačkoj, niti da je njegova kritika nemačkog nacionalizma bila prihvaćena i shvaćena, već da je njegova lična depolitizacija doprinela da bude asimilovan. Ovu kontradikciju ne razrešava ni izložba u Veneciji. Naprotiv, ona ukazuje na njegovu genezu, na prekid potrage za strahom od stranca u sebi, već izvan sebe, pa je u tom smislu *Crkva straha protiv stranca u sebi* u stvari njegovo najvažnije, testamentarno delo.

Nažalost, iako će za Schlingensiefom ostati mnogi materijalni tragovi, neće ostati ništa od njegovog aktivizma. Ako se performans definiše kao *spajanje* različitih elemenata, kako materijalnih tako i idejnih, koje jedino *postoje tokom izvođenju*, u samom činu *izvedbe*, tokom jednog *događaja*, izvedbe ili, kako Badiou to naziva, *reprezentacije*, onda od Schlingensiefovog dela nije ostalo ništa. Bez obzira na to koliko puta je ponovljeno, svako izvođenje predstavlja jedinstveni događaj i postaje „događaj misli“. To znači, prema Badiouu, da spajanje različitih teatarskih elemenata direktno proizvodi ideje, koje on naziva *pozorišnim idejama*. (Badiou 2007a, 95) To takođe znači da one ne mogu biti proizvedene uz pomoć nekih drugih sredstava ili na drugom mestu, kao i da nijedan od elemenata koji se koriste, zasebno nije u stanju da proizvede pozorišne ideje, čak ni tekst same izvedbe. „Ideja nastaje tokom izvedbe i zbog izvedbe, kroz sam čin pozorišne reprezentacije. Ta ideja je nesmanjeno pozorišna i ne postoji pre nego što stigne 'na scenu.'“ (Badiou 2007a, 95) Prema Badiouu, pozorišna ideja javlja se samo tokom (kratkog) vremena izvedbe, što je zapravo njena reprezentacija. „Pozorišna ideja, kao javno prosvetljenje istorije i života, javlja se samo kada je umetnost na svom vrhuncu.“ (Badiou 2007a, 96)

Stoga, praksa koju nazivam „više od aktivizma, a manje od umetnosti“ i koju pokušavam da predstavim, uglavnom se odnosi na *ne-reprezentativno* izvođenje i, pre svega je politička. Pored Schlingensiefa i Pollescha, zaista su retki umetnici koji se mogu smatrati naslednicima kritike reprezentacije i koji uspevaju da izbegnu za- retke tržišne i kasnpostmodernističke logike liminoidnih društava i represivnih demokratija, a što je bila jedna od glavnih karakteristika eksperimentalnih performansa i teatra početkom 20. veka – barem kada su u pitanju Brechtovo dijalektičko pozorište ili Artaudovo pozorište surovosti – koji, kao što je i Derrida primetio, ne samo da obznanjuju ograničenja reprezentacije, već i predlažu novi sistem kritike, što je potreslo celokupnu istoriju zapadnog pozorišta.

Prema tvrdnji Pollescha, pozorište ne bi trebalo da bude samo instrument koji nam omogućava da kritikujemo društvo, već i mesto kome je potrebno kritičko sagledavanje. Stoga, umetnici koji svoje kritičko

viđenje žele da iskažu na sceni ne bi trebalo da čine nikakve izuzetke kada su oni lično u pitanju. Pollesch tvrdi da nam je: potrebno pozorište gde možemo da dovedemo u pitanje sopstveni način života i uslove rada, umesto da to bude neko neutralno mesto, gde nam je dozvoljeno da kritikujemo sve i svakoga, osim nas samih. Osim toga, verujem da (pozorište) može da postane mesto gde ne moramo da reprodukujemo društveni konsenzus kada su u pitanju stvari poput tipičnih uloga dodeljenih polovima – u pozorištu nije potreban nijedan uzor koji je definisan polom, kao ni druge crno-bele suprotnosti na koje nailazimo u svakodnevnom životu. Pozorište bi moglo da postane mesto gde se u pitanje dovodi heteroseksualna dominacija u društvu. Takođe smatram da je to oblast koja ne treba da se posmatra sa ekonomske tačke gledišta, koja ne treba da bude orijentisana isključivo ka profitu.<sup>10</sup>

Polleschovo ispitivanje političke ontologije pozorišta poprima oblik sistematske kritike reprezentativnog teatra, ali i društva u kome ono nastaje. Ne-reprezentativno pozorište takođe omogućava pomirenje estetike i etike u praksama savremenih izvođačkih umetnosti i doprinosi konceptu *ne-estetike* na način na koji je Badiou definiše: Pod *ne-estetikom* podrazumevam odnos između filozofije i umetnosti koji znači da umetnost stvara sopstvenu istinu i da, s toga, ni ne pokušava da postane objekat filozofije. Naprotiv, nasuprot estetskoj spekulaciji, ne-estetika se odnosi na unutarfilozofska značenja koje proizvode pojedinačna umetnička dela. (Badiou 2007a, 10) Prema tome, kada govorim o konceptu „više od aktivizma, manje od umetnosti“, ne bavim se ni antiestetikom, niti protivestetikom, već ne-estetikom, konceptom koji, istovremeno, ukazuje na nešto unutar estetike, kao i na njenu dezaktivaciju, ali i preispitivanje. U tom smislu, Brecht – kao i njegovi naslednici, uostalom – je od najvećeg značaja za razumevanje ove *ne-estetike aktivizma*. Za Brechta, umetnost *ne proizvodi istinu*, već je *stvaranja* uslova za *hrabrost istine*. Hrabra istina „predstavlja terapiju protiv kukavičluka. Ne protiv kukavičluka uopšteno govoreći, već protiv kukavičluka koji se javlja *uprkos istini*.“ (Badiou 2007a, 10)

Posmatrano na ovaj način, savremeni aktivizam najviše se približava „spoljašnjoj istini“. Prema Badiou, „ukoliko umetnost jeste didaktika čula“, onda sledi da se „prava“ suština umetnosti prenosi njenim javnim uticajem, a ne samim umetničkim delom. Osim toga, umetničko izvođenje je eksperiment, istovremeno tekstualan i materijalan, u pojednostavljivanju života. Međutim, bilo bi potpuno pogrešno pomisliti da je jednostavno dostići tu jednostavnost. Naprotiv, kako bi se razdvojio i pojednostavio *zamršen život*, potrebno je mnogo različitih umetničkih sredstava.<sup>11</sup> Bez sumnje, umetnost izvođenja je jedina umetnost koja bi trebalo da nastoji da upotpuni večnost uz pomoć svoje sopstvene prolaznosti. Stoga je, prema Badiouu neophodno da se shvati da pozorišna izvedba koja rukovodi sastavnim elementima pozorišta (koliko je to moguće, pošto su oni izuzetno heterogeni) nije puka *interpretacija* kao što se obično veruje, već da je sam pozorišni čin jedinstvena *dopuna* pozorišne ideje. Stoga, svaka izvedba ili reprezentacija je moguće, ali privremeno, ispunjenje ove ideje. Kako Badiou tvrdi, pozorište uvek nastoji da dostigne jednu večnu ideju, uz pomoć delimično kontrolisanog slučaja. Predstava ili izvođenje često predstavlja razumno testiranje tih slučajeva. Umetnost pozorišta leži u *izboru*, koji s jedne strane može da bude veoma *dobro pripremljen* (rad reditelja), a s druge može da bude *vođen slučajem* (gledalac, koji dopunjuje ideju). Prema tome, niko ne može da ignoriše činjenicu da, u zavisnosti od publike pred kojom se predstava izvodi, može da se dogodi da određeni pozorišni čin prenese ili ne prenese pozorišnu ideju, da je dopuni ili ne.<sup>12</sup>

U svim predstavama autora koji su ovde navedeni, kao i u svakom umetničkom, teorijskom ili aktivističkom projektu, zapravo se radi o riskantnom povezivanju onoga što znamo sa onim što ne znamo, o tome da nas sva njihove dela i izvedbe primoravaju da istovremeno budemo i njihovi gledaoci i stvaraoci, kako bi iskazali sopstvene intelektualne, ali i emotivne sposobnosti kao gledaoci, koji tragaju za onim što može biti stvoreno u novom kontekstu. A ova pozicija ne može i ne sme nikada da bude neutralna. Citiraću Pollescha:

Problem je što pozorištem dominira društveni konstrukt: usvojena je narativna pozicija i sada se ona shvata kao neutralna. Ova pozicija je bela, muškog roda i heteroseksualna, a moji naponi usmereni su ka tome da pokažem da je daleko od toga da je neutralna. Uvek težimo da verujemo da ne postoji, ali zapravo ne postoji ništa osim toga!

Pozicija naratora postoji! Smatram da bi pozorište trebalo da objavi, na primer, da oni u čije ime govori imaju sopstveni jezik! Na ovaj način ono može da govori u ime „poniženih i uvređenih“: tvrdeći da oni imaju sopstveni jezik i da on mora da bude shvaćen ozbiljno. Jedini jezik koje pozorište danas shvata ozbiljno je njegov sopstveni jezik – beo, muškog roda, heteroseksualan – i

<sup>10</sup> Gruszczunski, Piotr, „Ambivalence“, intervju sa René Polleschom, *TR Warszawa*, 2008, [www.trwarszawa.pl/en](http://www.trwarszawa.pl/en)

<sup>11</sup> Pod terminom „zamršen život“, Badiou podrazumeva dve stvari: želju koja cirkuliše između polova i figura društvene i političke moći (bilo uzvišenih ili uvredljivih), dok na njihovim osnovama su postojale i još uvek postoje, tragedija i komedija.

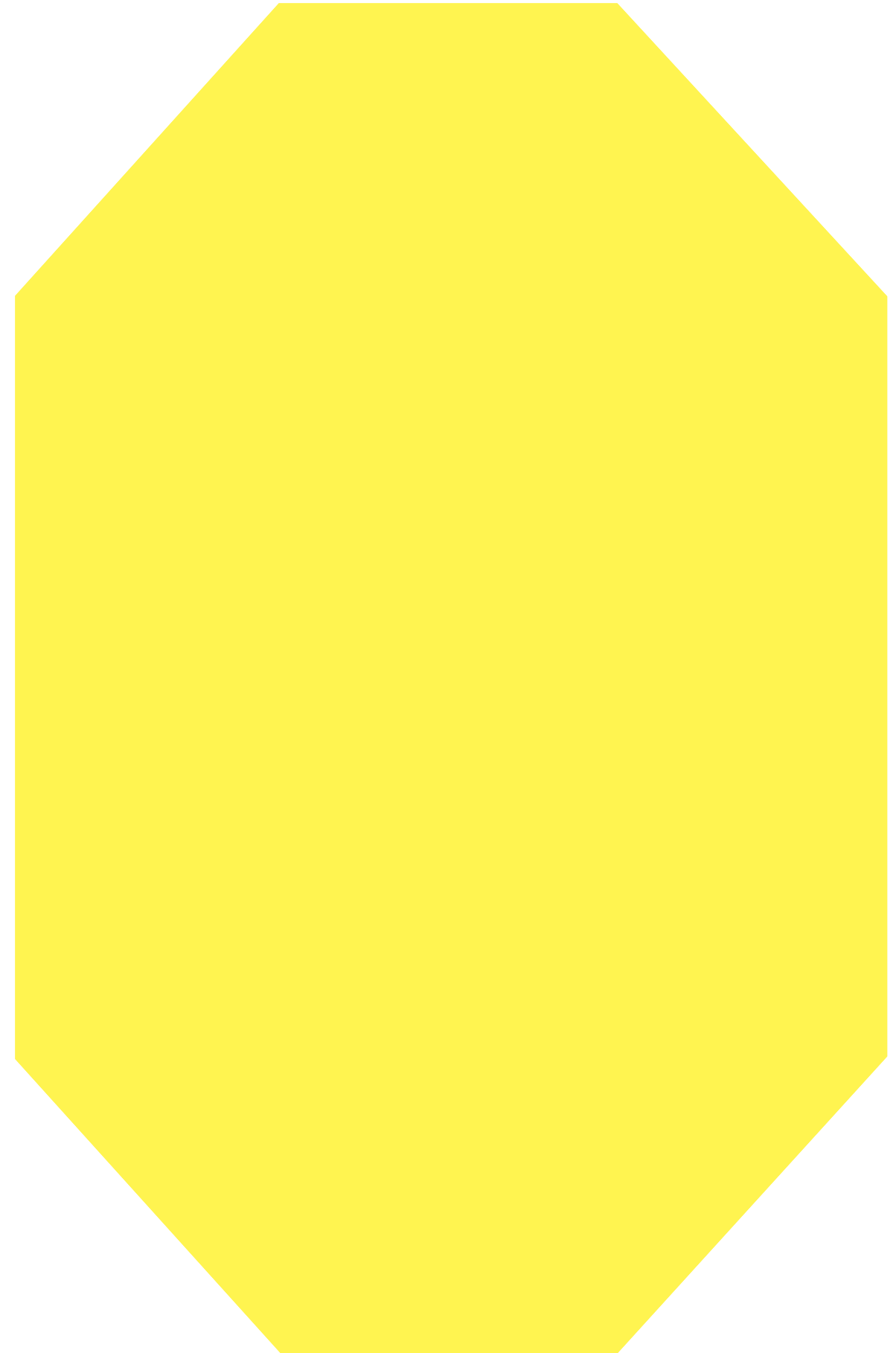
<sup>12</sup> Pošto „publika predstavlja čovečanstvo u svojoj svojoj nekonzistentnosti, u svojoj beskonačnoj raznovrsnosti, samo *generička publika*, slučajna publika, vredna je bilo čega“. (Badiou 2007, 96)

govori o svima ostalima: „Oni su Drugi kojima nedostaje sopstveni jezik i zbog toga morate da govorite u njihovo ime“. Siromašnima i lišenim poseda pripisana je određena slika i potom oni bivaju predstavljeni u skladu sa tom slikom. Ali, po mom mišljenju, ta slika nije stvarna. U pozorištu, kada govorimo o drugima, uvek naglašavamo činjenicu da su oni Drugi. I meni ne bi smetalo da tu sliku dovedem u pitanje. (Pollesch: Gruszczunski 2008).

U savremenim izvođačkim praksama, umetnik dovodi u pitanje celokupnu sliku stvarnosti i umetnosti, kao i njihovog dosadašnjeg odnosa, postajući neka vrsta istraživača, koji tokom nastanka svoje izvedbe prati i usmerava reakcije gledalaca. Efekat koji će taj novi način izražavanja imati ne može da se predvidi, on vodi u neku novu „intelektualnu avanturu“. Umetnik zahteva od gledalaca da postanu aktivni tumači, koji pokušavaju da osmisle sopstveni „prevod“ kako bi priču prilagodili sebi i kako bi prepoznali sopstvenu priču. „Emancipovana zajednica je zapravo zajednica pripovedača i prevodilaca.“ (Rancière 2010, 33) U stvari, radi se neprestanoj potrazi za sve složenijim, fokusiranijim i intenzivnijim umetničkim sredstvima emancipacije na svim nivoima, od politike do estetike koje neće biti asimilovane u tržišnu logiku. Najuspeliji artistički projekti biće oni koji će uspeti da u potpunosti preokrenu zadate parametre umetnosti, znanja, geopolitike, tehnologije i intimnih želja. Radi se o tome da je potrebno izbeći asimilaciju, da se ponovo pronade subverzivnost.

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# VITA PERFORMACTIVA, NA SCENI NEOLIBERALNO KAPITALISTIČKOG DEMOKRATSKOG DRUŠTVA

ANA VUJANOVIĆ

Lako se može primetiti da politika spada u ključne reči savremenog internacionalnog sveta izvođačkih umetnosti. To međutim odmah pokreće i teže pitanje o tome zašto se danas uopšte toliko govori o politici umetnosti, umetnosti i politici, političkoj umetnosti, političnosti umetnosti itd. Zašto je to jedna od ključnih reči? Otkud tolike knjige, tekstovi, izlaganja, konferencije, festivali, *grantovi*? Šta znači metafora politike kao teatra ili, šire, *teatrum mundi*? Na osnovu čega, na osnovu kojih istorijskih referenci i konceptualnih okvira imamo „teorijsku intuiciju“ da su umetnička izvedba i politika bliske? Ono što mi deluje naročito izazovno u razmišljanju o ovim pitanjima jeste da se, paralelno sa velikim interesovanjem izvođačkih umetnosti za politiku, suočavamo s njihovim istorijski marginalnim mestom u društvu i sve ograničenijim pristupom javnosti tokom

20. veka, koji kao da na makroskali osporavaju relevantnost teme.

Ne popuštajući tenziju između ovih krajnosti, probaću da razmotrim u čemu je političnost izvedbe kao umetničke oblasti i prakse u savremenom zapadnom neoliberalno kapitalističkom demokratskom društvu, i zašto je to razmatranje bitno ne samo za umetnost nego može biti doprinos razumevanju tog društva i našeg građanskog delovanja u njemu. U tome, pre svega ću pokušati da izložim, kontekstualno pozicioniram i kritički raspravim epistemički okvir teme, koji je slabo artikulisan, pa se temi često pristupa kao da se podrazumeva da ima (društvenog) smisla govoriti o vezi performansa i politike danas.

## VITA ACTIVA, VITA PERFORMATIVA I TEATRUM MUNDI: KONTEKSTUALNO-ISTORIJSKI POGLED

Metafora politike, pa i čitavog čovekovog javnog i, još dalje, društvenog života kao teatra dugo i uporno opstaje u zapadnom društvu: od antičke Grčke, preko hrišćanskog srednjeg veka, baroka, Shakespearea i građanskog društva 18. veka, do danas. Pitam se na čemu se zasniva, a zatim i o tome, ako ona i ima epistemičku relevantnost ili empirijsku potvrdu, na čemu se zasniva prihvatanje i njenog inverznog oblika. Naime, da li, ako je politika teatar, odmah važi i obratno, da je teatar politika, ili je to samo greška u rasuđivanju koja se ukorenila u mišljenju i toliko je puta ponovljena da je postala istina?

Metafora *teatrum mundi* je imala zapravo vrlo različite konotacije kroz istoriju, od toga da mi, ljudi samo izvodimo predstavu za bogove preko kodifikovanog građanskog ponašanja u javnosti do igranja društvenih uloga u neprekidnom *reality-showu* savremenog društva spektakla. Ipak, ako bismo ih sveli na zajednički imenitelj, to bi bila svest čoveka da nije sam i da je posmatran.

Danas je već i laički očigledno da onog trenutka kada izađemo u javnost – ako ne i uvek, budući da smo društvena bića – postajemo performer, počinjemo da izvodimo sebe pred drugima i za druge. Takođe, postoje brojne sociološko-antropološke i političke studije u kojima politika i javna praksa nisu teatar ili performans samo metaforično, već koje ukazuju na njihove formalne i proceduralne sličnosti. Pomenuću recimo teze Ervinga Goffmana o izvođenju sopstva i koncept društvene uloge, teze Hanne Arendt o sličnosti performansa i politike kao društvenih praksi koje zahtevaju javnu scenu i prisustvo drugih, koncepte javnog čoveka i čoveka kao glumca Richarda Sennetta itd.<sup>1</sup> Ove teze i razmatranja pokreću i pitanje o tome da li je ova metafora ili veza opštevažeća, odnosno gde je granica koja razdvaja naše doslovne radnje i naše izvedbe, u umetnosti, javnoj sferi i privatnom životu? Richard Schechner je pokušao da je ucrtava razlikujući pojmove činjenja, koje se odnosi na sve čovekove radnje i pokazivanja činjenja, koje se odnosi na performans, kako umetnički tako i u širem smislu. Pokazivanje činjenja ne znači da je čin u performansu lažan, već da subjekt istovremeno vrši čin i ima svest o njegovom izvršenju, te ukazuje na njega, potcrtava ga i naglašava za one koji ga gledaju.<sup>2</sup> Ipak, i sa ovom teorijskom alatkom u rukama, granicu je u realnosti teško povući, upravo jer je čovek društveno biće od početka, te se *sui generis* konstituiše među, sa i pred drugim ljudima, čak i ako oni, reči će neki mislioci, nisu empirijski prisutni.

1 Vid. Gofman, Erving, *Kako se predstavljamo u svakodnevnom životu*, Geopoetika, Beograd, 2000; Arendt, Hannah, *Vita activa*, August Cesa-rec, Zagreb, 1991; i Sennett, Richard, *The Fall of Public Man*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1992.

2 Schechner, Richard, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, Routledge, London-New York, 2006, str. 22.

Što se tiče perspektive izvođačkih umetnosti, neizostavno je podsetiti se da je teatar u zapadnoj civilizaciji nastao u antičkoj Grčkoj, gde je, zajedno s politikom spadao u brojne izvedbene oblike koje su praktikovali atinski građani. Slično se može videti u javnoj sferi ranog građanskog društva 18. veka, koja se formirala u kafanama, salonima i teatrima kosmopolitskih Londona i Pariza. Pored toga, postoje brojni istorijski podaci o značajnom uticaju teatra, pre svega komedije i satire na formiranje javnog mišljenja i političkih stavova u Atini, što će se ponovo dešavati u 18. veku, kada umetnici performer dobijaju poseban društveni status kao javne figure. U svakom slučaju, ovde nije reč o metafori već o tome da je u Atini politika bila vrsta performansa, koji je uključivao kako umetničke, tako i kulturne i druge javne prakse, a da su teatar i politika bili srodni utoliko što su, pored razlika u statusima, funkcijama i disciplinarnim specifičnostima, pripadali istom redu delatnosti: javnoj izvedbi građanstva, zasnovanoj na konvencijama, procedurama i veštinama i izloženoj pogledu, mišljenju, proceni, kritici... drugih. Slično važi i za ranu građansku javnu sferu, s tim što je tu primarna veza bila između teatra i javne diskusije i ponašanja, dok je politika i dalje

bila u rukama monarhističke države.

Imajući ove istorijske reference na umu, vidimo da su u nekim, relativno retkim i kratkim ali za zapadnu civilizaciju ključnim momentima, izvođačke umetnosti bile javni forum za razmatranje političkih pitanja, kao što su pre svega demokratska Atina u 5. i 4. veku p.n.e i doba konstituisanja modernog građanskog društva u 18. veku. U njima, javna/politička praksa i umetnički performans čine kontinuum građanskog života, pa se ta hibridna praksa koju bih nazvala *vita performactiva* ostvaruje dijalektički ali bez antagonizma i binarizma uopšte. Naime, u tim kontekstima umetnička izvedba, prvenstveno teatar je bio politički važna društvena praksa, ne jer je u određenim slučajevima tematizovao aktuelna politička pitanja, već jer je imao strukturnu društvenu ulogu da nudi modele javnog delovanja i ponašanja i da bude proba hipotetičkih subjektivacija i društvenih odnosa. Pri tome, granice različitih izvedbenih oblika – teatra/umetničke izvedbe i politike/javne društvene prakse – su bile propustljive i uticaj je bio moguć, jer su i samo javno ponašanje i politika u tim kontekstima bili sve samo ne spontani, neposredni i prirodni; oni su bili performativne – institucionalizovane, artifičijelne i kodifikovane – diskurzivne prakse građana. Ovo je proceduralno omogućavalo kontinuum *vite performactive*, od fiktionalne scenske situacije preko ponašanja tokom predstava i diskusija o umetničkim radovima, gde teatarska i književna publika postaje javnost (*publicum*), do svakodnevnog javnog ponašanja i političke prakse.<sup>3</sup> U teoriji, ove istorijsko-kontekstualne reference su precizne; neki od najznačajnijih autora koji insistiraju na vezi umetničke izvedbe i političke i drugih javnih praksi, kao Arendt i Sennett, direktno analiziraju kontekste demokratske Atine i ranog građanskog društva. Upravo zato, važno je ne uzimati tu vezu teatra/performansa i javnog života/politike zdravo-za-gotovo odnosno aistorijski.

Ovo kontekstualno-istorijsko izostravanje metafore pomaže da bolje razumemo zašto i kako su izvođačke umetnosti politične u određenom društvu, i do koje mere ta političnost jeste ili može biti društveno učinkovita. Imajući na umu goreizložene strukturne i proceduralne aspekte te problematike, prebaciću dalju diskusiju na aktuelni zapadni kontekst, kojeg karakterišu neoliberalni kapitalizam, reprezentativna demokratija i sveopšta medijatzacija i estetizacija društvenog života.

## SAVREMENE DRUŠTVENO-KONCEPTUALNE OSNOVE POLITIČNOSTI PERFORMANSA

### EKONOMIZACIJA POLITIKE I POLITIZACIJA PROIZVODNJE: STRUKTURNA PITANJA POLITIČNOSTI IZVEDBE

Mnoge kritičke teoretizacije politike u zapadnom društvu uočavaju temeljne promene pa i nestanak klasičnog pojma politike, usled etabliranja (neo)liberalnih kapitalističkih proizvodnih i društvenih odnosa koji promovisu lična prava i individualizam, legitimišući javnu relevantnost ličnih interesa i privatne svojine.

Prema Hanni Arendt, politika u modernom kapitalističkom društvu, počev od Francuske revolucije počinje sve više da se bavi tzv. „socijalnim pitanjima“, čime legitimise ulazak privatnih interesa i raspodele dobara u javnu sferu.<sup>4</sup> Za Arendt, politika je kao *vita activa* diskurzivna praksa slobodnih građana zainteresovanih za uređenje *polis*a, koja se izvodi na javnoj sceni društva. Ona se tiče aktuelnih izvedbi na toj sceni i izvedbi tih scena, a ne konstituisanja već-nih istina koje su u domenu *vite contemplative*, niti pitanjima *oikosa*, privatnog života, ličnih interesa i materijalnih dobara. Socijalizacija i približavanje ekonomiji za Arendt znače kraj politike jer se ona u ključnim spisima istorijski vraća na model atinske direktne demokratije, gde je politika bila oblik ljudske aktivnosti koji se naziva praksom. Praksa (*praxis*) nije usmerena na zadovoljavanje egzistencijalnih potreba i reprodukciju života (kao svakodnevni *rad*), a za razliku od proizvodnje, stvaranja (*poiesis*) ne rezultira materijalnim objektima kao ulozima u civilizaciju

3 Vid. o tome kako se građanska javna sfera formirala u teatru, tokom i nakon predstava, a zatim i kako su se konvencije društvenih odnosa i ponašanja iz teatra prenosile na ulicu, putem koncepta tela kao manekena i govora kao znaka umesto simbola u Sennett, „Public Roles“, u *The Fall of Public Man*, str. 64-89.

4 Vid. Arendt, Hannah, *Vita activa*; i *O revoluciji*, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 1991.

(kao zanatstvo i umetnost), već se ostvaruje i iscrpljuje u samoj sebi, delujući na aktuelne društvene odnose. Politička praksa je stoga javna aktivnost slobodnog građanina, koja nije pokrenuta egzistencijalnom nuždom niti interesom za materijalnim dobrima, već voljom i razumom čoveka kao političkog bića da uredi odnose među ljudima. Iz te perspektive, ulazak socijalnih pitanja – privatnih pitanja koja postaju javno relevantna, kao što je raspodela dobara – na javnu scenu dovodi do instrumentalizacije i time do kraja politike u klasičnom demokratskom smislu.

Ova dalekosežna kritika politike se u neslučenim razmerama očituje u neoliberalnom kapitalizmu, zasnovanom na sprezi zaštite ličnih prava, globalizacije i korporativnog kapitala. Ipak, ona ima i nekoliko slabosti, od kojih je ovde bitan nedostatak opreznijeg razmatranja odnosa ekonomskog i političkog odnosno privatnog i javnog, koji su danas – još od države blagostanja – isprepletani od početka. Bez toga, teze Hanne Arendt ostaju pomalo shematske, ali i problematične u previdanju činjenice da je pravo na političku delatnost u demokratskoj Atini bilo veoma ekskluzivno, iako se radilo o participativnoj demokratiji. Ono je uključivalo samo slobodne građane, čime je sa javne scene izbacilo većinu stanovništva Atine: žene, robove, strance, oslobođene robove i one koji su izgubili građansko pravo. Tako je možda uvođenje socijalnih pitanja na javnu scenu indikator veće inkluzivnosti savremenih demokratskih društava, koje to pravo postepeno daju i onima koji rade i proizvode, ženama i drugim ranije isključenim društvenim subjektima.<sup>5</sup>

U svakom slučaju, teze Hanne Arendt o nestanku politike u modernom zapadnom društvu otvaraju nam vrata za razmišljanje o *političnosti* performansa time što ih zatvaraju za odnos izvođačkih umetnosti *prema politici* kao autohtonom entitetu. Takođe, one nam daju i specifičniju alatku za kritiku političnosti onih umetničkih izvođačkih praksi koje su od neoavangarde 60ih do identitetskih i *community-based* performansa 80ih i 90ih zaokupljene pitanjima ličnih sloboda, individualnih izraza, promocijom kulturnih identiteta i brigom o posebnim društvenim grupama. Jer, ma kako emancipatorske, one su iz ove perspektive i saučesnice zapadne i globalizujuće neoliberalne demokratije.

Pored ovih interpretativnih okvira koje možemo izvesti iz njenih razmatranja politike, Arendt je ovde bitna i jer eksplicitno insistira na izvedbenom karakteru političke prakse i na političkoj dimenziji umetničke izvedbe. Uvidi do kojih dolazi postavljaju izazov čitavom zapadnom umetničkom stvaralaštvu zasnovanom na pojezisu, konceptom performansa kao potencijalne političke prakse umetnosti.<sup>6</sup> U knjizi *O slobodi i autoritetu* ona objašnjava njegovu bliskost sa politikom na sledeći način:

[U] izvođačkim umetnostima (za razliku od kreativnih umetnosti stvaranja), dostignuće [se] nalazi u samom izvođenju, a ne u nekom konačnom proizvodu koji će nadživeti aktivnost koja ga je donela na svet i postati nezavistan od nje. [...] Izvođačke umetnosti, naprotiv, doista su veoma srodne politici. Umetnicima izvođačima – igračima, glumcima, sviračima i drugima – potrebna je publika da bi pokazali svoju virtuoznost, baš kao što je delujućim ljudima potrebno prisustvo drugih pred kojima mogu da se pojave; i jednim i drugima potreban je javno organizovan prostor za „rad“, i jedni i drugi za samo izvođenje zavise od drugih. (Arent 1995, 82-83)

Međutim, iako ovo, često citirano objašnjenje proceduralne sličnosti izvedbe i politike daje metodološku alatku za analize političnosti performansa, ovakve opservacije Arendt ispuštaju pažljivije razmatranje istorijske promene zamisli pojezisa, praksisa, politike i umetnosti, i njihovih aktuelnih odnosa.<sup>7</sup> S jedne strane, previđa se da se u modernom društvu oficijelna politička praksa proceduralno promenila, te je na delu reprezentativna demokratija. Na to ću se kasnije vratiti, a sad ću se zadržati na primedbi da dok kritikuje politiku zbog ekonomizacije, Arendt ne podvrgava izvođačke umetnosti istoj materijalističkoj kritici, te prenebregava da su one danas takođe oblik proizvodnje, da izvedba jeste roba, kao i da je virtuožno izvođenje posao kao i svaki drugi.

Na tom tragu, potrebno je uvesti neke od aktuelnijih teza koje predlažu italijanski postoperaistički teoretičari, Maurizio Lazzarato, Antonio Negri, Paolo Virno i dr. S obzirom da je ova teorijska platforma značajno određena pojmom nematerijalnog rada i interesom za biopolitiku, oni polaze od činjenice da su granice politike i ekonomije, praksisa i pojezisa, kao i javnog delovanja i privatnog života u današnjem kapitalističkom društvu zamagljene. Tu zamagljenost oni postavljaju kao polazno stanje stvari, i time već daju odgovor na pitanje koje je kod Adrendt ostalo neodgovoreno: kako i gde danas praktikujemo politiku, nakon što je ona nestala tj. prestala da bude specifična aktivnost?

5 Isti previd ponavlja i Habermas, koji zaključuje da nakon slavnog perioda egalitarne i liberalne građanske javne sfere, u 19. veku dolazi do njenog opadanja, jer na javnu scenu prodiru različite društvene grupe koje traže zaštitu države; Habermas, Jürgen, *Javno mnjenje*, Kultura, Beograd, 1969. Kasnije su feminističke teoretičarke zaoštrile taj problem, a bitan je i kritički doprinos Rancièrea koji razlikuje pojmove policije i politike, i gde politika počinje upravo kada *plebs* prodre u javnu sferu; vid. Rancière, Jacques, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The distribution of the sensible*, Continuum, London, 2004; kao i *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1999.

6 Jedan elaboriran kritički odgovor na ovaj izazov nudi austrijska artivistička grupa WochenKlausur. Vid. <http://www.wochenklausur.at/>, naročito „From the Object to the Concrete Intervention“ (26. 3. 2011.)

7 Vid. Agamben, Giorgio, „Poiesis and Praxis“ i „Privation Is Like a Face“, u *The Man Without Content*, Stanford University Press, 1999, str. 68-94 i 59-68. Pošto bi Agambenove teze bila digresija, samo ću pomenuti da „povratak na praksu“ danas ne bi repolitizovao umetnost, jer sama praksa nije ono što je bila u antičkoj Grčkoj, već se još od 19. veka shvata kao izraz individualne volje i kreativne moći. Vid. i Vujanović, Ana, „What do we actually do when... make art“, *Maska* br. 127-130 i *Amfiteatar* br. 2, 2010.

Po njima, zapadna postindustrijska i postfordistička proizvodnja već integriše elemente političke prakse, pa ovde govorimo o politizaciji proizvodnje, umesto o ekonomizaciji politike. Ali, iz tog ugla možemo uvideti da nestanak politike zapravo znači da se ona premešta i počinje da prožima različite društvene aktivnosti, od ekonomije preko kulture i umetnosti do svakodnevnih oblika života.<sup>8</sup> Virno objašnjava:

Vjerujem da u današnjim formama života, kao i u oblicima suvremene proizvodnje (no, samo ako se proizvodnja – bremenita kakva jest ethosom, kulturom, jezičnom interakcijom – ne prepusti ekonometrijskoj analizi, već ako se shvati kao široko iskustvo svijeta) postoji izravna percepcija činjenice da kako par javno-privatno, tako i par kolektivno-individualno postaju nedostatni. (Virno 2004, 12)

Lazzarato u tekstu „Nematerijalni rad“ iznosi temeljnu tezu da srž savremene kapitalističke proizvodnje zasnovane na nematerijalnom radu nije proizvodnja robe već kulturno-informacijskog sadržaja te robe: standarda, normi, ukusa i, strateški najbitnijeg, javnog mišljenja, putem saradnje i komunikacije kao osnovnih radnih aktivnosti. Tako, centralna pitanja proizvodnje postaju politička *par excellence*: pitanja uređenja socijalne situacije, čiji je primarni sadržaj proizvodnja subjektivnosti. Ovim umetnost dobija novo političko mesto, a performans u tome ima posebnu ulogu.<sup>9</sup> Naime, u ovako organizovanoj proizvodnji, menadžment se zasniva na sloganu „postani subjekt (komunikacije)“, i postaje totalitaran težeći da uvuče čitavu radnikovu/činu individualnost i subjektivnost u proizvodnju vrednosti. Stoga radnik/ca u bilo kojoj oblasti zapadnog kapitalističkog sveta više nije obavezan/na samo da uradi posao, već pre svega mora biti vešt/a performer/ka: elokventan/na, otvoren/a i komunikativan/na. „On/a se *mora* izražavati, *mora* govoriti, komunicirati, saradivati“. (Lazzarato 1996, b.p.)

U studijama performansa, na sličnom tragu je i Jon McKenzie. Cela njegova teoretizacija performansa izneta u knjizi *Izvedi ili snosi posledice*,<sup>10</sup> zasniva se na proširivanju pojma performansa ili istovremenom postojanju tog pojma u oblastima kulture i umetnosti, visokih tehnologija i biznisa, te on postaje opšti društveni imperativ: „Perform or else!“. Iz tog razloga, McKenzie performans proglašava onto-istorijskom kategorijom koja obeležava današnje kapitalističko društvo u celini, čime ujedno podvrgava temeljnoj sumnji njegov liminalni i transformativni društveni potencijal, pa time i politički učinak.

Međutim, teze razvijene u postoperaističkoj teoriji uglavnom se uzimaju kao obećavajuće za političnost u savremenom svetu umetnosti, jer izgleda (kao) da ukazuju na jednostavnu jednačinu: umetnost je politična utoliko što pripada domenu nematerijalne proizvodnje koja uključuje politiku. Ja bih međutim rekla da ove teze prvo vode zaključku da, dok je performans bio model javne, političke prakse u nekim prethodnim demokratskim društvima, danas o njemu možemo prvenstveno govoriti kao modelu proizvodnje. Ovaj zaključak o promeni strukturnog mesta, ipak, ne zatvara pitanje njegove političnosti. Jer, on i ne znači da je performans time nepolitički, već da je njegova političnost posredna i dubiozna. Razvijajući ovu misao dalje, rekla bih da su postoperaističke i biopolitičke teze ustvari duboko uznemirujuće, jer ukazuju da je samo konfigurisanje društvenog u neoliberalnom kapitalističkom kontekstu u velikoj meri kapitalizovano, te više simulira politiku nego što otvara javni prostor za političku diskusiju. Izvođačke umetnosti i njihova ambivalencija, kolebanje između komplicitnosti sa kapitalističkom proizvodnjom i političke prakse samo su „kolateralna šteta“ ovog makroprocessa. Tu mislim na limite s kojima se suočava svaki/a kritički autor/ka čije delo nastaje u kapitalističkom sistemu izvođačkih umetnosti i ne uznemiruje ga, kao i na sve popularnije performans treninge i radionice koji nalaze mesto i u obuci političara i u obuci menadžera, opskbljujući ih istim izvedbenim metodama i tehnikama. Vratću se na širu perspektivu da poentiram problem sa ovakvom političnošću izvođačkih umetnosti. I ako je jasno da politički nastupi aktera današnje reprezentativno demokratske scene nemaju veze sa *parezijom*, slobodnim govorom građana ili u ime građana koji traga za opštim dobrom, već pre svega zastupaju interese korporativnog kapitala, teško je reći da li takve prakse ima smisla nazivati politikom ili se radi o ekonomskom marketingu. Problem mi se čini komplikovaniji, jer marketing uspešno simulira političku praksu i lako preuzima njene metode izvođenja iako im društveni referenti, interesi i namere nisu isti, ali – da stvar bude zamršenija – on u dašnjem društvu postaje javno relevantan i time zaista zadobija političku ulogu, čime se javni prostor zatvara za političke prakse koje nisu deo proizvodnje nego predstavljaju ili direktno uključuju slobodan govor građana o tome kakvo društvo žele. U tom smislu, političnost izvođačkih umetnosti koje strukturno pripadaju tom proizvodnom sistemu, kao deo tzv. tercijalnog sektora je ne samo posredna i oslabljena, nego i komplicitna sve dok se ne pređe s apelativnosti tematizacijom politike na bavljenje sopstvenim uslovima rada, koji ih prate kao „političko nesvesno“. Marginalno društveno mesto

8 Vid. Hardt, Michael i Antonio Negri, *Imperij*, Multimedijalni institut i Arkzin, Zagreb, 2003; Lazzarato, Maurizio, „Immaterial Labour“ (1996), <http://www.generation-online.org/c/fcimmateriallabour3.htm> (11. 7. 2011.); i Virno, Paolo, *Gramatika mnoštva; Prilog analizi suvremenih formi života*, Jesenski i Turk, Zagreb, 2004.

9 Vid. „Exhausting Immaterial Labour in Performance“, *TkH* br. 19 i *Journal des Laboratoires*, 2010.

10 McKenzie, Jon, *Izvedi ili snosi posledice – od discipline do izvedbe*, CDU, Zagreb, 2006.

i prekarni uslovi rada ne oslobađaju performans ove odgovornosti niti identifikacija sa njima govori o kritičkoj i antagonističkoj politici; naprotiv, oni su trening poligon za politike fleksibilnog neoliberalizma i njegovog „menadžmenta krize“. To vrćenje u krug pokazuje i poznata dilema: kako protestno izaći iz tog, kapitalističkog sistema, a ostati akter scene? Bez namere da prebrzo donosim zaključke, primetiću da je ta dilema klasičan entimem čija se implicitna premisa – da je kapitalizam jedini postojeći, pa i mogući sistem rada na internacionalnom horizontu – uspešno uvlači i u vrlo kritičke razgovore na toj sceni.

**ESTETIKA-POLITIKA-UMETNOST: IZVEDBENE PROCEDURE U SISTEMU REPREZENTATIVNE DEMOKRATIJE**  
Sem strukturno-društvenih aspekata koji određuju (obećavaju i ograničavaju) političnost izvođačkih umetnosti danas, radi potpunijeg sagledavanja teme treba pomenuti i aktuelne odnose estetike i politike u reprezentativno demokratskom društvu, koji otvaraju problem kompatibilnosti izvedbenih procedura u umetničkom performansu i politici.

Ova pitanja pozivaju da ponovo razmotrimo procese estetizacije politike i politizacije umetnosti, čije postulate nalazimo kod Waltera Benjamina.<sup>11</sup> Da ukratko podsetim, Benjamin estetizaciju politike prepoznaje kao karakteristiku rastućih desničarskih, fašističkih političkih praksi u Evropi 1930ih godina. Razlog bi bio što su tim političkim opcijama nedostajala i socijalno-ekonomska utemeljenja i zaključci javnih debata, pa su političku moć gradile populističkim diskursima zasnovanim na retoričnosti i afektivnosti, zavodeći i preskačući (zdrav) razum političkih subjekata kojima se obraćaju. Politizacija umetnosti je, s druge strane, po Benjaminu karakteristična za levičarske, komunističke umetničke prakse tog doba. Razlog bi bio obrnut: levičarska umetnost preispituje svoju transcendentnu poziciju u društvu, prekoračuje granice umetnosti kao izuzet(n)og prostora bavljenja bezinteresno čulnim i počinje da se obraća (zdravom) razumu publike, suočavajući je sa aktuelnim društveno-političkim pitanjima. Paradigme politizacije umetnosti iz tog vremena su ruska avangarda, pre svega konstruktivizam i Brechtovo i Piscatorovo političko pozorište.

Međutim, ako je Benjamin i bio u pravu, danas je ovakvo razlikovanje nemoguće izvesti. Preispitivanju njegove postavke doprinosi jedan širi proces: sveopšta estetizacija raznih društvenih aktivnosti i artefakata, sve do svakodnevnog života. Pored brojnih teza koje se razvijaju u studijama performansa i, šire, humanistici od 1960ih, o tome eksplicitno piše Yves Michaud u knjizi *Umjetnost u plinovitu stanju*, iznoseći teze o trijumfu estetike.<sup>12</sup> Michaud time rasvetljava proces u kojem umetnost gubi ekskluzivno pravo na estetsko – koje je dobila u modernom zapadnom društvu – i na prelazak estetskih kategorija, kao što je „lepo“, u oblasti masmedija, marketinga, ali i politike, sporta, proizvodnje i privatnog života. Kada smo kod njihovog prelaska u politiku, primera „dizajniranja vizuelnog“ i „teatralizacije izvedbenog“ ima bezbroj i na lokalnoj političkoj sceni, još od ekstravagantnog *stylinga* Josipa Broza Tita i sletova i parada iz doba socijalizma. No ovi procesi su u socijalističkim društvima 20. veka bili uglavnom samoreferentni i tautološki jer drugačiji politički glasovi ionako nisu postojali na javnoj sceni, dok su karakteristični za političku praksu u reprezentativno demokratskom, neoliberalno kapitalističkom društvu višepartijskog – dakle, konkurentskog – sistema, gde se potencijalni politički predstavnici trude da se „dopadnu“ glasačima. Ovaj, raspršen estetski princip koji zamenjuje diskusiju i raspravu, na političkoj sceni je oličen u figurama „kredibilnog političara“ i „harizmatičnog lidera“ i važi za različite, leve i desne političke opcije koje učestvuju u tom sistemu. Time, on pomalo baca senku na veru u političnost izvođačkih umetnosti koja se oslanja na njihov estetski i afektivni potencijal, referirajući na teze Hans-Thiesa Lehmana o političnosti postdramskog teatra i, šire, na Rancierèov koncept politike kao raspodele čulnog. U svakom slučaju, aktuelni proces koji između ostalih identifikuje Michaud poljuljava samu osnovu na kojoj je Benjamin zasnovao svoje razlikovanje – a to su stabilne kategorije estetskog kao umetničkog i političkog – jer u tom procesu estetsko prestaje da bude karakteristika samo umetnosti i ujedno postaje integralni deo politike u reprezentativno demokratskom sistemu uopšte.

Pored ovoga, preispitivanju Benjaminove postavke vode i savremene artističke prakse, koje su umetničke koliko i političke. Intrigantno pitanje koje artivizam otvara je: da li jedna izvedba, time što je politička prestaje da bude „prava“ umetnost (i postaje tzv. ideološka propaganda), odnosno ako je umetnička time više nije „ozbiljno“ politička (i prestaje da bude društveno učinkovita, pa i pravno odgovorna)? Indikativno je da se isto pitaju i policajci i teoretičari umetnosti... Međutim, Aldo Milohnić ukazuje na inherentnu nemogućnost razgraničenja politizacije umetnosti i estetizacije politike u slučaju artivizma kao hibridne prakse koja se zasniva na spoju društveno-političkog

11 Benjamin, Walter, „Umetničko delo u veku svoje tehničke reprodukcije“, u *Eseji*, Nolit, Beograd, 1974, str. 114-153. Iz razmatranja isključujem Rancierèovu „politiku estetike“ jer, iako jeste aktuelna referenca, ona ne objašnjava specifično aktuelni zapadni društveni kontekst umetnosti i politike.

12 Michaud, Yves, *Umjetnost u plinovitu stanju; ogled o trijumfu estetike*, Ljevak, Zagreb, 2004.

aktivizma i kulturno-umetničke izvedbe.<sup>13</sup> Ako razmišljamo u Milohnićevom ključu o lokalnoj sceni, videćemo da je u parateatarskim praksama studentskih i građanskih demonstracija 1996/7, uličnim performansima grupe Magnet, antiratnim javnim akcijama Žena u crnom ili aktuelnim antiglobalističkim akcijama gotovo nemoguće ucrtati granicu te utvrditi da li se tu radi o politizaciji umetnosti ili estetizaciji politike. Isto pitanje otvaraju i mnoge artističke prakse na internacionalnoj sceni. Više puta isticani primeri te „zbrke“ su hapšenje članova grupe VolksTheater Karawane koja je učestovala na protestima u Đenovi i suđenje Steveu Kurtzu iz Critical Arts Ensamblea, optuženom za bioterizam. Ti „nesporazumi“ ukazuju da je artivizam, sa svojim grubim radikalizmom i nemarenjem za disciplinarnu definiciju, upravo simptom preplitanja estetike, umetnosti i politike u današnjem društvu, izmičući i umetničko-teorijskom i policijsko-pravnom presuđivanju da li se tu radi o politici koja preuzima estetske metode umetnosti ili o umetnosti koja se direktno latila politike.

Postoji još jedna bitna tema koju bih otvorila povodom artivizma, a često se i pokreće tim povodom – a to je njegova društveno-politička učinkovitost. Artivizam je, dakle, hibridna praksa koja spaja umetnost i društveno-politički aktivizam, i time kao da izvodi političnost performansa do krajnje instance, one u kojoj umetnost postaje politika a politika umetnost. Takođe, i prema goreizloženom, očekivalo bi se da artivizam ima srazmeran društveno-politički učinak, pošto je precizan simptom aktuelnog stanja stvari sa odnosom estetike, politike i umetnosti. Ipak, uglavnom je kritikovan što ne ispunjava to obećanje. Rekla bih da je glavni razlog to što se politička praksa koju artivizam izvodi zasniva na spontanoj i direktnoj metodi političkog delovanja: izaći na javnu scenu – bila to ulica ili internet – kao odgovorni građanin, izvesti na njoj određeni društveni problem i pozvati na javnu raspravu. Međutim, ta, osnovna politička praksa ne korespondira s društvenom paradigmom politike, koja je danas reprezentativna: posredna i medijativna do mere da gotovo isključuje glasove građana iz procesa donošenja odluka. Zbog ove proceduralne nekompatibilnosti ili asinhronosti, artivizam i ne može biti direktnije politički dejstven, ma kako bio političan, tematski i formalno.<sup>14</sup> Teorijski razlog je da ne može, jer politička praksa je konvencionalni i kodifikovani performativ, koji se ne može samo ne prihvatiti ako se hoće da se politički deluje. Ipak, ne bih rekla da je artivizam zato politički promašaj. Jer, on i hipotetiše o alternativnom političkom performativu, testirajući svojom izvedbom model takve, participatorne i direktne procedure i projektuje društvo u kojem o društvu regularno kroz plebiscitarne diskusije odlučuju jednaki među jednakima, samo zato što su građani tog društva.

\* \* \*

Na kraju bih rekla da izvođačke umetnosti danas jesu sveprožete politikom i istovremeno nisu značajnije društveno učinkovite, te njihova političnost izaziva veliko interesovanje i anksioznost, stalno se kolebajući između ovih krajnjih instanci. Za zapadna društva 20. veka karakterističan je razvoj masmedija koji uveliko preuzimaju od umetnosti informativnu, obrazovnu, funkciju formiranja javnog mnjenja ali i funkciju simboličkog predstavljanja društva, a druge strane, umetnost danas je kapitalistički proizvodni sistem, koji pripada domenu nematerijalne proizvodnje. Osim ovog novog strukturnog mesta umetnosti, za performans kao vrstu umetnosti postoji i proceduralni problem. Izvedba je istorijski definisana kao performativna umetnička praksa koja zahteva javnu scenu i živo prisustvo ljudi, po čemu je bila slična političkom i javnom delovanju u nekim ranijim demokratskim društvima. Danas su međutim virtuelne interakcije putem digitalne tehnologije sve dominantnije, dok političkom scenom vlada reprezentativna demokratija. Iz oba razloga, fizički javni prostor i živa izvedba nisu aktuelne društvene paradigme. Paradigme su reprezentacija i medijativna.

Tekst je pokušao da rasvetli šta ovi društveni uslovi znače za performans. Da li izvedba kao politički relevantna umetnička praksa pripada nekom drugom društvu? Ili, umesto da žalimo za „dobrim starim danima“ kada su *vita performativa* i *vita activa* išle ruku pod ruku, moramo artikulirati političnost izvođačkih umetnosti za ovo, neoliberalno kapitalističko, reprezentativno demokratsko društvo, iako njen mali domet obeshrabruje? Rekla bih da moramo, jer se političnost danas manje ogleda u zanimanju izvođačkih umetnosti za politiku, a više je nužna posledica makropromena društvenih praksi i njihovih odnosa, pri kojima se sve više gubi odnos izvođačkih umetnosti prema politici, kao nečemu spoljašnjem. Zato sam pokušala da sagledam dijalektiku aktuelne *vite performative* koja danas nije neantagonistični kontinuum građanskog života, već problemski ukazuje da, zajedno s procesima instrumentalizacije politike i politizacije proizvodnje, umetnička izvedba postaje sama prožeta politikom, te jedan od poligona političke prakse savremenog društva. No ovo je tek izazov s kojim se treba nositi, a na koje internacionalni

13 Milohnić, Aldo, „Artivizam“, *Maska* br. 90-91, 2005, str. 15-25; [www.eipcp.net/transversal/1203/milohnic/en](http://www.eipcp.net/transversal/1203/milohnic/en) (15. 8. 2011.)

14 A ono što ove akcije često mogu da isprovociraju jeste reakcija policije, čije nam čuvanje javnog reda i mira jasno govori da javni prostor u današnjem demokratskom kapitalističkom društvu uopšte i nije predviđen za političko delovanje građana, već za neremetilačke, apolitične aktivnosti – turizam i zabavu.

svet izvođačkih umetnosti daje uglavnom mlake odgovore, ne dirajući suviše ni u svoju „bazu“ – kapitalistički sistem tržišta i postfordističke organizacije rada – niti u „nadgradnju“ – zapadnu hegemoniju na internacionalnoj sceni i afirmaciju neoliberalnog individualizma. S druge strane, aktuelnu *vitu performactivu* obeležava proceduralni prekid usred procesa mešanja estetike, politike i umetnosti u reprezentativno demokratskom političkom sistemu. Kritički pogled na političku (ne)učinkovitost artvizma koji sam iznela prevazilazi okvire artvizma, i na kraju bih se vratila na objašnjenje proceduralne sličnosti umetničke izvedbe (uopšte) i politike kod Arendt, čiji je glavni problem aistoričnost. Igranje na kartu proceduralnog poklapanja – i time propustljivosti politike za teze, subjekte, slike, glasove i konfiguracije društvenih odnosa koje dolaze iz umetničke izvedbe – mi se čini zamkom u koju upadaju mnogi kritički i angažovani autori. To se naročito odnosi na alternativnu istoriju izvođačkih umetnosti 20. i početkom 21. veka koja političku snagu performansa vidi u intenziviranju izvedbene procedure direktnog živog (ko)prisustva i kreiranja socijalne situacije. Ipak, to što se tako zasnovana politika danas društveno ne aktuelizuje nije tek politički promašaj izvođačkih umetnosti. Da sumiram i poentiram, ako bi sa strukturnog aspekta politički gest izvođačkih umetnosti bila jedna radikalna „politička ekonomija“ sopstvenog proizvodnog sistema, iz ugla proceduralnosti, njihov politički potencijal danas je da markiraju to prazno, krizno mesto u reprezentativno demokratskom političkom sistemu i izvedu na javnoj sceni predlog drugačije političke procedure, čineći performans realnim mestom na toj sceni na kojem se slike aktuelnog društva suočavaju i konfrontiraju sa onim mogućim i virtuelnim.

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# BUDITE BOJANA KUNST POLITIČNI, ILI VAS NEĆE BITI!

## (O POLITIČKOJ UMETNOSTI U POSTPOLITIČNOM SVETU)<sup>1</sup>

### Uvod

U video-radu britanske umetnice Carey Young, jasno je da se radnja dešava u jednoj od brojnih kancelarija jednog savremenog korporativnog sedišta smeštenog u neboderu. Kamera fokusira ženu u tamnosivom poslovnom odelu, kako stoji ispred ogromnog staklenog zida kancelarije. Žena neprestano ponavlja istu rečenicu, svaki put menjajući akcentuaciju, gestikulaciju i intonaciju. Čini se kao da vežba u okviru nekakvog kursa poslovnog nastupa. Vodi računa o tančinama izgovora i preciznoj gestikulaciji, dok izgovara jednu jedinu rečenicu: „Ja sam revolucionarka“ [“I’m the revolutionary”] (Young 2002).

Ova jedinstvena stilska vežba otkriva složenu situaciju koja uokviruje moje promišljanje odnosa politike i savremene umetnosti. Kreativnost, želja za promenom i neprestano promišljanje uslovâ stvaranja jesu motori razvoja u današnjem postindustrijskom svetu, u kojem je potrebno stalno revolucionisati načine proizvodnje i kreativnosti. Iskaz poslovne žene u ovom radu je stoga ne samo stilska vežba, već je i od suštinskog značaja za rad kapitala danas. U savremenom korporativnom svetu, rečenica „Ja sam revolucionarka“ odjednom se pretvara u govor *par excellence*. Prenosjenje jedne od najvažnijih političkih opsesija 20. veka u proziran neboder takođe nam otvara vrata dotične društvene i političke situacije, koja vrši dubok upliv na način promišljanja veze između politike i umetnosti, a posebno izmenjene uloge autonomije umetnosti. Naime, politika je danas pre svega sistem organizovanih interesa, unapred predviđenih i birokratski strukturisanih delatnosti i uređenih i diskurzivno konceptualizovanih mogućnosti, u koje spadaju i razne stilske vežbe o umetničkoj slobodi. Kako Slavoj Žižek tvrdi, danas živimo u svetu u kojem osnovnu pretnju predstavlja ne pasivnost, već pseudoaktivnost. Šta više, politika se skoro čini hitno neophodnom, kao primoravanje ljudi da neprestano učestvuju i budu aktivni: Ljudi stalno intervenišu, „nešto čine“, teoretičari učestvuju u besmislenim „raspravama“ itd, ali ono što je zaista teško jeste isplivati iz te matice. Oni koji su na vlasti često više vole da vide „kri- tičko“ učešće i dijalog nego ćutanje (Žižek 2007, 173).

Žižek ovu pasivnost postavlja kao suprotnost političkoj situaciji danas, koju, kao i mnogi drugi teoretičari, označava postpolitičnom i u kojoj smo suočeni sa svođenjem politike na ekspertsko upravljanje društvenim životom.<sup>2</sup> Pošto je danas neprestano potrebno sakrivati ispraznost onoga što se događa, ne preostaje nam ništa drugo nego da prihvatimo zaključak Badiouovog manifesta afirmacionizma: „Bolje je ne raditi ništa nego formalno raditi zarad vidljivosti onoga što Zapad slavi kao postojeće“ (Badiou 2005, 8).

### NELAGODNOST PSEUDOAKTIVNE UMETNOSTI

Iz ove postpolitične situacije proističe duboka nelagodnost koja nas obuzima kada govorimo o savremenom odnosu politike i umetnosti. Na prvi pogled, čini se da je umetnost danas nedovoljno angažovana, odnosno da su umetničke i stvaralačke moći manje ili više izolovane od društvenih konteksta. Umetnička je sloboda danas, izgleda, srazmerna umetničkoj nebitnosti. Ali nije li

upravo to pozivanje na političnost u umetnosti – na forumima i konferencijama gde se raspravlja o politizaciji, na festivalima koji nose takve podnaslove, u povezivanju političnosti i ocenjivanja umetničkih događaja, u razlikovanju političnih od apolitičnih naraštaja – znak onoga što Slavoj Žižek naziva „pseudoaktivnošću“? Nije li umetnost danas duboko uronjena u manir stručnjakog uređivanja društvenih interesa, u sklopu neutažive želje za stalnom aktivnošću u današnjem svetu? Deluj, budi aktivan, učestvuj, budi uvek spreman na otpor, stvaraj nove zamisli dok neprestano promišljaš vlastite načine proizvodnje i vodiš računa o kontekstima... Ne pripada li to sve onoj aktivnosti koja duboko obeležava postpolitično vreme? I u vizuelnim i u izvođačkim umetnostima, politička umetnost je u dobroj formi. S jedne strane, mi stalno moramo da komentarišemo, da budemo relevantni, da istražujemo i reartikulišemo kontekste; s druge strane, mi moramo da promišljamo, da budemo svesni načina na koje proizvodimo, da budemo kritični, promišljeni, provokativni i drugačiji. Kao da se umetnost svodi na proizvodnju kritičkih odstupanja i komentara, koji su sve više unapred pripremljeni kroz tematski usmerene primene i diskurzivne modele tržišta umetnosti. Stoga možemo reći da se konteksti savremene umetnosti – izložbe, predstave i festivali – zasnivaju na jednom kritičkom metajeziku u kojem se umetnost često pojavljuje kao autonomno polje slobode, različitih pogleda i provokativne kreativnosti.

Za postpolitično je vreme karakteristično to što više ne poznaje tradicionalnog političkog umetnika 20. veka, „stranačkog umetnika“, kako ga Olivier Marchart naziva. Ovaj umetnik žrtvuje deo svoje autonomije zarad heteronomije – tj. odriče se autonomije umetnosti zarad politike. Da bi oslikao ovu situaciju, Marchart se osvrće na jedan Immendorffov diptih: pod naslovom *Wo stehst du mit Deiner Kunst, Kollege?*, stoji slikar u svom ateljeu, dok se političke demonstracije odvijaju pred njegovim otvorenim vratima (Marchart 2006, 88–99). Prema Marchartu, vladajući model političkog umetnika od istorijskih avangardi do kraja 1960ih godina bio je neko ko neprestano izaziva granice autonomije zarad politike, neko ko neprestano ruši granice između umetnosti i drugih delatnosti, između umetnosti i života. Danas, ova se vrsta delanja čini naivnom, ako ne anahronom; savremene se umetničke prakse artikulišu u pravcu tržišta i emancipatorska moć kreativnosti postaje motor kapitala – svidelo se to nama ili ne. Kako Marchart ističe, umetniku koji se odluči za autonomnu heteronomiju – zato što stranački umetnik i dalje veruje u vlastitu ne- dirnutu autonomiju – možemo samo pripisati ideološku zaslepljenost. U svetu koji odlikuju politika kao spektakl, kreativna industrija i kapital i kojim vladaju institucionalizovani kritički i politički diskursi, veoma je teško verovati u ne dirnutu autonomiju političkog umetnika koji predstavlja svoja dela na festivalima „političke umetnosti“ i proizvodi provokativnu umetnost na globalizovanim turističkim bijenalima. Otuda delimično i razočaranje u umetničke prakse avangarde i neoavangarde 20. veka – njihova emancipatorska snaga u oslobađanju umetnosti i života lepo se slaže sa oslobađajućom snagom kapitala: danas su stvaralaštvo i umetnička subjektivnost u središtu savremene proizvodnje vrednosti. Politički anahronizam koji proističe iz ove veze emancipatorske snage umetnosti i proizvodne snage savremenog kapitala lepo je oslikan u dokumentarnom filmu o Living Theatreu pod naslovom *Resist* (Pruži otpor, 2006), u kojem jedan od osnivača govori o neophodnosti političkog delanja udobno ležeći na peščanoj plaži uz plavo italijansko more. Takve su se promene u poznokapitalističkim društvima odražavale i u razvoju turizma tokom 1970ih u Jugoslaviji, zemlji koja je šizofreno oscilirala između Istoka i Zapada i stoga ostala odličan primer u analizi mnogih simptoma današnjeg postpolitičnog vremena. Prilikom otvaranja hotelskog kompleksa Haludovo na ostrvu Krku 70ih godina, Televizija Beograd je snimila dokumentarni film u kojem su se zajedno našli predsednik Saveza komunista Hrvatske i direktor magazina *Penthouse*, koji se za tu priliku usidrio svojom elegantnom jahtom u blizini Krka. Pošto je bedno odeveni jugoslovenski političar izmrmrljao svoj govor, predstavnik *Penthousea*, u svom sjajnom belom odelu, s cigarom i gomilom polugolih lepotica postrojenih iza sebe, uzeo je reč. „Ovo su mirovne snage novoga sveta“, rekao je, pokazujući na dame. Njegova izjava nije mogla biti tačnija; kada je reč o proizvodnji bujajućeg savremenog hedonizma i izvoza demokratskih modela, bio je to pogodak pravo u središte mete.<sup>3</sup>

Savremeni marketing slobode i prenos revolucionarnih tema iz klasne borbe u hedonističku industriju zabave uzrokovao je to da se umetnost danas retko artikuliše u smeru revolucionarnih utopija i emancipatorskog promišljanja budućnosti. Ako se to katkad i desi, obično je u obliku posebnih, pragmatično upotrebljivih teza. Jednu od njih je, na primer, izneo Nicolas Bourriaud. Početkom 1990ih godina, on je uobličio pojam relacione estetike, da bi njome označio novi politički karakter vizuelne umetnosti:

Moramo naučiti kako bolje da uredimo svet, umesto da ga pokušavamo graditi u skladu sa uznapredovalim pojmom povesnog razvoja. Drugim rečima, cilj umetničkih delâ više nije da stvaraju

<sup>1</sup> Ovaj je tekst prvobitno objavljen u časopisu *Amfiteater* br. 1/1, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Postpolitička se država može povezati s promenama u postindustrijskom društvu. Mnogi teoretičari smatraju da se politika danas sastoji od birokratskog uređivanja svakodnevnih interesa (Rancière), politike bez antagonizama (Mouffe), ili da je tesno povezana s promenama u medijalizaciji politike i ekonomskih i društvenih promena (Baudrillard). Postpolitička se država takođe može povezati s teorijama Negrija i Hardta, koji postpolitičko povezuju sa ulogom nematerijalnog rada, prevlašću imperije i promenama u shvatanju klasnih ideologija.

<sup>3</sup> Dokumentarni film *Mi ne prodajemo Holivud* (1973.) napravili su Dejan Karaklajić i Jovan Aćin. Ja sam ga videla kao deo projekta srpskog vizuelnog umetnika Marka Lulića na izložbi *Form Specific* u Ljubljani 2001.

zamišljene i(li) utopijske stvarnosti, već da pokušaju ustanoviti načine postojanja ili modele delanja unutar postojeće stvarnosti (Bourriaud 2008, 17).

Ovo je dobar opis osnove aktuelne politizacije umetnosti, koja tokom poslednje decenije naročito preovladava u vizuelnoj umetnosti. Ovaj se vid politizacije odvija u obliku sistematičnog ustanovljavanja situacija i odnosa u kojima se umetnik sve više „usredsređuje na odnose“ (Bourriaud 2008, 27). Stoga je tu reč o pronalazenju modelâ društva i zajednice, aktivnog učešća i sadejstva, načinâ susretanja koji neprestano nude predloge raznih načina delovanja. Takva je politizacija bliža jednom drugom važnom umetničkom gledištu koje se mahom pojavljuje na kraju 20. veka, smenjajući takozvanu partijsku umetnost. Po Marchardu, sada se često suočavamo s „heteronomijom autonomije“ umesto sa autonomijom heteronomije (Marchart 2006, 94). Danas je to preovlađujući hegemonistički model umetnosti. Zato više nije reč o stranačkom umetniku, rastrzanom između odanosti umetnosti s jedne i partiji s druge strane. Kako Marchart ističe, umetnici sada stoje na pozicijama pseudoautonomije; oni su subjektivisani kao stvaralačke deoničarske ličnosti ili delujuće uslužne jedinice. Umetnik je njihov vlastiti (autonomni) preduzetnik i istovremeno službenik; zanimljivo, „na vrhuncu svoje heteronomije (tržišne zavisnosti), ove tržišne jedinice gaje jedno samouobraženje pune autonomije“ (Marchart 2006, 99). Ako se politizacija umetnosti zaista i dogodi, to je manje ili više da bi se umirila savest, jednom od unapred spremljenih referenci koje će prvom prilikom biti odbačene i zamenjene delotvornijom ponudom. Premda se ovaj vid delanja čini manje anahronim i prikladnijim aktuelnim društvenim i političkim promenama, osnovnu političku artikulaciju i dalje nameće tržište. Politizacija umetnikâ je i dalje slična politizaciji savremene kreativne industrije. Ona svoje zamisli artikuliše stvaranjem kontekstâ i situacija opštenja unapred, u kojima se zasebne veze mogu stvoriti bezbedno i bez antagonizama; to je mesto na kojem se privremene zajednice mogu stvoriti, omogućavajući učešće različitih korisnika, kao i kontingentan i fluidan protok raznih interesa. Stoga se čini da je to upravo ona vladajuća heteronomija koju Žižek naziva „pseudoaktivnošću“.

#### UMETNOST I ANTAGONIZAM

Nijedan od dva preovlađujuća vida politizacije umetnosti u 20. veku, međutim, danas ne dovodi do nepremostivih političkih antagonizama. Autonomna heteronomija više nije onaj vid politizacije koji može antagonistički da odgovori savremenoj političkoj stvarnosti. Stranački umetnik više ne poseduje polje delovanja; on postoji takoreći bez stranke. Njegove akcije ne uspostavljaju potencijal za različite političke zajednice i načine sapostojanja; danas više nije važno kojoj strani umetnici žrtvuju svoju autonomiju, napuštajući umetnost da bi osnovali političku zajednicu. Krajem 2007. godine, u slovenačkom se pozorištu dogodio veoma zanimljiv pokušaj reaktuelizovanja avangardnog političkog stava u predstavi *Raztrganci / Učenci in učitelji* (Odrpanci / Učenci i učitelji) koju je režirao Sebastijan Horvat. Ovo angažovano čitanje agit-predstave Mateja Bora je ne samo zauzelo izravan stav o aktuelnim događajima u slovenačkoj politici (posebno o slovenačkom partizanskom pokretu tokom Drugog svetskog rata i pokušajima rehabilitacije domobranstva), već je sve to povezalo sa univerzalnim progresivnim vrednostima otpora i radikalne afirmacije, pokušavajući da povrati neke zaboravljene utopijske teme iz 20. veka. Reditelj Sebastijan Horvat namerno je postavio *Raztrgance* kao agitovanje za određene vrednosti, na isti način birajući i formu – to je gotovo realistična agit-pozorišna izvedba koja pokušava da afirmiše utopiju jednog angažovanijeg sveta jasnim narativom o protivrečnim suprotnostima dobra i zla. Međutim, u takvoj autonomnoj heteronomiji, u kojoj umetnost posredno poziva ali se i obraća skupu već formiranih ili „subjektivisanih“ ljudi, postoji paradoks: sličan bi se učinak mogao postići ukoliko bi politički subjekt kome se izvedba obraća bio na suprotnoj strani političkog spektra. Agitacija i produkcija zasnovane na drugačijoj političkoj perspektivi i temeljima mogle su biti jednako uspešne. Politizacija umetnosti napuštanjem umetničke autonomije da bi se uspostavila progresivna i angažovana politika u postpolitičnom svetu više nema izravnog dejstva jer tržište umetnosti nudi razne mogućnosti političkog izbora. Gledalačke zajednice koje se tim izborima uspostavljaju ne artikulišu se političkom subjektivizacijom, koja je teška i puna protivrečnosti – čak i ako neki od gledalaca osećaju naklonost angažovanijem delanju dok gledaju spomenutu produkciju. Upravo suprotno: gledalačke zajednice se uglavnom artikulišu kao unapred ustanovljene moralne zajednice, formirane duž crte koja deli dobro od zla, prijatelje od neprijatelja. Danas se o potrebi za angažovanim pozorištem i umetnošću često može raspravljati pomoću onoga što Chantal Mouffe naziva „politikom u registru moralnog“ (Mouffe 2006, 72). Njena je hipoteza da u postpolitičkoj perspektivi, usled nestanka konstitutivnog antagonizma (koji čini suštinu političkog), moralni diskurs zamenjuje politički. Dakle, nije politika zamenjena moralnošću, niti je postala išta moralnijom, već se odvija kroz registre moralnosti. Politički se antagonizmi prave kao moralne kategorije, sa kojima se savremene zajednice poistovećuju i tako imaginarno uspostavljaju. Više nije reč o antagonizmu među onima kojima se političke artikulacije obraćaju – između „nas i njih“ kao nosilaca određenih artikulacija i

vidova političke subjektivizacije. Kako Chantal Mouffe ističe, danas umesto borbe između leve i desnice [the left and the right] imamo borbu između onih koji su u pravu i onih koji su u krivu [those in the right and those in the wrong] (Mouffe 2006, 72-76).

Stoga se položaj umetnosti čini beznačajnim i iz perspektive heteronomne autonomije, naročito zato što je umetnička subjektivnost sada u središtu novih modela kreativnosti. Umetnost ne samo što često funkcioniše kao autonoman prostor slobode, već često i učestvuje u mrežama unapred ustanovljenih modela kritičnosti i refleksivnosti, kao svojevrsna „opravdana politizacija“ ili izbor između više gotovih diskurzivnih mogućnosti. U savremenim izvođačkim umetnostima, barem u širem evropskom prostoru, oko deset godina se smatralo da se političko zapravo nalazi u formi, u načinu na koji se bavimo umetnošću, kojim odgovaramo na pitanje šta je umetnost. Od sredine 1990ih godina, kroz prakse autora kao što su Jérôme Bel, Xavier Le Roy, Boris Charmatz i u Sloveniji posebno Janez Janša (ranije Emil Hrvatin), Maja Delac, Sebastijan Horvat i Mare Bulc, političnost se shvatala kroz beskraino preispitivanje i kritiku samog pozorišnog aparata i odnosa s publikom. Prema Bojani Cvejić, takvo je ispitivanje stvorilo neku vrstu novog poretka predstavljanja, koji čini tautološki karakter performativa. Tu izvedba uvek ispituje i obraća se gledaocu u njegovoj ulozi i navodi ga da „proveri svoju vlastitu povest, ukus, sposobnost osećanja, reference koje mora mobilisati u čitanju same izvedbe“ (Cvejić 2008, 3). Ovde je reč o problematičnom položaju postmoderne teorije, koja postaje neka vrsta „samoreferentnog govornog čina“, ispitujući ulogu gledaoca i razotkrivajući pozorište u ulozi dispozitiva. Ova samoreferentnost odnosno stalno preispitivanje vlastitih uslova proizvodnje u središtu su razumevanja savremene postpolitičnosti i pseudoaktivnosti. Danas, činjenica na kojoj je Benjamin početkom 20. veka zasnivao zamisao političke umetnosti radikalno je drugačija. U svom čuvenom eseju *Autor kao proizvođač* (1934.) Benjamin odbacuje bilo kakvu instrumentalizaciju umetnosti u političke svrhe, ističući da je umetnost politička samo utoliko što je svesna uslovâ vlastite proizvodnje; to znači da bude svesna proizvodnih odnosa u kojima nastaje i da radi u pravcu emancipovanja tih uslova. Ali ta emancipacija proizvodnih odnosa, neprestano promišljanje proizvodnih modela i protokola, tesno je povezano sa savremenim proizvodnim modelima u postindustrijskom dobu. Njegova kreativna rešenja, razmišljanja o upravljačkim hijerarhijama i nematerijalnom radu neprestano u sâmo središte smeštaju autora kao proizvođača. Iz ove perspektive, još lakše možemo razumeti postpolitičnu nemoć stvaraoaca koji neprekidno kruži između različitih diskurzivnih modela specijalizovanih konteksta što ih stvaraju savremeni festivali i brojnih otvorenih načina proizvodnje koji su na tržištu naišli na uspeh.

#### POLITIČKO KAO POTENCIJALNOST

Pošto se savremena postpolitika odriče konstitutivne dimenzije političkoga, mnogi filozofi političko smatraju zaglavljanim u dubokoj cezuri koja se, po Chantal Mouffe, događa kao ontičko-ontološka razlika. Ona stoga poziva na razlikovanje između „politike“ i „političkoga“; politika se tiče svakodnevnih političkih praksi kojima se stvara poredak, dok se političko tiče načina konstituisanja društva kojeg karakteriše antagonizam. Slično, Rancière raspravlja o razlici između politike i policije. Po njegovom tvrđenju, policija u celini obuhvata „processe kojima se dolazi do sjedinjavanja i slaganja kolektivâ, organizacije moći, raspodele mestâ, funkcijâ i sustavâ legitimizacije ove raspodele“ (Rancière 2005, 42). Suprotno tome, politika je delatnost koja razbija ovo jedinstvo procesâ i poremećuje sređenu konfiguraciju čulnoga. Zato je ona duboko povezana s promenom, budući „pre svega sukob oko zajedničke scene, oko postojanja i statusa onih koji joj prisustvuju“ (Rancière 2005, 42). Iako bi se ova razlika, kako je uspostavljaju filozofi kada žele da misle politički, takođe mogla pripisati filozofskom razdvajanju pojma od njegovog stvarnog ispoljavanja da bi se otkrila njegova suština, to nije njen glavni smisao. Ovaj vid razlikovanja politike od samoga političkog – da bi se vratilo njenoj konstitutivnoj dimenziji – takođe je posledica nečega što nam kroz praksu govornih činova film britanske umetnice Carey Young izravno otkriva. Nije reč o življenju u postpolitičkom svetu; prefiks *post* zapravo proističe iz znatno teže opcije stvaranja vidova stvarnosti kroz koje se zajednice obrazuju. Činjenicu da političko utiče na ljudske zajednice ne možemo izmeniti. Jednostavna činjenica da, kada god želimo govoriti o političnome, brzo naiđemo na teškoće s jezikom (u kojemu želimo artikulisati politično i oblike života), ukazuje na problem kojim se bavi Giorgio Agamben: iskorišćavanje formi života onoga što je zajedničko čovečanstvu uspostavlja društvene uslove kapitalizma. Agamben ističe da je jezik jedan od osnovnih oblika zajedničkog. Zahvaljujući jeziku ljudi su se uvek mogli ostvariti u smislu najistinitijeg puta ljudskog postojanja: tako su uvek mogli da materijalizuju vlastitu suštinu kao mogućnost ili potencijalnost (Agamben 1993, 44.3). Onemogućenost u ostvarivanju vlastite suštine ili potencijalnosti, koja proističe iz iskorišćavanja najboljih formi života zajedničkog, dostiže vrhunac u demokratskim spektaklima uređivanja aktivnosti i interesa. Ako želimo promišljati političko u odnosu na umetnost izvan

cenzure i povezati umetnost sa suštinom političkoga, onda najpre treba promišljati postpolitički pristup, u kojem je političko „zbilja u formi“ ili, čak bismo mogli reći, u modi. Drugačiji pristup više nije samo posledica perspektive po kojoj uvek ima nešto što treba dekonstruisati, pozorišni aparat, na primer, gledaoca ili kontekst. Danas se ovaj protokol često čini politički nedelotvornim, naročito kada o političkome razmišljamo u pravcu nerazrešivog antagonizma. To znači da duboko moramo razmisliti o statusu takozvane kritičke umetnosti, koja je postala jedan od najvažnijih načina na koje umetnost zauzima političke stavove i povezuje se s formama savremenog života. Kritička umetnost danas nastavlja aktivnu, progresivnu političku ulogu avangardne umetnosti, ali zapravo nema kome da se obrati. Umetnost može provocirati, iskazivati različita gledišta, upozoravati i zauzimati kritička stanovišta, ali su retki slučajevi u kojima se ona vidovima bivanja bavi na tako radikalna način da zaista otvara mogućnosti za život koji će doći. Umetnost može biti aktuelna, ali retko ta aktuelnost izmiče tlo pod nogama formi kojom se uspostavlja.

Novi bi se politički upliv stoga mogao tražiti u „načinu na koji se umetničke situacije stvaraju s pretpostavkom da je sposobnost delanja u umetnosti šira od institucionalnih vidova umetnosti, unapred uobičenih u izuzetno širokom opsegu formi“ (Cvejić 2008, 4). Po Rancièreu, odnos politike i umetnosti nije odnos između dva razdvojena partnera. Umetnost politici donosi nešto što ona već ima: umetnost čini vidljivom raspodelu čulnoga, jednu artikulaciju političkog polja koja je tesno povezana s bićem zajednice (Rancière 2004, 60-65). Osnovno se pitanje u vezi sa odnosom politike i umetnosti stoga ne tiče autonomije umetnosti i njenog potčinjavanja politici, već pre svega antagonističkog i neizbežnog mesta onoga zajedničkog, koje se tiče mogućih materijalnih i čulnih načina života koji tek treba da dođu. Ovde je umetnost tesno povezana s pitanjima uslovâ i mogućnostî samog življenja i dotiče se otkrivanja potencijalnih modusa empirijske stvarnosti. Umetnost se stoga ne artikuliše unutar diskurzivnih konteksta samoreferentnosti i kritičke distance prema sebi, već izravno izaziva i ruši čitav jedan živopisan niz kontekstâ u kojima se pojavljuje i postaje vidljiva; istovremeno, ona ne pristaje na jedinstveno svođenje umetnosti na jedan moralni ili didaktički stav. Umetnost je način života, ona oslobađa čulne i estetske životne moći, načine koji će tek doći. To su načini koji radikalno menjaju uslove života u zajednici, stepen sapostojanja, kao i postojeće puteve subjektivizacije. Ovde se možemo složiti s Rancièreom, da se politika sastoji ne od „odnosâ moći, već se sastoji od odnosâ među svetovima“ (Rancière 2004, 57). U tom smislu, ona politička subjektivizacija koja se može dogoditi u pozorištu, na primer, ne znači sagledavanje zajednice onakvom kakva ona već jeste, ili priznavanje onih koji su u pravu ili stvârî koje su nam zajedničke. Subjektivizacija donosi jedno novo mnoštvo koje zahteva drugačiji vid računanja [enumeration]. Politička subjektivizacija „iznova deli iskustveno polje kroz koje svako dobija svoj udeo i identitet“ (Rancière 2004, 57). Zato je svaka subjektivizacija takođe i dezidentifikacija, bolan i paradoksalan proces kojim pojedinac biva istrgnut iz svog mesta u ustaljenom političkom poretku. Povest umetnosti 20. veka nudi obilje takvih primera, mada su oni često padali kao žrtve sjedinjavanja institucionalnih kritičkih diskursa i pogrešnog utiska da je diskurzivnost u srži svake radikalne emancipatorske prakse. A zapravo je sasvim drugačije. Nabrojaću samo nekoliko takvih slučajeva, od kojih bi svaki zahtevao dalje obrazlaganje, ali ću ih ja ovde samo naznačiti. Merzbau, arhitektonska konstrukcija Kurta Schwittersa, gljivarstvo Johna Cagea, kolektivni rad OHO grupe, autonomija materijalnih praksi Josepha Beuysa, afektivna pozorišna praksa grupe Forced Entertainment, estetizacija protokolâ mnoštva u izvedbi *Slovensko narodno gledališče* Janeza Janše (ranije Emil Hrvatin), predlozi drugačijih tehnoloških i protokolâ zajednice, naročito u umetničkim praksama na internetu, kao i naučna i tehnološka istraživanja u umetnosti (na primer, *Makrolab* Marka Peljhana), vidovi samoobrazovanja i produkcija koji premašuju ustaljene metode institucionalizacije – u svim ovim slučajevima, suočavamo se ne samo s manje ili više izoštrenim predlozima života, već i s pobunom protiv prisvajanja života uopšte. Zato bismo umetnost mogli povezati sa otkrivanjem i artikulisanjem uslovâ života koji su pred nama, kao i s čulnim, afektivnim i predstavljajčkim predlozima i mogućnostima koji, otkriveni, temeljno slamaju uslove same umetnosti, pošto se artikulišu bez obzira na postojeće odnose moći.

#### POST-SCRIPTUM IZ 2011.

Ovaj je članak prvi put objavljen 2008. godine, pa ću ovde dodati još nekoliko zaključnih misli. U vreme radikalizovanja stavova o savremenoj umetnosti i pozorištu u mnogim zemljama Evrope, posebno u smislu negativnih stavova spram njihove vrednosti u javnoj sferi, u vreme sve jačeg ubeđenja da umetnost ne zaslužuje državnu potporu zato što nema učinka u javnosti, još je privlačnije razmišljati o mogućim „polimizacijama“ umetnosti. Zanimljivo je to da se umetnost, nakon dve decenije „političke umetnosti“ i neprestanog prekoračivanja granica između umetnosti i života, danas našla u dubokoj krizi u smislu artikulisanja svoje vrednosti i društvene uloge. Iako smo se tokom poslednje dve decenije suočavali s raznim angažovanim, političkim i kritičkim umetničkim

projektima, oni su ostali bez učinka usled svoje pseudoaktivnosti. Oni se nisu probili i intervenisali u javnoj sferi u smislu oblikovanja i zahtevanja vlastitog jezika u njoj. Politička nemoć umetnosti se posebno očituje u relevantnim raspravama o javnoj ulozi umetnosti koje se poslednjih godinu dana odvijaju u Holandiji (gde se savremena umetnost suočava s radikalnim restrukturisanjem javnog finansiranja). U ovom slučaju, savremena se umetnost populistički napada kao „levičarski elitizam“ i delatnost bez javnog značaja i uticaja, a umetnici kao paraziti na državnim jaslama i udobno zaštićeni u svojoj navodnoj „lenjosti“ od samoregulišućeg i dinamičnog tržišta. Mada se ovde mogu prepoznati i neki klasični argumenti iz domena moralizma (naročito onaj o umetnicima neradnicima), oni se moraju pažljivije promisli. Važno je uvideti da argumenti protiv subvencionisanja umetnosti pripadaju populističkoj i neoliberalnoj retorici čiji je cilj da suštinski revalorizuje, čak i izbriše svaku artikulaciju zajednice i zajedničkoga u savremenom društvu. Shodno ovom populističkom korporativnom jeziku, umetnost bi trebalo prepustiti odlučivanju „slobodnih“ pojedinaca na tržištu koji će birati (kupovati) ono što im se sviđa ili ono što im najviše odgovara, praveći veze shodno vlastitim željama (u kojima se navodna razumnost izbora nikada ne dovodi u pitanje). Tako se umetnost svodi na ishod pojedinačnog izbora, umesto na stvar od javnog značaja. Čak i dalje, u svetlu populističke retorike, na svaku podršku i negovanje zajedničkog dobra gleda se kao na politički elitizam, na angažovani levičarski krug. Problem je složen; s jedne strane, ovaj populistički argument zahteva radikalnu revalorizaciju javnoga, a s druge ukazuje na suštinu problematične politizacije umetnosti tokom poslednje dve decenije. Iako je umetnost tog perioda od početka bila zainteresovana za političku aktivnost, ona je, zajedno s tom svojom zainteresovanošću, bila i radikalno odvojena od političke javne sfere. Mnogi akteri umetnosti, koji se danas suočavaju s političkim pritiscima i radikalnim rezovima u subvencionisanju umetnosti i podrške na svim frontovima, često izjednačavaju zajednički interes sa ekonomskom vrednošću. Jedan od argumenata za podršku umetnosti često je i taj da umetnost čini važan deo ekonomije i savremenih kreativnih industrija. Mada je u političkoj argumentaciji donekle i moguće mudro koristiti jezik protivnika, ovaj je argument sasvim pogrešan i ne afirmiše vrednost umetničke delatnosti kao takve. Umetnost nema ekonomsku vrednost upravo zato što nikada ne možemo oceniti predloge koji se tiču bivanja-zajedno, koji nastaju bez obzira na postojeće mreže moći. Afirmisanje umetnosti pomoću jezika ekonomije je još jedna nesrećna posledica „političke“ pseudoaktivnosti umetnosti; možda dolazi vreme kada će najradikalnija politizacija umetnosti biti radikalno odvajanje od bilo kakve ekonomske vrednosti, tako da se otkriju nove artikulacije zajednice. Takvo odvajanje takođe donosi nevidljivost, ali i potencijalnu moć čija se vidljivost još ne može uočiti. Preciznije rečeno, samu je politizaciju umetnosti tokom poslednje dve decenije moguće čitati kao svojevrstan simptom javne sfere u nestajanju ili, po Borisu Budenu, činjenice da je društvo u nestajanju. Umetnost se bavi društvenim problemima i stalno je pseudoaktivna zato što ono društveno nestaje, a živimo u vreme radikalne nemoći uspostavljanja onih stvarnosti u kojima bi zajednice ljudi mogle biti artikulisane. Želimo li uistinu govoriti o političkoj umetnosti, moramo otkriti njenu vezu sa zajednicom. Kroz tu perspektivu takođe moramo i ponovo promisli društvenu i političku vrednost umetnosti, koja je u tesnoj vezi sa opažanjem, priznavanjem i uspostavljanjem načina vidljivosti onoga što nam je zajedničko sada i što će nam biti zajedničko u budućnosti.

Sa engleskog preveo Žarko Cvejić

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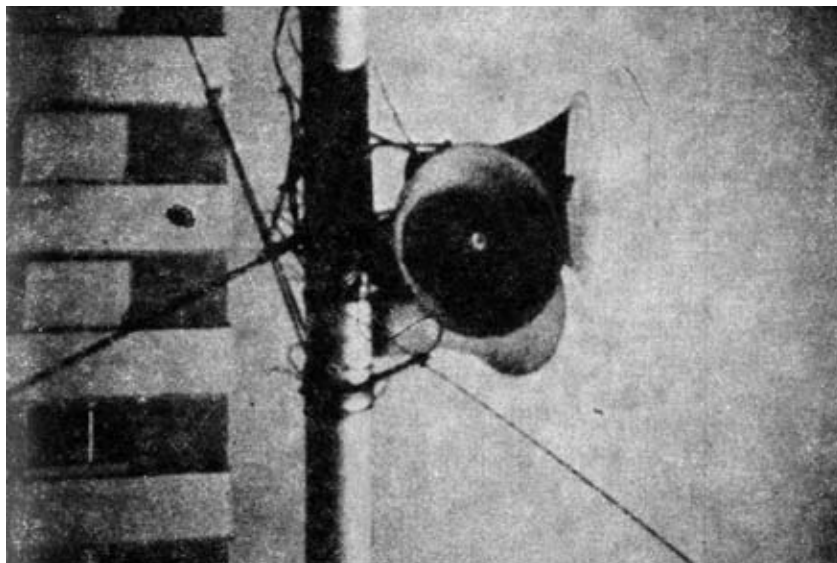
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## 1. PAROLE PO DUŠANU MAKAVEJEVU

*Umetnost ne može da se šutira politički. Jer ko god proba da je politički šutne, slomiće nogu. I ko god je to uradio, slomio je nogu.*

Dušan Makavejev, citiran u romanu *Sodoma i Gomora* Bore Ćosića, Nolit, Beograd, 1984, str. 185.

Parole, bilo eksplicitne ili implicitne, verovatno predstavljaju najzastupljeniji oblik izražavanja u filmovima Dušana Makavejeva. Oni toliko obiluju izjavama svake vrste, objavama, naredbama, uzvicima i drugih vrstama performativnih govornih činova, da bi se sasvim lako moglo ustvrditi da parole čine i oblik i sadržaj Makavejevljevih filmova. Za početak, ovo množenje parola stoji u posebnoj vezi sa „socijalizmom“, koji se obično povezuje s jezikom birokratskih dekreta. To povezivanje tipično dolazi u sklopu opšteg uverenja da su parole, kao proizvod kolektivnih ideologija (od kojih se socijalistička pokazala najdugovečnijom), čista suprotnost običnom ljudskom opštenju. Da bismo prodrli dublje u istoriografiju ovakvog shvatanja parola, morali bismo dekonstruisati čitav aparat hladnoratovskog ideološkog diskursa, koji je i dalje sa nama. Ali, za sada je dovoljno reći da ti nekomunikativni aspekti parola čine elemente *ideologije* Makavejevljevih parola. Nije preterano tvrditi da Makavejevljeve parole igraju formalno značajnu ulogu u šivenju [suturing] njegovih filmova. U ovom tekstu baviću se upravo tim *šijućim* [suturing] dejstvom parola. Jasno je da to dejstvo ima veoma ideološku svrhu (na primer, svrhu povezivanja protivrečnih elemenata u jedan postojan narativ), ali je uloga parola u ovom procesu šivenja istovremeno i temelj napetosti, bez koje nema proizvodnje uslova neophodnih za bilo kakvo političko dejstvo, čiji je krajnji cilj kolektivna emancipacija. U ovom tekstu insistiraću na još dubljem snaženju tog političkog dejstva, posmatrajući mogućnosti rašivanja [un-suturing] parola. Da bismo izložili složenu prirodu parola, moramo se najpre pozabaviti njihovom formalnom, u našem slučaju čak epistemskom prirodom. Moje stanovište ovde jeste da parole u socijalističkoj teoriji i praksi (istorijskog materijalizma) poseduju sve elemente potrebne za konstituisanje kritičke teorije jezika i delanja, koja će nam stoga pomoći da razumemo ulogu umetnosti i politike u toj teoretizaciji. Da bi se došlo do tog formalnog ili teorijskog aspekta parola, mora se početi od kritikovanja njihovih uskih, odnosno ideoloških elemenata, ili, tačnije, praktične i svakodnevne upotrebe parola, što je danas pomodan kritički manevar u mnogim kritikama socijalističke teorije i prakse. Verovatno se najekstremnija verzija ovog anti-sloganskog pristupa u kritici real-socijalističkih poredaka najčešće primenjuje u slučaju Socijalističke Republike



„Zvučnici, koji isključivo emituju dekrete, naredbe i odluke“, u *Enver Hadžina Albanija*, Tanjug, Beograd, 1981.

Albanije. Po tom tumačenju, opštenje među običnim muškarcima i ženama bilo je sasvim ispunjeno apstraktnim i otuđenim parolama, koje su u socijalističkoj Albaniji prožimale svaku poru njenih stanovnika. Albanski se komunizam obično opisuje kao svet dekretâ, parola i naredbi, kojima je on neprestano mučio duše i tela svojih žitelja. Stoga ne iznenađuje da je naslov prvog uspešnog autorskog, odnosno nezavisnog filma napravljenog u post-socijalističkoj Albaniji bio *Parole*. Film je 2001. godine režirao Gjergj Xhuvani i on govori o dobrodušnom narodu Albanije koji se rado predaje stranom elementu socijalizma (parolama), ne uviđajući navodna značenja tih zgusnutih misli. To je dobro poznata priča o nesporazumu, tako draga intelektualnoj atmosferi post-socijalističkih intelektualaca, a završava se istinskom (tragičnom?) pričom o međuljudskim odnosima protkanom brojnim komičnim situacijama. Ne samo u slučaju Albanije, već čitavog bivšeg Istočnog bloka, smeštanje socijalističke prošlosti u današnju kinematografiju i umetnost zasniva se na sledećoj anti-sloganskoj ideologiji/pretpostavci: parole su daleko od svakodnevne stvarnosti, one su otuđeni iskazi koji pripadaju jezičkom području birokratije i ideologije. Neprestano prepričavanje ove iste priče iz hladnoratovske ideologije zajedničko je svim umetničkim tumačenjima socijalističke prošlosti i ona sada, zahvaljujući nezavisnom institucionalnom kontekstu (koprodukcije s više izvora kapitala, nezavisni filmski festivali itd.), vrši još suptilniji i uspešniji upliv na „demokratsku“ publiku.<sup>1</sup>

Već početkom 60ih, Makavejev je pisao o ovom problemu u vezi sa snimanjem i dokumentovanjem vrhunske prakse socijalističkog kolektivizma poznate kao radna akcija:

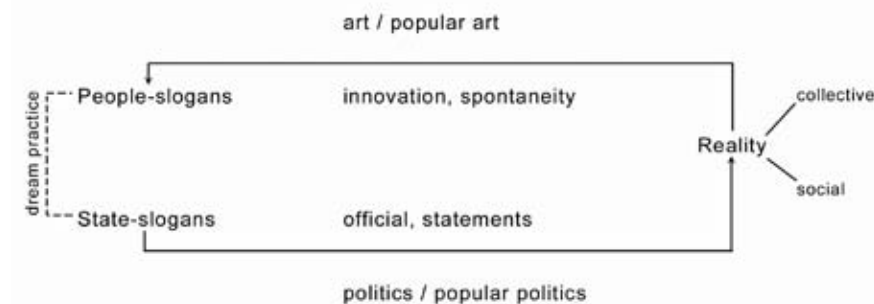
Dokumentarni film o radnoj akciji nemoguće je napraviti dokumentovano a da u njemu ne bude parola. Rešio sam, dakle, da ne izbegavam parole. Da im pridem, da ih slušam, da im nađem unutrašnji smisao. To je posao koji tek treba obaviti i na daleko širem planu. (Makavejev 1965, 36.)

Misleći prevashodno na parole koje su skandirali akcijaši, Makavejev ovde podvlači ambivalentnu prirodu tih izjava kao ispoljavanjâ telesnih i ironičnih gestova. Zbog te ambivalentne prirode parola korišćenih u socijalističkoj praksi, Makavejev predlože novu parolu, parolu za novu kulturnu politiku nove, socijalističke Jugoslavije: novi radni zadatak – čitati druga Oskara Daviča!

Kao predratni nadrealist, istaknut član Narodnooslobodilačkog pokreta tokom rata i značajan pisac, urednik i kreator kulturne politike posle rata, Davičo je ovde zanimljiv izbor. Ova parola, koja se takođe odnosi i na istorijsku ambivalentnost Davičovog pisanja, to jest na često hvaljenu ambivalentnost srpskih nadrealista između čulnosti, iracionalnosti, političke posvećenosti, razigranosti i konkretnih surevnjivosti, predstavlja najozbiljniji tekstualni uticaj na Makavejevljev umetnički rad. U par reči, protivrečnost situacije nalaže izgovaranje parola o ambivalentnosti. Prema Makavejevu, stvarnost (ili indeks raznih društvenih stvarnosti) socijalističke Jugoslavije bila je protivrečna. Po Makavejevu, ta je stvarnost bila kao svojevrsan svakodnevni dadaizam, „spontana dada modernog gradskog folklorâ“ (Makavejev 1965, 54). Podsećajući nas na Gramscijevo optimističko poimanje sirovog, materijalističkog, protivrečnog i buntovnog zdravog razuma proleterijata, on takođe nudi više primera te čudne dadaističke stvarnosti, uglavnom iz „prelaznog“ društvenog područja popularne masmedijske (ili narodne) kulture. Kao što sam drugde već pokušao da pokažem (Boynik 2011, 12-15), Makavejevljevo viđenje jugoslovenskog socijalizma nije bilo ni naivno ni idealističko; naprotiv, on je razvio veoma složen stav o problemima kulturne politike, koji je zatim oblikovao njegovu umetnost uopšte. Ovde treba ukratko zapaziti da su za Makavejeva u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji uvek postojale dve stvarnosti: jedna zasnovana na zvaničnim predstavama Države i druga, koja bi se mogla opisati kao nezvanična ili netvrđokorna stvarnost Naroda. U skladu s time, ta dva sveta su razvijala vlastite i odvojene zbirke parola. Na ovom mestu već možemo uvideti da je Makavejev nekako bio svestan, ma i samo intuitivno, da parole i jezik poseduju veoma određene strukturne uzročnosti. Surevnjivosti ova dva odvojena sveta bile su pokretačka snaga jugoslovenskih protivrečnosti. Makavejevljeva odluka da ne izbegne parole najpre se odnosila na parole Naroda, o kojima „novine [...] nisu pisale“ (Makavejev 1965, 34), ne na sveprisutne parole Države. Primeri ovih narodnih parola razlikuju se, od čulnih (npr. „Živeo Dara crnja!“, parola koju su pripadnici jedne beogradske srednjoškolske akcijaške brigade ispicali slovima velikim poput onih u zvaničnoj paroli „Svi na izbore“) i spontanih (poput „A lončići a lončići u red u red u red bum bum aaaaaa!“ osječke brigade), do

<sup>1</sup> Na omotu svog albuma *Albanian Summer* (Albansko leto; izvođači: Jan Steele i Janet Sherbourne; Practical Music br. 2, 1984), Dave Smith, engleski avangardni kompozitor koji je sarađivao s Corneliusom Cardewom, Gavinom Bryarsom i Christianom Wolffom, između ostalih, opisuje stanje u Albaniji kao stanje „istinskog materijalnog, društvenog i kulturnog napretka“, u kojem „komunističke vlasti uživaju gotovo jednoglasnu podršku svog naroda“. Smith takođe navodi vrste muzike koje je čuo na radiju u Albaniji tokom svog boravka tamo 1973. godine: narodnu muziku, kompozicije, „laku“ muziku i revolucionarne pesme; ni pomena od Tanjugovih košmarnih, orwellovskih, distopijskih zvučnika koji neprestano trešte parolama i narednjima.

nadrealnih (poput malog slova „a“ visokog metar i po, nacrtanog na jednoj od baraka omladinskog logora). Njihove zajedničke odlike su rimovanje, potencijal za razne promenljive vrednosti i jezička izvrtanja, zasnovanost na primitivnom izražavanju i česte konotacije muzike i raznih zvukova. Makavejev složenu strukturu narodnih parola povezuje s „radoznalošću za sveže, živo i čudno“, kao interesovanje za „običnost“, čija je zasebna svrha „demistifikacija svih mogućih parola“ (Makavejev 1965, 37). Ovdje je neophodna jedna digresija, da bi se razmotrile emancipatorske mogućnosti ove dve dihotomične vrste parola. Makavejev ne suprotstavlja državne parole (poput „Živeo drug Tito“ ili „Živeo Bratstvo i jedinstvo“) narodnim parolama kao iskazima navodno slobodne stvaralačke individualnosti ili izrazima emancipovanog samo-ostvarivanja. Obe su vrste parola *kolektivne* i društvene; ključna razlika između njih tiče se njihovog zasebnog nastajanja. Drugim rečima, državne su parole bile smišljane iza zatvorenih vrata, pod strogom cenzurom Partije; sa svojim elitizmom, bile su dijametralno suprotne narodnim parolama, spontanim, izravnim, nepretencioznim i znatno maštovitijim.<sup>2</sup> Ovaj aspekt maštovitosti, koji Makavejev u jednom drugom tekstu opisuje kao „san praksa“, predstavlja istinski emancipatorski potencijal narodnih parola. Kolektivni i spontani, pragmatični jezik nove stvarnosti predstavlja srž ovih parola, stvarnosti koja se može verbalizovati samo kroz parole: „živimo u stvarnosti inventivnijoj od snova... da pozovemo i samo sunce na čaj kao što je to činio Vladimir Majakovski“ (Makavejev 1965, 29). Svestan da je ta stvarnost proizvod inovativnog rada prethodnih naraštaja, sada postvarenog u Državi, Makavejev navodi najoksimoronskiju i najparadoksalniju od svih parola, sa Puta br. 60: „premašimo očeve da bismo im postali ravni“ (Makavejev 1965, 29).



Iz sheme se može nazreti da je svet parola obuhvatao sve zasebne konfiguracije, narodne i državne parole, koje se nikada nisu susticale, ali jesu bile povezane svojom zajedničkom „stvarnošću“ i njenim društvenim i kolektivnim svojstvima. Ove različite parole odnosile su se prema toj stvarnosti na različite načine. Državni su organi svojom snagom, dekretima, izjavama, očito učestvovali u izgradnji te stvarnosti (na primer, učešće komunista u Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi bilo je snaga koja je stvorila drugačiju, socijalističku Jugoslaviju), što je zatim oblikovalo uslove proizvodnje narodnih parola (na primer, kolektivne radne akcije i politika masovnog obrazovanja bile su sastavni deo socijalističke politike). Osim tih uslova, „stvarnost“ nije imala izravnog upliva na proizvodnju narodnih parola. Te su parole sačinjavale samostalan i proizveden skup praksi koje su se činile sastavnim delom opšteg ljudskog stanja, koje se naziva stvaralaštvom. Makavejevljev se svet parola može podeliti u dva polja: političko i umetničko. U toj podeli, politika bi činila polje državnih parola, a umetnost polje narodnih parola. Takođe, Makavejev je razlikovao ta dva polja shodno zasebnim stepenima njihovog prisvajanja od strane spoljnih činilaca (na primer, popularne političke mere partizana postvaruje i prisvaja „politika“ Partije, baš kao što se i popularna umetnost kolektivne mladeži izobličavala u vidu čiste ili visoke „umetnosti“). Čak i ako za naše potrebe ova podela nije sasvim proizvoljna, ovdje je bolje usredsrediti se na glavnu podelu unutar tog sveta, na onu između politike i umetnosti. Izgleda kao da su ta dva sveta, sa svojim zasebnim skupovima radnji (umetnost = inovacija, stvaralaštvo; politika = sila, naredbe), bila sasvim razdvojena. Narodne parole nemaju upliva ni uticaja na državne. Suština Makavejevljevog predloga, koji on iznosi u svojoj teoriji parola, najjasnije se vidi u njegovoj elaboraciji pojma „san prakse“, koji nudi mogućnost obnavljanja ovog otuđenog sustava. Ili, jednostavnije rečeno, u dodavanju „inovativnosti“, „mašte“, „spontanosti“ i nešto „nadrealizma“ državnim parolama. Makavejevljev se predlog tiče stvaralačke promene u jeziku politike; ili, moglo bi se reći, stvaranja jedne „umešne politike“. Makavejev uvodi pojam „san prakse“ da bi umirio antagonizme

<sup>2</sup> Ističući da maštovita rešenja sa radnih akcija povoljno utiču na „društveno zdravlje“ mladih, Makavejev se, izgleda, osetio obaveznim da objasni, možda i zbog fašističkih konotacija pojma društvenog zdravlja, da je tu tvrdnju pozajmio od američkog marksiste (?) Ericha Fromma.

između politike i umetnosti; ta shema razjašnjava da čak i ako se uloga „umetnosti“ *post facto* tiče ovakvog osvežavanja društvenog prometa (razlozi mogu biti i banalni i optimistično afirmativni, kao što je „društveno zdravlje“), njeno je postojanje najbitnije u sačinjavanju ovog sveta „stvaralaštva“. Shema nam ne nudi nikakve naznake načina i uslova pod kojima se taj „san praksa“ (koji je umetničkog karaktera) odvija; na kraju, on se tiče čistog upliva umetničkih elemenata (kao što je spontanost) u politiku. Pojedini elementi koji su zajednički za oba sveta, kao što su „kolektivno“, „društveno“ i „popularno“, jesu pojmovi koji omogućavaju taj upliv, koji, u krajnjem slučaju, služi da omogući osvajanje politike od strane umetničkih elemenata.

## 2. DELEUZEOVE I GUATTARIJEVE PAROLE KOJE ZAMUCKUJU

*O-o-o... Jezik radničke klase je sveo-o-o-opšti; njegova lirika olakšava s-s-s-srcu*  
Art & Language, *Singing Man*, 1975.

Povezivati Gillesa Deleuzea i Félixu Guattarija s problematikom „jezika“ putem parola i tvrditi da te parole „mucaju“ može delovati kao veoma perverzna provokacija. Deleuze, koji se izrazito protivio „jezičkom obrtu“ u filozofiji, zapravo je izložio i neke prilično snažne stavove o jeziku, koji se izravno odnose na njegove opšte filozofske postavke. U *Hiljadu ravni*, poglavlje „Postulati lingvistike“ počinje sledećim stavom: osnovna jedinica jezika – iskaz [utterance] – jeste reč-naredba (Deleuze i Guattari 1987, 76). „Reč-naredba“, kao prevod francuskog *mot d'ordre*, znači „parola“.

Dakle, parola je osnovna jedinica jezika. Ova je tvrdnja, i sama teorijska parola ili prenešen teorijski iskaz, ključna za razumevanje značaja performativa u govoru. Samo putem performativnog čina jezik, koji se sastoji od elemenata parola, može se osloboditi svojih idealističkih veza i sasvim se preseliti u svet delovanja. To je bilo Deleuzeovo i Guattarijevo polazište: prevazići zamisao da se jezik tiče samo opštenja i obaveštavanja (tj. ono što je J. L. Austin nazivao „deskriptivnom lažnošću“) i ponuditi jednu suptilniju i u isti mah pragmatičniju i političniju teoriju jezika. U tom svetu, jezik je, kao „skup svih reči-naredbi, podrazumevanih pretpostavki i govornih činova koji u određenom trenutku važe u nekom jeziku“ (Deleuze i Guattari 1987, 79), po definiciji prenošenje kolektivnih iskaza. Ili, kako Deleuze i Guattari ističu, pojedinačan iskaz ne postoji. Naprotiv, svaki je iskaz *kolektivan asamblaž* [collective assemblage]. Ako se jezik svodi na prenošenje parola, koje su kolektivne i društvene, kako nam Makavejev kaže, onda je sasvim smisleno pretpostaviti da se jezik zasniva na kolektivnim iskazima. Mi postajemo subjekti bez mogućnosti pojedinačnog iskaza upravo u onim raznim trenucima izjava i objava, koje su često opterećene bremenom političkog karaktera (npr. 20. novembar 1923, datum naveden u naslovu poglavlja o lingvistici, kada su nemačke vlasti *objavile* da rajhsmarka više nije novac; po Deleuzeu i Guattariju, ta je objava bila reč-naredba političkog karaktera). Svaki je iskaz kolektivan; čak je i „Volim te“, koje se obično smatra najintimnijim i najbližijim od svih iskaza, po Deleuzeu i Guattariju izjava kolektivnog karaktera. Ili, zanimljivije rečeno, svaka je ljubavna izjava – parola. Ovdje se i dalje nalazimo na polju Makavejevljevih parola mladosti, punih ljubavi i strasti, koje u svom kolektivnom veselju čine najlepše i najčulnije parole i pripadaju svima. Ali, ta je sličnost samo privid; u Deleuzeovoj i Guattarijevoj shemi nema potrebe za ekstrapolacijom radi kolektivizovanja parola. Nasuprot tome, kako smo već videli, Makavejev pretpostavlja potrebu za posebnim – to jest, političkim – poljem, čija je uloga da obezbedi uslove proizvodnje spontanijih i ljubavnih parola. Kod Deleuzea i Guattarija – i to je najbolji aspekt njihove teorije reči-naredbi – „ljubavne“ situacije, razne radnje i „obični dnevni razgovori“ (ili kod Makavejeva jednostavnije rečeno: „obično“) su i sami politički. Način na koji govorimo jezik, pomoću njegovih slogan-skih (to jest, kolektivnih i društvenih) elemenata, čini sve naše „kulturne“ radnje neizbežno političkim. Istovremeno, takav stav podrazumeva da umetničko polje parola nema nikakve potrebe za „stvarnošću“ u kojoj bi se parole materijalizovale; naprotiv, njihova je imanentnost jedini činilac ili snaga njihove materijalizacije.

Da bi izbegli bilo kakve implikacije „banalnosti“ umetnostî (npr. izjednačavanje svakodnevnog jezika sa jezikom-umetnošću), Deleuze i Guattari predlažu pojam „bestelesnog preobražavanja“. Ovaj pojam je taj koji usložnjava stvari; kao da se poimane parola kao kolektivnih asamblaža koji jamče materijalnost jezika (i umetnosti) sada ovim novim dinamičnim pojmom bestelesnog preobražavanja dematerijalizuje. Mada oni, takođe, izbavljaju umetnost od svakodnevne banalnosti, bestelesni preobražaji u isti mah i ukidaju samostalnost i uslojenost u polju politike. Baš kao što je objava da rajhsmarka više nije novac učinila da ona to i prestane da bude, tako i čin otimanja aviona nastaje kada otmičari objave da je avion otet; ili, po Deleuzeovom i

Guattarijevom objašnjenju: „preobražaj putnika u taoce i aviona-tela u zatvor-telo jeste trenutna bestelesan preobražaj“ (Deleuze i Guattari 1987, 81). Imajući na umu Deleuzeovu i Guattarijevu averziju prema metaforama, ove stvari moramo shvatiti ozbiljno: bestelesan preobražaj jeste nematerijalno dejstvo u konkretnom obliku. Po ovoj teoriji, parole predstavljaju najmoćniji vid iskaza ili izjava, koje bestelesno preobražavanje čine najdelotvornijim. Na ovom se mestu Deleuze i Guattari pozivaju na Lenjinovu teoriju parola, koje, po njima, predstavljaju bestelesni preobražaj nove proleTERSKE klase. U svom tekstu „O parolama“, koji je napisao dok se 1917. godine skrivao negde u Finskoj, Lenin ističe da svaka parola ima svoj vek trajanja. Na primer, parola „Sva vlast Sovjetima“ važila je samo od 27. februara do 4. jula 1917. Deleuze i Guattari ovo uzimaju kao primer krajnje pragmatičnih implikacija iskazâ (reči-naredbi), koje podrazumevaju promenljive i različite konfiguracije. Izravno rečeno, njihovo je stanovište da su parole izjave privremenog političkog dejstva, koje važe samo pod određenim uslovima. Ali tu je teškoća: ako su parole osnovne jedinice jezika i ako je, recipročno, jezik prenošenje parola, kako onda razlikovati običan jezik od političkog, koji inicira preobražaje u postojećoj uobičajenoj strukturi? Pošto Deleuze i Guattari ne razlikuju „puke“ parole od onih koje su više od toga, može se reći da su reči-naredbe, parole i izjave oni elementi koji svojim krajnjim pragmatizmom obezbeđuju sveprisutnost politike. Posledica toga je da svaka politika koja postane prisutna svugde na koncu poriče/uništava sama sebe. U ovoj teoriji nema mesta ekskluzivnom ili posebnom političkom polju; umesto toga, bestelesni preobražaji nastaju kroz imanentnost jezičkog pragmatizma. Zato je Lenjinova teorija parola, sa svojim pragmatizmom, preobražavanjem i *ad hoc* karakterom tako draga Deleuzeu i Guattariju: ona jezik postavlja u polje delotvornosti i sile (videći u njemu nešto više od jednostavnog saopštavanja podataka) i uvodi u njega nove elemente. Na primer, Lenin se zalaže za neophodnost *nove parole* koja će zameniti staru, postvarenu parolu Boljševičke partije. Čini se kao da je taj element *novoga* ono što Deleuze i Guattari nalaze zbilja uzbudljivim kod Lenjina, čak i više od njegove teoretizacije parola. Samo je uvođenjem novog jezika (ili novog skupa reči-naredbi) moguće pokrenuti bestelesan preobražaj. Njegov je jedinstven karakter jedna od mogućnosti za objavu tog novog elementa – koji je za Lenjina bio ključni element njegove teorije; vid. na primer, njegove „Aprilske teze“, koje je napisao kad i „O parolama“; u slučajevima zamene rajhsmarke i otmice aviona, o kojima je gore bilo reči, te dve zasebne objave (da rajhsmarka više nije novac i da je avion otet) čine taj novi element. Ali, kako bi nas Deleuze i Guattari bez sumnje opomenuli, ti novi elementi ili promene moraju se dogoditi bez ikakve ekstrapolacije, unutar imanentnosti jezika. Ovde dolazimo do teorije zamuckivanja jezika, koja uvodi jednu sasvim novu konfiguraciju iskaza, kao i mogućnost jedne nove pragmatike, koju su oni nazvali preobražajem. Zamuckivanje jezika je veoma čudna zamisao koju bi, opet, trebalo shvatiti kao nemetaforičnu i konkretnu novinu. Deleuze i Guattari su jasni da se taj bestelesni preobražaj neće dogoditi u sferi svakodnevnog (ili velikog) jezika (ili skupa parola): on je moguć samo u preobražavanju, mucanju i zamuckivanju, dekonstruisanju, kao i u manjinskim jezicima. Ovo određenje parola očito ne potiče od Lenjina, ali njegovo insistiranje na novini, preobražaju i pragmatizmu ima nekih sličnosti s njime. Izgleda kao da je taj element bestelesnog preobražaja nekako umetničke prirode. Ako se osvrnemo na primere preobražajâ u jeziku koje Deleuze i Guattari sami nude, videćemo da svi potiču iz avangardne umetnosti: to su dela Becketta i Gherasima Lucae, muzika Dietera Schnebela i Luciana Berija, filmovi Godarda i Carmela Benea, sve primeri *délâ* u kojima „jezik sâm zamuckuje“ (Deleuze i Guattari 1987, 98). To su trenuci kada se jezik sasvim preobražava i pošto u svojim sloganskim elementima poseduje tu imanentnu snagu, svaki će preobražaj jezika takođe usloviti (podrazumevati) preobražaj sveta. Ali, to se neće desiti samo od sebe. Tu leži glavna razlika između zasebnih poimanja umetničkih parola Makavejeva s jedne i Deleuzea i Guattarija s druge strane. Kod Makavejeva, umetničke parole nastaju spontano iz kolektivnog bića ideoloških materijalnih uslova i po prirodi se suprotstavljaju postvarenom svakodnevnom svetu. Ovo je, prisetimo se, u Makavejevljevom svetu bilo moguće samo putem elementa „popularnog“, imanentnog i političkom i umetničkom polju i uvek obogaćenog svojstvom uranjajućeg stvaralaštva. Nasuprot tome, kod Deleuzea i Guattarija, taj element ne postoji; preobražaj jezika (tj. skupa parola) neće se desiti sam od sebe, već se mora izazvati radom na jeziku, odnosno, jasnije rečeno, svesnim radom na jeziku (što ponekad podrazumeva čak i neverbalne promenljive). Deleuze i Guattari za taj preobražaj nude čak i nacrt političkog delovanja: otpor zakonodavstvu konstantama, nezabranjivanje promena, uskraćivanje jasnih i stabilnih obrisa figurama, nepostavljanje oblikâ u odnose dvojnih suprotnosti... (Deleuze i Guattari 1987, 107). Do kraja poglavlja o jeziku postaje jasno da su po njihovoj teoriji bestelesnog preobražavanja parole neprobajne. Sa svojim opštim vezama i odnosima s normativnom politikom (sve one zabrane koje propisuju Deleuze i Guattari), parole postavljaju prepreke punom ostvarivanju preobražajâ; stoga

umesto reči-naredbi, Deleuze i Guattari predlažu lozinke [pass-words], čiji je položaj niži u odnosu na reči-naredbe kao ustrojene i uslojene kompozicije (Deleuze i Guattari 1987, 110). Prema tome, dok kod Makavejeva politika treba da postane umetničkija i da postoji zasebno od umetnosti, kod Deleuzea i Guattarija ona nestaje, pretvorivši se u umetnost.

Jean-Jacques Lecercle, autor knjige o Deleuzeu i jeziku, razumeo je ovaj teorijski problem ili protivrečnost, kako ga on naziva, isto kao i dispoziciju performativnosti jezika. Ako Deleuzeova teorija jezika iskaz tumači mahom pomoću Lenjinovih pojmova materijalističkih elemenata, pragmatizma, sile i decentriranja subjekta u kolektivne iskaze, onda kako povezati taj skup normi s visoko-modernističkom avangardnom dekonstrukcijom jezika (Lecercle 2002, 219)? Ili, tačnije, kako spojiti strukturu i povezanost parola sa zamuckivanjem avangarde? Ili, kako spojiti politiku sa umetnošću? Za Lecerclea to ne bi bilo takva protivrečnost, da on u svojoj problematizaciji Deleuzea (kod Lecerclea „Deleuze“ zapravo znači „Deleuze i Guattari“) ne postavlja parole u središte svoje teorije jezika. Pošto „opštenje nije saradnja već zauzimanje i dodeljivanje mestâ u jednoj igri moći, jedna agonska razmena“, kako objašnjava Lecercle, onda sila i pragmatizam čine najvažnije aspekte te filozofije. Lecercle stoga zaključuje da je „najnotorniji izraz ove filozofije silâ pitanje parola, pitanje koje se tiče *mots d'ordre*“ (Lecercle 2002, 169). Osim što mu pridodaju elemente sile i materijalnosti, parole nam u isti mah omogućavaju da jezik poimamo kao sasvim kolektivan i posredan (tj. kao asamblaže) (Lecercle 2002, 172). Ovakvo poimanje takođe ima i vlastiti politički karakter. Ali, Lecercle upozorava, ovaj politički karakter parola nije ograničen na *političke i povesne događaje*, već se može naći i svugde u svakodnevnom životu (Lecercle 2002, 172). To jasno znači da se politika ne odvija samo u političkim i povesnim događajima, već i u samom jeziku i iskazu. Kako to Lecercle formuliše, u jednoj gotovo lingvističkoj paroli: „Jezik se sastoji od nataloženih parola“. Taj pojam taloženja važan je za razumevanje deleuzeovskog poimanja jezika; pošto su asamblaži ključni element te lingvističke struje i predstavljaju najbolje primere taloženja kolektivnog izražavanja [enunciation] (tj. „asamblaže se opisuje kao vid deobe“, Lecercle 2002, 186–187), onda su parole i asamblaži, izgleda, po prirodi slični. Ako je politika Deleuzeove „nove pragmatike“ desloganizacija jezika (ili zamena reči-naredbi lozinkama), onda je deasambliranje [de-assemblage] njen neizbežni zaključak. Kako je to Lecercle duhovito formulisao, krajnja deleuzeovska parola bila bi: Uvek eksperimentiši sa asamblažima! (Lecercle 2002, 185–186) To je veoma proizvoljno određenje parola; zvuči kao tautologija: Naša je parola da uvek eksperimentišemo sa parolama! Po tom je zaključku jasno da su kod Deleuzea parole onaj pojmovni element koji misao čini praktičnom ili pragmatičnom; ili, moglo bi se reći da one opravdavaju praktične aspekte teorijskih praksi. Sada napokon stižemo do punog razumevanja protivrečnosti ili napetosti koju Lecercle zapaža kod Deleuzea: parole su političke, ali da bi imale ikakvog pravog političkog dejstva, moraju nestati (ili izbrisati vlastite obrise i postojane oblike). Samo se eksperimentisanjem performativnost jezika može sasvim rascvetati. Dakle, pravi se preobražaj, lozinke ili preasamblaži [re-assemblages], ili čak desloganizacija jezika mogu izraziti, kako je to Lecercle formulisao, parodiranjem čuvene feminističke parole: umetničko je političko. Kako i Lecercle priznaje na kraju svoje knjige, to je „avangardan stav: avangardni umetnik kao revolucionar“ (Lecercle 2002, 246).

Taj zaključak, sličan mom, poseduje, međutim, jednu veoma ozbiljnu stratešku teškoću: on omogućava umetničkoj avangardi da zauzme pragmatičan (tj. politički) stav, mobilizujući pojmovne elemente revolucionarne teorije. Reč je o prisvajanju revolucionarne teorije. Sada treba ispitati da li je moguće iz revolucionarne teorije i prakse razviti jedan fin i složen skup teza o jeziku i parolama.

### 3. KAKO DELOVATI REČIMA PAROLA

*Ljudi su usvojili novu parolu, parolu „različitih upotreba jezika“.*

J. L. Austin, „Performativni iskazi“, 1956.

Pragmatizam jezika, ključan u Deleuzeovoj i Guattarijevoj teorizaciji reči-naredbi, zasniva se na teoriji govornih činova, koju su prvi razvili anglo-američki filozofi. Početni proboj ove filozofije jezika, koji je načinio čuveni J. L. Austin, bilo je obaranje idealističke zablude o navodno neutralnoj opisnosti jezika i postavljanje govora i iskaza u središte ljudskog postojanja [human condition]. Pokazujući da nema čisto verbalnog merila kojim bi se moglo razlikovati između performativnih i konstativnih iskaza, Austin je upitao da li „konstativni iskazi možda ipak predstavljaju izvođenje nekog čina, naime čina izjavljivanja“ (Austin 1971, 20). Umesto da opštenje smatramo prenosom podataka, pozvao nas je da ga smatramo prenosom izjava. Austin je te jedinice opštenja nazvao „performativnim konstativima“ [performative-

constatives], što zvuči slično Deleuzeovim rečima-naredbama. Ili, kako je to Austin sâm formulisao: Izvesti lokucionni čin znači, možemo reći, gledano generalno, *eo ipso* izvesti i *ilokucionni* čin [...] Tako, izvodeći neki lokucionni čin, mi takođe izvodimo i neki od činova poput ovih:

- postavljanje pitanja ili odgovaranje na njega;
- davanje neke informacije, ili jemstva, ili upozorenja;
- obznanjivanje presude, ili namere;
- izricanje kazne;
- zakazivanje sastanka, apelacija, ili prigovor;
- identifikovanje, ili davanje opisa. (Ostin 1994, 115)

Prema Austinu, čisto opštenje u idealističkom smislu ne postoji – jezik je u svakom smislu jedna pragmatična stvar. Ovdje treba zapaziti da Austinova namera nije bila da postavi dejstva performativnosti govora kao ekstrapoliranog čina nekih skrivenih ilokucionih ostataka naših čudnih svakodnevnih iskaza. Ovo bi pre priličilo romantičnom pragmatizmu Makavejevjevih parola. Naprotiv, Austin je insistirao na *snazi* kao urođenju svim izrazima: [M]oramo izbeći ideju [...] po kojoj ilokucionni čin predstavlja *posledicu* lokucionoga čina, čak i ideju o tome da ono što se unosi nomenklaturom iokucija predstavlja *dodatnu* referenciju *nekim* od posledica lokucija (Ostin 1994, 131)

To znači da su, zapravo, lokucije ilokucije, a konstativi performativi. Ovi govorni činovi deluju obezbeđujući *shvatanje* [uptake] (Ostin 1994, 133) i u „određenom smislu“, što znači da izazivaju promene u prirodnom toku događanja (Ostin 1994, 133). To znači da je ilokucionni čin najdelotvorniji, na primer, kada se odnosi i ostvaruje pod uslovima koji shvatanje čine delom normalnog postupka. Tada nastaje perlokucija, postizanje određenog dejstva govorom. Kao primer neuspelog shvatanja, Austin nudi svoju

priču o porincu broda: Pretpostavimo, recimo, da spazim brod na deblima, pridem mu i razbijem bocu što visi sa pramca i proglasim „I name this ship the *Mr. Stalin*“ [=„Neka se ovaj brod zove/Imenujem ovaj brod *Gospodin Staljin*“], a zatim propisno razbijem podmetnute klinove: nevolja je, međutim, u tome što me niko nije odredio za osobu koja bi trebalo da brod imenuje [...] Svi se možemo složiti:

- 1) da brod time nije bio imenovan;
- 2) da je u pitanju bila velika bruka. (Ostin 1994, 33)

Ovo je klasičan primer promašaja, odnosno neuspelog govornog čina, u kojem nema shvatanja. Sledeći Deleuzea i Guattarija, Lecercle objašnjava: Ako je skandalozni radnički ekstremista iz Austinovog teksta samo prolazan primer promašaja [infelicity], čitaocu upućen mig, to je zato što sveta čiji je on predstavnik ili simptom (sveta klasne borbe) u teoriji govornih činova uopšte i nema. (Lecercle 2002, 162)

Ali čak i ako politike klasne borbe nema u Austinovoj filozofiji jezika, ipak je pragmatizam koji on nudi dovoljan da mobilize *nekakvu politiku* iz te teorije; da se još jednom vratimo Lecercleovom objašnjenju prizora porinuća broda: „[čak i ako je to slučaj promašaja], on pokazuje da je politika uvek tu, na dohvata ruke, u zasedi, spremna da zgrabi svaki izgovor koji joj pragmatika ponudi, ne bi li se opet našla u jeziku“ (Lecercle 2002, 161). Ovo bi automatski političko *dejstvo* jezika, kao što sam pokušao da pokažem u prethodnom delu, moglo dovesti do potpunog poricanja politike kao proizvodnog elementa filozofije zasnovane na pragmatizmu jezika. Ovdje postaje jasno da bi se „performativni konstativ“ mogao koristiti kao „parola“, u skladu s lenjinizmom Deleuzea i Guattarija;<sup>3</sup> ali, kako Lecercle primećuje, Austinov je pragmatizam suviše kooperativan i ukorenjen u *statusu quo*, a nije ni dovoljno materijalistički da bi ostvario tu mogućnost. Može se reći da Lecercleovo tumačenje Deleuzeove filozofije jezika počiva na jačanju Austinove teorije govornih činova određenim elementima dekonstruktivnog potencijala umetničke avangarde. Osim ahistoricizma, nematerijalizma i metodološkog individualizma, Lecercle Austinu zamera i nedovoljno razmatranje institucija. Nešto što Lecercle podrazumeva kao Deleuzeov doprinos, a što se neizbežno odnosi na Althussera, jeste mogućnost upotrebe teorije govornih činova u institucionalnoj interpelaciji: institucija – ritual – praksa – govorni čin (Lecercle 2002, 163). To praktično znači da su „performativni konstativi“ karika koja nedostaje u naizgled odviše predstavljачkom lancu

<sup>3</sup> Lecercle izvlači nekoliko primera iz redova analitičkih filozofa koji su se bavili jezikom i došli do sličnih zaključaka: „J. R. Ross, jedan od ranih učenika Chomskog, predložio je hipotezu performativa, po kojoj je svaka izjavna rečenica, u dubokom strukturnom smislu, podređena performativnoj rečenici, koja je, budući performativna, bliža paroli [...]“; Ann Banfield je nastojala da prvom čvoru pravila prepisivanja Chomskog pridoda još jedan, poseban čvor [...] koji bi obuhvatio sve ‘ekspresivne’ iskaze, uvrede, uzvike, možda čak i parole; na posletku, J. C. Milner je nastojao da razvije ono što je on nazivao ‘gramatikom uvreda’“ (Lecercle 2002, 170).

interpelacije, kako ju je teoretizovao Louis Althusser. Čak i ako Lecercle Althusserovu teoriju i dalje vidi kao sazvežđe deleuzeovske filozofije, to ne bi trebalo da nam predstavlja teškoću, pošto on „Deleuze“ koristi kao kolektivan izraz [enunciation], ili neku vrstu nataložene parole intelektualno-kolektivne svojine.<sup>4</sup> Ipak, Lecercle nije jedini koji je teoriju govornih činova pokušao da primeni na Althusserovu teoretizaciju ideološke interpelacije; na primer, Rastko Močnik je u svom članku „Towards a Materialist Concept of Literature“ (Ka materijalističkom poimanju knjiženosti) pokušao da kroz rad J. L. Austina uobliči jednu veoma „apstraktnu naznaku“ althusserovske teorije interpelacije. Ako se interpelacija odvija, kako je Althusser pisao, procesom prepoznavanja, ili, kako Močnik objašnjava: „razumeti“ (ideološki) iskaz znači potčiniti se njegovoj posebnoj ‘racionalnosti’, to jest, progutati njegove (ideološke) pretpostavke“, onda opštenje na koncu predstavlja elementaran uslov, bez kojeg nijedna ideološka interpelacija ne može biti dovršena (Močnik 1986, 76). Pošto se svaka ideološka interpelacija završava procesom *subjektivizacije*, opštenje bi se jasno moglo smatrati „središnjom instancom ideološkog posredovanja društvenog objedinjavanja“ (Močnik 1986, 176). Praktična snaga jezika, odnosno njegova performativna oruđa, koja su ključna za Austinovu teoriju govornih činova, jesu ona koja omogućavaju proces interpelacije da se odvije u svom punom materijalističkom značenju. Izravno rečeno, Močnik tvrdi da je snaga ilokucionih činova preduslov bilo kakve materijalizacije (ideološke) interpelacije. Onda je interpelacija, uz još jedan osvrt na Austinov rečnik, instanca uspešno izvršenog „shvatanja“ (Močnik 1986, 179-181). Pošto objedinjavanje društva uslovljava sve ideologije (čega je Močnik svakako svestan, citirajući Marxa da su „govor, strasti i prividi neophodni za ideološko objedinjavanje jednog revolucionarnog pokreta“) i pošto njegovo ostvarivanje/materijalizacija nastaje u opštenju, kako se onda nositi sa unutaršnjom dvosmislenošću govornih činova? Tačnije, kako je moguće postaviti pojam „performativnog konstativa“ u lancu interpelacije, kada taj pojam u isti mah poseduje i konstativna i performativna svojstva? I dalje, ako se shvatanje ostvaruje u kontekstu određenog iskaza koji se saopštava (tj. po „prirodnom“ toku događaja ili, po Austinu, „uobičajeno“), što je i sâm uslov subjektivizacije ilokucije (objedinjenog subjekta), onda se suočavamo s „neprijatnom metafizičkom dvojbom“, kako je Močnik opisuje. Dvojba ilokucione dvosmislenosti je sledeća: ili želimo da sačuvamo ljudsko postojanje od nejasnoće, ali onda moramo pojam ilokucije prepustiti njegovoj unutaršnjoj dvosmislenosti; ili ćemo se odlučiti da zadržimo taj pojam, ali onda moramo zauzeti veoma pesimistično viđenje same mogućnosti opštenja među ljudima (i shodno tome na kraju moramo i sasvim napustiti taj pojam) (Močnik 1986, 180). Značaj te osnovne nedoumice je u tome što nam pomaže da shvatimo zašto je pojednostavljujući pristup takozvanog dekonstruisanja ideologije dekonstruisanjem jezika – čorsokak. Kada bismo prihvatili da je ideologija = jezik = parole, onda bi prost obrt tih jednakosti podrazumevao da bi različite parole mogle usloviti drugačije objedinjenje društva. Osim svoje „čistoće“, ta bi se shema takođe kosila s teorijom govornih činova, to jest, s njenim tvrdjenjem da ispravno shvatanje stoji samo pod ispravnim ideološkim uslovima. Austinov je pragmatizam veoma uslovan i njegova se *status quo* praktičnost ogleda u uvođenju pojma ideologije kao skupa verovanja o svetu koje pojedinac svesno deli s drugima. Kod Austina nema mnogo protivrečja: u njegovom idealističnom svetu shvatanjâ, reč-naredba (parola) jeste proizvodnja poretka sveta (ideologije) i obratno.

Ali, po Močnikovom poimanju, performativni je karakter ilokucionih činova, koji na koncu uslovljava svaku ideološku operaciju, istovremeno i prepreka bezuslovnoj subjektivizaciji ideologije, idealistički zasnovanoj na ljudskim bićima kao slobodnim činocima konstativnog opštenja. Jednostavno, ova metafizička zagonetka je sledeća: ako je opštenje ono što stvara subjektnost, nastanak subjektnosti u opštenju je ono što poništava samog subjekta. Drugim rečima, ako pretpostavimo, kao što se uglavnom pretpostavlja, da je opštenje preduslov našeg ulaska u ideologiju i da se taj „ulazak“ ostvaruje kroz „performativne“ odlike našeg opštenja, onda postajemo nemoćni da izgovorimo bilo šta što nije ideološko. Nedoumica je metafizička zato što su „ljudski činilac“ i proces identifikacije među njenim glavnim pojmovima. Ali ako bismo se odmakli od „ljudskosti“ i primenili ovu problematiku na pojam parola, mogli bismo doći do protivrečnije i stoga takođe materijalističkije teorije parola. Mislim da smo sada stigli do tačke na kojoj možemo postaviti sledeće pitanje: šta je uloga parola u procesu ideološke interpelacije? Kao najizravnije ispoljavanje perlokucije, parole svakako teže kolektivnom pridobijanju. Ali u isto vreme, meta parola nije „obična“ publika (ili već postojeći kolektiv), već one teže da uvođenjem nove misli izazovu preobražaj u objedinjavanju društva. Ako je tako, onda smo upravo prešli

<sup>4</sup> Na jednom drugom mestu, ovo je takođe omogućilo Lecercleu da predloži svoj pojam *kontra-interpelacije*, nadahnut tumačenjem Althussera od strane Judith Butler: „Ovaj pojam treba da opiše činjenicu da ljudi, stupajući u njega, privajaju jezik, mada im on prethodi i ostaje van njih (to se zove stil)“ (Lecercle 2006, 209).

dug zaobilazan put gotovo ni za šta: stigli smo do mesta na kojem moramo priznati da su parole i performativne i konstativne u isti mah. Odatle smo upravo i počeli. Pa ipak, mi smo ovde zapravo u drugačijem „pokretu“, u pokretu pokušavanja da ojačamo *konstativnu* prirodu parola. Kako smo se gore već uverili, i Lecercle i Deleuze i Guattari kritikuju kao zablude idealističko poimanje jezika kao zasnovanog na konstativnom opštenju i vide njegov *sloganski* karakter kao dokaz materijalizma i performativne prirode iskaza. To nam, na primer, omogućava da improvizujemo na zamisli da je sâm jezik (kao taloženje parola) – politički. U skladu s materijalističkim koncepcijama Rastka Močnika, želeo bih da predložim da pokušamo i parole promišljati kao konstative, što bi najpre zahtevalo da „sadržaj“ i „teoriju“ parola shvatimo ozbiljnije nego pre. To ne bi bio samo jednostavan *détournement*, niti prevrtanje Deleuzeovog i Guattarijevog stanovišta na glavu; to bi pre bila mogućnost da se još dalje produbi Lenjinova teoretizacija parola. Pre nego što to stanovište bliže odredim, trebalo bi da pojasnim da je zauzimanje materijalističkog stanovišta neophodan preduslov za uvođenje pojma teorijskih parola (možemo ih zvati i althusserovskim parolama) u filozofiju. Lecercle uvodi ovaj pojam, koji kod Deleuzea i Guattarija nije prisutan, kroz ideju „institucije“, koju on uključuje u inače apstraktni proces delotvornosti reči-naredbi. Materijalističko postojanje reči i njihova preobražajna dejstva ne bi trebalo shvatati kao prost empirizam, ili, pomalo karikaturno, kao atome reči u letu od atomâ u ustima ka atomima u ušima kako izazivaju promene u atomima u mozgu, završavajući u blizini atomâ u usnama (na primer, dejstvo iskaza „Volim te“, Deleuzeove i Guattarijeve omiljene parole, bilo bi otprilike takvo).

Bilo bi to ne materijalističko, već mehanističko, ili da parafraziram Deleuzea i Guattarija, „mašinstičko“ objašnjenje sveta koje sve pretvara u atome, to jest, sve osim „znanja“, koje uvek ostaje negde između atoma, drugim rečima, u čuvenom „etru“ opštenja. Jasno je da je pojam bestelesnog preobražavanja pridodat ovoj teoriji da bi pojam „shvatanja“ ostao održiv. Ipak, sadržaj odnosno konstativni aspekt parola u ovom poimanju je nevažan; kod Deleuzea, na primer, Lenjinova parola nije važna kao konkretna analiza konkretne situacije, već prevashodno kao potencijal za preobražaj. Kada je reč o parolama i jeziku, pošto je konstativno manje važno od performativnog (tj. „Volim te“ i „Vlast Sovjetima“ su dve podjednako političke parole), onda je izvršenje ovog „ideološkog“ (ili asamblažnog) sustava moguće osujetiti jedino desloganizacijom; ili, kako sam gore pokušao da pokažem, parolama koje zamuckuju. To je često usredsređenje dekonstruktivnih težnji (njihovih „umetničkih“ karaktera) svih kritičkih/drugačijih teorija jezika. Na kraju bih, pak, mogao reći da je, dok su Deleuze i Guattari pokušavali da parolama problematizuju jezik, moj cilj da problematizujem parole putem jezika i pojma althusserovske parole. To znači da, ukoliko su parole performativne, što daje snagu jeziku, onda je jednako ispravno tvrditi da ta performativnost takođe poseduje i vrlo vidljivu konstativnu, odnosno teorijsku prirodu. Pošto mnoštvo primera jasno pokazuje da su parole istovremeno i performativne i konstativne, iznenađujuće je to što je većina tumačenja toliko zaokupljena „performativnim“ da se konstativno sasvim gubi iz vida. To znači da parole, pored svojih „praktičnih“ implikacija, poseduju i sasvim „teorijsku“ stranu. Naravno, te „teorijske“ aspekte parola nije lako pronaći, pošto se oni ukazuju samo u rigoroznom istraživanju konkretnih situacija unutar jezika. Moja namera ovde je da tu problematiku učinim jasnijom. Neki od čitalaca će se možda iznenaditi što sam odlučio da to istraživanje obavim u polju umetničke proizvodnje.

Sa engleskog preveo Žarko Cvejić

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# PRONALAZENJE KON- D I V I D U A L N O S T I :

## IZLAZ IZ ZAMKI ZAJEDNICE I KOLEKTIVITETA

GERALD RAUNIG

Koje je *sa* za mnoge? Kakav oblik dati svezivanju pojedinačnosti (*singularities*), a da se one ne stope u jedno? Koji rečnik odgovara ovom posebnom obliku svezivanja koje insistira na razdvajanju i deljenju, ali bez otužnog momenta žrtvovanja? Najzad, kako svezivati ove društvene i pojmovne pojedinačnosti, a da ih se ne unizi u podmazivače preobražaja kapitalističkih uslova proizvodnje? Na ova pitanja nema savršenog ni metaistorijskog odgovora, čak i ako se čini da ga pojmovi poput *zajednice* obećavaju – čak ni u vidu „uvređene“, „neizjašnjive“ (*unavowable*), „razdelovljene“ (*désouvrée*)“ ili „dolazeće zajednice“.<sup>1</sup> Teškoće sa etimologijama zajednice i srodnih pojmova prethode i prevazilaze sopstvene aluzije na totalitarne zajednice kao što je nacionalna zajednica (*Volksgemeinschaft*), kao i problematičnu dihotomiju između pojedinca i zajednice: s jedne strane, one se drže nekritičkih, identitetskih, nekad čak totalitarnih oblika uređenja, dok s druge ostaju vezane za vidove smanjivanja, oduzimanja, sa-prinošenja (*con-tribution*). Čak i tamo gde su oba aspekta dijalektički povezana – kao u radovima italijanskog filozofa Roberta Esposito – ona ostaju zarobljena sa ove strane zajednice (*communio*).<sup>2</sup> Pojmovno stablo opštega (*the common*), zajednice, zajedničkoga (*the communal*), komune (*the commune*), čak i samog komunizma, tako postaje jednako upitno kao i marksistički rečnik političkog uređenja (nasuprot tehničkog uređenja kapitala) ili kolektiviteta.

Kako se poprečni oblici svezivanja pojedinačnosti mogu zamisliti i nazvati nasuprot ovome, bez individualiziranja i raslojavanja ili sveobuhvatanja pojedinačnosti? Mislim da je to moguće samo pronalazanjem jednog novog rečnika koji će oba činioca smatrati pojmovnim činiocima: činilac jedinstvenog, jedan potvrđan vid razdvojenosti, kao i činilac sa-(u)ređenja, s(a)vezivanja, činilac sa-. A ipak, ove vrste pojmovnog i društvenog svezivanja naći će se ne u spoljašnjosti savremenih uslova proizvodnje, već u njihovoj *divljoj unutrašnjosti*.

### GENEALOGIJE DIVIDUUMA

#### 1. GILBERT OD PORRÉEA I OTKRIĆE DIVIDUUMA

Gilbert od Porréea (Gilbertus Porretanus, oko 1080-1155), biskup Poatjea, bio je jedan od najznačajnijih logičara i teologa prve polovine 12. veka.<sup>3</sup> Njegov je značaj u velikoj meri proistekao iz činjenice da je verovatno bio prvi hrišćanski teolog srednjeg veka koji je bio u prilici da se opsežnije upozna s delima Aristotela. Mada se njegova sačuvana dela sastoje samo od tumačenjâ, njegovo je „učenje“ privuklo znatnu pažnju zahvaljujući uticaju njegovih „učenika“ sredinom 12. veka. U to doba teoloških i unutarcrkvenih sukoba, Gilbert je bio izložen i političkom progonu: na papskom konzistoriju održanom u Parizu 1147. godine, Bernard od Clairvauxa je nahuškao prisutne

<sup>1</sup> O sve većoj popularnosti pojma zajednice u polju umetnosti, up. Gerald Raunig, „Escaping from, Work on the Community“, u Yolanta Bielanska i Torsten Birne (ur.), (*Urban Potentials*): *Ideas and Practice*, Jovis Verlag, Berlin, 2008, str. 312-315; Christian Kravagna, „Arbeit an der Gemeinschaft. Modelle partizipatorischer Praxis“, u Marius Babias i Achim Könneke (ur.), *Die Kunst des Öffentlichen*, Verlag der Kunst, Dresden, 1998, str. 28-47 (engleski prevod: Christian Kravagna, „Working on the Community. Models of Participatory Practice“, 1998, 7. jul 2011).

<sup>2</sup> Up. podrobnu obradu ovog problema u Isabell Lorey, *Figuren des Immunen: Elemente einer politischen Theorie*, Diaphanes Verlag, Ciri, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliografiju o Gilbertu i njegovu biografiju vid. u: Jürgen Mittelstraß (ur.), *Enzyklopädie Philosophie und Wissenschaftstheorie*, Metzler, 2005, I, str. 775 i Robert Auty i dr. (ur.), *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Artemis-Verlag, Minhen, 1977-1999, IV, str. 1449ff. Takođe videti i podroban uvod u Lauge Olaf Nielsen, *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Gilbert Porreta's Thinking and the Theological Expositions of the Doctrine of the Incarnation during the Period 1130-1180*, Brill, Leiden, 1982, posebno str. 25ff; ovde takođe up. pojam *participatio* (str. 48) i tri različita vida vezivanja: *appositio* – *compositio* – *commixtio* (str. 53ff).

kardinale, kao i one na konzistoriju održanom posle Sabora u Ransu 1148. godine, da Gilberta optuže za jeres. Međutim, za razliku od Abelarda, na primer, Gilbert nije bio osuđen za života. Njegova kontroverzna stanovišta o političkim pitanjima u Crkvi, kao i njegova složena argumentacija i neobičan stil, izneli su Gilberta na zao glas, koji se čuo do duboko u 19. veku: u svojoj *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche* (*Opšta istorija hrišćanske vere i crkve*, 1845), August Neander Gilberta naziva „čovekom nejasnih, zbunjujućih, maglovitih načina obrazlaganja“. (Neander 1845, 899)

Gilbert se proćuo prevashodno svojim tumačenjem Boecija, poznoantičkog hrišćanskog filozofa i prevodica Aristotela. U drugom prologu koji je napisao za Boecijev prvi traktat, *De Trinitate*, nalazi se pasus koji ne samo što upućuje na nekoliko problema s pojmom individualnosti, već i uvodi pojam koji je ovde od središnjeg značaja. Gilbert piše: *Sepe autem diversa numero singularia secundum aliqua eorum, quibus sunt, conformia sunt. Ideoque non modo illa, que sunt, verum etiam illa, quibus conformia sunt, unum dividuum sunt. Ac per hoc neutrum illorum, quibus conformia sunt illa que sunt, individuum est. Si enim dividuum facit similitudo, consequens est, ut individuum faciat dissimilitudo* (*DTrin*, I, 5, n. 22, II. 153-157, 143-144: Jacobi 1996, 12).

Želim prvo da se usredsredim na poslednji deo poslednje rečenice: red reči od *individuum* do *dissimilitudo* izgleda dovoljno jasno, različitost je u sprezi sa individuum. Ovde je – davno pre navodnog pronalaska individue tokom renesanse – predstavljen pojam individue, koja je unutarne „nedeljiva“ i spoljno različita, drugačija od svake druge individue. Taj je pojam izveden od grčkog *a-tomos*, „atom“, nedeljivo jedinstveno biće, koji u antičko doba još nije bio ograničen na poimanje ljudske ličnosti. Individua je celina, jedno, nešto što nije nasumično sastavljeno. To je nešto što je *sámo* po sebi; njegova je odlika – kako Gilbert naglašava – to što ne ispoljava nikakve sličnosti s bilo čime drugim. Ono je, u nekom smislu, neuporedivo. Za nas je, pak, prvi deo citirane rečenice zanimljiviji: „Ako sličnost čini dividuu, onda sledi da različitost čini individuu“. Gilbert ovde uvodi pojam koji je verovatno sam izmislio: pojam *dividue*. Mada se nama *individua* možda čini kao pojmovno polazište za nastanak *dividue*, *dividua* logički i ontološki *prethodi* individui. Kao što prva rečenica latinskog citata kazuje, pojedinačnosti (kao bročano različite) dele svoje oblike s drugim pojedinačnostima u vidu različitih stvari kroz koje postoje. Stoga je *unum dividuum* takođe: ono *što* jeste i ono *kroz koje* se ovo biće – Gilbert bi napisao: ovaj *subsistens* – „saobličava“, „konformira“, tj. čiji oblik deli. Ovde postaje jasno da pojam *dividue* ne treba razumeti kao nešto univerzalno, kako bi se moglo pretpostaviti u kontekstu rasprave o univerzalijama iz 12. i 13. veka. *Dividualno* nije jednoznačno suprotno *individualnome* kao nečemu univerzalnom, već je jedan od Gilbertovih pojmova koji odoleva dihotomiji između onoga što je *individualno* i onoga što je *univerzalno*, uvodeći jednu novu dimenziju, po kojoj se ono što nešto jeste i ono kroz koje nešto jeste postavljaju u međusoban odnos.

Gilbert piše da su sličnost i *dividualno* u sprezi, da sličnost čak *proizvodi* *dividualno*. *Dividua* stoga poseduje jedan ili više činilaca koji je čine deljivom i u isti mah vežu s drugim *dividuama* koje su joj po svojim činiocima nalik. Ovde smisao leži u sličnostima, posebno u odnosu na samo *neke* od činilaca. *Conformitas*, konformitet, saobličje, podrazumeva ne istovetnost, potpunu ujednačenost ili prilagođavanje, već *con*-formitet, *saobličje*, posebnu saglasnost po obliku, deljenje istih osnovnih činilaca. Ovo saobličje, koje je istovremeno i više-obličje, deljivo čini *unum dividuumom*.

Poznatije i u povesti filozofije uticajnije od pojma *dividue* jeste Gilbertovo razlikovanje *individualnosti*, *pojedinačnosti* i *ličnosti*. Boecije je još pojmove *pojedinačnog* i *individualnog* koristio kao podudarne. Kod Gilberta, s druge strane, postaje jasno da pojam *pojedinačnog* ima drugačiju i širu primenu nego pojam *individualnog*. *Pojedinačno* je u biti temeljni pojam od kojeg Gilbert polazi.

Nešto ranije u svom tumačenju Boecija, pre nego što će uvesti pojam *dividue*, Gilbert piše: Razlikujemo [...] osobina se nečega naziva „*pojedinačnom*“, „*zasebnom*“ ili „*ličnom*“, u zavisnosti od posebnih razloga. Jer, sve što je *individualno* jeste i *pojedinačno* i sve što je *lično* jeste i *pojedinačno* i *individualno*, ali nije svaka *pojedinačnost* *individua* i nisu svaka *pojedinačnost* i *individua* osoba (*DTrin*, I, 5, n. 22, II. 153-157, 143-144: Jacobi 1996, 12).

Dok se u *individualnosti* i *različitosti* kao njenom činiocu naglašava zasebno postojanje kao *različitost*, *odeljenost* od svega ostalog, *pojedinačnost* je uvek okružena drugim *pojedinačnostima*.<sup>4</sup> Ako pojam *individualnosti* stoga teži ograđivanju sebe (*self*) i drugog, *pojedinačnost* naglašava pluralnost i saobličnost svega što postoji. Po Gilbertu, *pojedinačnosti* su: 1) više od *individua*; 2) suštinski pluralne, sačinjene od mnogostrukih činilaca i 3) svojom saobličnošću podložne povezivanju i ulančavanju.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. *Dtrin* I, 5, n. 34, ed. Häring 146.

## 2. NIETZSCHEOV DIVIDIUUM KAO POSLEDICA „SAMODEOBE“ U UPRAVLJAŠTVU

Tako posle Gilberta pojedinačno dugo nije bilo shvatano kao temeljan pojam ontologije, ipak se kroz povest filozofije razvilo u većitu temu – nasuprot, umesto ili pobrkano s terminologijom individue i individualnosti. U isto vreme, dividui se posle 12. veka gubi svaki trag. Ponovo se pojavila – efemerno ali efikasno – u Nietzscheovom prvom pokušaju stroge kritike morala: u drugom poglavlju prvog toma svog dela *Ljudski, suviše ljudski* (1878), on opisuje moral kao strukturu „zajednice dobrih“, kao čvrstu „podlogu vladajućih plemena i kasti“, da bi iz nje nešto poput „zdravog razuma“ moglo da izraste – posebno kao merilo isključivanja. Nietzsche ovu strukturu, dobro uređenu samilošću ali i neprijateljstvom, suprotstavlja divljem bezvlašću. Na ovom mestu Nietzscheova namera nije da narod pod vlašću razlike između dobra i zla razume jedino kao „roj potčinjenih, nemoćnih ljudi“. Ishod je dvojna slika samoupravne zajednice dobrih i njene divlje, potčinjene i isključene suprotnosti (Nietzsche 1986, 36).

Kao jednu od temeljnih zabluda sveta morala, Nietzsche problematizuje pojam individue, pokazujući kako bi – uz malo mašte – ona u funkciji od vremena mogla da izgubi i identitet i celokupnost. Nietzsche naglašava značaj promena kroz vreme i, putem njega, konstruisanost nepromenljive ličnosti i nepromenljivosti individue uopšte. Uverenje da je karakter nepromenljiv, on vidi kao krivicu činjenice da „tokom kratkog ljudskog veka, delotvorne pobude ne mogu zagrebat dovoljno duboko da bi izbrisale žig utiskivan hiljadama godina“. Stoga se Nietzscheov mentalni zadatak sastoji od zamišljanja da čovek star 80000 godina mora u sebi sadržati više individua (Nietzsche 1986, 35).

Tako su ovi fiktivni prilazi privremenom oslobađanju pojedinca svakako u sprezi s više prostornim figurama svezivanja dividualnosti, Nietzsche pojam dividue u potpunosti izvodi unutar logike morala, posebno „morala kao čovekove samodeobe“. Dividuum se ovde pojavljuje kao odveć bezbojan preokret individuuma, kao nepatvoreno dejstvo morala. Ipak, Nietzscheovi su vlastiti primeri dividualnosti takvi, da svakako zahtevaju pojam individuuma društva discipline s njegovim jasnim rodnim određenjima; na primer, pisca koji priželjkuje da ga drugi pisac uništi, „predstavljajući isti predmet jasnije i rešavajući sva pitanja koja on sadrži“, ili „zaljublenu devojk“ koja priželjkuje da „vernost i odanost njene ljubavi budu iskušane neverstvom muškarca koga voli“, ili vojnika koji „priželjkuje da padne u boju za svoju pobjedničku otadžbinu“, ili majku koja svome detetu daruje san kojeg se sama lišava. U svakom od ovih slučajeva, čovek deli vlastitu suštinu i žrtvuje jedan njen deo ostatku. Ovo je mesto gde se dividuum, težeći samodeobi, pojavljuje kao činilac moralnosti, a pouka priče je ova: „U moralnosti se čovek prema sebi ophodi ne kao *individuum* već kao *dividuum*“ (Nietzsche 1986, 42).

Taj bi se iskaz takođe mogao tumačiti pomoću jedne mračne rečenice iz enciklopedijske građe koju je Novalis sakupljao tokom 1798. i 1799: „Prava dividua je takođe i prava individua“ (Novalis 952), uzdizana kao nepodeljena i nedeljiva, a ipak tim pre prisiljena na „samodeobu“. Kao aspekt upravljaštva, moralnost je zasnovana manje na upravljanju represijom, a više sprovođenjem dobrovoljne i „samoopredeljene“ deobe ja i u isti mah žudnjom kojom je ova samodeoba uslovljena.

### GEOLOGIJA DIVIDUE

Ipak, čitavu bih priču mogao i sasvim drugačije da ispričam; otprilike ovako: u razgovorima s prijateljima i kolegama<sup>5</sup> u poslednje vreme sve češće nailazimo na ograničenja pojma zajednice i tragove etimološke genealogije *com-munitasa*: koren *munus* podrazumeva ili identitetsku figuru zaštite ili figuru prinošenja i žrtve. Suočen sa ovim duboko ukorenjenim problemom, počeo sam da razmišljam o pojmovnim alternativama koje bi oba činioca, razdvajanje i deljenje, mogle da izraze jednako dobro, kao što to čine francuski izraz *partage* ili nemački izraz *Teilen*, ali da ih izraze eksplicitno. Nekako u isto vreme, prevodio sam nekoliko manjih spisa italijanskog filozofa Paola Virna sa italijanskog na nemački. Na nekoliko mesta, naleteo sam na reč koja mi je najpre bila nepoznata. Spotičući se tako u toku prevođenja, postao sam svestan njenih pojmovnih činilaca, što mi ne bi bilo omogućeno bez tog spoticanja u stranom jeziku: *condivisione* nije naročito jaka reč; u svakodnevnom italijanskom ona ima značenje „zajedničke upotrebe“ i „odnosa“. Međutim, kako sam ubrzo uvideo, njeni su činioci gotovo isti oni oko kojih sam se vrteo već neko vreme. *Con-divisione* znači oba i oba ih izražava eksplicitno i s nužnom razlikom: *con-* naznačava sastav, svezivanje, deljenje, dok *divisione* naznačava temeljno razdvajanje i deobu pojedinačnosti.

Međutim, drugi mi je deo reči *con-divisione* takođe podstakao i jedno pojmovno sećanje. U svom „Pogovoru društvima kontrole“ (1990), Gilles Deleuze opisuje prelaz iz društava discipline u društva kontrole između ostalog i ovom rečenicom: „Individue su postale ‚*dividue*‘“ (Deleuze 1992,

<sup>5</sup> Prvi podsticaji bili su prevashodno postdoktorska disertacija Isabell Lorey, *Figuren des Immunen*, kao i istraživački projekti i događaji na ciriškom Institutu za teoriju sa temom zajednice, od kojih je poslednji bila konferencija „Community – perhaps?“ (Zajednica – možda?), kojoj su prisustvovali Jean-Luc Nancy i mnogi drugi, od 12. do 14. marta 2010.

n.p.). Društva discipline su obeležena srazmerno jasno omeđenim oblicima ograničavanja, dok društva kontrole odlikuju stalno promenljivi oblici. Dok se društva discipline ističu zbrajanjem pojedinačnih tela, glavna je odlika društva kontrole „kôd ‚dividualnog‘ materijala koji se kontroliše“ (Deleuze 1992, n.p.). Umesto disciplinovanja telâ, ovde je reč o „gasu“ koji „pojedince suprotstavlja jedne drugima, iznutra deleći svakog ponaosob“ (Deleuze 1992, n.p.). Drugim rečima, ovde se očito vraća Nietzscheovska samodeoba. „Individue su postale ‚*dividue*‘ i mase, uzorci, podaci, tržišta, odnosno ‚*banke*‘“ (Deleuze 1992, n.p.).

Ovde se možda takođe jasno ukazuje savremena osnova za uvid da je dividua tokom viševjekovne povesti filozofije nekako živela u senci, te da tek sada izbija na svetlost dana. Novalisove i Nietzscheove usputne beleške mogle bi se tumačiti kao slutnja, rana naznaka dividuine neizbežne aktualizacije. Mada Deleuzeovo pomalo shematsko predstavljanje prelaza iz disciplinarnih u poretke kontrole ne treba olako prihvatati,<sup>6</sup> može se ipak zaključiti da naznake dividualizacije značajno rastu sa uvođenjem postfordističkih uslova proizvodnje krajem 20. veka. Iz ugla Gilbertovog pojma dividue, možda bismo iskaz da su „individue postale dividue“ čak mogli shvatiti ne kao linearan razvoj, već kao taloženje načinâ upravljanja. Individue više ne rade *samo* kao individue oblikovane disciplinarnim porecima, već istovremeno i kao oblikujuće dividue: kao hrčci koji više ne trče na točku, nego pre na kakvoj kafkijanskoj Möbiusovoj traci, uvek osuđeni na proizvodnju.

Ali ne bi to bio Deleuze kada bi se društvene promene nalazile samo na strani samooblikujućih snaga uprave i samouprave: „Nema potrebe strahovati ili se nadati, treba samo tražiti nova oružja“ (Deleuze 1992, n.p.). Njegov nam „Pogovor“, pak, ne kazuje od čega bi ta oružja trebalo da se sastoje. Ipak, deset godina ranije, Deleuze i Félix Guattari su već bili započeli potragu za novom „dividualnom lestvicom“ (Deleuze i Guattari 1987, 342). U *Hiljadu ravni*, u ravni „0 refrenu“, oni uočavaju ozbiljnu razliku između nemačkog i romanskog/slovenskog romantizma. Tako, nemački romantizam odlikuje njegovo pustošno shvatanje rodne teritorije, njegovi su junaci mitski „junaci zemlje“. „Kao u Liedu, sve se na teritoriji odvija u odnosu na jedno-jedino (*the One-Along*) duše i jedno-sve (*the One-All*) zemlje“.<sup>7</sup> Ovaj nemački odnos između individualnog i univerzalnog, Deleuze i Guattari suprotstavljaju drugačijoj verziji romantizma u romanskim i slovenskim zemljama. Ovde teritorija nije pusta, već naseljena „nomadskim stanovništvom koje se deli i pregrupiše, koje se protiviti ili žali, napada ili pati“.<sup>8</sup> Junak ove pustinje nije junak zemlje, ali je srodan „jedno-gomili (*the One-Crowd*)“.

Naravno, ovo dvojstvo ne odgovara svakoj pojedinačnoj muzičkoj praksi, kao što je neujednačeni par Wagner-Verdi. Takođe, Deleuze i Guattari ističu da nije neizostavno bilo više ili manje nacionalizma na jednoj ili na drugoj strani. Njih umesto toga zanima muzička mikropolitika u odnosu na orkestraciju i instrumentaciju: orkestracija-instrumentacija zavisi, a s njom i uloga junakova glasa, od toga da li su muzičke snage određenije Jedno-Svime ili su u dijalogu s jedno-gomilom. Deleuze i Guattari suprotstavljaju „odnose svojstvene Univerzalnom“ sa grupnom individuacijom.<sup>9</sup> Da bi opisali ovu drugu vrstu muzičkih odnosa i odredili deonice unutar i između grupa, oni uvode pojam *dividualnog*:

Uloga, čak i mesto osećajnog ili ličnog činioca glasa zavisi od toga da li se on iznutra sučeljava s nesubjektizovanim grupisanjem moći ili s nesubjektizovanom grupnom individuacijom, odnosima univerzalnog ili „dividualnog“ (Deleuze i Guattari 1987, 341).

Odnosi između grupnih individuacija i jedno-gomile su *unum dividuum*, razdeljen među mnogim sauobličujućim (*con-forming*) pojedinačnostima. Njegove su revizije preplavile ne samo razdoblje romantizma, već i „visokokulturni“ okvir „ozbiljne muzike“ (Debussy, Bartók, Berio), u koji ga Deleuze i Guattari smeštaju: sve teritorije muzike i zvuka, od slobodnog jaza do techna, čak i zvuke svakodnevnog života i belu buku gradskog prostora – svakako i druge umetnosti, naročito njihove savremene oblike.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Podrobnije o ovome vid. Gerald Raunig, „In Modulation Mode“, <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0809/raunig/en>, 2009 (5. jul 2011).

<sup>7</sup> Deleuze i Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, str. 340.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, str. 341.

<sup>9</sup> Up. Félix Guattari, *Psychoanalyse et transversalité. Essais d'analyse institutionnelle*, La Découverte, Pariz, 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Up. shvatanja dividue u razmišljanjima o teoriji filma Michaela Ott, „Zwischen Virtualität und Kontrolle: Dividuelle Filmästhetiken“ (Između virtualnosti i kontrole: dividualne filmske estetike), koja uskoro treba da budu objavljena u zborniku radova sa međunarodnog simpozija „Virtualität und Kontrolle“ (Virtualnost i kontrola), održanog od 3. do 8. novembra 2008. na Akademiji lepih umetnosti u Hamburgu, kao i Drehli Robnik, „Subjekt im Affekt: Wendungen Deleuzescher Filmtheorie zwischen Empfindungsästhetik der Unterbrechung, Politik des Dividuellen und Ereignislogik des Sinns“ („Subjekt u afektu: promene / preokreti deleuzeovske teorije filma između perceptivne estetike prekida, politike dividualnog i događajne logike smisla“), neobjavljeno izlaganje s godišnje konferencije Udruženja za medije sa Univerziteta u Beču održane 2. oktobra 2009. Michaelu Ott uopšteno zanima predlog estetike „dividualne slike i zvučne produkcije“, a Drehli Robnik „Politika dividualnog u filmu“, gde „svaka deoba unosi nešto novo u igru, pri čemu se ona ne ‚razrešava‘, već ostaje nedovršenom“. Pozadinu ovih novijih deleuzeovskih prilaza dividualnom u filmu čini Deleuzeovo prolazno usvajanje tog pojma u vlastitoj teoriji filma, up. Gilles Deleuze, *Das Bewegungsbild. Kino 1* (Pokretne slike), Suhrkamp, Frankfurt na Majni, 1997, npr. str. 129 i 147.

Ipak, dividualno ne naseljava samo hetero svetove umetnosti, antropološka istraživanja melanezijskih kultura i shizoanalize podjeljenih ličnosti. Ono prožima i polja ekonomije i društva takođe. Tu je reč o pozicioniranju, o tome koji se ugao posmatranja zauzima u odnosu na opasno množenje dividualnog – da li se pojam dividualnog koristi u opisivanju poslednjih kapitalističkih promena ili kao činilac društvene borbe, koja – u zavisnosti od političkih i teorijskih preferenci – prethodi kapitalističkim uslovima proizvodnje ili im se suprotstavlja prsa u prsa. Posebno u ovoj ambivalentnoj plimi dividualizma između novih oblika (samo)potčinjavanja / mašinskog porobljavanja i potrage za novim oružjima, pitanje jednog napadačkog svezivanja i njegovog pojmovnika čini se još hitnijim. To znači da neologizam koji predlažem, sadeoba (*condivision*), postaje pojmom za svezivanje pojedinačnosti, koji ne samo što imenuje njihovu razmenu, međusobne naznake i veze, već ih i nalaže. U sadeobi, dividualni činilac, deoba, ne naznačava prinošenje, smanjivanje, žrtvu, već mogućnost dodavanja, jedno dodatno „I“. Pojedinačnosti i njihova svezivanja *nastaju* u sadeobi. Ne mora prvo da nastane zajednica da bi se postigao razmeštaj prethodno razdvojenih individua, jer njihovo svezivanje i pojedinačnosti nastaju zajedno s kondividualnošću kondividua.

*Hvala Nikolausu Linderu, Isabell Lorey, Michaeli Ott i Drehli Robnik za njihove suštinski važne predloge, rasprave i razgovore.*

Sa engleskog preveo Žarko Cvejić

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# POLITIČNOST U DOBA NEOCLASICIZAMA UMETNOSTI LIBERALNOG ZAMA

**RAZGOVOR RAŠKOLOVANO**      **S ZNANJE**      **- GRUPA**      **ALDOM UMETNOST**      **I/KAO**      **MILOHNIĆEM, POLITIKA**

Teorija koja Hoda (Beograd) i Kontrapunkt (Skoplje) u okviru projekta Raškolovano znanje (O^O) organizirali su u januaru 2011. u Kulturnom centru Magacin u Kraljevića Marka seminar i javno predavanje Alda Milohnića, sociologa i teoretičara teatra i kulture iz Ljubljane. U projekat kolektivnog samoobrazovanja u umetnosti i kulturi Raškolovano znanje, Milohnić se uključio na poziv radne grupe Umetnost i/kao politika, koja se bavi istraživanjem odnosa umetnosti i politike, kao i mogućnosti repolitizacije diskursa humanistike. Objavljujemo Milohnićeve odgovore na pitanja članova/ica radne grupe, koja su usledila nakon njegovog gostovanja u Beogradu.

## KOLIKO JE MOGUĆA AUTONOMNA UMETNOST DANAS, I NA KOJI NAČIN?

Da bi uopće mogli razmišljati o „autonomnoj umjetnosti“ danas moramo se najprije vratiti nekoliko koraka natrag u prošlost. Autonomna umjetnost je naime kategorija buržoaskog društva s kraja 18. stoljeća. Prije pojave prosvjetiteljstva, umjetnička produkcija bila je u funkciji dvora, aristokracije i crkve. Jačanje buržoazije donosi sa sobom i oslobađanje ondašnjeg društva od feudalnih spona i stvaranje tržišta. U tome se ogleda revolucionarna uloga buržoazije, o kojoj pišu još Marx i Engels u *Komunističkom manifestu*. Velike promjene zadesile su sve dijelove društva pa tako i profesije na koje se je u feudalnom sistemu gledalo sa velikim strahopoštovanjem. Buržoazija je sve te nekada „uzvišene“ profesije, kao što su npr. liječnici, pravnici, naučnici, umjetnici itd, najprije bacila na tržište, a potom ih pretvorila u svoje plaćene najamne radnike. Umjetnici su tako upravo zahvaljujući komodifikaciji umjetnosti dobili mogućnost da autonomno odlučuju o svojem stvaralaštvu. To je teza, koju su nakon Marxa razvijali još mnogi drugi materijalistički orijentirani teoretičari umjetnosti (Adorno, Attali itd). Taj strukturni momenat doveo je krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća do pojave *l'art-pour-l'artizma*, koji je umjetnost autonomizirao i u ideološkom smislu. Problem s autonomijom umjetnosti je međutim u tome da je – kako je još prije 30ak godina upozorio Rastko Močnik – taj modernistički trenutak emancipacije umjetničke prakse trajao vrlo kratko, jer je ideologija autonomne umjetnosti zasnovana na ideologiji razmjene, što neminovno vodi k tome da i umjetnost samu sebe počinje shvaćati kao robu. Zato umjetničke avangarde u 20. stoljeću (historijska s početka stoljeća i neoavangarda s kraja 60ih) odbacuju ideju autonomne umjetnosti i teže k brisanju granica između umjetnosti i drugih „sfera“ društva. U osnovi je to ključno pitanje i danas. Oštra podjela na autonomizirane društvene „sfere“ (ekonomija, politika, kultura, znanost...) je već odavno prevaziđena i na životu je održavaju još samo partikularni interesi raznih establišmenata unutar tih sfera. Umjetnost u tom smislu nije nikakav izuzetak, zato je česti slučaj da se progresivne umjetničke prakse okomljavaju upravo na tu okoštalu strukturu institucije umjetnosti.

Ali problemu autonomne umjetnosti možemo pristupiti i tako da preispitamo njen odnos s ideologijom. Potsjetio bih na jedno opće mjesto iz Marxovog *Uvoda u kritiku političke ekonomije*, gdje Marx upozorava da materijal koji umjetnost koristi za svoje potrebe nisu neposredne društvene danosti (što je, možemo dodati, pogrešna pretpostavka realističkih i naturalističkih smjerova u umjetnosti), nego svoje svjetove gradi iz njihovih ideološki „prerađenih“, „prelomljenih“ predodžbi. Uzimajući za primjer klasičnu umjetnost, Marx kaže da „grčka umjetnost pretpostavlja grčku mitologiju, dakle prirodu i društvene oblike koje je već narodna fantazija preradila na nesvjesno umjetnički način“. Ovu ideju preuzima ruski teoretičar P. Medvedev 20ih godina prošlog stoljeća i uvodi je u svoju teoriju književnosti: prema njemu „život“ postaje fabula (ili tema, motiv...) umjetničkog djela tek nakon što se „prelomi kroz prizmu ideološke sredine“, odnosno dobije „konkretno ideološko tijelo“. Na tom tragu je i Althusser kada kaže da umjetnost ne prikazuje neposrednu realnost, nego ideologiju „iz koje se rađa, u kojoj pliva, od koje se odvaja kao umjetnost i na koju aludira“. Umjetnost je dakle u nekom specifičnom odnosu prema ideologiji: ona je dio ideološke sfere, ali strogo uzevši sama nije ideologija. Upravo zbog tog njenog privilegiranog, relativno autonomnog statusa, umjetnost može uspostaviti odnos prema stvarnosti, a da se pri tome ne mora neposredno odnositi na tu stvarnost. Umjetnost nije ni odraz ni tumač realnašanje individua u umjetničkom djelu danost ništa drugo nego samo i isključivo „spontano doživljavanje ideologije u njenom

odnosu prema realnom“. Iz toga može prikazuje umjetnost, realnost ideologije. konceptu autonomne umjetnosti, onda je inovativnih načina refrakcije ideološkog materijalnog kapitalističkog društva neoliberalnog tipa.

mo zaključiti da je jedina realnost, koju nam Ako dakle uopće još možemo ustrajavati na moguće ishodište te strategije u traženju novih, riala, koji se gomila u svim sferama danas dominantnog

## NA KOJI NAČIN JE SLOBODA UMETNIČKOG GOVORA POLITIČKO PITANJE? DA LI BISTE MOGLI NA OVO PITANJE DA ODGOVORITE SA STANOVIŠTA ODNOSA UMETNOSTI I PRAVA?

Jedno od temeljnih načela tzv. pravne države je garancija jednakosti pred zakonom, ali bez obzira na to opće pravilo, suvremeni pravni sistemi nekim društvenim grupama i određenim profesijama priznaju posebna prava, koja pripadnici i pripadnice tih grupacija uživaju zbog šireg društvenog interesa. Klasična ilustracija te situacije je, na primjer, imunitetna zaštita poslanika u parlamentu. Imunitet je oblik nekog posebno zaštićenog (pa samim tim i privilegiranog) statusa, koji predstavlja izuzetak od nekog općeg pravila odnosno njegov djelomični suspenz, kao što je to u ovom slučaju princip jednakosti pred zakonom. Rani primjeri takvog statusa bili su npr. narodni tribuni (*tribuni plebis*) u starom Rimu, koje su smatrali nedodirljivima (*sacrosancti*). Imunitet poslanika u današnjem značenju povezan je pak s razvojem tog pravnog instituta kroz povijest engleskog parlamentarizma; od 14. stoljeća dalje nije naime više bilo običajno da poslanik završi u zatvoru, ako je u parlamentu rekao nešto što se nije sviđalo ondašnjem kralju.

Osim poslanika i sudija, kojima imunitet garantira posebnu pravnu zaštitu prilikom obnašanja njihovih funkcija, ustavom priznata posebna prava imaju i neke druge profesije, poput novinara, znanstvenika, umjetnika itd, a također i neke društvene grupe, npr. razne manjine (u tom slučaju koristi se institut tzv. pozitivne diskriminacije). Imunitet je inače pravni pojam i njegovo je značenje strogo određeno unutar pravnog sistema, ali u nekom proširenom ili prenesenom značenju možemo reći da u pravilu pravna država garantira određeni (funkcionalni) imunitet i umjetnicima. To je u osnovi privilegij, koji garantira slobodu umjetničkog izražavanja, kao posebnog oblika slobode govora. Međutim, stvar ipak nije tako jednostavna kako se možda čini na prvi pogled. Sve dok se umjetničko izražavanje osigurava na taj način i dok se smatra iznimkom od općeg pravila, sudovi obično presuđuju u korist umjetnika, ukoliko dođe do kolizije njegovog „imuniteta“ i prava drugih (npr. prava privatnosti, časti, dobrog imena itd). Puno teži su slučajevi kada umjetnik prekrši neki propis, koji izričito ne navodi umjetničku praksu kao moguću iznimku od pravila. Sud će lakše odlučiti u korist umjetnika ukoliko je on, recimo, svojim djelom pobudio sumnje da se radi o prekršaju ili čak kaznenom djelu, ali takva radnja još nije na odgovarajući način sankcionirana u posebnom zakonu. To bismo mogli nazvati relativna pravna praznina, ili malo više metaforički i „divljina“, dakle onaj dio neke društvene stvarnosti, kojega postojeća legislativa ne pokriva u potpunosti. Za umjetničko djelovanje je područje te pravne „divljine“ nešto slično kao što je bila za novomedijske aktiviste Hakim Beyeva „privremeno autonomna zona“ u ranoj fazi interneta. Zbog nago-milavanja uvijek novih propisa i sve veće pravne normiranosti nekog društvenog polja sužava se manevarski prostor umjetnika, koji putem svojeg djelovanja ulazi u neki oblik interakcije s tim društvenim poljem. Međutim, određivanje granica dopuštenog ne bi smjelo biti prepušteno diskrecijskom pravu sudija i pravnika; pravna država bi trebala biti suprotnost policijskoj državi, ali pretjerana moć sudbene grane vlasti može jednako tako život ljudi napraviti nesnosnim. Priča o navodnoj političkoj i vrijednosnoj neutralnosti pravne države je naime nikada ostvareni mit liberalne političke teorije. S druge strane, subverzivna umjetnost, koja uspije ukazati na to da sa naoko „normalnim“, samorazumljivim stvarima ipak nešto nije u redu, stvar je šireg društvenog interesa i zato je vrijedno razmisliti do kuda se može protegnuti pravo umjetnika da preispituje društvene norme, koje su se kristalizirale u pravnim normama i pravnoj praksi određenog društva. To je izuzetno značajno političko pitanje.

## KOJE SU MOGUĆE STRATEGIJE SUBVERZIJE UNUTAR INSTITUCIONALNIH PRAKSI UMETNOSTI? I KAKAV JE POLITIČKI POTENCIJAL UMETNIČKOG MEDIJA, ODNOSNO MOGUĆNOST OSTVARIVANJA SUBVERZIVNOG POLITIČKOG DELOVANJA KROZ UPOTREBU – I PROBLEMATIZACIJU – ODREĐENOG UMETNIČKOG MEDIJA?

Mogućće strategije su, naravno, brojne, međutim problem je u tome da su vrlo rijetke i uspješne kada je riječ o subvertiranju sistema umjetnosti kao takvog. Moje viđenje te situacije je da umjetnost dijeli sudbinu drugih ideoloških sfera u današnjem društvu, u kojima je također subverzivnost tek nominalna mogućnost, a njeni su stvarni učinci vrlo ograničeni.

Za politku u današnjim parlamentarnim demokracijama specifično je da je pod velikim utjecajem ekonomije i prava. Isto možemo reći i za umjetnost. Suvremena umjetnost mora naime igrati na kartu pravno garantiranih sloboda, jer to je garant njene „autonomne“ pozicije u odnosu prema politici (tzv. sloboda umjetničkog izražavanja), a istovremeno mora pristajati i na sistem autorskih prava, koji načelno štiti ekonomske interese umjetnika, ali je realnost takva da od toga imaju najviše koristi oni koji umjetnička djela (pre)prodaju, a ne oni koji ih stvaraju. S druge strane, umjetnici se moraju neprestano boriti za autonomiju u odnosu na pravnu sferu, koja teži k posvemašnjoj juridizaciji društva, pa tako i umjetnosti, uključujući i pravo umjetnika da sam definira što jest i što nije umjetnost. Pod pritiskom

politike i zbog neprestane prijetnje privat- se umjetnost sklanja pod okrilje pravne regulacije, specifični privilegij „umjetničke slobode“. Međutim, mora platiti i određenu cijenu.

Kako se ta cijena „formira“ možemo najbolje vidjeti baš na primjeru onog dijela umjetničke produkcije koji se odupire autoritetu tradicionalnih institucija i sistema umjetnosti, dakle u slučaju „antiumjetničkih“ i „avangardnih“ praksi. Stvar je slijedeća: Ako umjetnost želi biti subverzivna, mora biti kritična ne samo prema „društvu“ nego i prema vlastitim ontološkim pretpostavkama, a to je dovodi do točke na kojoj želi brisati zamišljenu granicu između umjetnosti i života (odnosno „neumjetnosti“). Nakon što je dogurao do te krajnje točke, radikalni umjetnik ne može natrag, već se mora odlučiti između dvije moguće strategije. Prva mogućnost je da si kaže slijedeće: to što radim uopće nije umjetnost, ali to zapravo i nije bitno, jer je neumjetnički značaj produkta samo logična konzekvencija moje libertarne, emancipatorne odluke da se distanciram od vlastite pozicije umjetnika. Iz te pozicije radikalne distanciranosti se potom može uputiti u sveti rat protiv opresivnog sistema umjetnosti. Druga mogućnost je da se poziva na avangardističko izjednačavanje umjetnosti i života pa si kaže slijedeće: to što radim je dođuše umjetnost, ali to zapravo i nije bitno, jer je ionako sve umjetnost, zato se mogu kao umjetnik, „iznutra“, boriti protiv ugnjetavačkog sistema umjetnosti kao u sebe zatvorenog, isključujućeg polja. I sad se možemo zapitati kakve posljedice može imati jedna ili druga odluka za subverzivnog umjetnika odnosno antiumjetnika? U prvom slučaju može se pozdraviti sa pravnim institutima relativne umjetničke autonomije (ili kako sam volim reći, funkcionalnog umjetničkog imuniteta) i autorskih prava – oboje je naime povezano s pravno prihvatljivom definicijom umjetnosti. U drugom slučaju će pak umjetnik sačuvati svoja prava, koja su mu priznata unutar pravne sfere, ali će ga upravo zbog toga optužiti za oportunističke i hipokrizije.

Vidimo dakle da je svaki pokušaj subverzije sistema umjetnosti u uvjetima neoliberalnog društva osuđen na rascjep- pljenost, da nema subverzivne strategije koja ne bi bila istovremeno i protuslovnna prema samoj sebi odnosno prema svojim vlastitim pretpostavkama. Time ne želim reći da se treba prepustiti defetizmu. Upravo suprotno, jedini smisao radikalnih umjetničkih strategija je upravo u tome da uvijek iznova problematiziraju sistem umjetnosti i da ne pristaju na učahurenost u njegove ideološke okvire.

#### **KAKO SE TE STRATEGIJE MENJAJU KADA JE SISTEM UGROŽEN? KAKO MOŽEMO MISLITI O UMETNOSTI KOJA INTER- VENIŠE U DRUŠTVU, KADA SU UZDRMANI DRUŠTVENI TEMELJI USLED GLOBALNE KRIZE KAPITALIZMA?**

Subverzivne akcije u okviru neoliberalnih političkih sustava mogu se vrlo lako anulirati već samim pozivanjem vladajuće kaste na „pravo na kritiku“ i „građanske slobode“, čime navodno dokazuju svoju demokratičnost, otvorenost, tolerantnost... Tim banalno jednostavnim manevrom bilo kakva subverzivna akcija može se prikazati kao najnormalniji dio političkog folklor, što bi pak trebalo ukazivati na „normalnost“ političke situacije. To je naravno cinizam, kojim se sistem perfektno štiti pred bilo kakvim direktnim ili protes- tnim akcijama. Primjera koji potvrđuju tu tezu možete naći ogromno, jer ih političari proizvode gotovo svakodnev- no. Da ne budem preopširan u svom odgovoru, spomenut ću samo jednog, koji vrlo dobro ilustrira taj razoružavajući cinizam neoliberalnog sistema. Kada je prije više godina Sloveniju posjetio predsjednik Svjetske banke, dočekala ga je grupica aktivista, koja je u znak „dobrodošlice“ bacila na njega jaja napunjena bojom, tako da je slovenski protokol imao pune ruke posla sa čišćenjem visokog gosta. Ali odmah nakon što su ga nekako „pokrpali“, predsjednik Svjetske banke na prijemu je taj događaj komentirao kao „pokazatelj slobode slovenskog društva, u kojem ljudi mogu slobodno izražavati svoje mišljenje“, a za ondašnjeg predsjednika slovenske vlade bio je to „dokaz našeg razvoja i demokracije“. Zamislite kakav je to vrhunski cinizam: predsjednik vlade implicitno se zahvaljuje aktivistima na njihovoj protestnoj akciji, jer su time Sloveniju uvrstili među razvijene demokratske zemlje.

U tim okolnostima su mogućnosti umjetničke intervencije vrlo sužene, jer su i sistem suvremene umjetnosti i post- fordistički kapitalizam vrlo slični kada je riječ o institucionalnom kanibalizmu: oba su naime sposobna apsorbirati i najžešće kritičare. Nekadašnju strategiju neposredne državne represije danas su zamijenile elegantnije forme cenzure: od političke i medijske diskreditacije do civilnih tužbi i ekonomske cenzure. Krajnja konzekvencija te stra- tegije je da umjetnik podlegne samocenzuri i da tako već unaprijed otupi oštricu svoje umjetničke akcije. Ako malo karikiram (mada znam za slučajeve za koje to mogu reći i bez karikiranja): umjetnika, koji djeluje u okviru tzv. pravne države neoliberalnog tipa, sistem prisiljava da prije nego nastupi u javnosti, potraži savjet advokata o oportunistič- ki takvog nastupa. Kazne zbog kršenja zakona, osobito kada je riječ o oštjetama, mogu biti tako drakonske da se mnogi *freelanceri* ili mali umjetnički kolektivi (NGO i slično) ne usuđuju previše riskirati. Time se naravno uništava upra- vo ono što bi trebalo biti specifično za umjetničku prak- su kao takvu: eksperiment i istraživanje, uključujući propitivanje granica do kojih se pri tome može ići. Tu situaciju anticipirao je Herbert Marcuse u eseju *O afirmativnom karakteru kulture*, u kojem je izme- đu ostaloga napisao da je „građansko društvo ih ozbiljno kao opći zahtjev samo u umjet- nosti“. Građansko društvo je dođuše stvorilo „slobodne individue“, međutim, zaključuje na kraju Marcuse, oslobodilo ih je kao osobe „koje same sebe treba da drže u stezi“.

nih (individualnih i korporativnih) tužbi lative, jer tamo jedino i može ostvarivati Ćutim za uživanje tog privilegija umjetnost

Opjevana „sloboda individualnog izbora“, granica, pretvara se tako, po riječima Je- *libérale: analyse de la soumission*), u „libe- podređuju vlasti, a da tu podređenost niti ne slobodni izbor.

koju je neoliberalni sistem doveo do krajnjih an-Léona Beauvoisa (u *Traite de la servitude* rralno ropstvo“: ljude treba dovesti do toga da se primjete, jer žive u uvjerenju da je to njihov vlastiti,

S druge strane, ne treba naravno naivno vjerovati u to da pravna država, ma koliko ona bila demokratska i libe- ralna, nije sposobna odreći se tih ideoloških suptilnosti i pribjeći goloj represiji kada se osjeti ugroženom. Osobito nakon američkog 11. septembra vidjeli smo, ne samo u SAD, nego i u Evropi, kako se vrlo brzo može smanjiti sposob- nost apsorpcije neoliberalnog sistema kada ga uhvati „sigurnosna panika“: umjesto institucionalnog cinizma tada na scenu ponovo stupa državno nasilje. Notorni primjer iz SAD je progon pripadnika umjetničko-aktivističkog kolektiva Critical Art Ensemble, kojega su državni organi potpuno apsurdno optužili zbog bioterorizma i život mu za više godi- na pretvorili u kafkijanski pakao. Ne manje paradigmatičan evropski slučaj bila je aretacija pripadnika umjetničko- aktivističke grupe VolksTheater Karawane, koji su pretrpili grubo nasilje talijanske policije i bili potom optuženi za terorizam, jer je policija tvrdila da su kod njih pronašli oružje (zapravo se radilo o dječjim igračkama u obliku oružja) i vojna oprema (a to su bile sportske kacige), što su naravno bili potpuno bezazleni rekviziti za njihove performanse.

#### **NA KOJE SE NAČINE POJAM POLITIČNOG U DRAMI I (DRAMSKOM) TEATRU MENJAO KROZ 20. VEK?**

Politizaciju umjetnosti, pa tako i teatra, u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća obično povezujemo s historijskim avangardama, a vjerojatno najpoznatije opće mjesto u teoretskoj refleksiji tih gibanja je Benjaminova teza o komunističkoj „politi- zaciji umjetnosti“ kao odgovoru na fašističku „estetizaciju politike“. Teza fascinira svojom elegancijom, ali ona nikada nije bila neupitna – dovoljno je da pomislimo na žestoku polemiku, koju su 30ih godina vodili prominentni umovi nje- mačke ljevice (Adorno, Benjamin, Bloch, Brecht i Lukács) o odnosu ekspresionizma i realizma, angažirane umjetnosti i lartpouarlartizma itd. U njemačkom teatru onog vremena su kao izrazito politički autori slovlili Piscator i Brecht; prvi kroz praksu Proleterskog kazališta u Berlinu (nazivali su ga i „scena revolucionarnih radnika“) i kasnije Pisca- tor-Bühne, a drugi kao rani suputnik ekspresionizma i izumitelj poučnih komada izrazito političkog sadržaja. U sovjetskoj Rusiji su uz autore „kazališnog oktobra“, među kojima se osobito ističe Meyerhold, djelovali brojni umjetnički i paraumjetnički agitatori agitpropa, proletkulta i masovnih inscenacija historijskih događaja, poput zauzeća Zimskog dvorca, kojega je režirao Evreinov 1920. u Petrogradu. U Francuskoj možemo pratiti prilično zamršene odnose nadrealista s francuskom komunističkom partijom, što je na kraju dovelo i do razlaza između Bretona i Aragona. Kod dadaista su pak vidljive velike razlike između ciriškog i berlinskog razdoblja, jer se prvo smatra više apolitičko, a drugo više politički angažirano – što na kraju dovodi i do učlanjenja viđenijih dadaista u komunističku partiju. Ranu fazu talijanskog futurizma obilježilo je koketiranje s fašistima, pa se je tako Marinetti pojavio na njihovoj izbornoj listi. Uglavnom, historijske avangarde bile su na ovaj ili onaj način uključene u politička zbivanja svog vremena, a to je ostavilo traga i u njihovoj umjetničkoj praksi.

Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata pojavljuju se Sartrove tezne drame, Beckettova i Ionescova dramatika apsurd, Wei- sssov dokumentarni teatar, političko kazalište Dürrenmatta i Frischa... Za neke je možda npr. teatar apsurdna apolitič- ki, ali to bi bilo vrlo usko gledanje na političnost umjetnosti. Roland Barthes jednom je rekao da s procjenom što jest i što nije „angažirano“ ne treba žuriti, jer angažirano i prividno neangažirano mogu biti različiti „vidovi iste ideje“. Sjećam se nekog članka Jana Kotta, u kojem spominje inscenaciju Beckettovog *Godota* u Varšavi krajem 50ih godina. Gledaoci su predstavu doživjeli kao izrazito politički teatar, jer su je povezali s aktualnom političkom situacijom, a ta je bila u znaku očekivanja Hruščovljevog obračuna sa staljinizmom. Za teatar 60ih moglo bi se reći da se njegova političnost ogleda u odbacivanju iluzionizma; sredinom 60ih Sartre je tu situaciju opisao kao odbacivanje psihologi- zacije, fabule i realizma.

Na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije dosta se raspravljalo o političkom kazalištu krajem 70ih i tokom 80ih godina, kada se je angažirani teatar sukobljavao s raznim traumama i tabu temama kasnosocijalističkog društva. Predstavnike tog trenda možemo naći po cijeloj bivšoj državi, a u Sloveniji je značajnu ulogu odigralo Mladinsko gledališče. Od 1980. godine, kada je nastala prelomna predstava *Missa in a minor* (po motivima *Grobnice za Borisa Davidoviča* Danila Kiša), to kazalište razvijalo je svoj prepoznatljivi stil, u kojem su prevladavale političke teme, urbana (sub)kultura, kolektivna gluma i – što se može smatrati posebnim uspjehom – mlađa publika. Ali unatoč postignutim uspjesima i nekim nesporno vrhunskim predstavama, političko kazalište bivše Jugoslavije se je kao ideja i praksa iscrpilo već u drugoj polovini 80ih: paradigma se je još uvijek održavala na životu zahvaljući mjestimice solidnoj produkciji, ali ubrzo je zašla u manirizam i deklarativnost. Tako se krajem 80ih i početkom 90ih pojavljuje nova generacija, koja je radikalno prekinula s tom paradigmom i uvela sasvim novi način razmišljanja o pojmu politič- kog u kazalištu. Umjesto disidentskog gundala, koja se uvela u teatar, u njemu se uvode se postupci tzv. subverzivne afirmacije i „nadidentifikacije“, dakle umjetnički postupci koji su izrazito konceptualni i politički. Politička optika se radikalno mijenja i subverzivnost umjetničkog djelovanja ne proističe više toliko iz parabola, iz „čitanja između redaka“, iz „društvenih anomalija“, koje se prikazuju

bilo „ludističkim“ bilo realističkim sredstvi-  
ceptu istraživačkog teatra i konstrukciji no-  
sceni. Tu se ne radi više toliko o političnosti fabu-  
o tome kako se te teme obrađuju u predstavama  
teatra s kraja prošlog stoljeća ogleda se u eksper-  
reprezentacije i politikama percepcije, a Hans-Thies  
zališta, k tome dodaje i postupak „razdramatizacije“ kao

ma, nego se naprotiv ustrajava na kon-  
vog historijsko-političkog konteksta na  
le u brechtovskom smislu, nego prije svega  
i kako ih publika percipira. Dakle političnost  
mentiranju s načinima (pa i krajnjim granicama)  
Lehmann, autor koncepta tzv. postdramskog ka-  
očekivanu reakciju ondašnjeg teatra na teatralizaciju  
politike i društva u cjelini.

Suvremene scenske umjetnosti su, kao uostalom i one koje im prethode, „djeca svog vremena“. Izrazito političke  
forme poput radikalnog performansa i direktnog teatra samo su jedan dio te priče. Kao što se je Politika (s velikim  
P) raspala na nepreglednu masu identitetnih politika i suvremeni teatar neprestano traga za svojim političkim par-  
ticularizmima kroz otkrivanje uvijek novih identitetnih niša. Na komplicirane političke odnose i reprezentacije suvre-  
mene scenske umjetnosti reagiraju eklektično: otvaraju naoko apolitične problematike ili na scenu dovode radikalno  
političke sadržaje; opće produkcijske odnose u društvu politiziraju putem aktualizacije vlastitih uvjeta produkcije,  
koji za njihovu publiku mogu biti ili sasvim očiti ili skoro sasvim nepoznati; isprobavaju razne politike reprezentacije  
i istovremeno stavljaju na kušnju sposobnosti percepcije suvremene publike itd.

Siegfried Melchinger svoju je knjigu o političkom kazalištu započeo riječima: „Tko se hoće u kazalištu baviti politikom,  
prethodno se odlučio: njegova je profesija primarno teatar, a ne politika.“ Upravo tako: kazališna predstava nije ni  
zasjedanje parlamenta, ni sjednica vlade, ni stranački skup, ali to ne znači da umjetnost ne može biti politična. Pojam  
političnog znatno je širi od politike kao profesije, a isto se može reći i za umjetnost. O odnosu umjetnosti i politike,  
koja je jedna od njegovih omiljenih tema, Rancière je napisao da se tu ne radi o odnosu fikcije i realnosti, nego o odno-  
su između dva načina produkcije fikcije. Drugim riječima, politika nije nešto izvanjsko umjetnosti, ona je njen sastavni  
dio. A budući da se radi o „živom organizmu“, promišljanje tog odnosa nikada ne može biti dorečeno, kao što se niti  
sami pojmovi umjetnosti i politike nikada ne mogu do kraja izoštriti. Rasprava o umjetnosti i politici je dakle jedna  
tipična *never ending story*.

**ALDO MILOHNIĆ** je magistar sociologije kulture. Zaposlen je u Mirovnom institutu – Institutu za savremene druš-  
tvene i političke studije u Ljubljani, kao naučni saradnik na istraživanjima iz oblasti sociologije kulture i kulturnih  
politika. Urednik je edicije *Politike* i autor nekoliko knjiga, od kojih je najnovija *Teorije savremenog pozorišta i perfor-  
mansa* (2009), koja se upravo prevodi na srpski jezik. Uredio je desetak tematskih brojeva časopisa za umetnost i  
kulturu, a svoje tekstove najčešće objavljuje u pozorišnim časopisima (*Maska, Frakcija, TkH, Amfiteater, Perfor-  
mance Research* itd), zatim u katalozima i zbornicima. Učestvovao je u brojnim međunarodnim konfe-  
rencijama iz oblasti društvenih teorija, teorija kul- ture, izvođačkih umetnosti i kulturnih politika,  
a često predaje i na *Seminaru savremenih scen- skih umetnosti* (Maska, Ljubljana). Oblasti  
njegovog interesovanja su sociologija kulture, kulture politike, teorija izvođačkih umet-  
nosti i epistemologija društvenih nauka i humanistike.

# AMATERSKI, NEFORMALNO, AKTIVISTIČKI, SAMOORGANIZOVANO... TAMNA MATERIJ I POLITIZACIJA UMETNIČKOG RADA

Povod za ovaj razgovor je predavanje koje je Gregory Sholette održao u Beogradu juna 2011. u okviru promocije svoje nedavno objavljene knjige *Dark Matter* (Tamna materija: umetnost i politika u doba preduzetničke kulture) (Sholette 2010), koja se bavi savremenim sistemom umetnosti, kolektivnim praksama i umetničkim aktivizmom, naročito u društveno-političkom kontekstu SAD. Sholetteova knjiga počinje razmatranjem pojma *tamne materije* kako se on inače određuje u astrofizici – kao „nevidljiva masa, do sada samo posredno primećena posmatranjem vidljivih astronomskih objekata poput zvezda i galaksija“ – i pokazuje kako savremena umetnička scena funkcioniše shodno sličnim načelima. Percepcija sistema umetnosti kao nekakve sjajne površine nastanjene pojedinačnim umetnicima „zvezdama“ i „galaksijama“ novih naraštaja mladih umetnika (koje podstiču kritičari, kolekcionari, galeristi, muzeji, kustosi i administratori) zahteva prisustvo, podršku i investiranje preostalih 90%: „nevidljivih“ stvaralaca i kulturnih radnika koji u sistemu umetnosti učestvuju ili kao kritički opredeljeni proizvođači ili kao ljubitelji umetnosti i probirljivi potrošači. Pitanje koje Sholette postavlja jeste da li bi i kako umetnici, svesno radeći izvan i protiv parametara konvencionalne umetničke scene, mogli iskoristiti energiju koju proizvodi „tamna materija“ i pomoću nje baciti drugačije svetlo na umetničku proizvodnju i njen društveni status.

**JELENA VEŠIĆ: POČNIMO OVAJ RAZGOVOR OPSERVACIJOM DA VAŠA KNJIGA PREDSTAVLJA NEKU VRSTU KRITIKE „INSTITUCIJE UMETNOSTI“ – O KOJOU SU PISALI, KAKO PETER BÜRGER, TAKO I ADORNO I HORKHEIMER, I U KOJOU SE ODREĐENA AKTUELNOST, ČINI SE, JOŠ UVEK MOŽE NAĆI. UKOLIKO SAVREMENI KAPITALIZAM KAO GLOBALNI POLITIČKI POREDAK POČIVA NA ZAMISLI PREDUZEĆA „KULTURE“ (PRINCIP KULTURNIH INDUSTRIJA, RAZLIČITI KONCEPTI KULTURIZACIJE ITD), ONDA JE SAVREMENOJ UMETNOSTI NUŽNO POTREBAN NEKAKAV VID PRESTROJAVANJA I UDALJAVANJA OD ONOGA ŠTO SE PROMOVUJE KAO „KULTURA“ ILI „UMETNOST“. DRUGIM REČIMA, POTREBNA JOJ JE REPOLITIZACIJA. VAŠA KNJIGA TAMNA MATERIJ I NAAGLAŠAVA TENDENCIJU EKONOMSKOG ODREĐENJA POLITIZACIJE UMETNOSTI. ONA SE, IZMEĐU OSTALOG BAVI NEJEDNAKOSTIMA U DISTRIBUCIJI BOGATSTVA I MOĆI NA ŠIREM PODRUČJU UMETNOSTI, ŠTO NA NEKI NAČIN PREDSTAVLJA KLASIČNO MARKSISTIČKO STANoviŠTE, PO KOJEM EKONOMIJA PREDSTAVLJA OSNOVU SVAKE POLITIZACIJE UMETNOSTI. KAKO VIDITE POJAM „TAMNE MATERIJ I“ U ODNOSU NA SAVREMENU EKONOMIJ I POLITIZACIJ I RADA?**

**GREGORY SHOLETTE:** To je za početak odlično pitanje, pošto jedan od razloga zašto sam napisao knjigu i pokušao da napravim jednu po Vama „klasičnu“ marksističku analizu političke ekonomije savremene umetnosti jesu raširene tvrdnje mnogih umetnika, kritičara, kustosa i kulturnih institucija danas da je to što oni rade neka vrsta društvene kritike. Čini se kao da je „političnost“ u ovom trenutku obaveza, čak i za one umetnike čiji bi radovi pre samo par decenija bili nazivani apstraktnim ili formalističkim. Pomodarski položaj „političke umetnosti“ jasno se vidi u nedavnom porastu participativnih ili društveno angažovanih umetničkih projekata pri umetničkoj fondaciji Dia (Franz Erhard Walther: *Work as Action* / Delo kao čin);<sup>1</sup> pri Novom muzeju (Chto Delat iz Rusije, a pre njih radovi osnivača grupe 16 Beaver Street Renea Gabrija i Ayreen Anastas);<sup>2</sup> kao i Guggenheimovog muzeja u Njujorku (Futurefarmers).<sup>3</sup> Ovde ne sporim značajnu i kritičku pokretačku snagu većine od tih radova, ali ono što mislim da je sada najvažnije jeste da svako ko umetnošću želi da izrazi politički stav mora i kritikovati simboličku i fiskalnu ekonomiju savremene umetnosti. To je suštinski korak u *repolitizaciji* umetnosti, koja bi mogla prerasti i u *pre-opčinjavanje* [re-enchantment] umetnosti. *Dark Matter* jeste interencija koja za cilj ima upravo takav korak. Na jednom mestu to opisujem kao prekid u „nepokretnoj imovini“ sveta umetnosti:

1 Vid. <http://www.diaart.org/exhibitions/main/109>.  
2 Vid. <http://www.16beavergroup.org/07.16.11.htm>.

3 Vid. <http://www.guggenheim.org/new-york/press-room/releases/3944-futurefarmersrelease>.

Većina učesnika sveta umetnosti zapravo se odgaja za neuspeh, putem jednog ustrojenog sistema političke (malo „p“) nerazvijenosti. Samo bi oni koji veruju da nadarenost (poput plemićkog porekla) neizbežno određuje sudbinu pojedinca opisali to kao prirodno stanje. Pa ipak, tako se tržište umetnosti najčešće opisuje, kao prirodna ekonomija koja nagrađuje zbilja nadarene umetnike. Šta je neophodno da bi se ova slika promenila? Najpre, oni izuzeci koji uspeju mogli bi postati neka vrsta fusnote široj društvenoj inteligenciji ili kolektivnom talentu. Dalje, što se više svet umetnosti bude približavao punoj zaposlenosti, to će obuhvatati mase sve veće od vlastite ideološke konstrukcije. To bi izgledalo kao logička nemogućnost, osim ako ne bismo zamislili jedan sasvim drugačiji svet umetnosti, sa sasvim drugačijom dodelom umetničkih „nekretnina“.

Taj drugi, nerazvijeni svet umetnosti jeste ključni sastojak onoga što ja nazivam *tamnom materijom* (što takođe opisujem kao skrivenu društvenu proizvodnju, masu koja nedostaje i senovit arhiv istorije umetnosti). Ta metafora ne samo što povezuje uspeh manjine sa strukturnim neuspehom većine, već ukazuje i na nečujnu prirodu te mase koja nedostaje. Drugim rečima, *tamna materija* ne poseduje vlastiti diskurs. Zato povežem većinu profesionalno školovanih umetnika, školovanih da ne uspeju, sa još većim brojem neformalnih ili umetnika amatera koje jednostavno nije briga za profesionalne povlastice kao što su gomile pomoćnika, pažnja kritičara na svetskoj razini, avionske karte u prvoj klasi za otvaranje samostalnih izložbi u Veneciji, ili večere sa upravnicima muzeja i bogatim članovima upravnih odbora MoMA-e ili Novog muzeja u Njujorku.

Ali pre nego što pokušamo da politički preformulišemo umetnost, pre nego što je pokušamo odvojiti od preduzetničke kulture i katastrofičnog kapitalizma, moramo prvo sagledati koliko je ona (i koliko smo mi) duboko isprepletani s tržištem. I da, umetnost je svakako oduvek bila neka vrsta poslovanja, barem od vremena Renesanse. I da, to je svakako bilo tako i u vreme pariske avangarde 19. veka. Ipak, kako su kritičari kao što su Chin-Tao Wu, Julian Stallabrass i Martha Rosler pokazali, restrukturisanje svetske ekonomije koje se odvija od kasnih 1970ih (u SAD i Velikoj Britaniji, a u Istočnoj Evropi od 1989.) takođe je temeljno izmenilo proizvodnju umetnosti, goneći i nju i njene kritičare, kustose i čitav izložbeni aparat sve dublje u zagrljaj svetskog finansijskog kapitala. Ovakvo to Wu opisuje: uticaj korporativnog poslovanja je „uznapredovao u svakoj fazi savremene umetnosti – u proizvodnji, širenju i recepciji“ (Wu 2003, 2). Zato se slažem sa svojim nekadašnjim profesorom, Jean-Pierreom Gorinom, koji je zajedno s Jean-Luc-om Godardom isticao da (ovde parafraziram) cilj nije stvarati političku umetnost, već umetnost stvarati politički.

**JV: ŠTA SE DEŠAVA SA IDEOLOGIJOM U TOJ „PRIČI O UMETNOSTI“ NA KOJU ŽELITE DA OBRATITE PAŽNJU SVOJOM NOVOM KNJIGOM? POMENULI STE U NEDAVNO ODRŽANOM PREDAVANJU DA SÂM POJAM IDEOLOGIJE NIJE NAROČITO ZNAČAJAN ZA POLITIČKE UMETNIKE O KOJIMA PIŠETE... BILO BI ZANIMLJIVO ČUTI ZAŠTO JE TO SLUČAJ I ŠTA JE VAŠ STAV PO PITANJU ZANEMARIVANJA IDEOLOGIJE, POŠTO I SÂM KAPITALIZAM TEŽI DA SE PRIKAŽE NEIDEOLOŠKIM, RAME UZ RAME S POSTMODERNISTIČKIM TVRDNJAMA O KRAJU IDEOLOGIJE... S DRUGE STRANE, REKLI STE DA STE *DARK MATTER* NAMERNO NAPISALI TENDENCIOSNO, SHODNO BENJAMINOVOM IDEJAMA O POLITIČKOJ TENDENCIJI...**

**GS:** Stigao sam na istočni donji Menhetn 1977. godine, da bih studirao umetnost na Cooper Unionu. Pošto sam stigao iz svog filadelfijskog predgrađa, moj svet bele radničke/nije srednje klase brzo je preobrazio život na Menhetnu. Grad je i dalje bio u ropcu velikog ekonomskog i društvenog sloma. Ali za razliku od predgrađa, ovde je propadanje bilo očigledno na svakom koraku. Podzemna želznica nije radila, državne bolnice i škole su bile zatvarane. To je uslovlilo sklapanje dogovora sa industrijom finansija, osiguranja i nekretnina, ne bi li se grad suštinski ukrao sindikatima i radnim ljudima. U tom je okruženju rođeno moje shvatanje ideologije i kritike ideologije.

Jedan od prvih umetničkih kurseva koje sam pohađao bio je kurs nemačkog umetnika Hansa Haackea, umetnika koji mi je ostao prijatelj i nadahnuće tokom ovih 35 godina. Uglavnom, na tom takozvanom kursu vajarstva, Haacke je nama, studentima umetnosti dao jedan spisak literature. Bilo je to pomalo iznenađujuće, jer je to trebalo da bude jedan studijski kurs; ipak, prihvatio sam izazov, sa određenom glađu za znanjem. Jedan od tekstova koje nam je Haacke zadao bile su *Mitologije* Rolanda Barthesa, a drugi Benjaminova „Umetnost u doba mehaničke reprodukcije“. Tada sam se već mučio s prvim tomom Marxovog *Kapitala*, a i izučavao malo poznatu povest američke levice sa grupom radničkih aktivista. Ali ono što je Marx činio s mojim opažanjem svakodnevnih stvarnosti – bukvalno ga okrećući naglavce – Benjamin i Barthes su sada činili s mojim poimanjem umetnosti.

Barthesovo „čitanje“ jedne naslovnice *Paris matcha* ili čak nekog parčeta plastike kao neke vrste alibija za čitav jedan skup politički ispunjenih značenja ili mitova o kolonijalizmu, rasizmu i klasnim pitanjima, bilo je neodoljivo. Kretati se po Donjem Menhetnu koji se raspadao i onda ući u neku umetničku galeriju u SoHou ispunjenu geometrijskim platnima i minimalističkim kockama činilo se kao temeljan prekid, naročito u kontekstu kritičkih uvida koje sam dobijao iz te literature. Ono na šta su se usredsređivali Haacke i još nekolicina drugih umetnika i kritičara njegove i naredne generacije (uključujući Burena, Gorina, Rosler, Sekulu, Lonidiera, Burgina i ranog Kosutha, kao i kritičare poput Lippard, Buchloha, Fosterera, Owensa i Johna Bergera), bila je demitologizacija ili demistifikacija svakodnevnih izgleda stvari, u nekim slučajevima uključujući oglašavanje (Burgin, Rosler, Sekula, Lonidier), a u

drugim visoku umetnost (Haacke, Buren).<sup>4</sup> To se obično svodilo na povezivanje neke poznate slike ili skupa slikâ s nekim „otkrovenjem“ od teksta koji raskrinkava nešto što slika posredno ili neposredno pokušava da „zataška“.

Nepomenuta a pokretačka figura iza čitave te demistifikacije umetnosti, perfromans arta, filma i videa tokom 70ih godina bio je Bertolt Brecht. Barthes, Benjamin i Brecht sačinjavali su multigeneracijsko trojstvo intelektualaca koji su jednu skupinu konceptualnih umetnika 70ih gotovo preobrazili u školu demistifikovanja umetnosti.<sup>5</sup> Nedugo potom, značajno uobličena i proširena feminizmom, psihoanalizom, postkolonijalizmom i politizovanim kritičkim poststrukturalizmom, ova će kritika ideologije posredno ili neposredno oblikovati jedan grubo određen krug umetnika iz narednog naraštaja koji su često radili zajedno, uključujući Group Material (1979-1997), Political Art Documentation/Distribution odnosno PAD/D (1980-1988), Guerilla Girls (1985-), Gran Fury (1988-1994), REPOhistory (1989-2000), kao i taktičke medijske grupe, kao što su Critical Art Ensemble (1986-) i The Yes Men (2000-), između ostalih. Sad napokon da se okrenem Vašem konkretnom pitanju o trenutnoj situaciji: ono što primećujem da se dešava danas jeste jedan odlučan otklon od kritike ideologije (tj. demistifikacije, demitologizacije, demitizacije) ka nečemu što bi se moglo opisati kao remitizacija. Prikazivanje činjeničnog, dokazivog neslaganja između slike i toga što ona oslikava kao da odjednom nekako više nema sposobnosti da utiče na uobičajenu stvarnost, a kamoli da svrgne njene političke institucije. Nasuprot tome, izdvojiću samo dva primera demistifikacije u SAD iz domena istraživačkog novinarstva. Prvi je objavljivanje *Pentagonskih spisa* 1966. godine, koji su šokirali i naterali američku javnost da više ne veruje zvaničnim vladinim pričama o ratu u Vijetnamu, a drugi se tiče obaranja Nixona tokom 70ih godina razotkrivanjem provale u hotelu Watergate. Siguran sam da ćete se setiti sličnih slučajeva iz pretkapitalističkog doba u kojima je zvanično lice države odjednom bilo prekinuto ili trenutno dematerijalizovano. Ipak, možda je umetnost bivše Jugoslavije, uključujući Laibach i IRWIN (NSK), ta koja najjasnije određuje novu poziciju, u kojoj se ideologija ne demistifikuje, već joj se pristupa kao nekoj vrsti umetničkog medija za upotrebu u slikarstvu, muzici i pozorištu. Ukoliko ova estetička „izvedba ideologije“, kao što Žižek tvrdi, izaziva preteranu identifikaciju s državnom idealnom zamišlju sjedinjenog nacionalnog bića i čak možda vodi jednoj samosvesti u odnosu na ovu ontološku zabludu, onda se uistinu vraćamo nekom obliku kritike ideologije. Međutim, to nije neizbežno i krajnji ishod ove intervencije. U nekim slučajevima, što možda važi i za NSK, to nije ni namera. U najslabijim ili najgorim situacijama, to prepoistovećivanje učvršćuje nacionalističke, rasističke, ksenofobične tendencije, umesto da im se suprotstavlja. (Mada nisam u situaciji da ovo tvrdim kada je reč o NSK, imam ozbiljne sumnje u „kritički“ sadržaj umetnika Santiaga Sierre.)<sup>6</sup> Ono što nam se napokon ukazuje jeste obrt kojim se kritika zasnovana na želji i uživanju u epistemološkom ispravljanju zamenjuje željom za i zadovoljstvom u ontološkom eksperimentisanju. Možda je zato danas Joseph Beuys uticajniji nego Hans Haacke ili bilo koji od umetnika i kritičara od kojih sam ja učio krajem 70ih i početkom 80ih i koje povezujem sa „školom“ ideološke kritike.

**JV: KRITIČKA I POLITIČKA UMETNOST O KOJOJ PIŠETE PRESECA SE S RAZNIM AMATERSKIM, NEFORMALNIM, AUTONOMNIM, AKTIVISTIČKIM I SAMOORGANIZOVANIM PRAKSAMA KOJE DEFINIŠETE KAO INFRAINSTITUCIONALNE. KAKO BISTE OBJASNILI TU INFRAVIDLJIVOST U ŠIREM OKVIRU SHVATANJA ŠTA BI INSTITUCIJA UMETNOSTI MOGLA DANAS DA BUDE? ČINI SE KAO DA SE DANAS SLOŽENA PITANJA INSTITUCIJA ČESTO SVODE ILI NA JEDNOSTAVNO ANARHISTIČKO BEZREZERVNO SUPROTSTAVLJANJE BILO KAKVOM INSTITUCIONALNOM OKVIRU ILI NA INTELEKTUALISTIČKO MIRENJE SA SVEPROŽIMAJUĆOM MOĆI INSTITUCIJA. GRANICE INSTITUCIJE, SHVAĆENE U USKOM SMISLU „DRŽAVNIH APARATA“, SRAZMerno SE LAKO OTKRIVAJU, DOK SE ISTOVREMENO SÂM POJAM INSTITUCIJE MOŽE RAZUMETI ŠIRE – KAO „DRUŠTVENO ORGANIZOVANO I NORMATIVNO REGULISANO PONAŠANJE“ – I TADA VEĆ GOVORIMO O NEČEMU ŠTO JE DUBOKO UKORENJENO U NAŠIM SVAKODNEVNIM PRAKSAMA. PITAM SE DA LI STROGO DIHOTOMISANJE INSTITUCIONALNE „NUTRINE“, KOJOM RECIMO UPRAVLJA DRŽAVA, I VANINSTITUCIONALNE „SPOLJAŠNJOSTI“, KOJA JE SPONTANA I SAMOORGANIZOVANA, POJEDNOSTAVLJUJE NE SAMO NAŠE SHVATANJE SAVREMENIH INSTITUCIJA UMETNOSTI, VEĆ I PROIZVODNJU I DISTRIBUCIJU POLITIČKOG MIŠLJENJA I DELANJA SREDSTVIMA UMETNOSTI.**

**GS:** Opisali ste „instituciju umetnosti“ upravo onako kako bih je i ja opisao – kao arenu slaganja i neslaganja i povremeno „samoorganizovanog“ otpora složeniju nego što to veći deo diskursa danas priznaje. Stoga bi pojam infrainstitucionalnog značio pojmovnu i doslednu nevidljivost, kao i nemogućnost imenovanja u diskursima tržišta umetnosti i većine muzeja, pa čak i mnogih neprofitnih umetničkih prostora.

<sup>4</sup> Ovdje mi dozvolite da primetim da su, koliko se sećam, pojmovi „dekonstrukcije“ i „dekonstruisanja“ počeli da ulaze u jezik političkih umetnika Njujorka tek sredinom 80ih, nedugo pošto je 1984. objavljen engleski prevod Derridine *Gramatologije*, kao i da su često bili pogrešno upotrebljavani, barem s filozofskog stanovišta.

<sup>5</sup> Za više informacija o Brechtu i konceptualnim umetnicima 70ih godina, preporučujem skorašnji

rad istoričara umetnosti Philipa Glana, „21st-century Brecht“, *Afterimage* 38/6, maj/jun 2011, str. 12-15; <http://www.vsw.org/ai/issues/afterimage-vol-38-no-6/>.

<sup>6</sup> Nasuprot Sierrinoj strategiji preispitivanja „izrabljivanja“ pomoću umetnosti, analizirao sam pobunjenički projekat Swampwalls u tekstu „Swampwalls Project Dark Matter & the Lumpen Army of Art“, <http://proximitymagazine.com/2008/12/swampwalls/>.

**JV: GDE BISTE TAČNO POSTAVILI TE „INFRAINSTITUCIONALNE“ PRAKSE U ODNOSU NA TZV. PRAKSE INSTITUCIONALNE KRITIKE KAO VEĆ, DA TAKO KAŽEMO, KLASIČNE „FIGURE“ SAVREMENE ISTORIJE UMETNOSTI?**

**GS:** Vratio bih se na kraj svog odgovora na prethodno pitanje, gde objašnjavam obrt koji se dogodio kod pojedinih umetnika, obrt od bavljenja epistemološkim ka bavljenju ontološkim pitanjima, tako da se kritička umetnička praksa koja je nekad tragala za dubljom istinom ili za dubljim istinama nevidljivim konvencionalnom opažanju povukla, po mom mišljenju, u korist umetničkog usredsređivanja na izgradnju oblikâ zajedničkog iskustva i grupne identifikacije. Ova bi sklonost ka građenju mitova idealno želela da se razlikuje od društvenog zamišljenog, koje nudi ili tržište ili država (istina, ovo dvoje su sada već možda jedno te isto). Ipak, ne nudeći analizu ideološke konstrukcije, ona rizikuje da potvrdi upravo ono što pokušava da prevaziđe ili iz čega pokušava da izađe. Shodno tome, neformalni, tročlani kolektiv Paper Rad kojim se bavim u *Dark Matter* možda iskreno želi da bude subverzivno „drugi“ – drugi u odnosu na tradicionalne umetnike, drugi u odnosu na pojedinačne autore, drugi u odnosu na tržišno motivisane kreativne radnike – pa ipak su sve te konvencionalne odlike uspele da ih stignu i preuzmu i njih i njihov rad (Sholette 2010, 26-28). Možda bi im se to dogodilo čak i da su raspolagali oštrijim poimanjem načina na koji svet umetnosti funkcioniše (mada sam siguran da sada, pošto su se pojavili na nekoliko bijenala i u Tateu, imaju bolji uvid nego ja). Ipak, gubljenje iz vida uloge koju institucije umetnosti imaju u građenju svačijeg umetničkog identiteta gotovo da jamči da će otpor njihovoj ekonomskoj, istorijskoj i društvenoj materijalnosti biti kratkog daha, ako ne i štetan.

Što se tiče onoga što se danas zvanično naziva institucionalnom kritikom, mislim da se uglavnom shvata kao jedan vid zabave, koristan za privlačenje sofisticiranane, akademskije publike, između popularnijih izložbi i programa. Ono čega se ja bojim jeste da se društveno angažovana kritička umetnost kreće u istom smeru, ne zato što je prevazišla kritiku institucija, već stoga što je napustila tu razinu kulturnog suprotstavljanja kao puki domen akademskog sveta umetnosti.

**JV: DAKLE, UMEMTO „DOMENA AKADEMskog SVETA UMETNOSTI“, VI STE IZABRALI TAKOZVANE PSEUDO-INSTITUCIJE I JEDNO OD POGAVLJA VAŠE KNJIGE POSVEĆENO JE TOJ TAKTIČKOJ FORMACIJI...**

**GS:** Da, „pseudo-institucija“, mehanizam za preživljavanje koji se meni čini sasvim jasnim, kao sredstvo koje su mlađi umetnici stvorili ne bi li se održali u društvu koje više ne podržava zajedničku aktivnost, drugim rečima, u društvu koje više nije društvo. Ali takva institucionalnost zapravo nije nova, niti bi mogla postojati bez – ovde mi oprostite na formulaciji – institucionalizacije institucionalne kritike kao negativnog primera mnogim neformalnim grupama i kolektivima. Koristeći sva dostupna sredstva, ovaj skorašnji talas umetničkog kolektivizma poigrava se sa krhotinama brodoloma društva, rasklapajući ga, ponovo ga sklapajući i čak parodirajući ili izvrgavajući ruglu samu ulogu institucija. Sve se to veoma razlikuje od militantne politike otpora 60ih, 70ih, pa čak i ranih 80ih godina. Na primer, PAD/D se trudio da održi kulturu levice kao zasebnu oblast u odnosu na konvencionalni svet umetnosti. Čak i 80ih godina, još se moglo pripadati jednom širem, masovnom pokretu. Nasuprot tome, politika novih pseudo-institucija i e-kolektivizma je privremena, prilagodljiva i plastična. Njihova taktika pozicioniranja, za razliku od ideološkog ubeđenja, dobija najtačniju teoretizaciju u radovima Michela de Certeaua.

Pišući u povesnom trenutku koji Paolo Virno opisuje kao epilog jedne propale revolucije, Certeau je u svojoj ključnoj knjizi *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Certeau 2003) pokušao da iz jedne loše situacije izvuče najviše što se iz nje moglo izvući, pretpostavljajući svakodnevni društveni otpor masovnoj akciji. Odbacujući sukobljavajuću i prostorno određenu politiku levičarskih stranaka i sindikata, Certeau je pozivao na kritičke taktike koje se uvlače „na mesto drugoga, fragmentarno, ne preuzimajući ga u potpunosti, bez mogućnosti da ga drže na distanci“. Pošto ne poseduje vlastiti prostor, ova naizgled krhka, jedva politička tvorevina u potpunosti zavisi od prilika koje zgrabi čim se pojave. Takve se prilike ne javljaju u velikim sukobima poput masovnih demonstracija ili blokada, već unutar svakodnevnih situacija, kao što su pričanje, čitanje, kretanje, kupovina ili kvanje. Dalje, ovo neideološko dejstvo nema političke osnove, zato jer „što god osvoji, ne zadržava“. Ono nema zakona koje bi moglo da primeni, niti nadležnosti koje bi moglo da podrži. Konačno i najnejasnije, kako Certeau ističe, „ono ne poseduje sliku o sebi“.

Sve to možda objašnjava zašto je oponašanje neopipljivog područja organizacionog označavanja i otelovljenja jedna od najčešćih taktika preživljavanja koje ovaj novi kolektivizam malog obima koristi. Nazovite to nekom vrstom institucionalne mimikrije (ili pseudo-institucionalizma) – kao da je u ovom vremenu zapuštenih institucija i propalih država umetnik podražavalac, na koga nas je još Sokrat upozoravao, sakupio paramparčad jednog razbijenog sveta i pretvorio ih u jednu poboljšanu *extraordinaire* društvenu stvarnost drugog reda. Kao da preklapanjem dva različita stanja bića u svetu – jednog duboko sumnjičavog spram institucionalne vlasti bilo koje vrste i stoga neformalno organizovanog i drugog, koje oponaša, katkad zaprepašćujuće tačno, stvarne funkcije institucija, ove pseudo-institucije, čini se, ispunjavaju prazninu društvene stvarnosti koja nedostaje. Povlačeći se zgađena pred stvarnim institucijama, pseudo-institucija bukvalno pobeđuje postajući zamena za ono što prezire. I često pseudo-institucije deluju jednako dobro ili bolje nego „prave“ institucije!



The Yes Men, na primer, oponašaju stereotipne poslovne ljude s takvom monohromatskom tačnošću, da prolaze na „pravim“ korporativnim sastancima, konferencijama za novinare i reportažama u masovnim medijima. Članovi grupe Temporary Services (Privremena služba) iz Čikaga nastupaju kao gradski dužnosnici. Factory of Found Clothing (FNO; Fabrika nađene odeće) nije ni tvornica ni radionica, ali zaista proizvodi izvedbe i instalacije, učestvuje u radionicama za razvijanje društvenih vještina i pravi medijske projekte za podizanje svesti o ruskom feminizmu, uglavnom zaboravljenom još od dana radikalnih komunista. Na internetu i van njega, Critical Art Ensemble, Carbon Defense League (Liga za zaštitu od ugljenika) i Institute for Applied Autonomy (Institut za primenjenu autonomiju) razvijaju besplatne *hackove* i preokreću inženjerske tehnologije za osposobljavanje računara, javnih prostora i genetski modifikovane hrane, sve u ime samoopredeljenja.

**JV: DANAS SLUŠAMO RAZLIČITE GLASOVE KOJI NAM GOVORE O RAZLIČITIM STRATEGIJAMA POLITIZACIJE UMETNOSTI. NEKI OD NJIH REAKTUALIZUJU „STAROMODNA“ STANOVIŠTA ISTORIJSKIH AVANGARDI, PREMA KOJIMA UMETNIČKA INOVACIJA I ESTETSKO-DELATNA UČINKOVITOST IDU RUKU POD RUKU SA PROIZVODNOM DRUŠTVENOG ZNAČENJA. DRUGI POKUŠAVAJU DA POVRATE POLITIČNOST „BELE KOCKE“, OSLANJAJUĆI SE NA MISAONE I IMAGINATIVNE POTENCIJALE UMETNOSTI I NJENIH SPECIJALISTIČKIH ZNANJA I PODVLAČEĆI NJENU SPOSOBNOST DA PREOBRAZI POJEDINCE I ZAJEDNICE I DOVEDE DO DRUŠTVENIH PROMENA. TREĆI SE, PAK, JAVLJAJU U VIDU SAVREMENE UMETNIČKO-AKTIVISTIČKE KRITIKE PRETHODNO NAVEDENIH STANOVIŠTA, ODBACUJUĆI CELOKUPNU „PREDSTAVLJAČKU“ POVEST UMETNOSTI KAO GRABANSKU I STOGA NAZADNU, PREDLAŽUĆI UMETNOŠĆI UMETNOSTI I, UOPŠTE, NEPOSREDOVANO BAVLJENJE POLITIČKIM PITANJIMA. KOJU BISTE ISTORIJU „POLITIČKE UMETNOSTI“ (DISTRIBUIRANU KROZ NOVIJA PISANJA ISTORIJE UMETNOSTI, KULTURNE POLITIKE I TEORIJE, KAO I EKSPERIMENTALNE KUSTOSKE PRAKSE) IZDOVJILI KAO ZNAČAJNU ZA VAŠ RAD?**

**GS:** Pojam „politička umetnost“ je uvek sporan, kao što i treba da bude i kao što su Gorin i Godard isticali, ali ako Benjamina shvatimo ozbiljno, kao i Adorna i mnoge druge mislioce iz te generacije, nepolitična ili apolitična umetnost uopšte ne postoji. Sva kultura je politična, čak i u obliku autonomne umetnosti radi umetnosti.

Za kraj razgovora želim da predstavim nešto što sam nedavno istraživao i što bi se moglo videti kao kratka povest „političke umetnosti“ usredsređena na Sjedinjene Države i grad Njujork:

Dobro je poznato, na primer, da su istaknuti evropski i američki umetnici 20. veka, uključujući Pabla Picassa, Fernanda Légera, Barnetta Newmana, Ada Reinhardta i Stuarda Davisa, zastupali otvoreno levičarska gledišta o umetnosti i društvu. Manje su poznati mnogi pokušaji marginalnih političkih stranaka i samih umetnika da institucionalizuju umetničku praksu kao kontraproduktivnu i opozicionu kulturnu snagu. Jedan od ciljeva ove kolektivizacije jeste da pruži priliku umetnicima da prave radove u podršku alternativne politike: borbe za oslobođenje Trećeg sveta, politike radničke klase i davanja glasa pravima manjina. Na jednoj drugoj razini, međutim, cilj joj je da podrži umetnike koji ne žele da rade za bogate kupce niti za vladine ustanove, dakle neku vrstu „kontraproduktivne industrije“. U Sjedinjenim Državama, ovakvo se kritičko, kontraproduktivno organizovanje najranije može videti kod umetnika povezanih sa International Workers of the World (tzv. Wobblies) tokom prve decenije prošlog veka. Zbilja, od 1900. do kraja 40ih godina, jak radnički pokret – u velikoj meri podržan od strane Američke komunističke partije i drugih levičarskih organizacija – je snažno uticao na vizuelne umetnike, pisce, filmske umetnike i druge kulturne radnike širom Sjedinjenih Država. U Njujorku se ovaj spoj umetnosti i politike materijalizovao u vidu organizacije poznate kao John Reed Club (JRC), osnovane 1929. pod okriljem radikalnog književnog časopisa *New Masses*. Ogranci su ubrzo ustanovljeni i u Čikagu, Filadelfiji, Bostonu, Detroitu, San Fransisku i Holivudu u Kaliforniji. Prema britanskom istoričaru umetnosti Andrewu Hemingwayu, iako je njujorški ogranak bio povezan s Komunističkom partijom, borba između političkih i umetničkih interesa nikada nije okončana u korist jedne ili druge strane. Hemingway piše da su „klubovi činili labavu federaciju sasvim različitih organa kojima su partijski radnici ... pokušavali da nametnu nekakvo usmerenje... U stvari, piscima i umetnicima je manje-više bila ostavljena sloboda da pokušaju razviti vlastite puteve ka revolucionarnoj umetnosti“ (Hemingway 2002).

Ova napetost između političke strategije i estetičke prakse, između slobode pojedinca i zajedničkih potreba, opstala je kao ključna surevnjivost kod kasnijih aktivističkih umetničkih pokreta. Čak bi se moglo tvrditi da je produktivnost jedino i moguća u uslovima gušenja ili barem ograničavanja unutrašnjih surevnjivosti između onih koji proizvode i onih koji upravljaju i prisvajaju. Ipak, karakteristično je za mnoge „suprotstavljene“ ili kontraistorijske kulturne prakse to da najbolje uspevaju na nestabilnosti. A suviše je i reći da upravo nestabilnost najviše odlikuje povest američke levice.

Zaključno s početkom 50ih godina, vlasti Sjedinjenih druge levičarske političke stranke, dobro poznatog izopštavanja. Usledilo je razdoblje u kojem njim“ nego s demonima rata, bede i nepravde. nisu bile sasvim apolitične. Kako je napisao

Država su uglavnom uništile Komunističku partiju i tom kampanjom zakonodavnog gušenja i društvenog usmerenja. Ipak, godine „apstraktnog ekspresionizma“ istoričar umetnosti, John Hutton: „važno

je setiti se da u pitanju nije bila politizacija per se, već srazmera političke aktivnosti i sadržaja u životu i radu umetnikâ i kritičarâ od 1940ih godina pa nadalje...“ (Hutton 1998).

Možda se umetnici i nisu organizovali u grupe kao ranije (ili kasnije), ali se pojedini umetnici, uključujući Roberta Morthewella, Jacoba Lawrencea, Pabla Picassa, Romarea Beardena i Barnetta Newmana, jesu otvoreno bavili političkim pitanjima, od razoružavanja do kulturnog i političkog gušenja afroameričke manjine. Do sredine i kraja 60ih godina, široka podrška pokretu za ljudska prava kao i nov i često militantan feminizam udružili su se u pružanju otpora ratu u Vijetnamu. Ove političke borbe počele su uticati na aktivnost, ako ne uvek i na praksu mnogih umetnika. Kako je Lucy R. Lippard primetila: Trebalo je da oni [umetnici] budu najslobodniji od svih. A zapravo je radikalizacija jednog malog dela umetničke zajednice mnoge umetnike navela da istraže vlastite društveno-uslovljene tamnice – da ispitaju granice estetičke slobode, da vide koliko je ona iluzorna i čak koliko su njihove estetike bile određene institucijama koje su im krojile sudbine. (Lippard 1990, 13)

Godine 1962. četvoro slikara – Leon Golub, Nancy Spero, May Stevens i pokojni Rudolf Baranik – osnovalo je Artists and Writers Protest (Protest umetnika i pisaca). Nekoliko godina kasnije, organizovali su *Angry Arts Week* (Nedelja gnevni umetnosti), jednu od važnijih antiratnih umetničkih akcija iz tog razdoblja, koja je okupila ples, muziku, film, umetnost, pesme i fotografije nekih 600 umetnika u jedan masovan kulturni protest protiv rata u Vijetnamu. Vizuelni su umetnici priložili instalaciju dugu tri a široku 37 metara pod naslovom *Collage of Indignation* (Kolaž ogorčenja), u čijoj je izradi učestvovalo nekih 150 umetnika. Ipak, umetnici nenaviknuti na izražavanje političkog gneva u svojoj umetnosti borili su se s problemom stvaranja „radikalne“ estetike, veoma nalik umetnicima u vreme John Reed klubova. Taj ogromni, zajednički rad nagnao je Leona Goluba da kaže: „Ima u kolažu finog i suptilnog protesta, ali je u suštini taj rad ljutit – protiv rata, protiv bombardovanja, protiv predsednika Johnsona itd. Kolaž je gadan, prost, trapav, ružan!“<sup>7</sup>

Godine 1969. osnovano je nekoliko saradničkih umetničkih grupa, uključujući i Black Emergency Cultural Coalition (Crnačku kulturnu koaliciju u hitnim uslovima), Women Artists in Revolution (Umetnice u revoluciji) i Art Workers Coalition (AWC, Koaliciju umetničkih radnika, 1969-1971). AWC je prvobitno osnovala nekolicina umetnika stranog porekla, uključujući Takisa Vassikalisa, Lena Lyea, Wen-Yinga Tsaia i Hansa Haackea, ali je najpre bila organizovana oko jednog posebnog cilja: da primora Muzej savremene umetnosti da se prema živim umetnicima odnosi s poštovanjem i podrškom uglavnom rezervisanim za mrtve umetnike. Ubrzo su i druga društvena i politička pitanja, naročito podrška antiratnom pokretu, pridodata programu. Ali pojedinačno gledano, umetnički su radovi članova AWC uglavnom ostali formalne i apolitične prirode.

Do početka 70ih godina, umetnici su već često počeli da se okupljaju u znak protesta protiv nuklearne energije, trke u naoružavanju i nasilnog zbacivanja, uz američku podršku, demokratski izabranog predsednika Čilea Salvadora Allendea od strane generala Augusta Pinocheta. Ipak, organizovana akcija je i dalje prvenstveno bila usmerena ka menjanju politike sveta umetnosti umesto ka preobražavanju prakse i raspodele same umetnosti. Ali, decembra 1975. u Njujorku se okupila grupa pod nazivom Artists Meeting for Social Change (AMCC, Umetnici okupljeni za društvene promene), koja je kao svrhu ujedinjavanja umetnika navela „borbu za neizrabljivačko društvo“. Sâm AMCC bio je odgovor na jedan konkretan događaj: izložbu *American Art: An Exhibition from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III* (Američka umetnost: izložba iz kolekcije g-dina i g-đe John D. Rockefeller III), koja je bila priređena u Whitney muzeju američke umetnosti u čast dvestogodišnjice američkog rata za nezavisnost. AMCC je utvrdio da 106 dela uvrštenih u izložbu „prikazuje Sjedinjene Države kao uglavnom sastavljene od velikih i bogatih muškaraca“. Nešto što je počelo kao usko usredsređen protest proširilo se u, kako ga je član AMCC Alan Wallach opisao, „pokušaj da se razotkrije klasna pristrasnost duboko ukorenjena u institucijama ‘zvanične’ kulture“ (Wallach 1998). Tokom naredne godine, sedamnaestoro članova AMCC sačinilo je nakon iscrpnog istraživanja jedan antikatalog kao pažljivo promišljen odgovor na izložbu u Whitneyu. Ovo ne-uvršćenje sastojalo se od indijanskih i afroameričkih umetnika i predstavâ ženâ i radnikâ, kojih nije bilo na „Rockefeller“ izložbi u Whitneyu (kao ni u većini drugih glavnih muzejskih zbirki u to vreme).

Do početka 80ih godina, došlo je do promene u žiži i obliku društveno angažovane umetnosti. Umesto da napuste svoje ateljee i uključe se u protestne aktivnosti, umetnici su pokušavali da svoje protivljenje unesu u samu praksu stvaranja umetnosti. U svom radu, angažovani umetnici su počinjali da se neposredno bave nekim životnim, neumetničkim pitanjima, kao što su subvencionisanje socijalnog stanovanja i protivljenje iseljavanju siromašnih sa istočnog donjeg Menhetna, odbrana prava na abortus, koje je tada bilo pod sve jačim napadima tek izabranog Ronalda Reagana i njegove administracije, kao i borba protiv diskriminacije manjina i žena u svetu umetnosti. To je zatim vodilo preispitivanju distribucije umetnosti, pošto se čak i najžešći protest može neutralisati hladnim, belim galerijskim prostorom. Ono što je stoga preovladavalo ranih 80ih godina bila je ispolitizovana, tipično javna umetnost u vidu saradnje umetnikâ i političkih aktivista. Pogledajte Njujork između 1979. i 1982. godine, kada su se u te saveze ubrajali i Artists for Nuclear Disarmament (Umetnici za nuklearno razoružanje), Artists against Nuclear Madness (Umetnici protiv nuklearnog ludila), Artists for Survival (Umetnici za opstanak), The Women’s Pentagon Action

<sup>7</sup> Lippard 1990, 13. NB: uloga ružnog – nasuprot estetičkoj lepoti – još uvek nije u potpunosti ispitana u odnosu na društvenu praksu i aktivističku umetnost.

(Pentagonska akcija ženâ), Anti-WW III Show (Show protiv III svetskog rata), Dangerous Works (Opasni radovi, antinuklearna mreža), The Real Estate Show (Show o nekretninama), The Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (Dečja kampanja za nuklearno razoružanje), razne akcije protiv zabrane abortusa koje su organizovale No More Nice Girls (Nema više finih devojaka), kao i kontingent umetnikâ na masovnom Maršu na Pentagon 1981. U to vreme je ustanovljeno i nekoliko trajnijih društveno angažovanih grupa, uključujući Sisters of Survival (Sestre opstanka, 1982–1986), kolektivi Deep Dish i Paper Tiger Television (1981–), strip kolektiv World War Three Illustrated (1980–), Group Material (1979–1997), Political Art Documentation/Distribution (odn. PAD/D, 1980–1986) i Carnival Knowledge (Karnevalsko znanje, 1980–1985).<sup>8</sup>

Ni pitanje *užitka* – i ličnog i zajedničkog – nije odsustvovalo iz aktivističke, političke umetnosti u ono vreme.

Mada je u umetnosti poslednjih deset ili petnaest godina daleko uočljivija, politika polnosti retko je bila smelija od one kod Carnival Knowledgea, čiji su ciljevi bili „sukobljavanje sa izvrtanjima pornografije i revitalizacija naših erotskih opažanja stvaranjem feminističke pornografije“. Grupa Carnival Knowledge je organizovala izložbe na otvorenom, uključujući *Bazaar Conceptions* 1982. – ulični sajam koji je kombinovao sporedne prikaze poput umetničkih konstrukcija, stolova za registraciju birača i step ples o upotrebi dijafragme – kao i *2nd Coming*, instalaciju postavljenu 1984. u umetničkom prostoru Franklin Furnace. Članice i članovi Carnival Knowledgea su provocirali, obrazovali i uzbuđivali gledaoce kombinacijom aktivističke politike i erotike (a svakako nema ničeg „kontraproduktivnijeg“ od žena koje se opredeljuju za seksualnu slobodu umesto za produženje vrste).

Važno je setiti se i da je lobistička grupa Moral Majority, nekoliko godina pre dobro poznatih desničarskih napada na Mapplethorpea i Serrana, lansirala kampanju protiv finansiranja Franklin Furnacea upravo zbog izložbe *2nd Coming*. Ko zna kakve bi rasprave jedan otvoreno politički, seksualno libertarijanski umetnički kolektiv poput Carnival Knowledgea izazvao, da je bio u žiži rasprava oko NEA<sup>9</sup> [National Endowment for the Arts] početkom 90ih godina. Do 1990, svet umetnosti je već bio sputan berzanskim krahom 1987. U sprezi s nestankom javnog finansiranja pod Reaganom 1980, ovo je kraj 80ih i početak 90ih godina učinilo negostoljubivim za nezavisno „slobodno“ izražavanje, naročito pošto su se manji umetnički prostori, u trci za novcem, počeli nadmetati koji će delovati legitimnije, što znači „konzervativnije“ i manje riskantno. Ipak, nekoliko samoorganizovanih umetničkih grupa je osnovano u Njujorku u to vreme, od kojih su najpoznatije Guerrilla Girls (1985–) i Gran Fury (1988–1992). Za razliku od PAD/D i Group Material, ovi novi kolektivi usredsređivali su svoje političke programe na konkretna pitanja, uključujući otpor rasnoj i rodnoj diskriminaciji od strane muzejâ i galerijâ i odgovornosti medicinskih i političkih vlasti za širenje HIV-a. Gran Fury i Guerrilla Girls su takođe obnovili mnoge aktivističke strategije prvi put isprobane početkom 80ih, zamenjujući skupo komercijalno oglašavanje jeftinim uličnim flajerima i grafitima. Neposredno se obračavajući estetski konvencionalne pop kulture, obe su se grupe trudile da aktivističku umetnost postave u konvencionalno. Ali, to veoma sofisticirano rešenje problema politike i estetike takođe se podudarilo s popuštanjem kritičke napetosti između visoke i niže umetnosti i s nestankom bilo kakve uočljive javne arene kulturnog otpora u urbanim centrima.

Neki su se aspekti umetničkog aktivizma ranijih godina (60ih i 70ih) pojavili kod grupa poput REPOhistory (čiji sam koosnivač bio i ja, 1989. i koja je raspuštena 2000.) i Godzille, grupe američkih umetnika i kustosa poreklom iz Azije i sa ostrvâ u Tihom okeanu (koja je osnovana oko 1988, ali danas više nije aktivna), kao i kod nekih koje su i dalje aktivne, uključujući Guerrilla Girls, Paper Tiger, Pirate Radio, Dyke Action Machine, Critical Art Ensemble itd. Ali nijednoj od ovih organizacija nije cilj, niti joj je bio cilj, uspostavljanje kontrakulturnih mreža s drugim progresivnim umetnicima, medijskim aktivistima i levičarskim intelektualcima, kako su to predlagali PAD/D i drugi početkom 80ih (ili kako su to 30ih godina radili John Reed klubovi).

Danas, pitanje nije koja „transgresivna“ umetnička strategija uspeva protiv jednog sistema koji aktivno oponaša svoje protivnike, već kako iznova postaviti kritičku umetničku praksu kao i pitanja ličnih sloboda u okviru jednog šireg političkog i društvenog programa. Razumevanje implikacija i nasleđa političkog aktivizma jeste jedan od načina da se započne taj kritički povrat.<sup>10</sup> Međutim, bio bih neiskren kad bih tvrdio da ovde pomenuti kolektivi i saradnje nude jedno ili uvek zadovoljavajuće rešenje za prostor između pojedinačne i zajedničke slobode, za koji se bore. Te se grupe pre odlikuju preodređenom i nepovezanim prirodom, ponavljanjima i nepostojanošću. Ipak, koliko god prekidan, intelektualni je i čulni užitak koji kolektivna aktivnost nudi jedinstven. Dakle, pravo je pitanje kako da se umetnici (a onda i ostali) odupru obaveznom „kolektivitetu“ „nove“ ekonomije, s njenim istovremenim zahtevima za blaženstvom na radnom mestu i ubrzanom produktivnošću u svako doba. Na taj se izazov bez sumnje može odgovoriti ostvarivanjem jedne drugačije vrste kolektiviteta, s njegovim vlastitim užicima i nesigurnošću, slobodama i rizicima. Rođenje ove još neodređene kontraproduktivne prakse možda je već pred nama.

<sup>8</sup> Ovaj spisak je sastavljen pomoću prvih nekoliko izdanja magazina *Upfront* (1981–1982), biltena grupe Political Art Documentation and Distribution.

<sup>9</sup> National Endowment for the Arts (Nacionalna fondacija umetnosti, državna agencija SAD koja se bavi pokroviteljstvom umetnosti) – prim. prev.

<sup>10</sup> Ovaj sam argument razradio u svom tekstu „News from Nowhere: Activist Art and After, Report from New York“ (Vesti ni odakle: aktivistička umetnost i posle, izveštaj iz Njujorka), *Third Text*, proleće 1999, str. 45–62.

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Sa engleskog preveo Žarko Cvejić

**GREGORY SHOLETTE** je umetnik i pisac iz Njujorka, kao i jedan od osnivača organizacija *Political Art Documentation/Distribution* (PAD/D, 1980–1988) i *REPOhistory* (1989–2000). Njegova novija izdanja obuhvataju *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture; Collectivism after Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination after 1945* (s Blakeom Stimpsonom) i *The Interventionists: Users' Manual for the Creative Disruption of Everyday Life* (s Natom Thompsonom). Sholette predaje na Odseku za vizuelne i ambijentalne studije Harvard univerziteta; takođe, predaje na ambijentalne studije Harvard univerziteta umetnosti i dizajna, a trenutno je i šef magistarskih studija umetnosti, kao i vanredni profesor vajarstva na Koledžu Kvin-  
sa Gradskog univerziteta Njujorka (CUNY).  
<http://gregorysholette.com>  
<http://darkmatterarchives.net>

manifest : o ~~o~~ umetnosti / ~~politika~~

CEO SVET JE READY MADE  
SVA ~~UMETNOST~~ JE ARTEFICIJALNA  
POLITIKA

Notes, Thoughts, Clips and Tips

Cut and paste by

art and/as politics group\* (belgrade fraction)

Aneta Stojnić, Ana Isaković, Marko Đorđević, Sava Jokić

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\* Umetnost i/kao politika je radna grupa u okviru projekta Raškolovano znanje, čiji se rad zasniva na strukturi samoobrazovanog procesa rada. Glavni domen teorijske prakse ove grupe je repolitizacija diskursa humanistike. Unutar ove prakse, grupa ima za cilj artikulisanje neke vrste alternativnog pristupa odnosu politike i umetnosti.

18: Fama, no. 1, (A joint edition of Frakya and Maska)  
vol. I, 2000

⇒ *NAPELVITI IZBOR (D'A TEKSTO)*

# ETHNOCYBORGS AND GENETICALLY ENGINEERED MEXICANS

Recent Experiments in "Ethno-Techno" Art

GUILLERMO GOMEZ-PEÑA



*"Today, I'm tired of ex/changing identities in the net.  
In the past 8 hours,  
I've been a man, a woman and a s/he.  
I've been black, Asian, Mixteco, German  
and a multi-hybrid replicant.  
I've been 10 years old, 20, 42, 65.  
I've spoken 7 broken languages.  
As you can see, I need a break real bad,  
just want to be myself for a few minutes.  
ps: my body however remains intact,  
untouched, unsatisfied, unattainable,  
untranslatable"*  
*(From "Friendly Cannibals." 1997)*

In the mid 90s, when the artworld went high-tech overnight, the debates about the human body and its relation to new technologies dramatically polarized the experimental arts community and particularly the performance art milieu. There were those in the "machine art" movement who advocated the total disappearance of the body and its replacement with digital or robotic mechanisms; others believed that the body, although archaic and "obsolete," could still remain central to the art event if physically and perceptually enhanced with technical prostheses. The artists of "Apocalypse Culture" responded viscerally to these proposals by adopting a radical Luddite stance, attempting to reclaim the *body primitive* as a site for pleasure, penance and pain, and to "return" to a fantastical and imaginary neotribal paganism, very much in the tradition of US anarchist "drop out" culture. None of these options were viable, however, for Chicano/Latino performance artists and other politicized artists of color interested in new technologies. Roberto Sifuentes and I tried to explore other possibilities by infiltrating virtual space as "cyber-immigrants" (Web-backs) and smuggling subversive ideas as conceptual coyotes. Our goals were to politicize the debates around digital technologies and to infect virtual space with Chicano humor and *linguas polutas* (such as Spanglish). We wanted to employ new technologies to enhance mytho-poetical interactivity between



Part of our project included the construction of a website that featured images of our performance characters, along with our first version of an "ethnographic questionnaire" asking internet users to share their projections and preconceptions about Latinos and indigenous people. Though we were still not fully aware of the implications of what we were doing, we hoped to partially surrender our will and allow both gallery visitors and Internet users to collaborate with us in determining the nature and content of our performance.

What the audience ended up experiencing during the performance was a stylized anthropomorphization of its own post-colonial demons and racist hallucinations, a kind of crosscultural poltergeist

The playfulness and seductive imagery of these performance "games" creates an atmosphere in which audience members are not always immediately aware of the implications of their actions — until the next morning, when they wake up with a cultural hangover. The intent, as a Japanese Butoh dancer once metaphorically described to me, is for the audience to leave our performances without realizing that they've been stabbed in the back with an invisible knife. They wake up the next to discover that there is blood on the sheets, but they feel no pain and can find no visible trace of a wound.

performer and live audience, and as a tool for researching fundamental expressions of intercultural fear and desire.  
In 1994, Roberto and I began to incorporate *in situ* digital technologies in our "diorama" work. The project premiered at Diverse Works Gallery in Houston, Texas, under the rambunctious title of "The Ethno-Cyberpunk Trading Post & Curio Shop On The Electronic Frontier."

The success of this initial "ethno-techno" art experiment marked a radical change in the direction of our work. Roberto and I decided to maintain our "techno-confessional" website as an ongoing source of performance material. In the first year, we received over

20,000 "hits" (visitors to the site) according to the counter, and a large percentage of them answered our pseudo-anthropological questionnaire. The responses were of a uniquely confessional nature, decidedly more graphic and explicit than those gathered during live performances of the *Temple of Confessions* (the other major project we were working on at the time). Why the differences? Perhaps the distance and total anonymity offered by the Internet, along with the indirect invitation to discuss sensitive matters of race, sexuality, and identity in an artificially safe environment, provided people with the necessary courage to reveal their most secret fears of cultural invasion and their most explicit interracial desires and sexual fantasies in ways they would never be willing to do face to face.

During the mid 90s, when we began these projects, the US was in a collective state of repression and denial regarding matters of race and gender. The virulent backlash against "political correctness" was at its peak, and so were the anti-immigration sentiments promoted by ultra-nativist politicians like Pat Buchanan, Jesse Helms and (thankfully now ex-) California governor Pete Wilson. The marginalization and silencing of progressive views, combined with the openly xenophobic trend in national policies and conservative rhetoric, may have been taken by many as a tacit endorsement of prejudice and Mexiphobia.

Roberto and I decided that the next logical step in our ongoing project of reverse anthropology would be to use the confessional material submitted by our live and virtual audiences to design visual and performative representations of the new mythical Mexican and Chicano of the 90s. The most recurrent and emblematic responses from live audiences and internet users became the inspiration for a series of performance personae or "ethno-cyborgs" co-created (or rather "co-imagined") in dialogue with gallery visitors and anonymous net users. Since a majority of the responses we received portrayed Mexicans and Chicanos as threatening Others, indestructible invaders, and public enemies of America's fragile sense of coherent national identity, we titled our new performance project

*Mexterminator*, referencing the superhuman, robotic assassins of the Schwarzenegger movies. Our intention in this new project was to allow internet users and live audience members to help determine the physical and psychological profiles of our ethno-cyborgs, thus influencing both the design and content of our living diorama performances. We relied on their input to decide how we should be costumed, what kinds of music we should listen to, what sorts of props and objects we should handle, and most importantly, what types of ritualized actions we should perform and how we should interact with audience members.

Our goal was to incarnate the intercultural fantasies and nightmares of our audiences, refracting fetishized constructs of identity through the spectacle of our "primitive," eroticized bodies on display. The composite personae we created were stylized representations of a non-existent, phantasmatic Mexican/Chicano identity, projections of people's own psychological and cultural monsters — an army of Mexican Franksteins ready to rebel against their Anglo creators.

The results of our experiment in anti-colonial anthropology turned out to be much stranger than anything we could have imagined on our own. The "sleepy Mexican" was banished from the colonial unconscious of contemporary America, deported back to Hollywood. The exotic border "señorita," who populated folk songs, movies and poems for decades, was nowhere to be found (except as incarnated in the more overtly eroticized figure of Selma Hayek). Neither were Frito Bandito, Speedy Gonzalez, Juan Valdez, the "greaser" bandit or the suffering Frida Kahlo. They had been replaced by a new pantheon of mighty robo-Mexicans. Armed with mysterious shamanic artifacts and sci-fi automatic weapons, their bodies enhanced with prosthetic implants and their brown skin decorated with Aztec tattoos, these hyper-sexual "ethnocyborgs," clothed in high Tex-Mex/gangster-rap regalia, both defied and perversely incorporated every imaginable Hollywood and MTV stereotype, every fear and desire secretly harbored in the fragile psyches and hearts of contemporary Americans. "We" were perceived to be unnecessarily violent, yet fashionably seductive; techno-literate, yet primeval. Politically strident yet gifted with inexplicable shamanic powers and spiritual awareness, these mythical Mexicans were contradictory, unpredictable — and strangely familiar. After reading thousands of pages of internet submissions, my colleagues and I concluded that a perverse dialectic of intercultural violence and interracial desire was central to America's perception/projection of cultural otherness.

My performance accomplices and I created complex personae that reflected these constructs, refracted through our own particular "robo-baroque" aesthetics. Sponsored by Mexican drug lords, the Zapatista comandancia, Chicano radicals, and MTV, "we" — the indestructible cyber-mojados — had already succeeded in occupying the US of Aztlan. Our new mandate was to seduce, abduct, possess and take control of our audience's psyche, language, country and institutions. We were the flesh and blood incarnation of America's millennial fantasies about immigrants from the South, Latinos from the inner cities, pagan sexuality, indigenous witchcraft, and the Spanish language. What the audience ended up experiencing during the performance was a stylized anthropomorphization of its own

post-colonial demons and racist hallucinations, a kind of crosscultural poltergeist. While my collaborators and I were fully responsible for the aesthetic realization of the performance, the unusual creative process we employed to generate material, making (involuntary) collaborators of thousands of anonymous internet users, meant that we were by no means only ones accountable for the content of the piece. Whether they like it or not, our audiences (both live and virtual) were unavoidably implicated in our panic-stricken worldview.



"Are you into tattoos, jalepenos, and ethno-porn? Are you into sexy Tex-Mex art that does not question your privilege? Do you wish to experience a political peep show? Do you desire to smell or touch a live Mexican?"

-conceptual classified ad



Knowledge/culture production in the west has never been a very tolerant practice, and ideas of anarchistic pluralism held by epistemologists such as Paul Feyerabend have never gained much currency. The proponents of any given paradigm aim to eliminate all competitors and thus dominate knowledge production and the rewards that accompany such a position. Theater is no different from any other cultural vector. Much more is at stake than the configuration and appearance of theater in the next century; the formation of digital theater (in the widest sense of this term) is a struggle over the micro-sociology of the performative matrix of everyday life. The digital model, like the analogic, contains both apocalypse and utopia, and the applications constructed now will in part determine the directions in which digital processes will later flow. Capitalism is primarily a digital political-economy, much as the medieval economy was primarily analogic. Pancapitalism's use of the digital thus far has been horrifying, whether one considers the pathological separation and alienation of Taylorist production, the false democracy of consumption, the repressive apparatus of surveillance, or the biotechnologies of eugenics. Digital culture is on this same trajectory, with its primary manifestation being an invasive mass media that functions as a re-production and distribution network for the ideology of capital. In spite of this parade of the usual suspects that constitute the undesirable hegemony of pancapitalism, there has always been a resistant cultural undercurrent in the digital. The first evidence of it appeared in 1870 when le Comte de Lautréamont wrote: "Plagiarism is necessary. Progress implies it. It embraces an author's phrase, makes use of his expressions, erases a false idea, and replaces it with the right idea." In three sentences Lautréamont summed up the methods and means of digital aesthetics as a process of copying—a process that offers dominant culture minimal material for recuperation by recycling the same images, actions, and sounds into radical discourse. Over the past century, a long-standing tradition of digital cultural resistance has emerged that has used recombinant methods in the various forms of combines, sampling, pangender performance, bricolage, detournement, readymades, appropriation, plagiarism, theater of everyday life, constellations, and so on. Maintaining this historical tendency by further refining methods, finding new applications, furthering its theoretical articulation, and increasing its rate of manifestation is an ongoing task for those who hope to see the decline of authoritarian culture.

Critical Art Ensemble—

If Henry Ford is the avatar of a digital economy, then his contemporary Marcel Duchamp is the avatar of digital culture. With his readymade series, Duchamp struck a mighty blow against the value system of the analogic. Duchamp took manufactured objects, signed and dated them, and placed them in a high-culture context. Duchamp's argument was that any given object has no essential value and that the semiotic network in which an object is placed defines its meaning, and hence, its value. If a bottle rack is in a hardware store or next to a sink in a kitchen, its value is defined by its function and its appearance is mundane; however, when it is placed on a pedestal in the legitimizing space of a gallery or museum (where the readymades reside to this day) and when it carries the signature of a legitimized artist, each object becomes a nonfunctional object d'art, and therefore an object of high value. Like Ford, Duchamp was too far ahead of his time. His critique was not widely accepted in a period obsessed with the romantic notions of the artist, when each artwork produced by the elite few and accepted by tastemakers of the time was viewed as a unique testament to artistic genius. No great work of art could be replicated by man or machine.

Half a century later various publics were ready to hear what Duchamp had tried to say early in the century. Andy Warhol was emblematic of the many artists, musicians, and writers who reintroduced the idea of the digital to a now-eager audience. Warhol discovered that all the people of digital culture really wanted was more of the same. No more unique objects—they wanted the familiar ones that were forever replicated around them. They wanted endless flows of Brillo boxes and serial prints of Campbell's soup cans produced at Warhol's studio, known as The Factory. The counterfeit was no longer the counterfeit if it met the expectation of sameness. Warhol subverted the modern notion of art, and was loved for it, not just by an unsophisticated public, but also by a cultural elite who saw his work as unique in making a "new" gesture by destroying the original and reducing art objects to the manufacturing (duplication) principle of equivalence. But Warhol did not stop there; he performed digitality as the first cyborg artist. He was a machine, no different from his constant companion the tape recorder. He was only replicating what he saw around him; he took in the images of culture and spit them out again.

Theater, of course, has its visionary too. Karl Kraus brought the digital model of theater to the attention of the public. He understood that the implosion of fiction and nonfiction into hyperreality could be used for purposes other than perpetuating dominant ideology. He also understood plagiarism as a method for cultural production. These notions came together in Kraus's critique of the European war machine in *The Last Days of Mankind*. Unfortunately, he was unable to conceive of a way to stage the work. He could not think of a way to release it

For many decades, a cultural practice has existed that has avoided being named or fully categorized. Its roots are in the modern avant-garde, to the extent that participants place a high value on experimentation and on engaging the unbreakable link between representation and politics. Perhaps this is a clue as to why this practice has remained unnamed for so long. Since the avant-garde was declared dead, its progeny must be dead too. Perhaps this

Introduction

5

the conversation was skewed toward electronic media (radio, TV, the Internet).

A name that would stick had emerged, along with a basic definition that was provided by the organizers of the N5M: → Next 5 Minutes

The term "tactical media" refers to a critical usage and theorization of media practices that draw on all forms of old and new, both lucid and sophisticated media, for achieving a variety of specific noncommercial goals and pushing all kinds of potentially subversive political issues.

These moments of solidarity via linguistic recuperation are usually accompanied by mixed feelings, and this particular case was no different. On the one hand, there was a feeling of caution and perhaps regret. Once named and defined, any movement is open to co-optation. Should tactical media become popularized, its recuperation by capital is almost inevitable. Definitions also create boundaries. What was once so liquid would become increasingly structured and separated as the movement was theorized and historicized.

Critical Art Assemblage

Action is Addictive  
autonomy, possibility, terminating

Tactical media is ephemeral. It leaves few material traces. As the action comes to an end, what is left is primarily living memory. Unfortunately, as feminist performance theorist Rebecca Schneider has convincingly pointed out, no one has solved the haunting problem of the archive, an issue first isolated by Derrida. Tactical media rarely escapes the problems of secondary representation, and the few material trace elements, subservient and partial records of an immediate lived experience, often appropriate the value of the experiential process. After the event is over, photos, scripts, videos, graphics, and other elements remain, and are open to capitulation and recuperation. In spite of such problems, the situation is not entirely disastrous. Traces and residues are far less problematic than strategic products, which come to dominate the space in which they are placed. Monumental works are the great territorializers—they refuse to ever surrender space. Instead they inscribe their imperatives upon it and disallow anything other than passive viewing.



They are the great negaters of generative difference, and are engines of alienated separation. But unlike monumental works (whether these are in fact monuments proper, or even worse, movements, campaigns, or programs that become bureaucracies), the trace is stratified in its interpretive structure, so no matter how quickly and profoundly it is assimilated, it still contains the possibility of radical action. This possibility redeems the trace because it can offer the makings of minor histories that render credible the beliefs that some-thing different from the inhumanity of capital is possible, and that a continued capacity for direct interpretation of authoritative culture. Aiming for this tactical media is always ad hoc and self-

from hyperreality and loop it back into the physical world. Part of the problem was that the work relied too heavily on narrative structure, but most of the problem was that no looping mechanism had been constructed yet. To this day the construction of this loop is an ongoing and increasingly urgent process, given pancapital's rapid deployment of the digital for its own perpetuation and profit.

Where Tzara's accents were those of the Last Judgment, and Serner's those of moral disgust, Arp announced his demands in his own individual way, like a bard in clown's disguise, strumming on his lyre his instructions for the dissolution of a world come apart at the seams.

"Dada is the ground from which all art springs. Dada stands for art without sense. This does not mean nonsense. Dada is without a meaning, as Nature is."

"The bourgeois saw the Dadaist as a loose-living scoundrel, a villainous revolutionary, an uncivilized Asiatic, with designs upon his bells, safe-deposits and honours. The Dadaist thought up tricks to rob the bourgeois of his sleep. He sent false reports to the newspapers of hair-raising duels said to involve the bourgeois's favourite author, the 'King of the Bernina' (J. C. Heer). The Dadaist gave the bourgeois a whiff of chaos, a sensation like that of a powerful but

distant earth tremor, so that his bells began to buzz, his safe-deposits wrinkled their brows and his honour developed spots of mould. 'The Eggboard', a sport and social pastime for the top ten thousand, in which the players, covered from head to foot with egg-yolk, leave the field of play; 'The Umbilical Flask', a monstrous consumer durable which is a cross between a bicycle, a whale, a brassiere and an absinthe spoon; 'The Glove', designed to be worn in place of the traditional head; all these were designed to bring home to the bourgeois the unreality of his world and the emptiness of all his endeavours, even including his profitable nationalism. This was of course a naive enterprise on our part, as the normally constituted bourgeois possesses rather less imagination than a worm, and has, in place of a heart, a larger-than-life-sized corn which only troubles him when there is a change in the weather - the stock-exchange weather."

HANS-Thomas  
Lchman  
POSTDRAMSKO  
KAZALIŠTE

Kazalište je, po svojoj praksi, *umjetnost društvenoga naprosto*, i njegova se analiza ne može zadovoljiti depolitiziranjem, jer se praksa odnosi na objektivno politički sudefiniranu realnost. Politika se, međutim, ovdje temelji na načinu *upotrebe znakova*. Politika kazališta je *politika opažanja*. Njezino određivanje počinje podsjećanjem da se način percepcije ne može odvojiti od egzistencije kazališta u svijetu života koji čine mediji snažno modelirajući sve opažanje. Munjevito prenijeta i naizgled vjerna slika sugerira realnost koju ona ipak prvo čini pokomom, ublažava ju i oduzima joj snagu. Proizvedena daleko od svojega opažanja, primana daleko od svojega nastanka, ona u sve pokazano upisuje ravnodušnost. Sa svime stupamo u (medijaliziran) kontakt i istodobno se doživljavamo odsječenicima od mnoštva činjenica i fikcija o kojima smo informirani. Mediji, doduše, neprekidno drammatiziraju i političke sukobe, ali pretovarenost informacijama, povezana sa zbiljskim rastakanjem jasno prepoznatljivih linija političke fronte događanja, u sveprisutnosti elektronske slike proizvodi *nepovezanost* između odslikavanja i odslikanoga, između odslike i recepcije odslike (nepovezanost koju napadne apelativne geste medija uzalud nijeću). Nju uvijek iznova potvrđuje tehnika medijske cirkulacije znakova. Izgleda kao da izvještavaju pojedinci, ali radi se o kolektivima koji sami djeluju samo *kao funkcije medija*, koji se ne koriste zaista medijem. Ono što se događa iz trenutka u trenutak brisanje je traga, izbjegavanje autoreferencijalnosti znakova. Tako dolazi do skrivenog "prepolovljavanja" jezika. Medij s jedne strane oslobada pošiljaoca svakog vezivanja s oglasanim sadržajem te ujedno primaocu priječi opažanje okolnosti da sudjelovanje u jeziku čini i njega, primaoca, odgovornim za poruku. Tehnički trikovi i konvencionalne dramaturgije za obranu od stihova stvaralaca i potrošača djeluju, kao u bajci, poput osiguravajuće fantazije o svemoći koja je sadržana u medijskom upisivanju/odslikavanju: biti iznad svih realnosti, i najnesvatljivijih, posve mirno raspolagati i zapovijedati, a da se ne bude pogođen. Što neograničeniji užas odslikavanja, to je nestvarnije njegovo stanje. Užas se slaže s udobnošću. Ono *zazorno* (*das Unheimliche*), pak, koje je Freud nalazio u stapanju znaka i označenoga, ostaje isključeno.

Bilo bi apsurdno kada bi se od kazališta očekivalo da golemoj premoći tih struktura može suprotstaviti neku učinkovitu alternativu. No pitanje se s problema neke političke teze ili antiteze može premjestiti na razinu same upotrebe znakova. Struktura medijski posredovanog opažanja jest takva da se između pojedinačnih primljenih slika, no prije svega između primanja i odašiljanja znakova, ne doživljava povezanost, odnos nagovora i odgovora. Kazalište na to može reagirati samo nekom *politikom opažanja* koja bi se ujedno mogla zvati i *estetikom odgovornosti*. Umjesto zavaravajuće umirujuće dualnosti onoga ovdje i ondje, unutra i vani, kazalište može u središte smjestiti uznemirujuće uzajamno *implicitiranje aktera i gledalaca u kazališnom protzvođenju slika* i tako učiniti vidljivom prekinutu nit između opažanja i vlastitog iskustva. Takvo iskustvo ne bi bilo samo estetsko, nego u tome istodobno etičko-političko. Sve drugo, pa čak i savršeno političko demonstriranje, ne bi moglo izbjeći Baudrillardovoj dijagnozi da imamo posla samo još sa simulakrumima koji kruže.

Gdje god se politika prikazuje kao kazalište, premješta se s realne aktualne pozornice na neku drugu. U *Orestiji* se poslužila fabulom i progovorila kroz usta mitskih likova; ako su fabula i riječ bile shvaćene kao provokacija, doprle su do prednjeg plana aktualnosti; ako se one još danas, postavljene na scenu u svojoj punoj istini, mogu razumjeti, morale su istovremeno doprijeti u taj prednji plan i razotkriti ga; morale su otkriti ono što je, kako bi rekao Brecht, »otraga«. U toj pozadini treba tražiti ishodište koje je omogućilo kritici da prodre kroz prednji plan onodobne sadašnjosti u skrivenu pozadinu političkog ponašanja općenito.

Tako u svakoj fazi prolaska kroz povijest treba točno uočiti vladajući sistem kojem je u stanovito vrijeme kritika upućena. Atenski polis je društveno, ekonomski i politički bio potpuno različit od recimo elizabetanske Engleske. Pa ipak je vladajući sistem u obje države počivao na temeljnom odnosu koji se dosad u povijesti nije promijenio. Najprije da kažem sasvim općenito: na odnosu između onih koji upravljaju i onih kojima se upravlja. U kritičkim antitezama, koje su iz toga izvedene: vladari i podanici, viši i niži slojevi, mogućnici i bespomoćni, izrabljivači i izrabljivani, izražava se napetost koja taj temeljni odnos u stanovito vrijeme aktualno drammatizira i na taj ga način čini temom kazališta.

Metoda i smisao političkog kazališta tu se jasno ističu. Eshil je izabrao znamenitu fabulu da bi na nov način objasnio motive junaka; on je svjesno zapostavio mitologiju i smjestio zbivanja u političke perspektive. Umorstvo supruga = umorstvo kralja; zločin protiv zakonitosti mogao je izmaći pravdi samo posredstvom novog oblika vlasti, tiranije. (Tiranija je i u Ateni prethodila konačnom konstituiranju demokracije.) Agamem-

# POLITICAL Theatre

The theater of everyday life is limited to everyday life. Key issues in liberationist practice that are beyond local and immediate parameters do not register in this model. Indeed, this is a problem for activists as well as for artists. As liberationist practice faces increasingly global or specialized issues or requires an international constituency for locally based issues, the usefulness of the theater of everyday life begins to wane. For the theater of everyday life to function pedagogically, the participants involved must have direct experience with a given issue. For example, the spatial construction of gender inequality illustrated by the example above is something everyone experiences, but does not necessarily recognize. Participation in the theater of everyday life can make the transparent codes of gender separation opaque and impossible to miss. Once these codes are perceived, a critical understanding quickly follows through dialogue. That is why this model of performance was used so effectively in developing notions of agency and class position in localized third-world colonial struggles.



## IX Društvena drama

Prema Viktoru Tarneru, ljudska bića se uče kroz iskustvo, iako bolno, a najdublje iskustvo se stiče kroz *dramu* i to ne samo kroz društvenu ili pozorišnu dramu (ili njihove ekvivalente), već kroz kružni i promenljivi proces njihovog uzajamnog uticaja i stalne promene. Tarner sugerira da su svi žanrovi kulturnih izvođenja, od plemenskih obreda do televizijskih žanrova, potencijalno prisutni u obnovi, odnosno onome što on određuje kao finalnu fazu *opšte društvene drame*. Prva faza u društvenoj drami javlja se kada dolazi do rušenja ili kršenja jedne ili više društvenih normi u naizgled čvrsto organizovanoj zajednici. Ta faza se naziva *lom* i može se odnositi na vidove građanske neposlušnosti (nepriznavanje izbornih rezultata, neslaganje s nekim zakonom, itd.). Posle loma, nastaje druga faza ili *kriza* u kojoj ljudi zauzimaju strane, podupirući ili prekršitelja pravila ili cilj njegovog čina. Stvaraju se stranke, koalicije, tajna udruženja, izmenjuju se oštre reči, a može doći i do upotrebe nasilja. Ponekad se protivnici ujedinjuju, a saveznici razilaze. Tarner smatra da je sukob zarazan, jer se preko njega oživljava netrpeljivost i otvaraju stare rane (kao na primer tokom ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji). Ovo se dešava, jer nijedna društvena drama ne može nikada konačno da se završi – uslovi njenog okončanja obično su uzroci novih drama. U slučaju da je integritet zajednice već toliko ugrožen, tada država koja je odgovorna za njen opstanak i strukturalni oblik tog opstanka, nastoji da spreči *krizu*, posle koje nastaje ili potpuni *raskol*, *primirje* ili *obnova*. Zastupnici *obnove* mogu biti predsednici država i vlada, sveštenici, sudije, šamani, poglavice, itd., dakle obično predstavnici zakonitosti, poštovanja određenih pravila, merila i načela. U slučaju da njihova sredstva obnove kojima raspolažu: parlament, sudovi, vojska, policija, pa čak proročanske kletve ili magijski obredi zakažu, odgovor na krizu može da ponudi grupa koja želi da promeni ili restrukturiira društveni poredak ili reformom ili revolucijom, a ponekad i građanskim ratom. Veličina i složenost sukoba zavisi od veličine grupe, kao i od ekonomske i društvene podele rada, političkog ustrojstva, itd.<sup>122</sup>



UVOD U STUDIJU PERFORMANSA  
ALEXANDRA KOVČEVIĆ I ANA VIŠIČANSKIĆ

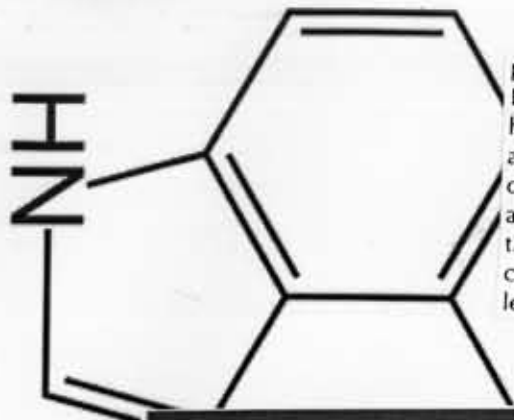


# THEATRE IS MORE

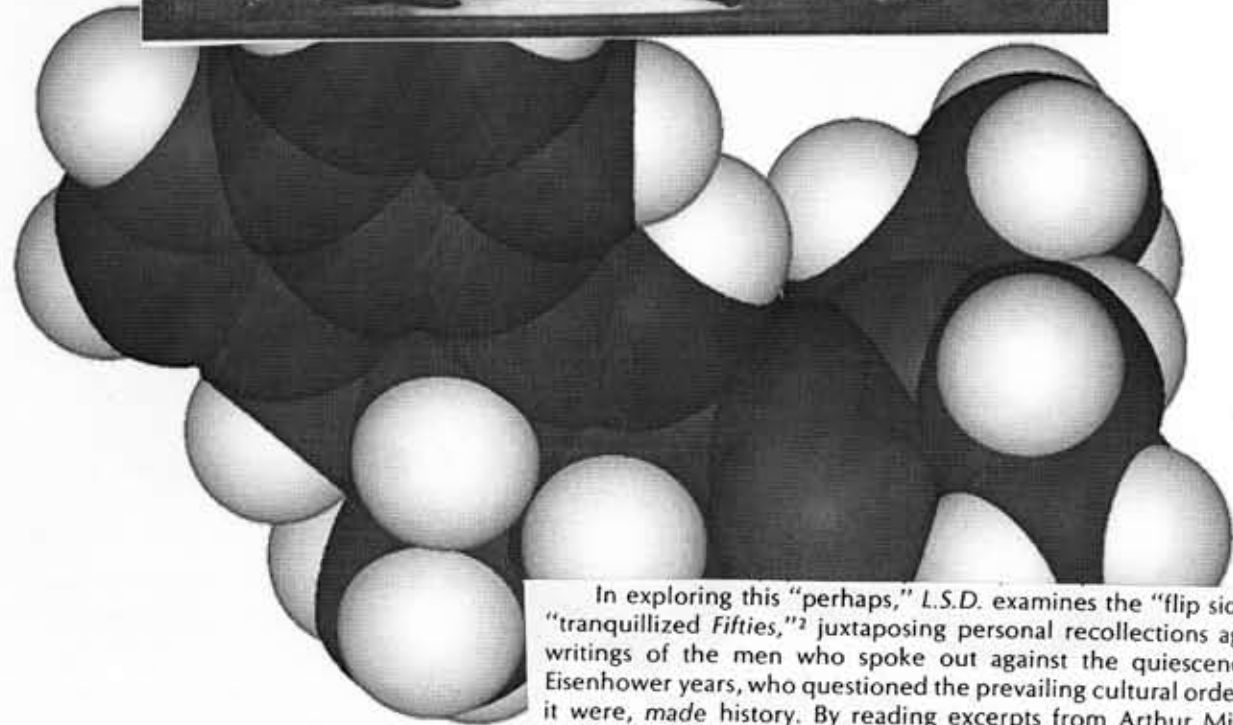
# BEAUTIFUL THAN WAR

# WHY New Era

Get your hands dirty; get involved in every aspect of production, from fundraising to designing lights and sound. Don't be a prince(ss).



In the making of *L.S.D.*, the Wooster Group did not emphasize the parallelism between the two "plots," i.e., narratives and conspiracies. Instead, it visualized the dynamics of power within each "plot" by highlighting, tacitly but emphatically, the distribution of microphones and roles. By translating the young girls of Salem into old women, it dramatized their exclusion from the exercise of juridical power. By amplifying the men's voices, it underscored the forces of control within the "plots," the fact that each is organized around a dominant central character, John Proctor or Timothy Leary, who plays the part of heroic leader to his followers.



In exploring this "perhaps," *L.S.D.* examines the "flip side" of the "tranquillized Fifties,"<sup>2</sup> juxtaposing personal recollections against the writings of the men who spoke out against the quiescence of the Eisenhower years, who questioned the prevailing cultural order, who, as it were, made history. By reading excerpts from Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, it examines Miller's denunciation of the U.S. Government's most repressive project, the Communist "witch hunt" then being conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. For the nine-year period from 1953 until 1962, these texts constitute a kind of counter-history. They record the loudest (and often the most articulate) voices of opposition against an oppressive status quo.

*L.S.D.* uses difference, the gap between present and various pasts, between reading and writing, between disparate perspectives, to expose the illusionary, manufactured quality of history and the ways in which politics, economics and ideology determine what is recorded and how. Its juxtaposition of varied materials unsettles both official history and the unofficial. Even the frame provided by Nancy Reilly reading Ann Rower is far from an orthodox, deterministic base (what Foucault would call a "regulative mechanism"). Her remembrance of the past is too haphazard, her style too extemporized and her tone of voice too laconic for her observations to be any more than a casual point of reference. Her most important function is to disrupt the assurance and certitude of the other voices, their habit of mythologizing their own activity and categorizing events according to an alleged truth-value—splitting human activity into the real and the unreal, the good and the bad, the free and the enslaved. For Ann Rower, the opposite of a truth is always equally true: not either/or but both/and. Memory blurs her recollection, giving the past many interpretations and her account two titles.



Part I of *L.S.D.* ("Newton") introduces Ann Rower and reads selections from the works of Timothy Leary and other writers of the fifties and sixties. It thereby provides a slice of the "official" history of the period, a recounting of the experiences and anecdotes of the beat poets and associates of Leary, their values, beliefs and aesthetics. The readings (which Ron Vawter limits to sixty seconds) are punctuated by Ann Rower's memories and the music of Maynard Ferguson (a friend of Leary). The sequence of texts is often surprisingly clearly focused despite (or perhaps, because of) the fact that most of the selections are chosen spontaneously. Indeed, the principal irony of Part I resides in the fact that, most nights, the random selections provide a far more assertive and deterministic frame than the tentative observations that comprise Nancy Reilly's set text. Part I thus reverses the relationship between the arbitrary and the pre-planned, thereby reaffirming what Foucault calls the *singular* randomness of events,<sup>14</sup> the fact that history, composed by a multitude of events that could have happened in a multitude of different ways, instead unfolds (like the evening's performance) as the result of unique and irrevocable, but ultimately random choices. It turns the spectator's attention toward the rigor of the arbitrary, the throw of the dice—or round of Russian roulette—which apportions happiness and unhappiness, wealth and poverty, life and death.

When Norman Frisch reads an Allen Ginsberg letter to Peter Orlovsky from 1961, he provides a vivid sense of the revolution these men envisioned and their own position at its leading edge:

## Original Members

of artists who make work for theater, dance, and City at The Performing Garage at 33 Wooster Street, work. Our productions tour nationally and internationally.

The Wooster Group is a company of media. We are based in New York where we develop and perform our work internationally.

As presented in *L.S.D.*, Ann Rower's attitude toward Leary is highly equivocal, as she explains later in Part III: "He was a liar... he was obviously a psychopath, in many ways... you know... he was a liar... he was uhhh uhh a classic paranoid... ya, but again, you know, like most paranoids he turned out to be right."<sup>21</sup> Steve Buscemi, meanwhile, standing in the trough, presents similarly ambiguous feelings toward Leary, reading Jackie Leary's statements taken from the Bryan book. In Part I these two performers are differentiated from the rest by not being seated behind the long table. They are the two outsiders, the two composers of a history that is unofficial because it is oral, not written. Reilly and Buscemi read from interview transcripts. The men at the table read from books. The former have not taken pen in hand to justify themselves and their actions; their words have simply been intercepted by tape recorders. The others (including Arthur Miller) have purposefully set out to preserve and promulgate their ideas, to compose themselves and their epoch in print, to write history.





FROM:  
Reflections on Steve Paxton's 'Magnesium' (1972):  
a violent responsiveness, a responsibility without  
obligation.

Ramsay Burt

In Steve Paxton's 1972 piece, *Magnesium*, dancers distribute and share amongst themselves flows of energy by making instantaneous reactions in response to situations of risk and violence. Their responsiveness exemplifies a particular kind of responsibility.

Like the dancers in *Magnesium*, the protestors had to respond in the moment as best they could to the unexpected without having time to think about it; and, like *Magnesium*, the protestors in Hafez's account had to take care of themselves and keep going.

This posting is by Adham Hafez, a Cairo based coreographer and maker of sound installations. It is a description from early on in the revolutionary events of what had just taken place on the streets. Writer at the time when the Egyptian state had ordered that the internet be shut down, Hafez saved it until internet service resumed.

Today was "Day of Wrath" in Cairo, where Egyptians went out on the streets demonstrating against depression. Whatever political slogan a group carried was not really what mattered. It was (and still continues as I hear from my window) about getting together and screaming. I was never part of any demonstrations or revolutions, since I never trust what this could bring, but today I went out on this day. I found myself running and screaming and crying. We were beaten up, thrown with Tear-gas bombs, hosed down with gushing water, until a state security car hit three young Egyptian males. Then people carried one of the three bodies, and walked in streets, lifting him up like to an altar, and screaming even more. We started then hitting the police men, the state security cars, and eventually began throwing the Tear-gas bombs back at the state security when we receive them.

[...]  
I have not learned about dance or theatre before the way I did today. I must have had a few dance and theatre revelations in my life, of course, but today was something that I learned a lot from. An afternoon of very accelerated learning. People come together, people run in fear, people come together again in pain and in anger, people stop believing suddenly and they stop moving, people get motivated again and they move violently, people are beaten up violently, people throw their bodies at cars, people sleep together on streets until tomorrow morning. No internet, telephone networks keep failing and restarting, and the threat of cutting down power off Midan Tahrir and Talaat Harb Squares is very plausible. Twitter, Facebook, and the independent newspaper websites were shut down in Cairo repeatedly, but restarted again I don't know how.

[...]  
We ran, we ran so far. I ran also. Because of anger, because of a few women who suddenly started screaming "Horreya, Horreya" (Liberty, Liberty), and I ran to that sound of such a word, and I ran to the movement of a running crowd. We ran from Talaat Harb square to Midan Tahrir, running into a barricade of State Security officers, hundreds of soldiers, and a few huge cars hosing us down with water again. We ran into something violent, but it seemed ok. I learned about where running starts in my body. It starts close to my spine, in my throat sometimes.

[...]  
This feeling is like the feeling of flying for the first time. Running so fast, into something scary, exhilarating, promising and very unsure of its results. It also feels like stepping from the wings and onto the stage, where my skin pores are as present as my eyes are.

This is a very beautiful, poetic, but also quite humbling description. Hafez draws on his knowledge of dance in order to try to make sense of his experiences on the streets. The dynamic flow, the rhythm and pace, the rise and ebbing away of energy within the common public space of protest is implicitly equated to the experience of improvisation. In Danielle Goldman's training in improvisation had helped Hafez to be ready for a range of ever-shifting surprises and constraints. Inspirational shouts became the musical accompaniment of this **danced intervention in the political** whose direction was that of the running crowd. The somatic roots of running are described in a disinterested way that recalls the use of images in a release based workshop. Running, as a relatively autonomous activity, reveals new potentials for what the body can do. Revolutionary political engagement is likened to the thrill of making an entrance onto a theatrical stage. There are correspondences between Hafez and Manning's accounts of violence. Manning ~~does not~~ wish to condemn the violence of reaching out to touch. Hafez writes that "we ran into something violent but it seemed ok: the ~~fact~~ gas bombs, water cannon and bullets, whose use had been authorised by the state, were directed indiscriminately against the crowd of protestors making them all uniformly as enemies. The violence of the protestors, however, seems to have taken the form of what Manning calls "reaching out towards that which remains unknownable." This is what I understand from Hafez's statement that he experienced "something scary, exhilarating, promising and very unsure of its results."

## Zauzeće Zimskog dvorca Libretto inscenacije

(ne poslije 7. studenog 1920. god.)

iz: *Sovjetska kazališna svjedočanstva*  
(priredio Vladimir Doust), Cehade, Zagreb, '85

Ostvarena danas, na dan proslave treće godišnjice oktobarskih događaja, inscenacija *Zauzeće Zimskog dvorca* predstavlja istinski pokušaj masovnog kazališnog predstavljanja.

Ton povijesnih zbivanja koja su poslužila kao materijal ove predstave, ovdje je sveden na niz pojednostavljenih elemenata i scenskih situacija.

Stvaraočima današnjeg spektakla nije bila svrha da se do u pojedinosti reproducira slika zbivanja koja su se zbila na trgu ispred Zimskog dvorca prije tri godine; nije sve ušlo da je sve i moglo ući, zato što kazalištu nije svojstven zadatak da bude zapisničar povijesti.

Ova predstava nije značajna samo po tome što budi uspomene na maglovitu oktobarsku noć 1917. godine, nego zbog toga što će tim spektaklom biti uglavljen početak velikog posla na stvaranju kazališta masovnih zbivanja.

Scenska masa nije pred gledaocima predstavljena kao skup dresiranih umjetnika, nego kao jedan jedini kolektivni junak, virtuozan u svome umijeću.

Tijekom ovog spektakla odigravaju se tri scene; u prve dvije na podijumima podignutim podno zidova Glavnog štaba odigravat će se događaji što su prethodili danima oktobarskog prevrata koje će igrati umjetnici drame, baleta, cirkusa, polaznici kazališnih škola Peterburga, članovi dramskih kružoka Crvene armije i mornarice.

Privremena vlada nalazi se na vrhuncu svoje slave. Usred slavlja i likovanja ona obavlja smotru svojih snaga, dok istodobno među crvenima caruje posvećena neorganiziranost.

Vlada lansira parolu »Rat do konačne pobjede«, a kao odgovor po prvi put sa strane crvenih dopiru uzvici: »Lenjin, Lenjin«, i po prvi put se bojažljivo i neuvjerljivo čuje Internacionala. Počinje se buditi radnička klasa. U sjedištu Privremene vlade pomutnja, slijedi savjetovanje za savjetovanjem, a pojava prvog odreda peterburškog proletarijata koji se digao srpanjskih dana konačno lišava »gospodare« zemlje svake samouvjerenosti u vlastitu snagu. U taj čas borci prispijeli s fronte spašavaju položaj, ali na Crvenom trgu sve ključa od organiziranja proletarijata za odlučnu bitku. Agitatori se ubacuju među vladinu vojsku, i isprva u pojedinačnim grupama, a zatim nezadrživom bujicom, vojska prelazi na stranu radnika.

Zvuci dobre revolucionarne pjesme rastjeruju i posljednje njihove pristaše što ostadoše poslije pada Privremene vlade. Ministri traže spas u bijegu i skrivaju se iza zidina Zimskog dvorca.

Narod koji je ustao započinje napad još na taj posljednji oslonac već svrgnute vlasti.

Zbivanje se prenosi na treću scenu. Jarko osvijetljeni prozori Zimskog dvorca, povijesnog svjedoka događaja uključenih u ovu inscenaciju, omogućuju da se vidi sukob do kojeg je došlo u njegovim dvoranama. Grme topovi »Aurore« koji su, ima tome tri godine, odlučili ishod noćne bitke. A ponad Zimskog dvorca razvija se crvena zastava — simbol pobjede onih koji su ustali. Spektakl završava svečanom paradom vojske i velikim prazničkim vatrometom.

Bez obzira na kišu i soliku, mnogo prije naznačenog vremena, Trg Urickog počeo se puniti ljudstvom. U razmaku od 4—5 hvati s obje strane kolonada nategnuti su konopci koji su priječili gledaocima da se umiješaju u zbivanja. U sredini bijaše podignut režiserski praktikabl.

U nazočnoj gomili ima mnogo predstavnika sela. Oni se drže jedni uz druge da se ne izgube u velikoj masi naroda. Seljanke, prvi put u Piteru, posebno živo reagiraju na neobičnosti koje ih okružuju. Sa znatiželjom i sa stanovitim nespokojsvom gledaju za svjetlima reflektora koji kruže po oblačnom nebu.

Ali u to pucanj puške navješćuje početak predstave. Trg obavija mrak. U napetom iščekivanju promiče nekoliko minuta, svi su pogledi ustremljeni na estradu na kojoj vlada tišina. U tom času prestaje padati kiša: nove i nove grupe gledalaca slijevaju se sa svih strana u gustu gomilu, puneći trg. Konačno se osvjetljava most koji spaja crvenu i bijelu pozornicu, a osam herolda s fanfarama navješćuju početak.

Razliježu se zvuci glazbe. Izvedba započinje. Višetisućna masa prigušena daha prati zbivanja. Smijeh i jetke primjedbe pobuđuje pojava Kerenskog koji naduto prihvaća počasti što mu ih iskazuju njegovi poklonici. »Požuri da obijaš pragove inozemnih ministara i bankara«, čuje se iz grupe radnika. »Da, teško mu daju zarađenu paru« — odgovara mladi crvenoarmejac, ne skidajući pogled s pozornice.

Brza smjena događaja na pozornici privlači pažnju gledatelja. Srpanjski pokušaj da se sruši privremena vlada Kerenskog koju su omrznuili završava privremenim porazom proletarijata i izaziva duboki uzdah razočaranja. Gomila čezne za brzom pobjedom pobunjenih radnika nad buržoazijom koja se opire i koja je Kerenskog učinila svojim kumirom. Prema stupnju porasta revolucionarnog poriva u zbitoj gomili radnika i vojnika na crvenom trgu-podijumu raste i raspoloženje gledalaca.

Ali sada se sve jače, sve usredotočenije razliježe mnogoglasni zbor koji navješćuje vlast Sovjeta. Među privrženicima Privremene vlade — zavladao je panika, oni bježe na sve strane. Kerenski i njegovi ministri spašavaju se automobilima, pobuđujući zbog brzine bijega oduševljenje gledalaca. Proletarijat je pobijedio! »Hura!« razliježe se scenom mnogoglasni zbor. »Hura! Hura!« razliježe se od gledalaca kao odgovor.

Započinje silovit napad na Zimski dvorac. Gledaoci su naelektrizirani, još trenutak i izgleda da će gomila srušiti ogradu i zajedno s automobilima i gomilama vojnika i radnika baciti se u juriš na posljednju tvrđavu mrske kerenštine.

No kanonada se stišava — dvorac je zauzet i crvena zastava zavijorila je nad njim. Orkestar izvodi Internacionalu koju prihvaća desetak tisuća glasova.

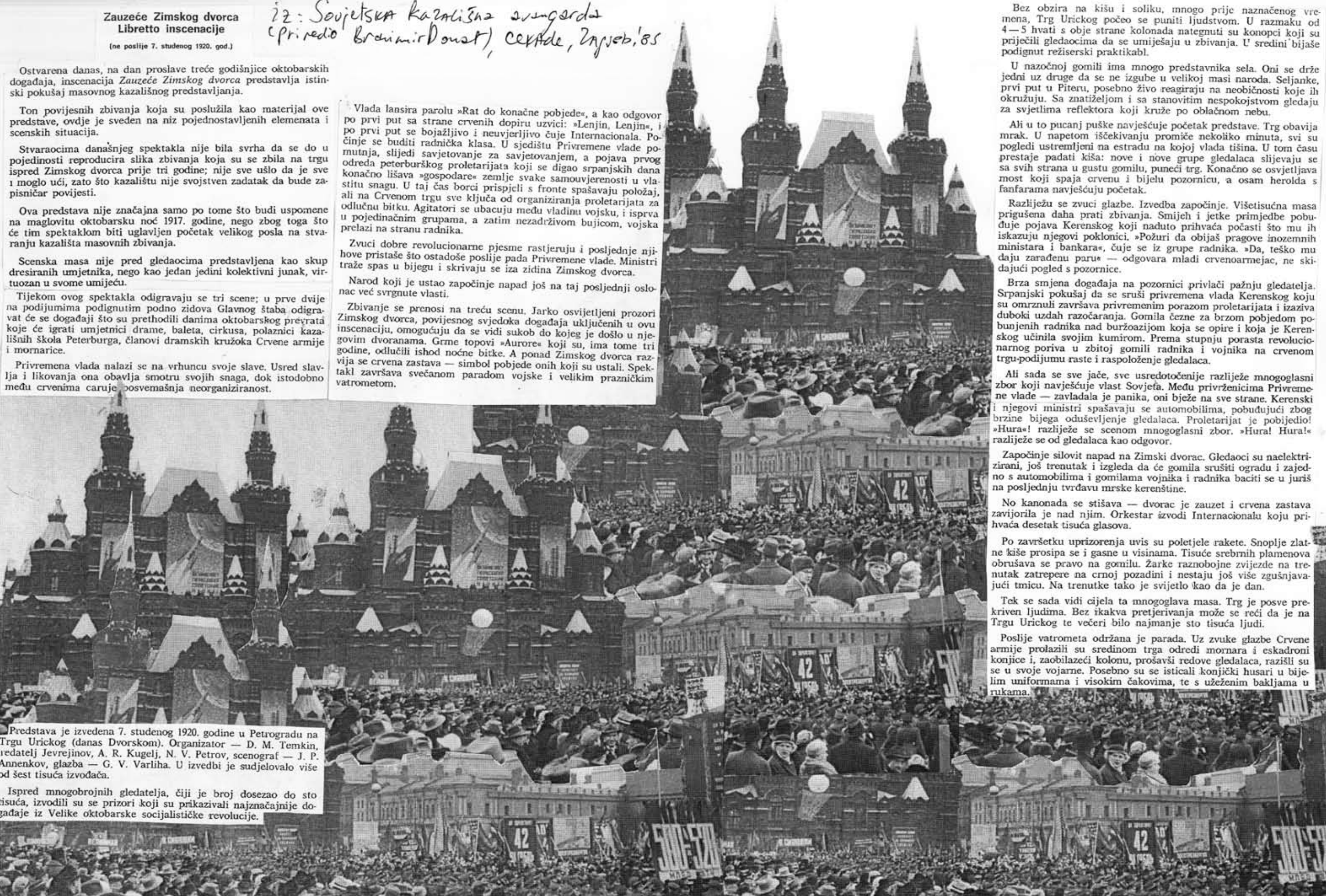
Po završetku uprizorenja uvis su poletjele rakete. Snoplje zlatne kiše prosipa se i gasne u visinama. Tisuće srebrnih plamenova obrušava se pravo na gomilu. Žarke raznobojne zvijezde na trenutak zatrepere na crnoj pozadini i nestaju još više zgušnjavajući tmicu. Na trenutke tako je svijetlo kao da je dan.

Tek se sada vidi cijela ta mnogoglava masa. Trg je posve prekriven ljudima. Bez ikakva pretjerivanja može se reći da je na Trgu Urickog te večeri bilo najmanje sto tisuća ljudi.

Poslije vatrometa održana je parada. Uz zvuke glazbe Crvene armije prolazili su sredinom trga odredi mornara i eskadroni konjice i, zaobilazeći kolonu, prošavši redove gledalaca, razišli su se u svoje vojare. Posebno su se isticali konjički husari u bijelim uniformama i visokim čakovima, te s užezanim bakljama u rukama.

Predstava je izvedena 7. studenog 1920. godine u Petrogradu na Trgu Urickog (danas Dvorskom). Organizator — D. M. Temkin, redatelj Jevrejnov, A. R. Kugelj, N. V. Petrov, scenograf — J. P. Annenkov, glazba — G. V. Varliha. U izvedbi je sudjelovalo više od šest tisuća izvođača.

Ispred mnogobrojnih gledatelja, čiji je broj dosežao do sto tisuća, izvodili su se prizori koji su prikazivali najznačajnije događaje iz Velike oktobarske socijalističke revolucije.



Brecht, in some of his plays, such as the dramatization of Gorky's *The Mother* or *The Measures Taken*, bluntly glorifies the Party. But at times, at least according to his theoretical writings, he too wanted to educate spectators to a new attitude, that would be distanced, thoughtful, experimental, the reverse of illusory empathy and identification. In tendency to abstraction, his plays after *Saint Joan* trump those of Sartre. The difference is that Brecht, more consistent than Sartre and a greater artist, made this abstraction into the formal principle of his art, as a didactic poetics that eliminates the traditional concept of dramatic character altogether. He realized that the surface of social life, the sphere of consumption, which includes the psychologically motivated actions of individuals, occludes the essence of society—which, as the law of exchange, is itself abstract. Brecht rejected aesthetic individualism as an ideology. He therefore sought to translate the true hideousness of society into theatrical appearance, by dragging it straight out from its camouflage. The people on his stage shrink before our eyes into the agents of social processes and functions, which indirectly and unknowingly they are in empirical reality. Brecht no longer postulates, like Sartre, an identity between living individuals and the essence of society, let alone any absolute sovereignty of the subject. Nevertheless, the process of aesthetic reduction that he pursues for the sake of political truth, in fact gets in its way. For this truth involves innumerable mediations, which Brecht disdains. What is artistically legitimate as alienating infantilism—Brecht's first plays came from the same milieu as Dada—becomes merely infantile when it starts to claim theoretical or social validity. Brecht wanted to reveal in images the inner nature of capitalism. In this sense his aim was indeed what he disguised it as against Stalinist terror—realistic. He would have refused to deprive social essence of meaning by taking it as it appeared, imageless and blind, in a single crippled life. But this burdened him with the obligation of ensuring that what he intended to make unequivocally clear was theoretically correct. His art, however, refused to accept this *quid pro quo*: it both presents itself as didactic, and claims aesthetic dispensation from responsibility for the accuracy of what it teaches.

MARKSIZAM ~~+~~ radikalna teorija => kritička teorija

interdisciplinarna društvena

Teodor Adorno je bio  
nemački filozof, sociolog.  
Jedan od začetnika ~~teorije~~  
Kritičke  
Teorije

This is not

an individual inadequacy of his plays. It is not the office of art to spotlight alternatives, but to resist by its form alone the course of the world, which permanently puts a pistol to men's heads. In fact, as soon as committed works of art do instigate decisions at their own level, the decisions themselves become interchangeable. Because of this ambiguity, Sartre has with great candour confessed that he expects no real changes in the world from literature: a scepticism which reflects both the historical mutations of society and of the practical function of literature since the days of Voltaire. The principle of commitment thus slides towards the proclivities of the author, in keeping with the extreme subjectivism of Sartre's philosophy, which for all its materialist undertones, still audibly echoes German speculative idealism. In his literary theory, the work of art becomes an appeal to subjects, because it is itself nothing other than a declaration by a subject of his own choice or failure to choose.

Theodor Adorno:  
Commitment,  
New Left Review,  
no. 87-88,  
September-December,  
1974

for a moment that it is possible to write a good novel in praise of anti-semitism'.<sup>6</sup> Nor could one be written in praise of the Moscow Trials, even if such praise was bestowed before Stalin actually had Zinoviev and Bukharin murdered.<sup>7</sup> The political falsehood stains the aesthetic form. Where Brecht distorts the real social problems discussed in his epic drama, in order to prove a thesis, the whole structure and foundation of the play itself crumbles. *Mother Courage* is an illustrated primer intended to reduce to absurdity Montecucoli's dictum that war feeds on war. The camp follower who uses the Thirty Years' War to make a life for her children thereby becomes responsible for their ruin. But in the play this responsibility follows rigorously neither from the overall situation of the war itself nor from the individual behaviour of the petty profiteer; if *Mother Courage* had not been absent at the critical moment, the disaster would not have happened, and the fact that she has to be absent to earn some money, remains completely generic in relation to the action. The picture-book technique which Brecht needs to spell out his thesis prevents him from proving it. A socio-political analysis, of the sort Marx and Engels sketched in their criticism of Lassalle's play *Franz von Sickingen*, would show that Brecht's simplistic equation of the Thirty Years' War with a modern war excludes precisely what is crucial for the behaviour and fate of *Mother Courage* in Grimmelshausen's original drama. Because the society of the Thirty Years' War was not the functional capitalist society of modern times, we cannot even poetically stipulate a closed functional system in which the lives and deaths of private individuals directly reveal economic laws. But Brecht needed the old lawless days as an image of his own, precisely because he saw clearly that the society of his own age could no longer be directly comprehended in terms of people and things. His attempt to reconstruct the reality of society thus led first to a false social model and then to dramatic implausibility. Bad politics becomes bad art, and vice-versa. But the less works have to proclaim what they cannot completely believe themselves, the more telling they become in their own right; and the less they need a surplus of meaning, beyond their being. For the rest, the real interested parties in every camp would be probably as successful in surviving wars today as they have always been.

O Autonomnoj Umjetnosti :: odlomak

Nevertheless, an emphasis on autonomous works is itself socio-political in nature. The feigning of a true politics here and now, the freezing of historical relations which nowhere seem ready to melt, oblige the mind to go where it need not degrade itself. Today every phenomenon of culture, even if a model of integrity, is liable to be suffocated in the cultivation of kitsch. Yet paradoxically in the same epoch it is to works of art that has fallen the burden of wordlessly asserting what is barred to politics. Sartre himself has expressed this truth in a passage which does credit to his honesty.<sup>10</sup> This is not a time for political art, but politics has migrated into autonomous art, and nowhere more so than where it seems to be politically dead. An example is Kafka's allegory of toy-guns, in which an idea of non-violence is fused with a dawning awareness of the approaching paralysis of politics.

Politics and Poetic Tone  
odlomak

Contemporary literary Germany is anxious to separate Brecht the artist from Brecht the politician. The major writer must be saved for the West, if possible placed on a pedestal as an All-German poet, and so neutralized *au-dessus de la mêlée*. There is truth in this to the extent that both Brecht's artistic force, and his devious and uncontrollable intelligence, went well beyond the official credos and prescribed aesthetics of the People's Democracies. All the same, Brecht must be defended against this defence of him. His work, with its often patent weaknesses, would not have had such power, if it were not saturated with politics. Even its most questionable creations, such as *The Measures Taken*, generate an immediate awareness that issues of the utmost seriousness are at stake. To this extent Brecht's claim that he used his theatre to make men think was justified. It is futile to try to separate the beauties, real or imaginary, of his works from their political intentions. The task of an immanent critique, which alone is dialectical, is rather to synthesize assessment of the validity of his forms with that of his politics. Sartre's chapter 'Why write?' contains the undeniable statement that: 'Nobody can suppose

Paul Klee too belongs to any debate about committed and autonomous art: for his work, *écriture par excellence*, had roots in literature and would not have been what it was without them—or if it had not consumed them. During the First World War or shortly after, Klee drew cartoons of Kaiser Wilhelm as an inhuman iron-eater. Later, in 1920, these became—the development can be shown quite clearly—the *Angelus Novus*, the machine angel, who, though he no longer bears any emblem of caricature or commitment, flies far beyond both. The machine angel's enigmatic eyes force the onlooker to try to decide whether he is announcing the culmination of disaster or salvation hidden within it. But, as Walter Benjamin, who owned the drawing, said, he is the angel who does not give but takes.

## ACT 1

## On the Fourth of July

*A drop curtain, like those used in the older vaudeville theatres, represents a town street painted with brick buildings, signs of Central Hotel, Palace Movie, Quick Lunch, etc. In center of curtain is the door of Cohen's General Store, with a row painted on curtain and this sign: Isaac Cohen the Cut-Rate Store, Antiseptic Barber, Kosher Delicatessen, Mining Tools. Above practicable window in the curtain. The tone is that of the vaudeville except that it is more startlingly crude, vigorous in color.*

*road, uniform row of steps leads up to the*

*stage and auditorium brilliantly light*

*Down the aisle of theatre come*

BOOB ELKINS is a thin, \*

BOOB: Extry! Extry!  
the big stri!

(COHEN sticks

chant with a lisp

puzzled and worried

ville type of Yiddish fr,

by an absurd nightcap.)

COHEN: Say, just lay one c

ep, will you? Here's a nickel.

(He throws the coin. BOOB catches it adroitly. Boob throws newspaper on doorstep.

have disappears.)

†American workers' theater

During the decade of the twenties, there were also the beginnings of the Workers' Theatre Movement. In 1926, a small group of authors and theater directors formed the Workers' Drama League, and the New Playwrights' Theatre formed the next year. †† Both hoped to present drama that had some social significance and would deal with some of the problems of the day. The workers' theatre movement would not develop fully in the United States until after the stock market crash of October 1929.

COHEN: Well

get no sleep on a holiday,

SADIE: They got a lot a' soldiers an' they B-

COHEN: Never heard of him.

SADIE: (More and more breathless) The Governor a' West Virginia has ma-

big paper sayin' it's martial law an' everybody can be kilt . . . an' the sol-

diers has taken the mines an' the strikers has got music an' they're

marchin' an' they're marchin' . . .

COHEN: Is that a fact? There it is for the Fourth a' July . . . Coal dust an'

The point is we'd become interested in Stanislavsky. Anybody who works in the theatre must ultimately become fascinated by the Stanislavsky theory of acting, of living the role, and from there to examining other theories of acting like the Cocolan theory of the French Representational Theatre of living the role at rehearsal but not living it on the stage. It wasn't merely that because one worked in the theatre, however crude that theatre was, that one's interest was exclusively about the theatre; it was the fact that the theatre that we saw around us, the theatre of the West End and to some extent the kind of theatre that was reflected in British films, for example, was so unreal, and the acting styles were so false, they typified what Stanislavsky called 'rubber-stamp' acting, a series of codified gestures, and codified grimaces, and to some extent codified dialogue. And we thought correctly that if the theatre is ever to become important, acting has got to get away completely from this concept. From that false diction, those false gestures and those false attitudes.

'An actor', we said, 'should be like an athlete, he should be in complete control of his body, he should be able to make his body do anything that he calls upon it to do. Thus far we agree with Meyerhold. On the other hand we don't want a theatre which is just a troupe of acrobats. Then again, we don't want a theatre like Stanislavsky's where everybody is so busy living the role that they cannot step out of the role and comment on it from time to time.'

Strange territory we were exploring - exploring is the right word. But we weren't like modern explorers who go out with botanists, biologists, radio engineers and all the rest of it - we were exploring from a position of ignorance. None of us could be said to have had any kind of education, we'd all left school when we were fourteen.

We weren't merely exploring the theories, we were having to learn the words that described the theories. When you went into the public library to read about something, you got the dictionary out automatically to help you over the hurdles of those big words. It was very exciting. We'd meet in the evenings and discuss all the things we'd found out that day, and we'd talk for hours and hours and hours after the work was finished, exchanging ideas. We were teaching each other. Alf, myself, Jimmy Rigby, we were all at it. In the end, of course, we divided up the formalized research, 'Right, you do this, and you do that, you read about this and tell us what you found out.' We were getting better at it all the time, and we were learning how to use libraries and books.

Our group were now in communication with the Workers' Laboratory Theatre in New York. We'd got their address through a Manchester guy called Lazar Copeland, who'd been in America as a garment worker. Lazar had gone with a fellow called Benny Segal, who'd led a strike over here, and then gone to America, and taken part in the famous Gastonia strike. They'd made contact, and apparently the Laboratory Theatre had written something about them, and performed it. So through them we got the address, wrote to them, and they sent us scripts, Newsboy for example.

We'd also had contact with the Germans, right up until the coming of Hitler, and then after the coming of Hitler two guys turned up, representatives from the International Revolutionary Theatre Committee, a fellow called Otto, and one called Philip Minner. And Philip Minner had been a member of Kotonne Links - the troupe of the Left Column, one of the most highly praised of all of the German Agit-Prop groups. And he told us that they were having internal problems before Hitler came, a feeling that they should be moving to another area of work; and he put us in touch with a guy called Gustav Wangenheim.

Now the Wangenheim family were a kind of old Prussian nobility family. Gustav had been a theatre director, and his wife, Inge von Wangenheim, was an actress; they'd formed one of the best of all the transitional Agit-Prop groups that had existed. They were still a travelling group, very flexible, and could play in almost any conditions, but they weren't limited to five- or ten-minute sketches, but could put on a play that would last two and a half hours, in a hall, a theatre, a church, a covered market or in the open air. They'd been touring for several months before Hitler came to power with a play called *The Mousetrap*. It was about a group of travelling players with a repertoire of political sketches. They call at an inn and the innkeeper welcomes them. He allows them to sleep in the barn in exchange for the promise of a performance of their play. He informs them that the people who live in the vilage are weavers, whereupon they begin to act a scene from Gerhard Hauptmann's play *The Weavers*. The innkeeper objects, says that it will alienate his better-off customers. A spirited argument develops and the actors re-enact the scene in several different ways using song, dance, burlesque, tragic theatre, the whole lot in one single organism, absolutely beautiful, brilliant.

We got an American friend, who was living in Manchester at the time, to translate part of it. He translated the first fourteen or fifteen pages and then left. So we set about, with dictionaries, trying to translate the rest. We managed to get to the end of the second act, but it was very stow and laborious. Alf Armitt had a girlfriend who knew some German and she translated a bit more of it and the rest we made up in our heads. We learnt a tremendous lot about the theatre from that operation... We never staged the Wangenheim play; it was too involved for us at that stage.

from  
the American  
Workers' Theatre

STAGED  
ACTION



gore: za Svejka, autor George Grosz

Organizirano radništvo okrenulo se kazalištu neobično kasno. Ono se koristi svim mogućnostima građanskog društva da bi se izrazilo, pribavlja sebi, makar i u skromnom opsegu, vlastita glasila, uzima riječ u parlamentu, prodire u državni aparat. Na kazalište ne obraća pažnju.

Zašto? Prvo, intenzitet političke i sindikalne borbe angažira sve raspoložive snage; nedostaje ih za zadatke u kulturi, uključivanje kulturnih činilaca u borbu. Potom — što će biti presudno — proletarijat sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina još se uvijek nalazi pod potpunim utjecajem građanskih nazora o umjetnosti. Jednostavan čovjek u kazalištu pravovjerno vidi »hram muza« u koji smije stupiti samo u fraku i u odgovarajućem povišenom raspoloženju. Učinilo bi mu se svetogrđem da u raskošnim prostorijama od crvenog pliša i zlatnih štukatura sluša o »ružnoj« borbi sa svakidašnjicom, o nadnicama, radnom vremenu, dividendama i profitu. To je bio posao novina. U kazalištu su trebali vladati osjećaj, duša, trebao se otvarati pogled na svijet iznad svakidašnjeg života, svijet lijepog, velikog i istinitog. Kazalište je pravi namijenjena bogatima. Kultura, odnos prema kulturi — to je jednadžba koja se kao i sve u društvu najbrže i najjasnije daje izraziti brojkama.

S parolom »Umjetnost narodu« još uvijek nije napuštena duhovna platforma građanskog društva. Umjetnost kakvu je građansko društvo utvrdilo kao pojam, u cjelini ostaje netaknuta. Da je svaki dramski pisac rekao nešto specifično za svoje doba, da ga bez komentara ne možemo sliti iz jedne epohe u drugu, o tome se ne razmišlja. Kriterij se nalazi u formalnom, ne u problemskom.

Zahtjev da se u tom stadiju umjetnost iskoristi kao politički činilac, a sredstva kojima umjetnost raspolaže podrede proleterskom pokretu, bio bi možda i preuranjen. Vrijeme još nije bilo zrelo za to. Bilo je dovoljno što se spajaju dva tako eminentno važna činioca — kazalište i proletarijat. Prvi put proleterski slojevi javljaju se kao konzumenti umjetnosti, ne više u malim skupinama, individualno, već u dobro organiziranoj masi. Do trenutka spajanja, broj članova u oba društva zajedno popeo se na 80 000 članova, što je bio očit dokaz kulturnih potreba radničkih masa i argument protiv teorije o »neobrazovanoj svjetini« onih koji su bili na vlasti.

Oficijalno kazalište šuti, a „Volksbühne“ s njima. Dok na ulicama ljude rasteruju automatskim puškama i bacačima plamena, dok se kuće tresu od tutnjave vojničkih kolona i tenkova koji su iz Potsdama i Jüterboga krenuli na Berlin, pred polupraznim gledalištem podiže se zastor za sudbinu Henrika IV Engleskog ili Shakespeareovu komediju Kako vam drago (Reinhardt). Inicijativa protiv toga potekla je iz onih krugova koji su još prije rata tvorili intelektualnu opoziciju, a sada su mislili da je u revoluciji kucnuo njihov čas. Početkom 1919. U Charlottenburgu je osnovana „Die Tribüne“. Karlheinz Martin je inscenirao Preobražaj (Wandlung) Ernsta Tollera. To kazalište gubi međutim svoje ideološko značenje i ubrzo postaje jednim od brojnih komercijalnih kazališta.

Nije slučajno da u doba u kojem se proletarijat idejno i organizacijski okreće kazalištu, započinje i njegova tehnička revolucija. Osamdesetih godina u kazalištima se uvodi električna rasvjeta, potkraj stoljeća izumljena je pokretna pozornica. Sve se kreće u istom pravcu, prema novom pojmu kazališta.

Međutim, početni zamah predstavlja ujedno i vrhunac onog što se postiglo. Gotovo sudbinski, taj razvoj je povezan s promjenama unutar najmoćnijeg političkog faktora toga doba, socijaldemokracije. Za brzim razvojem njezine organiziranosti, njezinim grananjem i sve suptilnijim oblicima djelovanja, slijedi propadanje duhovnog sadržaja u shemu. Opozicijske snage, koje potječu iz građanstva ali to svojom tendencijom prevladavaju, iscrpljuju se prije presudnog udara.

Respect your elders and predecessors. Treat us with tenderness, and then, when the time comes, kill us ritualistically.



The communist revolution is not afraid of art. It realizes that the role of the artist in a decadent capitalist society is determined by the conflict between the individual and various social forms which are hostile to him. This fact alone, insofar as he is conscious of it, makes the artist the natural ally of revolution. The process of sublimation, which here comes into play, and which psychoanalysis has analyzed, tries to restore the broken equilibrium between the integral "ego" and the outside elements it rejects. This restoration works to the advantage of the "ideal of self," which marshals against the unbearable present reality all those powers of the interior world, of the "self," which are common to all men and which are constantly flowering and developing. The need for emancipation felt by the individual spirit has only to follow its natural course to be led to mingle its stream with this primeval necessity: the need for the emancipation of man.

We recognize, of course, that the revolutionary State has the right to defend itself against the counterattack of the bourgeoisie, even when this drapes itself in the flag of science or art. But there is an abyss between these enforced and temporary measures of revolutionary self-defense and the pretension to lay commands on intellectual creation. If, for the better development of the forces of material production, the revolution must build a socialist regime with centralized control, to develop intellectual creation an anarchist regime of individual liberty should from the first be established. No authority, no dictation, not the least trace of orders from above! Only on a base of friendly cooperation, without the constraint from the outside, will it be possible for scholars and artists to carry out their tasks, which will be more far-reaching than ever before in history.

Ranije se glumac u svom stvaralaštvu prilagođavao društvu kome je njegova umjetnost namenjena. U budućnosti će glumac još više morati da uskladi svoju igru sa uslovima proizvodnje. Jer on će stvarati u uslovima kada rad neće biti smatran prokletstvom nego radosnom životnom potrebom. U tim uslovima idealnog rada, umjetnost, naravno, mora imati novu osnovu.

Mi smo navikli da se vreme svakog čoveka deli na rad i odmor. Svaki radnik je težio da potroši najmanji broj časova na rad, a najveći na odmor. Ako se takva težnja smatrala normalnom u uslovima kapitalističkog društva, ona je potpuno neprihvatljiva za pravilan razvoj socijalističkog.

Rad treba da postane lak, prijatan i neprekidan, a nova klasa treba da iskoristi umjetnost kao nešto suštinski neophodno, kao pomoć radniku u radnom procesu a ne samo kao razonodu: moraćemo da promenimo ne samo forme našeg stvaralaštva nego i metod.

Glumac koji stvara za novu klasu moraće da preispita sve kanone starog pozorišta. I sam glumački stalež će biti postavljen u druge uslove. Rad glumca u radnom društvu biće tretiran kao produkcija neophodna za pravilnu organizaciju rada svih građana.

iz:

Vsevolod E. MEYERHOLD:

O pozorištu, Molit, Begrad, 1976

Manifesto: Towards a Free Revolutionary Art: Andre Breton and Leon Trotsky (1938) + Diego Rivera

Vsevolod E. Meyerhold:

### GLUMAC BUDUĆNOSTI I BIOMEHANIKA

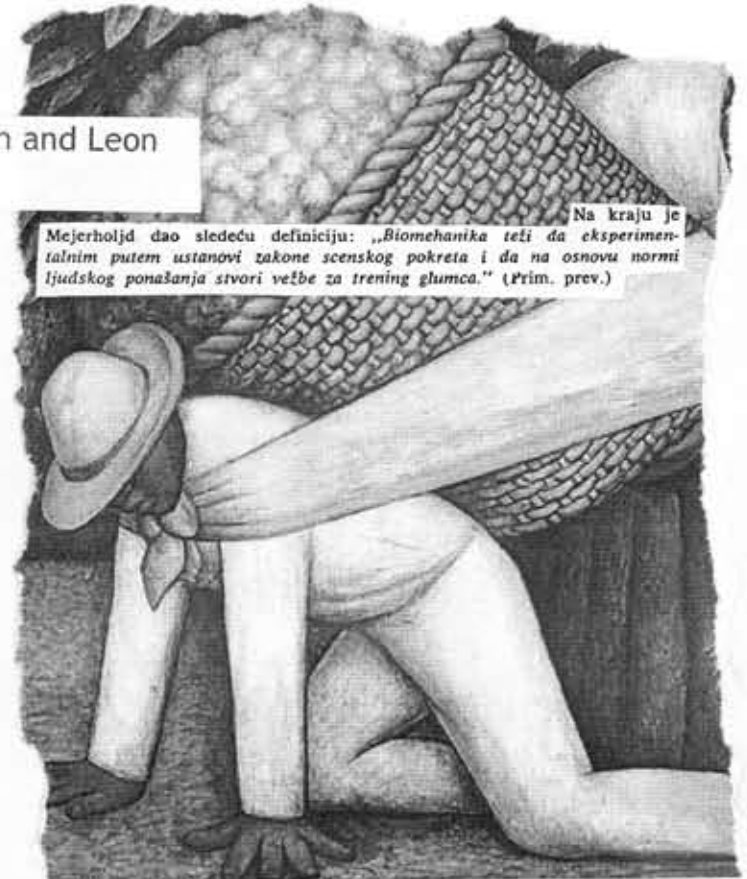
PREDAVANJE ODRŽANO 12. JUNA 1922.

Metod tejlorizacije<sup>1</sup> svojstven je radu glumca isto tako kao i svakom drugom radu gde se teži dostizanju maksimalne produkcije.

Teze: 1) da se odmor uključuje u radni proces u vidu pauza i 2) da umjetnost ispunjava određenu životno neophodnu funkciju a ne služi samo zabavi — obavezuje glumca na najveću moguću ekonomiku vremena, jer se za umjetnost koja je uključena u opštu raspodelu vremena radnika daje određena količina vremenskih jedinica koje treba maksimalno iskoristiti. To znači da ne treba neproizvodno gubiti sat i po do dva na šminku i kostim. Glumac budućnosti će raditi bez šminke, u radnom odelu, tj. u kostimu koji je tako zamišljen da služi glumcu kao svakodnevno odelo, a istovremeno je idealno prilagođen za pokrete i zamisli koje glumac ostvaruje na sceni u procesu igre.

Tejlorizacija pozorišta otvoriće mogućnost da se za jedan sat odigra onoliko koliko sada možemo da damo za četiri.

<sup>1</sup> Misli se na metod naučne organizacije rada koji je razradio američki inženjer F. U. Tejlor. V. I. Lenjin pisao je 1918. godine: "... Tejlorov sistem — kao i svaki progres kapitalizma — objedinjuje u sebi rafinirano zverstvo buržoaske eksploatacije i izuzetno bogata naučna dostignuća na planu analize mehaničkih pokreta pri radu, odstranjenja suvišnih i nespretnih pokreta, uvođenja najpravičnijeg načina rada, najboljeg sistema obračuna i kontrole itd. Sovjetska republika bi morala po svaku cenu da preuzme sve što su nauka i tehnika osvojile u toj oblasti" (Celokupna dela, knj. 36, str. 189—190).



Na kraju je Mejerholjd dao sledeću definiciju: „Biomehanika teži da eksperimentalnim putem ustanovi zakone scenskog pokreta i da na osnovu normi ljudskog ponašanja stvori vežbe za trening glumca.“ (Prim. prev.)

\* The Flower CARRIER ~ Diego Rivera

novosadskoj grupi delovali su i Endre Arato (Endre Arató)<sup>132</sup>, Janoš Mešter (Mester Janos)<sup>133</sup>, Janoš Lajoš Aranjmešter (Aranymester Janos Lajos)<sup>134</sup>, Arpad Lang (Žarko Plamenac/Durica Brkić/Arpad Lebl/Lőrinc Péter)<sup>135</sup>, Lajoš Aranjmiveš (Aranymives Lajos)<sup>136</sup> i drugi, a pored njih u navedenom časopisu "Ut" saradivali su i autori, kao što su bili Žarko Vastiljević, Stanislav Vnaver, Milan Dedinac, Sava Šumanović i Mihailo S. Petrov. Mada svi oni nisu bili "čisti" dadaisti u duši, njihova saradnja doprinela je stvaranju povoljne opšte klime i popularizaciji pokreta koji je, sledeći ideje revolucionarno orijentisanih mađarskih aktivista, imao naglašen socijalni ton.

Kontakti i saradnja Dragana Aleksića sa novosadskim aktivistima, dobili su svoju potvrdu na prvom dadaističkom matineu na jugoslovenskim prostorima, održanom u Novom Sadu, u "Ameriken baru" u ulici kralja Petra, trećeg juna 1922. godine<sup>137</sup>. Posle oštre kritike celokupne dotadašnje književnosti, na matineu je usledilo čitanje stihova "kakvi još od Aristofana nisu napisani"<sup>138</sup>, zatim su saopštavane i vesti, naizmenično na mađarskom i na "dadaističkom" jeziku. Sudeći prema pomenutom novinskom izveštaju (koji je usledio par dana posle matineja), seansa je očigledno bila prekinuta zbog nekakve gužve, pošto se navodi da su pozvani vatrogasci, a osam gledalaca se onesvestilo. Naznačene vrste sadržaja, kao i reakcije publike na njihovu prezentaciju u ovom prvom dadaističkom hepeningu u nas, potvrđuju da je, između ostalog, na delu bila generalna dadaistička poetika šoka i provokacija, koja "sugerishe publici da je jezik samo vrsta kritičke buke"<sup>139</sup>. Pored Aleksića, sasvim je izvesno da su u ovom matineu učestvovali Mihailo S. Petrov<sup>140</sup> i Boško Tokin, dok se o učesću ostalih ništa pouzdano

<sup>132</sup> Endre Arato (Kramer), pisac i poslovani čovek, zbog čestih putovanja u Beč veza između Kašaka i vojvodanskih pisaca. Za subotički dadaistički matinej pripremio koncert mirisa. Vidi: M. Cindori, V. Golubović, nav. delo, 1402.

<sup>133</sup> Janoš Mešter, saradnik časopisa "Ut", pisao aktivističku i tipografsku poeziju. Vidi: M. Cindori, V. Golubović, nav. delo, 1401.

<sup>134</sup> Janoš Lajoš Aranjmešter, novosadski pesnik, saradnik časopisa "Ut".

<sup>135</sup> Arpad Lang, pisac i učesnik u zbivanjima vezanim za jugoslovensku mađarsku avangardu. Njegovu stvaralaštvo prelazi put od ekspresionizma, preko dadaizma, do socijalne književnosti. U svojim sećanjim zabeležio neka od zbivanja vezana za istoriju jugoslovenskog dadaističkog pokreta. Vidi: M. Cindori, V. Golubović, nav. delo, 1396.

<sup>136</sup> Lajoš Aranjmiveš, pesnik iz kruga oko Zoltana Čuka i saradnika časopisa "Ut". Vidi: F. Nemet, nav. delo, 388.

<sup>137</sup> Aktivista matineje és dadaista újságírók, Déltárcsa, Novi Sad, 7. VI 1922, 3; Aktivistički dadaistički matinej/ Dadaistički matinej, (Hirap, II/258, 11. XI 1922, 3). U: V. Golubović, M. Cindori, navedeno delo, 1402.

Jasna Jovanov, Dadaisti, baptisti i ostali, Dnevnik, Novi Sad, 3. VI 1992.

<sup>138</sup> Aktivista matineje és dadaista újságírók, Déltárcsa, Novi Sad, 7. VI 1922, 3.

<sup>139</sup> Rudolf E. Kuenzli, nav. delo, 59.

<sup>140</sup> Prema sećanju Mihaila S. Petrova, izgovorenom u Studentskom kulturnom centru u Beogradu nekom prilikom sedamdesetih godina, u prisustvu autora ovog rada.



mašinsku umjetnost"<sup>145</sup> Zanimljivo je da se sve što je objavljeno na plakatu, najavljuje pod devizom "Made in Yugoslavia". Ako se ova najava uporedi sa komentarima štampoe, koji su pratili događaj u Osijeku<sup>146</sup>, nije teško rekonstruisati kako je to moglo izgledati: na improvizovanoj pozornici, pred prepunim gledalištem zbunjениh i radoznalih, a kasnije i gnevних i uvređenih u duhu građanske kulture vaspitanih Vinkovčana, već pomenuta grupa dadaista obratila se publici svojim pesmama, držeci u rukama reprodukcije ili originalne primerke slika, kolaža i grafika, koje su obasjavali reflektori različitih boja. Pozornica je takođe bila ukrašena u duhu "nove, mašinske umetnosti", dakle u kubofuturo-dadaistkom stilu, sa kulisama/skulpturama i plakatima, koji su predstavljali pravi matinej za dadaističke dramske kolaže i pravi podijum za uzvikivanje slogana i poruka. Uvođenje (donekle mobilnih) elemenata dekora, kao i sve naglašenije prisustvo tragova multimedijalnog izraza - skulpture, plakati, kolaži - svedoči o razvoju i usloznavanju svojevrsnog dadaističkog teatra. Sudeći po posledicama ostalih dadaističkih nastupa, sasvim je moguće da se i ovaj završio opštim negodovanjem svih prisutnih.

Poslednja i ujedno najveličanstvenija dada-manifestacija u Jugoslaviji održana je 3. novembra 1922. godine u sali bioskopa "Korzo" u Subotici<sup>147</sup>, uz učesće Dragana Aleksića, kao i novosadskih i subotičkih aktivista. Kao i u osiječkom slučaju, i ovde je matine bio bučno najavljen u štampi, dok su se izložili subotičkih kafana i radnji šareneli od upadljivih, raznobojnih konstruktivističkih plakata. Predviđeni program imao je dvadeset tačaka - manifeste Micica, Langa i Aratoa, pesme Čuke, Aleksića, Meštera, Hlisenbeka, Kašaka, Šugara, Harastija (Harasztl Sándor)<sup>148</sup>, Ujvarijave (Ujvary Erszébet)<sup>149</sup>, radove Petrova, kao i zenitistička dela Aleksića, Poljanskog i Micica. Posebne tačke predstavljale su "Arhitektura sveta", "Arhitektura zvuka" i "Koncert mirisa". Ovaj deo programa, u kojem provokativnu dadaističku atmosferu treba da dočaraju mirisni, svetlosni i zvučni efekti, svakako je predstavljao kulminaciju čitavog događaja. Pred početak matineja stigao je telegram u kojem Ljubomir Micić zabranjuje izvođenje zenitističkih radova i distancirajući se od skupa naziva učesnike "dada epigonima"<sup>150</sup>.

Međutim, uskoro će se videti da je Micićev pucarij otišao u prazno. Još krajem 1921. Raul Hausman najavljuje gašenje dadaističkih aktivnosti, da bi se sačekao trenutak da

<sup>145</sup> Arturo Schwarz, *Almanacco Dada*, Feltrinelli, Milano 1976, 633.

<sup>146</sup> I. Flod, *Dada. Povodom dadaističke matineje održane 20. VIII 1922. u Royal kinu*, Hrvatska obrana, br. 187, Osijek, 23. VIII 1922, 2-3.

<sup>147</sup> M. Cindori, V. Golubović, nav. delo.

<sup>148</sup> Šandor Harastl, pored Zoltana Čuka vodeća ličnost mađarskog književnog života u Jugoslaviji dvadesetih godina. Pisac i novinar, saradnik "Uta", pod uticajem Kašakovog stvaralaštva. Vidi: M. Cindori, V. Golubović, nav. delo, 1401.

<sup>149</sup> Erzsebet Ujvari, pesnikinja i novinarka, mlada sestra Lajoša Kašaka i supruga Šandora Barte. Od 1919. kao emigrant živi u Beču, a od 1925. godine u Rusiji. Bila saradnik u časopisima "A Tejt", "Ma", "Akasztott ember" i drugim. Vidi: M. Cindori, V. Golubović, nav. delo, 1401.

<sup>150</sup> Zenit, br. 17/18, Zagreb, oktobar 1922, 16.

## Prema MEDIJSKOJ SinTEZI

### Dadaistički hepening

Još u "Dada Tanku" Aleksić najavljuje da će se aktivnosti njegove trupe odvijati i kroz seriju dadaističkih matineja tokom te jeseni: u Zagrebu, Beogradu, Osijeku, Vinkovcima, Novom Sadu, Ljubljani i Splitu. Za sad se sa sigurnošću može tvrditi da su predstave održane u Novom Sadu, Osijeku, Vinkovcima i Subotici. Na početku dadaističkih aktivnosti, uspostavljena je veza sa Lajošem Kašakom i aktivistima okupljenim oko lista "Ma". Kasnije su uspostavljeni kontakti, a krajem proleća 1922. sklopljen i pakt sa subotičkim i novosadskim aktivistima. To znači da je dadaizam u to vreme, pored zagrebačkog i beogradskog, u Jugoslaviji imao i treći kulturni krug, koji je delovao u Vojvodini, tačnije, na liniji Novi Sad-Subotica. Glavni akteri te scene jesu grupa literata koja je, nakon sloma Pečujsko-Baranjske-Srpsko-Mađarske republike iz Pečuja emigrirala u Suboticu i Novi Sad<sup>127</sup>. Zoltan Čuka (Csuka Zoltan)<sup>128</sup> u Novom Sadu pokreće list "Ut" (Put), 1922-1925, koji ima sva obeležja dadaističkih revija, a po idejama je blizak sa Kašakovom revijom "Ma". "Ut" otvara vrata ne samo mađarskim aktivistima i pripadnicima srpske avangardne književnosti<sup>129</sup>, već i ostalim pripadnicima evropskog dadaističkog pokreta.

Subotičkim umetnicima, kojima su bile dostupne čak i stranice dnevnog lista "Hirap"<sup>130</sup>, bila je bliža dadaistička varijanta iz "Obešenog čoveka" ("Akasztott ember") Šandora Barte (Bartha Sándor)<sup>131</sup>. Bartino stvaralaštvo obojeno marksističkim idejama predstavlja, uglavnom, osnov daljeg delovanja subotičkih aktivista. Uz Zoltana Čuku, u

Dragan Aleksić

(Bunić kod Korenice, 1901. – Beograd, 1958.), pesnik, pisac, novinar, bavio se filmom. Osnovnu školu završio u rodnom mestu, gimnaziju u Vinkovcima. Prve pesme objavio 1918. u zagrebačkim novinama za srednjoškolce „Omladina“. Od 1920. studira slavistiku u Pragu, gde spontano otkriva svoju sklonost dadaizmu, formulira, usmeno i pisмено, manifeste, piše priče, pesme, drame, izjašnjava se u programskom smislu, javno, kao teoretičar „organske umetnosti“ – orgarta.

Aleksić se ističe kao važan animator grupe, objavljuje revije „Dada Tank“ i „Dada Jazz“ (1922.), nastupa samostalno ili sa članovima svoje „čete“ na dadaističkim manifestacijama u Osijeku, Vinkovcima, Subotici, uspostavlja saradnju s domaćim i inostranim časopisima iste ili slične orijentacije „Ūt „(Novi Sad), „Ma“ (Beč), „Hipnos“, „Crno na belo“, „Večnost“, „50 u Europi“.



Prema sredstva moraju biti dobra da bi se upropastile ideje porodice, otadžbine, religije. — A. Breton, Drugi manifest nadrealizma, 1929.



ne može tvrditi. U svakom slučaju, grupa pristojno odevenih mladića, kao što bi odeveni za svaki drugi nastup, osim Dragana Aleksića, koji se za ovu priliku ne obukao, već i svukao (sudeći po Aleksićevoj sklonosti prema boksu, verovatno i nastupio u boksterskom dresu), uspeła je da izazove javnu sablazan i da skrene na sebe.<sup>141</sup>

Prošla su skoro dva meseca, u kojima je dadaistička četa Dragana Aleksića bila izdavanjem časopisa, kada su se dadaisti ponovo okupili na javnom nastupu, 20 avgusta 1922. godine u sali bioskopa "Royal" u Osijeku. Bučno najavljen: kritiko štampi<sup>142</sup>, matine je reklamiran ogromnom dada-monstrum reklamom<sup>143</sup>, tako da bioskop bio dupke pun. Nestripiljiva publika jedva je čekala početak. Dok su Alek: Sremac/Sremec, Mee Tarr, Milinković, Slezinger, Lastov, Jim Rad i Nac Singer re svoje, kao i stihove M. Rajha (M. Reich), Tristana Care, Voltera Meringa, Ljubom Micića, a zatim prikazali i osam svojih drama sa "realtrikovima", na sceni su se smenjivale reprodukcije slika M.S.Petrova, D. Aleksića, R. Hausmana, F. Pkabiije v. Picabia) i Moholji Nada (Moholy Nagy). Sam Aleksić je ovaj matine nazvao "prvim u SHS"<sup>144</sup>, uz najavu matineja u Novom Sadu, ne pominjući onaj koji je već održan. Nejasno je zbog čega on taj događaj u svojim kasnijim sećanjima na kratkotrajnu dadaističku avanturu, kao i u pomenutom pismu, nije smatrao vrednim pomena. Može se pretpostaviti samo da onaj prvi događaj nije bio u organizaciji zagrebačke dada-centrale, pa mu zbog toga Aleksić, koji ni sam nije bio imun na sujetu "vođe", oduzima primat.

Serija sličnih aktivnosti nastavljena je predstavom koja je održana u Vinkovcima, u hotelu "Slavonija", u nedelju, prvog oktobra 1922. godine. O tom događaju zasad nema drugih podataka, osim jednog plakata sačuvanog u dokumentima "Devijetsila", koji najavljuje "konferansu iznenađenja 'Dada kluba' Dragana Aleksića", veliku reviju o "Dadaizmu i novoj umjetnosti, veće modernih pesama, moderne silke projekciju ljubavi i

<sup>141</sup> A. Lebl, *Izgubljeni rukopisi*, Letopis Matice srpske, knj. 425, sv. 3, Novi Sad, jul-avgust 1980, 165.

<sup>142</sup> Dadaiste prireduju danas koncert u Osijeku, *Jedna kretelnska matineja*, Hrvatski list, br. 187, Osijek, 20. VIII 1922, 4;

Dadaistička "matineja" u Osijeku, *Feljtón*, Straža, br. 182, Osijek, 23. VIII 1922, 2;

Ivan Flod, *Dada. Povodom dadaističke matineje održane 20. VIII 1922. u Royal-kinu*, Hrvatska obrana, br. 187, Osijek, 23. VIII 1922, 2-3.

<sup>143</sup> Aleksandar Flaker, Zagreb, U: *Dada Global* (uredio Raimond Meyer), Kunsthauš Zuerich und Limmat Verlag, Zuerich 1994, 122;

Prema reprodukovanom plakatu, dadaistički matineje je bio zakazan za jedanaest sati, a najavljeni su sledeći učesnici: Dragan Aleksić iz Zagreba, urednik revije "Dada-Tank", a sudeluju i dadaisti T. Milinković, Mee Tarr, Slavko Slezinger, M. S. Petrov i Vido Lastov i prvi evropski dadaisti. Na programu su dadaističke drame, slike, skulpture, muzika, filozofija, pesništvo i roman, a sve to uz geslo "savremenost dadaizam - snega mladosti-dadaizam - ugodna noršaliansa, kakotodragost dinamika dadaizma, tilraj tehničke i sigurnosti".

<sup>144</sup> Predrag Todorović, *Dva pisma Dragana Aleksića Trstianu Cari*, Književna reč, br. 329, Beograd, 10. X 1988, 15.

<sup>127</sup> O delovanju mađarskih aktivista i dadaista u Novom Sadu i Subotici vidi: Imre Bori, *Književnost jugoslovenskih Mađara*, Matica srpska, Novi Sad 1979, 96;

Marija Cindori, *Vida Golubović, Dada u Subotici* (temat), Književnost, br. 7-8, Beograd 1990, 1383-1423; Jasna Jovanov, *Dadaisti, baptisti i ostali*, Dnevnik, Novi Sad, 5. VI 1992, 13.

<sup>128</sup> Zoltan Čuka, pesnik i pisac, dvadesetih godina ovog veka bio pobornik i agitator borbenog aktivizma. Tokom niza godina najznačajniji prevodilac dela jugoslovenskih pisaca na mađarski jezik. U Vojvodinu dolazi sa pečujskom emigracijom, gde provodi dvadeset godina. Jedno od vodećih imena književnosti jugoslovenskih Mađara, urednik i pokretač mnogobrojnih časopisa, najznačajniji "Ut" (1922-1925). Vidi: Marija Cindori, *Vida Golubović, Dada u Subotici* (temat), Književnost, br. 7-8, Beograd 1990, 1401.

<sup>129</sup> Ferenc Nemet, *Predstavnic srpske avangarde u mađarskom časopisu "Ut"*. U: *Srpska avangarda u periodici*, Matica srpska, Institut za književnost i umetnost, Novi Sad-Beograd 1996, 387-394.

<sup>130</sup> M. Cindori, V. Golubović, nav. delo.

<sup>131</sup> Šandor Barta (1897-1938) - kao student u Budimpešti učestvuje u radu levo orijentisanog kružoka "Galije" okupljenog oko Đerđa Lukača; nakon što je emigrirao u Beč, postaje jedan od urednika časopisa "Ma", a posle razlaza sa Kašakom, zajedno sa Komjatom i Ulicem pokreće časopis "Akasztott ember" ("Obešeni čovek"). Piše pesme, u početku ekspresionistički obojene, od 1919. postaje izraziti pesnik mađarskog dadaizma. Takođe piše priče i dramske tekstove, u kasnijim godinama stvaralaštva obojene komunističkom ideologijom i stilski sve više naginje realizmu. Pogubljen u Budimpešti kao žrtva montiranog političkog procesa. Vidi: M. Cindori, V. Golubović, nav. delo, 1390.



Kritički stav  
gledaoca je potpuno umjetnički stav. Opisivanje V-efekta  
djeluje daleko neprirgodnije nego njegovo izvođenje.  
Razumije se, taj način glume nema ničeg zajedničkog s  
uobičajenom »stilizacijom«. Glavna prednost epskog  
teatra s njegovim V-efektom, koji teži isključivo pri-  
roda i zemaljskog, što prijanja uz uobičajeni teatar još iz  
starih vremena.

REAKCIONARNA I REVOLUCIONARNA STANOVISTA  
PRI PROSUĐIVANJU DRAMA I TEMA ZA DRAMU

Nepovoljni kapitalistički način rada savremene drama-  
tike doveo je dramatičare do toga da samo iznalaze koje  
teme (zbivanja, okoline) zanimaju društvo, i da se tada  
uglavnom potrude oko formuliranja. To je, naravno, sasvim  
u interesu društva, i tako se u javnom rasuđivanju već  
davno učvrstilo uvjerenje da je više u pitanju Kako nego  
Šta. Pošto je to Kako najčešće vrlo loše, to napredni biju  
ogorčeni boj za kvalitet. Taj ih boj potpuno zaokuplja. Da-  
nas, dakle, vlada stanovište da je svako zbivanje »samo po  
sebi« zanimljivo (radi se samo o njegovom prikazivanju).  
To stanovište učvršćuju nastojanja naših najnaprednijih  
teatarskih ljudi da određena klasična, »sama po sebi« ne-  
zanimljiva zbivanja održe zanimljivima pokazujući u kakvoj  
su ona vezi s našim vremenom.

OTVORENO PISMO NJEMACKIM UMJETNICIMA  
I PISCIMA

S užasom sam, kao i mnogi drugi, iz govora Otta  
Grotewohla u kome traži svenjemačko savjetovanje za pri-  
premanje općih slobodnih izbora razabrao kako ozbiljno  
vlada Njemačke Demokratske Republike prosuđuje stanje  
u Njemačkoj.

Hoćemo li ratovati? Odgovor: ako se naoružavamo za  
rat, onda ćemo ratovati. Hoće li Nijemci pucati na Nijemce?  
Odgovor: ako međusobno ne razgovaraju, pucaće jedni na  
druge.

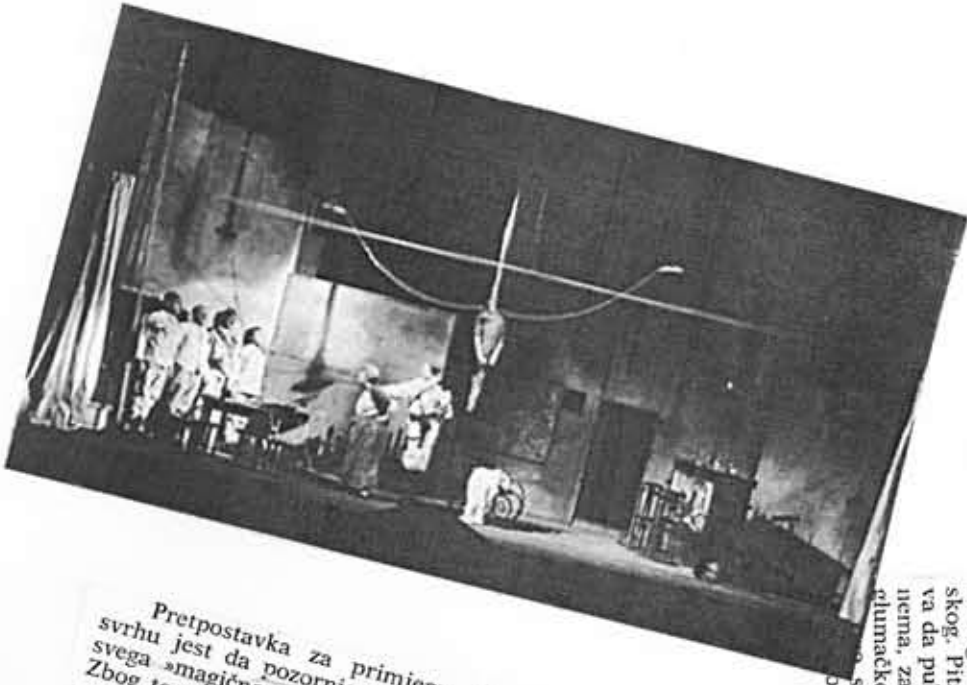
U zemlji koja je svoje poslove dugo vremena jedinst-  
veno vodila i odjednom je rastrgana, ima uvijek i svuda  
mnogo konflikata koje treba poravnati. To se može učiniti  
na mnogo načina. Ako ima vojski, učiniće se ratom. Naj-  
kasnije u času kad se pojavi opasnost nastanka takvih voj-  
ski bezuslovno je nužno poduzeti novi napor da do ponov-  
nog ujedinjenja dođe mirnim putem koji, da i ne govorimo  
o ogromnim prednostima takvog jedinstva, odstranjuje kon-  
flikte. Ljudi svih profesija, svi jednako ugroženi, moraju  
doprinijeti odstranjivanju nastalih napetosti. Kao pisac  
obraćam se njemačkim piscima i umjetnicima da od svojih  
narodnih predstavništava zatraže neka se u jednom od  
prvih stadija pregovora što im se nadamo razmotre slijedeći  
prijedlozi:

1. Potpuna sloboda knjige, s jednim ograničenjem.
2. Potpuna sloboda teatra, s jednim ograničenjem.
3. Potpuna sloboda likovne umjetnosti, s jednim ogra-  
ničenjem.
4. Potpuna sloboda muzike, s jednim ograničenjem.

KAD BI MORSKI PSI BILI LJUDI bilo bi u njih i umjetnosti. Bilo

bi lijepih slika na kojima bi zubi morskih pasa bili  
naslikani raskošnim bojama, a njihove ralje kao pravi  
perivoji stvoreni za živu i zabavnu igru. Kazališta na  
dnu mora prikazivala bi kako junačke ribice oduševlje-  
no plivaju u ralje morskih pasa, a muzika bi bila tako  
lijepa da bi ribice, praćene njezinim zvucima, s kape-  
lom na čelu, sanjarski i obuzete najugodnijim mislima  
hitale u ralje morskih pasa. Pa i religije bi bilo kad bi  
morski psi bili ljudi. Ona bi naučavala da ribice tek u  
trbusima morskih pasa počinju živjeti pravim životom.

Uostalom, kad bi morski psi bili ljudi, ribice više ne  
bi, kao što je to sada, bile jednake. Neke od njih do-  
bile bi položaje i bile postavljene iznad drugih. Nešto  
veće ribice smjele bi čak da proždiru sitnije. To bi



Pretpostavka za primjenu V-efekta u navedenu  
svrhu jest da pozornica i gledalište budu očišćeni od  
svoga »magičnog«, i da ne nastaju »hipnotička polja«.  
Zbog toga je izostao pokušaj da se na pozornici stvara  
atmosfera nekog određenog prostora (sobe uveče, uli-  
ce u jesen), kao i pokušaj da se dopadljivim ritmom  
govora stvara ugodaj. Publiku nije »zagrijavalo« oslo-  
badanje temperamenta niti ju je »začaravalo« gluma s  
napetim mišićima. Ukratko, nije se težilo da se publika  
baci u trans niti da joj se pruži iluzija kako prisust-  
vuje prirodnom, neprostudiranom zbivanju. Kako će se  
vidjeti, sklonost publike da se prebaci u takvu iluziju  
mora se neutralizirati određenim umjetničkim sred-  
stvima.

Moglo bi se misliti da je to kurs čaranja, ali to je  
kurs glumačke umjetnosti, tobože po metodi Stanislav-  
skog. Pitamo se može li tehnika koja nekog osposoblja-  
va da publici sugerira štakore tamo gdje ih u stvarnosti  
nema, zaista biti podjednako štetna za širenje istine? Bez imalo  
glumačke umjetnosti, sa dovoljno alkohola može se  
u svako dovesti dotle da svuda vidi ako ne šta-  
ono bijele miševe.



OPERA ZA 3 GROSZE  
MACHIE MAJCHER PIUTA FRONZEWSKI

BRECHT  
morskim psima bilo štaviše drago jer bi se tako i  
češće domogli većih zalogaja. A veće ribice, one na  
ložaju, starale bi se za red među ribicama; postale  
učitelji, oficiri, inženjeri za gradnju sanduka itd. Ukr-  
tko, tek bi tada bilo neke kulture u moru kad bi morski  
psi bili ljudi.

Onaj koji se danas\* želi boriti protiv laži i neznanja  
i koji želi pisati istinu treba da savlada najmanje pet teš-  
koća. Mora imati hrabrosti da piše istinu, iako je ona po-  
suda prešućivana; mora imati mudrosti da je prepozna,  
iako je ona posuda prikrišana; mora posjedovati umijeće  
da je učini oružjem podesnim za borbu; mora imati taktičkog  
prosudivanja da izabere one u čijim će rukama istina biti  
dijelotvorna; mora imati lukavosti da je uspije proširiti me-  
đu takvima. Te su teškoće veće za one koji pišu u fašistič-  
kom poretku, ali one postoje i za one koji su proćerani  
ili su pobješli, pa čak i za one koji pišu u zemljama gra-  
danske slobode.

B. BRECHT "DIALEKTIKA U TEATRU"

Odrekavši se potpunog preobražavanja, glumac ne  
izvodi svoj tekst kao improvizaciju nego kao citat. Pri  
tom je jasno da on u ovom citatu mora donijeti sve  
prizvuke, punu ljudsku, konkretnu plastiku izražava-  
nja; kao što i gesta koju prikazuje i koja sad pred-  
stavlja jedno kopiranje mora posjedovati potpunu tje-  
lesnost ljudske geste.

Tri pomoćna sredstva mogu pri načinu glume s ne-  
potpunim preobražavanjem poslužiti da se izjave i  
radnje lica koja treba prikazati učine začudnima:

1. Prevođenje u treće lice.
2. Prevođenje u prošlost.
3. Sugovorenje uputa za glumu i komentara.

Stavljanje u treće lice i prošlost omogućuje glum-  
cu pravilan distansiran stav. Glumac, osim toga, traži  
upute za glumu i komentarske izjave uz svoj tekst, i  
na pokusu ih govori zajedno s tekstom (»On usta i reče  
bijesno, jer nije bio jeo: ...«, ili »On je to prvi put  
čuo i nije znao je li bila istina ...« ili »On se nasmiješio  
i rekao isuviše bezbrižno: ...«). Govorenje uputa za glu-  
mu u trećem licu uz tekst dovodi do sudara dviju gla-  
sovnih intonacija, pri čemu drugi (dakle, pravi tekst)  
postaje začudan. Osim toga, način glume postaje za-  
pućdan time što ona zaista uslijedi pošto je već jednom  
bila riječima označena i najavljena. Stavljanje u pro-  
šlost postavlja pri tom govornika u jednu tačku s koje  
on gleda unazad na rečenicu. Time se, takođe, reče-  
nica učini začudnom iako govornik ne zauzima nereal-  
no stanovište, jer on je, nasuprot slušaocu, pročitao  
komad do kraja i može od kraja, od posljedice, da sudi  
o ovoj rečenici bolje nego slušalac koji manje zna, ko-  
me je ta rečenica više strana.

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Ana Milošević, Beograd, 1000 (Srbija), Slovenija

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# THE POLITICALITY OF PERFORMANCE: A FEW INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

ANA VUJANOVIĆ AND ALDO MILOHNIĆ

The relationship between performance and politics appears to be one of the most important topics in contemporary performing arts. The purposes of this issue of the *TkH* journal are to try to create a critical and analytical platform for thinking this very phenomenon, and to make a new and relevant contribution to the ongoing discussions it has recently provoked.

In a broader historical perspective, the social position of art seems relatively marginal, which could serve as a possible starting point to think about what the *politicality of performance* might mean today. It seems that the political relevance of art has become disputable, due to its commercialisation and commodification by the entertainment and creative industries, the mass media's at least partial appropriation of its political relevance, and an overall "aestheticisation of life" in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to name only a few possible factors. But at the same time, the topic itself has been attracting more and more theoretical and artistic attention. We devote this issue of the *TkH* journal to the topic of the politicality of performance because we want to open up more space for thinking about these two seemingly irreconcilable tendencies. The discussion may include (but is not limited to) questions such as the following: What is the meaning of these notions nowadays and how are they disconnected or interconnected? Why do we find the proposed topic important or, to put it simply, why is there such a preoccupation with the political in the performing arts today? Might it merely be an alibi concocted to secure the support of public funds and various other foundations? Maybe it is just a desperate attempt to be recognised as a socially relevant practice instead of being dismissed as an elitist type of entertainment? Or is it just the neo-liberal capitalist state of affairs, which blurs the borders between different social practices and where some old questions – such as how we practise politics and where politics is located today – are still waiting for an answer?

On the other hand, with this issue we want to provoke thinking from different angles as well as through various lenses, and to offer answers to a rather simple and direct but at the same time challenging question: what is the political scope of performance in the current social context? Does it at best only make the audience "feel good" in terms of satisfying their need to be critical and resistant, if only temporarily and imaginarily? Or, conversely, might performance have a certain material effect on political processes and social changes? If so, what kind and by what means? If not, isn't the very notion of "political performance" a contradiction in itself? Are we able to identify the differences in the politicality of the performing arts between the two main social systems of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: socialism/communism and capitalism/neo-liberalism? How do their legacies shape what is nowadays usually called the international context and scene?

By introducing the notion of *politicality* in the title of the volume, we want to emphasise that our main concern is not a particular politics of contemporary performing arts. Instead, our aim is to try to grasp the politicality of performance as an aspect of this art practice that represents the ways in which it acts and intervenes in the public sphere, related to discussions and conflicts around the following issues: the subjects and objects that perform in it; the arrangement of positions and powers among them; and the ideological discourses that shape a common symbolic and sensorial order of society, which affects its material structure and partitions. Accordingly, our intention is neither to advocate political performance, nor to classify performances in any of the usual categories (engaged, *l'art-pour-l'art*, etc.). Instead, we want to encourage critical and analytical reflections of a broad and complex *grid of politicality* as an aspect that characterises each and every performance – be they supposedly political or apolitical, resistant or complicit, transformative or servile – as social events that take place in the public sphere.



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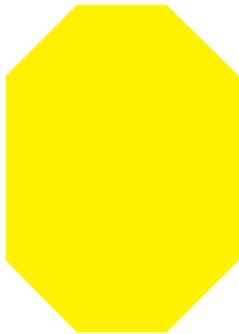
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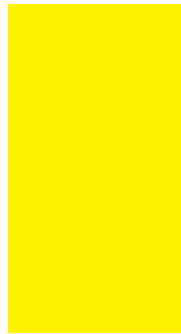
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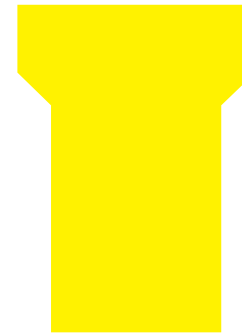
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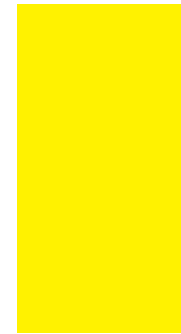
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# PERFORMANCE AT THE CROSSROADS OF CITIZENSHIP

JANELLE REINELT

*Politics is the activity of attending to the general arrangements of a collection of people who, in respect of their common recognition of their manner of attending to its arrangements, compose a single community [...] This activity, then, springs neither from instant desires, nor from general principles, but from the existing traditions of behaviour themselves. And the form it takes, because it can take no other, is the amendment of existing arrangement by exploring and pursuing what is intimated in them.*  
Michael Oakeshott (Oakeshott 1962, 112)

I have selected the concept of citizenship as a hinge between the several overlapping spheres in which postmodern people live their lives, and will address the relationship between citizenship and politicality through the lens of a theatre and performance studies scholar. Citizenship is a cornerstone concept of political theory and an essential component of democracy. In its aspects of role-playing, performing, representing, and social agency, it is also central to the relationship between politicality and performance.

While the initial relevance of this discussion to performing arts practices may not be immediately clear, several recent developments in our field are implicated in or related to citizenship discourses. First, the term “political theatre” has become increasingly weakened or even discarded by some scholars, thus losing its appeal to the social gathering power of theatre as one element of the public sphere. The civic traction that the characterization “political” can bring to the performing arts has been lessened by the seeming trivialization of art mentioned in the Call for Papers, on the one hand, and the gravitas of world-historical events on the other. While to be in opposition to a ruling system seemed possible and efficacious for artists in a Cold War era of binary thinking, opposition seems less likely than a kind of resistance-without-programme in an era of globalization and neoliberal assimilation. The anxiety I describe below about losing track of the world is part of this new situation. The meaning of being a citizen also threatens to slip away.

Second, a new universalism, whether imagined through a thinker such as Alain Badiou (Wickstrom 2012), or through a version of neo-Kantian cosmopolitanism (Rebellato 2009) is being linked to the disparagement of identity politics as “over,” no longer relevant to a progressive performance practice (Read 2009).<sup>1</sup> (These ideas often draw support from a cluster of thinkers such as Judith Butler and Wendy Brown in the US, Badiou, Jacques Rancière, and Giorgio Agamben in Europe). The application of these ideas to performance means that the critical attention to matters of race, class, gender, and sexuality in performance (representation in both its aspects as mimesis and as political standing-in or counting-for) that has marked Anglo-American scholarship in the field for the last thirty years is now perceived as either misguided or outdated.

Third, the extremely influential discourse of postdramatic theatre, as described by Hans-Thies Lehmann in his 1999 study, *Postdramatisches Theater (Postdramatic Theatre)* has circulated throughout theatre and performance scholarship, shifting attention away from any direct connection between theatre and political life outside the theatre, and turning attention inward to the processes of the theatrical apparatus itself and its internal politics: “It is not through the direct thematization of the political that theatre becomes political, but through the implicit substance and critical value of its *mode of representation*” [italics in the original] (Lehmann 2006, 178).

I will return to these emerging points of view in theatre and performance scholarship, but will first proceed with a personal reflection on events of this past summer and invoke the critical barometer of citizenship in relation to this experience.

<sup>1</sup> Mauyra Wickstrom’s forthcoming book, *Performance in the Blockades of Neoliberalism*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012 provides a trenchant critique of the ways humanitarianism, human rights discourses, and much of what used to be called “political theatre” has played into the strategies of neoliberalism, using Badiou to shape her primary theoretical framework; Dan Rebellato, in *Theatre & Globalization*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009 advocates universalism, meaning that “the same principles are valid for everyone,” and defends this against arguments based on diversity in relation to Complicite’s *Mnemonic* (1999); Alan Read, perhaps the most polemical of this group of scholars, writes, almost as an aside, that the orthodoxy of identity politics is “exemplified by the evocation of minorities who have become fetishized for their ability to deliver political credibility to any discourse in search of a victim” in *Theatre, Intimacy & Engagement: The Last Human Venue*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008, p. 9.

I am struck by the dizzying array of claims made on my attention in the nightly news: the same week in July I flew back to California from my school-year home in London, the phone hacking scandal broke wide open and Rupert Murdoch was called to account before committee of the British Parliament. Meanwhile, the fight in the US Congress over raising the debt ceiling resulted in hourly bulletins and special speeches from the White House or the Capitol, as President Obama and the leaders of Congress jockeyed for power and influence domestically while playing for high stakes internationally as well. Two weeks later, the slaughter in Norway of young people attending a political summer school exploded across our screens while simultaneously dire famine reports from Somalia and amateur video footage of the Syrian military attacking civilians competed for attention. One hardly knew where to look, and the chance that any one of these critical events might slip away from consciousness in the force of the barrage seemed obscene but immanent.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the confusion and vertigo I describe can be explained with reference to problems of citizenship. The performance of political leaders in the name of citizens in the US and UK, the specific attack on and destruction of citizenship witnessed in the Norwegian killings, the invasion of citizens’ privacy in the hacking scandal, and the struggle to overthrow tyranny in the name of new democratic movements in Syria (as well as Libya and throughout the Arab world) can all be understood as political struggles with serious consequences for citizenship through highly theatrical performances of power. Knowledge of these actions circulates through theatrical images and sound-bites that call attention to their performative force and their mediated dramaturgy. Each of these “stories” creates effects far beyond their particular location or circumstances: the attack on multiculturalism and “cultural Marxism” in Norway by a right-wing Christian extremist chimes with certain elements of the ideology of the conservative Christian right in the US can be heard in the wide-spread debates about the value of multiculturalism throughout Europe as well.<sup>3</sup> Young people risking their lives to change their political systems across the so-called “Arab Spring” have shown up the exclusions of sovereignty in the existing regimes, demanding citizens’ rights to participate in shaping their futures. The humanitarian crisis of staggering proportion in Somalia is due in part to a dysfunctional government involved in civil war. As refugees flee into Ethiopia and Kenya, nations that are themselves facing precarious situations, the issues of citizenship take on a different proportion, poised between what Agamben has characterized as “bare life” and the necessity of moving beyond restrictive political categories in the face of such dire threat to human lives.

In the discussion that follows, I will return to the role of theatre and performance studies more directly, but first I want to interrogate further the problems of imagining citizenship as a functioning political category for a global age.

## WHERE/WHO ARE THE PEOPLE?

Etienne Balibar, writing specifically about the breakdown of representative democracy in contemporary Europe, has argued persuasively that we are facing a crisis of sovereignty, the heart of which is the “*disappearance of the people*, both as an instance of symbolic legitimation and as an instance of real control.” Tracing a similar attenuation of law, that situation becomes dire: “But with neither people nor law there can only exist a phantom public sphere, a *regression* and not a progress in relation to the history of democratic states” (italics in the original) (Balibar 2003, 160). Although Balibar is speaking about Europe and the particular difficulties of sovereignty and law he perceives in the pan-European situation, the “disappearance of the people” and a “phantom public sphere” are aspects of our contemporary predicament at the level of much smaller units of sociality and also at the global level.

This is a political crisis because it involves a breakdown in the instruments through which citizens constitute and are constituted by their participation in various activities that together perform self-governance and democratic belonging. Whether experienced in local or national contexts or again in transnational dimensions, the symptoms of this crisis can be found not only in the exclusion of large segments of a population from the protections of the state in which they live (as in the case of Somalia and also for many other immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers), but also in the civic disengagement of the disaffected “silent

<sup>2</sup> There were many other important things going on as well – and I mention here only the ones that exerted the strongest claims on me as a political subject and as a citizen, whether of a nation or the world.

<sup>3</sup> Anders Breivik has been widely reported as identifying his motives as anti-Muslim and anti-multiculturalism, which he sees as cultural Marxism. See for example, Marquez, Miguel and Lee Ferran. “Norway Shooting Suspect Anders Breivik: Attacks Were ‘Price of Their Treason’” 25 July 2011 <http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/anders-breivik-hearing-closed-pulpit-alleged-shooter/story?id=14152129> (19 August 2011).

majority” who choose not to take up their interpellation as citizens.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the exclusions and disaffiliations within local or national polities, the conditions of global mobility and transience also lead to complex negotiations of multiple relations to place and space across vast territories, and to proliferating identifications with and relations to others living alongside one or across the world. At this dispersed level too, the absence of “the people” or the inability to imagine one holds back the development of effective political strategies while neoliberal economics invade every aspect of global culture with a reductive homogenization, and while the public sphere, increasingly conceptualized as web space, not only excludes many from its scene but also seems to posit advertising and commodification as its only languages.

#### THEORIES OF CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY

In Western citizenship theory, there have been two dominant traditions: classical civic republicanism emphasizes citizenship as belonging, with its ideas of a common good, public spirit, care for the community, and participation in civic and political life as a citizen’s duty. The other tradition is modern liberalism with its emphasis on individual rights and private interests, in which citizenship is seen as a legal status held equally with others.<sup>5</sup> On this model the individual is the bearer of citizenship rights and the nation state is the guarantor of citizenship. This later liberal concept has been dominant throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until it came under pressure from both globalization and multiculturalism. As Indian policy scholar Anupama Roy writes,

In the changing contexts of the late twentieth century, viz., globalization, transnational migration, multicultural national populations, etc, the manner in which citizenship has been understood so far has been redefined. In this context it has become acceptable to talk of the ideas of (i) global/world citizenship with its basis in human rights that delink the relationship between citizenship and the nation-state, the hitherto uncontested unit of membership, and (ii) differential rights and differentiated citizenship for members of cultural groups which gives them rights not only as individuals but also as members of groups, their rights depending also on this group membership and catering to their special needs. (Roy 2005, 21-22)

It is evident that this recent type of thinking has more in common with republican concepts than liberal ones, especially insofar as participation and care for the community are highlighted. Indeed feminist thinkers who focus on the ethics of care and the dissolution of the public/private distinction have been instrumental in articulating this view of citizenship. As early as 1990, Iris Marion Young, for example, coined the term “differentiated citizenship” to mean that members of certain groups should be accommodated not only as individuals but also through their group, arguing that the “attempt to create a universal conception of citizenship transcending group differences is fundamentally unjust because it oppresses historically marginalized groups.”<sup>6</sup>

However, rather than the inclusive politics that Young and others draw from this way of thinking, republican conservatism has reacted strongly against the presence of strangers in their midst by emphasizing exclusionary criteria for who is able to be counted as a citizen in the first place. This is in part due to the permanent tension between inclusion and exclusion, inherent to the concept. As politics in many western countries have swung to the right, immigration laws have tightened while citizens have argued that immigrants and refugees will take up resources needed by the native citizens. Here, ideas of common good and care for the community are turned against outsiders as a way to keep them out. Fortress Europe has been especially susceptible to this thinking as its social welfare infrastructures crumble, especially in recent months with the collapse of Irish, Greek, and Portuguese economies.

Meanwhile, neoliberal regimes operating at the transnational level, but also strengthened through the accommodations national governments have made to global business, have determined that liberal citizenship as a concept has become even more individualized and cut off from any social demands, leaving it almost solely a juridical category. This kind of position fits well with a neoliberal strategy of individual self-interest and market dynamics, where citizenship only means legal protection, and that basic membership card is further attenuated by the “mask,” to use Roy’s suggestive theatrical term, which covers over any contextual, cultural, or historical differences under the law – this is what in reference to India she calls the “power of dissociation,” the hegemonic requirement of dissociation since the political community into which the members enter after shedding their ascriptive identities is already marked as male, upper class, upper caste, Hindu, or white. “In

<sup>4</sup> This term, “silent majority”, was popularized by Richard Nixon in 1969 who described the non-active average citizen in the US context who did not participate in politics or public discourse, in contrast to the radical elements around them who participated in demonstrations against the Viet Nam War and other social movements.

<sup>5</sup> The genealogies of these citizenship theories can be traced to Greece (republicanism) and Rome (liberalism), following a conventional historical trajectory.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in Roy 2005, p. 239. Young’s full theory of difference can be found in Young, Iris Marion. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton UP, 1990.

these circumstances formal citizenship rights cannot influence the conditions that render the possession of citizenship ineffective, if not worthless” (Roy 2005, 238). Here we see clearly the critique of universalism in relation to citizenship – it covers over the characteristics which may require different treatment in order to be just or equal. However, as compelling as group rights and well-marked differences are for the achievement of justice and equality, there are also problems inherent in the republican position; this has been evident in the debates concerning multiculturalism.

These competing views of citizenship have been deeply imbricated within the discourses of multiculturalism. Multiculturalist advocates have questioned this primacy of the masked, rights-bearing individual because it disadvantages those who belong to minority communities. However, multiculturalism as state policy has also been seriously critiqued, and not just from the right: what has been called “the silo effect” is allegedly created whenever the state separates out its citizens for different treatment on the basis of ascriptive characteristics.

#### MULTICULTURALISM IN THE CONTEXT OF CITIZENSHIP

To see how both the right and the left might object to multiculturalism, we need to recognize that there are two distinct meanings of the term. The difference needs to be recognized between multiculturalism as a description of a state of affairs (a mix of diverse people living together in proximity) and as a normative policy or value to be pursued through political means (a program of multiculturalism): they are not identical. For many ordinary people, however, this distinction is not clear, and furthermore it is sometimes deliberately blurred in political discourse for rhetorical effect. This occurred in the UK last winter (2011), when Prime Minister David Cameron proclaimed that multiculturalism had failed and should be abandoned.<sup>7</sup> In a critical speech given in Munich in February, he engaged in a blanket condemnation which not only attacked a previous Labour government’s policies but also rejected the state of affairs of multiculturalism on the ground – this is what made it a right-wing and reactionary pronouncement, not the criticism of actual policy (which is indeed open to objection).

By blurring the lines between a policy and a description of a state of affairs, Cameron rejected the de facto everyday living arrangements of multicultural Britain. In fact, it was actually worse – he made this pronouncement in a speech about getting tough on terrorists, and he suggested that tolerance of Islamist extremists had been the result of a policy of multiculturalism. In narrowing the scope of multiculturalism to Muslims and further to Islamists, he not only targeted these groups, but he also covered over or masked the large numbers of non-Muslim citizens who have immigrated to Britain from former colonies or eastern Europe and who have had some stake in the creation and improvement of a multicultural society. Some citizens for as many as three generations would now lose the attention and care of a conservative coalition government rejecting multiculturalism. This is the argument from the left in support of multiculturalism.

However, the deployment of multiculturalism as concrete government policy is rightly open to criticism for its ill-conceived approach to the nation’s communities. While New Labour under Tony Blair made multiculturalism state policy in the 90s, that policy itself did not necessarily turn out to benefit multiculturalism as a life practice. New Labour policies are open to such criticisms as inattention to poor white working class disadvantages when instituting specific programmes designed to benefit immigrant or multi-racial groups; promoting certain community leaders or groups as spokespersons for a cultural constituency they may not actually represent; delegating to these leadership groups responsibility for keeping the peace on the streets rather than engaging deeply with the problems themselves; and conceptually creating the silo effect (or separatism) that the policy of multiculturalism should instead contravene. These are the main features of the critique of multiculturalism as a failed policy, although a more reactionary form of criticism simply holds that multiculturalism has failed because no cohesion exists to which all British citizens adhere, a view which inevitably sets up an insider-us and an outsider-them.

Kenan Malik, a political journalist born in India and brought up in Britain, is a more reasoned critic of multiculturalism, but an outspoken and absolute one. Writing in the wake of the 7/7 bombings in London by “home-grown” terrorists from northern cities, Malik blames a long process of creating a discourse and practices in which culture became more important than politics:

Over time, what became subcontracted out [...] was not simply the provision of welfare but political authority too. Rather than appeal to Muslims as British citizens, and attempt to draw them into the mainstream political process, politicians and policy-makers came to see

<sup>7</sup> At a security conference in Munich on 5 February 2011, David Cameron criticised state multiculturalism as a “failed policy”. For a summary and a clip, see <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12371994> (10 July 2011).

them as people whose primary loyalty was to their faith and who could be politically engaged only by Muslim “community leaders.” It was a policy that encouraged Muslims to view themselves as semi-detached Britons – and that inevitably played into the hands of radical Islamists. (Malik 2009, 76)

For Malik, multiculturalism shifted the emphasis from politics and democratic processes to cultural differences, creating cultural divisions where there might have been negotiated settlements on political grounds.

Thus to summarize the tensions within contemporary citizenship so far is both to recognize the increasing pressure from neoliberalism to deny any contextual or cultural markers beyond individual legal status on the one hand, and on the other to acknowledge the dangers of identity-based demands for differential citizenship based on particularities which run the risk of becoming themselves ossified in ways that oppress individuals who are considered deviant within their groupings – such as gay persons within Muslim communities, for example, or alternatively by empowering leadership cadres that do not represent their constituencies or who lead the constituency into polarization instead of negotiations with the other groups and individuals who make up the polity. The situatedness of each individual’s experiences produces uneven meanings and values of citizenship, and this is precisely what citizenship theory needs to account for. As Engin Isin and Patricia Wood write,

Rather than regarding citizenship and identity as antinomic principles, we recognize the rise of new identities and claims for group rights as a challenge to the *modern* interpretation of universal citizenship, which is itself a form of group identity. Instead of either eradicating or flattening the tension between citizenship and identity, we aim to make a productive use of it. We seek a new conception of citizenship [...] with an emphasis on the practice of democracy, that would meet the needs of a diverse citizenry facing the challenges of advanced capitalism. (Isin and Wood 1999, 4)

Of course how to imagine this new practice has proved difficult. This is perhaps where theatre comes in (and other art forms as well) – its great capacity is to imagine and stage some of this lived citizenship. We will come back to this point.

#### GLOBAL SITE OF MULTIPLE AFFILIATIONS

This account of how citizenship, whether republican or liberal, can still foreclose the inclusivity of its promise has thus far been illustrated only at the national or metropolitan level. When we think globally, another set of contradictions come into view which intersect with these territorial concerns. Migration Studies, Diaspora Studies, and studies of Globalization have all documented the dramatic changes in the mobility of large numbers of people and their multiple affiliations with place and identity as a result of a fluid and often increasing set of identifications and networks. While multiple passports and rapidly shifting circumstances have attenuated postmodern mobile individuals’ connections to heritage, place, and birth culture, some poor citizens in the west have experienced “staying put” or “being stuck” – not benefitting from globalization’s mobile possibilities. While some mobile individuals are forced or even coerced into the movement that characterizes their lives, others have taken advantage of what Aihwa Ong calls “flexible citizenship” to negotiate an agency based on multiple passports and no concrete affiliations to place or community, a kind of hyper-liberal world citizenship.<sup>8</sup> Republican citizenship might criticize this lack of responsibility and participation in the common good while these global subjects might feel that they have justly escaped the entrapments of the states in which they live by restricting their involvement to the legal status of their passport entitlements.

The privilege of these mobile elites contrasts sharply to those who have no choice and who either have no rights and are reduced to bare life, as Agamben theorizes, or those who are stuck in situations which do not recognize their identities or their disadvantage, but treat them solely as equal under the law. The articulation of universal theories of human rights and other liberal based theorizations of masked difference under a supposed common status of human being or world citizen is compatible with neoliberalism’s emphasis on securing human rights only in support of free enterprise, and does not take into account the situated and multiple lives and identities of these world citizens. Cosmopolitanism, then, with its gesture toward theorization of a global (republican) ideology of participation and mutual care can be thus squeezed into a (neo)liberal pathway for those who wish to by-pass the messy affiliations of political obligations.

Thus at the global level, there are few support structures for civic virtues or actions, and inclusion into the privileges of mobility is both limited and potentially de-politicizing.

<sup>8</sup> See Ong, Iwa Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*, Durham, N.C.: Duke UP, 1999.

Any new political initiatives concerning citizenship will need to take into account these intersecting but disparate issues of both exclusion and deliberate disaffiliation in addressing its tasks. Here, I return to Etienne Balibar who develops the idea of “worksites of democracy.” What he advocates is, in a neo-Gramscian move, “a ‘war of position’ or gradual construction of a new historical hegemony, that is both a new way of thinking, a new collective ‘common sense,’ and interacts between multiple interventions stemming from both civil society and the public sphere” (Balibar 2003, 172). Where this differs from cosmopolitanism is that “democratic work requires determinate matter and not just an ethics and juridical norms, and this sort of matter is only given in situation.” The situation, both locally and globally, is that “individuals and groups can neither separate nor get along at will (Balibar 2003, 173). This why we all need to engage in a political practice of citizenship in the making. Balibar’s four worksites are concerned specifically with the predicament of Europe:

1. The question of justice, which is juridical but also involves legislation, protection for individuals and groups, ways and means of attacking corruption, and many other matters.
2. Trade union struggles in relation to efforts to recognize social activity as labour, a valuing of productive labour as the production of sociality as well as goods and services.
3. The democratization of borders.
4. Concerning culture, the effort to find an answer to language differences that affirms “translation” as the medium of communication and the key language above all others in contrast to monolingual national languages and especially educational systems.

Worksites can be seen as situated within the European context, but with various adjustments, would no doubt be useful flashpoints in other concrete situations around the world. Some questions of justice and employment conditions lend themselves to multi-sited initiatives; networking across borders as well as local workgroups is also possible.

I would like to propose the theatre as a possible worksite for democracy and citizenship in Balibar’s sense. The kind of negotiation of determinate matter among social actors he identifies as key to the worksite idea is precisely the sort of embodied repertoire available in theatrical performance. The theatre’s contribution to the public sphere is limited to its local impact, from one point of view, but as performances travel, and keeping in mind Balibar’s emphasis on translation, theatre also contributes to sectors beyond the local, even to the global, as it circulates. Some performances become more influential than others, certainly, and performance scholars themselves help widen their impact by bringing public attention to some performances through our academic networks, what we might think of as our own form of a counterpublic, in Michael Warner’s sense.<sup>9</sup> I also think the public sphere works by amassing a number of strands of discourse around certain topics, thus like the million tweets at the moment of the Japanese earthquake, a number of theatre pieces engaging with, for example citizenship, when circulated along with other forms of discourse, films, essays, demonstrations, art exhibits, committed journalism – all manner of expressions – can create a buzz or a circle of attention where political negotiation by what might almost constitute a people materializes. This is the zone of politicality in public space, whether virtual or concrete.

This idea of “worksites” in theatre is also one answer to Hans-Thies Lehmann’s sense of the impossibility of theatre engaging directly with politics. One of his strongest convictions is that the mediatization of news leads to the “erosion of the act of communication” (Lehmann 2006, 184). Because of the bombardment of images such as I described in the summer of 2011, the connection between sender and receiver in the circulation of signs is broken, according to Lehmann. “The basic structure of perception mediated by media is such that there is no experience of a connection among the individual images received but above all no connection between the receiving and sending of signs; there is no experience of a relation between address and answer.” He calls for theatre to develop “a politics of perception, which could at the same time be called an aesthetic of responsibility (or response-ability)” (Lehmann 2006, 185).

While the basic social situation of the theatre lends itself to the kind of attention to the communication circuit that Lehmann favours – through both its immediacy and its liveness – this is not the only ground of politicality that theatre as a democratic worksite offers. Indeed, the contrast between highly mediatized and live events has already been questioned and undermined, and I think there is no going back.<sup>10</sup> It makes more sense to see

<sup>9</sup> “Counterpublics are defined by their tension with a larger public. Their participants are marked off from persons or citizens in general. Discussion within such a public is understood to contravene the rules obtaining in the world at large, being structured by alternative dispositions or protocols, making different assumptions about what can be said or what goes without saying” (Warner 2002, 56-57).

<sup>10</sup> I am referring here, for example, to Philip Auslander’s seminal work, *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture*, London and New York: Routledge, 1999.

theatre conducting its investigations and interventions alongside of but also in tension with other nodes in a communications network. From its embodied and concrete practices and representations of possible ways of “attending to arrangements” theatre can modify or challenge, or possibly even sometimes support, other information or modes of knowing that are addressing the polity. Not always will theatre be transgressing taboos (pace Lehmann 2006, 186); there may be situations where contributing to paths of compromise, incorporation of seemingly irreconcilable differences, or the negotiation of relations between the state of what is and what might be is its proper task. The insistence that art can only be transgressive and individual seems like a legacy of revolutionary romanticism. To write, “Theatre itself would hardly have come about without the hybrid act that an individual broke free from the collective, into the unknown, aspiring to unthinkable possibility; it would hardly have happened without the courage to transgress borders, all borders of the collective” reveals a conception of theatre within a particular ideology of individual artistic greatness and *via negativa* that hardly seems to match up with the reference to Brecht’s *Fatzer* that Lehmann is quoting in support of his point that the “unquantifiable singular” is the key attribute of art (Lehmann 2006, 178-79).

Politicality is to be found in the necessary constant evaluation of and negotiation with the relations of power as they occur in our daily lives – both micro and macro relations of power – challenging, deconstructing, or transgressing these structures but also modifying, improving, or sustaining them (not all relations of power are unjust; not all terms of relation are non-negotiable). The identification of meaningful instances of these negotiations and the imagination of new possibilities for alternative arrangements can both critique the world-as-is and suggest a future world-as-might/should be. The courage and energy to engage in this practice of politics is what I imagine to be produced in Balibar’s democratic worksites; theatre that can re-energize a commitment to “keep on keeping on” with the daily struggle to give some affirmative horizon to this work is a theatre that might not shrink its ambitions to merely examining its own apparatus or breaking taboos in order to “create playful situations in which affects are released and played out” (Lehmann 2006, 186).

In citing distrust of the instrumental rationality that has been the basis of neoliberal economics and philosophy, Lehmann and other champions of “affect” call for a new cultivation of spontaneous impulses and extremes of emotion as a way to build a political capacity for judgment and action outside of predetermined suspect “rational pre-considerations” (Lehmann 2006, 186). While I can value this possibility for theatre’s engagement with politicality, it should not be its only mode of engagement. One does not have to embrace Habermas in order to think that certain uses of logic, reason, and argumentation are precisely what have been missing from the public sphere and globalized media.<sup>11</sup>

#### STAGING DISCRETE IDENTITIES

From what I have been arguing here, it is probably obvious that I do not think identity politics are exhausted for use on stage. Theatre is a site where concrete individuals appear in embodied practices before others.

To say that the critical markers of situated identities are no longer useful on stage or in our performance analyses only abdicates the struggle in the trenches to manoeuvre the determinate matter before us. As in liberal citizenship theory, it masks difference and favours the hegemonic. To take just one example, the idea that colour blind casting will mask colour in performance has always been wrong-headed because like liberal citizenship, it tries to pretend that all humans would experience the dramatic situation in the same way regardless of – in this case – race or ethnicity. While it is quite true, as Lehmann has written, “That politically oppressed people are shown on stage does not make theatre political” (Lehmann 2006, 178), it is also quite true that if certain persons are not represented on stage at all, they will not find themselves recognized within the social surround as legitimate (political) subjects. If theatre managers do not take account of what sorts of people attend their performances, no attention will be paid to the absence of certain demographics. If public discourse no longer analyses differences among citizens, who will notice inequalities or have the language to describe and address them?

On the other hand, this is not an argument for a message-laden theatre of old, driven by a static political ideology. Simple stagings of difference certainly do not go far. It is an argument, however, for a pluralistic space of aesthetics and experiment which can embrace a number of styles and types of democratic art. Rather than arguing about what the ideal performance might be, could we not celebrate a plurality of effective stagings of politicality, joining audiences in creating these at worksites of citizenship?

11 For my own form of negotiation with Habermas on the functions of the public sphere, see Reinelt, Janelle. “Rethinking the Public Sphere for a Global Age,” *Performance Research* 16/2, 2011, pp. 16-27.

#### A MULTIPLE AND HYBRID ENGAGEMENT

Here are three examples from the British context, chosen because they differ from each other and yet together address some of the issues concerning citizenship I have raised in this essay. While one might say the first displays a conscious identity politics, the second might be seen as universal and cosmopolitan in its underlying thrust. The third experiments in ways that I think Lehmann would approve – the politics of perception within theatre and emotional affect as a heuristic device. My contention is that only taken together – all three types of aesthetic engagement with politicality – can we begin to figure theatre as a worksite of democracy and a space where appropriate citizenship for our global age might be cultivated.

To begin with the most traditional and least postdramatic example, David Edgar’s play, *Testing the Echo*, written for Max Stafford Clark’s Out of Joint theatre company, toured around the UK in 2008, from Salisbury to Edinburgh to Warwick, to Birmingham, to London. This play took up the debates on citizenship and being British, and characterized a multicultural society struggling with the issues and values surrounding life in Britain. It was a response to what Edgar perceived as a reactionary entrenchment against newcomers after the 7/7 bombings. The separatism of cultural communities, especially religious communities, seemed to many people to have been the “seedbed” of terrorism. People were fragmented, lacking a sense of belonging to Britain, so the argument went, and as long as they had no allegiance or identification with Britain, they were susceptible to attempts to betray it. Edgar recognized that people become British citizens for many reasons, and that affiliation is shaped through many pathways and relationships of kith and kin. In the subject-matter of this production, readers will recognize the republican citizenship issues of identification with, and care and responsibility to the community as well as the multicultural debates described above.

Edgar is probably the epitome of the thesis-driven, narrative-based, coherent argument-making political writer, but this play departs considerably from his previous profile.<sup>12</sup> While it has a dramaturgical shape and a set of characters, it does not have a strong narrative and most certainly does not put forward a sustained thesis, or even a point of view beyond the careful balancing of legitimate but diverse values and experiences, captured in the phrase repeated by several characters after expressing something they feel deeply, “Although for you I’m sure it looks different.” If the play has a political goal, it is to enable its audiences to consider how differently positioned subjectivities might find themselves engaged in attending to the arrangements of democracy, citizenship, family, work-place, and the law. *Testing the Echo* was based on interviews conducted with people who were studying to take their citizenship test or enrolled in citizenship classes. It also includes quoted versions of several texts produced to describe Britishness or to give a “potted” version of British history and communal life to newcomers. Eight actors play multiple roles, cast across race and ethnicity, to represent a cross-section of people who might be seeking citizenship plus a teacher of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and her family, and some “native” co-workers of a candidate for citizenship. Edgar dramatizes the different reasons people might seek citizenship, and spectators can come to understand that identifying with a community of citizens is dependent on mutual recognition and participation in valued activity. Anti-universalist, identity specific, and engaged directly with a political topic – I think there is still a place for this type of political theatre, within a range of progressive performances.

The second example comes from an experimental theatre company in Birmingham called Stan’s Cafe. They devise their work collectively, but with leadership from James Yarker and they perform both locally and on tour, including internationally. The performance I describe here is about global citizenship, but it does not address this directly, but instead through what it asks audience members to imagine about themselves and others. *Of All The People In All The World* is an installation with actors and some audience interaction. “It uses grains of rice to bring formally abstract statistics to startling and powerful life. Each grain of rice equals one person and you are invited to compare the one grain that is you to the millions that are not.”<sup>13</sup>

Prior to the performance a team of performers carefully weigh out quantities of rice to represent a host of human statistics such as

- the populations of various towns and cities
- the number of doctors, or the number of soldiers in various places or situations
- the number of people born each day, the number who die
- all the people who have walked on the moon
- deaths in the holocaust.

12 For more on Edgar, see Reinelt, Janelle and Gerald Hewitt. *The Political Theatre of David Edgar: Negotiation and Retrieval*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011.

13 From the Stan’s Café website: <http://www.stanscafe.co.uk/ofallthepeople/index.html> (19 August 2011).

These rice grains as statistics are arranged in labelled piles creating a series of landscapes of rice. The statistics and their juxtapositions can be moving, shocking, celebratory, witty, and thought provoking. The company adapts the show to the place of performance, adding exhibits that have local meaning and also ones that emerge in the global surround as critically important. If it were being produced in July 2011, it might feature the number of people lost in the Japanese Tsunami, for instance. The amount of rice used varies according to which version is performed, too. For *Of All The People In All The World: UK* it uses 1,000Kg of rice to represent 60,000,000 people. *Of All The People In All The World: Europe* uses 12,000Kg. The performers dress in costume and are present weighing and counting rice during the performance, and can be asked questions and interact with the visitors. The impact of the piece will be different for everyone, of course, but it does conjure up a meditation on how to conceptualize the people and the world in relation to one's own subjectivity. It arguably appeals to a universalist conception of liberal citizenship and cosmopolitanism through its grains of rice. As Dan Rebellato describes it, citing the production as a specific example of the cosmopolitan art he advocates: *Of All the People in All the World* feeds the cosmopolitan imagination, giving us new ways of grasping the enormity of the world, and the imagination feeds our perception of the exhibits, as we invest – in a somewhat theatrical way – the blank uniformity of each rice pile with personality and significance (Rebellato 2009, 74).

The third example is the controversial performance of Tim Crouch's *The Author* from 2009 at the Royal Court and 2010 at the Edinburgh Festival where it was especially popular and the subject of avid public discussion, blogging, and social networking. It takes place among the audience, and indeed the audience is asked to judge its own viewing practices. Crouch describes the play on his website thusly: *The Author* is a play about what it is to be a spectator and about our responsibilities as spectators. It explores the connection between what we see and what we do. I feel strongly that we have lost a thread of responsibility for what we choose to look at. The Author uses only words to show us things and sometimes the things those words show us are disturbing. It is not a play for children but it IS a play for audiences.<sup>14</sup>

Without disclosing all the play's strategies, because the whole point is for the audience members to confront their own feelings and choices in the face of what they are experiencing in the moment, I will say that I think the link to these citizenship discussions is that it challenges the disaffiliation of liberal citizenship or flexible citizenship that trades on its passports but does not take up responsibility for the communities with which it is linked. In other words, it is addressed precisely to the bourgeois audience of the mainstream public sphere, many of whom refuse the republican aspects of citizenship's care for the common good. At the same, it is profoundly metatheatrical and asks about what transpires on stage and what constitutes an ethical mode of reception or attendance at such a spectacle. That the particular theatre audiences who attended this play reacted so publically through a variety of social media and face to face debate is a measure of its provocation. It is clearly postdramatic, and it addresses Lehmann's call for emotional confrontation and transgression. Audiences' perceptions are precisely the subject of the performance.

Although all three of these pieces could be said to negotiate the concept of citizenship in ways that Balibar would approve, what excites me is thinking about them together – and moreover, positing them as overlapping and relational as their best or most significant impact. By thinking how *The Author* confronts our own voyeurism and complicity in refusing responsibility alongside the meditation of Stan's Cafe, a more complex effect is achieved. If *Testing the Echo* introduces a notion of multiple modalities and intentionalities of citizenship, it also suggests concrete embodied lives which can come to haunt the grains of rice representing the abstract humans to whom we are related in the global village, and it intersects with *The Author* in interesting ways since at the swearing-in ceremony toward the end of the play, the candidates who come together act as a social group to prevent the interruption of the ceremony and insure one of the group members is able to complete her swearing-in. This is a spontaneous act among people who do not know each other but act together in a singular moment of decision. It is one answer to the predicament of *The Author*: You can choose to stay, or you can choose to go, or you can choose to try to stop what is taking place. The theatre, then, as a worksite for constantly processual, changing performance(s) of citizenship, can address multiple positions and contradictions using a myriad of aesthetic means. It can contribute to the public sphere by offering its public performances to join with other sorts of interventions by similar and different publics to negotiate the determinate matter of our everyday local and global lives. It can engage politicality by feeling political, and stimulating political thoughts and actions, and by attending to the arrangements of our ongoing sociality.

14 <http://www.timcrouchtheatre.co.uk/shows/the-author/the-author> (19 August 2011).

The challenge of this special issue on Politicality has been to try to understand the conditions under which we live our lives together in a global time which is also resolutely local and spatial. The quotation with which I began, Michael Oakeshott's somewhat convoluted description of being embedded in social practices and manoeuvring to try to assess them, imagine alternatives, and negotiate the difficult "amendment of existing relationships," expresses what I understand the nature of politicality to be – the ongoing and inescapable relations of individuals and groups and their sticky messiness. It also involves relations of power, but these are not separated into a clinical political sphere – no, the relations of power are imbricated in every social practice, and the way we experience and react to those relations, together and alone, makes up the living stuff of everyday life as well as world-historical events.

This being the case, theatre cannot help but be saturated with politicality. What it inevitably shows its audiences are sets of these "arrangements" and the attempts humans make to amend or reconfigure them. This much seems inescapable but it does not mean that the theatre will necessarily succeed in illuminating or advancing any betterment of these amendations. That is rather the challenge, especially in our time, a global time which suffers from all the problems discussed here.

It means seeing theatre as a part of a multiple and hybrid social engagement, peopled by a variety of publics, and making its contribution not as a huge stand-alone event or artefact, but rather as a communication node within a network of highly varied and sometimes contradictory nodes that together make up public discourse. Its efficaciousness is not solitary – no, theatre cannot change the world – but it can and sometimes does work toward change alongside the other multiple avenues of public expression.

Looking at citizenship as a constantly evolving and changing concept, conditioned by many factors and subject to dramaturgies of savagery as well as hospitality, I've argued that the issues of belonging, exclusion, representation, role play, and responsibility that circulate through different iterations of citizenship have something in common with theatre's own repertoire of gestures, its own structural troubles with spectacle and viewing, visibility and invisibility, reason and affect.

Finally, this has been an attempt to persuade theatre scholars not to "throw the baby out with the bathwater"; that is, not to shut down the claim to theatre's deep involvement in political matters, not to deny that it sometimes imagines or criticizes or brightens our pathway, not to give up on searching for new theatrical manifestations of strategies for living together.

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# MORE THAN ARTIVISM, LESS THAN ART

ALEKSANDRA JOVIĆEVIĆ

It was hard to believe the news that Goran Hadžić, the last Serbian fugitive still sought by the Hague Tribunal, was arrested when he attempted to sell an Amadeo Modigliani painting, which he had acquired with money made by plundering and selling oil at the beginning of the Yugoslav wars in 1991. From that moment on (2007), according to Serbia's BIA agency (*Bezbednosno-informativna agencija*, Security-information Agency), it was enough to follow the money flow in order to locate the fugitive. Modigliani's *Portrait of (an Unknown) Man*, which he painted in 1918, shortly before he died, and which has been estimated at 10 to 15 million euros and has yet to find a buyer, was used as a tool to arrest a man accused of war crimes. Therefore, this was not simply a case of pure crime mixing up with the art market, but that of an internationally sought war criminal, who was finally brought in front of the International Court of Justice, thanks to the trafficking with a work of art. Félix Guattari defined art as something which is not exhibited on museum walls, but as something which constantly returns to our memory and senses as a sheer reality, different from all those things that may be possessed and precisely defined. (Guattari 2006, p. 6) According to the widely accepted definition of artivism, the ultimate goal of art is to change social anomalies, that is, effecting political change, which in this case was really achieved, although in a rather abstract way. The same could be said for the following: Riccardo Muti, the famous Italian orchestra conductor, may also be considered an artist, if we take into the account his recent performance of Verdi's *Nabucco* in Rome, precisely when he used the audience's enthusiasm for the popular chorus "Oh, mia patria, bella e perduta" to interrupt the performance and appeal to the Italian politicians sitting in the audience to reconsider their latest round of spending cuts targeting culture. Muti invited the audience to join the choir in singing the same chorus again, as a demonstration of resistance toward a policy that was jeopardising Italian culture. Muti's campaign succeeded and the proposed spending cuts were revised, if only symbolically.

Therefore, instead of large, global, radical movements or artistic actions, one might rather speak of a collection of *micro-artivisms*, especially in elitist art. Perhaps we should consider the ways in which art prevails over activism, but achieves its ultimate goal just as well: subverting the *status quo*, undermining the normal, legitimate, and accepted models of behaviour, transforming social life and its ethical parameters. What kind of results may subversive art expect/achieve in the political/social arena? What are its aims and limits? And what does it really mean?

The starting points of my rethinking of the relationship between art, activism, politics, and the new free market logic are the works by Jacques Rancière, Alain Badiou, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, Theodor Adorno, Bertolt Brecht, and Walter Benjamin, as well as the heritage of the historical avant-garde and Situationism. The goal is not only to develop forms of resistance against the endless changes in society and economy, but also to take over the inherited forms of artistic solidarity and struggle, to develop them into new instruments, new forms, new concepts that might bring art into antithesis with society (Adorno). According to Augusto Boal, the duty of an artist is to keep changing the society in which he or she lives. If that is so, then a history of artivism ought to begin with the early performances of Italian and Russian futurists. The Dadaists may also be considered artists, regarding their political positions and performances, with which they sought to lend visibility to their art. The Russian artistic experiment, agitprop, the interwar political theatre of Piscator, Brecht, and others, the Situationist Internationale and the 1968 wave of student unrest in Europe, the American neo-avant-garde, constitute only a handful of historical examples. At the end of the 1960s, a new wave of political art began: Augusto Boal, Bread & Puppet, the Living Theatre, Guerrilla Theatre, Performance Group, as well as new para-theatrical forms, such as happenings, performances, etc. That was the time when the foundations of what we might call the *theatricality of politics* was set, that is, of the role of representation in fostering political awareness, as well as of representational forms of politics. Benjamin and Brecht were the first to notice it. Brecht was even more radical than Benjamin in his demand to oppose fascist esthetisation of politics by means of a revolutionary politicisation of art: Brecht enhanced Benjamin's theoretical thought with real experiments and artistic invention, revealing a strong and unique bond between theatricality and politics.

It may be that the theatricality of politics came out of a new role that was assigned to the masses in historical developments starting with the Soviet revolution of 1917. Badiou quotes Trotsky, for whom our age is characterised by "the masses's breaking into the historical scene". (Badiou 2007, 62) Such categories as revolution, the proletariat, populism, fascism, etc. suggest various forms of mass invasion, strong collective representation, the timeless, *great spectacle* scenes of the storming of Winter Palace (and not the real storming, which had never been recorded), or the fascist march on Rome.

All of these events are linked by one and the same question: what is the relationship between individual destinies and historical advances of the masses? Or, to put it in more theatrical terms: who is the protagonist and who the choir, in what kind of play, on what scene, and under whose directing?

Brecht's thesis on the relationship between theatricality and politics has not only survived to the present, but also evolved in a number of directions. For instance, Rancière makes a clear difference between *direct* (impossible, unattained) and *representative* (existing, derived) *democracy*, holding that our age has reached a certain degree of hegemony between the State and society, since neo-republican ideology has managed to erase politics itself: the state is required to follow the instructions and behaviours of the enlightened elite. In that sense, Rancière's longstanding inclination toward democratic emancipation is especially interesting, as is his idiosyncratic stand on the elites' estimations of the condition of the working class, the disenfranchised, as well as on imposing change, insisting on the reversal of Marx's final thesis on Feuerbach: "We have tried to change the world, in various ways, but now we ought to explain (interpret) it".

Rancière defines democracy as an *unattainable utopia*, because he realises that the entire system – including education ("the ignorant schoolmaster") – is predicated on segregating the educated elites from the uneducated masses (the proletariat, the minorities), that is, those who *participate* in decision-making and those who are *excluded* from the systems of decision-making, which generates an *aesthetic* difference between the visible and the invisible, the stated and the unstated, the perceivable and the unperceivable. Democracy will be attained only when the *people* or *demos*, i.e. the nameless emerge as the only possible political subject and become part of the *order*, by means of a *subjectification* that will keep changing the aesthetic coordinates of the community by implementing the universal premise that all humans are equal. However, just as *equality* is not a goal to be attained but an assumption that must be constantly verified and affirmed, so neither is *democracy* a form of government nor a style of social life; rather, it is a continual, as well as a chance process. Democratic emancipation is a process that affects the entire system of relations, without being able to guarantee an absolute elimination of social inequalities that inhere in every social order rather than in politics (Rancière also makes a difference between social order and politics).<sup>1</sup> Since the performing arts, in terms of their internal properties, come closest to the discourse of political philosophy, they should represent only the current, historical, not some predestined nature of human issues. According to Badiou, throughout his career in theatre, Brecht always devised ways of presenting, representing, and elaborating relations between individual destinies, specific characters, and impersonal historical developments and mass

invasions: The 20<sup>th</sup> century once again revived the issue of the choir and the protagonist; his [Brecht's] theatre is more Greek than Romantic. [...] In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, theatre is not only about staging plays. Rightly or not, we hold that the stakes in theatre have changed, that from now on, it will be a matter of collective historical clarification. (Badiou 2007, 63)

For a Marxist like Brecht, his mission was organically bound up with its integral function, which was *to transform society through theatre audience*. Brecht maintained that art ought to re-examine the world surrounding it, that art and science shared the same tasks, as well as that there was no such thing as "the essence" of a timeless art, but that specific societies should create their own artworks that will best reflect the specific conditions of their current existence.

For instance, seeking to demystify representational theatre, with its merely lip-serving critical stance, contemporary German writer and director René Pollesch argues that social acts should be criticised by means of relentlessly repeating them onstage. Precisely in Pollesch's (post-dramatic)

<sup>1</sup> See Rancière 1995, 2004, and 2006. His unique methodology, eclecticism in his choice subjects and modes of research, bring him close to Foucault and his 'archaeology of knowledge', that is, to a certain academic "anarchism". In Alain Badiou's assessment, Rancière belongs to no particular academic community, but rather acts in domains "between history and philosophy, between philosophy and politics, and between faction and fiction". I would also add between aesthetics and politics, all of which brings him close to performance studies, in their structuring today: decentred and open to different interpretations, close to philosophy, politics, and aesthetics.

plays, actors approximate performance artists, because the liveness of their performing represents their *provocative presence*, which comes forefront, more so than representing a character would do. In plays by Pollesch, who considers himself Brecht's heir in theatre, the actors confront the audience, seeking to transform his ideas/texts into life, so that the audience may be entirely "drawn" into those texts, which are usually theoretical. In his work, Pollesch often questions many sides of neoliberal capitalism, under his motto: "I don't want to live it". In his play *Pablo in der Plusfiliale* (Pablo at a Plus Supermarket, 2004) – which looked like a product of the aesthetic of coupons, telenovelas, various texts that veer between trash and theory, the Internet and commercial advertising, an aesthetic based on a 1970s grotesque look, where that epoch's sounds underscored large sections of the text – Pollesch used a selection of writings by a number of economics experts, claiming that their authors were often impressed by the way he presents them and by seeing in his plays "human bodies and subjects that identify with their contents without reserve", presenting the problems in a direct and corporeal manner.<sup>2</sup>

In this play, the theoretical language of economics is paradoxically close to character soliloquies. In this process, as with all Pollesch plays, there was neither a story, nor a set of main characters, nor a possibility of identification.<sup>3</sup> Pollesch's characters became objects of total capitalisation, multiple interfaces, and a presentation of society. Using technological and neoliberal jargon, the protagonists speak of their own existence as if it were the most obvious thing in the world. Both in rehearsals and when it was first shown, the play accommodated no set characters, genders, or identities. In Pollesch's plays, the actors are no mere interpreters of his ideas, but rather debate and interpret their own ideas. Therefore, in acting, they are taking a chance, because they never know how the audience will understand their performance and how the latter will end – Pollesch performances deliberately seem unfinished, even like failures.

In Jon McKenzie's *Perform or Else*, which addresses every form of performance as a paradigm of contemporary Western society and its demand for knowledge and power, cultural performance is primarily determined by its social efficacy, as well as by its challenging of contemporary society. (McKenzie 2001) Therefore, art and the market are typically not in opposition, but may come together for the sake of the common good. This relationship between performing and the new logic of the market enables us to observe the functioning of today's artistic scene from another perspective. Its basic feature is not only the so widely criticised *commodification of culture* (churning out artistic products for the market), but also a less commonly noticed, but perhaps even more important trend in the opposite direction: the ever-increasing *culturalisation* of market economy itself, by turning toward tertiary economy (cultural tourism, publishing and film industries, festivals), which makes culture not only a sphere of the market, but also its central component (ranging from IT entertainment industry to other media products). That *short circuit* between culture and the market causes the disappearance of the old, modernist, avant-garde logic of provoking and shocking the establishment. Basically, that is Adorno's thesis in his *Aesthetic Theory*. Even when hiding under its modernist guise, art is so inseparable from its *Warencharacter* that its every effort remains superficial and imperceptible, rendering excess acceptable. Today, in order to reproduce itself under the conditions of market competition, the cultural-economic apparatus is increasingly obliged not only to tolerate, but even directly to encourage ever more shocking effects and products. In postmodernism, even extreme excess loses its shock value and is entirely integrated in the arts market. For instance, this may be seen and demonstrated in the case of German director, performer, and activist Christoph Schlingensiefel.

Often confronted, criticised and even arrested, ignored by the establishment, and then celebrated as a great artist shortly before his untimely death (2010), Schlingensiefel did not live to receive the Golden Lion that was awarded at this year's (2011) Venice Biennial to the German Pavilion exhibit, dedicated to his work. But to paraphrase a sentence from *Der Spiegel*: the only good Schlingensiefel is a dead Schlingensiefel!<sup>4</sup> Precisely due to the fact that he died in the middle of preparing the German exhibit for the Venice Biennial, his death did not leave anyone indifferent either, causing a huge debate in Germany over whether the entire German exhibit should be dedicated

<sup>2</sup> Pollesch set out from Johan Becker's book *Learning From*, which seeks to explain the interest of powerful Western financial-industrial metropolises for organising life and work in large cities of the southern hemisphere, such as Lagos or São Paulo, which constitute potential markets. Elmar Altvater's article "Die Attraktivität des Einfachen" (The Attractiveness of the Simple), as well as Altvater and Birgit Mahnkopf's "Die Informalisierung des urbanen Raums" (The Informalisation of Urban Space) were likewise important for this play, because they address the self-organised trading that exists in the favelas of these cities side by side with normal and regulated trade, as their inhabitants' vital need.

<sup>3</sup> In *Hallo Hotel* (2004), Pollesch used verbatim a selection of texts by Giorgio Agamben in the form of love declarations between two women.

<sup>4</sup> More precisely, the text reads: "Only Schlingensiefel without Schlingensiefel reveals the true Schlingensiefel"; see Diez and Reinhardt 2011.

to his art. However, Susanne Gaensheimer, commissioner of the German pavilion who had to fight for this exhibit, managed in a certain way to "resurrect" and conclude his singular career, which always veered between theatre, film, visual art, performance, and activism.<sup>5</sup> This year's exhibit at the German pavilion was thus the conclusion as well as the end of a provocative, exciting, and radical career that is unlikely to outlive its main protagonist. After all, his first steps were inspired by anarcho-Dadaism and punk, both movements that annulled themselves.

To understand Schlingensiefel's career, it is very important to describe the German pavilion at this year's Venice Biennial.<sup>6</sup> Immediately upon entering, the first thing one sees is an installation of the interior of a church, complete with an altar, stained-glass windows, and the rest of church paraphernalia – which was, by the way, Schlingensiefel's project in *A Church of Fear vs. the Alien Within* (2007) – and represents a replica of the Catholic church in Oberhausen where Schlingensiefel served as an altar boy. That same year, Schlingensiefel produced the performance *Requiem für einen Untoten* (A Requiem for an Undead Person), in which he appeared, as he did in all of his performances, in the dual role of narrator and master of ceremonies, hoping somehow to survive his previously diagnosed lung cancer. The installation and the performance both represented a huge turn in his career, from a socially engaged artist into one who entirely turned to himself and his illness. The German pavilion's left wing features an exhibit that presents all stages of his final project: an opera village near Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso, which he called a "social sculpture", whereas in the pavilion's right wing one can see six of his films, starting with *Egomania* (1986) to the so-called German Trilogy, featuring the now legendary German Chainsaw Massacre (*Das deutsche Kettensägenmassaker*, 1990). Still, these films are not meant as a retrospective but as an introduction to Schlingensiefel's opus, that is, to the two things with which he was always obsessed: Germany (its history and politics) and his illness, which took him to Africa as a kind of salvation.

These are two central themes in his entire opus. The fact that he viewed the world not only from an oppositional perspective, but also from that of his illness, made a wound out of him, a crack in a society that was constantly striving to construct an ideal picture of itself. Essentially, Schlingensiefel always knew that "everyday fascism and the economy of scars that penetrate ever more deeply into the cracks of the social, especially in terms of plundering and taking over the means of producing knowledge and critical acting, do not allow for concessions when it comes to radical truth". (Husanović 2010, 9) The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 precipitated his film *Das deutsche Kettensägenmassaker*, desperate and wild, which left no cliché alone, no pseudo-innocuous joke untouched, presenting the unification of Germany as a terrible deluge of blood and massacre, under the following motto: "They came as friends and became sausage". Those who are not familiar with the tradition of German cabaret humour and songs will find it hard to understand the many layers of this pseudo-horror film, which features a butcher obsessed with purity, sex, and nationalism. Schlingensiefel was a true successor to the German Romantics, but also to satirists such as Lubitsch, Murnau, Fassbinder, Valentin, and Wedekind. But his contempt for his homeland ran deeper than that – it was a kind of disgust mixed with fascination. For Schlingensiefel, the art of activism was a mode of self-defence in a democracy under strict control. The first part of his German trilogy was *100 Jahre Adolf Hitler* (100 Years of Adolf Hitler), a film that speaks of the artist's relationship with history as a trap: Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. (Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Husanović 2010, 10)

The actor playing Hitler, Udo Kier, enacted the dictator's life in the bunker in the form of a cocaine-induced delirium, full of references to German history and reality around 1990. In an interview, Schlingensiefel stated that his grandmother was distantly related to Joseph Goebbels, claiming it was a source of unease that he had to bear inside him and sought to break free from it by presenting his own vision of Hitler to the audience. That was the beginning of his dizzying career, dizzying not in terms of soaring but of constantly provoking at every level, sometimes more, sometimes less successfully. His wildness and creativity allowed for no objective assessment or definition of his art, because he appeared in every medium, with no prior preparation, whether in televised talk-shows, on the radio, in plays, or performances in terms of action painting. At that time, he began staging plays at the Berlin Volksbühne, such as *Kühnen '94 – Bring mir den Kopf von Adolf Hitler!* (Kühnen '94 – Bring Me Adolf Hitler's Head!) and *Rocky Dutschke '68*, in which he continued to re-examine Germany's recent and more distant history.

<sup>5</sup> For more on Schlingensiefel's career, see <http://www.schlingensiefel.com>.

<sup>6</sup> For more, see <http://www.deutscher-pavillon.org/en>.



Chaotic, hermetic, and wild, these plays invariably demanded his presence onstage, not only in the capacity of the master of ceremonies, but also in that of the narrator, so that he could explain to the audience all the aspects of the story. He considered working in theatre a kind of social work, based on the actors' collective experience, improvisation, and mutual relations, and then also those between them and the audience, who were often put at the heart of the action, so to speak. One of his notorious performances is his "play" *Bitte liebt Österreich* (Please, Love Austria, 2000), made for Wiener Festwochen, in which several immigrants were supposed to "fight" to be allowed to stay in Austria indefinitely, while the audience, as in the *Big Brother* reality-TV show, voted to decide who would win it. Of course, the play revealed the deep roots of xenophobia in Austria. Its subversion and alteration of capitalist media in an experimental performance approximated this performance to what Brian Holmes has defined as *reverse engineering*.<sup>7</sup>

But as long as Schlingensiefel was undertaking his "actions" inside film and theatre as two clearly delineated disciplines, it looked as though everything were under control. However, under the ever watchful eye of the media, each one of his actions caused huge public scandals, which landed him in prison on more than one occasion, as, for instance, when he issued a call at the 1999 Kassel *Documenta* to assassinate Helmut Kohl, or when he sought to "collect" a million Deutschmarks in five-mark coins, which would be thrown on those attending the opening of the new Reichstag dome, or when he founded Chance 2000, a party for the unemployed, the homeless, the prostitutes, and prisoners, at the 1998 German federal election.

The moment when he was diagnosed with cancer marked a turn in Schlingensiefel's career, because at that same time he was offered to direct Wagner's *Parsifal* for the 2004 Bayreuth festival, even though he had often subjected Wagner's successors to derision in public. It looked as though from that moment onward, Germany's history and current reality had lost all interest for him. Thus when he began working on the German pavilion in Venice, he maintained that a new life should be breathed into it, because it was focused too much on Germany's Nazi past. His new challenge to the public was: Why do we want to help Africa, if we cannot help ourselves? He envisaged the pavilion as a kind of medicine carnival, a mythic spot meant to represent something in between the German cult of Africa and a spectacle of the contemporary mania of preventive medicine, wellness, and biogenetics. One of his ideas was that visitors should climb to the pavilion's roof and observe the world from up there, as if watching through a lens; meanwhile, film images of African scenery would be projected onto the canvas below, but with every 24<sup>th</sup> frame showing starving African children, children soldiers, etc., in the form of a brutal parody of ethnology and colonial exhibits. The pavilion was deliberately left unfinished, with many imperfections, as a kind of *miss-performance*, a liminal performance with many cracks, misunderstandings, and much anger. In fact, one of the commissioner's ideas was to show why Schlingensiefel had been one of Germany's most significant artists following the Second World War, an artist who was a kind of medium, whose entire being and work absorbed and reflected social anomalies of Germany and not only of Germany. The pavilion precisely reflects the claim made above, that his entire activist career had been utterly negated until 2004 and that many considered him a mere provocateur, charlatan, and circus-master, until he was embraced by the very same elitist culture he had fought all his life. His career is therefore one of the most peculiar careers in art over the last twenty years; this is further illustrated by the Bambi award, Germany's top prize in the field of media, which was posthumously awarded to him in 2010. This paradox of the German public's belated love for Schlingensiefel suggests not that something had changed in Germany, or that his critique of German nationalism was finally understood and accepted, but that he had been successfully assimilated by his own personal self-depoliticisation. The Venice exhibit will not resolve this contradiction. On the contrary, it points to its genesis, to the abandoning of the search for the fear versus the alien within in favour of the alien without; in that sense, *The Church of Fear vs. the Alien Within* is really his most important work, his legacy.

Unfortunately, even though Schlingensiefel will be survived by a wealth of material traces, of his activism nothing will remain. If performance is defined as a *joining* of different elements, material and conceptual alike, which *exist only in performance*, in the very *act of performing*, during an *event*, performance, or, in Badiou's words, *representation*, then nothing remains of Schlingensiefel's work. However many times repeated, every performance constitutes a unique event and becomes a "thought event". According to Badiou, that means that bringing different elements

<sup>7</sup> As an example of reverse engineering, Holmes cites *Nike Ground*, a performance/installation by the 0100101110101101 group, likewise staged in Vienna, which faked the renaming of Karlsplatz into Nikeplatz. Despite at times stormy protests coming from the public, it all later came down to a kind of symbolic and innocuous action. Holmes asks how we may intensify our responses to ever stronger forms of repression and abuse and how art might develop subversion in a society of strict control. (Holmes 2009, 28)

of theatre together directly produces ideas, which he calls *theatre-ideas*. (Badiou 2005, 72)  
That also means that they could not be produced by any other means or at any other place, as well as that none of the elements used could produce theatre-ideas by itself, or even the text of the performance itself. "The idea arises in and by the performance, through the act of theatrical representation. The idea is irreducibly theatrical and does not preexist before its arrival 'on stage'." According to Badiou, "The theater-idea, as a public illumination of history and life, emerges only at the apex of art"; "The theater-idea *comes forth* only in the (brief) time of its performance, of its representation". (Badiou 2005, 72-73)

Therefore, the practice referred to in the title as "more than activism, less than art", which I am trying to present here, is primarily political and mostly refers to *non-representational* performance. Apart from Schlingensiefel and Pollesch, artists who may be considered true heirs to the critique of representation are indeed rare, as are those who have managed to avoid the traps of the market and late-postmodernist logic of liminoid societies and repressive democracies, which was one of the main features of experimental performances and theatre at the beginning of the twentieth century – at least when it comes to Brecht's dialectical theatre or Artaud's theatre of cruelty – which, as Derrida noted, not only announced the limits of representation, but also suggested a new system of criticism that shook up the entire history of theatre in the West.

According to Pollesch, theatre should not only be an instrument enabling us to criticise society, but also a place in need of critical understanding. Therefore, those artists who wish to express their critical views onstage should make no exceptions when they are personally concerned. Pollesch asserts that we need a theatre, that will enable us to challenge our own way of life and conditions of work, that will not be a neutral place, where we will be allowed to criticise anything and anyone, except ourselves. Besides, I believe that [theatre] may become a place where we will not have to reproduce the social consensus when it comes to things like typically assigned gender roles – theatre has no use for gender-defined models, or for other such black-and-white opposites, which we encounter in everyday life. Theatre might become a place where we could question the heterosexual domination in the world. Also, in my opinion, theatre is an area that should not be observed from an economic viewpoint, that should not be exclusively profit-oriented. (Gruszczynski 2008)

Pollesch's explorations of the political ontology of theatre assumes the form of a systematic critique of representational theatre, as well as of society that gives rise to such theatre. Non-representational theatre allows for reconciliation between aesthetics and ethics in the practices of contemporary performing arts and contributes to the concept of *inaesthetics* as defined by Badiou:

By "inaesthetics" I understand a relation of philosophy to art that, maintaining that art is itself a producer of truths, makes no claim to turn art into an object for philosophy. Against aesthetic speculation, inaesthetics describes the strictly intraphilosophical effects produced by the independent existence of some works of art. (Badiou 2005, xii)

Therefore, when I speak of the concept of "more than activism, less than art", I am engaging neither in anti-aesthetics, nor in counter-aesthetics, but in non-aesthetics, a concept that points to something within aesthetics and at the same time to a deactivation and re-examination of aesthetics. In that sense, Brecht – as well as his successors, by the way – is crucial for understanding this *inaesthetics of activism*. "For Brecht, art produces no truth, but is instead an elucidation [...] of the conditions for a courage of truth". This courage of truth "is a therapy against cowardice. Not against cowardice in general, but against cowardice *in the face of truth*". (Badiou 2005, 6)

Viewed in this way, activism today is coming closest to "external truth". According to Badiou, "if the truth of which art is capable comes to it from outside – if art is a didactics of the senses" (Badiou 2005, 3), then it follows that the "real" essence of art is communicated by its public impact and not by artworks themselves. Besides, artistic performing is an experiment, textual and material at once, in simplifying life. However, it would be entirely wrong to think that that simplicity is simple to attain. On the contrary, to untangle and simplify this *complicated life*, one needs a variety of different artistic tools.<sup>8</sup> The art of performing is undoubtedly the only art that should strive to complement eternity by means of its own ephemerality. According to Badiou, therefore, it is necessary to understand that theatre performance, which guides the constituent elements of theatre (as much as that is possible, since they are highly heterogeneous), is no mere *interpretation*, as most people believe, but that the theatrical act itself uniquely *complements* the theatrical idea. Therefore, every performance or representation is a possible, but only provisional, fulfilment of that idea.

According to Badiou, theatre is always striving to attain an eternal idea, by means of partly controlled instances. A play or a performance

<sup>8</sup> By 'complicated life', Badiou means two things: desire circulating between the poles and figures of social and political power (whether exalted or offensive), whereas tragedy and comedy have always existed on their foundations.

often represents a rational testing of those instances. The art of theatre lies in *choice*, which, on the one hand, may be rather *well-prepared* (the director's work), and, on the other, may be guided by *chance* (the spectator, who complements the idea). Therefore, no one should ignore the fact that, depending on the audience for whom it is being performed, a certain theatrical act may or may not communicate the theatrical idea, may or may not complement it.<sup>9</sup>

In fact, all performances by authors cited here, as well as every artistic, theoretical, or activist project, are about risky associations of what we know with what we do not know, about forcing us to be their spectators and creators both at once, in order to realise our own intellectual as well as emotional abilities, as spectators looking for that which may be created in a new context. And this position cannot and may never be neutral. To quote Pollesch once more:

Theatre's problem is that it is dominated by a social construct: a narrative position has been adopted and is now understood as neutral. This position is white, masculine, and heterosexual, and my efforts are directed at showing that it is far from neutral. We are always striving to believe that it does not exist, but in fact, nothing exists apart from it! The narrator's position exists! I believe that theatre should announce, for instance, that those in whose name it speaks have a language of their own! In this way it could speak for the "humiliated and the offended": by claiming that they have a language of their own and that their language must be taken seriously. The only language that today's theatre takes seriously is its own language – white, masculine, heterosexual – which speaks of everyone else: "They are Others, who have no language of their own and therefore you have to speak for them". The poor and the impoverished are assigned a certain image and are then represented in accordance to that image. But in my opinion, that is not a realistic image. In theatre, when we speak of others, we always emphasise the fact that they are Others. And I wouldn't mind challenging that image. (Gruszczynski 2008)

In contemporary performance practices, artists challenge the entire image of art and reality, as well as their relationship up to now, becoming thereby explorers of sorts, who survey and guide the spectators' reactions whilst making their performances. The effects that that new mode of expression might have cannot be foreseen; they will take one into a new "intellectual adventure". The artist demands the spectators to become active interpreters, who will try to come up with a "translation" of their own, so that they may adapt the story to themselves and identify it as their own. "An emancipated community is a community of narrators and translators". (Rancière 2009, 22) In fact, it is about an endless quest for ever more complex, focused, and intense artistic tools of emancipation at every level, from a politics to an aesthetics that will not be assimilated into the logic of the market. The most successful activist projects will be those that attain a total transformation of the given parameters of art, knowledge, geopolitics, technology, and intimate desire. The goal is to avoid getting assimilated and to find subversion again.

Translated from Serbo-croat by Žarko Cvejić

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<sup>9</sup> Because the public "represents humanity in its very inconsistency, in its infinite variety. The more it is unified (socially, nationally, civically...), the less useful it is for the complementation of the idea, the less it supports, in time, the eternity and universality of the idea. Only a *generic* public, a chance public, is worth anything at all". (Badiou 2005, 74)

# VITA PERFORMACTIVA, ON THE STAGE OF NEOLIBERAL CAPITALIST DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

ANA VUJANOVIĆ

It is easy to note that politics has become a keyword in the contemporary international performing arts world. However, this immediately poses a more difficult question: why do we speak so much about politics in art, about art and politics, political art, the politicality of art, etc. today? Why has politics indeed become a keyword? What has been the driving force of all those books, texts, presentations, conferences, festivals, grants? What does the metaphor of politics *qua* theatre mean and, more broadly, what does *teatrum mundi* mean? On what grounds, on the basis of what historical references and conceptual frameworks do we have this “theoretical intuition” that artistic performance and politics are close? What I find particularly challenging in reflecting on these questions is that, in parallel with the performing arts’ keen interest in politics, we are facing their societal marginalisation and ever more limited access to the public over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which, at the macro-social level question the relevance of this topic.

Without seeking to alleviate the tension between these two extremes, I will attempt to rethink the terms of the politicality of performance as a discipline and artistic practice in contemporary neoliberal capitalist societies of the democratic West, and why such a rethinking matters not only to art, but may also contribute to our understanding of Western society and our acting in it as citizens. Presently, I will first attempt to set out, contextualise, and critically elaborate on the topic’s epistemic framework, because it is poorly articulated in general, which typically generates approaches to the topic as if it were taken for granted that talking about a link between performance and politics today must make (societal) sense.

## VITA ACTIVA, VITA PERFORMATIVA, AND TEATRUM MUNDI: A HISTORIC-CONTEXTUAL VIEW

The metaphor of politics as theatre, and even of the entire public and, more broadly still, social life of humans, has stubbornly survived in Western society for a very long time: from Ancient Greece, via the Christian Middle Ages, Baroque, Shakespeare, and 18<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeois society, up to the present. My question is: on what grounds? Also, assuming that it is epistemically relevant or empirically verifiable, on what grounds might one accept its inverted form as well? In other words, if politics is theatre, does that automatically mean that, conversely, theatre is politics, or is that only an error in judgement that has become habitual common sense, having been repeated so often that it’s become true?

In fact, the *teatrum mundi* metaphor has carried rather different connotations through history, from the one that has us, humans, merely performing a play for the gods, via bourgeois codes of behaviour in public, to us performing our social roles in the never-ending reality-TV show of the contemporary society of spectacle. Still, if we had to boil them all down to the lowest common denominator, it would be our awareness that one is never alone and that s/he is always under surveillance.

Today, it is obvious that the moment we step into the public – if not even before, since we are social beings – we turn into performers, performing our selves for and before others. Also, there are many sociologic-anthropological and political studies that treat politics and public practice as theatre and performance not just metaphorically, but also point to some formal and procedural similarities between them. I will mention only Erving Goffman’s theses on the presentation of self in everyday life and his concept of social roles, Hannah Arendt’s theses on the similarity of performance and politics as two social practices that both entail the public scene and the presence of others, Richard Sennett’s concepts of public man and man as actor, etc.<sup>1</sup> These theses and considerations pose another question as well, namely, whether this metaphor or link is universal; or, where the line that separates our literal acts from our performances might be – in art, in the public sphere, and in our private lives. Richard Schechner has

1 See Goffman, Erving, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959; Arendt, Hannah, *The Human Condition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998; and Sennett, Richard, *The Fall of Public Man*, New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1976.

tried to map it out by distinguishing between the concepts of *doing*, which refers to all human actions, and *showing doing*, which refers to performance, both in art and beyond. Showing doing does not mean that the performed act is insincere or fake, but only that the performing subject is aware that s/he is performing, points to it, emphasises, and stresses it for those observing him/her.<sup>2</sup> Still, even with this theoretical tool in hand, in reality the line is difficult to draw, precisely because human beings are always-already social and as such *sui generis* constituted among, with, and before other humans – even if those others, some thinkers would say, may not always be empirically present.

When it comes to the performing arts, one must remember that in Western civilisation, theatre emerged in ancient Greece, where, together with politics, it belonged among the many forms of performance practised by the citizens of Athens. A similar state of affairs might be observed in the public sphere of early-18<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeois society, which formed in the coffeehouses, salons, and theatres of cosmopolitan London and Paris. Furthermore, there is a wealth of historical evidence to document the impact of theatre, especially comedy and satire, on the forming of public opinion and political positions in Athens, which would happen again in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when artist-performers gained special social standing as public figures. In any case, this is not about metaphors but the fact that politics in Athens was a kind of performance, which included artistic, cultural, and other public practices alike, and that theatre and politics were close inasmuch as they belonged, notwithstanding the differences in their respective statuses, functions, and disciplinary specificities, to the same order of activities: the public performance of citizenship, predicated on conventions, procedures, and skills and exposed to the gaze, opinions, assessments, critiques... of others. The same applies to the early bourgeois public sphere as well, though the primary link there was that between theatre and public behaviour and debate, since politics was still in the domain of the monarchic state.

Bearing these historical references in mind, we may observe that at some relatively few and brief but for the Western civilisation key moments, such as democratic Athens in the fifth and fourth century BC and the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when modern bourgeois society was constituted, the performing arts served as a public forum for debating political issues. At those moments, public/political practice and artistic performance constituted the continuum of civil life, whereby that hybrid practice, which I would call *vita performactiva*, was dialectically realised, but without any antagonism or binarism whatsoever. Namely, in those contexts, artistic performance and theatre in particular constituted an important social practice, not because in some specific cases it thematised current political issues, but because it performed the structural social role of providing models of acting and behaving in public and of testing hypothetical subjectifications and social relations. Furthermore, the boundaries of different forms of performance – theatre / artistic performance and politics / public social practice – were porous and mutual influencing was possible, since in those contexts even public behaviour and politics themselves were anything but spontaneous, direct, and natural; rather, they were performative – institutionalised, artificial, and codified – discursive citizens’ practices. Procedurally, this allowed for a continuum of *vita performactiva*, from fictional, staged situations, via behaving during performances and discussions of artworks, where theatre and literary audience (*publicum*) were turning into the public, to everyday behaviour in public and political practice.<sup>3</sup> In theory, these historic-contextual references are precise; some of the most prominent authors who insist on a link between performance in art and politics or other types of public practice, such as Arendt and Sennett, directly address the respective contexts of Athenian democracy and early bourgeois society. It is precisely for that reason that the link between theatre / performance and public life / politics should not be taken for granted, that is, ahistorically.

This contextual-historical focus on the metaphor may help us understand how and why the performing arts may be political in a given society and how effective their politicality may be. Bearing in mind the structural and procedural aspects of this problematic as expounded above, I will presently move my discussion to the current social context in the West, characterised as it is by neoliberal capitalism, representative democracy, and a total mediatisation and aestheticisation of social life.

2 Schechner, Richard, *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, London and New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 22.

3 See Sennett, “Public Roles”, in *The Fall of Public Man*, pp. 64–89 for more on how the bourgeois public sphere formed in theatre, during and after plays and then how conventions of social relations and behavior in theatre passed on to the street, via conceptions of the body as mannequin and speech as sign, instead of symbol.

**THE ECONOMISATION OF POLITICS AND THE POLITICISATION OF PRODUCTION:  
STRUCTURAL ISSUES REGARDING THE POLITICALITY OF PERFORMANCE**

A number of critical theorisations of politics in Western society have noted a profound change, even the disappearance of politics in its classical sense, due to the establishment of (neo)liberal capitalist social and production relations, which promote individualism and personal rights, thereby legitimising private interests and property as publicly relevant.

According to Hannah Arendt, in modern capitalist society, starting with the French Revolution, politics has increasingly taken an interest in so-called “social issues”, whereby it legitimated the entrance of private interests and distribution of goods into the public sphere.<sup>4</sup> For Arendt, politics is, *qua vita activa*, the discursive practice of free citizens interested in the organisation and running of the *polis*, performed on the public stage of society. It concerns current performances on that stage, as well as the performance of those stages themselves; it is concerned neither with constituting eternal truths, which belong to the domain of *vita contemplativa*, nor with issues pertaining to the *oikos*, private life, personal interests, or material goods. For Arendt, the socialisation of politics and its approximating economics spelled its demise, since in her key writings she looked back in history at the Athenian model of direct democracy, where politics was a form of human activity called practice. Practice (*praxis*) is not geared toward fulfilling the citizens’ existential needs and reproducing life (as is everyday *labour*) and, unlike production and creation (*poiesis*), it does not produce material objects as investments into civilisation (as do arts and crafts), but is rather realised and exhausted in itself, affecting current social relations. Political practice is therefore a public activity performed by free citizens, driven not by their existential needs or interest in material goods, but by the will and desire of human beings as political beings to organise relations between humans. From that perspective, the entrance of social issues – private issues that have become publicly relevant, such as the distribution of goods – onto the public stage leads to the instrumentalisation and therefore also demise of politics in the classic democratic sense.

In neoliberal capitalism, predicated as it is on the collusion between protecting individual rights, globalisation, and corporate capital, this far-reaching critique of politics is manifested on an unprecedented scale. Still, it does have a few weaknesses of its own, the most important of which is the absence of a more careful consideration of the relationship between the economic and the political, that is, the private and the public, which are today – and have been, since the inception of the welfare state – completely entangled. Without that, Hannah Arendt’s theses remain somewhat schematic as well as problematic, in overlooking the fact that the right to participate in politics was rather exclusive in democratic Athens, even though it was a participative democracy. It was extended only to the free citizens, which kept a majority of Athenians off the public stage: the women, the slaves, the foreigners, the freed slaves, and those who had lost their citizens’ rights. Therefore, the introduction of social issues to the public scene might be an indicator of a higher inclusivity on the part of modern democratic societies, which gradually extended suffrage to those who worked and produced, to women, and other previously excluded social subjects.<sup>5</sup>

However, Hannah Arendt’s theses on the disappearance of politics from Western society enable one to reflect on the *politicality* of performance by disabling the reflection of the performing arts’ relation *to politics* as an autochthonous entity. Also, they provide us with a sharper tool for critical reconsiderations of the politicality of those artistic performance practices that have focused over the last few decades – from the 1960s neo-avant-garde to the identitary and community-based performances of the 1980s and ’90s – on issues of personal liberties, individual expression, promotion of cultural identities, and caring for specific social groups. For, however emancipatory, from this perspective they are also complicit with globalising, neoliberal Western democracy, predicated as it is on capitalism.

Apart from these interpretative frameworks that may be derived from her considerations of politics, Arendt is additionally important in this regard owing to her explicit insistence on the performative character of political practice and on the political dimension of artistic performance alike. With her notion of performance as a potentially

<sup>4</sup> See Arendt, Hannah, *The Human Condition and On Revolution*, New York: The Viking Press, 1963.

<sup>5</sup> Habermas commits the same oversight when he concludes that the supposedly glorious epoch of the egalitarian and liberal bourgeois public sphere was followed by a decline of the public sphere in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, because the public scene was penetrated by various social groups that demanded protection from the state; see Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991. A number of feminist theorists later brought that problem into sharper focus, and an important critical contribution came from Rancière as well, who introduced the distinction between the concepts of police and politics, whereby politics begins precisely when the *plebs* penetrate the public sphere; see Rancière, Jacques, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*, London: Continuum, 2004; and *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

political practice of art, she sets a challenge to all of Western artistic creation that is based on poiesis.<sup>6</sup> In *Between Past and Future*, she explains its proximity to politics in the following way: [In] the performing arts (as distinguished from the creative art of making), the accomplishment lies in the performance itself and not in an end product which outlasts the activity that brought it into existence and becomes independent of it. [...] The performing arts, on the contrary, have indeed a strong affinity with politics. Performing artists – dancers, play-actors, musicians and the like – need an audience to show their virtuosity, just as acting men need the presence of others before whom they can appear; both need a publicly organized space for their “work”, and both depend upon others for the performance itself. (Arendt 1961, 153–154)

However, although this oft-cited explanation of the procedural similarity between performance and politics may be used as a tool in analysing the politicality of performance, such observations by Arendt lack a more careful consideration of historical changes in conceptions of poiesis, praxis, politics, and art, as well as their current relations.<sup>7</sup> On the one hand, Arendt overlooks important procedural differences between the political practice of Athenian democracy and the official political practice of modern society, that is, representative democracy. I will return to that later on; presently, I will only remark that Arendt, whilst critiquing politics for its economisation, fails to subject the performing arts to the same materialist critique and ignores the fact that they, too, are a form of production today, that performance is a commodity, and that virtuosic performance is a job like any other.

Continuing in that direction, it is important to introduce some of the more current claims advanced by Italian post-workerist theorists, such as Maurizio Lazzarato, Antonio Negri, and Paolo Virno, among others. Since this theoretical platform is considerably determined by its interest in biopolitics and by the concept of immaterial labour, those authors set out from the fact that the boundaries separating politics and economy, praxis and poiesis, as well as public action and private life have been blurred in today’s capitalist society. They posit that blurring as the initial condition and thereby provide a reply to the question that Arendt left unanswered: how and where do we practise politics today, in the wake of its disappearance, i.e. demise as a specific activity?

According to them, post-industrial and post-Fordist production in the West has already integrated elements of political practice, so we are talking here about politicising production, rather than economising politics. But from that perspective we may observe that the disappearance of politics actually means that politics has migrated and pervaded different kinds of social activity, from the economy via art and culture to everyday forms of life.<sup>8</sup> Virno explains: I believe that in today’s forms of life one has a direct perception of the fact that the coupling of the terms public-private, as well as the coupling of the terms collective-individual, can no longer stand up on their own, that they are gasping for air, burning themselves out. This is just like what is happening in the world of contemporary production, provided that production – loaded as it is with *ethos*, culture, linguistic interaction – not give itself over to econometric analysis, but rather be understood as a broad-based experience of the world. (Virno 2004, 26)

In “Immaterial Labour”, Lazzarato advances the crucial thesis that the core of capitalist production today, based as it is on immaterial labour, is not the production of commodities but of their cultural-informational contents: standards, norms, tastes, and – strategically most important – public opinion, by means of co-operation and communication as its basic work activities. Issues that are central to production thus become political issues *par excellence*: those pertaining to the organisation of the social condition, whose principal content is the production of subjectivity. Art thereby gains a new political position and performance has a special role to play there.<sup>9</sup> Namely, under the type of production organised in this way, management is based on the slogan “become subject” (of communication) and grows totalitarian in its bid to draw the worker’s entire personality and subjectivity into the production of (added) value. Therefore, in the capitalist, Western world, in any line of work, workers are no longer obliged merely to get the job done, but also to be virtuoso performers: eloquent, open, and communicative. “[O]ne has to speak, communicate, cooperate, and so forth” (Lazzarato 1996).

<sup>6</sup> The Austrian artist group WochenKlausur have offered a critically elaborate response to this challenge; see <http://www.wochenklausur.at/>, especially “From the Object to the Concrete Intervention” (26 March 2011).

<sup>7</sup> See Agamben, Giorgio, “Poiesis and Praxis” and “Privation Is Like a Face”, in *The Man Without Content*, trans. Georgia Albert, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999, pp. 68–94 and 59–68. Since citing Agamben’s claims would make a digression here, I will only mention that a “return to practice” would not repoliticise art today, because practice itself is no longer what it was in ancient Greece, but instead, has been understood as an expression of individual will and creative power since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. See also Vujanović, Ana, “What do we actually do when... [we] make art”, *Maska* 127–130 and *Amfiteatar* 2, 2010.

<sup>8</sup> See Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000; Lazzarato, Maurizio, “Immaterial Labour” (1996), <http://www.generation-online.org/c/fcimmateriallabour3.htm> (11 July 2011); and Virno, Paolo, *A Grammar of the Multitude*, New York: Semiotext(e), 2004.

<sup>9</sup> See, “Exhausting Immaterial Labour in Performance”, *TKH* 19 and *Journal des Laboratoires*, 2010.

In performance studies, Jon McKenzie has been breaking a similar path. His theorisation of performance, as laid out in *Perform or Else*,<sup>10</sup> is entirely predicated on extending the concept of performance or on positing it as existing simultaneously in culture and art, in high-technology and business, whereby it becomes a universal social imperative: “Perform or else!”. For that reason, McKenzie considers performance an onto-historical category that marks today’s entire capitalist society, which fundamentally questions the liminal and transformative social potential of artistic performance, including its political effectiveness.

However, theses developed in post-workerist theory are mostly taken as promising for politicality in the contemporary artworld, because they appear (as if) to suggest a simple equation: art is political insofar as it belongs to the domain of immaterial production, which includes politics. But I would say that those claims lead us rather to conclude that while performance was a model of political practice in some earlier democratic societies, today we may talk of performance primarily as a model of production. Still, this conclusion about a change in the structural positioning of performance does not settle the issue of its politicality. For, it suggests not that performance is therefore apolitical, but that its politicality is indirect and dubious. Further developing this thought, I would say that these post-workerist and biopolitical claims are quite disturbing in fact, because they imply that the very configuring of the social in the context of neoliberal capitalism has been largely capitalised and that it is more about simulating politics than generating public space for political discussion. The performing arts and their ambivalence, wavering between political practice and complicity with capitalist production, are mere “collateral damage” of this macro-process. I am referring to the limits facing every critical author whose work is produced in the capitalist system of the performing arts without disturbing it, as well as to increasingly popular performance training seminars and workshops that have found their way into the training process of politicians and managers, arming them with the same performing methods and techniques. I will return to the broader perspective in order to point out the problem with this kind of politicality in the performing arts. Even if it is clear that political performances of actors on the scene of representative democracy today have nothing to do with *parrhesia*, the free speech of or on behalf of citizens seeking the common good, but primarily with representing the interests of corporate capital, it is hard to say whether it makes sense to call such practices politics, or if they in fact belong in the domain of economic marketing. I find the problem complicated, because marketing is successful in simulating political practice and assuming its methods of performance even though neither their social referents, nor interests, nor intentions are the same, but – to make things even trickier – in today’s society marketing is becoming publicly relevant, thereby gaining for itself a political role, which is closing the public space off to all political practices that do not partake in production but represent or directly involve the free speech of citizens on what kind of society they would like to live in. In that regard, the politicality of the performing arts, structurally belonging in that system of production, as part of the so-called tertiary sector, turns out to be not only indirect and weakened, but also complicit, until it stops making social appeals by thematising politics in exchange for dealing with its own conditions of work, which accompany the performing arts as their “political unconscious”. Their marginal place in society and precarious conditions of work do not relieve performance of this responsibility, nor does its identification with them automatically make performance critical and politically antagonistic; on the contrary, they are a training ground for flexible neoliberal politics and its “crisis management”. That we are running in circles here is also suggested by that familiar dilemma: how may one step out in protest from that capitalist art system, but also remain an actor on the scene? Without wishing to jump hastily to conclusion, I will only note that that dilemma is a typical enthymeme, whose implicit premise – that capitalism is the only existing, indeed, the only possible system of work on the international horizon – has successfully wiggled its way even into some highly critical debates on that scene.

#### AESTHETICS – POLITICS – ART: PERFORMANCE PROCEDURES IN THE SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

In addition to the socio-structural aspects that determine (promise and delimit) the politicality of the performing arts today, for the sake of providing a more comprehensive survey of the topic, I should also mention current relations of aesthetics and politics in societies of representative democracy, opening the issue of the compatibility of performance procedures in artistic performance and politics.

These issues invite us to reconsider the processes of aestheticising politics and politicising art, as postulated by Walter Benjamin.<sup>11</sup> A quick reminder: Benjamin recognised the aestheticisation of politics as a feature of the

10 McKenzie, Jon, *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance*, London and New York: Routledge, 2001.

11 Benjamin, Walter, “The Work of Art in the Age of Technical Reproduction”, in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, New York: Schocken Books, 1969, pp. 217–251. I am omitting Rancière’s “politics of aesthetics” here because, its currency notwithstanding, it neither refers to nor explains the specific current social context of art and politics in the West.

rightwing, fascist political practices that were gaining ground in 1930s Europe. One of the reasons for this was that those political options lacked both socio-economic foundations and conclusions reached by means of public debate, which led them to build their power on populist discourses grounded in rhetoricity and affectivity, seducing and skipping over the (common) sense of the political subjects whom they were addressing. On the other hand, according to Benjamin, the politicisation of art was characteristic of leftwing, communist artistic practices of that time. The Left was following a rationale opposite from that of the Right: leftist art was reconsidering its transcendental position in society, overstepping the boundaries of art as an excepted/exceptional space for dealing with the disinterestedly sensuous, and beginning to address the (common) sense of its audience, facing it with current socio-political issues. Paradigms of politicised art from that time would include the Russian avant-garde, especially constructivism, as well as Brecht’s and Piscator’s political theatre.

But even if Benjamin was right, such a distinction could not be made today. His postulates are under challenge from a wider process today: an overall aestheticisation of various social activities and artefacts, including even everyday life. Apart from a number of claims made in performance studies and, more broadly, in the humanities since the 1960s, this topic was explicitly addressed by Yves Michaud in his *L’Art à l’état gazeux*, where he expounded his thesis on the triumph of aesthetics.<sup>12</sup> There, Michaud sheds light on a process whereby art loses its exclusive rights to the aesthetic – which had been granted to it in modern Western society – and on the migrating of aesthetic categories, such as the “beautiful”, into areas of mass media, marketing, as well as politics, sports, production, and private living. As far as their migrating into politics is concerned, examples of “designing the visual” and “theatricalising the performative” are many even on the local political scene, to mention only the extravagant styling of Josip Broz Tito and the military parades and mass performances / games (*slet*) of the socialist era. But, in 20<sup>th</sup>-century socialist societies, these processes were mostly self-referential and tautological, because different political voices did not exist on the public scene anyway, whereas they are much more characteristic of political practices in representative democracies, that is, in the multiparty – and therefore also competitive – system of neoliberal, capitalist society, where potential political representatives strive to get the electorate to “like” them. On the political scene, this kind of dispersed aesthetic principle, which supplants discussion and debate, is embodied in the figures of the “credible politician” or the “charismatic leader” and applies to various political orientations that are part of that system, both left and right. Michaud thereby casts a shadow over believing in any politicality of the performing arts that would rely on their aesthetic and affective potential, referring to Hans-Thies Lehmann’s theses on the politicality of post-dramatic theatre and, more broadly, on Rancière’s concept of politics as the distribution of the sensible. In any case, the current process that Michaud has identified, among others, undermines the very foundations of Benjamin’s distinction – namely, the stable categories of the aesthetic *qua* artistic and political – because in that process the aesthetic ceases to be a characteristic of art only and becomes an integral part of politics in the system of representative democracy in general.

In addition to this process, contemporary activist practices, which are artistic as much as political, likewise call for a reconsideration of Benjamin’s claims. Activism raises the following intriguing question: does a given performance, by being political, cease to be “true” art (and becomes so-called ideological propaganda), or, conversely, does it cease to be “seriously” political (and socially effective, even legally responsible), by being artistic? It is symptomatic that the same problem has been troubling the police and art theory alike... However, Aldo Milohnić has pointed to the impossibility of delineating the politicisation of art from the aestheticisation of politics in the case of activism as a hybrid practice predicated on joining socio-political activism with cultural-artistic performance.<sup>13</sup> If we follow Milohnić in considering the local scene in Serbia, we will see that in such cases as the para-theatrical practices of the 1996–97 student and civic protests, the street performances of the Magnet group, the antiwar public actions of the Women in Black, or more recent anti-globalist actions, it is almost impossible to draw the line and establish whether those practices belong in the domain of the politicisation of art or that of the aestheticisation of politics. A number of activist practices have opened the same question on the international scene as well. Oft-cited examples of that “mess” include the arrest of the members of the VolksTheater Karawane group who took part in the Genoa protests and the trial of Steve Kurtz of the Critical Arts Ensemble, accused of bioterrorism. Those “misunderstandings” suggest that activism, with its rough radicalism and disregard for disciplinary definitions, is precisely symptomatic of the relations, i.e. overlappings of aesthetics, art, and politics in society today, evading the rulings of both artists and theorists, as well as police officers and public prosecutors as to whether such cases constitute politics that has adopted aesthetic methods, or art that has directly taken up politics.

12 Michaud, Yves, *L’Art à l’état gazeux: essai sur le triomphe de l’esthétique*, Paris: Hachette, 2011.

13 Milohnić, Aldo, “Artivizam”, *Maska* 90–91, 2005, pp. 15–25; [www.eicpc.net/transversal/1203/milohnic/en](http://www.eicpc.net/transversal/1203/milohnic/en) (15 August 2011).

There is one more important topic that I would like to address regarding activism, and that is often addressed in that context: its socio-political effectiveness. Namely, activism is a hybrid practice that brings art and socio-political activism together, thereby seemingly taking the politicality of performance to an extreme where art becomes politics and politics becomes art. Also, following all of the above, one might expect activism to have a proportionate socio-political effect, since it is a precise symptom of the actual state of affairs regarding the relationship between aesthetics, politics, and art. And yet, activism is typically faulted for failing to fulfil that promise. I would say that the main reason for that is that the kind of political practice that activism performs is based on a spontaneous and direct method of political acting: one steps out onto the public stage – be it the street or the internet – as a responsible citizen, spotlights a particular social problem on it, and calls for public debate. However, that basic mode of political practice does not correspond to the social paradigm of politics today, which is representative: mediated and mediated to such a degree that it almost mutes the citizens' voices in the process of making decisions. Due to this procedural incompatibility or asynchrony, activism could not be politically effective in any more direct fashion anyway, however thematically or formally political it might be.<sup>14</sup> A theoretical reason for that is that it simply cannot be, because political practice is a conventional and codified performative, which one cannot just not accept, if one wishes to act politically. Nonetheless, I would not dismiss activism as a political failure for that reason. For, it also hypothesises on an alternative political performative, testing with its performance a model of such a participatory and direct procedure, and projecting a society in which decisions will be made by equals among equals, simply because they are citizens of that society.

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In concluding, I would say that the performing arts today are indeed pervaded by politics but are not, at the same time, socially effective in any more significant way, whereby their politicality causes great interest and anxiety, moving back and forth between those two extremes. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Western societies were marked by the development of the mass media, which supplanted art in its functions in communicating, educating, shaping the public opinion, and symbolically representing society, while on the other hand, art today has become a capitalist system of production, belonging in the domain of immaterial production. In addition to this new structural positioning of art, performance as an art discipline faces a procedural problem as well. Historically, performance has been defined as a performative artistic practice entailing a public scene and live presence of people, which brought it close to political and public acting in some earlier democratic societies. Today, however, virtual interactions by means of digital technology are growing ever more dominant, while the political scene has been entirely hegemonised by representative democracy. For both of those reasons, neither physical public space nor live performance constitutes current social paradigms. Those paradigms are, respectively, representation and mediatisation.

In this text, I tried to shed light on the significance of these social conditions for artistic performance. Perhaps performance as a politically relevant artistic practice really belongs to some other society, different from ours? Or, rather than lamenting the “good old days”, when *vita performativa* and *vita activa* went hand in hand, perhaps we should strive to articulate a politicality of the performing arts suited to this, neoliberal, capitalist, representative-democratic society of ours, even if its modest reach discourages us? We must, I would say, because the politicality of the performing arts today is reflected not so much in their interest in politics, as it is a necessary consequence of the macro-changes in social practices and their interrelations whereby the performing arts are relating to politics less and less as to something external. Therefore I attempted to survey the dialectic of *vita performativa* today, no longer a non-antagonistic continuum of civil life, but a problem-focused indicator that, along with the twin processes of the instrumentalisation of politics and politicisation of production, artistic performance is itself fast becoming pervaded with politics and turning into an arena of political practice in contemporary society. But this is only a challenge to be addressed, whereas answers coming from the international performing arts world have been mostly tepid, without interfering with the “base” of the performing arts too much – their capitalist market system and post-Fordist organisation of labour – or with its “superstructure” – the hegemony of the West on the international scene and affirmation of neoliberal individualism. On the other hand, *vita performativa* is currently marked by a procedural break amid the processes of combining aesthetics, politics, and art in representative-democratic political systems. My critical view of activism's political (in)effectiveness presented above exceeds the bounds of activism, and in conclusion, I would like to return to Arendt's explication of the procedural similarities between artistic performance (in general) and politics, the main problem of which is its

14 On the other hand, what these actions often can and do provoke are reactions from the police, whereby law enforcement clearly tells us that in today's democratic capitalist society public space is not meant for citizens' political actions anyway, but for undisturbing, apolitical activities – tourism and entertainment.

ahistoricity. Counting on procedural overlapping – and thereby political leniency to claims, subjects, images, voices, and configurations of social relations coming from artistic performance – appears to me like a trap that a number of critical and engaged authors have failed to negotiate. In particular, that would apply to an alternative history of the performing arts in the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century, which would situate the political power of performance in an intensification of the performance procedure of direct, live (co-)presence and creation of social situations. Still, the fact that politics constructed in this way is not being actualised today is not only a political failure on the part of the performing arts. To sum up, viewed from a structural perspective, the political gesture of the performing arts could be a radical “political economics” of its own system of production, while from the angle of procedurality, the political potential of artistic performance today should be to mark that empty place of crisis in the political system of representative democracy and publicly perform a proposal of a different political procedure, making performance a real place on the public scene that confront images of society as it presently is with those of a different, possible, and virtual one.

Translated from Serbo-croat by Žarko Cvejić

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# BE POLITICAL OR YOU WON'T BE THERE!

## (ON POLITICAL ART IN A POST-POLITICAL WORLD)<sup>1</sup>

BOJANA KUNST

### INTRODUCTION

It is evident from the video by the British artist Carey Young that it takes place in one of the numerous offices of a modern high-rise corporation centre. The camera is focused on a woman in a dark grey business suit, standing in front of a huge glass office wall. The woman keeps uttering a single sentence, using different accentuations, gestures and intonations in the process. She seems to be practising as though in a business performance course. She pays attention to the pronunciation nuances and the precise gesticulation while uttering one sentence: "I'm the revolutionary". (Carey 2002, 173)

This unique exercise in style reveals the complex situation that frames my reflection on the relationship between politics and contemporary art. Creativity, the wish for change and constant reflection on the creative conditions are the driving forces behind development in the post-industrial world of today, marked by the need to constantly revolutionize the methods of production and creativity. Young's statement is therefore not only an exercise in style, but essential for the operation of today's capital. In the contemporary corporate world, "I'm the revolutionary" suddenly turns into a speech act *par excellence*. The transfer of one of the most important political 20<sup>th</sup> century obsessions into a transparent sky-scraper also allows entry into the topical social and political situation, which profoundly affects the manner of thinking on the connection between politics and art, especially on the changed role of the autonomy of art. Today, politics is chiefly a system of organized interests, of bureaucratically structured activities foreseen in advance and of organized and discursively conceptualized possibilities, which include various exercises in style in artistic freedom. According to Slavoj Žižek, we now live in a world where pseudo-activity rather than passivity poses the basic threat. Furthermore, politics almost comes across as an urgency, as a coercion into constant participation and activity:

"People constantly intervene, 'do something', academicians participate in senseless 'debates' etc., but what is really difficult is to get out of this current." (Žižek 2008, 173)

Žižek places this passivity in opposition to the contemporary political situation, which, like many other theorists, he terms post-political and in which we are faced with the reduction of politics to the expert management of social life.<sup>2</sup> Due to the fact that the only constant of today is the necessity to cover up the emptiness of what takes place, we are left with no other option than to follow the conclusion of Badiou's manifesto of affirmationism: "It is better not to do nothing than to contribute to the invention of formal ways of rendering visible that which Empire already recognises as existent." (Badiou 2005, 9)

### THE UNEASINESS OF PSEUDO-ACTIVE ART

Arising from this post-political situation is a profound uneasiness that overcomes us when discussing the contemporary relationship between politics and art. At first sight, the art of today seems insufficiently engaged, the artistic and creative powers seem more or less isolated from

<sup>1</sup> The text is first published in Slovenian language in: *Amfiteater* year 1, no. 1, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> The post-political state can be connected to the changes in post-industrial society. Many theorists state that the politics of today mainly consists of the bureaucratic organization of everyday interests (Rancière), politics without antagonisms (Mouffe) or is tightly connected with the changes in the mediatization of politics and economic and social changes (Baudrillard). We can also connect the post-political state with the theories of Negri and Hardt, where the post-political is connected with the role of non-material work, the dominance of the empire and the changes in the perception of class ideologies.

social contexts. It appears that, today, artistic freedom is proportionate to artistic unimportance. But isn't this very call to the politicization of art – the articulation of forums and conferences where politicization is discussed, of festivals that are being subtitled in this way, the connections between the politicalness and evaluation of artistic events, the differentiation between political and non-political generations – a sign of what Slavoj Žižek terms "pseudo-activity"? Isn't the art of today deeply ingrained into the manner of expertly managing social interests, a part of the contemporary urgency for ceaseless activity? Act, be active, participate, always be ready for the opposition, generate new ideas while constantly reflecting on your ways of production and paying attention to the contexts... Doesn't all that stand for the activity that profoundly defines the post-political time? In both visual art and the performing arts, political art is in good shape. On the one hand, we constantly need to make comments, be topical, research and rearticulate contexts; on the other hand, we need to reflect, be aware of the methods of our production, be critical, reflective, provocative, and different. As if art itself were but the production of critical deviations and comments that are increasingly already prepared through thematically oriented applications and discursive models of the artistic market. We can therefore say that the contemporary art market contexts – exhibitions, productions and festivals – are based on a critical meta-language where art frequently appears as an autonomous field of freedom, different views and provocative creativity.

It is characteristic of the post-political time that it no longer sees the traditional 20<sup>th</sup> century political artist, termed "the artist as party member" by Oliver Marchart. This artist sacrifices part of his autonomy for the good of heteronomy – i.e. renounces the autonomy of art for the benefit of politics. As an illustration, Marchart suggests a dyptichon by Immendorf: situated under the caption *Wo stehts du mit Deiner Kunst, Kollege?* is a painter in his studio, with political demonstrations taking place in front of his open door (Marchart 2006, 88-99). According to Marchart, the prevailing model of political artist from the historical avant-gardes till the end of the 1960s was someone that constantly challenged the limits of autonomy in favour of politics, someone who constantly demolished the borders between art and other activities, between art and life. Today, this kind of activity seems naive if not anachronistic; contemporary artistic practices are articulated in the direction of the market, with the emancipatory power of creativity becoming the driving force of capital – whether we like it or not. As Marchart states, we can do little but ascribe ideological blindness to an artist that decides on autonomous heteronomy because the party-member artist still believes into his own undiminished autonomy. In the world of politics as a spectacle, creative economy and capital, governed by institutionalized critical and political discourses, it is very hard to believe in the undiminished autonomy of the political artist, who presents his works at festivals of "political art" and gives rise to provocative art at globalized tourist biennials. Hence part of the disappointment in the artistic avant-garde and neo-avant-garde practices of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, also because their emancipatory power of liberating art and life goes well with the liberation power of capital: nowadays, creativity and artistic subjectivity are at the centre of the contemporary production of value. The political anachronism arising from this connection between the emancipatory power of art and the productive power of contemporary capital is well illustrated by the documentary on Living Theatre entitled *Resist* (2006), in which one of the founding members talks about the urgency of political action while lying comfortably on a sandy beach by the blue Italian sea. Such changes in late capitalist societies were also reflected in the 1970s development of tourism in Yugoslavia, which always oscillated between the East and the West in a rather schizophrenic manner and therefore remained an excellent example for the analysis of many symptoms of today's post-political time. At the 1970s opening of the new Haludovo hotel complex on the island of Krk, Belgrade television produced a documentary featuring the president of the Croatian Communist Party and the *Penthouse* magazine director, who had anchored his elegant yacht in the vicinity of the Krk island for this occasion. After the poorly dressed Yugoslav politician mumbling his speech, the *Penthouse* representative took the floor, sporting a dazzling white suit, a cigar and a bunch of semi-naked beauties lined up behind him. "These are the peace forces of the new world," he said, pointing at the ladies. His statement could not have been more accurate; it hits the nail on the head as far as the production of contemporary hedonism is concerned, rampant along with the export of democratic models.<sup>3</sup>

The contemporary marketing of freedom and the transfer of revolutionary themes from class struggle to the hedonistic entertainment industry resulted in today's art rarely being articulated along the lines of revolutionary utopias and the emancipatory thinking of the future. If this does take place, it is usually in the form of specific pragmatically usable suggestions. One of them, for

<sup>3</sup> The documentary *We are not selling Hollywood* (1973) was made by Dejan Karakljajić and Jovan Aćin. I saw it as part of the project of the Serbian visual artist Marko Lulić at the *Form Specific* exhibition (Ljubljana, 2001).

example, is that of Nicolas Bourriaud. In the early 1990s, he formed the concept of relational aesthetics to mark the new political character of visual art: [...] learning to inhabit the world in a better way, instead of trying to construct it based on a pre-conceived idea of historical evolution. Otherwise put, the role of artworks is no longer to form imaginary and utopian realities, but to actually be ways of living and models of action within the existing real, whatever the scale chosen by the artist. (Bourriaud 2002, 13)

This is a good description of the basis of the current politicization of art which has prevailed mainly in visual art, especially over the last decade. This kind of politicization takes place as the systematic establishment of situations and relations, whereby “the artist set his sights more and more clearly on the relations that his work will create among his public and on the invention of models and sociability”. (Bourriaud 2002, 28) It is therefore about inventing models of society and community, active participation and interaction, ways of meeting that constantly offers suggestions for various types of activities. Such politicization is closer to another important artistic position that appears chiefly at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, replacing the so-called party-member art. According to Marchart, we now frequently face “heteronomous autonomy” (Marchart 2006, 94) rather than autonomous heteronomy (Marchart 2006, 94). Today, this is the prevailing hegemonic model of art. It is therefore no longer about the party-member artist, torn between loyalty to art on the one hand and the party on the other. As Marchart states, artists now take the position of pseudo-autonomy; they are subjectivised as creative joint-stock personalities or functioning service monads. The artist is their own (autonomous) entrepreneur and employee at the same time. “Interestingly enough, these market subjects imagine themselves as totally autonomous in the moment of their greatest heteronomy, their utter dependence on the market.” (Marchart 2006, 99). If the politicization of art actually occurs, this is more or less to appease one’s conscience, drawing from the joint pile of existing references that are to be discarded and replaced by a more effective offer at the first opportunity. Although this kind of activity appears to be less anachronistic and more in accordance with the current social and political shifts, the basic political articulation is still dictated by the market. The politicization of artists is similar to that of contemporary creative industries. They articulate their ideas by forming contexts and communicative situations in advance where particular relations can take place safely and without antagonisms; this is where temporary communities can be formed, enabling the participation of various users, as well as a contingent and the free flow of various interests. It therefore seems that it is actually the prevailing heteronomy that Žižek terms “pseudo-activity”.

#### ART AND ANTAGONISM

None of the two prevailing ways of 20<sup>th</sup> century politicization, however, gives rise to impassable political antagonisms nowadays. Autonomous heteronomy is no longer the kind of politicization that can respond antagonistically to contemporary political reality. The party-member artist no longer has a field of activity; we could say they actually exist without a party. Their actions do not establish the potential for different political communities and ways of co-existence; today, it is no longer important which side the artists sacrifice their autonomy for, leaving art in order to set up a political community. At the end of 2007, Slovenian theatre saw a very interesting attempt to re-topicalize the avant-garde political stance in *Raztrganci/Učenci in učitelji* (*Ragged People/Pupils and Teachers*), a performance directed by Sebastijan Horvat. Not only did the engaged rendition of Matej Bor’s agitation play take a direct stance on topical political events (especially toward the World War Two partisan movement in Slovenia and the current attempts to rehabilitate Nazi-sympathizing White Guard members), but also connected all this with the universal progressive values of resistance and radical affirmation, attempting to restore some forgotten utopian 20<sup>th</sup> century themes. Director Sebastijan Horvat purposely staged *Raztrganci* as an agitation for specific values, choosing the form along the same lines – an almost realistic agitation theatre performance that attempts to affirm the utopia of a more engaged world through a clear narrative about the incongruous oppositions of good and evil. However, there is a paradox in such autonomous heteronomy, where art indirectly appeals to yet addresses a group of people that has already been formed or “subjectivised”: a similar effect could be achieved if the political subject targeted by the performance were on the opposite side of the political spectrum. An agitation and production based on the other political perspective and foundations could have been equally successful. The politicization of art by abandoning artistic autonomy in order to establish progressive and engaged politics no longer has a direct effect in the post-political world because the artistic market offers various possibilities of political choice. The spectator communities established through these choices are not articulated through a political subjectivisation difficult and full of contradictions – even if some spectators do feel an inclination towards a more engaged

activity while watching the aforementioned production. Quite the opposite: the spectator communities are mainly articulated as pre-established moral communities that are formed along the dividing line between good and evil, where one’s friends are separated from one’s enemies. Today, the need for engaged theatre and art can frequently be discussed along the lines of what Chantal Mouffe terms “politics in the register of morality”. (Mouffe 2006, 72) Her hypothesis is that, due to the disappearing of constitutive antagonism (which forms the essence of the political), political discourse is replaced by moral discourse within the post-political perspective. It is not that politics has been replaced by morality or that it has become more moral, but that it takes place though the register of morality. Political antagonisms are created as moral categories with which contemporary communities identify and thus get established in an imaginary way. It is no longer about the antagonism between those addressed by political articulations – between “us and them” as bearers of certain articulations and manners of political subjectivisation. As Chantal Mouffe states, instead of a fight between the left and the right, we nowadays have a fight between those in the right and those in the wrong. (Mouffe 2006, 72-76) “Instead of being constructed in political terms, the we/they opposition constitutive of politics is now constructed according to moral categories of ‘good’ versus ‘evil’.” (Mouffe 2006, 75)

Therefore, the position of art seems helpless from the perspective of heteronomous autonomy as well, especially because artistic subjectivity is now at the centre of new models of creativity. Not only does art frequently function as an autonomous space of freedom, it also participates within a network of pre-established models of criticality and reflexivity, as a sort of “politicisation with reason” or a choice between ready-made discourse possibilities. In contemporary performing arts, at least in the wider European space, it was held for a decade or so that the political was actually part of the form, in the way we make art and thereby answer the question of what art is. From the middle of the 1990s onwards, through the practices of authors like Jérôme Bel, Xavier Le Roy, Boris Charmatz, and in Slovenia especially Janez Janša (ex Emil Hrvatin), Maja Delak, Sebastijan Horvat, and Mare Bulc, politicality was understood through an endless questioning and critique of the theatre apparatus itself and the relation to the audience. According to Bojana Cvejič, such questioning formed some kind of new representation regime, which forms the tautological character of the performative. Here, the performance always questions and addresses the spectator in their role, “the performance is interrogating the spectator in her role: it’s looking back at her, asking her to reflect upon her history, her taste, her capacity to perceive, the frames of references she should mobilize in order to be able to read the performance.” (Cvejič, 3) It is about the problematic status of post-modern theory, which becomes a sort of “self-referential speech act”, questioning the role of the spectator and revealing theatre in the role of the dispositive. This self-referentiality or constant research into one’s own conditions of production is at the centre of understanding the contemporary post-political and pseudo-activity. Today, the fact that formed the basis of Benjamin’s concept of political art at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is radically changed. In his famous essay *Author as Producer* (1934), Benjamin rejects any kind of instrumentalization of art for political purposes, stating that art is only political in the manner in which it observes the conditions of its own production; this means that it is aware of the production relationships in which it is generated and works towards emancipating these conditions. But this emancipation of one’s production conditions, the constant reflection on the models and protocols of production, is tightly connected to the contemporary models of production in the post-industrialized era. The creative solutions, the reflections on management hierarchies and non-material work forms constantly put the author as producer into the very centre. From this perspective, we can even more accurately understand the contemporary post-political powerlessness of the artistic creator, constantly oscillating between various discursive models of specialized contexts shaped by curated contemporary festivals and many open ways of production that have seen market success.

#### THE POLITICAL AS POTENTIALITY

Since contemporary post-politics renounces the constitutive dimension of the political, many philosophers see the political as within a deep caesura that, according to Chantal Mouffe, takes place as an ontic/ontological difference. She therefore proposes a differentiation between “politics” and “the political”; politics concerns daily political practices within which order is created while the political concerns the manner of constituting society with antagonism as an essential characteristic. The difference between politics and the police is also discussed by Rancière. According to him, the police is “organised as a set of procedures whereby the aggregation and consent of collectivities is achieved, the organisation of powers, the distribution of the places



and roles, and the system of legitimising this distribution.” (Rancière 1998, 28) Contrary to that, politics is an activity that breaks up this unity of processes and interferes with the orderly configuration of the sensual. Therefore, *[P]olitics is the very conflict over the existence of that space, over the designation of objects as pertaining to the common and of subjects as having the capacity of a common speech it is first and foremost a conflict regarding the scene in common, regarding the existence and status of those who are present there* (Rancière 2009, 24).

Although this difference, as established by philosophers when they want to think politically, could also be ascribed to the philosophical separation of the notion from its actuality in order to reveal its essence, this is not the main reason for it. This kind of differentiation between politics and the political itself – in order to return to its constitutive dimension – is also a consequence of something that is directly revealed to us through the speech act practice in the film by the British artist Carey Young. It is not about living in a post-political world; this *post-* addition actually springs from the considerably more difficult option of creating ways of reality through which communities are established. We cannot ignore the fact that the political affects people’s communities. The simple fact that, when we want to talk about the political, we quickly encounter problems with the language (in which we articulate the political and life’s ways of being), points to the problem discussed by Giorgio Agamben: the exploitation of the life forms of what is common to mankind establishes the social conditions of capitalism. Agamben states that language is one of the basic forms of the communal. By means of language, people have always been able to realise themselves in terms of the truest path of human existence: they have been able to materialize their own essence as a possibility or potentiality (Agamben). The inability to realise one’s own essence or potentiality, which springs from the exploitation of the life forms of the communal, experiences its apotheosis in the democratic spectacle of organizing activity and interests. If we wish to think the political in relation to art beyond the caesura and actually connect art with the essence of the political, then what primarily needs to be reflected on is the post-political approach, where “the political is truly in shape” or, we might even say, in vogue. The different approach is no longer just a consequence of the perspective that there is always something that needs to be deconstructed, for example the theatrical apparatus, the spectator or the context. Today, this protocol frequently comes across as politically ineffective, especially when we reflect on the political in the direction of insoluble antagonism. This means that we need to profoundly reflect on the status of so-called critical art, which has become one of the most important ways for art to connect with the forms of contemporary life and take political stances. Critical art today continues the active, progressive political role of avant-garde art without actually having a proper addressee. Art may provoke, show different views, warn and take critical stances, but there are few cases where it interferes with ways of being in such a radical manner that it can actually open possibilities for the life that lies ahead. It can be topical, but rarely does that topicality actually shatter the form through which it is established.

The new political impact could therefore be sought in “the manner in which art situations are generated with the presupposition that the ability to take action in art is wider than the institutional ways of art, shaped in advance in an extremely wide range of forms”. (Cvejić, 4) According to Rancière, the relationship between politics and art is not a relationship between two separate partners. Art brings to politics what the latter already contains: art makes visible the division of the sensible, an articulation of the political field that is closely connected to the being of the community (Rancière 1998, 60-65). The basic question regarding the relationship between politics and art therefore does not concern the autonomy of art and how it is subordinated to politics, but especially the antagonistic and the inevitable place of the communal, which concerns the possible material and sensory ways of life that is yet to come. Here, art is closely connected with the questions on the conditions and possibilities of life itself and touches on the disclosure of the potential modes of common reality. Art is therefore not articulated within the discursive texts of self-referentiality and critical distance to itself, but directly challenges and demolishes a colourful range of contexts in which it appears and becomes visible; at the same time, it does not agree to the unique reduction of art to a moral and didactic stance. Art is a mode of life, opening up life’s sensory and aesthetic power, the ways yet to come. It is those ways that radically change the conditions of community life, the intensity of co-being and the existing paths of subjectivisation. Here, we can agree with Rancière that politics does not consist of relations of power, it consists of the relationships between worlds. (Rancière 1998, 57) In this sense, the political subjectivisation that can take place in theatre, for instance, is not the recognizing of the community as it already is, of recognizing those who are right or the things we have in common. Subjectivisation gives rise to a certain new multitude that calls for a different kind of enumeration. Political subjectivisation divides anew the experiential field though which everyone’s identity and share has

been bestowed. (Rancière 1998, 57) Every subjectivisation is therefore also a disidentification, a painful and paradoxical process of being torn out of the place of usual political order. The history of 20<sup>th</sup> century art offers plenty of such suggestions, though they frequently fell victim to the unification of institutional critical discourses and the wrong impression that discursiveness was at the core of every radical emancipatory practice. It is not so by a long way. Let me just enumerate a few such cases, each of which would require further argumentation, but let me leave them as suggestions at this point. Merzbau, the architectural construction by Kurt Schwitters, the mushroom picking by John Cage, the collective work by the OHO group, the autonomy of material practice by Joseph Beuys, the affective theatre practice by the Forced Entertainment group, the aesthetisation of the protocols of multitude in the performance *Slovenian National Theatre* by Janez Janša (formerly Emil Hrvatin), the suggestions of different community and technological protocols, especially in artistic internet practices, as well as scientific and technological research in art (for example *Makrolab* by Marko Peljhan), ways of self-education and productions that transgress the established methods of institutionalization. In all these cases, we are not only faced with more or less sharpened suggestions for life, but also with rebellion against the appropriation of life in general. We could therefore connect art with disclosing and articulating the conditions for the life that is yet to come, as well as with the sensory, affective and representational suggestions and possibilities that, by being disclosed, profoundly shatter the conditions for art itself as they are articulated regardless of the existing relations of power.

#### POST-SCRIPTUM FROM 2011

This article was first published in 2008, so I would like to add a few more thoughts in conclusion. At a time when the position on contemporary art and theatre is being radicalized in numerous European states, especially in terms of the negative attitude towards its value and role in the public sphere, at a time of the growing opinion that art should not be supported by the state because it has no effect on the public, it is the more intriguing to think about the possible “politicisations” of art. Interestingly, after two decades of “political art” and the constant transgression of the border between art and life, art has found itself facing a deep crisis in terms of articulating its value and social role. Although we have been confronted with numerous engaged, political and critical artistic projects over the last two decades, these projects remain without effect because of their pseudo-activity. They have not broken through and intervened in the public sphere in terms of shaping and demanding their own language therein. The political powerlessness of art is especially apparent in the topical discussions on the public role of art that have been taking place over the last year in the Netherlands (where contemporary art has been confronted with a radical restructuring of public financing). In this case, contemporary art has been subject to populist reproaches denoting it as “leftist elitism” and an activity that has no public interest, role or influence to speak of, with artists supported by the state and comfortably protected in their alleged “laziness” from the self-regulating and dynamic market. Although one can recognise some classic arguments resurfacing that belong to the moral register (especially the one about artists not working), they need to be re-thought more carefully. It is important to recognise that the arguments against subsidizing art are part of the populist and neoliberal rhetoric aiming to profoundly reevaluate, even erase any articulation of the communal and community in contemporary society. In this populist corporate language, art should be left to the decisions of “free” individuals on the market who will choose (buy) what they like or what suits them best, making connections in accordance with their own individual desires (in which the seeming rationality of choice is never questioned). In this way, art is reduced to the result of individual choice rather than something in the common good. Even beyond this, in the light of populist rhetoric, any support and cultivation of the good is viewed as political elitism, an engaged leftist circle. The problem is complex; on the one hand, this populist argument demands a radical reevaluation of the public and, on the other, points out the essence of the problematic politicisation of the art over the last two decades. Although the art of this period has been interested in political activity all along, it has been radically detached from the political public sphere together with this interest. Many people active in the art field who nowadays face political pressures and radical financial cuts to art-related subsidies and support on all fronts, often see common interest as equating to economic value. Part of the arguments for the support of art is often that art forms an important part of the economy and contemporary creative industries. Although it is possible up to a point to use the opponent’s language wisely in political argumentation, this argument is entirely wrong and does not affirm the value of artistic activity as such. Art does not have an economic value precisely because we can never evaluate the suggestions for being-together, which are generated regardless of the existing web of power. Affirming art by using the language of the economy is another unfortunate consequence of its “political” pseudo-activity; perhaps the time is coming when the

most radical politicization of art will be that of radical detachment from any economic value so that new articulations of the community can be revealed. This detachment also brings invisibility, but also a potential power whose visibility cannot be seen as yet. To put it more precisely: the very politicization of art in the last two decades can be read as a sort of symptom of the disappearing public sphere or, according to Boris Buden, the fact that society is disappearing. Art deals with social problems and is constantly pseudo-active because the social is disappearing and we live at a time of radical powerlessness in terms of establishing the kind of realities in which people's communities would be articulated. If we wish to really talk about political art, we need to reveal its relation to the communal. Through this perspective, we also need to rethink the social and political value of art, which is closely connected to the perception, recognition and establishment of the visibility of what we now have and will have in common in the future.

Translated from Slovenian by Urška Zajec

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# THE ART OF SLOGANS (THE PERFORMATIVE PART)

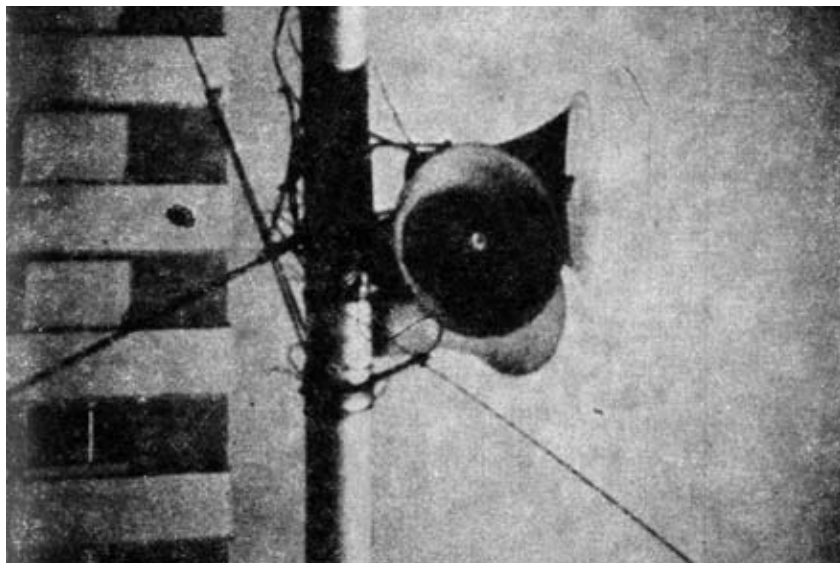
SEZGIN BOYNIK

## 1. SLOGANS ACCORDING TO DUŠAN MAKAVEJEV

*Art cannot be politically kicked around and whoever tries to do it will break his legs.  
And those who did broke their legs.*

Dušan Makavejev, quoted by Bora Ćosić in *Sodoma i Gomora* (Sodom and Gomorrah), 1984

Slogans, explicit or implicit, are probably the most frequent form of expression that Dušan Makavejev uses in his films. They are so full of all kinds of statements, declarations, directives, blurts, and other types of performative speech acts, that one may well argue that slogans constitute both the form and content of Makavejev's films. To begin, this proliferation of slogans contains a special association to "socialism" usually connected with the language of bureaucratic decrees. Typically, this comes as a part of a general belief that slogans, as a product of collective ideologies (with the socialist ideology as the most enduring one), stand in direct opposition to ordinary human communication. To penetrate into the historiography of this line of reception, we would have to deconstruct the entire apparatus of Cold War ideological discourse, which is still with us. But for now, it will suffice to say that these non-communicative aspects of slogans constitute the elements of the *ideology* of Makavejev's slogans. It is not an exaggeration to claim that Makavejev's slogans have a formally important role in suturing his film work. It is this *suturing* effect of slogans that I want to address here. It is clear that this effect has a very ideological function (for example, that of unifying contradictory elements into a single consistent narrative), but at the same time, the role of slogans in this suturing process grounds the tension that is elementary in producing the conditions that are necessary for any political performance, the ultimate goal of which is collective emancipation. In this text I will try to insist on an even further intensification of this political performance, by looking at possibilities of un-suturing slogans. To lay out the complex nature of slogans, we must begin by addressing their formal (in our case even epistemic) nature. My position here is that in socialist theory and practice (historical materialism), slogans possess all the elements necessary for constituting a critical theory of language and action, which will consequently help us to understand the role of art and politics in this theorisation. To get to this formal or theoretical aspect of slogans, one must begin by criticising their narrow or ideological elements, or, more precisely, the practical and everyday use of slogans, which is a fashionable critical manoeuvre in many critiques of socialist theory and practice.



"Loudspeakers, which only transmit decrees, orders, and resolutions", in *Enver Hadžina Albanija* [Enver Hoxha's Albania], Tanjug news agency, Belgrade, 1981.

Probably the most extreme version of this anti-slogan approach in criticising real-socialist regimes is commonly applied in the case of the Socialist Republic of Albania. According to this interpretation, communication among ordinary men and women was completely imbued with abstract and alienated slogans, which in the socialist Albania penetrated every pore of one's living being. Usually, Albanian communism is described as a place of decrees, slogans, and orders, which continuously harassed both the souls and bodies of its population. It is hardly surprising, then, that the title of the first successful auteur or independent film made in the post-socialist Albania was *Slogans*. Directed by Gjergj Xhuvani in 2001, *Slogans* tells the story of the good-hearted people of Albania who happily submit to the foreign element of socialism (the slogans) without acknowledging the supposed meanings of these condensed thoughts. It is a familiar story of misunderstanding, so dear to the intellectual atmosphere of post-socialist intellectuals, which ends with a real (tragic?) story of human relations interwoven with endless comedy situations. Regarding not only Albania but the entire former Eastern Bloc in general, the accommodation of its socialist past in today's cinematic and artistic imagery is based on the following anti-slogan ideology/assumption: slogans are far from everyday reality, they are alienated utterances that belong in the linguistic domain of bureaucracy and ideology. The constant reproduction of this same old story of Cold War ideology is common to all artistic interpretations of the socialist past, which is now making, due to the independent institutional context (multi-capital co-productions, independent film festivals, etc.), an even more subtle and successful impact on "democratic" audiences.<sup>1</sup>

Already in the early 1960s, Makavejev was writing about this issue in relation to filming or documenting the ultimate practice of socialist collectivism known as the youth work action (*radna akcija*):

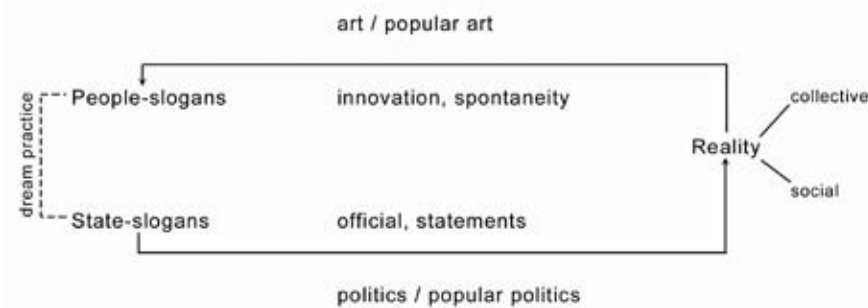
It is impossible to make documentary films about youth work actions without including the slogans. I decided, then, *not to escape the slogans*. I had to approach them, to hear them, and to understand their inner meaning. This is the task that we [i.e., film makers] must undertake now in a more general fashion. (Makavejev 1965, 36)

Referring especially to slogans chanted in collective actions such as youth work actions, Makavejev was underscoring here the ambivalent nature of these proclamations as manifestations of sensual as well as ironic gestures. Because of this ambivalent nature of slogans used in socialist practice, Makavejev proposed a new slogan, a slogan for a new cultural policy of the new socialist Yugoslavia: a new work duty - to read the writings of comrade Oskar Davičo!

As a pre-war surrealist, a prominent member of the National Liberation Movement during the war, and an important writer, editor, and cultural-policy maker after the war, Davičo was an interesting choice. This slogan, which also refers to the historical ambivalences of Davičo's writings, or to the much acclaimed ambivalence of Serbian surrealist writings between sensuousness, irrationality, political commitment, playfulness, and concrete antagonisms, constitutes the most serious textual influence on Makavejev's artistic work. In a few words it is the contradiction of a situation that induces the necessity of uttering a slogan on ambivalence. According to Makavejev, the reality (or the index of various social realities) of the Socialist Yugoslavia was contradictory. It is a reality that he describes as an "everyday Dadaism" (Makavejev 1965, 53) and a "spontaneous Dada of modern urban folklore" (Makavejev 1965, 54). Reminding us of Gramsci's optimistic conceptions of the raw, materialist, contradictory, and rebellious common sense of the proletariat, he also provides many examples of this strange Dadaist reality, drawing them mostly from the "transitional" social realm of mass-media popular (or folk) culture. As I tried to show elsewhere (Boynik 2011, 12-15), Makavejev's worldview of Yugoslav socialism was neither naïve nor idealist; rather, he developed a very complex position on the issue of cultural policy, which in turn informed his film-making in general. Here one must briefly note that for Makavejev there were always two realities in the Socialist Yugoslavia: the one based on the official representation of the State and the other, which can be described as the unofficial or unorthodox reality of the People. Accordingly, these two worlds developed their own respective collections of slogans. At this point we can already recognise that Makavejev was somehow aware, if only intuitively, that slogans and language have

<sup>1</sup> In the sleeve notes to his LP *Albanian Summer* (performed by Jan Steele and Janet Sherbourne, Practical Music No. 2, 1984), Dave Smith, an English avant-garde composer who worked with Cornelius Cardew, Gavin Byars, and Christian Wolff, among others, describes the situation in Albania as one of a "real material, social and cultural progress", in which the "communist government enjoys an almost unanimous support from its people". He also cites the kinds of music he was able to hear on the radio in Albania during 1973 - folk music, compositions, "light" music, and revolutionary songs - no mention of Tanjug's nightmarish Orwellian dystopic loudspeakers constantly blaring the same slogans and orders.

very determined structural causalities. The antagonisms of these two distinct worlds of slogans were the driving force of Yugoslavia's contradictions. Makavejev's decision not to escape the slogans initially referred to the slogans of the People, about which "the newspapers were not writing much" (Makavejev 1965, 34), not to the ubiquitous slogans of the State. Examples of these People's slogans vary from the sensuous (such as "Long live Dara the Nigger" painted by a Belgrade secondary-school youth-work-action brigade in letters as big as those used in the "Everybody to the polling stations" official slogan) and spontaneous (such as "A lončići a lončići u red u red u red bum bum aaaaaa!" / "And pots and pots into the line into the line boom boom aaaaaah", chanted by the Osijek brigade) to surrealist (such as the five-foot-tall lower case letter "a" painted in one of the barracks of a youth camp). Their common characteristics include rhyming, their potential for different variables and language distortions, their grounding in primitive expressions and frequent connotations of music and various sounds. Makavejev describes the complex structure of the People's slogans as an "interest toward things fresh, alive, and strange", an interest of an "ordinary character", the peculiar function of which is the "demystification of all possible slogans" (Makavejev 1965, 37). A digression must be made here, to consider the emancipatory possibilities of these two dichotomous types of slogans. Makavejev does not oppose the State slogans (such as "Long live comrade Tito" or "Long live Brotherhood and Unity") to the People's slogans as the utterances of a supposedly free creative individuality or expressions of an emancipated self-realisation. Both kinds of slogans are *collective* and social; the key difference between them concerns their respective geneses. In other words, the State slogans were conceived behind closed doors, under the strict censorship of the Party; with their elitism, they were in direct contrast to the People's slogans, which were spontaneous, direct, down-to-earth, and considerably more imaginative.<sup>2</sup> This imaginative moment, which Makavejev in another text describes as *Dream-Practice*, constitutes the real emancipatory potential of the People's slogans. It is the collective spontaneous pragmatic language of a new reality that is the stuff of these slogans, a reality that could only be verbalised through slogans: "we live in a reality that is more innovative than dreams... we are able to invite, as Mayakovski did, the sun for tea!" (Makavejev 1965, 29). Considering that this reality is a product of innovative labour of previous generations, now reified as the State, Makavejev quotes the most oxymoronic and paradoxical slogan, inscribed by the side of Highway 60: "Let us overcome our fathers so we can be their equals!" (Makavejev 1965, 29)



One can glean from the above that the world of slogans comprised two separate configurations, the People's slogans and the State slogans, which never came together, but were connected through the nature of their shared "reality", which carried social and collective attributes. These different slogans related to this reality in different ways. It is obvious that State slogans, with their force, decrees, and statements, participated in the construction of this reality (e.g., the participation of the communists in the National Liberation Struggle was a force that generated a different, socialist Yugoslavia), which in turn shaped the conditions for the production of the People's slogans (e.g., collective youth work actions and policies of mass education are direct consequences of socialist politics). Apart from these conditions, the "reality" had no direct influence on the production of the People's slogans. These slogans were an independent and spontaneously generated set of practices that appeared to be an intrinsic part of the universal human condition called creativity. Makavejev's world of slogans can be divided into two fields: the political and the artistic. In that division, politics would be the field of State slogans and art the field of the People's slogans. Also, Makavejev distinguished between

<sup>2</sup> Stating that imaginative solutions in youth work actions are beneficial for the "social health" of youth, Makavejev apparently felt obliged to clarify, perhaps owing to the fascist connotations of the term, that he borrowed that statement from the American Marxist (?) Erich Fromm.

those two fields by their respective degrees of appropriation (for example, the popular politics of the partisans becomes reified and appropriated by Party "politics", just as the popular art of collective youth could be distorted in the form of pure or high "art"). Even if this subdivision may not be entirely arbitrary for our purposes, it will be better to concentrate here on the main division in this world, that between politics and art. It seems that those two fields, with their respective sets of actions (art = innovation, creativity; politics = force, decrees), are completely detached from each other. State slogans are not influenced or impacted by those of the People. Makavejev's proposal in his theory of slogans is most clearly manifested in his elaboration of the concept of "dream-practice", which offers a clue for the renewal of this alienated system. Or, in more straightforward terms, to add "innovation", "imagination", "spontaneity", and some "surrealism" to State slogans. It is related to a creative change in the language of politics; or, one could say to the making of "artful politics". Makavejev introduced the concept of dream-practice in order to stabilise the antagonisms between politics and art; this schema makes it clear that even if the role of "art" *post facto* concerns this refreshment of social circulation (the reason might be as banal and optimistically affirmative as "social health"), its existence matters the most in the constitution of this world of "creativity". This schema does not offer any clues as to how and under what conditions this dream-practice (which has an artistic character) occurs: in the end, it concerns a pure intrusion of artistic elements (such as spontaneity) into politics. Certain elements that are common to both worlds, such as the "collective", "social", and the "popular", are concepts that enable this intrusion, which, in the last instance, serves to enable the appropriation of politics by means of the elements of art.

## 2. THE STUTTERING SLOGANS OF DELEUZE AND GUATTARI

*O-o-o ... The Language of the Working Class is Uni-ve-er-er-sal;  
Its Lyricism Lightens the Heart-art-art-tt  
Art & Language, Singing Man, 1975*

Associating Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari with the problematic of "language" by means of slogans and suggesting that these slogans "stutter" might seem a very perverse provocation. Deleuze, who was very much against the "language turn" in philosophy, advanced, in fact, some rather strong claims regarding language, which directly related to his overall philosophical conceptions. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari open the chapter on the "Postulates of Linguistics" with the following assertion: the elementary unit of language – the statement – is the order-word (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 76). "Order-word", which is a translation of the French *mot d'ordre*, means "slogan". So, the elementary unit of language is the slogan. This assertion, itself a theory slogan or a transmission of a theoretical statement, is crucial in understanding the importance of the performative in speech. Only through this performative act may language, consisting of elements of slogans, leave its idealist associations behind and entirely move into the world of action. This was Deleuze and Guattari's starting point: to overcome the idea that language is all about information and communication (or what J. L. Austin called the "descriptive fallacy") and to reach a more subtle and at the same time pragmatic and political theory of language. In this world, language as "the set of all order-words, implicit presuppositions, or speech acts current in a language at a given moment" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 79) is by definition the transmission of collective utterances. Or, as Deleuze and Guattari explain, there is no such thing as individual enunciation. Rather, every enunciation has a "necessarily social character" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 80). In other words, every enunciation is a *collective assemblage*. If language boils down to the transmission of slogans, which are collective and social, as Makavejev tells us, then it makes ample sense to presuppose that language is based on collective enunciations. It is at various moments of declarations and statements, usually pregnant with a political character (such as 20 November 1923, the date cited in the title of the chapter on linguistics, when the authorities of Germany *declared* that the Reichsmark no longer constituted money in that country; according to Deleuze and Guattari, that declaration was an order-word with a political character) that we are constituted as subjects with no possibility of individual enunciation. Every utterance is collective; even "I love you", typically considered the most intimate and individual of utterances, is, according to Deleuze and Guattari, a declaration of a collective character. Or, to put it more interestingly, every declaration of love is a slogan. Here, we are still in the same field of Makavejev's slogans of youth, full of love and passion, which in their collective rejoicing make the most beautiful and sensuous of slogans, belonging to everyone. But this is only a seeming similarity; in their scheme, Deleuze and

Guattari have no need for extrapolation in order to collectivise slogans. By contrast, as we saw above, Makavejev did postulate the need for an extra – that is, political – field, the role of which was to ensure the conditions of production for spontaneous and amorous slogans. In Deleuze and Guattari – and this is the best part of their theory of order-words – the “amorous” situations, various arts, and “ordinary daily conversation” (or more simply the “ordinary” in Makavejev) are themselves political. The way we enunciate language, through its slogan elements (that is, collective and social), makes all our “cultural” acts necessarily political. At the same time, this suggestion implies that the art field of slogans needs no “reality” to materialise them in it; rather, their immanence is the sole factor or force of their materialisation.

In order to avoid any possible implications of “banality” in the arts (e.g., equating ordinary language with art-language), Deleuze and Guattari propose the concept of “incorporeal transformation”. It is this concept that makes things complicated; the concept of slogans as collective assemblages that guaranteed the materiality of language (and art) is now seemingly dematerialised in this new dynamic concept of incorporeal transformation. Notwithstanding their role in saving art from everyday banality, incorporeal transformations at the same time abolish the autonomy and stratification of the field of politics. Just as the declaration that the *Reichsmark* was no longer money made it no longer money, so the act of hijacking an airplane occurs when the hijackers declare that the plane has been hijacked; or, in Deleuze and Guattari’s explanation: “the transformation of the passengers into hostages, and of the plane-body into a prison-body, is an instantaneous incorporeal transformation” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 81). Given Deleuze and Guattari’s aversion toward metaphors, we must take these things seriously: an incorporeal transformation is a non-material effect with a concrete figuration. In this theory, slogans constitute the most powerful kind of utterances or declarations, which brings incorporeal transformation to its most effective. It is at this point that Deleuze and Guattari invoke Lenin’s theory of slogans, which, according to them, constitutes an incorporeal transformation of the new proletarian class. In his text *On Slogans*, which he wrote in 1917 whilst hiding somewhere in Finland, Lenin asserted that every slogan had its time of validity. For example, the slogan “All Power to the Soviets” was valid only from 27 February to 4 July 1917. Deleuze and Guattari take this as an account of the ultimately pragmatic implications of utterances (order-words), which imply constant variables and different configurations. In more direct terms, they argue that slogans are declarations with temporal political effectuality valid only in appropriate conditions. But herein lies the problem: if slogans are the elementary units of language and if, reciprocally, language is the transmission of slogans, then how may one distinguish ordinary language from political language, which initiates transformations in the existing ordinary structure? Since Deleuze and Guattari make no distinction between “just” slogans and those that are more than “just” slogans, one may claim that order-words, slogans, and declarations are those elements that secure the omnipresence of politics by means of their ultimate pragmatism. As a consequence of this, any politics that becomes present everywhere ends up denying/annihilating itself. In this theory, there is no place for an exclusive or distinct political field; rather, incorporeal transformations occur through the immanence of language pragmatism. This is why Lenin’s theory of slogans with its pragmatism, transformation, and ad hoc character is so dear to Deleuze and Guattari: it places language into the field of effectivity and force (seeing it as more than just communicating information) and introduces new elements into it. For example, Lenin argues for the necessity of a *new slogan* to replace the old, reified slogan of the Bolshevik party. It seems that what Deleuze and Guattari find really exciting in Lenin is this element of the *new*, even more than his theorisation of slogans. Only by introducing a new language (or a new set of order-words) is it possible to initiate an incorporeal transformation. Its unprecedented character is one of the possibilities for announcing this new element – which for Lenin was the crucial element in his theory; see, for instance, Lenin’s “April Theses”, which he wrote at the same time as “On Slogans”; in the respective cases of the replacement of the Reichsmark and the hijacking of an airplane, discussed above, the respective declarations (that the Reichsmark is no longer money and that the airplane has been hijacked) would constitute that new element. But, as Deleuze and Guattari would no doubt remind us, these new elements or changes must happen without any extrapolation, inside the immanence of language. Here we arrive to the theory of the stuttering of language, which introduces a completely new configuration of utterance and the possibility of a new pragmatics, which they named metamorphosis. The stuttering of language is a very strange notion, which should be, again, understood as a non-metaphorical and concrete novelty. Deleuze and Guattari make it clear that this incorporeal change will

not happen in the sphere of everyday (or a major) language (or set of slogans): it is only possible in metamorphosing, stuttering, stammering, deconstructing, or in minor languages. Obviously enough, this definition of slogans did not come from Lenin, but his insistence on novelty, transformation, and pragmatism does have certain similarities with it. It seems that this element of incorporeal transformation is somehow artistic in nature. If we look at Deleuze and Guattari’s own examples of this transformation in language, we will see that they all come from avant-garde art: the writings of Beckett and Gherasim Luca, music by Dieter Schnebel or Luciano Berio, films by Godard or Carmelo Bene are all examples of works that make “language itself stammer” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 98). These are moments when language completely transforms itself and because it has this immanent force in its slogan elements, of which it consists, then any transformation in language will also impact (imply) a transformation of the world. But this will not happen all by itself. This is the main difference between Makavejev’s and Deleuze and Guattari’s respective conceptions of artistic slogans. In Makavejev, artistic slogans spontaneously emerge from the collective being of ideological materialist conditions and are by their nature opposed to the reified ordinary world. This was possible in Makavejev’s world, as we might remember, only through the element of the “popular” as immanent both to the political and the artistic fields, and always having an attribute of immersing creativity. In Deleuze and Guattari, by contrast, this element does not exist; the transformation of language (i.e., the set of slogans) will not happen by itself, but must be induced by working on language, or, to put it more clearly, by consciously working on language (which sometimes might imply even non-verbal variables). Deleuze and Guattari even outline a policy for this transformation: opposing legislation by constants, not prohibiting metamorphoses, refusing to give figures clear and stable contours, not setting forms in binary oppositions... (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 107). By the end of their chapter on language it becomes clear that slogans are impenetrable in this theory of incorporeal transformation. With their overall associations or relations to normative politics (all those “do-not’s” prescribed by Deleuze and Guattari), slogans present obstacles to a full realisation of metamorphoses; so instead of order-words, Deleuze and Guattari propose pass-words, which are beneath order-words *qua* organised and stratified compositions (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 110). So, whereas in Makavejev politics is to be made artful and exist separately from art, in Deleuze and Guattari it disappears by becoming art. Jean-Jacques Lecercle, who wrote a book-length study on Deleuze and language, understood this theoretical problem, or contradiction, as he calls it, in the same way as a disposition of the performativity of language. If Deleuze’s theory of language interprets utterance mostly by means of Leninist concepts of materialist elements, pragmatism, force, and the decentralisation of the subject into collective enunciations, how may one, then, connect this set of norms to the high-modernist avant-garde deconstruction of language (Lecercle 2002, 219)? Or more precisely, how may one combine the structure and coherence of slogans with the stutter of the avant-garde? Or, how does one combine politics with art? This would not be so much of a contradiction for Lecercle if he did not, in his problematisation of Deleuze (by “Deleuze” he really means “Deleuze and Guattari”), place slogans at the core of his theory of language. Since to “communicate is not to co-operate but to claim and ascribe places in a power game, an agonistic exchange”, as Lecercle explains, then force and pragmatism constitute the most important aspects of this philosophy. Lecercle accordingly concludes that “the most notorious expression of this philosophy of forces is the question of slogans, of *mots d’ordre*” (Lecercle 2002, 169). Apart from adding the elements of force and materiality, slogans at the same time allow us to conceptualise language as entirely collective and indirect (i.e., the assemblages) (Lecercle 2002, 172). This conceptualisation also has a political character itself. But, Lecercle warns, this political character of slogans is not restricted to *political and historical events* but may be found everywhere in daily life (Lecercle 2002, 172). This clearly means that politics occurs not only in political and historical events, but also in language and utterance itself. As Lecercle puts it, in what almost sounds like a linguistic slogan, “Language is made up of sedimented slogans”. This notion of sedimentation is important in understanding the Deleuzian conception of language; since assemblages are a crucial element of this strand of linguistics and make the best examples of the sedimentation of collective enunciation (i.e., “assemblage is described as a mode of segmentation”, Lecercle 2002, 186–187) then it seems that slogans and assemblages are similar in nature. If the policy of Deleuze’s “new pragmatics” is a de-sloganisation of language (or changing order-words to pass-words), then de-assemblage is its necessary conclusion. Or as Lecercle wittily puts it, the ultimate Deleuzian slogan would be: Always experiment with assemblages! (Lecercle 2002, 185–186) This is a very arbitrary definition of slogans; it sounds like a tautology: Our slogan is always to experiment with slogans!

This conclusion makes it apparent that in Deleuze slogans are those conceptual elements that make thought practical or pragmatic; or, one could say that they perform the trick of justifying the practical aspects of a theoretical practice. Now at last may we fully understand the contradiction or tension that Lecercle has identified in Deleuze: slogans are political, but in order to have any real political effect, they must disappear (or eliminate their contours and stable figurations). Only in experimentation may the performativity of language flourish to its full potential. So a real metamorphosis, pass-words, or re-assemblages, or even de-sloganisation can be expressed, as Lecercle puts it, by parodying the famous feminist slogan: the artistic is political. As Lecercle admits at the very end of his book, this is “an avant-garde position: the avant-garde artist as revolutionary” (Lecercle 2002, 246).

This conclusion, which is similar to mine, has but one very serious strategic problem: it enables the artistic avant-garde to take up a pragmatic (i.e., political) position mobilising the conceptual elements of revolutionary theory. It is about appropriating revolutionary theory. Now we must see whether one could develop a fine and complex set of theses on language and slogans from revolutionary theory and practice.

### 3. HOW TO DO THINGS WITH THE WORDS OF SLOGANS

*People have now adopted a new slogan,  
the slogan of the “different uses of language”.*  
J. L. Austin, “Performative Utterances”, 1956

The pragmatism of language, so crucial for Deleuze and Guattari’s theorisation of order-words, is based on speech-act theory, first developed by Anglo-American philosophers. The initial thrust of this philosophy of language, most famously advanced by J. L. Austin, was to overthrow the idealist fallacy of the supposedly neutral descriptiveness of language and put the performativity of speech and utterance at the core of the human condition. By showing that there is no such thing as a purely verbal criterion that might enable us to distinguish between performative and constative utterances, Austin asked if “constative utterances are not, after all, the performance of an act, namely of stating” (Austin 1971, 20). Instead of treating communication as the transmission of information, we are invited to treat it as the transmission of statements. Austin dubbed these units of communication “performative-constatives”, which sounds similar to Deleuze’s order-words.

Or, as Austin put it himself:

To perform a locutionary act is in general, we may say, also and *eo ipso* to perform an illocutionary act [...] Thus in performing a locutionary act we shall also be performing such an act as: asking or answering a question, giving some information or an assurance or a warning, announcing a verdict or an intention (Austin 1975, 98) According to Austin, there is no such thing as pure and idealist communication – language is a pragmatic business in every sense. One should note here that Austin was not trying to posit the effects of the performativity of locutions as an extrapolated act of some hidden illocutionary remnants of our strange everyday utterances. This would be more appropriate to the romantic pragmatism of Makavejev’s slogans. To the contrary, Austin insisted on the *force* as immanent to all locutions: We must avoid the idea that the illocutionary act is a *consequence* of the locutionary act, and even the idea that what is imported by the nomenclature of illocutions is an *additional* reference to *some* of the consequences of the locutions (Austin 1975, 114).

This means that in fact, locutions are illocutions and constatives are performatives. These speech-acts produce effects by securing an *uptake* (Austin 1975, 117) and in “certain ways”, which means that they produce changes in the natural course of events (Austin 1975, 117). This means that an illocutionary act is most effective when, for example, it is addressed and consumed by conditions that make the uptake as a normal procedure. That is when perlocution takes place, or when a certain effect is achieved by saying something. Austin provides an example of a failed uptake with his ship-naming story:

Suppose that you are just about to name the ship [“Queen Elizabeth”], you have been appointed to name it, and you are just about to bang the bottle against the stem; but at that very moment, some low type comes up, snatches the bottle out of your hand, breaks it on the stem, shout out “I name this ship the Generalissimo Stalin”, and then for good measure kicks away the chocks. (Austin 1961, 226–227) This is a classic case of infelicity, or an infelicitous speech-act, in which the uptake does not take place. Following Deleuze and Guattari, Lecercle explains:

If the scandalous working-class militant in Austin’s text is only a passing example of infelicity, a wink at the reader, it is because the universe of which he is the representative or the symptom (the universe of class struggle) is absent from speech-act theory. (Lecercle 2002, 162)

But even if the politics of class struggle is absent from Austin’s philosophy of language, the pragmatism he offers is enough to mobilise *a politics* from this theory; again, reverting to Lecercle’s explanation regarding the ship-naming: “[even if it is a case of infelicity] it shows that politics is always near at hand, lying in ambush, eager to seize the pretext for re-entering language that pragmatics is willing to offer it” (Lecercle 2002, 161). This automatically political *effect* of language, as I tried to show in the previous section, might lead to a complete disavowal of politics as an arbitrary element in a philosophy based on the pragmatism of language.

At this point it becomes clear that “performative-constative” could be used as a “slogan”, following Deleuze and Guattari’s Leninism;<sup>3</sup> but as Lecercle observes, Austin’s pragmatism is too cooperative and rooted in the *status quo*, as well as not materialistic enough to realise this possibility. One can say that Lecercle’s interpretation of Deleuze’s philosophy of language rests on enhancing Austin’s speech-act theory with certain elements of the artistic avant-garde’s deconstructive potential. Following Lecercle’s reading, apart from his ahistoricism, non-materialism, and methodological individualism, Austin also shows a lack of consideration for institutions. What Lecercle implies as a Deleuzian novelty, but actually and inevitably refers to Althusser, is the possibility of using speech-act theory in institutional interpellation: institution – ritual – practice – speech-act (Lecercle 2002, 163). This practically means that “performative-constatives” are the missing link in the seemingly too representational chain of interpellation, as theorised by Louis Althusser. Even if Lecercle still sees Althusser’s theory as a constellation of Deleuzian philosophy, this should pose us no difficulties, given that he uses “Deleuze” as a collective enunciation, or some kind of sedimented slogan of intellectual-collective property.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, Lecercle’s application of speech-act theory to Althusser’s theorisation of ideological interpellation is not an isolated example; for instance, Rastko Močnik in his article “Toward a Materialist Concept of Literature” attempted to concretise a rather “abstract indication” of Althusserian theory of interpellation through the work of J. L. Austin. If interpellation occurs, as Althusser wrote, through the process of re-cognition, or, as Močnik explains: “to ‘understand’ an (ideological) utterance is to submit oneself to its specific ‘rationality’ that is, swallow its (ideological) presuppositions”, then in the final instance communication emerges as an elementary condition, without which no ideological interpellation can be complete (Močnik 1986, 76). Since every ideological interpellation reaches its completion in the process of *subjectivisation*, one could clearly consider communication “a nuclear instance of the ideological mediation of social integration” (Močnik 1986, 176). The practical force of language or its performative devices, which are crucial in Austin’s theory of speech-acts, are what enable the process of interpellation to take place in its full materialist import. To put it more directly, Močnik claims that the force of illocutionary acts is a precondition for any materialisation of (ideological) interpellation. Reverting to Austin’s vocabulary, then, interpellation is thus an instance of a happily concluded proper “uptake” (Močnik 1986, 179–181). Since social integration conditions all ideologies (and Močnik is clearly aware of this, quoting Marx that “speech, passions, and illusions are necessary for the ideological integration of a revolutionary movement”) and given that its realisation/materialisation occurs in communication, then how may one deal with the inherent ambiguity of speech acts? Precisely how is it possible to situate the concept of “performative-constative” in the chain of interpellation when this concept has a constative as well as performative character both at once? And furthermore, if the uptake is realised in the context of a particular piece of communication (i.e., in the “natural” course of events or Austin’s “normal way”), which itself is a condition of the subjectivisation of illocution (of the integrated subject), then we face an “unpleasant metaphysical dilemma”, as Močnik describes it. The dilemma of illocutionary ambiguity is this: either we want to save the human condition from

<sup>3</sup> Lecercle draws several examples from the ranks of analytical philosophers, who dealt with language and came to similar conclusions: “J. R. Ross, an early disciple of Chomsky, proposed the performative hypothesis, whereby every declarative sentence was, in deep structure, subordinate to a performative clause, which being performative, is closer to a slogan [...]; Ann Banfield sought to add to the first node of Chomsky’s rewriting rules a special node [...] which was meant to accommodate all ‘expressive’ utterances, insults, exclamations, perhaps even slogans; and J. C. Milner sought to develop what he called a ‘grammar of insults’” (Lecercle 2002, 170).

<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, this also allowed Lecercle to propose his notion of *counter-interpellation*, inspired by Judith Butler’s reading of Althusser: “The concept aims to describe the fact that, while speakers enters [*sic!*] into a language that is prior and external to them, they appropriate it (this is called a style)” (Lecercle 2006, 209).

equivocation, but then must abandon the concept of illocution to its inherent ambiguity; or, we decide to keep the concept, but then we have to take a rather pessimistic view of the very possibility of communication among humans (and as a consequence of that, finally have to abandon the concept altogether) (Močnik 1986, 180). This fundamental dilemma is important in helping us understand why the simplistic approach of so-called deconstructing ideology by deconstructing language is a dead end. If we accepted that ideology = language = slogans, then a simple reversal of this set of equivalences would imply that different slogans could induce a different social integration. Apart from its “pureness”, this scheme would also contradict speech-act theory, that is, its claims that a proper uptake of a slogan will hold only under proper ideological conditions. Austin’s pragmatism is very conditional and status quo practicalism which introduces the ideology as a conscious set of beliefs which one shares about the world. He does not have much of contradictions, in his idealist cosmos of uptakes the order-word (slogan) is a production of the order-world (ideology) and vice-versa. But in Močnik’s conception, the performative character of illocutionary acts, which ultimately conditions every ideological operation, is at the same time also an obstacle to an unconditional subjectivisation of ideology, idealistically predicated on human beings *qua* free agents of constative communication.

Simply, this metaphysical conundrum is the following: if communication is that which generates subjectivity, the genesis of subjectivity in communication is that which suspends the subject itself. In other words, if we assume, as it is generally assumed, that communication preconditions our entering into ideology and that our “entrance” materialises through the “performative” characteristic of our communicating, then we end up powerless to say anything that is not ideological. The dilemma is metaphysical because a “human agent” and process of identification are among its main concepts. But if we moved away from the “human” part and applied this problematic to the concept of slogans, we could reach a more contradictory, therefore also materialist theory of slogans. I think that now we have reached the point where we can pose the following question: what is the role of slogans in the process of ideological interpellation? As the most direct manifestation of perlocution, slogans certainly aim for collective recruitment. But at the same time, slogans do not target “ordinary” audiences (or an already existing collective), but seek to effect a transformation in the social integration by introducing a new thought. If so, then we have just made a long detour almost for nothing: we have reached a position where we must admit that slogans are performative and constative both at once. That is exactly where we began. But actually, we are in a different “move” now, one of trying to strengthen the *constative* nature of slogans. As we saw above, Lecercle, as well as Deleuze and Guattari all criticise as a fallacy the idealistic conception of language as based on constative communication and view its *sloganistic* character as evidence of the materialism and performative nature of utterance. This enables us, for example, to improvise on the idea that language itself (as the sedimentation of slogans) is political. In adherence to the materialist conceptions of Rastko Močnik, I would like to propose that we try to think slogans as constatives, which would initially entail considering the “content” and “theory” of slogans more seriously than it has been done before. This would not be a simple détournement or turning Deleuze and Guattari’s position on its head; rather, it would be a possibility to enhance Lenin’s theorisation of slogans even further.

Before making this position more explicit, I should clarify that a necessary precondition for including the notion of theory slogans (we can call them Althusserian slogans) to philosophy is to occupy a materialist position. Lecercle introduces this notion, which is not there in Deleuze and Guattari, through the idea of “institution”, which he includes in the otherwise abstract process of the effectivity of order-words. The materialistic existence of words and their transformative effects should not be understood as simple empiricism, or, to caricature it a bit, as word atoms flowing from those in the mouth to those in the ear and effecting changes in those in the brain, concluding in the proximity of atoms in the lips (for example, the effect of “I love you”, Deleuze and Guattari’s favourite slogan, would be something along those lines). Rather than a materialistic explanation of the world, this would be more of a mechanistic, or to paraphrase Deleuze and Guattari a “machinistic” explanation, turning everything to atoms, that is, everything but “knowledge”, which always stays somewhere in between atoms, in other words, the famed “ether” of communication. It is clear that the notion of incorporeal transformation was added to this theory in order to keep that of a materialist “uptake” possible. Nevertheless, the content or constative part of slogans is not important in this conception; in Deleuze, for example, Lenin’s slogan is not important as a concrete analysis of a concrete situation, but primarily as a potential for transformation. When it comes to slogans and language, because the constative is less important than the performative (i.e., “I love you” and “Power to the Soviets” are both equally

political), then the only possibility to thwart the completion of this “ideological” (or assembling) system lies in de-sloganization; or, as I tried to show above, in the stuttering slogans. This is a common emphasis in the deconstructive tendencies (their “artistic” character) of all critical/different theories of language. But in the last instance, I could say that whereas Deleuze and Guattari sought to problematise language through slogans, my aim is to problematise slogans by means of language and the notion of the Althusserian slogan. This means that if slogans are performative, which lends force to language, then it is equally legitimate to claim that this performativity is also of a very visible constative, or theoretical nature. Given that so many examples make it clear that slogans are performative and constative at the same time, it is surprising to note that in most interpretations the “performative” aroused such an excitement that it completely overshadowed the constative. This means that apart from having explicit “practical” implications, slogans are also quite “theoretical” in nature. Of course, these “theoretical” aspects of slogans are not so easy to identify, but must be demonstrated through a rigorous research of concrete situations inside language. My aim here is to make this more explicit. Some readers will be surprised, perhaps, that

I have chosen to perform the following survey in the field of artistic production.

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# INVENTING CON-DIVIDUALITY

## AN ESCAPE ROUTE FROM THE PITFALLS OF COMMUNITY AND COLLECTIVITY

GERALD RAUNIG

Which with for the many? Which form can the concatenation of singularities assume without melting into one? Which terminology is suitable for this specific form of concatenation that insists on separation and sharing without presenting the sad figure of a sacrifice? Finally, how do these social and conceptual singularities concatenate without being degraded into smoothing lubricants for the transformations of capitalist modes of production?

There is no perfect and meta-historical solution for these questions, even if concepts like that of community seem to promise it – even in the form of an “affronted”, “unavailable”, “inoperative” or “coming community”.<sup>1</sup> The problems with the etymologies of community and related concepts are already there before and beyond their allusions to totalitarian communities like the Volksgemeinschaft or the problematic dichotomy of individual and community: on the one hand they adhere to uncritical, identitarian, sometimes even totalitarian forms of composition, on the other they remain bound to the mode of reduction, subtraction, contribution. And even where both aspects are dialectically linked – such as in the writings of the Italian philosopher Roberto Esposito – they remain stuck on this side of communion.<sup>2</sup> The conceptual branch of the common, the commune, the community, the communal, even of communism itself, thus becomes just as questionable as the Marxist terminology of the political composition (as opposed to the technical composition of capital) or collectivity.

How can transversal forms of the concatenation of singularities be imagined and termed in contrast to this without individualizing and stratifying or totalizing singularities? I think it is only possible by looking for a new terminology that takes both components into consideration as explicit conceptual components: the component of the singular, an affirmative mode of separation, and the component of composition, of concatenation, of the con-. Yet these kinds of conceptual and social actualizations of the concatenation will be less invented as an outside of contemporary modes of production, but rather in their rampant middle.

### GENEALOGIES OF THE DIVIDIUM

#### 1. GILBERT DE LA PORRÉE AND THE INVENTION OF THE DIVIDIUM

Gilbert de la Porrée (Gilbertus Porretanus, approx. 1080-1155), bishop of Poitiers, was one of the most important logicians and theologians of the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> This position resulted not least of all from the fact that Gilbert was probably the first Christian theologian of the Middle Ages, who was able to acquire more extensive knowledge of Aristotelian writings. Although

<sup>1</sup> On the rising tides of the community concept in the art field, cf. Raunig, Gerald. “Escaping from ‘Work on the Community’”, in *(urban potentials). Ideas and Practice*, Berlin: Jovis, 2008, pp. 312-315; Kravagna, Christian, “Arbeit an der Gemeinschaft. Modelle partizipatorischer Praxis”, in Babias/Könneke (Hg.), *Die Kunst des Öffentlichen. Projekte/Ideen/Stadtplanungsprozesse im politischen/sozialen/öffentlichen Raum*, Verlag der Kunst: Dresden, 1998, pp. 28-47 (English version: Kravagna, Christian. “Working on the Community. Models of Participatory Practice”, <http://eipcp.net/transversal/1204/kravagna/en>).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the detailed treatment of this problem by Lorey, Isabell. *Figuren des Immunen. Elemente einer politischen Theorie*, Zürich: Diaphanes Verlag, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> For Gilbert’s bio and bibliography, cf. *Enzyklopädie Philosophie und Wissenschaftstheorie 1*, p. 775; *Lexikon des Mittelalters IV*, pp. 1449f. For a detailed introduction, cf. Nielsen, Lauge Olaf. *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Gilbert Porreta’s Thinking and the Theological Expositions of the Doctrine of the Incarnation during the Period 1130-1180*, Leiden: Brill, 1982, especially pp. 25 ff.; cf. here also the term participatio (p. 48) and the three different modes of conjunction: appositio – compositio – commixtio (pp. 53f.).

his extant work consists only of commentaries, his “teaching” received considerable attention through the influence of his “pupils” around the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century. Against the background of theological and inner-church conflicts, Gilbert was politically persecuted and charged with heresy, at the instigation of Bernard de Clairvaux, by the papal consistorium of Paris in 1147 and another consistorium after the Synod of Reims in 1148. However, and unlike Abelard, for instance, Gilbert was not condemned during his lifetime. His controversial position on ecclesiastical politics along with his complex argumentation and an unconventional style gave Gilbert an infamous reputation, which predominated well into the 19th century: August Neander’s *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche* (General History of the Christian Religion and Church) still described him as a “man of unclear, confused, abstruse manners of representation” in 1845. (Neander 1845, 899)

Gilbert became well known primarily through his commentary on the Christian philosopher of late antiquity and Aristotle translator Boethius. In Gilbert’s second prologue to Boethius’ first tractate *De Trinitate* there is a passage that not only raises several issues about the concept of individuality, but also introduces the concept that is a central issue for us here. Gilbert writes: *Sepe autem diversa numero singularia secundum aliqua eorum, quibus sunt, conformia sunt. Ideoque non modo illa, que sunt, verum etiam illa, quibus conformia sunt, unum dividuum sunt. Ac per hoc neutrum illorum, quibus conformia sunt illa que sunt, individuum est. Si enim dividuum facit similitudo, consequens est, ut individuum faciat dissimilitudo.* (DTrin, I, 5, n. 24, II. 163-168, 144; Jacobi 1996, 13)

First, I would like to concentrate on the last part of the last sentence: the sequence *individuum... dissimilitudo* seems sufficiently clear, dissimilarity correlates with the individual. Here – long before the alleged invention of the individual in the Renaissance – the notion of an individual is presented, which is internally “indivisible” and externally dissimilar, distinct from all other individuals. It is the further development of the Greek *a-tomos*, “atom”, for an indivisible single being, which was not yet limited to the human personality in the understanding of Antiquity. The individual is a whole, a one, something not randomly composed. It is something of its own; it has – as Gilbert emphasizes – the characteristic of evincing no similarity. It is, in a sense, incomparable. For our question, however, it is the first part of the sentence that is interesting: “If similarity makes the dividuum, then consequently dissimilarity makes the individual.” Gilbert introduces a concept here that is probably his invention: the dividuum. Even though the individual for us seems to be the conceptual starting point for the development of the dividuum, logically and ontologically the dividuum precedes the individual.

As the first sentence of the Latin quotation describes, singularities (as numerically different) share their forms with other singularities in terms of several things through which they exist. *Unum dividuum* is then both: that which is, and that through which this being – Gilbert would write: this subsists – “conforms”, i.e. shares its form. Here it becomes clear that dividuum is not to be understood as a universal, as might be conjectured in the context of the dispute of universals in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century. The dividuum is not one-sidedly opposite the individual as something universal, but is one of Gilbert’s terms that thwarts the dichotomy of that which is individual and that which is universal, introducing a new dimension, in which that which something is and that through which it is are related to one another.

Gilbert writes that similarity correlates with the dividuum, that indeed similarity produces the dividuum. The dividuum thus has one or more components that constitute it as something divisible and, at the same time, link it with other dividua that are similar in their components. The point here is similarities, specifically in relation to only some components. *Conformitas*, *conformitas*, does not imply sameness, total uniformity or adaptation, but rather *con-formitas*, a specific compliance in form, the sharing of formal components. This *con-formitas*, which is simultaneously multi-formity, constitutes the divisible as *unum dividuum*.

More well known and more consequential in the history of philosophy than the invention of the dividuum, is Gilbert’s differentiation of individuality, singularity and personality. With Boethius, the concepts of the singular and the individual are still used congruently. With Gilbert, on the other hand, it becomes clear that the concept of singularity has a different and broader field of application than that of individuality. Singularity is basically the foundational concept that is Gilbert’s starting point. Somewhat earlier in his Boethius commentary, before introducing the dividuum, Gilbert writes:

We want to distinguish ...: A property of something is called “singular”, “individual” or “personal” for a respectively different reason. For everything that is an individual is singular, and everything that is a person is singular and individual, but not every singularity is an individual, and not every singularity or every individual is a person. (DTrin, I, 5, n. 22, II. 153-157, 143-144; Jacobi 1996, 12)



Whereas individuality and its component of dissimilarity emphasizes the respectively being-different, the demarcation from everything else, the singularity is always one among others.<sup>4</sup> If the concept of individuality thus tends towards the construction of the closing off of the self and the other, singularity emphasizes the plurality and the con-formity of all that is. According to Gilbert, singularities are 1. more than individuals, 2. inherently plural, constituted by manifold components, and 3. open for association and concatenation due to their con-formity.

## 2. NIETZSCHE'S DIVIDIUM AS AN EFFECT OF GOVERNMENTALITY "SELF-DIVISION"

Even though the singular was not so radically understood as the foundational concept of ontology for a long time after Gilbert, it still developed into a perennial theme in the history of philosophy – in contrast to, in exchange with or confused with the terminology associated with individuality and individual. At the same time, every trace of the dividual vanished after the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It came up again – ephemerally, but efficiently – in Nietzsche's first attempt at a rigorous critique of morality: in the second main section of the first volume of *Human, All Too Human* (published 1878), morality is introduced as the structure of the "community of the good", as the firm "ground of ruling tribes and castes", upon which something like a "common sense" could first arise – specifically as a criterion of exclusion. This structure, well ordered through both compassion and enmity, is confronted with a wild disorder. Nietzsche does not intend to understand the masses ordered by the difference between good and evil at this point solely as a "swarm of subject, powerless people". The result is the dual image of a self-governed community of the good and its wild, subject and excluded counterpart. (Nietzsche 1986, 36)

As one of the many constitutive fallacies from the world of morality, Nietzsche also problematizes the individual, showing how – with a little imagination – it could lose its totality and identity on the axis of time. He emphasizes the moment of temporal change, and with it the constructedness of an unalterable character and the unalterability of the individual altogether. He sees the idea of the character being unalterable as being the fault of the fact that "during the brief lifetime of a man, the effective motives are unable to scratch deeply enough to erase the imprinted script of many millennia." Following from this, Nietzsche's mental task consists of imagining that an eighty thousand-year-old man must contain several individuals. (Nietzsche 1986, 35)

Even though these fictive approaches to a temporal unleashing of the individual certainly correlate with the more spatial concatenation figures of dividuality, with Nietzsche the appearance of the dividual is carried out entirely in the logic of morality, specifically "morality as the self-division of man". The dividium appears here as a rather colorless inversion of the individuum, as a pure effect of morality. Yet the examples of dividuality Nietzsche uses are such that certainly require the individuum of the disciplinary society and its highly gendered features; for instance, an author who wishes to be annihilated by another author "presenting the same subject with greater clarity and resolving all the questions contained in it", or the "girl in love", who wishes that "the faithfulness and devotion of her love could be tested by the faithlessness of the man she loves", or the soldier, who "wishes he could fall on the battlefield for his victorious fatherland", or the mother, who gives her child the sleep she deprives herself of. In all of these cases, man divides his essence and sacrifices one part of it to the other. This is the place where the dividium tending towards self-division appears as a component of morality; and the moral of the story is: "In morality man treats himself not as individuum but as dividium." (Nietzsche 1986, 42)

This statement could also be interpreted with a dark sentence from Novalis from the encyclopedic material he assembled in 1798/99: "The true dividual is also the true individual" (Novalis, 952), appealed to as undivided and indivisible, and yet all the more forced to "self-division". As an aspect of governmentality, morality is based less on government through repression than through conducting the voluntary and "self-determined" division of the self, and at the same time on a desire that longs for and brings about this self-division.

## GEOLOGY OF THE DIVIDUAL

Yet I could also tell the story quite differently, something like this: in discussions with friends and colleagues<sup>5</sup>, recently we have more and more frequently run into the limitations of the concept of community and traces of the etymological genealogy of the *com-munitas*: the common *munus* implies either an identitary figure of protection or a figure of tribute and sacrifice. Against the background of this deep-rooted problem, I thought about conceptual alternatives that express

<sup>4</sup> See DTrin I, 5, n. 34, ed. Häring 146.

<sup>5</sup> Initial impulses were primarily Isabell Lorey's post-doctoral dissertation *Figuren des Immunen* and the research projects and events of the Zurich Institute for Theory on the topic of community, most recently the conference "Community – perhaps?" with Jean-Luc Nancy and many others, 12-14 March 2010.

both components as well, separation and sharing, like the French term *partage* or the German term *Teilen*, but express them explicitly.

Around the same time, I translated a few smaller texts by the Italian philosopher Paolo Virno from Italian into German. In several places I ran into a word that was initially unfamiliar to me. By tripping this way in the translation process, I became aware of the conceptual components, an insight that would probably not have been accessible to me without this tripping in a foreign language: *condivisione* is not a particularly strong word; in everyday Italian it stands for "shared use" and "relationship". Yet its components, as I quickly realized, were almost exactly those that I had been revolving around for some time. *con-divisione* means both, and it expresses both explicitly and with the necessary differentiation: the *con-* indicates the composition, the concatenation, the sharing, whereas *divisione* indicates the fundamental separation and division of singularities.

But the second part of the word *con-divisione* also sparked a conceptual memory. In his "Postscript on the Societies of Control" in 1990, Gilles Deleuze described the transition from disciplinary societies to societies of control, among other things, with this sentence: "Individuals have become 'dividuals'." (Deleuze 1992, n.p.) Disciplinary societies are marked by forms of enclosure with relatively clear boundaries, whereas societies of control are characterized by constantly deforming forms. Whereas disciplinary societies distinguish themselves by counting individual bodies, the signature of the society of control is "the code of a 'dividual' material to be controlled". (Deleuze 1992, n.p.) Instead of the disciplining of bodies, this involves "a gas" that "opposes individuals against one another and runs through each, dividing each within". (Deleuze 1992, n.p.) In other words, this is obviously where the Nietzschean "self-division" returns. "Individuals have become 'dividuals', and masses, samples, data, markets, or 'banks'." (Deleuze 1992, n.p.) What becomes evident here is possibly also a contemporary foundation for the insight that the dividual has led a shadow existence over the course of centuries in the history of philosophy and is now coming more into the light. The ephemeral notes from Novalis and Nietzsche could be interpreted as a glimpse, an early indication of an imminent actualization of the dividual. Without wishing to uncritically accept the somewhat schematic Deleuzian representation of the transition from disciplinary to control regimes<sup>6</sup>, it can still be assumed that indications of dividualization have been significantly increasing with post-fordist modes of production since the late 20th century. With the background of Gilbert's concept of the dividual, perhaps we could even go so far as to regard the statement "individuals have become dividuals" not as a linear development, but rather as an accumulation of modes of governing. Individuals no longer function only as individuals modularized by disciplinary regimes, but also function at the same time as modulating dividuals: as hamsters no longer in a wheel, but rather in a Kafkaesque Möbius strip, permanently condemned to production.

But it would not be Deleuze, if social transformations were only to be found on the side of the self-modulating forces of government and self-government: "There is no need to fear or hope, but only to look for new weapons." (Deleuze 1992, n.p.) Instructions on what these weapons are to consist of, however, are not to be found in the "Postscript". Yet, ten years earlier, Deleuze and Félix Guattari had already set out in search of a new "dividual scale". (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, 342) In the Refrain plateau of *A Thousand Plateaus* they note a serious difference between German and Latin/Slavic Romanticism. German Romanticism is consequently distinguished by perceiving natal territory as solitary, its heroes were mythic "heroes of the earth". "As in the lied, everything in the territory occurs in relation to the One-Alone of the soul and the One-All of the earth." (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, 340) Deleuze/Guattari contrast this German relationship between the individual and the universal with a different version of Romanticism in the Latin and Slavic countries. Instead of being solitary, here the territory is inhabited by a "nomadic population that divides or regroups, contests or laments, attacks or suffers". (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, 341) The hero of this desert is not a hero of the earth, but is related to the "One-Crowd".

Of course, this dualism certainly does not correspond to the entirety of concrete musical practices, such as the unequal pair Wagner and Verdi. Deleuze and Guattari also point out that there was not necessarily more or less nationalism on one side or on the other. Instead, they are interested in the musical micropolitics relating orchestration and instrumentation: the orchestration-instrumentation changes, and with it the role of the hero's voice, depending on whether the musical forces are determined more by the One-All or enter into an exchange with the One-Crowd. Deleuze and Guattari contrast the "relations proper to the Universal" with group individuation.<sup>7</sup> For this second type of musical relationships and to designate intra- or intergroup passages, they propose the Dividual:

<sup>6</sup> For more on this, cf. Raunig, "In Modulation Mode", <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0809/raunig/en>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Guattari, Félix. *Psychanalyse et transversalité. Essais d'analyse institutionnelle*, Paris: La Découverte, 2003.

The sentimental or subjective element of the voice has a different role and even a different position depending on whether it internally confronts nonsubjectified groupings of power or non-subjectified group individuation, the relations of the universal or the relations of the 'dividual'.  
(Deleuze & Guattari 1987, 341)

The relationships of the group individuations and the One-Crowd are the *unum dividuum*, divided among many con-forming singularities. Its revisions overflow not only the Romantic era, but also the "high culture" context of "serious music" (Debussy, Bartok, Berio), in which Deleuze and Guattari situate it: into all the territories of music and sound, from Free Jazz to techno, even into the sound of everyday life and the white noise of urban space – and naturally also into other arts, especially their contemporary forms.<sup>8</sup>

Yet the dividual inhabits not only the hetero-cosmoses of art, the anthropological investigations of Melanesian cultures or the schizo-analyses of multiple personalities. It permeates the fields of economy and sociality as well. It is a matter of situativity, which perspective one assumes with respect to the dangerous proliferations of the dividual – whether the concept of the dividual is used as a description of the most recent capitalist transformations or as components of social struggles, which – depending on political and theoretical preferences – precede capitalist modes of production or engage them in hand-to-hand fighting.

Particularly in this ambivalent rising tide of dividualism between new forms of (self-) subjugation/machinic enslavement and the search for new weapons, the question of an offensive concatenation and its terminology appears all the more urgent. This means that my proposed neologism, *condivision*, becomes a term for a concatenation of singularities, which not only names their exchange, their mutual reference, their association with one another, but also impels it. In *condivision*, the dividual component, the division, does not indicate a tribute, a reduction, a sacrifice, but rather the possibility of an addition, an AND. Singularities and their concatenations become in *condivision*. It is not necessary for a community to emerge first, in order to achieve the recomposition of previously separated individuals, but instead the concatenation and the singularities are co-emergent as the *condivuality* of *condividuals*.

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Translated from German by Aileen Derieg

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. the versions of the dividual in Michaela Otto's film theory reflections ("Zwischen Virtualität und Kontrolle: Dividuelle Filmästhetiken", soon to be published in the conference proceedings from the international symposium "Virtualität und Kontrolle", 3-8 November 2008 at the Academy of Fine Arts Hamburg) and Drehli Robnik ("Subjekt im Affekt: Wendungen Deleuzescher Filmtheorie zwischen Empfindungsästhetik der Unterbrechung, Politik des Dividuellen und Ereignislogik des Sinns", unpublished manuscript, presented at the annual conference of the Society for Media, University of Vienna, 2 October 2009). Michaela Ott is interested in the general proposal of an aesthetics of "dividual image and sound productions", Drehli Robnik in a "Politics of the Dividual" in film, whereby "every division brings something new into play, through which it is not 'resolved', but rather remains uncompleted." Background for these newer Deleuzian approaches of the dividual in film is the ephemeral acceptance of the term in Deleuze's own film theory as well, cf. Deleuze, Gilles. *Das Bewegungs-Bild. Kino 1*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1997, for instance p. 129 or 147.

# THE POLITICALITY OF ART IN THE AGE OF NEOLIBERAL CYNICISM

A DESCHOOLING CONVERSATION CLASSROOM - WITH THE ART ALDO AND/AS POLITICS MILOHNIĆ, GROUP

In January of 2011, under the auspices of the Deschooling Classroom project (O^O), Walking Theory (Belgrade) and Kontrapunkt (Skopje) co-organised a seminar and public lecture by Aldo Milohnić, a sociologist and theorist of theatre and culture from Ljubljana, at the Magacin cultural centre, No. 4 Kraljević Marko Street in Belgrade. Milohnić joined Deschooling Classroom, a project in collective self-education in art and culture, at the invitation of the Art and/as Politics working group, dedicated to exploring the relationship between art and politics, as well as the possibilities of re-politicising the discourse of the humanities. The present interview with Milohnić was conducted by the members of the group.

## HOW PLAUSIBLE IS AUTONOMOUS ART TODAY AND IN WHAT WAYS?

Before even contemplating “autonomous art” today, we must take a few steps back into the past. In fact, autonomous art was a category of the late-18<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeois society. Prior to the Enlightenment, artistic production served the needs of the royal courts, the aristocracy, and the church. The rise of the bourgeoisie emancipated society from its feudal bondage and gave rise to the market. That was its revolutionary role, which Marx and Engels described in *The Communist Manifesto*. Great changes affected all segments of society, including those professions that the feudal system regarded with great awe. All those erstwhile “exalted” professions, such as surgeons, lawyers, scientists, artists, etc., the bourgeoisie tossed into the market and then turned into its own wage-workers. Owing to the bourgeois commodification of art, artists thus got a chance autonomously to decide about their own creativity. Following Marx, many other materialist-oriented theorists of art (Adorno, Attali, etc.) elaborated on the same claim.

Around 1900, that structural moment conditioned the emergence of *l'art-pour-l'artisme*, which autonomised art in the ideological sense as well. However, as Rastko Močnik observed some 30 years ago, the problem with the autonomy of art is that that modernist moment of the emancipation of the practice of art lasted for a very short time, because the ideology of autonomous art is predicated on that of exchange, which inevitably causes art to begin taking itself as a commodity. For that reason, the artistic avant-gardes of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century (the historical avant-garde early in the century and the neo-avant-garde in the late 1960s) renounced the idea of autonomous art and sought to erase the borders between art and other “spheres” of society. Basically, that remains the key question even today. A clear division among autonomised social “spheres” (the economy, politics, culture, the sciences...) became obsolete a long time ago; today, only the particular interests of various establishments in those spheres are still keeping it artificially alive. In that sense, art is no exception and for that reason progressive artistic practices often target that fossilised structure of art as an institution.

But, we may also approach the problem of autonomous art by reconsidering its relationship with ideology. I’m thinking of a commonplace from Marx’s *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, where he warns that the material used by art does not comprise any immediate social circumstances (which is, we might add, the wrong assumption of all realistic and naturalistic movements in art), but rather constructs its worlds out of their ideologically “processed” and “refracted” notions. Taking classical art as an example, Marx says that “Greek art presupposes Greek mythology, i.e. nature and the social forms already reworked in an unconsciously artistic way by the popular imagination”. This notion was adopted by Russian theorist Pavel Medvedev during the 1920s, who introduced it into his literary theory: according to Medvedev, “life” becomes the fabula (or subject, motive...) of an artwork only after having been “refracted through the lens of its ideological milieu”, that is, after having been “endowed with a concrete ideological body”. Althusser was on the same track, when he said that art presents not reality, but ideology, “in which it is born, in which it bathes, from which it detaches itself, and to which it alludes”. Art therefore relates to ideology in a specific way: it is part of the ideological sphere, but, strictly speaking, it is not ideology itself. Precisely by virtue of its thus privileged, relatively autonomous status may art establish a relation to

reality, without thereby directly referring to that reality. Art neither reflects nor interprets reality; even when we are under the impression that the conduct of an individual in a work of art is a given of some pure reality, that is, according to Althusser, nothing but only an exclusively “spontaneous lived experience of ideology in its peculiar relationship to the real”. From that we may conclude that the only reality presented by art is that of ideology. Therefore, if it is at all still possible to persist with the concept of autonomous art, then a possible solution for that strategy is to look for new, innovative ways of refracting the ideological material, which is piling up in all spheres of the currently ruling neoliberal capitalist society.

## IN WHAT WAY IS THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN ART A POLITICAL ISSUE? COULD YOU PLEASE ANSWER FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ART AND LAW?

One of the fundamental precepts of the so-called rule of law [*Rechtsstaat*, the legal state] is to guarantee the equality of all before law, but regardless of that general rule, modern legal systems grant special rights to certain professions and social groups, for the sake of the common good. For instance, a classic illustration of that is parliamentary immunity. Immunity is a form of a specially protected (therefore also privileged) status, which constitutes an exception from, that is, a partial suspension of, a general rule, in this case the principle of equality before law. An early example of such a status were the Plebeian Tribunes (*tribuni plebis*) in Ancient Rome, who were considered untouchable, or *sacrosanct*. In today’s usage, though, parliamentary immunity is associated with the development of that legal category throughout the long history of British parliamentarism; namely, from the 14<sup>th</sup> century on, it was no longer customary for a member of parliament to end up in prison only by saying something that displeased the king.

Apart from members of parliament and judges, to whom their immunity guarantees special legal protection whilst performing their duties, a number of other professions, such as journalists, scientists, artists, and others possess special constitutionally recognised rights, as do some social groups, e.g. various minorities (to whom applies the category of so-called affirmative action, or positive discrimination). Otherwise, immunity is a legal category and its meaning is strictly determined by the legal system, but in a broader or more figural sense, we might say that the rule of law typically guarantees a certain (functional) immunity to artists as well. Basically, that is a privilege that guarantees the freedom of artistic expression as a special form of the freedom of speech. But things are not that simple. For as long as artistic expression is secured in that way and for as long as it is considered an exception to the general rule, the courts usually judge in favour of the artist, when his or her “immunity” collides with the rights of others (e.g. privacy, honour, good name, etc.). Much more difficult are those cases when the artist has violated a provision that does not cite artistic practice as a possible exception to the rule. In general, courts find it easier to judge in favour of the artist even when his or her act has been deemed a misdemeanour or even a criminal offence, provided that the law has not yet covered that particular act. We might call that a relative legal gap, or, a bit more metaphorically, “wilderness”, that is, a part of social reality not fully covered by the existing legislation. For art, that area of legal “wilderness” is somewhat analogous to what Hakim Bey’s “temporary autonomous zone” meant for new-media activists in the early stages of the Internet. Due to the accumulation of ever newer regulations and the increasing normativity of a given social “sphere”, there is less and less leeway for artists, who by means of their activity enter into a kind of interaction with that social “sphere”. However, drawing the boundaries of the permissible should not be left at the discretion of judges and lawyers; a legal state (*Rechtsstaat*) should be the opposite of a police state (*Polizeistaat*), but an excessively powerful legislative branch may render life unbearable just as well. In fact, the story of the supposed neutrality of the rule of law in terms of politics and values is a never-realised myth of liberal political theory. On the other hand, subversive art, provided that it succeed in showing that something is nonetheless wrong with ostensibly “normal” and self-evident things, is a matter of the common good and it is therefore worth pondering just how far we should extend the rights of artists to challenge social norms, which have crystallised in the legal norms and practice of a given society. That is an extremely important political issue.

## WHAT MIGHT BE THE STRATEGIES OF SUBVERSION WITHIN INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES OF ART? AND WHAT IS THE POLITICAL POTENTIAL OF AN ARTISTIC MEDIUM, THAT IS, THE POSSIBILITY OF REALISING SUBVERSIVE POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY USING – AND PROBLEMATISING – A CERTAIN ARTISTIC MEDIUM?

Of course, those strategies are many, but the problem is that they are few and seldom successful when it comes to subverting the art system as such. My view of this is that art shares the same fate as other ideological spheres in today’s society, in which subversion is likewise only a nominal possibility, whereas its real effects are rather limited.

It is a specific feature of politics in modern parliamentary democracies that it labours under a strong influence of the economy and law. We might say the same about art, too. In other words, contemporary art has to rely on legally guaranteed rights,

because that is the only guarantee of its “autonomous” position with regards to politics (the so-called freedom of artistic expression), and at the same time it must acquiesce to the copyright system, which ostensibly protects the economic interests of artists, but in reality mostly benefits those who traffic in artworks and not those who create them. On the other hand, artists must constantly fight for their autonomy in relation to the legal sphere, which strives for an all-pervading juridisation of society, including art and the right of artists to define themselves what does and what does not constitute art. Under political pressure and due to the constant threat of private (individual and corporate) litigation, art takes refuge under the wings of the legal system, because only there it may realise its specific privilege of “artistic freedom”. However, to enjoy that privilege, art must also pay a price. We may gauge how that price is “calculated” if we look at the example of that part of artistic production which is defying the authority of the traditional institutions and systems of art, that is, the “anti-artistic” and “avant-garde” practices. This is the thing: if art wishes to be subversive, then it must criticise not only the “society”, but also its own ontological premises, which brings it to the point of seeking to erase the imaginary line between art and life (that is, “non-art”). At that ultimate point, the radical artist may not turn around, but must choose between two possible strategies. The first of these is that s/he say to herself: what I do is not art at all, but that is irrelevant anyway, since the non-artistic significance of my work is only a logical consequence of my libertarian, emancipatory decision to distance myself from my own position as an artist. From that position of a radical distance, s/he may then wage a holy war against an oppressive system of values. The other possibility is to invoke the avant-gardist assimilation of art and life and to say: what I do is admittedly art, but that is irrelevant, because everything is art anyway; therefore, as an artist, I can fight the oppressive system of art from the “inside”, as a hermetic, exclusive field. And then we may ask ourselves what kind of consequences either of these two possibilities may have on the subversive artist, that is, anti-artist. In the first case, the legal institutes of relative artistic autonomy (or, as I like to say myself, of a functional artistic immunity) and copyright will be abolished – since both institutes are linked with legally acceptable definitions of art. In the second case, s/he may preserve her rights, which are recognised within the legal sphere, but precisely for that reason, s/he will likely be charged with opportunism and hypocrisy.

Thus we see that in neoliberal society every attempt to subvert the system of art is doomed to an internal split, that there is no such thing as a subversive strategy that is not at the same time self-contradictory, that is, opposed to its own premises. But none of this means to say that we should surrender to defeatism. Quite to the contrary, the *raison d'être* of radical artistic strategies is precisely to keep problematising the art system over and over again and never to allow it to get them cocooned in its ideological framework.

#### HOW DO THOSE STRATEGIES CHANGE WHEN THE SYSTEM IS IN DANGER? HOW MAY WE THINK OF ART INTERVENING IN SOCIETY, WHEN ITS FOUNDATIONS HAVE BEEN SHAKEN AS A RESULT OF THE GLOBAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM?

In neoliberal political systems, the ruling caste may easily thwart subversive actions simply by invoking the “right to critique” and “citizens’ rights and liberties”, thereby ostensibly demonstrating their devotion to democracy, openness, tolerance... With that banally simple manoeuvre, any subversive action may be portrayed as part of normal political life, which is supposed to suggest that everything is business as usual. That is, of course, cynicism, with which the system protects itself perfectly against all kinds of direct and protest actions. You could find a lot of examples to illustrate that, because politicians produce them almost daily. So as not to be too longwinded in answering your question, I’ll mention only one example, as an excellent illustration of that disarming cynicism of the neoliberal system. When several years ago the president of the World Bank visited Slovenia, he was greeted by a small group of activists who “welcomed” him by throwing eggs filled with paint at him, so that the Slovenian side had to get busy cleaning up the esteemed guest. But as soon as they “fixed him up” somehow, the president of the World Bank dismissed the event saying that it proved “that Slovenia is an open society in which people are free to express their opinion”, whereas for Slovenia’s then prime minister, it was “a proof of our progress and democracy”. Imagine that ultimate kind of cynicism: the prime minister implicitly thanking the activists for their protest action, because it qualified Slovenia as a fully developed, democratic country.

Under such circumstances, the possibilities of artistic intervening are rather narrow, because the system of contemporary art and post-Fordist capitalism are very much alike when it comes to institutional cannibalism: they both happen to be adept at absorbing even the severest of their critics. The erstwhile ruling strategy of state repression has been supplanted by more elegant forms of censorship: from political and media discrediting, to civil suits and economic censorship. Ultimately, that strategy results in causing artists to succumb to self-censorship and thus blunt the critical point of their art in advance. I won’t be exaggerating too much if I say that the system forces artists who work in so-called neoliberal states to seek their lawyer’s advice before acting in public. Penalties for breaking the

law, especially when it comes to libel suits, can be so harsh, that many freelancers and smaller art collectives (NGOs and the like) do not dare risk too much. Of course, that destroys precisely that which should be specific for artistic practice as such: experimentation and exploration, including those of how far one may go. Such a situation was anticipated by Herbert Marcuse in his essay on “The Affirmative Character of Culture”, where he wrote, among other things, that “only in art has bourgeois society tolerated its own ideals and taken them seriously as a general demand”.

Admittedly, “bourgeois society has liberated individuals”, Marcuse concludes, but only “as persons who are to keep themselves in check”. According to Jean-Léon Beauvois in his *Traité de la servitude libérale*, the much celebrated “freedom of individual choice”, which the neoliberal system brought to its extreme limits, turns into “liberal slavery”: people are brought to such a condition that they willingly submit to authority, without even noticing it, because they labour under the illusion that their submission is their own, free choice.

On the other hand, one should not naïvely believe that the legal state, however democratic and liberal, is not capable of renouncing those ideological subtleties and resort to blatant repression whenever it feels threatened. Since 11 September 2001 in particular, not only in the US, but also in Europe, we have witnessed how quickly the absorption capability of the neoliberal system may shrink when it comes under the grip of “security panic”: state violence then replaces institutional cynicism. A notorious example in the US is the persecution of a member of the artistic-activist collective Critical Art Ensemble, who was absurdly accused of bioterrorism, whereupon his life was turned into a Kafkaesque hell for many years. An equally paradigmatic European case was the arrest of the members of the artistic-activist group VolksTheater Karawane, who suffered rough violence at the hands of the Italian police and were then accused of terrorism, because the police claimed that they found weapons on them (in fact, those were children’s toy replicas of weapons) and military equipment (actually sport helmets); of course, all of those items were entirely innocuous objects the group used in their performances.

#### HOW DID THE NOTION OF THE POLITICAL IN DRAMA AND (DRAMATIC) THEATRE CHANGE OVER THE COURSE OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY?

The politicisation of art in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, including theatre, is usually associated with the historical avant-gardes and the most familiar commonplace in theoretical reflections on those developments is probably Benjamin’s thesis about a communist “politicisation of art” as a retort to fascist “aestheticisation of politics”. Although fascinatingly elegant, the thesis was hardly ever unquestionable: it is enough to think of the fiery polemics that the prominent minds of the German left (Adorno, Benjamin, Bloch, Brecht, and Lukács) waged during the 1930s on the relationship between expressionism and realism, engaged art and l’art-pour-l’artisme, etc. In German theatre of that time Piscator and Brecht were regarded as two exceptionally political authors; the former by reference to his directions in Berlin theatres (Proletarian Theatre, Volksbühne, and Piscator-Bühne) and the latter as an early follower of expressionism and inventor of highly political edifying plays. In Soviet Russia, in addition to the authors of “October in the theatre”, especially Meyerhold, there were also a large number of artistic and para-artistic agitators of agitprop, proletkult, and mass restagings of important historical events, such as the storming of the Winter Palace, directed by Evreinov in Petrograd in 1920. In France, we could trace the pretty entangled relations between the surrealists and the Communist Party, which eventually led Breton to break with Aragon. In Dadaism, there are clearly visible, significant differences between the Zurich and Berlin periods, the first of which considered more apolitical and the second more politically engaged – which eventually led many of the more prominent Dadaists to join the communist party. The early stages of Italian futurism were marked by flirting with fascism and Marinetti’s name was included in the fascist party’s electoral list. In general, the historical avant-gardes participated in the political developments of their time in one way or another and that, among other things, left a mark on their artistic practices.

The post-war period saw the appearance of Sartre’s dramas of ideas, Beckett’s and Ionesco’s theatre of the absurd, Weiss’s documentary theatre, Dürrenmatt’s and Frisch’s political theatre... While some might consider the theatre of the absurd apolitical, for instance, that would be a rather narrow way of looking at the politicality of art. Roland Barthes once said that one should not be hasty in judging what qualifies and what does not qualify as “engaged”, because the engaged and the ostensibly unengaged may be two different “forms of the same idea”. I remember an article by Jan Kott, in which he mentions a staging of Beckett’s *Godot* in Warsaw in the late 1950s. The audience experienced the play as highly political, because they linked it to the current political situation, which was marked by waiting for Khrushchev to denounce Stalinism. As for theatre in the 1960s, we might say that its politicality resided in its rejection of illusionism; in the mid 1960s, Sartre described it as a rejection of psychologisation, the fabula, and realism.

In socialist Yugoslavia, there was much debating about political theatre at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s, when engaged theatre began to confront

the various traumas and taboos of late-socialist society. Representatives of that trend could be found throughout the former country. In Slovenia, an especially important role was played by Mladinsko gledališče (Youth Theatre) in Ljubljana. Beginning in 1980, the year when the watershed play *Mass in A Minor* (based on Danilo Kiš's novel *Tomb for Boris Davidovich*), that theatre developed a recognisable style of its own, dominated by political subjects, urban (sub)culture, collective acting, and – a rare feat – a relatively young audience. But despite such coups and some undoubtedly superb plays, in the former Yugoslavia political theatre was exhausted both as an idea and as a practice already by the late 1980s: the paradigm was artificially kept alive thanks to an occasional solid production, but soon lapsed into mannerism and predictability. Then, around 1990, a new generation emerged, who made a radical break with that paradigm and introduced an entirely new mode of thinking about the concept of the political in theatre. Dissident grumbling was thus replaced with procedures of so-called subversive affirmation and “over-identification” – artistic procedures that are unequivocally conceptual and political. The political optics was changing radically and the subversion of artistic acting no longer resided in parables so much, in “reading between the lines”, in using either “Luddist” or realist means to present “social anomalies”, but rather in persisting with the concept of research in theatre and with constructing a new historic-political context onstage. This was no longer so much about the politicality of the fabula in the Brechtian sense, but about how to treat those subjects in plays and how the audience might perceive them. Therefore, the politicality of theatre at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was reflected in experimenting with ways (and even with the outmost limits) of representation and politics of perception; furthermore, Hans-Thies Lehmann, the originator of the concept of so-called post-dramatic theatre, added to this the procedure of “dedramatisation” as an expected reaction on the part of theatre at that time to the theatricalisation of politics and society in general.

Today's performing arts are, just as those that preceded them, “children of their time”. Explicitly political forms such as radical performance and direct theatre are only one part of that story. Just as Politics (with a capital P) has collapsed into a vast pile of different identity politics, so contemporary theatre is constantly searching for political particularisms of its own, by finding ever new identity niches. The performing arts have reacted eclectically to the complicated political relations and representations: they've been broaching ostensibly apolitical problematics and, at the same time, bringing radically political subjects onto the stage; they've been politicising the general relations of production in society by actualising their own, which may be entirely obvious to their audiences, or almost entirely unknown to them; they've been testing various politics of representation and, at the same time, stretching their audiences' abilities of perception to the breaking point, etc.

Siegfried Melchinger began his book on the history of political theatre thus: “Whoever wishes to treat politics in theatre, must have previously made the decision: his primary profession is theatre, not politics”. Precisely: a theatre play is neither a parliament nor a cabinet session, nor is it a party meeting, but that does not mean that art may not be political. The notion of the political is much broader than politics as a profession and the same may be said about art. Regarding the relationship between art and politics, one of his favourite topics, Rancière has written that it concerns not the relationship between fiction and reality, but that between two ways of producing fiction. In other words, politics is not something extraneous to art, it is an integral part of art. And since this is a “living organism” we're talking about, reflecting on that relationship can never be complete, just as the very concepts of art and politics can never be fully reconsidered. Debating about art and politics is thus a typical never-ending story.

Translated from Serbo-croat by Žarko Cvejić

**ALDO MILOHNIĆ** is a sociologist of culture and a research fellow at The Peace Institute – Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies in Ljubljana. He is editor of the *Politike* book series and author of several books, the latest of these – *Theories of Contemporary Theatre and Performing Arts* (2009) – is currently being translated to Serbian. His texts are mostly published in theatre periodicals (*Maska, Frakcija, TkH, Amfiteater, Performance Research*, etc.), catalogues, and essay collections. He has edited a number of special issues of periodicals dedicated to art and culture. He has participated in numerous international conferences on social and cultural theory, the performing arts, and cultural politics, and often lectures at the Contemporary Performing Arts Seminar (*Maska*, Ljubljana). His fields of interest include the sociology of culture, cultural politics, performing arts theory, and the epistemology of social sciences and the humanities.

# AMATEUR, INFORMAL, AUTONOMOUS, ACTIVIST, SELF-ORGANISED ... DARK MATTER AND THE POLITICISATION OF WORK IN ART

This conversation was conducted on the occasion of a lecture given by Gregory Sholette in Belgrade during June of 2011. The lecture was organised as a promotional event for his recently published book *Dark Matter* (Sholette 2010), which addresses the contemporary art system, collective practices, and art-activism, particularly in the American socio-political context. Sholette begins by discussing the notion of *dark matter* as defined in astrophysics – an “invisible mass, so far only perceived indirectly by observing the motions of visible astronomical objects such as stars and galaxies” – and showing that the contemporary art scene functions according to similar principles. The perception of the art system as a glossy surface inhabited by individual star artists and galaxies consisting of new generations of young artists (stimulated by art critics, collectors, dealers, museums, curators, and arts administrators) entails the presence, support, and investment of the remaining 90%: the “invisible” makers and cultural workers, who participate in the art system as either critically oriented producers or lovers of art and its selective consumers. Sholette asks if and how artists, consciously working outside and against the parameters of the mainstream art scene, might appropriate this energy produced by “dark matter” and shed a different light on artistic production and its social status.

**JELENA VESIĆ: LET US BEGIN THIS CONVERSATION BY OBSERVING THAT YOUR BOOK PRESENTS A KIND OF CRITIQUE OF THE “INSTITUTION OF ART” – A CRITIQUE FUNCTIONING AS PETER BÜRGER AS WELL AS ADORNO AND HORKHEIMER DESCRIBED IT AND ONE IN WHICH, IT SEEMS, A CERTAIN ACTUALITY MIGHT STILL BE FOUND. IF CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM AS THE GLOBAL ECONOMICAL-POLITICAL ORDER RESTS ON THE IDEA OF ENTERPRISE “CULTURE” (THE PRINCIPLE OF CULTURAL INDUSTRIES, VARIOUS CONCEPTS OF CULTURALISATION, ETC.), THEN CONTEMPORARY ART DESPERATELY NEEDS SOME KIND OF REFRAMING AND DISTANCING FROM WHAT HAS BEEN PROMOTED AS “CULTURE” OR “ART”. IN OTHER WORDS, IT NEEDS RE-POLITICISING. YOUR BOOK ON “DARK MATTER” EMPHASISES THE TENDENCY OF AN ECONOMIC DETERMINATION IN THE POLITICISATION OF ART. IT REFLECTS ON THE INEQUALITY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND POWER WITHIN THE LARGER FIELD OF ART, WHICH IS IN SOME WAY A CLASSICAL MARXIST OBSERVATION, IN WHICH THE ECONOMY REPRESENTS THE GROUND FOR ANY POLITICISATION OF ART. HOW DO YOU SEE THE CONCEPT OF “DARK MATTER” IN RELATION TO THE CONTEMPORARY ECONOMY AND POLITICISATION OF LABOUR?**

**GREGORY SHOLETTE:** This is an excellent question to start with, because one reason I wrote the book, and one reason I tried to produce what you describe as a “classical” Marxist analysis of contemporary art’s political economy, is the widespread claims by so many artists, critics, curators, and cultural institutions these days that what they are involved with is a form of social critique. It seems being “political” is almost *de rigueur* at this moment, even for artists whose work would have been called abstract or formalist just a couple of decades ago. The fashionable status of “political art” can be gauged by a recent spate of participatory, or socially engaged art projects at the Dia Art Foundation (Franz Erhard Walther: *Work as Action*);<sup>1</sup> New Museum (Chto Delat from Russia, and before that work by 16 Beaver Street founders Rene Gabri and Ayreen Anastas);<sup>2</sup> and New York’s Guggenheim Museum (Futurefarmers).<sup>3</sup> This is not meant as a challenge to the valuable, critical thrust of most of this work, but what I think is imperative now is that anyone who seeks to make a political statement through art must also critique the symbolic and fiscal economy of contemporary art. That is an essential step in the *re-politicization* of art, which might also become a *re-enchantment* of art. *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture* is an intervention aimed at just such a step. At one point I describe this as an interruption of the art world’s “real estate”:

<sup>1</sup> See <http://www.diaart.org/exhibitions/main/109>.

<sup>2</sup> See <http://www.16beavergroup.org/07.16.11.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> See <http://www.guggenheim.org/new-york/press-room/releases/3944-futurefarmersrelease>.

The majority of art world participants are in fact being groomed for failure through a managed system of political (small “p”) underdevelopment. Only those who believe that talent (like noble birth) inevitably determines one’s individual fortune would describe this as natural. And yet that is typically how the art market is described, as a natural economy in which truly gifted artists are rewarded. What would be necessary to see this the other way around? For one thing it might mean that those who exceptionally succeed become a sort of footnote to a broader social intelligence or collective talent. Furthermore, the closer the art world gets to some sort of full employment, the more it would incorporate a mass larger than its own ideological construction. That would appear to be a logical impossibility, unless a very different art world was imagined, with a very different dispensation of artistic “real estate”.

This other, underdeveloped art world is a key constituent of what I call *dark matter* (which I also describe as a hidden social production, a missing mass, and the shadow archive of art history). Not only is this metaphor aimed at linking the success of the few with the structural failure of the majority, but it also invokes the inaudible nature of this missing mass. In other words, *dark matter* has no discourse of its own. Which is why I associate the majority of professionally trained artists, trained to fail with an even larger number of informal or amateur artists who simply do not care about professional rewards like having an army of assistants, or getting global critical exposure, or first class air tickets to one’s opening in Venice, or dining with museum directors and wealthy board members at the MoMA or New Museum. But before we try to reframe art politically, before we attempt to tear it away from enterprise culture and disaster capitalism, we must first acknowledge just how deeply it (and we) are entwined with the market. And yes, art of course has always been a kind of business, at least since the time of the Renaissance. And yes, it certainly was so in days of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Parisian avant-garde. Nevertheless as critics from Chin-Tao Wu, to Julian Stallabrass, to Martha Rosler have shown the re-structuring of the world economy that has taken place since the late 1970s (in the US and UK, and after 1989 for Eastern Europeans) has also fundamentally altered the production of art, driving it, its critics, curators, and entire exhibition apparatus deeper into the folds of global finance capital. Wu puts it this way: corporate business influence is “well advanced in every phase of contemporary art – in its production, dissemination and reception” (Wu 2003, 2). This is why I agree with my former professor Jean-Pierre Gorin who together with Jean-Luc Godard insisted (and I am re-phrasing this): the aim is not to make political art, but to make art politically.

**J.V.: WHAT IS HAPPENING WITH IDEOLOGY IN THIS PARTICULAR “STORY ON ART”? YOU MENTIONED IN YOUR BELGRADE LECTURE THAT THE NOTION OF IDEOLOGY ITSELF IS NOT SO IMPORTANT FOR THE POLITICAL ARTISTS YOU WROTE ABOUT... IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO HEAR WHY AND WHAT YOU THINK ABOUT NEGLECTING IDEOLOGY, SINCE CAPITALISM ITSELF ALSO TENDS TO PRESENT ITSELF AS NON-IDEOLOGICAL, HAND-IN-HAND WITH POSTMODERNIST CLAIMS REGARDING THE END OF IDEOLOGY... ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU SAID THAT YOU INTENTIONALLY WROTE *DARK MATTER* TENDENTIOUSLY, ACCORDING TO WALTER BENJAMIN’S IDEAS ON POLITICAL TENDENCIES...**

**G.S.:** I arrived on New York City’s Lower East Side in 1977 in order to attend art school at The Cooper Union. Coming from the suburbs of Philadelphia my white working class / lower middle class world was soon transformed by life in Manhattan. The city was still in the thralls of a massive economic and social meltdown. But unlike the suburbs this deterioration was everywhere evident. Subways did not work, public hospitals were being shuttered, schools forced to close. This meant making a deal with the finance, insurance, and real estate industries to essentially steal the city out from under the unions and working people. It was in this context that my understanding of ideology and its critique were born. One of my first art classes was with the German artist Hans Haacke, an artist who has remained a friend and an inspiration to me these past 35 years. Anyway, in this so-called sculpture class Haacke suggested a series of readings to us, art students. This was something of a surprise in what was supposed to be a studio course, still, I took on the challenge with a certain hunger to learn. One of Haacke’s recommended texts was Roland Barthes’s *Mythologies*, and another was Benjamin’s “Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction”. At the time I was already struggling with Marx’s first volume of *Capital*, as well as studying the little known history of the American Left with a group of labor activists. But what Marx was doing to my perception of day-to-day reality – literally turning it on its head – Benjamin and Barthes now did to my notion of art. Barthes’s “reading” of a *Paris Match* magazine cover, or even a piece of plastic, as a kind of alibi for a whole different set of politically loaded meanings or myths about colonialism, racism, and class was compelling. Looking around me at a crumbling Lower Manhattan and then entering a SoHo art gallery filled with geometrically shaped canvas and minimalist cubes seemed to be a profound disconnect, especially when compared to the critical insights I was gaining from these readings. What Haacke and a few other artists and critics of his generation as well as the one following (including Buren, Gorin, Rosler, Sekula, Lonidier, Burgin, and early Kosuth, as well as critics such as Lippard, Buchloh, Foster, Owens, and John Berger among others) were focused on, was demythologizing or demystifying the

everyday surfaces of things, including advertising in some instances (Burgin, Rosler, Sekula, Lonidier), as well as high art in other cases (Haacke, Buren).<sup>4</sup> This typically involved linking a familiar image, or set of images, with a “revelatory” text that exposed something the image was directly or indirectly “covering-up”. The unmentioned figure animating all of this 1970s de-mystification art, performance art, cinema and video was Bertolt Brecht. Barthes, Benjamin, and Brecht formed a triumvirate of multi-generational intellectuals who transformed a group of 1970s conceptual artists into a virtual school of demystification art.<sup>5</sup> Soon enough, significantly contoured and extended by feminism, psychoanalysis, post-colonialism, and a politicized critical post-structuralism this ideological critique would directly or indirectly mold a coarsely defined circle of artists from the next generation who, often working collectively, include Group Material (1979–1997), Political Art Documentation/Distribution or PAD/D (1980–1988), Guerrilla Girls (1985–present), Gran Fury (1988–1994), REPOhistory (1989–2000), and also tactical media groups such as Critical Art Ensemble (1986–present) and The Yes Men (2000–present), among others.

Now to turn at last to your specific question about the current situation, what I perceive taking place today is a decided shift away from ideology critique (aka demystification, demythologizing, de-mythification), and towards something that might be described as re-mythification. Somehow the presentation of a factual, documentable misalignment between the image and what it depicts suddenly lacks the capacity to dent conventional reality, let alone overturn its political institutions. By contrast, let me select just two examples of demystification in the US from the field of journalism. First is the 1966 publication of the *Pentagon Papers* that shocked the American public into disbelieving official government narratives about the war in Vietnam, and second consider how the exposure of the Watergate Hotel break-in brought down the Nixon White House in the 1970s. I am certain you will think of similar cases from the pre-capitalist era in which the official face of the state was suddenly interrupted or momentarily dematerialized. That said, it is perhaps the art of the former Yugoslavia including Laibach and IRWIN (NSK) that most clearly defines the new position in which ideology is not demystified, but instead is approached as a kind of artistic medium to be used in paintings, music, and theater. If, as Žižek has proposed, this aesthetic “performance of ideology” generates an over-identification with the state’s ideal image of unified national being, and perhaps even leads to a self-awareness of this ontological misapprehension, then we do return to some form of ideology critique. However, that is not necessarily a definite outcome of this intervention. And in some cases, and perhaps this is true for NSK, it is not even the intention. In the weakest or worst of all situations the over-identification reinforces nationalist, racist, xenophobic tendencies rather than confronting them. (Although I am not in a position to argue this with regard to NSK, I have serious doubts about the “critical” substance of artist Santiago Sierra.)<sup>6</sup> What I think we are seeing finally is a shift whereby a critique based on the desire and the pleasure of epistemological correction is exchanged for the desire and pleasure of ontological experimentation. This is perhaps why the influence of Joseph Beuys now exceeds that of Hans Haacke, or any of the other artists or critics whom I was mentored by in the late 1970s and early 1980s that I am associating with the “school” of ideology critique.

**J.V.: THE CRITICAL AND POLITICAL ART THAT YOU WRITE ABOUT INTERSECTS WITH VARIOUS AMATEUR, INFORMAL, UN-OFFICIAL, AUTONOMOUS, ACTIVIST, AND SELF-ORGANISED PRACTICES THAT YOU DEFINE AS INFRA-INSTITUTIONAL. HOW WOULD YOU EXPLAIN THIS INFRA-VISIBILITY IN THE BROADER FRAMEWORK OF UNDERSTANDING WHAT THE INSTITUTION OF ART MIGHT BE TODAY? IT SEEMS THAT TODAY THE COMPLEX QUESTION OF INSTITUTIONS IS OFTEN REDUCED EITHER TO THE SIMPLE OPPOSITION OF AN ANARCHIST ALL-OUT NEGATION OF ANY INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OR TO THE INTELLECTUALIST RESIGNATION OVER THE ALL-PERVASIVE POWER OF THE INSTITUTIONS. THE BOUNDARIES OF AN INSTITUTION, UNDERSTOOD IN THE NARROW SENSE OF “STATE APPARATUSES”, ARE RELATIVELY EASY TO DETECT, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME THE VERY NOTION OF INSTITUTION CAN BE UNDERSTOOD MORE BROADLY – AS “SOCIALLY ORGANIZED AND NORMATIVELY REGULATED BEHAVIOR” – AND THEN WE BEGIN SPEAKING ABOUT SOMETHING THAT IS DEEPLY EMBEDDED IN OUR EVERYDAY PRACTICES. I WONDER IF SUCH A STRICT DICHOTOMISATION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL “INSIDE”, WHICH IS, SAY, ADMINISTERED BY THE STATE, AND THE NON-INSTITUTIONAL “OUTSIDE”, WHICH IS SPONTANEOUS OR SELF-ORGANISED, MIGHT NOT OVERSIMPLIFY NOT ONLY OUR UNDERSTANDING OF CONTEMPORARY ART INSTITUTIONS, BUT ALSO THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL THINKING AND ACTING BY MEANS OF ART.**

<sup>4</sup> Allow me to note here that as best as I can recall the terms “deconstruction” and “deconstructing” only began to enter the language of political artists in New York in the mid-1980s, shortly after the 1984 publication of an English translation of Derrida’s *Grammatology*, and often was used erroneously in many cases at least from a philosophical point of view.

<sup>5</sup> For more about Brecht and 1970s conceptual artists I recommend a recent essay by art historian Philip Glan entitled “21st Century Brecht”, *Afterimage* vol. 38 No. 6, May/June 2011, pp. 12-15; <http://www.vsw.org/ai/issues/afterimage-vol-38-no-6/>.

<sup>6</sup> Counter to Sierra’s strategy of reframing “exploitation” by means of art I analysed the Swampwalls project of rebellion in the text “Swampwalls project Dark Matter & the Lumpen Army of Art”, <http://proximitymagazine.com/2008/12/swampwalls/>.

**G.S.:** Your description is precisely how I would explain the “institution of art” – as a more complex arena of conformity and dissent and occasionally “self-organized” resistance than most of the discourse today allows for. Therefore, the notion of infra-institutional would mean conceptual and consequent non-visibility, as well as un-nameability in the discourses of the art market and mainstream museums or even many non-profit art spaces.

**J.V.: HOW DO YOU SITUATE THESE “INFRA-INSTITUTIONAL” PRACTICES IN RELATION TO THE ART-HISTORICAL FIGURE OF “INSTITUTIONAL CRITIQUE”?**

**G.S.:** I would get back to the last part of my answer to the previous question in which I describe a shift that has occurred amongst some artists from a concern with issues of epistemology to those of ontology so that a critical art practice that once sought out deeper truth or truths invisible to conventional perception has, in many ways, given way to artistic focus on building forms of collective experience and group identification. This mythos-building tendency ideally wishes to differentiate itself from the social imaginary offered by either the market or by the state (and granted these may be the same thing at this stage). Nevertheless, by not producing an analysis of ideological construction it risks re-asserting precisely that which it seeks to exceed or exit from. Consequently, the informal, three-person collective Paper Rad that I discuss in *Dark Matter* may sincerely wish to be subversively “other” – to be other than traditional artists, other than singular authors, other than market-driven creative laborers – and yet all of those conventional characteristics have managed to catch-up and overtake them and their work (Sholette 2010, 26–28). Maybe that would happen even if the group had a keener understanding of how the art world operates (although at this point after appearing in several biennials and at the Tate, I am certain their insights are better than mine). Still, the failure to weigh carefully the role art institutions play in constructing one’s artistic identity all but assures us that resistance to its economic, historical, and social materiality will founder, if not backfire.

As for what is now officially described as institutional critique these days, I think it has largely been accepted as a form of entertainment useful for attracting a sophisticated, more scholarly audience in-between more popular exhibitions and programs. What I fear is that socially engaged activist art is heading in that same direction, not because it has surpassed the critique of institutions, but because it has abandoned this level of cultural confrontation as merely the province of art world academics.

**J.V.: SO, INSTEAD OF THE “PROVINCE OF ART WORLD ACADEMICS”, YOU HAVE CHOSEN THE SO-CALLED MOCK-INSTITUTIONS AND A CHAPTER IN YOUR BOOK IS DEDICATED TO THIS TACTICAL FORMATION...**

**G.S.:** Yes, the “mock-institution”, a survival mechanism that seems patently clear to me as younger artists devise a means to sustain themselves in a society no longer supportive of collective activity, that is to say, a society that is no longer a society. But this new institutionality is not really new, nor could it exist without – please pardon my phrasing here – the institutionalization of institutional critique as a negative example for so many informal groups and collectives. Using whatever means is at hand this recent wave of artistic collectivism tinkers with the shards of societal wreckage, taking it apart, reassembling it again, and even parodying or clowning with the very function of institutions. All of this is very different from the militant oppositional politics of the 1960s, 1970s, and even early 1980s. For example PAD/D sought to sustain a culture of the Left as a separate realm apart from the mainstream art world. It was still possible to imagine belonging to a broader mass movement as late as the 1980s. By contrast, the politics of the new mock-institutions and e-collectivism is provisional, flexible, and plastic. Their tactics of position as opposed to ideological conviction find their most precise theorist in the work of Michel de Certeau.

Writing at a historical moment that Paolo Virno described as the aftermath of a failed revolution, Certeau’s signature book *The Practice of Everyday Life* sought to make the best of a bad situation by emphasizing day-to-day social resistance over mass action. Rejecting the confrontational and spatially defined politics of leftist parties and unions, Certeau called for critical tactics that insinuate themselves “into the other’s place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance”. Because it has no space of its own this seemingly fragile, barely political entity depends entirely on opportunities that are seized upon as they arise. These opportunities do not arise in grand confrontations with power such as mass demonstrations or sit-ins, but within everyday situations such as talking, reading, moving about, shopping, or cooking. Furthermore, this non-ideological agency holds no political ground because “whatever it wins, it does not keep”. It has no laws to apply, no jurisdiction to uphold.

Most ambiguously of all Certeau insists, “it has no image of itself”.

All of which may explain why one of the most common survival tactics employed by this new small-scale and informal collectivism is that of imitating the intangible realm of organizational signification and embodiment. Call this a kind of institutional mimicry (or mockinstitutionalism), it is as in a time of derelict institutions and failed

states that the imitative artist, the one Socrates once warned of, has taken up the bits and pieces of a broken world, and transformed them into an improved, second-order social reality *extraordinaire*. As if superimposing two different states of being in the world – one deeply suspicious of institutional authority of any sort and therefore informally organized, and one mimicking, sometimes with impressive precision, the actual function of institutions, these mock-institutions appear to be filling a gap left by a missing social reality. While backing up in disgust of actual institutions the mockstitution literally wins up being a substitute for what it abhors. And they often operate as well as or even better than the “real thing”!

The Yes Men, for example, embody stereotypical business executives with such monochromatic precision they gain access to “real” corporate conferences, press events, and mass media coverage. Chicago-based Temporary Services personify municipal civil servants. Factory of Found Clothing (FNO) is neither a mill, nor a sweatshop, but it does manufacture performance and installation art, engage in social skill-building workshops and produce conscious-raising media projects to bolster Russian feminism largely forsaken since the days of radical communists. Both on and offline, Critical Art Ensemble, Carbon Defense League and the Institute for Applied Autonomy develop open source “hacks” and reverse engineer technologies for retrofitting computers, public spaces, and genetically modified foods, all in name of self-determination.

**J.V.: TODAY WE HEAR A NUMBER OF DIFFERING VOICES REGARDING STRATEGIES OF THE POLITICISATION OF ART. SOME OF THEM ARE RE-ACTUALISING “OLD-FASHIONED” HISTORICAL AVANT-GARDE POSITIONS, WHEREBY ARTISTIC INNOVATION AND AESTHETIC-EFFECTIVE IMPACT MUST GO HAND-IN-HAND WITH THE PRODUCTION OF SOCIAL MEANING. OTHERS ARE TRYING TO RECLAIM THE POLITICALITY OF THE “WHITE CUBE”, RELYING ON SPECULATIVE AND IMAGINATIVE POTENTIALS OF ART AND ITS SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE, AND UNDERLINING THEIR CAPACITY TO TRANSFORM INDIVIDUALS AND COLLECTIVES AND PRODUCE SOCIAL CHANGE. THE THIRD VIEW APPEARS IN THE FORM OF CONTEMPORARY ART-ACTIVIST CRITIQUE OF THE AFOREMENTIONED STANDPOINTS, NEGATING THE ENTIRE “REPRESENTATIONALIST” HISTORY OF ART AS BOURGEOIS AND THEREFORE REACTIONARY, PROPOSING THE STRATEGY OF “DIRECT ACTION” INSTEAD AND, IN GENERAL, A CERTAIN IMMEDIACY IN ADDRESSING POLITICAL ISSUES. WHICH HISTORY OF “POLITICAL ART” (DISTRIBUTED IN RECENT ART-HISTORICAL, CULTURAL-POLITICAL, AND THEORETICAL WRITINGS, AND CURATORIAL PRACTICES) HAS BEEN RELEVANT FOR YOUR WRITINGS?**

**G.S.:** The term “political art” is always contested, as it should be as Gorin and Goddard insisted, but if we take Benjamin seriously, as well as Adorno and many others of that generation of thinkers, there is no such thing as non- or apolitical art. All culture is political, even if it assumes the form of autonomous art or art for art’s sake.

For the end of conversation I would like to present something that I researched recently and which may be seen as a short history of “political art” that is focused on the United States and New York City context:

It is widely known for example that prominent 20<sup>th</sup>-century European and American artists including Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, Barnett Newman, Ad Reinhardt, and Stuart Davis all held openly left-wing political views about art and society. Less well known are the many attempts by non-mainstream political parties or by the artists themselves to institutionalize artistic practice as a counter-productive and oppositional cultural force. One goal of this collectivization has been to allow artists to make work that would support alternative politics: third-world liberation struggles, working-class politics and giving voice to the rights of minorities. But on another level it is aimed at supporting artists who did not want to produce work for wealthy collectors or government institutions, thus a kind of “counter-productive industry”. In the United States this critical, counter-productive organizing can be first seen among those artists associated with the International Workers of the World (aka the Wobblies) in the 1910s. Indeed, from the turn of the century on up until the late 1940s, a powerful labor movement – much of it supported by the American Communist Party and other left organizations – did strongly influence visual artists, writers, filmmakers, and other cultural producers throughout the United States. In New York City this conjunction of art and politics took the form of the John Reed Club (JRC) that was founded in 1929 as an outgrowth of the radical literary magazine *New Masses*. Additional chapters of JRC were soon started in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Detroit, San Francisco, and Hollywood, California. According to the British art historian Andrew Hemingway, despite the fact that the New York chapter was tied to the Communist Party, the struggle between political and artistic interests was an ongoing battle never resolved in favor of either position. Hemingway writes that “the clubs made up a loose federation of quite diverse bodies on which party workers... struggled to impose some kind of direction... In fact writers and artists were pretty much left to try and work out their own paths to revolutionary art” (Hemingway 2002).

This tension between political strategy and aesthetic practice, between individual freedom and collective need remains a key antagonism found within subsequent activist-related art movements. One could even argue that productivity is only

possible because of the suppression, or at least containment of internal antagonisms between those that produce and those that command and appropriate. Yet, what is characteristic of so much “oppositional” or counter-historical cultural practices is the way they have thrived on instability. Needless to say, instability is also the best way to describe the history of the American left.

By the late 1940s and early 1950s the United States government had largely destroyed the Communist Party and other left political parties through a well-known campaign of legislative repression and social ostracism. What followed was a period in which artists struggled more with their “inner” demons than those of war, poverty, and injustice. However the “abstract expressionist” years were not entirely apolitical. As the art historian John Hutton points out: “it is important to remember that the issue is not politicization per se, but the relative degree of political activity and political content in the work and lives of the artists and critics from the 1940s on...” (Hutton 1998).

Artists may not have organized in groups as before (or afterwards), but individual artists including Robert Motherwell, Jacob Lawrence, Pablo Picasso, Romare Bearden, and Barnett Newman among others did openly address political issues from disarmament to the cultural and political suppression of the African American community. By the mid to late 1960s, widespread support for the civil rights movement as well as a new, often militant feminism converged with opposition to the Vietnam War. These political battle lines began to influence the activity, if not always the practice of many artists. As Lucy R. Lippard has commented: “They [artists] were supposed to be the freest of all. Yet, in fact, the radicalization of a small sector of the art community led many artists to explore their own socially-conditioned prisons – to see how far esthetic freedom stretched, how much of it was illusory, and even how much their esthetics were determined by the institutions that decided their fates” (Lippard 1990, 13).

In 1962 four painters – Leon Golub, Nancy Spero, May Stevens, and the late Rudolf Baranik – formed Artists and Writers Protest. Several years later they organized one of the major anti-war art actions of the period called *Angry Arts Week* incorporating dance, music, film, art, poetry, and photography by some 600 artists into a mass cultural protest against the Vietnam War. Visual artists contributed a 10 by 120-foot installation called the Collage of Indignation made by some 150 artists. Still, artists who were not used to expressing political outrage in their art grappled with the problem of inventing a “radical” aesthetic, much the same way artists had in the days of the John Reed Clubs. The massive, collaborative work prompted Leon Golub to remark that: “there is refined and subtle protest on the Collage, but essentially the work is angry – against the war, against the bombing, against President Johnson, etc. The Collage is gross, vulgar, clumsy, ugly!”<sup>7</sup>

In 1969, several cooperative artist groups were founded including the Black Emergency Cultural Coalition, Women Artists in Revolution and the Art Workers Coalition or AWC (1969-1971). AWC was initially formed by several foreign-born artists including Takis Vassilakis, Len Lye, Wen-Ying Tsai, and Hans Haacke, but it first organized around a specific objective: to compel the Museum of Modern Art to treat living artists with the respect and support reserved for mostly dead ones. Soon enough, other social and political issues, especially support for the anti-war movement, were added to the AWC agenda. But individually, AWC members own artistic work remained mostly formal and apolitical in nature.

By the 1970s, artists often gathered to register protest against nuclear power, the arms race, and the violent, US-backed overthrow of democratically elected Chilean President Salvador Allende by General Augusto Pinochet. Still, organized action was primarily aimed at changing the politics of the art world rather than transforming the practice and distribution of art itself. But in December of 1975 a new group calling itself Artists Meeting for Social Change or AMCC was organized in New York City with the stated purpose of unifying artists in the “struggle for a non-exploitative society”. AMCC was itself a response to a specific event: the Whitney Museum of American Art’s 1976 bicentennial exhibition *American Art: An Exhibition from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III*. AMCC countered that the 106 works in the exhibition “picture a United States made up mostly of great and wealthy men”. What began as a focused protest broadened to become what AMCC member Alan Wallach described as “an attempt to reveal the class bias inherent in the institutions of ‘official’ culture” (Wallach 1998). During the following year, seventeen AMCC members went on to produce an anti-catalog, a carefully researched retort to the Whitney exhibition. This non-inclusion consisted of Native and African American artists and the representation of women and working people absent from Whitney’s “Rockefeller” exhibition (as well as most other major museum collections of that time).

By the early 1980s, a shift in both the focus and the form of socially-engaged art appears. Rather than leave the studio to engage in protest activities, artists attempted to bring that opposition into their art-making practice itself. Such non-art world issues as support for low-income housing and against the gentrification of the Lower East Side, protection of abortion rights then under increasing fire by the newly elected Reagan administration, and an end to discrimination against minorities and women in the art world began to find direct expression in

<sup>7</sup> Leon Golub quoted in Lucy R. Lippard’s book *A Different War: Vietnam in Art*, Seattle, The Real Comet Press, 1990, p. 13. Note: the place of ugliness – as opposed to aesthetic beauty – has yet to be fully examined in relation to social practice and activist art.



the art work of engaged artists. This in turn led to a questioning of how art was distributed since even the most vehement protest can be neutralized by a cool, white, gallery space. What dominated the early 1980s then was a politicized, typically public art that took the form of collaboration between artists and political activists. Consider New York City in the years between 1979 and 1982 when such alignments included: Artists for Nuclear Disarmament, Artists against Nuclear Madness, Artists for Survival, The Women's Pentagon Action, the Anti-WWIII Show, Dangerous Works (anti-nuclear network), The Real Estate Show, The Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, various pro-choice actions by No More Nice Girls and an artists' contingent at the massive 1981 March against the Pentagon. At the same time several longer-lived, socially engaged art groups established themselves including Sisters of Survival (1982-1986), Deep Dish and Paper Tiger Television collectives (1981 to present), World War Three Illustrated comic collective (1980 to present), Group Material (1979-1997), Political Art Documentation/Distribution (a.k.a. PAD/D, 1980-1986), and Carnival Knowledge (1980-1985).<sup>8</sup>

Nor was the issue of *pleasure* – personal as well as collective – absent from activist, political art at this time.

If far more visible in the art of the last ten to fifteen years, the politics of sexuality have seldom been more adventurous than in Carnival Knowledge, an art collective that sought to “confront the distortions of pornography, and revitalize our erotic perceptions by creating a feminist porn”. Carnival Knowledge presented outdoor exhibitions including *Bazaar Conceptions* – a 1982 street fair combining side-show like art constructions, voter registration tables, and a tap dance about how to use a diaphragm – and *2<sup>nd</sup> Coming*, an installation at Franklin Furnace in 1984. The women and men of Carnival Knowledge provoked, educated, and aroused viewers through a combination of activist politics and erotica (and certainly there can be nothing more “counter-productive” than a woman who chooses sexual freedom over reproducing the species).

It's worth noting that several years before the well-publicized rightwing attack on Mapplethorpe and Serrano, the Moral Majority launched a campaign to defund Franklin Furnace precisely over *2<sup>nd</sup> Coming*. One cannot help speculating about the kind of debate an openly political, sexually libertine collective of artists like Carnival Knowledge might have generated had they become the focus of the NEA debates in the early 1990s. By 1990, the art world was being humbled by the 1987 collapse of the stock market. This combined with the evaporation of public funding under Reagan in 1980, made the late 1980s and most of the 1990s an inhospitable place for independent “free” expression, especially as smaller art venues scrambled for dollars by appearing more legitimate, that is to say, more “conservative” and less risk-oriented. Nevertheless, several new artist self-organized groups were formed in New York about this time, most notably the Guerrilla Girls (1985 to present) and Gran Fury (1988-1992). Unlike PAD/D or Group Material, these new collectives focused their political agenda on specific issues including opposition to racial and gender-based discrimination by museums and galleries, and the culpability of the medical and political establishment in the spread of the HIV virus. The work of Gran Fury and the Guerrilla Girls also re-worked many of the activist strategies first tried in the early 1980s, substituting expensive commercial advertising techniques for low cost street flyers and street stencils. By directly appealing to the aesthetic of mainstream pop culture both groups aimed to place activist art in the mainstream. But what was a singularly sophisticated resolution to the problem of politics and aesthetics also happened to coincide with the fading of critical tension between high and low art and the disappearance of a perceivable public arena of cultural dissent in urban centers.

Some aspects of the art activism of preceding years (1960s and 1970s) appeared in groups such as REPOhistory (which I co-founded in 1989, and which was disbanded in 2000), and the Asian/Pacific Islander American artists and curators group known collectively as Godzilla (c. 1988, but no longer active), as well as some still active including Guerrilla Girls, Paper Tiger, Pirate Radio, Dyke Action Machine, Critical Art Ensemble, etc. But not one of these organizations aimed or aims to establish a counter-cultural network with other progressive artists, media activists, and Left intellectuals such as that once proposed by PAD/D and others at the start of the 1980s (or like the John Reed Clubs in the 1930s).

Today the question is not which “transgressive” artistic strategy might work against a system that actively mimics its opponents, but how to re-frame a critical art practice as well as issues of personal freedom once again within a larger political and social agenda. Understanding the implications and legacy of political activism is one means of initiating this critical repossession.<sup>9</sup> It would be disingenuous of me to suggest, however, that the art collectives and collaborations touched upon here provide a single, or always satisfactory resolution to the contested space surrounding individual versus collective freedom. Rather, such groups are characterized by their overdetermined and discontinuous nature, their repetitions and instability. Yet however intermittent, the intellectual and sensual pleasure made available through collective activity is unique. Therefore, the real question is how artists (and by

<sup>8</sup> This list is compiled from the first few issues of Political Art Documentation and Distribution's newsletter *Upfront*, 1981 and 1982.

<sup>9</sup> An elaboration of this argument is made in my essay “News from Nowhere: Activist Art and After, Report from New York”, *Third Text*, Spring 1999, pp. 45-62.

extension others) might begin to counter the compulsory “collectivity” of the “new” economy, with its simultaneous demand for bliss in the workplace and accelerated productivity at all times. No doubt this challenge can be answered by realizing a different kind of collectivity with its own pleasures and uncertainty, freedoms and risks. The birth of this yet-to-be-determined counter-productive practice may lie just ahead.

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**GREGORY SHOLETTE** is a New York-based artist, writer, and founding member of *Political Art Documentation/Distribution* (PAD/D, 1980-1988) and *REPOhistory* (1989-2000). His recent publications include *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture*; *Collectivism after Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination after 1945* (with Blake Stimson); and *The Interventionists: Users' Manual for the Creative Disruption of Everyday Life* (with Nato Thompson). He teaches at the Department of Visual and Environmental Studies at Harvard University; also, he is a faculty member of the CCC post-graduate research programme at the Geneva University of Art and Design, and is currently Chair of the MFA Programme in Studio Art, as well as an Assistant Professor of Sculpture at Queens College of the City University of New York (CUNY).



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tkh@tkh-generator.net  
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\*\* Deschooling Classroom (0^0) addresses the contemporary independent cultural scenes in the region, researching and offering an alternative to the hierarchical models of education in the art and culture. Deschooling Classroom is project by TkH theoretical-artistic platform in partnership with the organization Kontrapunkt, and is financially supported by the Swiss Cultural Programme in the Western Balkans.

www.balcancontemporary.org  
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