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The exhibition *Really Useful Knowledge* transforms the Museo Reina Sofía into a laboratory for education, pedagogy, and ideas. This timely exhibition challenges visitors to explore the role of knowledge in recent history and in the present—a time of so-called information societies, in which discourses flow in opposite directions and knowledge expands but appears to be constrained by its ubiquity and its multitude of sources.

Although its roots stretch much further back, the clearest precursor of the current interest in the uses of knowledge dates from the early nineteenth century, with the dawning awareness of the desirability of a type of education that goes beyond mechanical skills and productive activities. This legacy has come down to us today, but it is clearly in need of reformulation. This is the deeper significance of an exhibition based on a critical review of pedagogy, a reassessment of our ways of learning, and an analysis of the means and resources allocated to education.

This project stands out among the exhibitions that the Museo Reina Sofía has organized to present the results of long-term processes of artistic and intellectual dialogue and research. These “thesis” exhibitions show us a museum that sees itself as a living institution that is not simply a container for our visual culture but is above all an important catalyst for reflection and public debate. The very act of organizing an exhibition of this type in a space dedicated to modern and contemporary art is an example of how knowledge now flows from various sources simultaneously, how it moves outside the academic world, and how it is enriched when it comes into contact with citizens.

Really Useful Knowledge springs from close, horizontal collaboration between the Museo Reina Sofía and other European museums within the L’Internationale network: an example of transinstitutional cooperation that is starting to produce the visible results of intense collaborative work. **J**

— Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport



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In his classic book *Orientalism*, Edward Said—echoing the maxim of the philosopher Francis Bacon via Michel Foucault—argued that knowledge is power. And, he added, the accumulation of knowledge entails an automatic accumulation of power. This was a principle that operated in his object of study: the colonial logic of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Our own situation today appears to demand a restructuring of this equation of directly proportional growth, but it also requires us to look to the past in order to understand the tangible or intangible values that have been associated with knowledge. The notion of “really useful knowledge” that this exhibition is based on emerged in a context contemporaneous to the one Said writes about: the early decades of the nineteenth century, which coincided with the working classes’ growing awareness of the role of education in their emancipation. Back then the expression was coined to refer to kinds of knowledge that, beyond the reach of the working masses and behind an apparent nonproductiveness, masked the superstructure underlying an order that was still thoroughly hierarchical. Enabling more individuals and social groups to access it entailed the disturbing possibility of a mass transfer of knowledge in areas such as politics, philosophy, and economics that had previously been reserved for elites and was, perhaps intentionally, shrouded in arcane, almost magical secrecy. The transformation of this knowledge into “really useful knowledge” by those who aspired to become active subjects of the society in which they lived showed a new awareness that all of us today are heirs to: the realization that the value of knowledge does not rely on a measurable level of productivity, that there is a radical difference between value in use and price.

Nowadays, the flow of interconnected discourses in an elusive and boundless global context seems to run parallel to a gradual elitization and commercialization of the academic world. Given this context, is an understanding of the new role of education even possible, as the exhibition suggests? If so, questions such as what criteria define the usefulness of knowledge today, and what strategies can be used to enable access to it, would seem pertinent. While the encyclopedic thought of the Enlightenment ventured to catalog and classify the world’s knowledge, to delimit empirical

experience of reality and make it legible, the contemporary individual finds himself tackling a very different task: to sift through the enormous amount of information that is produced and select the parts that seem to address him. In this process he is the victim of overfeeding, of a saturation that does not allow him to contextualize and connect each of the messages he receives through different means. This situation could be summed up in an image: at the goods issue area of a factory, a copious, useless surplus conceals from the eyes of the workers the products that are earmarked for the market: that which has real value.

A critical pedagogy such as the one that inspires this exhibition can only be based on a conception of the individual as a subject with the capacity to emancipate himself, personally and at the social level; ultimately, with the capacity to discriminate among the discursive flood that threatens to engulf him. In this sense, really useful knowledge would be something like **Edgar Allan Poe's** purloined letter, which was invisible to everybody because it was hidden in plain sight, presiding over the room, on the mantelpiece.

Knowledge has now become the raw material that fuels cognitive capitalism in its control of the production of intangible assets, the value of which is increasingly unable to escape market dynamics. Nowadays, knowledge is often generated in the form of an inert, massive stockpile of data for individual use, which silently bear witness to the gradual disappearance of the public sphere: through a surprising play on words, the equating of production and knowledge and the use of stock market or commercial terminology in unrelated academic disciplines seems to suggest a return to remote contexts such as the one that gave rise to the concept we are dealing with here—a return that paradoxically comes from the opposite direction: from a seemingly free and universal access to knowledge.

We have moved from a time when “really useful knowledge” was shrouded in an almost cabalistic guise of secrecy and inaccessibility, to a time—our own—in which this supposedly universal access functions as a thick screen that seals off the ultimate meaning of the knowledge and, above all, its uses. We are in danger of returning to a situation in which knowledge is “gnosis”—the supreme form of knowledge that initiates could attain and that Gnosticism sought in a complex philosophical-religious context in antiquity. And this

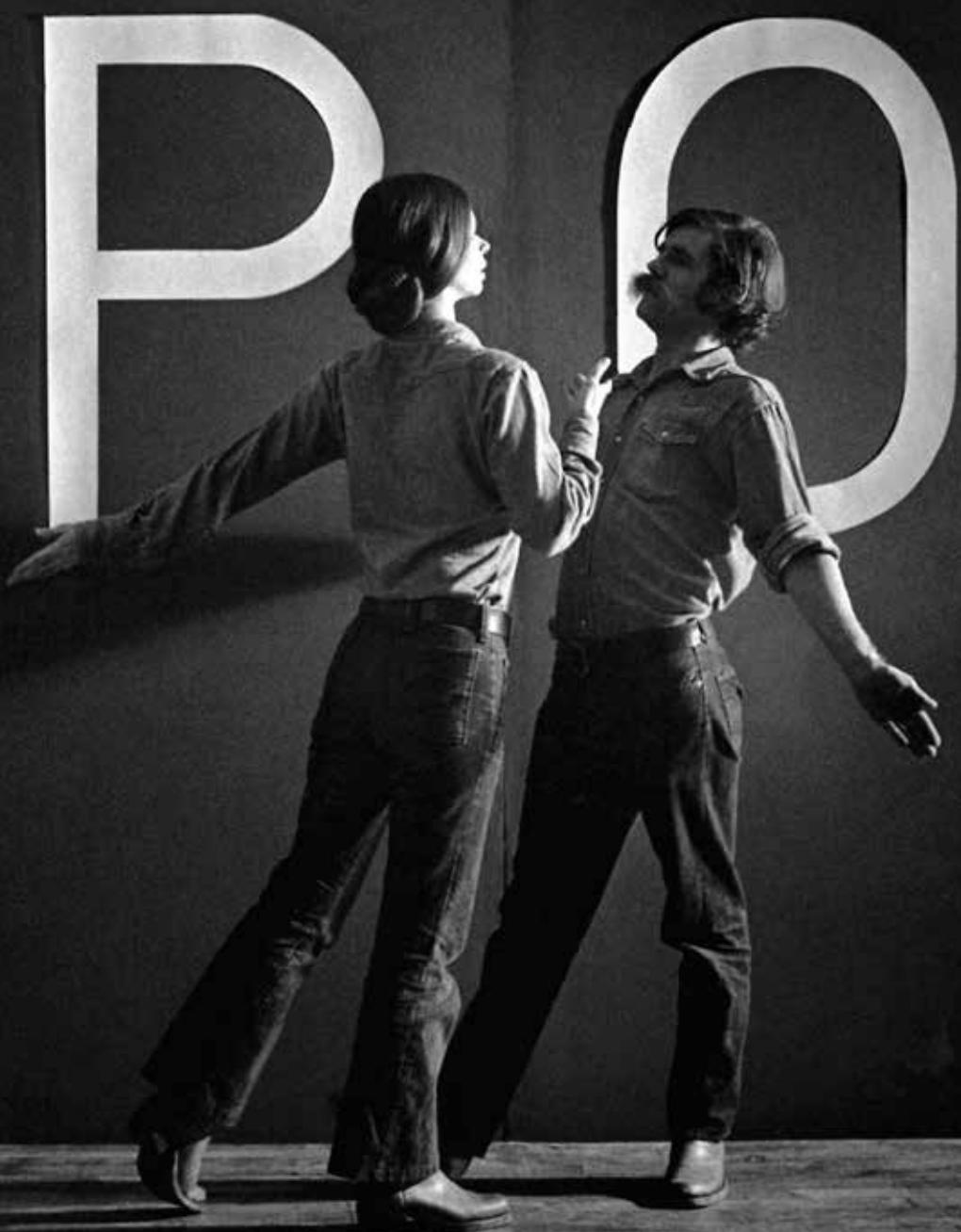
danger leads to the desire to distill that which is knowledge from that which is not; that which is productive from that which is, in a loose and open sense, *useful*.

This exhibition springs from the capacity of the arts to set up relationships that are not mediated by knowledge, to support critical thought, and to chart unexpected connections that can create invisible communities and new experiences of the common sphere, and to share them. In its complex and sometimes hermetic tautology, gnoseology—the discourse on knowledge itself—can turn to artistic production as a valuable tool, one that is not just illustrative but above all speculative in itself. The **Museo Reina Sofía** thus becomes a testing ground for new pedagogies: a laboratory that reminds us of the possibility of collectively enjoying public experiments, actions, and resources, based on the analysis of artistic forms interacting with social relations, be they real, from the past and the present, or desired.

This new project in a sense runs parallel to and complements a series of other exhibitions that materialized in these rooms and originated in research projects that the **Museo Reina Sofía** is involved in. From *The Potosí Principle*, which explored the role of the primitive accumulation of capital in the early modern age, to the more recent *Playgrounds*, an exhibition that paved the way for this latest one by analyzing the proportional relationship between work time and leisure time, between recreation and productivity, that characterizes the world we live in. *Really Useful Knowledge* offers both a diagnosis of one of the challenges facing the institution as a generator of knowledge and an excellent opportunity to reconsider the museum's institutional role in this regard. **JF**

— **Manuel Borja-Villel**

DIRECTOR, MUSEO NACIONAL CENTRO DE ARTE REINA SOFÍA



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carole condé & karl beveridge





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carole condé & karl beveridge





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carole condé & karl beveridge

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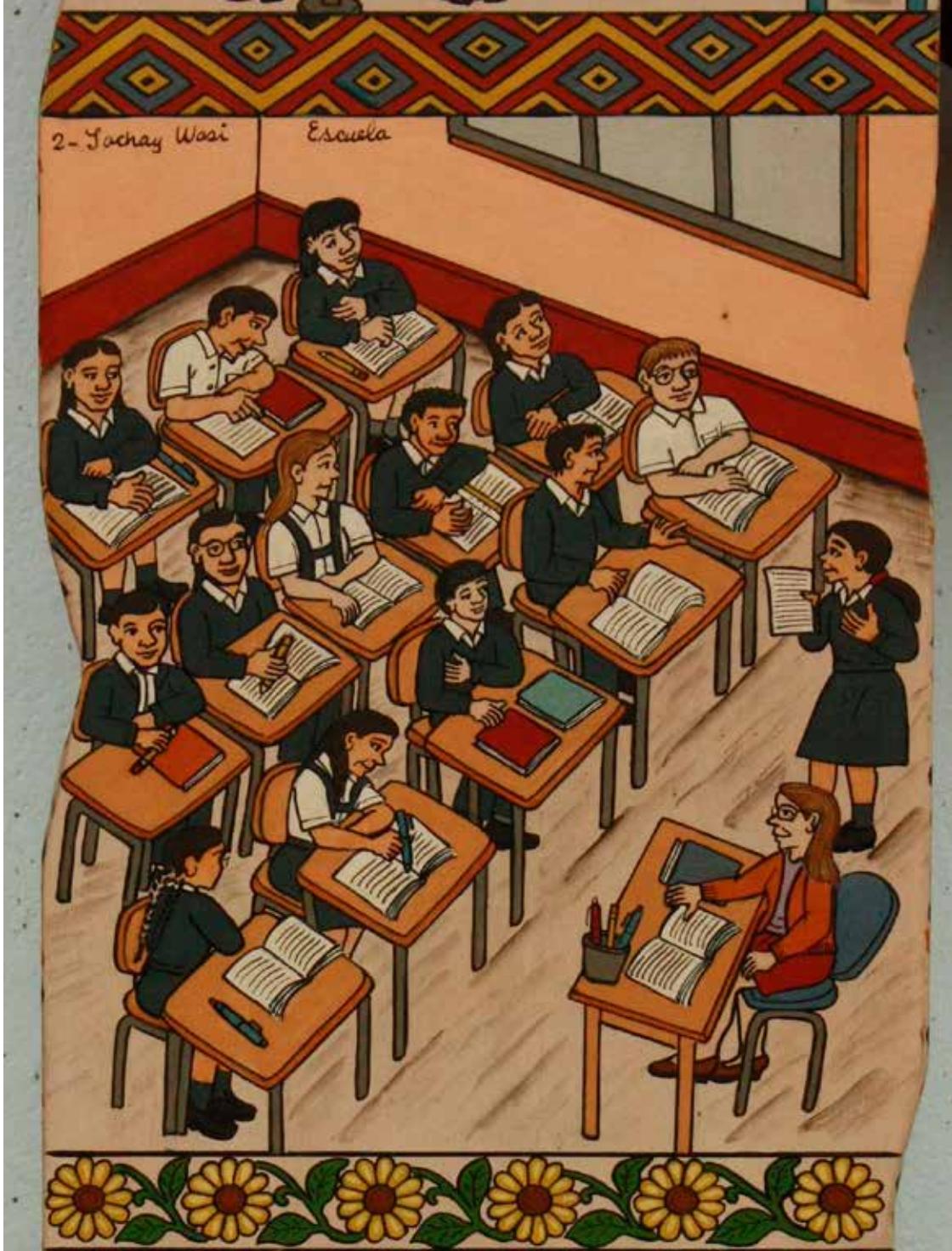
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MUSEO NACIONAL
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PRIMITIVO EVANÁN POMA & ASSOCIATION OF POPULAR ARTISTS OF SARHUA

Educación [Education] (from the series *Discrimination*), 2014, Acrylic on wood

Really Useful Knowledge

What, How & for Whom

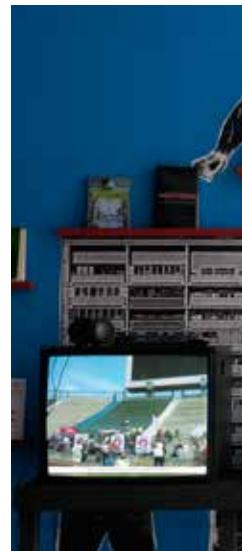
The notion of “really useful knowledge” originated with workers’ awareness of the need for self-education in the early nineteenth century. In the 1820s and 1830s, workers’ organizations in the United Kingdom introduced this phrase to describe a body of knowledge that encompassed various “unpractical” disciplines such as politics, economics, and philosophy, as opposed to the “useful knowledge” proclaimed as such by business owners, who some time earlier had begun investing in the advancement of their businesses by funding the education of workers in “applicable” skills and disciplines such as engineering, physics, chemistry, or math. Whereas the concept of “useful knowledge” operates as a tool of social reproduction and a guardian of the status quo, “really useful knowledge” demands changes by unveiling the causes of exploitation and tracing its origins within the ruling ideology; it is a collective emancipatory, theoretical, emotional, informative, and practical quest that starts with acknowledging what we do not yet know.

Although its title looks back to the class struggles of capitalism’s early years, the present exhibition is an inquiry into “really useful knowledge” from a contemporary perspective, positing critical pedagogy and materialist education as crucial elements of collective struggle. The exhibition is set against the backdrop of an ongoing crisis of capitalism and the revolts and attempts to oppose it at the structural level. In examining ways in which pedagogy can

act as an integral part of progressive political practices, *Really Useful Knowledge* looks into the desires, impulses, and dilemmas of historical and current resistance and the ways they are embodied in education as a profound process of self-realization. The exhibition considers relations between usefulness and uselessness, knowledge and nescience, not as binary oppositions but as dialectical and, first and foremost, as dependable on the class perspective.

Conceived at the invitation of the **Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía**, the exhibition was shaped in a dialogue with the museum's curatorial and educational team and is inevitably influenced by the discussions and experiences of the local context. The devastating effects of austerity measures in Spain have been confronted by numerous collective actions in which the forms of protest and organized actions fighting to reclaim hard-won rights have gradually transformed into formal or informal political forces based on principles of the commons and the democratization of power. Through these processes issues pertaining to the wide field of education became a prominent part of the social dynamic—from initiatives for empowerment through self-education, to the reconfigured locus of the university and the role of students in the current social battles, to the struggles to defend public education.

Not by accident does *Really Useful Knowledge* include numerous collective artistic positions. Although disclaimers about collective work have been issued on many occasions—beyond the lures of productiveness and mutual interest, working together is not a guarantee for change, positive or negative—it is a prerequisite for social transformation. In recent years a number of collectives have again come to the forefront of social change by building new systems for renegotiating and redistributing power relations in all spheres of life. Several of the collectives that take part in the exhibition explore its potential as a site for colearning and a tool for reaching out. The group **Subtramas** has included organizations and activists from all over Spain in a project developed in dialogue with the exhibition. Social actors such as self-education groups, occupied spaces, independent publishers, collective libraries, activists groups, social centers, theorists, poets, LGBT activists, and feminists will take part in assemblies, readings, discussions, and





ЧТО ДЕЛАТЬ?, Учимься, учимься и еще раз бороться [Study, Study, and Act Again], 2011–

Installation

various public actions. The activist and feminist collective **Mujeres Públicas** engages with various issues connected to the position of woman in society. One of their permanent causes is the political struggles around abortion legislation in Latin America. The group's project for the exhibition gathers the recent material from their actions and protests in public space. **Chto Delat?** initiate interventions examining the role of art, poetics, and literature in educational situations and integrate activism into efforts to make education more politically based. Their work *Study, Study and Act Again* (2011–) functions as an archival, theatrical, and didactic space,

created to establish interaction with visitors to the exhibition. Many of the publications included in the **Chto Delat?** installation are published by the Madrid based activist collective and independent publishing house **Traficantes de Sueños**, who have also organized the continuous education project *Nociones Comunes* (Common Notions) on a number of topical questions, including the status of labor; geopolitics; and connecting grass-roots activists, militant researchers, citizens, and students with theorists and economists. The work by Argentinean artistic duo **Iconoclastas** uses critical mapping to produce resources for the free circulation of knowledge and information. Their maps, built through collective research and workshops, summarize the effects of various social dynamics, such as the colonization of South America, the history of uprisings on the continent, and the urban developments brought about by neoliberal politics.

Works can only enter into real contact as inseparable elements of social intercourse. It is not works that come into contact, but people, who, however, come into contact through the medium of works.

—M. M. Bakhtin and P. M. Medvedev, *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship*

Really Useful Knowledge explores the possibility of art initiating encounters and debate between people, works, structures, tools, objects, images, and ideas, embarking from two crucial notions—materialist pedagogy arising from the Marxist interpretations of Walter Benjamin's cultural and political analysis; and critical pedagogy. The exhibition looks at diverse procedural, nonacademic, antihierarchical, grass-roots, heterodox educational situations primarily occupied with the transformative potentials of art, testing the role of images in that process. Without attempting to provide an “overview” of the various educational projects and practices of recent years, many of which use the rhetoric of education as a displaced politics and whose most visible outcome has been an inflation of the discursive realm and “pedagogical aesthetic,”⁰¹ the exhibition looks into the educational process as an existing and integral (but not to be taken for granted) part of the exhibition genre and the original role of the museum.

By considering teaching and learning as reciprocal active processes, Victoria Lomasko has developed *Drawing Lesson* (2010–), a project in which, as a volunteer for the Center for Prison Reform, she has been giving drawing lessons to the inmates of juvenile prisons in Russia. Lomasko developed her own methodology of empowering the socially oppressed by employing images to strengthen analytical thinking and empathy. Working closely with organizations for the rights of immigrants, Daniela Ortiz developed *Nation State II* (2014), a project engaged with the issue of immigration, specifically with the integration tests required for obtaining residency permits. Revealing this test as a mechanism for the further exclusion and extension of colonial dominance over illegal workers coming mostly from ex-colonies, *Nation State II* collaborates with immigrants in creating the tools needed to learn

01 Irit Rogoff, “Turning,” *e-flux* 0 (November 2008): n.p., <http://www.e-flux.com/journal/turning/>

the critical information they require when obtaining their rights. At the same time, the project develops a critical analysis of immigration legislature in Spain.

Really Useful Knowledge develops through a number of recurring themes revolving around the relationship between the artist and social change, the dialectic embedded in the images and visual realm that can generate political action, and the tension between perceived need for active involvement and insistence on the right of art to be “useless.” In Cecilia Vicuña’s *What Is Poetry to You?*—filmed in 1980 in Bogotá—the artist asks passers-by to respond to the question posed in the work’s title. The answers offer personal definitions of poetry that are opposed to racial, class, and national divisions; and the collective voice that emerges delineates a direction for emancipation and articulates socialist ideas through art. While relying on research into military technology and operations as in many of his works, in *Prototype for a Non-functional Satellite* (2013) Trevor Paglen creates a satellite that functions as a sculptural element in the gallery space, its very “uselessness” serving to advocate for a technology divorced from corporate and military interests. Similarly, the *Autonomy Cube* (2014) that Paglen developed in collaboration with computer researcher and hacker Jacob Appelbaum problematizes the tension between art’s utilitarian and aesthetic impulses. While visually referencing Hans Haacke’s seminal work of conceptual art, *Condensation Cube* (1963–1965), the *Autonomy Cube* offers free, open-access, encrypted, Internet hotspots that route traffic over the TOR network, which enables private, unsurveilled communication. Carole Condé and Karl Beveridge’s series of photographs *Art Is Political* (1975) employs stage photography to relate social movements with a field of art. The series combines dancers’ bodies in movement with Yvonne Rainer’s choreography and Chinese agitprop iconography, with each photograph composing one letter of the sentence “Art Is Political.” The tensions and contradictions pertaining to the possibility of reconciling high art and political militancy figure also in Carla Zaccagnini’s *Elements of Beauty* (2014), a project that examines protest attacks on paintings in UK museums carried out by suffragettes in the early twentieth century. By outlining the knife slashes made on the paintings, Zaccagnini retraces them as abstract



forms, while the accompanying audio guides provide fragmented information on the suffragettes' court trials. One hundred years after those iconoclastic attacks, Zaccagnini's work poses uncomfortable questions about where we would put our sympathies and loyalties today and how we know when we have to choose.

Like highways, schools, at first glance, give the impression of being equally open to all comers. They are, in fact, open only to those who consistently renew their credentials.

—Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society*

How societies define and distribute knowledge indicates the means by which they are structured, what is the dominant social order, and degrees of inclusion and exclusion. Artists have often attempted to analyze the way in which the education system acts as the primary element for maintaining social order and the potential for art to develop progressive pedagogy within existing systems. *Work Studies in Schools* (1976–1977) by Darcy Lange documents lessons in the classrooms of three schools in Birmingham, England. The project uses the promise of video's self-reflectivity and interactivity in its early years to expose class affiliation and the ways in which education determines future status in society, touching upon a range of subjects that would soon be swept away by Thatcherite ideology. While working as a teacher of visual arts in a high school in Marrakesh, artist Hicham Benohoud took group photographs of his pupils in the carefully posed manner of tableaux vivants. *The Classroom* (1994–2002) creates surrealist juxtapositions of pupils' bodies, educational props, and strange objects, while students' readiness to adopt the curious and uneasy postures opens up themes of discipline, authority, and revolt. *En rachâchant* (1982), a film by Danièle Huillet and Jean-Marie Straub, humorously looks into dehierarchizing the educational process by showing schoolboy Ernesto, who insistently and with unshakable conviction refuses to go to school. *Two Solutions for One Problem* (1975) by Abbas Kiarostami, a short didactic film produced by the Iranian Centre for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults, is a simple pedagogical tale of cooperation and solidarity that shows how two boys can resolve the conflict over a torn schoolbook



PHIL COLLINS, *marxism today (prologue)*, 2010

HD video. Color and B&W, sound, 35'

through physical violence or camaraderie. In *Postcards from a Desert Island* (2011) **Adelita Husni-Bey** employs earlier pedagogical references, such as works by **Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia** or **Robert Gloton**. For the children of an experimental public elementary school in Paris, the artist organized a workshop in which the students built a society on a fictional desert island. The film shows the children's self-governance quickly encountering political doubts about decision-

making processes and the role of law, echoing the impasses we experience today, but it also shows the potential and promise of self-organization.

Looking into ideological shifts that change how the relevance of particular knowledge is perceived, *marxism today (prologue)* (2010) by **Phil Collins** follows the changes brought about by the collapse of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the lives of three former teachers of Marxism-Leninism, a compulsory subject in all GDR schools that was abolished along with state socialism at the time of German reunification. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism, as described by the interviewed teachers, comes across as an epistemological method and not just a state religion whose dogmas were promulgated by a political authority. This recounting of the teachers' lives complicates the success story of German unification, which sees the absorption of this aberrant entity back into the Bundesrepublik as a simple return to normality. In *use! value! exchange!* (2010), **Collins** reclaims the relevance of Marxist education for the present day by filming a symbolic return in which one of the former teachers gives a lesson on basic concepts of surplus value and its revolutionary potential to the clueless students of the University

of Applied Sciences, previously the prestigious School of Economics, where she taught before the “transition.” The students’ ignorance of the most basic of the contradictions Marx discovered in capitalism—between use value and exchange value—is indicative of the present moment in which capitalism stumbles through its deepest economic crisis in eighty years.

Tracing the history of public education in most cases reveals an admixture of paternalistic idealism attempting to overcome social fears that, until the nineteenth century, had discouraged the education of the poor, and a clear agenda of worker pacification through the management of social inclusion. And yet, as **Silvia Federici** and **George Caffentzis** note,

“In the same way as we would oppose the shutting down of factories where workers have struggled to control work and wages—especially if these workers were determined to fight against the closure—so we agree that we should resist the dismantling of public education, even though schools are also instruments of class rule and alienation. This is a contradiction that we cannot wish away and is present in all our struggles.”⁰²

The regressive tendencies of neoliberalism prompted a general retreat from the ideologies of social change, steering education further toward the function of legitimizing a deeply oppressive social order. But those engaged in the contemporary “battle for education” must shed all nostalgia for the progressive strategy of welfare provision associated with the “golden age” decades of European capitalism—a strategy that fostered social mobility within the prevailing economic structure and attempted limited educational reforms governed by the humanistic faith in education as the development of “people’s creative potential.” They must also be cautious about betting on the emancipatory hopes that have been inscribed in the affective and communicative possibilities of immaterial labor, because in the contemporary regime touted as the knowledge society, work has become a form of internalized vocation leading to creative self-fulfillment, while innermost thoughts and creative drives have been turned into activities productive for

02 Silvia Federici and George Caffentzis, “Notes on the Education and Cognitive Capitalism,” *The Commoner*, N° 12 (Spring/Summer 2007).

capital. The contemporary “battle for education” has to address new social inequalities and conflicts triggered by distribution and access to knowledge and must assess the effects that knowledge as the basis of capital reproduction has on the totality of knowledge workers’ existence.

History breaks down in images not into stories.

—Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*

Several works in the exhibition use the principles of collecting, accumulating, and reorganizing images or objects and assembling them into sequences in order to challenge the impulses of reification and to test the ability of images to “defin[e] our experiences more precisely in areas where words are inadequate.”⁰³ Many works constitute informal assemblies or archives aimed at revealing the ways in which images operate, thus making the very process of viewing more politically aware. Photographs by **Lidwien van de Ven** zoom into the hidden details of notorious public political events, implicating the viewer in their content. Since 2012, the artist has been capturing the complex dynamic between the revolutionary pulses of social transformation and the counterrevolutionary resurgence in Egypt. Depicting the contested period of the Egyptian political uprising through visual fragments, **van de Ven** portrays the oscillations of the very subject of the revolution.

Several works in the exhibition deal with the modernist legacy and the present-day implications and reverberations of culture having been used as a Cold War instrument. Starting from a reference to the iconic exhibition *Family of Man*, first organized at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1955 and later circulated internationally, **Ariella Azoulay**’s installation *The Body Politic—A Visual Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (2014) deconstructs the notion of human rights as a post-WWII construction based on individualism, internationalism, humanism, and modernity that at the same time also contributed to the formation of

⁰³ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (LONDON: BBC & PENGUIN BOOKS, 2008), 33

the hegemonic notion of otherness. By reworking the original display of *Family of Man*, **Azoulay** shows the cracks in its representation system and asks what kind of humanism we need today to

restore the conditions for solidarity. The visual archive of **Lifshitz Institute** (1993/2013) by **Dmitry Gutov** and **David Riff** centers on rereading the works of Russian aesthetic philosopher **Mikhail Lifshitz**, one of the most controversial intellectual figures of the Soviet era. *Opening in Moscow* by **D.A. Pennebaker** documents impressions of the *American National Exhibition* organized by the U.S. government in 1959 in order to propagate the American way of life. By portraying the rendezvous of Muscovites and American advanced technology, it shows a propaganda machine gone awry: while the exhibition attempted to lure the audience with a “promised land” of consumerism, the documentary presents differences as well as similarities between American and Russian working-class life.

If the pertinence of the Cold War for the present day manifests itself through the recent revival of Cold War rhetoric that serves as a cover for military and nationalist drumbeats whose noise is making up for a suspension of democracy, the legacy of colonial rule is as vigorous today as it was in 1962, when **Jean-Paul Sartre** memorably diagnosed the situation in “*Sleepwalkers*” (1962), an essay about the behavior of Parisians on the very day the Algerian ceasefire was signed: “Colonialism over there, fascism here: one and the same thing.”⁰⁴

Originally produced for Algerian state television, *How Much I Love You* (1985) by **Azzedine Meddour** is an ingenious mixture of the genres of educational film, propaganda, and documentary. **Meddour** uses excerpts from advertising and propaganda films found in colonial archives, expertly edited with a distressingly joyous soundtrack and turned on their head in an ironic chronicle of colonial rule and the French role in the Algerian War of Independence. The installation *Splinters of Monuments: A Solid Memory of the Forgotten Plains of Our Trash and Obsessions* (2014) by **Brook Andrew** includes a wide assortment of objects: artworks from the **Museo Reina Sofía**, artworks borrowed from the **Museo Nacional de Antropología i Museo de América**, records from local community archives, original Aboriginal human skeletons used for medical purposes, and paraphernalia such as postcards, newspapers, posters, rare books, photographs, and smaller objects. Their

⁰⁴ Jean-Paul Sartre, “*Sleepwalkers*,” in *Colonialism and Neocolonialism* (NEW YORK: ROUTLEGE, 2001), 73.

juxtaposition challenges hegemonic views on history, art, gender, and race. The possibility of renegotiating relations of colonialism and power through engaged acts of viewing and by bringing a hybrid social imaginary to the symbolic site of the museum is also explored by *This Thing Called the State* (2013) and *EntreMundos* (BetweenWorlds) (2013) by **Runo Lagomarsino**, works that rely on historical narratives related to the colonial conquests of Latin America and the question of migration. Looking into how society relates to its past and projects its identity, **Lagomarsino** borrows a collection of retablo votive paintings commissioned by Mexican migrants after their successful illegal crossing of the border to the United States.

There is not only such a thing as being popular, there is also the process of becoming popular.

—**Bertolt Brecht**, *Against Georg Lukács*

Really Useful Knowledge reiterates the necessity of producing sociability through the collective use of existing public resources, actions, and experiments, either by developing new forms of sharing or by fighting to maintain existing ones now under threat of eradication. **Public Library: Art as Infrastructure** (www.memoryoftheworld.org) (2012–) by **Marcell Mars** is a hybrid media and social project based on ideas from the open-source software movement, which creates a platform for building a free, digitized book repository. In that way, it continues the public library's role of offering universal access to knowledge for each member of society. However, despite including works that investigate the progressive aspects of complex new technologies and their potential to reach a wide public, the exhibition avoids idealizing them, because the technological leap for some has been paralleled by dispossession and an increase in poverty for others. The project *Degenerated Political Art, Ethical Protocol* (2014) by **Núria Güell** and **Levi Orta** uses the financial and symbolic infrastructure of art to establish a company in a tax haven. With help from financial advisors, the newly established “Orta & Güell Contemporary Art S.A.” is able to evade taxes on its profits. The company will be donated to a local activist group as a tool for establishing a more autonomous financial system,

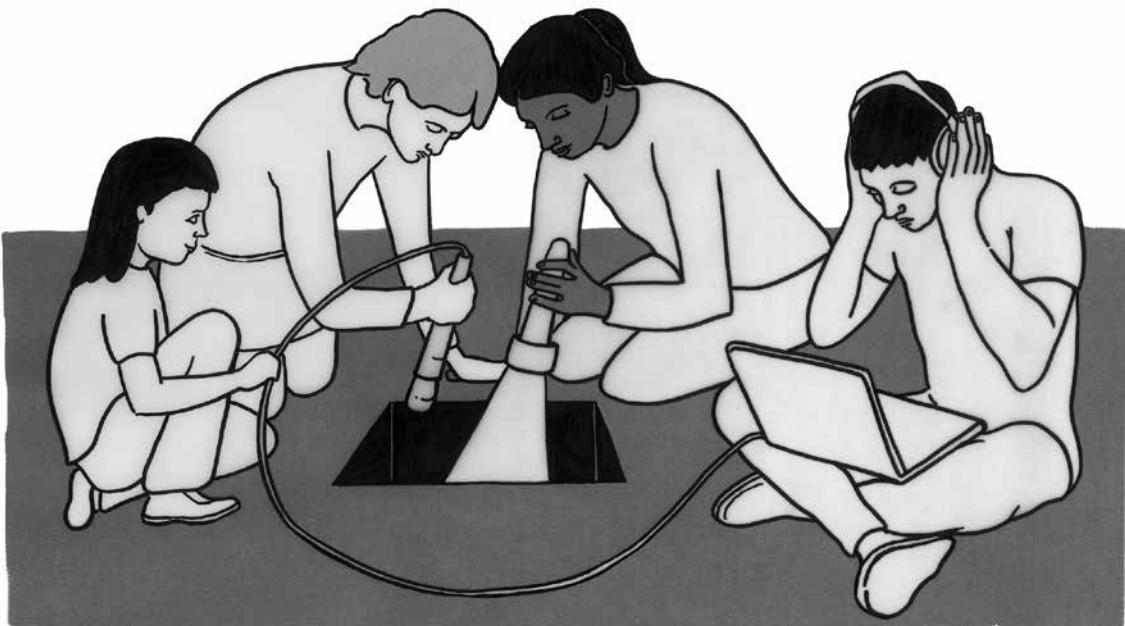
thus using the contradictory mechanisms of financial capitalism as tools in the struggle against the very system those tools were designed to support.

The exhibition also looks into artistic practices in which social and communal messages are conveyed through folk or amateur practices, insisting on the importance of popular art—not as an ideologically “neutral” appreciation and inclusion of objects made by children, persons with mental illness, or the disadvantaged, but because it creates new forms of sociability, because it is popular in the Brechtian sense of “intelligible to the broad masses,” and because it communicates between presently ruling sections of society and “the most progressive section of the people so that it can assume leadership.”⁰⁵ **Ardmore Ceramic Art** is an artists’ collective founded in 1985 in the rural area of Ardmore in South Africa. As a reaction to official government silence on AIDS, the artists made ceramics that, in addition to commemorating fellow artists lost to AIDS, explain how the disease spreads and the possible methods of protection. Expressing important ideas related to HIV prevention, this didactic pottery is used as a far-reaching tool for raising awareness. **Primitivo Evanán Poma** is an artist from the village of Sarhua in the Peruvian Andes populated by indigenous people, many of whom migrated to Lima during the second half of the twentieth century due to economic hardship and the devastating effects of the “internal conflict” of 1980–2000. Art produced with the **Association of Popular Artists of Sarhua** uses the pictorial style of their native village to address social concerns and point out the many-sided discrimination of indigenous people in Lima, thus becoming a catalyst for building community self-awareness and solidarity.

In his film *June Turmoil* (1969), Želimir Žilnik documents student demonstrations in Belgrade in June 1968, the first mass protests in socialist Yugoslavia. Students were protesting the move away from socialist ideals, the “red bourgeoisie,” and economic reforms that had brought about high unemployment and emigration from the country. The film ends with a speech from **Georg Büchner’s** revolutionary play *Danton’s Death* (1835), delivered by stage actor Stevo Žigon—one of the

05 Bertolt Brecht, “Against Georg Lukács,” in *Aesthetics and Politics: The Key Texts of the Classic Debate within German Marxism* (LONDON: VERSO, 2002), 81.

¿QUÉ APRENDIZAJES EMERGEN DE LOS MOVIMIENTOS SOCIALES?



SUBTRAMAS

Cuatro preguntas para una utilidad por venir

[Four Questions for a Usefulness to Come], 2014–2015

“What types of learning spring from social movements?”

many prominent public figures and artists who joined the protest in solidarity with the students' cause. The film's finale testifies to the centrality of education and knowledge to the socialist worldview and shows how the barriers separating “high” and “low” culture can be broken in crucial moments of political radicalization.

The question of the reach of popular art and its relation to high culture and art institutions can often be observed through the position of the autodidact and by resisting the authority of formal education and the ever-increasing professionalization of the art field. Beyond the refusal to follow the customary and accepted paths to the career of art-professional, the approach of developing knowledge through self-education and peer learning offers the possibility of building one's own curriculum and methodology, as well as moving

away from ossified and oppressive intellectual positions. Trained as a painter, in the early 1930s **Hannah Ryggen** taught herself to weave tapestries to comment on the political events of her time, such as the rise of fascism, the economic crisis of 1929 and its devastating effects on people's lives, **Benito Mussolini**'s invasion of Ethiopia, the German occupation of Norway, and the Spanish Civil War. Using "traditional" techniques, she created a powerful body of politically progressive work imbued with pacifist, communist, and feminist ideas. Since the mid-1970s, **Mladen Stilinović** has been developing artistic strategies that combine words and images, using "poor" materials to engage the subjects of pain, poverty, death, power, discipline, and the language of repression. His pamphlet-like, agit-poetic works offer laconic commentary on the absurdity and crudity of power relations and the influence of ideology in contemporary life.

People get ready for the train is coming
—Curtis Mayfield, "People Get Ready"⁰⁶

Bringing to the fore a number of works that center on the question of political organization and art's capability to produce imagery able to provoke strong emotional responses, the exhibition affirms the role of art in creating revolutionary subjectivity and explores how forms of popular art reflect the ideas of political movements, evoking the original meaning of the word *propaganda*, which can be defined as "things that must be disseminated." The work by **Emory Douglas** included in the exhibition was created for *The Black Panther*, the newspaper of the Black Panther Party published during their struggle against racial oppression in the United States from 1966 until 1982. A number of artistic and propaganda activities were integrated into the Black Panther Party program, and as their minister of culture **Douglas** produced numerous posters and newspaper pages with strong political messages against police brutality and for every person's equal rights to basic housing, employment,

06 The song "People Get Ready" by Curtis Mayfield (1965) became an emblematic protest song for various civil rights and revolutionary movements in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States. The original spiritual message embodied in Mayfield's lyrics—"People get ready, there's a train a comin'... Don't need no ticket, you just thank the Lord"—was transformed by Black Panthers' R&B band The Lumpen into "We said people get ready; Revolution's come; Your only ticket; Is a loaded gun."

free education, and guaranteed income. During the antifascist and revolutionary People's Liberation War in Yugoslavia (1941–1945), numerous expressions of Partisan art contributed to the creation of a new revolutionary subjectivity and the articulation of revolutionary struggle, in the process changing the notion of art and the understanding of its autonomy. *The Mozambican Institute* by Catarina Simão researches the film archives of the Mozambican Liberation Front, or FRELIMO. As a part of their struggle against Portuguese colonial rule, and in an attempt to fight illiteracy, FRELIMO created the Mozambican Institute in Dar es Salaam in 1966 to enable study outside of the educational framework organized by colonial rule. Working with the remains of the institute's film archive kept in Maputo, Simão reinterprets and researches this heritage in which political struggle intersected with radical educational and artistic ideas.

Many new models and alternatives to the current social system have been proposed, but applying what we already know on the individual and collective level is much more challenging than acquiring that knowledge. *Really Useful Knowledge* affirms the repoliticization of education as a necessary condition for recovering politics and pedagogy as a crucial element of organized resistance and collective struggles. The exhibition brings together artistic works imbued with ideas that reconfigure social and intimate relations, and it attempts to create an interchange of convictions and histories in order to infect viewers with the works' proposals, convictions, and dilemmas. **J**

PAGES 34–36

HICHAM BENOHOUD

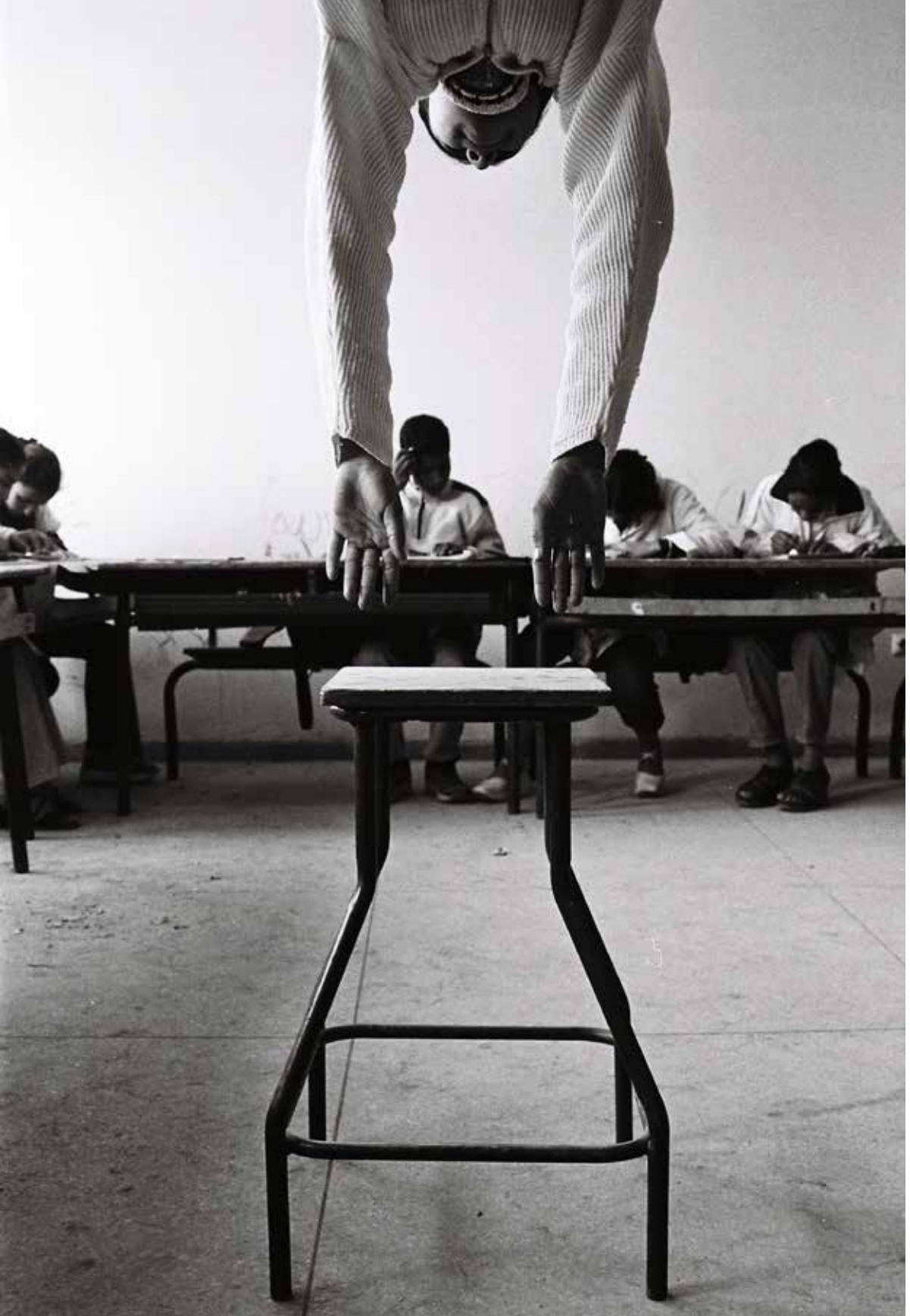
La salle de classe

[The Classroom],

1994–2002

Series of 40 B&W photographs







Beyond Access: The Problem of Having a Useful Relation to Knowledge

Marina Garcés

Free-culture movements embrace an impulse that has mobilized learned societies since at least the eighteenth century: the defense and promotion of free and universal access to knowledge. This aspiration might seem finally to have been fulfilled or even surpassed, but the availability of the Internet and its infinite content is really just a mirage: on the one hand, much information, knowledge, and cultural products—the most profitable, at times—remain in the hands of monopolies and private interests, still treated according the logic of ownership. Under the domain of accessibility, new forms of inequality are reproduced. On the other hand, a new and pressing problem has arisen: access to information does not guarantee the possibility of having any relation to that knowledge. What is the point of having access to knowledge and information if we cannot relate to it?

The Problem of Access to Knowledge: A Brief Overview

The problem of universal access to knowledge is a modern one. In Ancient Greece and in other forms of non-Western thought, the main problem was not considered to be access to knowledge but understanding truth. This idea comes through in the fragments of Heraclitus, the Platonic dialogues, and Taoist texts by authors

such as **Laozi** and **Zhuang Zhou**: What is the point of knowing this or that if we do not have any idea of what it means? Logos, the idea, the Tao ... names that change to denote the same thing: that “knowledge” is not a particular fact or discourse related to some subject but a way of relating to being—to being in the world around us, and to our own being, if separating the two is possible. From this follows the idea that the problem of access is not availability but rather a problem of the path, of an engagement that requires movement. When the religious matrix of Western monotheism was added to the Greek philosophical and scientific substratum, this idea remained, even though the way of truth implies that the truth must first have been revealed and that it must be sustained by faith. But the fact remains: our relationship to the truth changes our position and our way of being, meaningfully, in the world—it is understanding or, in more religious terms, illumination.

With the scientific revolution in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Europe, which took the form of a proliferation of experimental data, of technologies, and of the knowledge organized around them, the problem of access began to take on the meaning that is familiar to us now: What individuals and institutions maintain and monopolize this knowledge? How should it be transmitted and stored? Who should be its audiences, recipients, interlocutors, and beneficiaries? Manuals, dictionaries, and encyclopedias of all kinds soon became coveted best sellers, and science academies and societies began to break away from the political and religious institutions that had hitherto been the custodians of knowledge. The public sphere began to absorb early “scientific production” through works published in increasingly large print runs. This raised the subject of education and the political question of the universalization of state or public education in European states and, to a lesser extent, in its colonies. Universal access to education then became—and has remained—one of the key points of any emancipatory political program guided by the notions of liberty, equality, and justice.

Nonetheless, even back then the instigators of the Enlightenment movement realized that availability and access to the new knowledge, which was being produced in increasingly large quantities and with increasing speed, did not make the

problem go away but in fact introduced new ones. For example, in the *Encyclopédie française*, coordinated by those famous archers in the battles of the philosophes, Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, is a fascinating entry on “Critique.” This long entry, in which critique is described as a necessary activity that should always accompany the production of knowledge, the encyclopedists illustrate its necessity through a series of problems that appear contemporary to us now: speed, arbitrariness, uselessness, and the impossibility of absorbing—of understanding—the knowledge that is produced. Here are some interesting fragments:

The desire for knowledge often ends up being sterile due to excess activity. One must seek the truth, but also wait for it; one can go before it, but never beyond it. The critic is the wise guide who must force the traveler to stop at day’s end, before he loses his way in the darkness. ... Discoveries need a certain time to mature, before which enquiries would seem to be fruitless. The truth waits for its components to come together, before it blossoms... . The critic must carefully observe this fermentation of the human spirit, this digestion of our knowledge... . He can then impose silence on those who do nothing but inflate the volume of science, without increasing its value... . Think of the space this would free up in our libraries! All those authors who babble on about science instead of reasoning would be removed from the list of useful titles: we would be left with much less to read and much more to harvest.⁰¹

In the mid-eighteenth century the saturation of libraries, the accumulation of useless information, and the impossibility of properly relating to knowledge were already

01 “Critique,” in ARTFL *Encyclopédie Project*, ed. Robert Morrissey and Glenn Roe, <http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.3:1129.encyclopedie0513>. perceived as a threat. Knowledge without critique tends to become useless, because even if we can access its content we do not know how to relate to it or where to position ourselves in relation to it. As the *Encyclopédie* entry goes on to explain, critique is a multifaceted activity that encompasses filtering, comparing, verifying, rejecting, connecting, and contextualizing, among other things. Critique does

not just verify; it also validates. It does not just amass information but questions meaning in a dynamic, contextualized manner.

Our own situation today is not so different, except that the conditions have changed and become much more complex. The point is not that we took a step from trust to distrust, from usefulness to uselessness, or from modernity to postmodernity. The problem of the relation between the usefulness and uselessness of knowledge emerged with modernity itself and its relation to the truth based on production rather than understanding. What has changed are the parameters: the specific conditions and the intensity of the problem.

Attention Saturation

The encyclopedists of the Enlightenment already referred to the slow pace required by truth and to the difficulties involved in digesting available knowledge. If they had imagined for an instant the scope of the problem two-and-a-half centuries later, they would probably have succumbed to irreversible indigestion. The volume and speed of the leap has been exponential. An objective analysis of the implications of the enormous amounts of data and knowledge being generated worldwide in real time is beyond the scope of this essay. The studies that have been carried out on publishing, scientific production, and the datafication of our actions seem like science fiction. Instead, we will focus on the subjective aspect through two notions that have been gaining importance in recent years: the attention economy and interpassivity.

The first of these terms was coined by the economist **Michael Goldhaber** to refer to the fact that in the face of such a massive increase in the amount of information we relate to, the problem no longer lies in the need to filter it but rather in the impossibility of paying attention to all of it. How can we filter information if we cannot attend to everything around us? How can we critically differentiate if we are unable to process (digest) it all? The exponential increase of information and knowledge leads to a situation where much of it is ignored, which means that attention rather than information becomes a scarce and valuable asset.

This is the conclusion in terms of the attention economy, but we need to develop an attention psychology and an attention politics to go with it. The first would deal with the pathologies arising

from attention saturation: anxiety, disorientation, depression. The second would address the political challenges and consequences of this saturated attention, which are basically impotence and dependence. “I can’t form an opinion on everything that happens around me,” I recently overheard someone say. The dual limit of attention—of the capacity to receive data and information and the ability to shape it into opinions and knowledge—leads to paralysis in the face of a scenario that overwhelms us. It is this overwhelmed subjectivity that most easily submits to noncritical adoption of the opinions, ideologies, or judgments of others. Given that we are unable to form an opinion on everything around us, we follow or adopt the preformatted opinions of others, without being able to subject them to criticism. Is this not the mechanism that underpins what Immanuel Kant called heteronomy? The difference is that heteronomy was once based on ignorance as the absence of knowledge, or the lack of access to knowledge, while it now works on its overwhelming, and thus inoperative, accessibility.

Every era and every society has its own forms of ignorance. Ours is an ignorance smothered by an abundance of information that we are unable to digest or develop. One of its most extreme figures is “interpassivity” or interpassive subjectivity, a term coined by Viennese philosopher Robert Pfaller and later picked up by other theorists, including Slavoj Žižek, who uses it in his cultural criticism. Interpassivity is a delegated form of activity by which our own passivity is concealed, specifically in the things that we allow another person or thing—usually a machine—to do for us instead of doing them ourselves: from the photocopies we will never read because we made them—as Umberto Eco remarked about academics—to the songs we will never listen to and the films we will never watch because we have downloaded them. The machine has done it for us; it is a relation without relation that moves information but obviously does not generate experience, understanding, or a shift of any kind.

The Segmentation and Standardization of Areas of Knowledge and of Audiences

Warnings against the dangers of specialization are not new. The development of the sciences and technology in the modern age led

to an increasing autonomization of the different disciplines and to difficulties in relating them to one another and to philosophy, which is their common root. This resulted in a new type of ignorance that we all inevitably suffer from today: familiarity with only one discipline and total ignorance of the most basic notions of all the rest. Until the mid-twentieth century, the notion of general knowledge was a kind of buffer against this tendency, a container and a sounding board for experiences arising from different scientific, artistic, and humanistic specializations. But even this idea is no longer feasible.

Have we all become specialists and nothing more? No, that is not really true either. Genuine specialization, which is increasingly complex and demanding, has been left in the hands of a small minority. The more general trend is the segmentation of areas of knowledge and of audiences, both in the market and the academy. Technological and cultural products and information are offered to us according to niches or segments: age, income, background, and so on.

A segment is not the same as a fragment. The value of the fragment in the end of the grand narratives was much discussed in the debates around postmodernity. Fragments are ambivalent: both ruinous and free, broken and liberated. They open up a field of uncertainty and the possibility of new relations. A segment, on the other hand, is created in order to classify, regulate, and organize the reception of knowledge. Segments organize distance so that it can be managed in a way that is predictable and identifiable.

The segmentation of knowledge and its audiences also has to do with the standardization of cognitive production. While its contents seem to move further away from one another, its methods become similar. Crosscutting no longer connects experiences; it connects ways of working. Regardless of the subject in question, everything works the same way. Three examples: academic activity, the fashion world, and the media opinion-machine. In all three we see a similar situation: the juxtaposition of different contents that operate under the same parameters and protocols. In the academic world, sciences that do not otherwise communicate with one another are taught and studied under the same temporal parameters, institutional mechanisms, and evaluation criteria. Those of us who work in

universities do not even understand what our colleagues in the same department are talking about, but we can be sure that all of us, in every university in the world, know how to follow the same procedures. Likewise in the world of fashion: the same schedules and seasons, the same increasing pace of change and personalization of trends, end up making us all move in unison, along the same streets in the same cities, with the same intensity of enticements based on an identical need to incessantly change our appearance so that everything stays the same. This standardization reaches fever pitch in the realm of television talk shows and other media opinion makers, which now control the good sense of the general population, minute by minute. Different opinions are presented side by side, and while the conflict between them may be more or less dramatically staged depending on the audience, the underlying assumption remains the same: simply having an opinion neutralizes the need to go further and be challenged. All opinions are of equal value because they are just that, opinions. Thus standardized, they lose any power to challenge and problematize. Even though they are presented side by side, they lose any real possibility to communicate with each other. In these three examples we can see that the processes of segmentation and standardization paradoxically go hand in hand and that they lead to the orderly and predictable management of the communication gap between different areas of knowledge, and of their reciprocal uselessness.

For a Pragmatics of Desaturation, Contextualization, and Articulation

If the Enlightenment encyclopedists situated the act of critique within a range of essential activities such as selecting, comparing, verifying, rejecting, and connecting, we can now strategically position critical activity under three crucial objectives: desaturation, contextualization, and articulation. Today, these three core ideas must underpin any attempts to think about developing a useful kind of knowledge with the capacity to generate connections and shared experience. These three objectives are not linear; they interact dynamically, given that each leads to the other, in a continuous and progressive movement. Desaturation, for example, makes possible the development of contexts of understanding and the articulation of

common notions. Similarly, only by articulating contexts of meaning can we forge links between different areas of knowledge that are solid and significant enough to remove and empty us of all that which swamps us with redundancy and impotence.

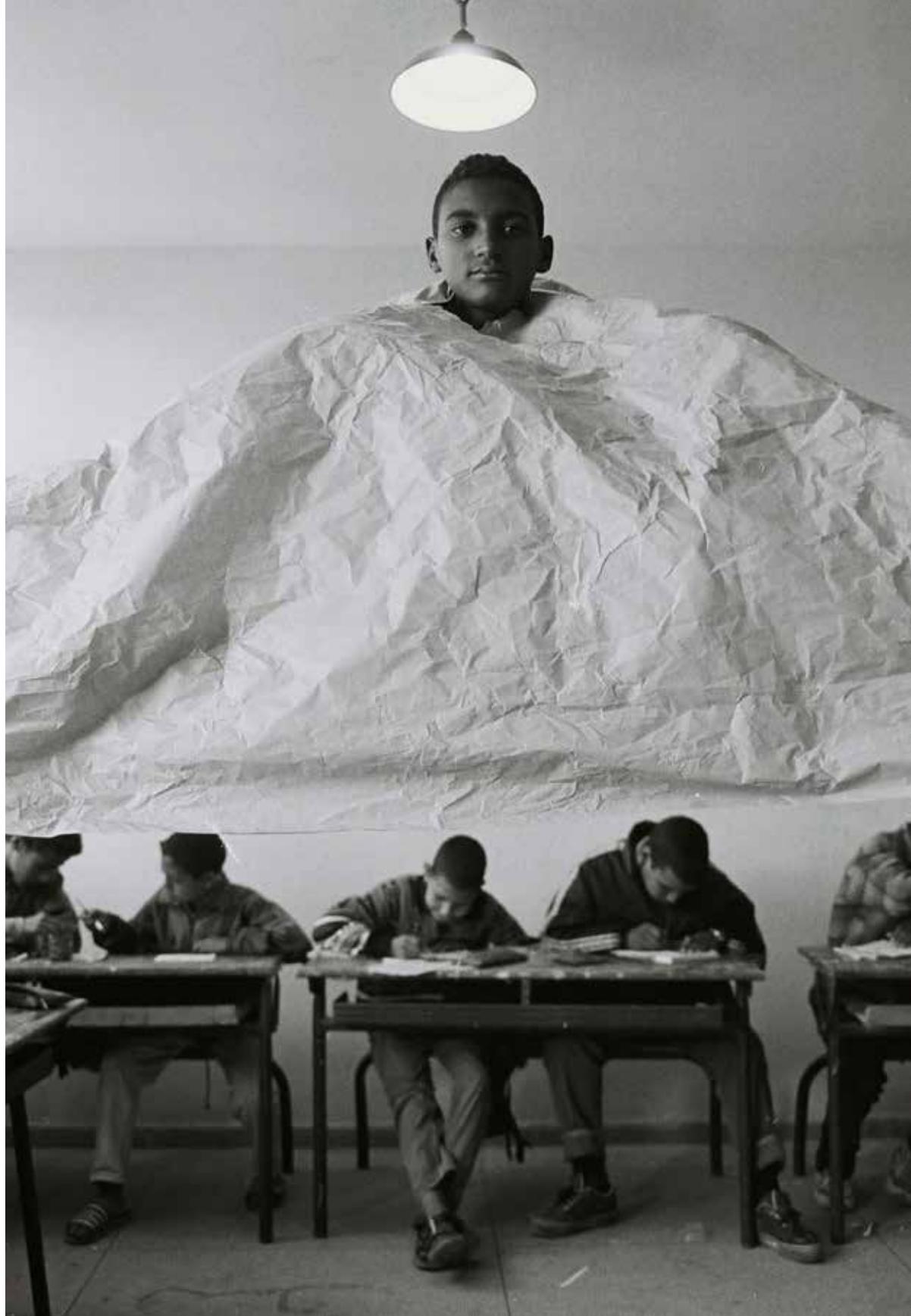
To embark on this dynamic, circular, pragmatic critique, where do we start? Perhaps with that which we have forgotten: the idea that knowledge is not production but is understanding and transformation—it is a relation to truth as meaning, not as content. As such, the only useful knowledge is that which leads us to relate more fully and more freely to the world, individually and collectively. In order to desaturate, contextualize, and articulate, all we have to do is reconnect knowledge to its genuine questions: not to objectives but to the questions that truly matter to us. ***f***

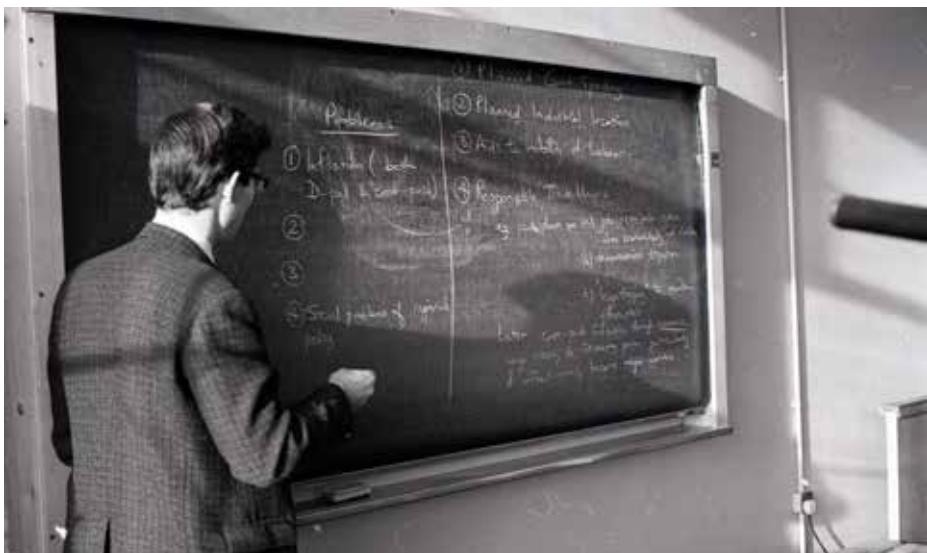
HICHAM BENOHOUD

La salle de classe

[The Classroom],

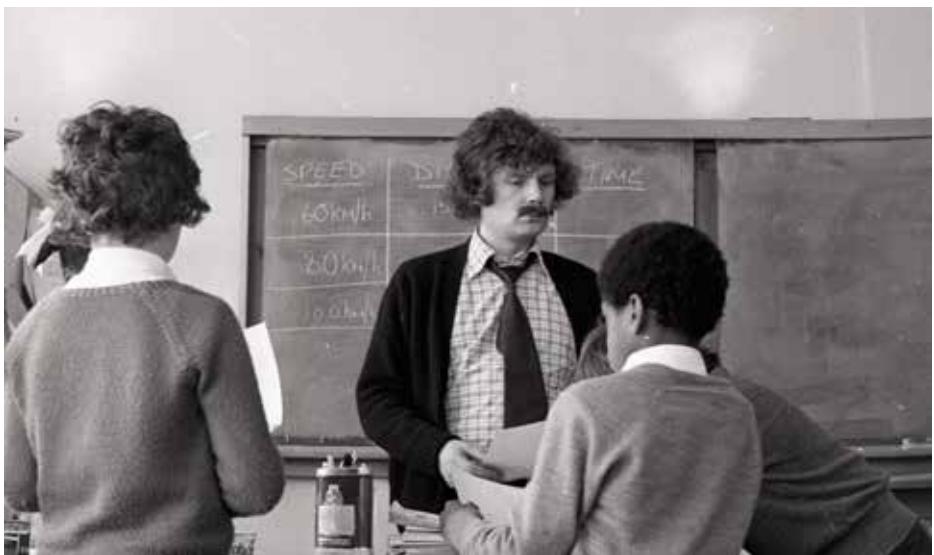
1994–2002





DARCY LANGE

In the series of videos *Work Studies in Schools* (1976–1977), Darcy Lange records several classroom sessions (of art, history, science, English literature) at three schools in Birmingham, England, carefully choosing institutions that represent different social classes. After recording the sessions, he had the teachers and students watch them while he recorded their reactions. In 1977, Lange continued his project in four Oxfordshire schools. **J**





DARCY LANGE

Study of Three Birmingham Schools, 1976,
from the series *Work Studies in Schools*, 1976–1977
Video. B&W, sound, 153' 55" (total length)



To Effect a Truthful Study of Work in Schools

Studies have been made of four schools in Oxfordshire and a consistent methodology has been used for each (see diagram).

The guidelines I have used in undertaking this work are broadly as follows:

- to investigate teaching as work.
- to illustrate the skills of the teacher through vocal and gestural communication with the class and also the class's response to this.

- to illustrate the process of teaching and learning in the classroom.
- to illustrate the social breakdown within each class.
- I am particularly concerned to prevent what I make, whether it be photograph or video from becoming an end in itself — not dissimilar to the loved art object.

There is no word for art in the Polynesian language, and the Polynesians attempt to do everything

Structural System of the Oxfordshire Project

BANBURY SCHOOL

Informal study of Julia Swift, Tony Morgan and Peter Garwood
Banbury School

ART

Classroom study of teacher in action
(Tony Morgan)

Teacher discussion after looking at tapes
(Tony Morgan)

Student discussion after looking at tapes
(Tony Morgan's class)

HISTORY

Classroom study of teacher in action
(Peter Garwood)

Teacher discussion
(Peter Garwood)

Class discussion
(Peter Garwood's class)

The same structure was used in the other three schools: St Marys School Wantage, Radley College, and Cheney Upper School.

as creatively as they can. Creativity in schools is not necessarily confined just to the art class. The choice of recording history, art and science classes in schools shows this.

Art is important because of its observation of material life. Creativity when applied through music, poetry, art, to life and work could become a protection against object worship, beyond functionalism. It might help to recreate involvement and creativity

within manual work or build non-object recreational expression.

In some of the discussions I have recorded, art itself seems to be difficult to define. It appears as research in both the unknown and known. History in contrast to this has an evidently valuable role in assessing and researching the past, the known. It is however, interpreted according to society's needs.

The logicality in itself of many of the science subjects appears to inspire confidence in people, yet its methods of teaching do have some correspondence with those of history and art as they all entail research into and observation of a given fact.

The process of education seems to me to be subtly but totally political. It is concerned with the establishment of values and parameters of behaviour; its criteria of success are mostly orientated towards middle class academic aspirations. *ſ*

SCIENCE

Classroom study of
teacher in action
(Julia Swift)

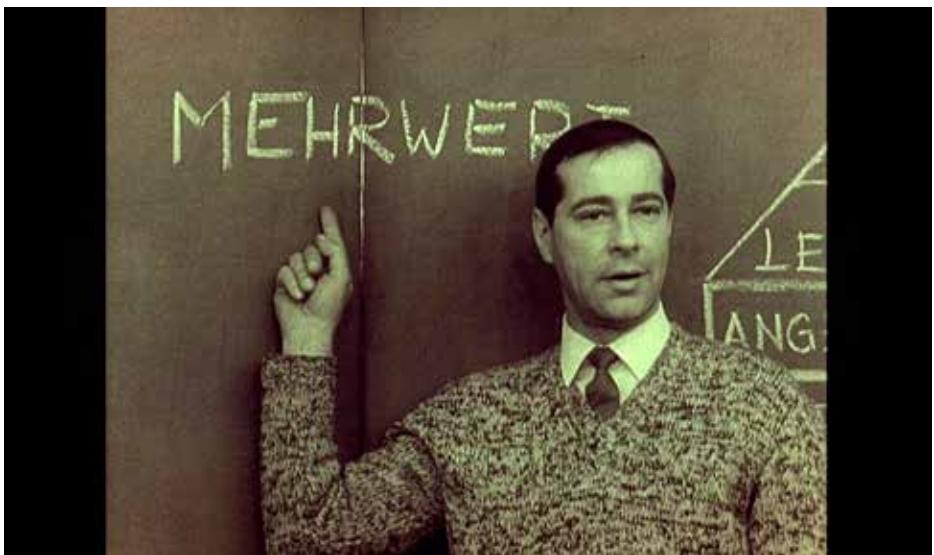
Teacher discussion
(Julia Swift)

Student discussion
(Julia Swift's class)

DARCY LANGE

From *Work Studies in Schools*, exh. cat.

(OXFORD, UK: MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 1977), 20.



PHIL COLLINS

marxism today (prologue), 2010

HD video. Color and B&W, sound, 35'





PHIL COLLINS

use! value! exchange!, 2010

HD video. Color, sound, 21'





ЧТО ДЕЛАТ?

Учиться, учиться и еще раз бороться

[Study, Study, and Act Again], 2011-

Installation

What Sort of Knowledge Is Useful Today?

Chto Delat?

Until quite recently the answer to this question, which touches on the very foundations of art and culture, would have seemed clear and simple. Of course, those of us who believe in the fundamental principles of egalitarian politics and the traditions of the class approach to the world have always known *what* sort of knowledge needs to be developed and *what* needs to be done with it so that it can be turned, as Karl Marx stated, into a weapon:

“The weapon of criticism cannot replace the criticism of weapons; material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory, too, becomes a material force once it seizes the masses.”⁰¹

And if one is to pursue this idea, then it is worth acknowledging that nothing we have practiced or done over the last few decades has been acquired by the masses. Indeed, our practices today seem still further removed from the “masses/multitudes/society” than they were even quite recently.

This sets for us cardinally different objectives when creating those forms of knowledge that, if not capable of being acquired by such a significant number of people, are at least

01 Karl Marx, “A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s ‘Philosophy of Right’—Introduction,” in *Critique of Hegel’s “Philosophy of Right,”* ed. Joseph O’Malley (CAMBRIDGE, UK: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1977), 137.

able to survive in a world *where knowledge is not power* and power remains as ever with the people who wield the weapons, the corrupt and cynical politicians, and the moneyed classes who are prepared to commit any crime for the sake of profit and who drag those same “masses” along with them, the masses whose chances of being emancipated by knowledge are evaporating before our very eyes.

What should knowledge be in the face of real danger? Our friends and we ourselves have written—often admirably—on the question of what knowledge should be in situations typified by political reaction or political sadness and melancholy. But *what should knowledge be in the face of real danger?*

“Sticking to one’s guns,” swimming against the tide of the times, asserting different values: these have always been and will always remain our true romantic sanctuary. And one should not overdramatize our time: history has witnessed much worse moments than now, when an incredible number of new tools and opportunities are available to us. But if we do not ask ourselves the question—Why is the agenda of the left increasingly marginalized despite its force and persuasiveness?—then we are doomed to forever reflect on our defeats and the “futility” of the experience that lives on in us.

Any transformational political program starts with enlightenment. Furthermore,

“if the implementation of emancipatory education is to demand political power, and the oppressed are deprived of it, how can the pedagogy of the oppressed be possible without revolution? This is the most important question. Its resolution lies in part in the difference between systematic teaching, which can only be changed with political power and educational projects that need to be implemented in conjunction with the oppressed as a part of the process of their organization.”⁰²

We must rethink the basics of education practice in the context of the political objectives of the self-organization of nascent microcommunities that are capable of developing their own practices in order to preserve and develop knowledge in the face of danger. Most important, these practices, when faced with the problem of marginalization, must nevertheless preserve their claim to universality and not reject the struggle against hegemony. We require a strategy that can stand up to the reactionary trends of the present and be directed toward the future. We should not count on these ideas being assimilated by the masses straightforwardly.

02

Paulo Freire,
*Pedagogy of
the Oppressed*
(NEW YORK:
HERDER AND
HERDER, 1970).





ЧТО ДЕЛАТЬ?

Учиться, учиться и еще раз бороться [Study, Study, and Act Again], 2011-
Installation

Knowledge is not about choosing the most successful media technology; it is primarily a strategy that operates in accordance with completely different temporal frameworks. And the dialectic of the relations between *the future and now* demands unexpected solutions in times of danger. Too often, however, we ourselves start to believe that *history has come to an end* and the horizon of our existence is limited to trying to survive in a hostile world.

The theme of the usefulness of various types of knowledge derives from the means of their production, and these processes are directly linked with issues of political self-organization.

What do we understand by this concept today? Self-organization is the collective process of taking upon oneself political functions and the achievement of objectives that are excluded from the sphere of real politics or displaced from the public space. Thus, the process of self-organization is unavoidably linked with the positioning of the collective disagreement with the existing order of things and the

demand that it be changed. Self-organization is the search for a form that will express the voice of the various entities of disagreement.

Just as self-organization demands something that does not exist in the specific historical moment and in the specific local situation, so the most important characteristic of this self-organization is the state of *a lack of knowledge*. But lack of knowledge does not mean rejecting methods of learning that are already well known. A state of a creative lack of knowledge is the starting point for any action; it should be based on a clear historical analysis of the present moment and the experience of previous projects of liberation.

We do not yet know how to act and where this action might lead; therefore, at the beginning, we ask questions. This state of questioning has much in common with the consciousness of a child who still lacks ready answers to the simplest questions. But unlike a child who needs to acquire everyday skills, we need to conceive that which does not yet exist. Herein lies the highly provocative value of Vladimir Lenin's quotation, "study, study and yet again study Communism in the most genuine way." We must learn to *study* Communism—to study something that is not in the realm of existing knowledge. Genuine education sets itself the objective of learning that which does not yet exist; it demands a synthesis of rational methods of comprehending the world and other practices based on the anticipation of other relations in society.

The process of self-education is launched by the recognition of oppression and is directed at changing this condition. Self-education is that process which attracts those who identify themselves with the oppressed, and the aim of the self-education process is liberation, dignity, and love. Self-education seeks an answer to the question, How can we transcend ourselves, break free from our condition of inferiority and oppression and obtain equality?

The answer to this question can only be to live our lives in a way that demonstrates here and now that the issue lies not in the abstract categories of a future ideal world but in the reality of our everyday existence, wherein knowledge acquires its own efficacy. **J**



ЧТО ДЕЛАТЬ?

Учиться, учиться и еще раз бороться
[Study, Study, and Act Again], 2011-
Installation

10 April 1914

CARLA ZACCAGNINI

Elements of Beauty, 2014

THE DAILY NEWS

BRITISH MUSEUM OUTRAGE.

Axe Attack on Case of Porcelain.

HISSES FOR ARRESTED SUFFRAGETTE.

Another wanton suffragette outrage was perpetrated yesterday, ten large panes of glass in a case of Chinese porcelain at the British Museum being broken by a young woman armed with a butcher's cleaver.

Fortunately only one of the exhibits—a curiously fashioned saucer—was broken, and this it will be easy to replace. The damage to the glass amounted to about £5 or £6.

A Swift Onslaught.

The exhibition case which was attacked is about twelve feet high, and stands against one of the walls in the Asiatic Saloon. Several people were inspecting other exhibits when the woman, whose age is given as about 30, suddenly drew her weapon from under her coat, and, with almost incredible swiftness, broke the panes.

An attendant ran to the spot and prevented further damage, and in a very short time a large crowd of excited visitors gathered. The woman was disarmed, and escorted to the Central Hall, where she was handed over to the police and taken to the Tottenham Court-road Police Station.

The attitude of the other visitors to the Museum was decidedly hostile, and there

SUNDAY, APRIL 12, 1914

BRITISH MUSEUM OUTRAGE.

SUFFRAGETTE'S VIOLENCE IN POLICE COURT.

The woman arrested at the British Museum on Thursday afternoon in connection with the damage done to a number of wall cases containing Oriental pottery was charged at Bow-street yesterday. She gave the name of May Stewart and was charged with wilful damage.

There was an exciting scene as soon as the accused was placed in the dock. Mr. A. E. Barker, who prosecuted, was about to outline the case, but he had not completed his first sentence when the accused, a slightly built woman dressed in dark blue, shouted, "I have not come here to listen to you to-day."

"You may sit down," said the magistrate calmly.

"I am not going to sit down," she replied, and declared that she refused to recognise the Court while Mrs. Pankhurst and others were being tortured under the "Cat and Mouse" Act, "the devilish work of Mr. McKenna," she added.

The accused threw a folded paper in the direction of the magistrate. In its flight it grazed Mr. Barker and landed on the Clerk's table. Three officers seized hold of her and there was a struggle, while the accused went on shouting. "I won't listen to this man, I tell you. I won't listen to anyone. I don't recognise this Court. I don't recognise the man who is sitting there who takes his salary out of the pockets of women as well as men. I don't recognise your laws. I don't recognise your witness box, because it is nothing but a box of perjury."

She was removed from the dock, the magistrate ordering the case to be put back till the afternoon.

When the accused was brought into Court again she was still disorderly and continued speaking loudly while two officers held her firmly in the dock.

The first witness was a commissionaire employed at the Museum. He said he was on duty in the Asiatic Room at 3.30 on Thursday afternoon, when he heard a smashing of glass.

The accused: And you will hear a few more smashes, too.

Witness said he thought it was the skylight at first, and then he saw the prisoner smashing the glass in the cases in which the exhibits are shown. Ten panes of glass were destroyed. The woman had a chopper with her, which she dropped. Witness said to her, "You are a wicked woman," and handed her over to a constable.

A police constable said he was in an adjoining room when he heard the glass being

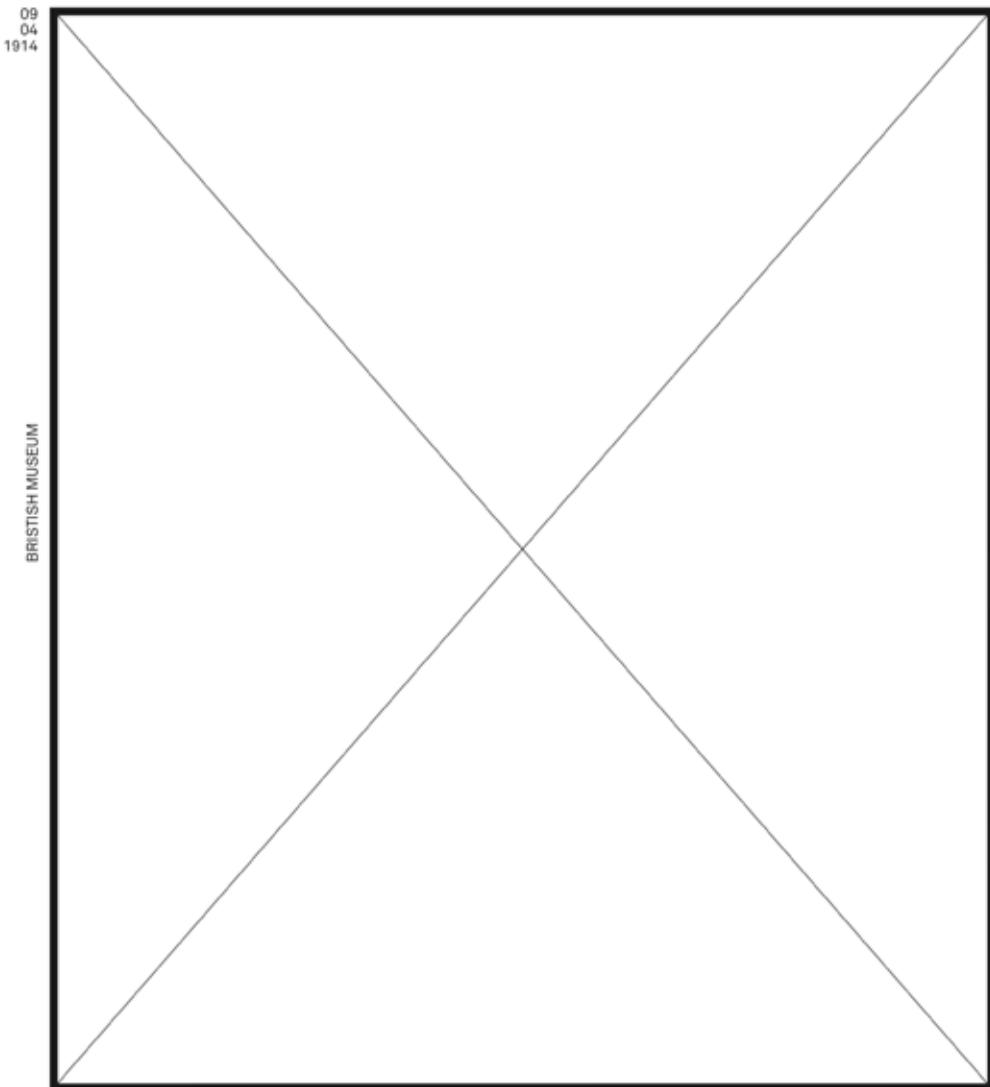
April 9, 1914, British Museum,
London

Ten glass panels, three cups and a saucer of Chinese porcelain. Asiatic Saloon, British Museum.

A suffragette ran amok with a butcher's cleaver among the glass cases of the Asiatic saloon of the British Museum yesterday afternoon. The incident was one of the craziest that has characterized the wanton attacks of these women. The woman was obviously only seeking notoriety and courting a struggle with the attendants. For all her wild efforts she only broke one valuable porcelain saucer.

On trial, after shouting she didn't recognize the Court nor "our" laws, the accused exclaimed: "I cannot understand you people, the only thing you worship is property. We say human life comes first."

These repeated outrages by women in places of historic interest where irreplaceable treasures are stored are contriving to rob thousands of the public of their privilege of visiting the national treasure houses. As long as these outrages continue and the law is not altered so that severe penalties can be inflicted on their perpetrators, the public will be shut off from the advantages which these places offer.



Beirazko hamar panel, hiru katuil eta Txinako portzelanazko plater bat Diez paneles de vidrio, tres tazas y un plato de porcelana china
Dez painéis de vidro, três xicaras e um pires de porcelana chineza Ten glass panels, three cups and a saucer of Chinese porcelain
Asiatic Saloon, British Museum

Unlike the Velazquez *Venus* and other naked female figures that were targeted in these actions, the Asian tea set seems to be a less obvious victim. Maybe Lambert has seen in these artifacts, witnesses of a distant culture, a reflex of the features she sought to confront in her Edwardian England, where

tea was a clearly imperial product, gathered and processed in the hands of colonial subjects to sustain the warm habit in grey British afternoons. Tea drinking was a widely shared habit, but still subject to class distinction. The term “miffy” was used at that time to refer to the kind of person who,



Clara Lambert
Holloway Prison
Museum of London

when pouring a cup of tea, habitually put the Milk In First. Putting the milk in last was considered to be the “correct” thing to do in refined social circles, but the reason for this is often forgotten. In the early days of tea drinking, poor-quality cups were inclined to crack when hot tea was poured into

them, and putting the milk in first helped to prevent this. When finer and stronger materials came into use, this was no longer necessary—so putting the milk in last became a way of showing that one had the finest china on one’s table.

A tea set is never only a tea set.



John Singer Sargent
Henry James, 1913
Technique inconnue dans une œuvre à la couleur très claire et envoûtante.
85 x 55 cm.
National Portrait Gallery, Londres.



John Singer Sargent, *Portrait de Henry James* (détail), huile sur toile, 1913. Collection privée.
John Singer Sargent, *Portrait de Henry James* (détail), huile sur toile, 1913. Collection privée.
© Royal Academy of Arts, Londres.

May 4, 1914, Royal Academy, London

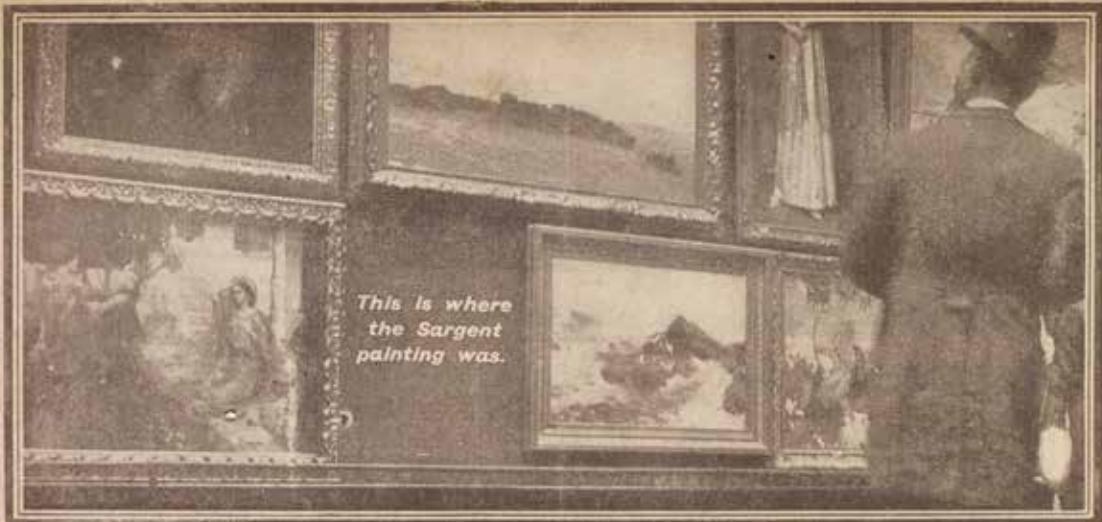
John Singer Sargent, *Henry James*, 1913

oil on canvas 85.1 × 67.3 cm. National Portrait Gallery.

On May 4, 1914, Mary Aldham (alias Wood) had attacked the portrait of Henry James painted by John Singer Sargent. James, referring to the mutilation of his image, wrote in a letter that he naturally felt “very scalped and disfigured”. He should know about it, as he had already described portrait stabbings in two short stories published

decades before. Although there is no evidence that Mary had read “The Story of a Masterpiece” (1868) or “The Liar” (1888), it is curious that the destiny of a realistic representation may get so close in reality to what seems to have been anticipated by fiction. In “Story of a Masterpiece,” James describes the way Lennox destroys the

SURELY A SUFFRAGETTE WOULD HAVE RESPECTED A PORTRAIT OF HENRY JAMES.



Of course, after the attack the slashed picture was removed.

Why the elderly suffragette, who gave the name of Mrs. Wood, should have chosen Mr. Sargent's portrait of Henry James, the famous author, for her wild attack in the Royal Academy yesterday is one of those things the woman can best explain herself. The visitors to the Academy at the time of the incident showed, at any rate, what they thought of her conduct, before a gallery attendant rescued her to take her to the police station.

portrait of his fiancée: Seizing a "long, keen poinard", he "thrust it, with barbarous glee, straight into the lovely face of the image. He dragged it downward, and made a long fissure in the living canvas."

The gallery was closed for a few minutes, and the damaged picture was removed, and the wall in Gallery 3 showed a blank space for the first time on the Royal Academy opening day. As one evening paper said, "There are no problem-pictures this year, but the blank space on the wall raises the greatest problem of all."

THE MORNING POST.

MAY 5, 1914.

THE MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS.

OUTRAGE AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

PORTRAIT DAMAGED.

Yesterday afternoon, about half past one o'clock, Mr. Sargent's portrait of Mr. Henry James at the Royal Academy, which has been presented to the distinguished novelist by a group of his admirers, was seriously damaged by a Suffragette. The portrait, No. 343, was hanging on the line in the Large Gallery, where there was the large company of visitors that always gathers there on the opening day at Burlington House. The woman, a Mrs. Wood, attacked the picture with a meat-chopper, breaking the glass, and before those standing by could prevent her made two or three slashes into the canvas. The eyes were not touched, but there were two gashes on the face, and one lower down, near the hand. The woman, who had dropped the chopper, was seized and arrested, offering no resistance.

A man in the gallery, who began to talk loudly in justification of the woman's action, was also removed, not before he had been handled with some roughness. He afterwards appeared at the offices of the Academy off the entrance hall, making a claim for compensation for broken spectacles.

Under the direction of Mr. David Murray, R.A., who happened to be present, the gallery was temporarily cleared, and the damaged picture taken from the walls. It was noticed by those who saw it carried away that daylight showed through the canvas in two places.

COMMITTED FOR TRIAL.

Mary Wood, fifty-five, whose address and occupation were refused, was charged before Mr. Dennis, at Marlborough-street Police Court yesterday, with unlawfully and maliciously damaging, at the Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, an oil painting, entitled "Henry James, Esq." by Mr. John S. Sargent, R.A.

Mr. Miskett, prosecuting for the Commissioner of Police, said the picture, which was the portrait of Mr. Henry James, the novelist, and was worth £700, was very seriously injured by an ax. The damage had depreciated its value to the extent of from £150 to £200.

Mr. Stuart Boyd, an artist, residing in Boundary-road, St. John's Wood, stated that at 1.35 that afternoon he was in Room No. 3 at the Academy where he heard the crash of glass, and on looking round saw the prisoner smashing the glass of the picture with a meat chopper. He saw her strike two blows, and went up to her and assisted in detaining her.

Asked if she had any questions, prisoner replied: There is really no need to go on with it, because I acknowledge I did it as a protest.

Mr. Bernard Finigan Gribble, artist, Wainmane, Hickmansworth, gave similar evidence, and said he helped to secure Wood, who was detained until the arrival of a constable.

It was stated that on being arrested the prisoner said: "If they only gave the women the vote this would not have happened. It would be all over. I am glad I did not die before I did it. What about Sir Edward Carson? Why is he not arrested? I am very grieved to have had to do this. There is not even justice in these things." On the charge being read over she said: "I quite understand; if a woman had painted it, it would not have been worth so much."

The Secretary of the Royal Academy said that on examining the portrait he found what appeared to be three large gashes right through the canvas, one on the side of the face, another in the middle of the face above the mouth, and the third lower down, near the hand. There were also scratches caused by the fragments of glass. It was difficult to estimate the actual depreciation of the value of the picture caused, but he should put it at from £150 to £200.

Prisoner, who said nothing, was committed for trial.

AMAZING SCENES AT
THE ACADEMY.SARGENT PORTRAIT HACKED
BY A SUFFRAGETTE.

ANGRY SCUFFLES.

What had happened? A crowd of fashionably-dressed people, men and women, were running from one room to the other and pushing through the doorways of Burlington House, forgetting pictures and catalogues, and regardless of turn clothes. It was an extraordinary scene—there.

But more extraordinary still was the scene in the great room—No. 3—where royal pictures are always shown, and where the Royal Academicians usually hang most of their own pictures. The great salon was crowded, and in the centre was a pyramid of men and women standing on the leather seats, and a scuffle was going on, and there were excited voices, and the sound of struggling.

As I came in two men were removing from its place on the line Mr. Sargent's portrait of Mr. Henry James and taking pieces of shattered glass from the frame. On the floor was scattered more broken glass, which crunched as it was stepped on. On the face of the portrait were two deep gashes, and there was another deep gash lower down the canvas, by the hand. Mr. Henry James was mutilated. The canvas was a presentation portrait "from authors, artists, and friends."

The gashed canvas was taken away through the crowd, and half the crowd was struggling through the doorway with an agitated whirling in the middle of it. And then people were telling other people they had never seen before what had happened. Of course, it was a Suffragette. The National Galleryfeat had been repeated and a masterpiece almost destroyed. For the portrait was one of the most notable in the exhibition.

THE STARTLED CROWD.

The Woman with the Butcher's Chopper had startled a fashionable Royal Academy crowd out of its decorum, and I heard a well-known R.A. describe the culprit. I need not record what he said, but it reflected very accurately the sentiments of everybody else. For on all sides the deed was deplored in the strongest terms.

There were three scuffles altogether. The chopper-woman gave three hard blows at the picture before she was seized. She would have been roughly handled, even in that polite assemblage, had not attendants hurried her out, with a crowd around her and following her to the door.

Then an unfortunate man, who was thought to have desired to protect the Suffragette found himself engaged in a free fight, in which blows were hard and frequent. He lost his silk hat and his spectacles. He found the silk hat—after it had become the worse for its adventures among



Mr. Walter Lamb, secretary of the Royal

Academy, was last seen rubbing his hat, and then the crowd was last seen rubbing its picture-gazing; but everywhere in the building one heard talk of the latest outrage.

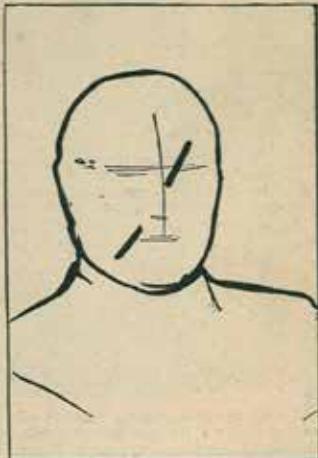
WOMAN COMMITTED FOR TRIAL.

The woman, who was immediately arrested, was later brought up at Marlborough Street Police-court. She is Mrs. Mary Wood, a middle-aged woman whose hair is streaked with grey.

The Royal Academy secretary said the picture was worth £700, and the damage done would probably depreciate its value to the extent of between £200 and £300. He thought it was replaceable.

A policeman stated that the defendant said in reply to the charge: "If a woman had painted it it would not have been worth so much."

The Defendant: Put it down to the account of this Liberal Government's injustice. She also



A diagram showing the positions of the cuts made on Mr. Sargent's portrait of Mr. Henry James.

said something about Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Bonar Law, and declared that she had damaged the picture "as a protest," adding that this sort of thing would go on until women got the vote.

She was committed for trial.

“I have tried to destroy a valuable picture because I wish to show the public that they have no security for their property nor for their art treasures until women are given their political freedom.

This is a protest against the grave injustice meted out to women who are fighting for the power to help to right the wrong.

Government rests upon the consent of governed. Women do not consent to the present mode of government, leading, as it does, to the ruin of the souls and bodies of women and little children through sweating and prostitution.” **J**

THE BODY

A Visual Declaration of Human Rights | Curator: Ariella Azoulay

A declaration is a binding statement, a decree, an order, an edict, a ruling, an act of profession, an assertion, an insistence, a claim, an affirmation, an assurance, a complaint, an objection, a disapproval, a challenge, a dissent, an outcry, a remonstration, a kind of protestation. What is a declaration of human rights? The Universal Declaration of Human Rights drafted in 1948 by the United Nations is the most familiar example of the genre. A textual declaration, it poses the abstract "everyone" as the bearer of rights. Drafted under the colonial condition that characterized the world order during the 1940s and by political leaders who were engaged in the perpetuation of colonial and imperial regimes, the Declaration's universal "everyone" was a shrewd way to exclude from the discussion the rights claimed by concrete people all over the world, as well as the ongoing and unacknowledged abuses committed by colonial regimes.

In 1955, Edward Steichen curated the milestone *Family of Man* exhibition, which toured more than seventy venues around the world. I address this photographic event not as the "oeuvre" of a single author but as an archive of the human condition. However, this is not simply an archive of how people live, act, and look but a repertoire of the rights they have or should enjoy—from the right to give birth safely to the right to leisure. Once this reading of the *Family of Man* is adopted, a different type of universal declaration ensues—a visual declaration of human rights.

The *Family of Man*'s archive of the human condition was put together by Steichen and his team after World War II. A rift was growing between, on the one hand, those (the Allies, mediated by the recently founded United Nations) who were implementing a new world order (one based on the principle of "differential sovereignty" in sovereign nation-states) and, on the other hand, the increasingly disappointed and resistant many who suffered from this new order and continued to dream of and imagine different political horizons for being-together.

The present installation—The Body Politic—seeks to rely on the memory of Steichen's archive and expand its scope with photographs from the same period documenting these struggles, showing people who address their concrete employers—but no less so the general public and their governments—with rights claims of all sorts, even as those they address remain deaf to their claims and often use violence to disperse protests and suppress strikes. The Body Politic seeks to document "rights in action," at the moment they are imagined and claimed, to recover them from people's resistance to the new world order that perpetuated a differential body politic and prepared the terrain for the merging of neoliberalism with the sovereignty of the nation-state.

A declaration of human rights that claims universal validity, one that may constitute a frame of reference for governing human lives, cannot be a document composed by a single author, nor by a group composed of the same type of people. A declaration of rights composed of photographs and their accompanying texts makes clear that the universal aspirations of the many involved in the photographic events—photographers, photographed persons, spectators—are not issued from an abstract textual source and do not address an abstract universal audience. They instead address concrete inequalities and abuses that should be eliminated, and they seek reparations for persistent wrongs. Against Steichen, the curator of the *Family of Man*, and Roland Barthes, the exhibition's most famous critic, who claimed that the exhibition shows universality—"the aim of which was to show the universality of human actions in daily life"—the present exhibition—The Body Politic—seeks to clarify that "universality" cannot be

Y POLITIC

shown but can be prescribed, demanded, or claimed. The Body Politic consists of multiple photographic situations whose juxtapositions seek to produce prescriptive statements through which universal rights can be imagined if the rights claimed are meant to reduce the actual discrepancies between groups of populations who are ruled differentially under the same regimes: citizens and noncitizens, workers and managers, men and women, and so on.

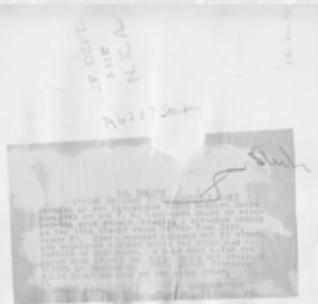
A declaration of human rights is necessarily an unfinished text, having neither a beginning nor an end; it is a text whose constant rewriting and updating is required by the very fact of living with and among others. The Body Politic uses the visual afterimage of one series of photographs from The *Family of Man*—the “lovers”—to generate one of the layers of this palimpsest-like declaration of human rights. Juxtaposing the original photographs from the *Family of Man* exhibition with photographs from the same era (mostly the 1930s–1950s) that record people claiming a variety of rights, the present installation invites its spectators to reconstruct as well as to imagine what rights those people performed in public. Contemporary descriptions of the situations recorded in the images (often typed on the back of the photographs and written by the photographers themselves, or by archivists, journalists, or the editors of the newspapers where these photographs were published or archived), as well as the proximity and affinities created between different photographs, may be of some help. These are press photographs. Not all of them were printed, and of those that were, few were widely distributed. Of those few, fewer still became canonic. All of them document a phenomenon—the strike—that everything about the new world order was made to suppress. The strikers shown here are lovers of life, people who are committed to improving their own lives as well as the lives of others. When these images are juxtaposed with the “lovers” series of The *Family of Man*, the latter can no longer be seen or read solely along the course that goes from courting to wedding. The people shown in The Body Politic are also engaged in love with their partners, but they are always also engaged intimately and politically in other activities, in other spheres of life and with other people, doing their best to change their lives. They seek ways to transform the means of their abuse into sources of empowerment. They imagine and sometimes perform different political formations and structures. These are not the abstract “everyone” but concrete people whose dreams and needs do not always coincide—the one opts for a strike, the other may object; one sits down involuntarily, the other joyfully joins the sit-in; a group starts to dance, some share their blankets, others improvise blockades. When they stand together, they can face those who betray them, say “no more,” feel the bliss and power of the many, experiment in learning together and be enriched by the lessons they learn, enjoy outside support, stand firm against the violence of the authorities who try to divide and rule, and so on. Together they form the body politic that declares the right to leisure, to decent wages, to friendship, to a nurturing future, as well as aspirations for better working conditions, food for the starving (even if those who starve today are the enemies of yesterday), and the right to vote and to shape the way they are ruled as well as the way others rule in their names.

If the possibility to formulate such a declaration is embodied by the *Family of Man* exhibition, Steichen is not—and should not be—its sole author. Steichen took the initiative to collect drafts from various places and organize them in a composition loose enough to enable millions of human beings to identify in it themselves, their aspirations, their dreams, and to remind the viewer of her ability to participate in the updating of such a document and make it a committing one.

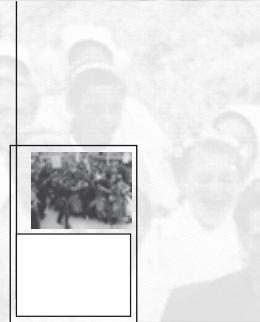
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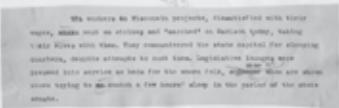
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THE STATE OF
SOCIETY



Ariella Azoulay A Visual Declaration of Human Rights I, 2014





AZZEDINE MEDDOUR

Combien je vous aime

[How Much I Love You], 1985

35 mm film transferred to video.

B&W and color, sound, 105'

How Much I Love You (1985) was originally produced for Algerian state television and depicts the French colonization of Algeria. Mixing such genres as educational film, propaganda, and documentary and employing a distressingly joyous soundtrack, the film uses colonial film archives to chronicle the Algerian war for independence and to expose the political and economic self-interests of the French administration. **J**

D.A. PENNEBAKER

Opening in Moscow, 1959

Film transferred to DVD.

Color and B&W, sound, 45'



The documentary *Opening in Moscow* was shot during the seminal *American National Exhibition* held in Moscow's Sokolniki Park in 1959. The exhibition, supported by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, was one of the first cultural exchanges and a critical breakthrough in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The film, shot in color with a few black-and-white sections, juxtaposes shots showing how the spectacle of the exhibition was received with shots of daily life in Moscow under the Communist rule of Nikita Khrushchev.

Opening in Moscow makes a point of showing not only the differences but the similarities between American and Russian working-class life during this crucial period. *sf*





ABBAS KIAROSTAMI

Do rah-e hal baray-e yek masaleh

[Two Solutions for One Problem], 1975

Film transferred to video. Color, sound, 4' 45"



Two Solutions for One Problem (1975), produced by the Iranian Centre for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults, shows a conflict between two students during school break. The film is a pedagogical tale with two possible outcomes, both of which are shown: in one, the two boys start a violent fight over a torn schoolbook; in the other, they reach a peaceful solution and together mend the book. **J**



ARDMORE CERAMIC ART

Ceramicist and painter Féé Halsted and her first student, Bonnie Ntshalintshali, started working together in 1985 on Ardmore Farm in South Africa. In reaction to official government silence on AIDS and to commemorate fellow artists lost to the disease, the Ardmore Ceramic Art Studio started making didactic ceramics to explain how AIDS is spread and how people can protect themselves from it. *JS*



Beware AIDS Kills.

Condomise, 2001

Glazed ceramics

Wonderboy AIDS Vase, 2008

Glazed ceramics



ARDMORE CERAMIC ART

AIDS Monster Piece, 2011

Glazed ceramic

“That Thing Which Belongs to the Entire World”

Afterword to an Autodidact’s Diary

Raqs Media Collective

1.

What things are worth remembering from the twentieth century?

One thing worth remembering (among many other things) is the silence that followed an utterance made by a worker in a machine tool factory on a summer night early in the last decade of the twentieth century in Faridabad, a city in the northern Indian state of Haryana.

What did he say?

Days and nights were welded together in heat that summer. Each night raised hopes of a breeze and brought stillness into the conversation. The worker had just been suspended from the machine tool factory. He would go to the factory gate every morning to see whether they had rescinded his suspension order and then make his way to a workers’ library.

Many workers met there, with books and newspapers and notebooks and parcels from elsewhere. They still do. That year, lockouts occurred in Liverpool and Bombay, and a thousand daily insubordinations happened everywhere. Everything had to be discussed. Arguments, agreements, disagreements, followed by more talking. Someone asked about making a calculation that factored in a relationship between the repeated admissions of defeat by intellectuals and the continued demands for sacrifice from



workers. Glasses of lemon tea would be drunk until sundown. Then the workers would go up to the terrace and talk some more. The night made everyone speak differently. They spoke of other things.

What other things?

Just things. Like the thing he said that night.

What did he say?

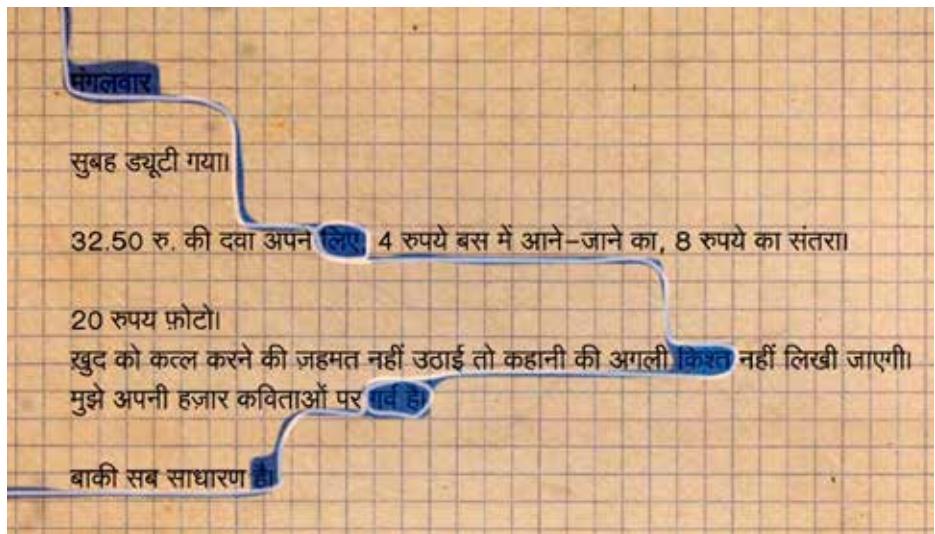
He said, looking up at the night sky, “The clamor of metal does not crowd your head when you count the stars. What a relief it is not to have to enter the factory.”

What does that mean?

In 2011, we made *Strikes at Time*,⁰¹ partly in order to understand the importance of counting stars for a factory worker.

Strikes at Time features readings from an occasional journal kept by a man, a worker named Heeraprasad, who had lived and then committed suicide in Delhi, and a long walk at the edge of the city of the night. In the “no-man’s-land” annexed by the awakening mind from the fatigue of the laboring day, *Strikes at Time*

01 *Strikes at Time*, Raqs Media Collective, 2011. Two synchronized video projections with sound, 18' 32", Collection of the Centre Pompidou, Paris.



Raqs Media Collective, *Strikes at Time*, 2011.

Two synchronized video projections with sound, 18' 32".

CENTRE POMPIDOU, PARIS.

also weaves together a discrete annotation of *La nuit prolétaire* by the philosopher Jacques Rancière, whose words are inscribed between the lines of Heeraprasad's diary by the Cybermohalla Ensemble—a group of unorthodox proletarian urbanists with whom we have been in dialogue for over a decade.

Here is one of the entries from Heeraprasad's diary:⁰²

"Friday.

The day has dawned especially for me. I got back home

at 4:45 in the morning. Rupees 180 for electricity.

- ⁰² Cybermohalla Ensemble, "The Diarist," in *Cybermohalla Hub*, ed. Nikolaus Hirsch and Shveta Sarda (BERLIN: STERNBERG PRESS, 2012).
- Bought milk for Rupees 10. What does it mean to belong to everyone? When the cool twilight sky turns deep blue and becomes an image of limitlessness, it produces a restless interference. That thing which belongs to the entire world, that thing which evokes desire or any sensation at all in the body or the mind; somewhere it builds a connection between us all. It was the best day today. Everything else is ordinary.

2.

The discursive universe of a working life is beset by a tension between the ordinary and the extraordinary. The ordinary or the narrowly instrumental includes the domain governed by what is called “useful knowledge,” or practical skills that are supposed to help one get and keep a job and maintain a productive life. The “extraordinary,” the radically transcendent, is that which is unveiled by the “cool twilight sky turning deep blue.” The extraordinary belongs to the entire world.

Perhaps this urge to know beyond the limited horizons of what workers were “supposed” to know and think about was what radical British workers began calling “really useful knowledge” as early as 1832. The **Cybermohalla Ensemble** discovered and then reinvented a **Heeraprasad** in late-twentieth-century India as an autodidact in the arts and sciences of “really useful knowledge.”

“Useful Knowledge,” especially as it began to be known through the *Penny Magazine* published by Charles Knight for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was a repository of information wherein new working-class readers could find out tips and tricks of various trades. Besides learning that “hard work cured fatigue,” they could learn about the “docility” of the Newfoundland dog, the “economical habits” of Icelandic mice, the parental solicitude of storks, the frugality of Swedish peasants, and the “temperance” of Lombardy laborers. “Really Useful Knowledge” on the other hand, as advocated by the working class paper *The Poor Man’s Guardian* was “knowledge, calculated to set you free.”⁰³

The distinction between useful and really useful knowledge hinges on an understanding of the real, of reality itself. Is a worker’s reality to consist of things that will make her perform better at the machine, or does it consist of questions about whether another form of collective life is possible. Crucially, this other form of life has to be anticipated in terms of a different order of time and space. Time freed from the rhythm of relentless production, space wrested from the confines of the factory.

03 For more on the debate between “Useful Knowledge” and “Really Useful Knowledge” in the pages of *Penny Magazine* and *Poor Man’s Guardian*, see Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790–1860* (OXFORD, UK: CLARENDON PAPERBACKS, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1994).

In an extended comment on the recension of Heeraprasad's diary by the **Cybermohalla Ensemble**, Rancière writes,

“The point is not only to circumvent time with space.

Walking on the streets—or climbing the hill—is not enough to construct the space that belongs to everyone, the space within which “the dust of rebellious thought rises” and “sparks travel from soul to soul.” What is required is a second operation, the one that deals directly with time. It consists in writing. And the first thing that has to be written is time. There are two main forms of this writing: the first one is poetry.

Poetry first means transforming the circling power into a set of lines. This is why poetry has always been a favorite form of expression for those who get for the first time into the world of writing. Poetry is not so much an expression of the self as it is the construction of a space, a spatial redistribution of time.

The second form is the diary: the diary is an account of days, a first step in the reappropriation of time. The diary may be very close to the account book, only mentioning the expenses of the day. This may account for the enigmatic mention of “Everything else is ordinary,” at the end of the entries in the diary, Heeraprasad’s diary, recovered and reinscribed by the

Cybermohalla Ensemble. If the remainder is “ordinary,” not worth saying, this means that what comes before is extraordinary.

We wonder, of course, what is extraordinary in the account of the 18 rupees given for the diary, the 2 rupees for the bus fare or the 150 rupees for the radio. The answer, however, is quite obvious: the “extraordinary” starts with the very decision of writing, of buying the diary and the pen. Writing the ordinary is the first step in the way out of the ordinary, much in the same way as the starting point in the process of intellectual emancipation, according to Joseph Jacotot,⁰⁴ may simply be the look at a calendar, the writing of a prayer, or the repetition of the first sentence of Telemachus.⁰⁵

04 See Jacques Rancière, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation*, trans. Kristin Ross (1987; STANFORD, CA: STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1991).

05 Jacques Rancière, “I No Longer Have Faith in Time,” in *Cybermohalla Hub*, ed. Hirsch and Sarda.

3.

In 2009, the government of India set a target of imparting vocational and technical skills to 500 million workers by 2022.⁰⁶ Some would call this an extraordinary act of producing a mass of ordinary skills. This will probably prove to be the single-largest state-led experiment in imparting “useful knowledge” to workers in history. These millions will join a milieu that is mobile, curious, and restless.

“The young, 20–22 year-old workers of today often have work experience from 10–12 places under their belt. They exchange the wealth of experience and understanding and thinking that comes with this with each other, freely and rapidly. This is a global trend. Here is one worker’s trajectory—he started by working in Essar Steel in Hajira (Gujarat), then he worked in Gail in Bharuch (Gujarat), Jindal Steel & Power in Raigarh (Chhattisgarh), JSW Plant in Bellary (Karnataka), Jindal Stainless Steel Plant in Jajpur (Orissa) and Reliance Refinery in Jamnagar (Gujarat).

Today he works in NOIDA.⁰⁷”

For the past twenty-five years we have been reading *Faridabad mazdoor samachar* (FMS), a workers’ newspaper produced in Faridabad, a major industrial suburb of Delhi and one of the largest manufacturing hubs in Asia. The paper has a print run of 12,000; is distributed at regular intervals by workers, students, and itinerant fellow travelers at various traffic intersections; and is read by an average of 200,000 workers all over the restless industrial hinterland of Delhi.

The May 2014 issue of FMS talks about a series of questions coming to shore.

“While distributing the paper, we were stopped twice and advised: “Don’t distribute the paper here. Workers here are very happy. Are you trying to get factories closed?” That reading, writing, thinking and exchange

06 Aman Sethi, “India Skilling the Willing, But It Isn’t Paying,” *Business Standard*, June 2, 2014. http://smartinvestor.business-standard.com/market/Compnews-244447-Compnewsdet-India_skilling_the_willing_but_it_isnt_paying.htm#U5Qady85vRI.

07 “Towards a Conversation with Students: Re-thinking the Figure of the Worker, *Faridabad mazdoor samachar* (Faridabad Workers Newspaper), June 9, 2014, <http://faridabad-majdoorsamachar.blogspot.in/2014/06/towards-conversation-with-students-re.html>.

can lead to factory closures—where does this thought come from?

Perhaps this fear is a result of messages that circulate between the mobile phones of tailors. Or perhaps this fear emerges because workers on the assembly line are humming!

The industrial belt that surrounds Delhi has been going through a deep churning over the last few years. Hundreds of thousands of young men and women are gathering enormous experience and thought at an early age. They are giving force to waves of innovative self-activity, finding new ways of speaking and thinking about life and work, creating new forms of relationships. In the gathering whirlwind of this milieu, many long-held assumptions have been swept away, and fresh, unfamiliar possibilities have been inaugurated. Here we are presenting some of the questions that have coursed through our conversations and which continue to murmur around us.

Why should anyone be a worker at all?

This question has gained such currency in these industrial areas that some readers may find it strange it being mentioned here at all. But still, we find it pertinent to underscore the rising perplexity at the demand that one should surrender one's life to that which has no future. And again, why should one surrender one's life to something that offers little dignity?

If we put aside the fear, resentment, rage and disappointment in the statement, "What is to be gained through wage work after all?", we can begin to see outlines of a different imagination of life. This different imagination of life knocks at our doors today, and we know that we have between us the capacity, capability and intelligence to experiment with ways that can shape a diversity of ways of living.

Do the constantly emerging desires and multiple steps of self-activity not bring into question every existing partition and boundary?

In this sprawling industrial zone, at every work station, in each work break—whether it's a tea break or a lunch break—conversations gather storm. Intervals are generative. They bring desires into the open, and become occasions to invent steps and actions. No one is any longer invested in agreements that claim that they might be able to bring forth a better future in three years, or maybe five. Instead, workers are assessing constantly, negotiating continually; examining the self, and examining the strength of the collective, ceaselessly. And with it, a wink and a smile: “Let's see how a manager manages this!” The borders drawn up by agreements are breached, the game of concession wobbles, middlemen disaggregate.

When we do—and can do—everything on our own, why then do we need the mediation of leaders?

“Whether or not to return to work after a break, and across how many factories should we act together—we decide these things on our own, between ourselves,” said a seamster. Others concurred: “When we act like this, on our own, results are rapid, and our self-confidence grows,” and elaborated, “On the other hand, when a leader steps in, things fall apart; it's disheartening. When we are capable of doing everything on our own, why should we go about seeking disappointment?”

Are these acts that are relentlessly breaching inherited hierarchies not an announcement of the invention of new kinds of relationships?

In previous issues, we have discussed at length how the men and women workers of Baxter and Napino Auto & Electronics factories displaced the management's occupation of the shop floor. During that entire time, workers did not leave the factory. Men and women stayed inside the factory day and night, side by side; this signals their confidence in their relationship. There are several instances too of temporary and permanent workers acting together to demand equal increments in wages and other facilities. People are acting against inherited divisions, forging uncharted bonds.

Are these various actions that are being taken today breaking the stronghold of demand-based thinking?

The most remarkable and influential tendency that has emerged in this extensive industrial belt cannot be wrapped up, contained in or explained via the language of conditions, demands and concessions. Why? Over the years, the dominant trend has been to portray workers as “poor things,” which effectively traps them in a language that makes them seem victims of their condition and dependent on concessions. And then they are declared as being in thrall to the language of conditions, demands and concessions. This is a vicious cycle. In the last few years, the workers of Maruti Suzuki (Manesar) have ripped through this encirclement.

‘What is it that workers want? What in the world do workers want?’⁰⁸”

The largest “useful knowledge” training program in the world could end up producing a body of workers who are impatient with everything they have ever learned. They are already scanning the horizon for the “knowledge, calculated to make them free.”

That knowledge comes from conversation, from anecdotes, from first-person narratives, from diaries, from things learned during tea breaks and while refusing to leave the factory for days. Then, there is time for songs, for jokes, for poetry, and for odd bits of arcane and really useful knowledge. This is how young people tired of being workers are teaching themselves about the world.

4.

Autodidacts manifest themselves by transforming their own curiosities. They turn them into magnets that attract new possibilities of thinking the world. Since they are not already formed through a long apprenticeship or fealty to established knowledge, autodidacts find themselves at liberty to let their questions lead them across the boundaries of

08 *Faridabad majdoor samachar* (Faridabad Workers Newspaper), New Series, no. 311 (May 2014). See <http://faridabadmajdoorsamachar.blogspot.com/>.

familiar ways of knowing and doing things. These trajectories inevitably orient themselves toward other queries. Questions may not always find answers, but they always beget more questions.

In this way, the life of the autodidact’s mind constantly re-lays foundations for encounters between different vectors of thought. This can open us to a new way of imagining moments of collective



Raqs Media Collective, *The Primary Education of the Autodidact*, 2012.

Installation view in Audain Windows.

time, as formed by questions. Following the autodidacts' lead, the gathering of people can be a precursor to a constant festivity of questioning.

Strangers come together through curiosity, echoing the way in which autodidacts produce clusters of thought from disparate sources. An autodidact is drawn to a new way of thinking in the same way strangers find people to talk to in a bar. Affinities, desires, curiosities, and attractions produce the bonds that tie people together in cascading clusters. People "learn" the ways of being with one another, just as "autodidacts" teach themselves to think their place in the world.

Like the parts of the periodic table that still lie vacant, entire provinces of knowledge still await understanding. These are new zones of thought—built out of erasures, inventions, incisions, glyphs,



and overwriting. They call out for decipherment, insisting that the more we know, the more we know what we do not know. In the university of the unknown, everyone is an autodidact by default. We alone can teach ourselves the things that no one else can teach us.

The autodidact may be at a loss for words, but she has other ideas. Her books are unwritten, but not unread. Some things need saying that words can never say. There begins the primary education of the autodidact. No prayers, no petitions, no apologies—just acts that surf potential waves, creating new terms for thinking, knowing, and becoming.

5.

Where does this longing for the horizon take us? The night's indigo face scans the stars and the city's frontier for signs of life. Can there be another life?

What else can we read, across the translations between the ordinary and the extraordinary, between the useful and the really useful, between the words, beyond this world, in that flash of recognition of the limits of every day?

Can there be another life?

A young woman finds her uncle's amazing diary. Every day has its entry, listing expenditures, purchases, loans, debts, and at the end of each page the same phrase—"everything else is ordinary."

What's so special about that?

Nothing much. Just the diligence of a diarist who so duly noted the ordinary in every page.

We could say it strikes us whenever we look for the horizon. Each twilight sees the day carry its own exit sign. And then, darkness strikes at time like the phosphorous head of a matchstick striking the serrated edge of a book of matches.

This is the beginning of the understanding of the distinction between useful, and really useful knowledge. ***ſ***

PAGES 93–96

DANIELA ORTIZ

Estado nación (Parte II)

[State-Nation (Part II)], 2014

Publication



We are strengthening this relationship, this idea that immigration has to be linked to the labor market, so that the labor market will determine the need for migration flows. Celestino Corbacho, Minister for Employment and Immigration 2008-2010 (PSOE) *This legislation must be based on consensus, it has to be endorsed by the two major political parties, and it also has to take into account the reality of the current situation. What we can't have are these radical turnarounds that take us from “papers for all” to the complete opposite that we have now.* María Dolores de Cospedal, current Secretary-General (PP). *Five years is all it took for us to change the immigration situation in this country, to bring order to disorder and legality where there had been none. In five years we've reduced illegal immigration by more than 30 percent, even though the pressure is greater now.* María Teresa Fernández de la Vega, First Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of the Presidency, and cabinet spokesperson 2004-2010 (PSOE) *Razor wire is a passive deterrent; its aim is to dissuade, it's not aggressive, it's passive; it's a passive deterrent, and, I repeat, its aim is to prevent illegal entry into our country, which I believe is a duty.* Jorge Fernández Díaz, Current Minister of the Interior (PP) *A legal framework for arriving here with an employment contract, so the labor market regulates the flow; cooperation with African countries, respecting human rights, to repatriate people who arrive illegally, which has to be done because people who arrive illegally don't arrive in accordance with the model that we've established; and thirdly, integration.* Jesús Caldera, Minister for Employment and Social Affairs 2004-2008 (PSOE) *Because nobody wants them, and in Sestao, the garbage no longer comes to Sestao; I throw it out, I throw it out, I make sure that they go, I do what ever it takes to make them leave. With physical force, of course.* Josu Bergara, current Mayor of Sestao (PNV) *Meanwhile, we shouldn't forget that Spain is one of the most active member states within the European agency Frontex and its different immigration control strategies and operations; specifically, Spain leads Operations Indalo, Hera, and Minerva.* María del Carmen Navarro Cruz, current representative of Almería in the Congress of Deputies (PP) *What illegal immigrants have to do is go back to their countries. Spain can no longer be a paradise for illegal immigration. I think that if we all acknowledge this, if all of us recognize that this is necessary, we will be heading in the right direction.* Rafael Hernando, current representative of Almería in Congress (PP) *If we don't impose order, if we don't impose control, we may come up against a lot of problems in the future; it's common sense: there's room for a limited number of people, so then of course you have problems with meal allowance grants at schools, problems with healthcare, and with housing; everybody has a right to those public services, but the rights of some people shouldn't interfere with the rights of others.* Mariano Rajoy, current President of the Government (PP) *As I said earlier, the aim of the regulations is to adjust and bring order to our immigration. When I say “order,” I refer to linking immigration to the employment market; that's it, that's the fundamental goal.* Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, Minister of the Interior, 2006–2011 (PSOE) *All the immigration policy that we've implemented over the past few years: it has had the support of the business community and trade unions.* José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, President of the Government 2004–2011 (PSOE)

In Ceuta I have a great deal of respect for the actions of the Civil Guard, because it is very difficult to act. I will never criticize those who are on the borders, carrying out this very difficult task. Take note, the Civil Guard is still the public institution that Spaniards value most. Miguel Arias Cañete, Minister of Agriculture 2011–2014 (PP), current member of the European Parliament *Immigrant Detention Centers are managed by highly professional, proper staff, but there are too many inmates to allow for proper conditions, for conditions that ensure that the period that these people stay in the centers plays out as it should. The centers are overpopulated, and this generates problems.* Soledad Becerril, current Ombudswoman *We are going to request that the regulations of the Spanish government, the immigration laws, should not become a backdoor for the regularization of more illegal immigrants who have been in the country for only two years, and demand that immigrants who engage in antisocial behavior, those who do not want to integrate, won't be able to settle here; that they will be denied the right and that this should become applicable throughout Spain.* Alicia Sánchez-Camacho, current representative of Catalonia in Congress (PP) *Thank you Mr. President, gentlemen. Realistically speaking, we at Unión Progreso and Democracia defend the existence of the Immigrant Detention Centers, because we believe that they play an essential role in the confinement of people who may be expelled from Spain as a result of criminal behavior.* Toni Cantó, current member in the Congress of Deputies (UPyD) *Because if the Civil Guard can't act with the riot control equipment that is available to them to defend the Spanish borders, but they can act in Spain at any demonstration, against any Spanish citizen, but they can't act on the border, then I'm going to say something that will sound very extreme: let's just place hostesses at the borders with a reception committee, because their hands are tied, they can't do anything.* Juan José Imbroda, current Mayor-President of the City of Melilla and President of the PP Melilla. *We've signed a dozen agreements, mainly with sub-Saharan African countries, and this is why we have allowed and achieved the smooth, ongoing repatriation of illegal immigrants who have arrived in our country—so much so, that France has asked us to collaborate in the process.* José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, President of the Government 2004–2011 (PSOE) *There is no record of any deaths or injuries in Spanish territory. There are however records of attacks against Civil Guard officers, some violent; the deaths, regrettably—because any death should be regretted—have been in Moroccan waters. The probable cause of death is drowning as a result of the human stampede that pushes the immigrants into the sea. That's the information we've been given. Why don't we believe that information?* Conrado Escobar, current spokesman for the Ministry of the Interior in the Congress of Deputies *There's something you have to understand, all the immigrants that enter Spain, in this case Ceuta, enter a civilized country, a country that has laws, and these laws apply to everybody. The processes aren't going to change just because of some demonstrations in Plaza de los Reyes. No matter how much pressure there is, the rules that have been laid down aren't going to change.* Francisco Antonio González, current government delegate of Ceuta

UNIÓN EUROPEA

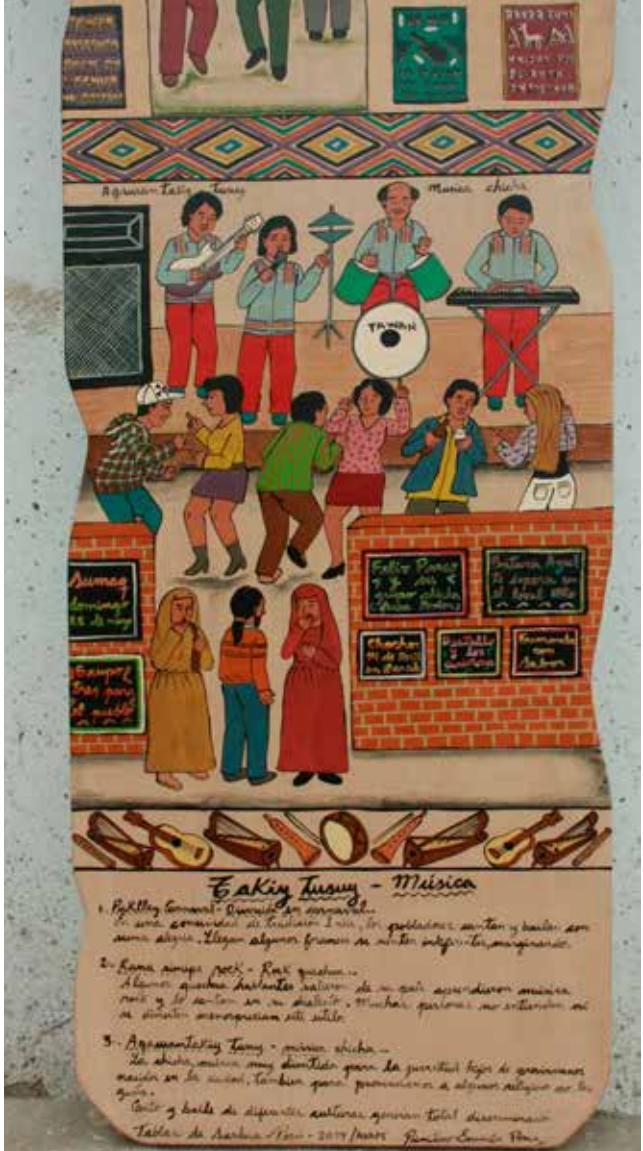
Evropská Unie - Europæiske Union
Europäische Union - Euroopa Liit
Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση - European Union
Union Européenne - An tAontas Eorpach
Unione Europea - Europos Sajunga
Eiropas Savienība - Európai Unió
Unjoni Ewropea - Europese Unie
Unia Europejska - União Europeia
Europska Unia - Evropska Unija
Euroopan Unioni - Europeiska Unionen

ESPAÑA

Španělsko - Spanien - Spanien
Hispaania - Ισπανία - Spain
Espagne - An Spáinn - Spagna
Ispanija - Spānija - Spanyolország
Spanja - Spanje - Hiszpania
Espanha - Španielsko - Španija
Espanja - Spanien

PASAPORTE

Cestovní pas - Pas - Reisepass
Pass - Διαβατήριο - Passport
Passepport - Pas - Passaporto
Pasas - Pase - Utlevel - Passaport
Paspoort - Paszport - Passaporte
Cestovný pas - Potni list
Passi - Pass



PRIMITIVO EVANÁN POMA & ASSOCIATION OF POPULAR ARTISTS OF SARHUA

Jorge Pomacanchari
Espinoza (Gift from Leonarda
Canchari, widow of Pomacan-
chari to Primitivo Evanán Poma
and Valeriana Vivanco), 2003
Acrylic on wood

Música [Music]
(from the series
Discriminación
[Discrimination]), 2014
Acrylic on wood

Primitivo Evanán Poma and Association of Popular Artists of Sarhua

Gabriela Germaná

Born in 1944 in the town of Sarhua (Víctor Fajardo Province, Ayacucho Region, Peru), **Primitivo Evanán Poma**, like many of his fellow Sarhuans, had to migrate to Lima in the 1960s due to the severe economic and social problems facing his community. After working in various jobs, a series of fortuitous circumstances led him to take up, in Lima, the traditional craft of Sarhuan board painting. This gave him the opportunity to learn about his community's way of life and also to express his social concerns and protest against the constant injustices inflicted on Sarhuans.

The earliest Sarhuan board paintings date from the late nineteenth century. They consisted of tree trunks that were split in half vertically, so that images could be painted on the flat part by anonymous craftspersons. These beams were traditionally commissioned by the godparents of newlyweds when they finished building their future house. The images painted along the length of the beams would depict members of the couple's family and friends who had made a significant contribution to the construction of the house. Syncretic religious elements were depicted at each end: on one side, the Andean deities of the sun and the moon; on the other one, a Catholic saint. The names of the godparents who commissioned the beam and of the couple who received it were written on the lowest part, along with the date when the gift was made. The characters and actions depicted on the beam, and the order in which these elements appeared, were determined by a flexible code that had to do with the transmission of a particular social order.



In 1974, when the symbolic use of painted beams was dying out in Sarhua, **Primitivo Evanán** and his fellow Sarhuan migrant **Víctor Yucra Felices**—encouraged by the anthropologists **Salvador Palomino Flores** and **Víctor Cárdenas Navarro** and the art collector **Raúl Apesteguía**—began to create a new variation in Lima: Using rectangular plywood panels as a base, they depicted idyllic scenes of everyday life and rural traditions in Sarhua. These painted boards proved popular among urban audiences who were attracted by the mix of rural iconography and a format similar to the Western painting tradition.

The aim of these paintings was to make people in Lima aware of the Sarhuan traditional way of life, but also to protest against the way the town was being neglected. In an interview that **Primitivo Evanán** and **Víctor Yucra** gave around the time of their first exhibition in Lima in 1975, **Primitivo** said,

We've created these boards so that people can learn about Sarhua. About that forgotten town, that town that cannot be reached by road yet. That town that we love with all our soul, that has no hospital, and that good teachers don't go to. In that town, long ago, three hundred children died because of a lack of medicines; they died in an epidemic. This must never happen again. We've created these board paintings to show

**PRIMITIVO
EVANÁN
POMA AND
ADAPS**

Maldecidos
[Damned],
1986
Acrylic on
wood

people the art of Sarhua. ... This is just the beginning. Master Víctor is planning more boards, where we will explain the history of Sarhua and the stories that are told in the town. ... Once again, we're not exhibiting them just to make money or anything like that, but to show the people of Lima and elsewhere the struggle for life in Sarhua.⁰¹

The social problems facing Sarhua became increasingly apparent from the 1980s onward. And on several occasions, the Sarhuan boards—particularly at the hands of **Primitivo Evanán** and the **Association of Popular Artists of Sarhua (ADAPS)**, which he founded and continues to direct—became important records for the Sarhuan community, spaces where they could denounce the terrible conflicts and social problems they faced in the last two decades of the twentieth century.⁰²

Along with the idyllic images of communal life in Sarhua, the boards began to depict the bloody events the community lived through as a consequence of the internal armed struggle that devastated Peru from 1980 onward, with Ayacucho as its epicenter. In Sarhua and other Ayacuchan towns, this conflict became mixed up with long-standing personal disputes and squabbles over lands and domains, unleashing unprecedented violence. Later, from

01 *La prensa* (Lima), 23 August 1975.

02 The armed group Shining Path, officially called the Communist Party of Peru, was founded in the 1960s by then-philosophy professor Abimael Guzmán. Drawing on Marxist, Leninist, and Maoist ideology, his aim was to establish a rural revolutionary communist regime. After deciding not to stand for the elections of 17 May 1980, the Shining Path embarked on an armed struggle against the state of Peru in the provinces of Ayacucho.

1990 to 1992, the Swiss journalist **Peter Gaupp** commissioned **Primitivo Evanán** and **ADAPS** to create *Piraq causa* (Who is guilty?), a major series of twenty-four paintings that sequentially narrate the events that took place in Sarhua from the official start of terrorism in 1980 until 1982, which were the most crucial years of the internal armed conflict for the Sarhuans.

A second major series, entitled *Éxodo* (Exodus), created by **ADAPS** in 1994, was dedicated to the traumatic phenomenon of mass migration of Sarhuans to Lima throughout the twentieth century, with an emphasis on the last and most terrible wave triggered by the political violence of the 1980s. The elements depicted in this series



tell of the employment, housing, health, and education problems the migrants face, as well as the injustices and abuses they must put up with. At the same time, the series idealizes their previous life in the rural world and condemns the modern city as an abyss of exploitation and injustice, of wayward, debauched habits.

In 2012, almost twenty years after the creation of *Éxodo, Primitivo Evanán* and ADAPS decided to reexamine their situation in Lima. By this time they were more integrated into the system and had several achievements under their belts, but their problems continued too. For this reason, the series *Katkatatay* (Fearful) depicts the formal jobs they have found, their thriving small businesses, their recognition as outstanding craftsmen, and their integration into urban-Western ways of life. Nonetheless, some paintings also illustrate problems that remain unresolved, such as the system's inability to take care of the needs of this social group, moral conflicts, and discrimination.

PRIMITIVO EVANÁN POMA AND ADAPS

Represión con odio

[Repression with Hate]

(From the series

Katkatatay), 2012

Ink and acrylic on wood

Trabajo [Work]

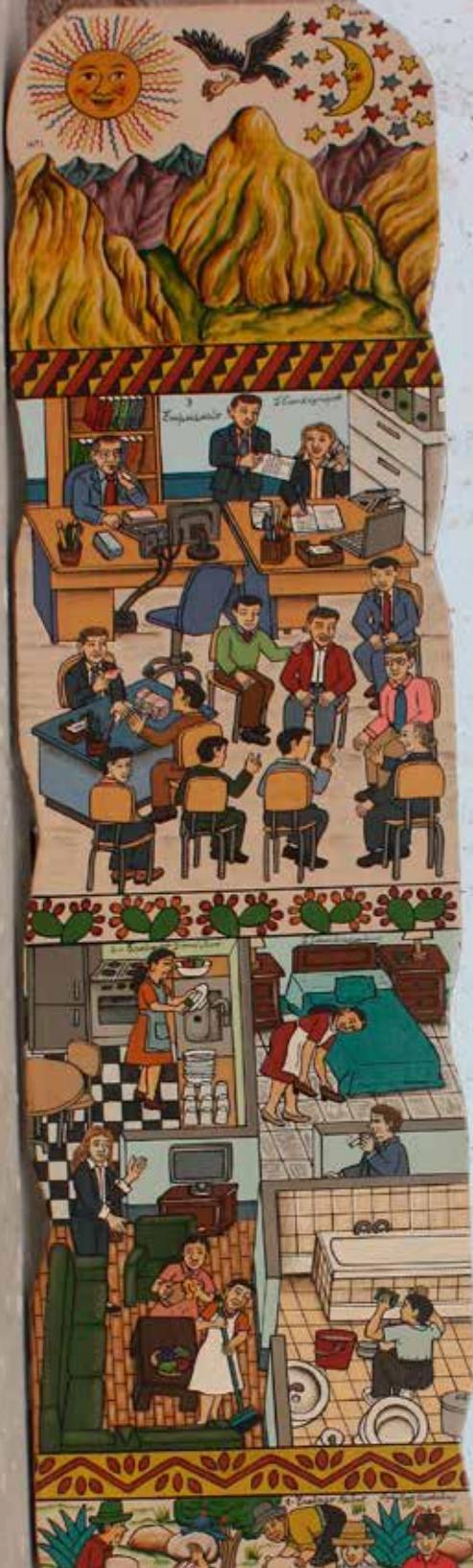
(From the series

Discriminación

[Discrimination]), 2014

Acrylic on wood

The series created for the present exhibition continues to explore the social concerns of Sarhuán migrants in Lima, focusing on the subject of discrimination. In a series of scenes, it compares the lives of Sarhuans in their own community with those of the inhabitants of Lima. More than a simple comparison, it is an ongoing outcry against the way in which differences continue to lead to inequality and injustice. **F**





ADELITA HUSNI-BEY

Postcards from the Desert Island, 2010–2011. Digital video. Color, sound, 22' 23"

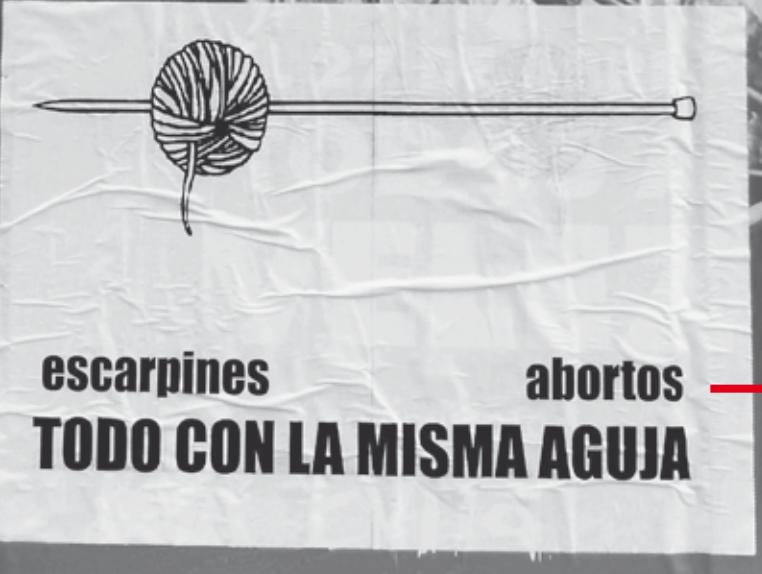


Postcards from the Desert Island (2010–2011) is Adelita Husni-Bey’s document of a three-week workshop held at the École Vitruve, an elementary school in Paris. During the workshop, which took place in the school assembly hall, children were invited to organize themselves on a “desert island” (as in William Golding’s novel *Lord of the Flies*). The film shows the children’s decision-making processes, how they established rule of law, and explores the contradictions and questions children confront on a regular basis. **f**

IF THE POPE WERE A WOMAN ABORTION WOULD BE LEGAL!



COMPANERA: CUENTE CON NOSOTROS PARA LO QUE FALTA



**sister: count on
us for whatever
you need**



THE POPE IS ARGENTINE AND ABORTION CLANDESTINE !

Grant us the right to decide over our own bodies
And give us the grace to be neither virgins nor mothers
Deliver us from the authority of the Father, the Son
and the Holy Ghost so that we can
decide for ourselves
Pray that the judiciary will not
adopt the mandates of the Church and
that both deliver us from their
misogynist oppression
Come to us the right to question whether
the fruit of our wombs is blessed
Lead us not into the temptation
of not fighting for our rights
and grant us the miracle
of legal abortion in Argentina
Amen

the
only
church
that
illuminates
is a
burning
one





thou shalt be chaste and pure

thou shalt turn the other cheek

thou shalt enjoy no pleasure

mea culpa
mea culpa
mea maxima culpa

thou shalt not
have an abortion

don't say that

thou shalt not covet
your neighbour's wife

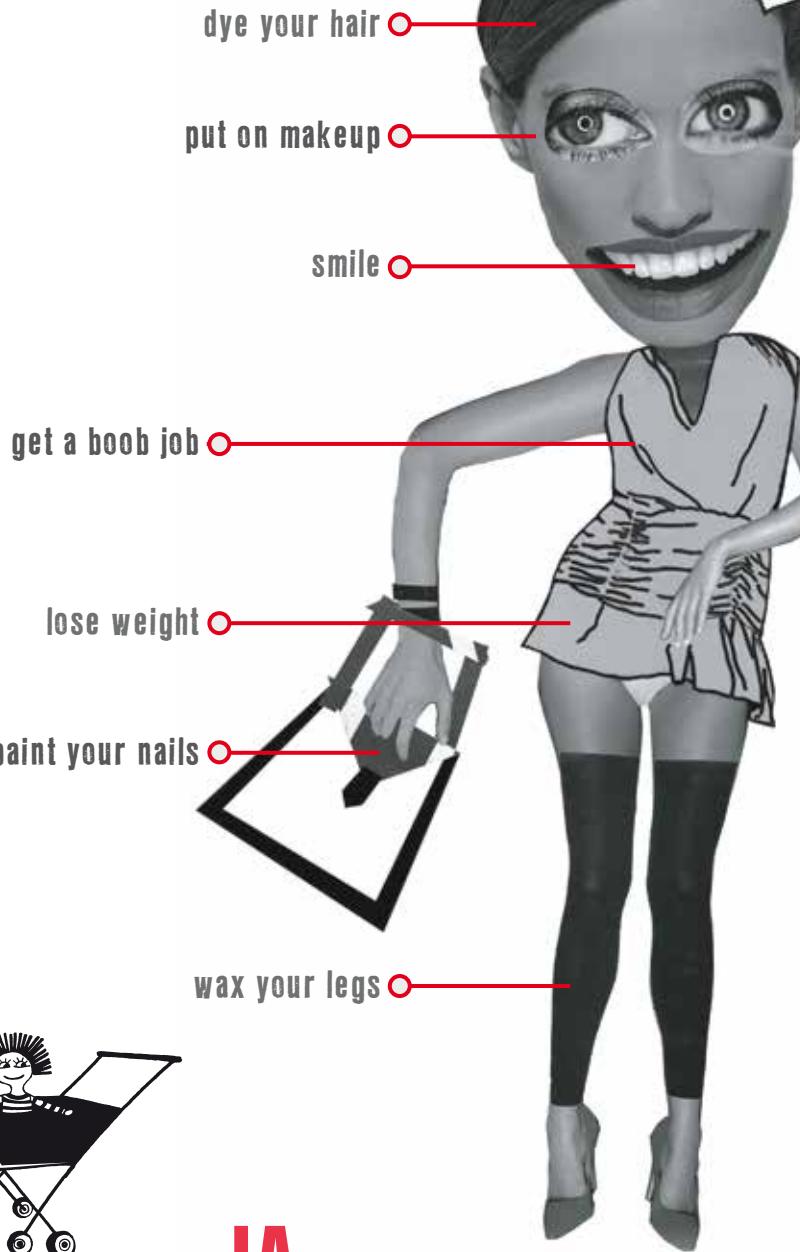
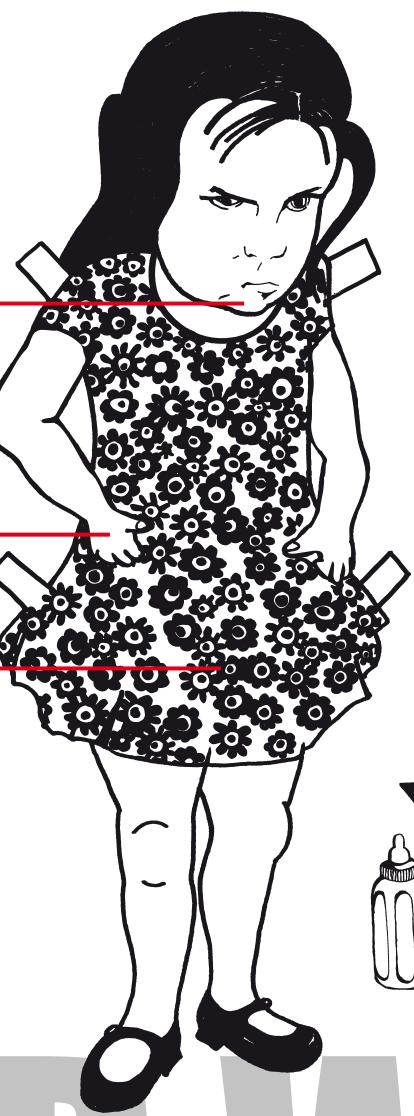
don't do that

thou shalt sacrifice thyself

don't touch that

LA
SANTA
MARÍA

COLONIZE



LA
NIÑA

LA
PINTA

D WOMAN



العصافير
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LIDWIEN VAN DE VEN

PREVIOUS PAGE

Cairo, 25/01/2013 (Tahrir Square), 2014

2014

Digital print on paper

ABOVE

Cairo, 11/11/2012 (Moubark), 2014

Digital print on paper

RIGHT

Untitled (If I were president | Jika), 2014

2014

Digital print on paper





Looking through Art & around It

Luis Camnitzer

In his *Chart of Biography* (1765), Joseph Priestley classifies life achievements in six bands: Historians, Antiquaries, and Lawyers; Orators and Critics; Artists and Poets; Mathematicians and Physicians; Divines and Metaphysicians; and Statesmen and Warriors. The classification was perceptive, although today we might add oligarchs to the last one. Though his categories left out more down-to-earth trades, they tried to encompass intellectual and political feats. They also reflected the fragmentation of knowledge and specialization and laid out what was to come later: Knowledge became divided into precise disciplines informed by production.

Already some years earlier, in 1748, Benjamin Franklin had set the future when he stated that time is money. Toward the end of the nineteenth century education came to be monetized as well. The trend started in the United States with the advent of retirement subventions for teachers. As a means of connecting teaching time to pension amounts, “Carnegie Units” were born, and a couple of decades later someone realized those units might be sold to students for profit. Carnegie Units became “credits,” and education increasingly became a quantified consumer product, accordingly distorted.

This transmuted the goal of how well one might be educated into how much education one might acquire, and it slowly crept into systems worldwide. The recent European Bologna agreements and their push to be internationalized are one of the latest examples of this quantification process.

really useful knowledge

The obsession of museums with ever-increasing circulation reflects the same distortion. The success of an exhibition is measured by how many people walk into the building to consume, rather than by what was generated in the people walking out and how they were truly educated. I once had an exhibition that was seen by 70,000 people; it coincided with an exhibition of the Hermitage Collection that must have been the destination for some of my visitors. The events were called a success. Such a claim is ridiculous because nobody will ever know how many minds were affected by either one of the exhibitions—or how many of those minds were affected for the better.

My point seems to show an interest in the quality of the visit over the quantity of the foot traffic, and yet it is still posed in quantitative terms. The notion that counting is a way to reach the truth is one of the paradigms we live in, and it is difficult to escape. We know the paradigm is false, but society tries to function based on accountability, quantity provides that illusion, and thus we continue. This points to deeper questions such as, Who owns the paradigms? Who owns the points of view? Who is in charge of making order? One would assume these things happen by consensus, and the vagueness of that word keeps us satisfied.

Consensus in a given moment is something collective. What changes from time to time is the meaning of *collective*, which is contingent on what ideas we might have about power and its allocation. *Collective* may mean all of the people, a social class, or a group of specialists. In the United States, 46 percent of all the people believe that everything started with Adam and Eve and that creationism, not the theory of evolution, is the way to go. Creationists, in turn, are all in favor of democracy because it is “the ‘American’ thing to do.” Democracy allows them to impose religious dogma where they win the vote. Meanwhile, in Mexico only 49 percent of all the people believe democracy is a good thing. Their skepticism comes from democracy’s inability to fight corruption and the violence caused by the trafficking of drugs.

Such statistical data may have some interest for election campaigns or may show the need for a better education system, but they do not really affect our thinking. Specialists raise more serious and interesting questions, but they constitute a smaller

collectivity, and elitism is not necessarily a better system for good answers. Not all small collectivities can be accepted as a reference since, regardless of their power, they sometimes are not serious. Aristocracy and bankers are just two examples of powerful cognitive irrelevance. Serious or not, the conclusions of all those small groups slowly filter down to the bigger collectivity thanks to a variety of educational means: the press, demagogic discourse, peer pressure, gossip, and the school system. These mechanisms are ultimately the means by which paradigm change may or may not take place. What is not transmitted through these mechanisms is the will to examine the points of view, to deliberately influence paradigm change. By this absence intellectual and other divisions tend subsequently to be reaffirmed and reflected in social class divisions.

Knowledge is treated like a collection of objects, and in societies that believe in private property one therefore speaks of “intellectual property” and not of the “property of intellectual ability.” The latter would be much more interesting, because it at least acknowledges that knowledge is a continuous process that includes creation and change. The intelligence quotient, for whatever it is worth, is an attribute that cannot be transferred and therefore cannot be traded, but what one does with IQ may go into commerce and therefore has to be tagged accordingly.

All this shapes pedagogical attitudes to conform to the quantitative paradigm. The system is geared to acquire and accumulate units, disciplines, and data within the disciplines. At the end one gets a certificate that proves one’s holdings. With enough time, money, and interest, some people accumulate more than one certificate and are duly respected. It’s all called learning. Like a computer, with enough memory one may store many databases and programs. But databases can be erased, and computer programs come with an uninstall feature. However, when one learns, one does not get instructions on how to unlearn. When what one acquired becomes obsolete, the next step is not forgetting but retraining. What suddenly became garbage remains, and new training tries to cover it like a rug.

Unlearning is difficult, much more so than learning. Sometimes it may require hypnosis, although I do not know if that has ever been tried for academic issues. Given the difficulties, common

sense would tell us to make sure we learn in a constructive way, minimizing the need to unlearn and helping us to mature without rotting from the accumulation of too much useless, moldy information.

The next question then is what does art have to do with all this? The answer depends on what we understand by the word art. One meaning, within the quantitative paradigm, is that art is the accumulation of objects that conform to the “history of art” and whatever object one tries to add to it. The history of art is not an intellectual history but an embellished history of crafts that registers master craftsmen and craftswomen identified and valued as authors, grouped by styles. These authors live or died in competition for both the reduced real estate available in the historical narration and for the money available in the market. Today, more than ever, the market puts the public in the role of consuming those products and leads interaction to function on the level of spectacle.

Industrial mass production guided by functionalism led art to develop a competitive industrial finish. Then mega-spectacles in the entertainment industry led to artistic superproductions and blockbuster museum exhibits. As used in art institutions, education has been confused with public relations and serves to increase public appeal. In this panorama art schools’ policies went into disarray. First, art school professionals assume that art cannot be taught. Then they filter applicants by betting on who might make it with minimum school effort. And, finally, they teach how to behave as an artist after graduation.

Art has another meaning: the ability to wonder and imagine without limits, to make any kind of connections. This includes the ability to question and maybe also to subvert established orders using what now has been conventionalized with the term *critical thinking*. This interpretation is more interesting because it makes art independent from crafts and objects and also allows one to see why art should be part of all education and not reduced to one specialized field intended to identify and promote geniuses.

Teaching literacy does not necessarily lead to a Nobel Prize or to the production of high-quality calligraphers. Nevertheless, everybody is taught literacy. The aim is to have citizens who are functional in society, whatever the definition of *function* might be.

Similarly, teaching art under this expanded meaning does not aim at selling in a gallery or making it into a museum. This version of art is as noncompetitive as literacy, and it also aims at making people functional in society. Only, the term *function* may be better defined for art than for literacy and includes the contribution of creative input to keeping society moving for the better, as well as a crucial feature neglected in disciplinary education: the ability to make connections (however extemporaneous and free they may be) and foster imagination.

From an educational point of view, all these divergences and lacks reveal a depressing situation. Schools function like bad museums, while museums operate like bad schools. And both manage to do so without looking at each other, even as each tries to find ways to use the other. Schools use museums as lip service to humanities requirements and to show an interest in being cultured. While they do that (or not), the emphasis is on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and other ratings that underline science, mathematics, and literacy but do not address the arts. According to PISA, the goal is not so much to educate people but to make countries competitive in the global market. Creative thinking, on the other hand, is not considered to be important in this.

PISA acknowledged problem-solving only recently, introducing it in 2012 as an added feature. However, only twenty-eight out of the more than seventy participating countries were tested. Even there the questions posed were inadequate to verify a valid outcome. The questions posed to the students were about how to fix electronic gadgets and how to assemble prefabricated furniture, situations that primarily exist only in affluent countries.

Museums generally use the works on show to instill and confirm the canon employed to select them—their aesthetic paradigm, as it were. This practice means that the public has to share the canon, adopt it, or ignore it, but not necessarily understand it. Museum education departments thus do not exist to challenge this canon, to help figure out how it got there, or to equip the public to create alternative canons. They exist to reach out and engage the public in what is shown. In that sense most museums either represent the power structure and/or take it for granted. Cultural gatekeepers therefore are akin to bouncers who look at the public while they

protect museum values. In this configuration, the real art educator should not help protect the gate but be a spearhead for the public and make sure the gate is kept completely open.

This concern is reflected in the approach of the more progressive art institutions, which try to use works of art to stimulate thought and, in the process, enrich the viewer's mind. Through art they help understand the world and raise levels of culture. The process is called "visual thinking" or "visible thinking." Some claim this helps students to become more attentive, broadens their perspective, and even promotes literacy. While this sounds good and may be somewhat true, the main result actually is that the images presented end up fixed in the mind of the viewer. The images become memorable icons. They are memorable because, in such circular thinking, "memorability" is the very reason they are in the museum. They then become more memorable because they are implanted in the memory of those who see them. Thanks to this tautology they also become the reference by which everyone judges future work, making them not only memorable but iconic.

Therefore, rather than being true visual literacy, developed through an understanding of the syntax of all image systems, visual thinking in that context is limited to the examples accepted by the authorities in the art field. The values of the canon are transferred with the excuse and satisfaction that the recipient will have a better cultural education. An enhanced form of art appreciation, thinking through the work of art—like the visual thinking approach does—leads to an emphasis of the narrative elements present in the content and to a description of the formal elements of the work. This is basically a continuation of passive consumption, where the artist is the giver and the viewer is the taker. Thinking through the work of art is equivalent to entering a tunnel and believing that the outline of the light at the end has the shape of the universe, when it does not. Art should help us deal with the universe, but what we see at the exit of any tunnel can tell us only about that tunnel's shape.

More interesting then is thinking around the work of art: looking for what generated the piece and gave it its need to exist. What conditions made the work inevitable? What problem is being solved? Is the piece the best solution?

A work displayed merely to indicate the shape of a tunnel is a symptom of the limitations of the word *art*. The work objectifies something that should transcend objecthood to become a way of handling, organizing, and expanding knowledge. This no more means that art objects should disappear than an emphasis on literacy means that great literature should be ignored.

Thinking around allows one to see what is behind things and to put them in context. Thinking around means to focus on connections, the weaving of which also happens to slowly coalesce in an object. In looking at footsteps left on a sandy beach, we might decide we like or do not like their shape—the equivalent of what a quick viewer does when seeing art. Or we might focus with more attention on the footprints and deduce species, weight, height, and speed of the creature who left the marks. That is what a tracker does, and what an observant person who thinks through the work of art would do. Prompted by the footprints, we might also decide we want to go from here to there, then determine the best way to do so, what means are available to help us achieve that end, why we would want to share it, and how to present it in the best way possible to effect this sharing.

In that case, the footprints (or the works of art) that were generated by our process are only examples of a possible solution. They are not necessarily the best one, since the conclusions of the viewer might be better. This is the point at which the footprints or the works of art have to prove their inevitability to justify their existence. Then, however beautiful, pointed, or perfect, hidden within them they still carry a system of connections that relates to a particular problem. This interrelation is the one that carries real importance, since this is an opportunity for education.

In *Our Mathematical Universe*, Max Tegmark speaks of an internal reality, a consensus reality, and an external reality: what we react to, what we agree reality is, and what reality actually

is.⁰¹ Consensus reality is a weaving of connections and metaphors that compress both correct and incorrect information. Limited by our biology, our need for survival, and our shared prejudices, it allows us to function collectively. Such a division is useful when placing art. Art is traditionally taught as if it only pertains to the

01 Max Tegmark, *Our Mathematical Universe* (NEW YORK: KNOPF, 2014).

relation of internal reality to consensus reality. This is particularly true in its romantic version, when we carry our emotional insights into consensus reality for approval. On a second level, one that is more politically conscious, art may be used to challenge and affect the connections within consensus reality. For unknown reasons, the next jump, the one into external reality, is too often reserved exclusively to basic science (or to religion). This means that art is not accepted as a valid instrument for cognition.

However, the main importance of art is precisely in the area of cognition. Art may not pinpoint objective data about external reality, but it helps to prepare us to do so. In our societies, even in its crudest manifestations (such as rendering what we perceive or documenting personal anguish and beliefs), art interprets, translates, connects, and reorders information. The creative aspect here is not in how well the art objects look at the end but in how revealing and challenging the new proposed alternative order is—and how persuasively this is presented. Thus, at least potentially, art is a much broader field of action than the one in which we normally act. Art is a field where chaos and order cohabit, where logic and illogic complement each other, and where speculation does not have disciplinary constraints. Science, in this view of art, is one of its subcategories, defined by the particular focus and purpose of pinning down external reality.

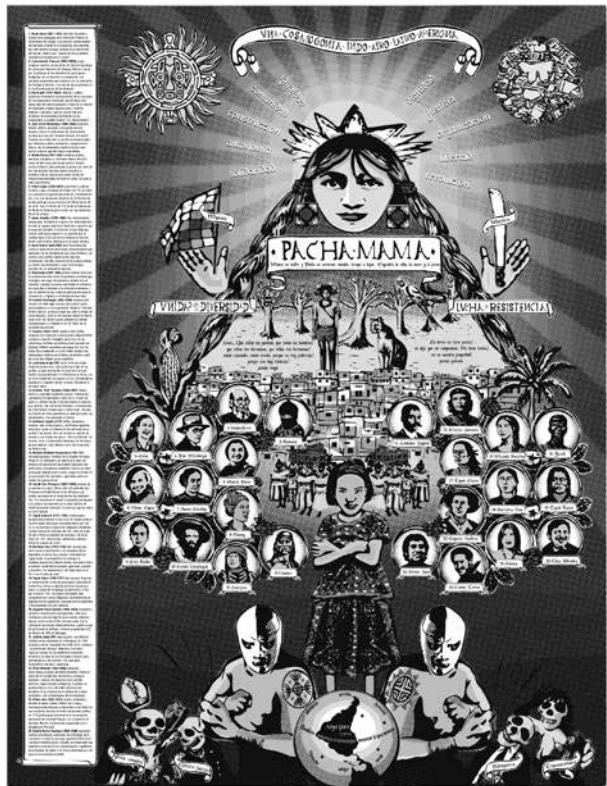
This view of art should have a pedagogical impact. Since the time of **Jean-Jacques Rousseau** and **Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi** the question has been whether education should be—as it mostly is today—about training in skills or about expanding the capabilities of the individual. Skills deal with finite tasks and are defined by the labor market. Under this regime, students are prepared to be market fodder and to be used as needed. Most of the education process is actually dehumanizing. That the humanities are today increasingly being phased out is no coincidence.

While this process is accelerating, the approach to education continues using the mostly mechanist procedures of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, (1) the student is a vessel to be filled in the belief that more information means more knowledge; and (2) education proceeds under the assumption that whatever employment is found will last a lifetime. Both assumptions are wrong. The student is not a vessel but a maker of connections

who needs to learn how to access the information to be connected. And not only will the average person change employment several times during his or her lifetime; he or she will also likely change professions. In the United States, a study from 2008 showed that the population born from 1958 to 1964 changed employment an average of ten times from the ages of eighteen to forty-two, and changed profession five to seven times.⁰² This trend is or will be shared at different speeds by the rest of the world.

Skills are important; however, they should not be taught as contained entities in closed cubicles but as metaphors that allow exiting and connecting with other metaphors. A painter sees the world in terms of what may be painted, just as a plumber may separate plumbing problems from the rest of the universe. An artist, however, may resort to either skill (painting or plumbing), as well as to everything else, in the pursuit of inquiries that are not bound by skills. Unless we want to build a society of unaware slaves, no good reason can justify the allocation of this freedom to the few chosen individuals called artists. Ultimately we all should learn to transcend our internal reality, to step up and improve the consensus reality, and maybe also help figure out what the external reality is about. Working on this path may allow us to redefine our work in ways that are both better for us personally and better for society as a whole. Meanwhile, it also will allow us to follow a badly neglected ethical compass and will put both ego and the labor market in perspective, forcing a reconsideration of both the function of pedagogy and the role of art inside the pedagogical process. *J*

02 “Number of Jobs Held in a Lifetime,” Clear Management Human Resources Consulting, n.d., <http://www.clearmgmt.com/careers.htm> (ACCESSED FEBRUARY 11, 2012).



NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA REBELDÍA

ICONOCLASISTAS

Nuestra señora de la rebeldía

[Our Lady of the Rebellion], 2010/2013

Two-color prints on paper

El arbolazo [The “Arbolazo”], 2010/2013

Two-color prints on paper

PAGES 124–125

La trenza insurrecta [The Insurgent Braid],

2010/2013

Two-color prints on paper

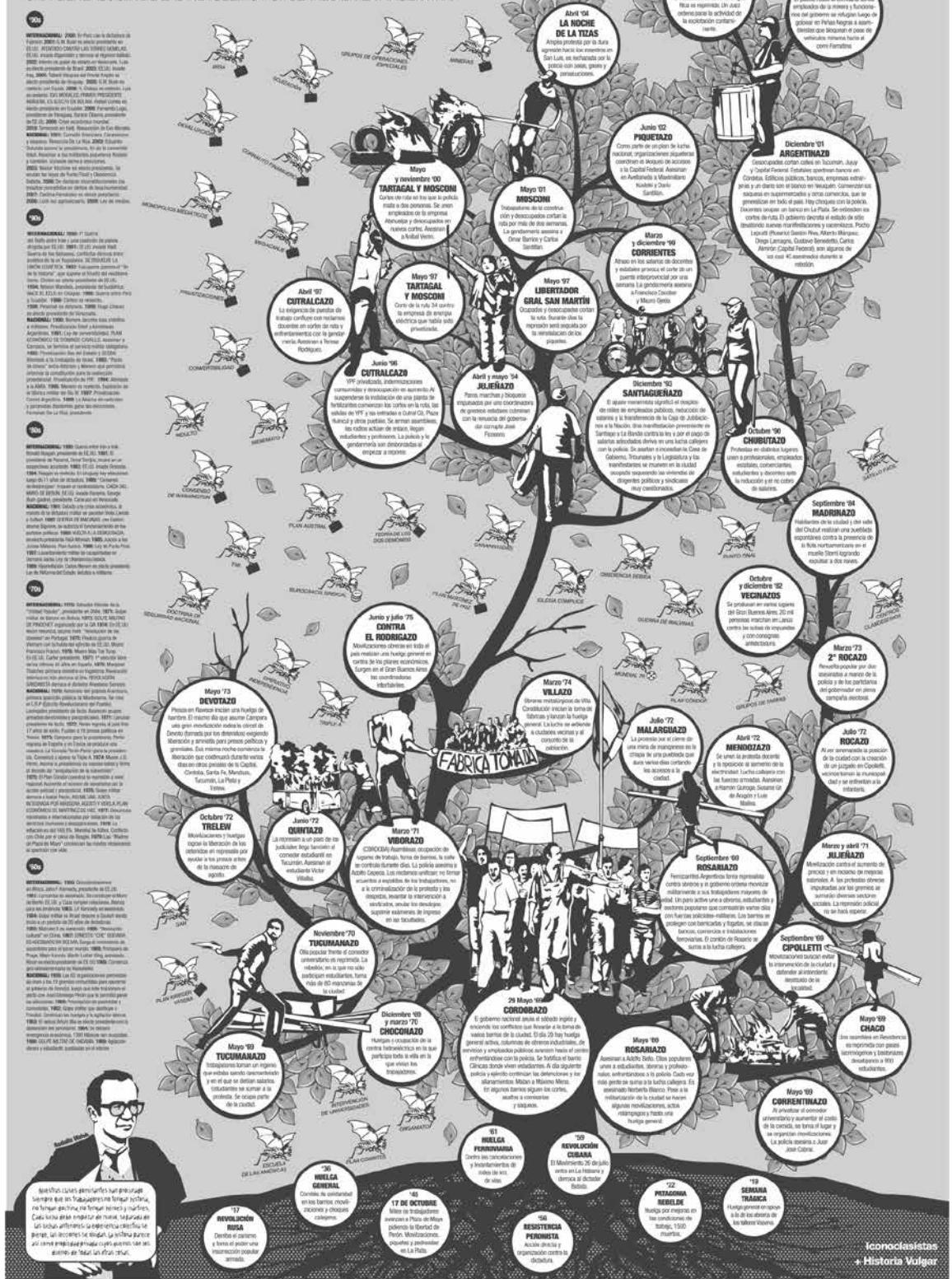
Iconoclastas is a platform for workshops, cartography, and collective research working to produce resources for free circulation, appropriation and use, in order to act politically and to promote practices of collaboration and resistance.

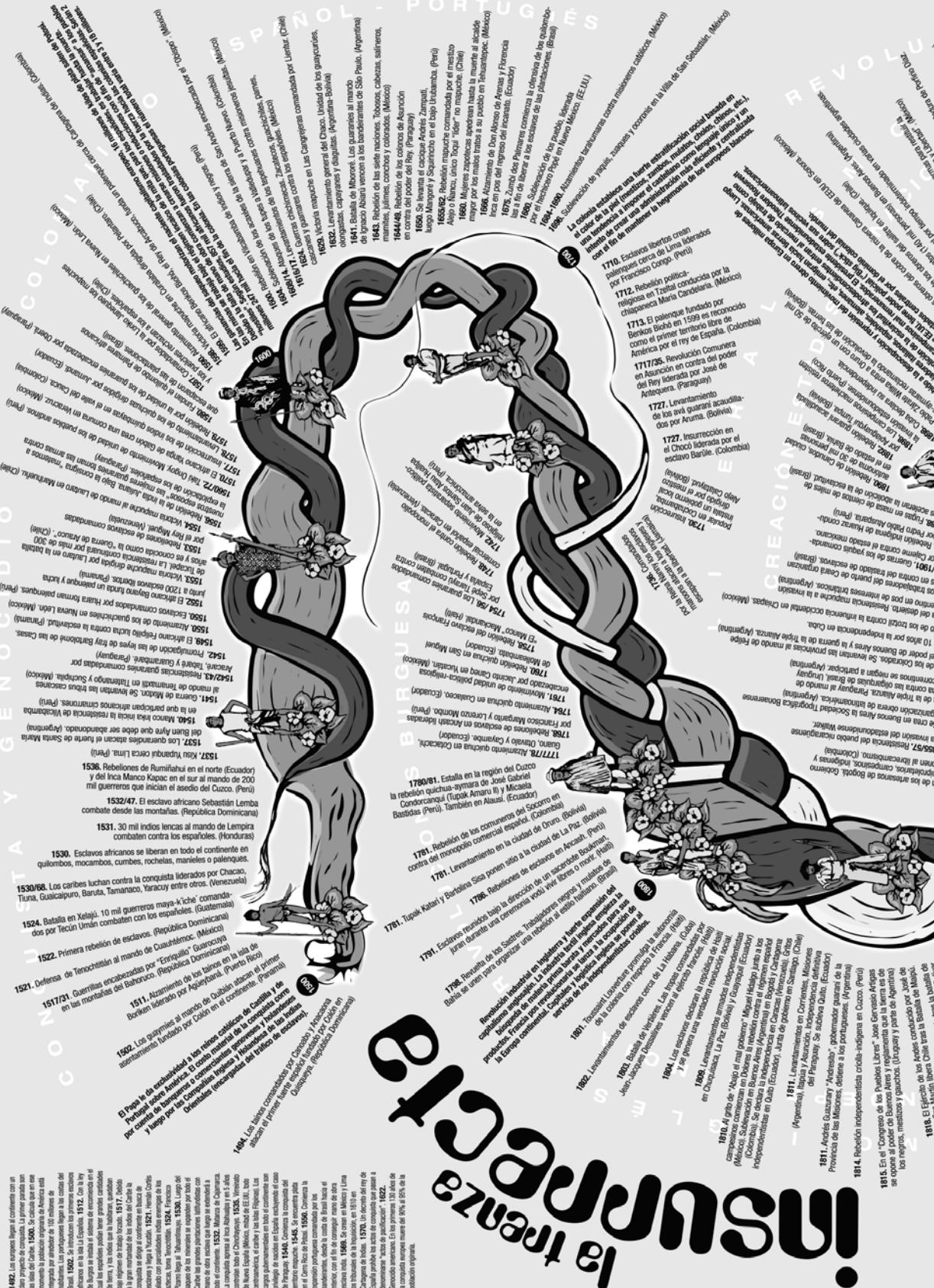
The three cartographies presented here explore historical events that have not been included in official historical narratives. Information for the maps was collectively compiled and is revised, corrected, and extended in an ongoing open process. *La trenza insurrecta* (2010) displays a chronology of the struggle and resistance of Indian-African-Latin Americans from the time of the Conquest in 1492 up to 2010.

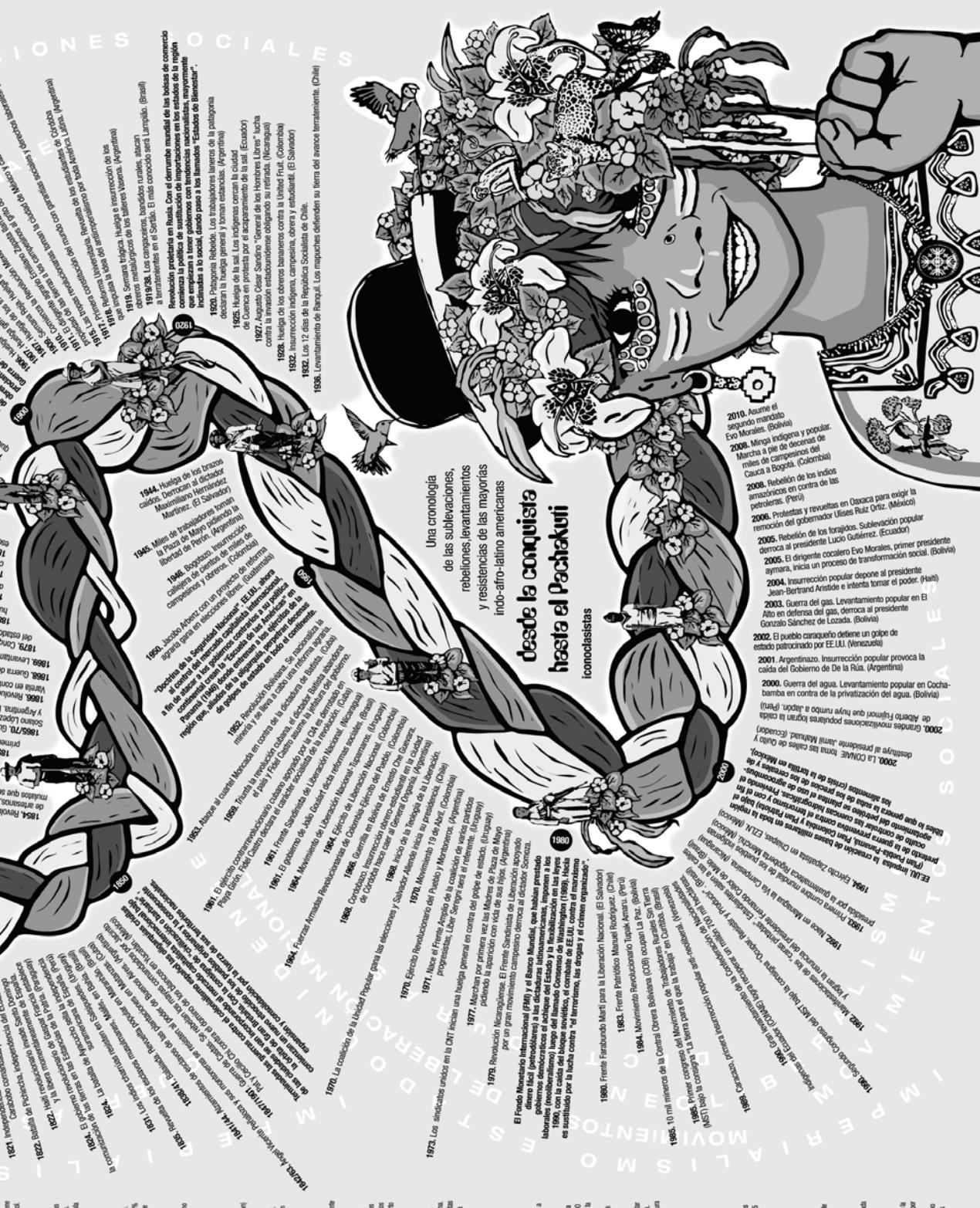
El arbolazo (2008) is a tree-like genealogy of all the popular revolts that have taken place in Argentina since the “Cordobazo,” the worker and student revolt that in 1969 lead to the fall of the dictatorship of Juan Carlos Onganía. *Nuestra Señora de la Rebeldía* (first published in 2007) revisits the hybrid origins of the continent by invoking the mountain virgin, a figure from the colonial, baroque period in Latin America. *ſ*

EL ARBOLAZO

UNA GENEALOGÍA DE LAS REVUELTAS POPULARES EN LA ARGENTINA







¿CÓMO ACTIVAMOS LA IMAGINACIÓN PARA CREAR UNA FELICIDAD DISTINTA A LA QUE ORGANIZA EL CAPITALISMO?



“How can we activate the imagination to create a kind of happiness other than that proposed by capitalism?”

SUBTRAMAS

Cuatro preguntas para una utilidad por venir

[Four Questions for a Usefulness to Come], 2014–2015

Four Questions for a “Usefulness” That Is Still to Come

Subtramas

Since 2009, the collective **Subtramas** has been engaged in artistic research⁰¹ at the convergence of audiovisual production and critical pedagogies, collaborative practices, and social activism. We use visual narratives to explore the extent to which image-based work can help challenge the hierarchies of judgment and productivity that are intrinsic to inherited learning, how far it allows us to review and transform individual experiences and connect them to collective experience, and whether it fosters a kind of knowledge linked to collaboration that can bring about more democratic forms of communal coexistence. Based on the discursive lines of this ongoing research, the curatorial team WHW invited us to participate in the exhibition *Really Useful Knowledge* with two commissions: on the one hand, to

present the project we are calling *Anagrammatic Alphabet*,

which is a kind of semantic diagram of the potentialities of collaborative audiovisual production practices; on the other hand, to organize an educational mediation and public activities program in conjunction with the exhibition itself. In a sense both projects are learning devices that delve into ways of seeing, interpreting, and inhabiting the exhibition.

01 Hito Steyerl, “An Aesthetics of Resistance? Artistic Research as Discipline and Conflict,” *Transversal*, January 2010, <http://eipp.net/transversal/0311/steyerl/en>.

We are presenting the *Subtramas Anagrammatic Alphabet* as an artistic installation that includes an enlarged image of itself along with a computer that allows visitors to interact with the website that contains all the content produced in the course of our research.⁰²

The *Anagrammatic Alphabet* is the result of all the genealogies, methodologies, and concepts we think underlie the communal production of images and its relationship with other fields of knowledge. The alphabet is structured around three core areas in a fluid, mutual feedback dynamic: collaborative audiovisual practices, artistic education, and the free distribution of audiovisual production. Their convergence produces three “subplots” (*subtramas*) or processes geared toward social change, which promote colearning, the dissemination of critical knowledge, and the assemblage of individuals and communities.⁰³

The *Anagrammatic Alphabet* is a proposed narrative that can show numerous ways of positioning ourselves in and with image production, in contrast to the deterministic, predefined models we have assimilated from cultural institutions and the media. We should not after all forget the museum’s historical role in the education of the public.⁰⁴ After the transition to democracy in Spain, the museum took on a clear objective: to equip the emerging democratic society with cultural capital so that culture would be absorbed into the postmodern ideology. Fortunately, in spite of the perverse effects arising from a museum institution that is increasingly entrenched in market forces and spectacularization, in recent years some museums have been forging links with constituent social forces, promoting collective access, interpretation, and participation in regard to artistic heritage as a shared asset. Our own work can be situated within these attempts to reposition art-related knowledge in the common space.

In the context of the ideas we explore in the *Anagrammatic Alphabet*, we decided to start planning the mediation program for the exhibition by asking

02 The interactive version of the *Anagrammatic Alphabet* can be found at <http://subtramas.museoreinasofia.es/es/anagrama>.

03 In film language, a subplot is a story that runs parallel to the main plot and is theoretically less important but can have a crucial influence on the plot. The subplot introduces additional action in the film’s structure and at the same time creates a world with greater depth and realism.

04 See Jorge Luis Marzo, “*Imágenes con sordina*,” in *No tocar por favor* (VITORIA: ARTIUM CENTRO-MUSEO VASCO DE ARTE CONTEMPORÁNEO, 2013), 12–31.

05 Fernando Hernando defines the pedagogic relationship in terms of its ability to “construct experiences that involve us, because they talk about us or address us, based on a conversation among individuals. This conversation can only come about when we recognise each other—each from our own position—within a network of affects, presences, connections and contradictions that involves us and invites us to become agents of our own search for meaning.” Alfred Porres Pla, *Relaciones pedagógicas en torno a la cultura visual de los jóvenes* (BARCELONA: OCTAEDRO, 2012), 21.

06 Carmen Mörsch has created a map of the discourses that are used in art education programs, particularly at museums. She identifies two dominant discourses—affirmative and reproductive—and a further two in which education becomes the object to be deconstructed or transformed. For more information, see Diego del Pozoy and Virginia Villaplana, “Entrevista a Carmen Mörsch” [Interview with Carmen Mörsch], *Arte y políticas de identidad* 4 (June 2011): 203–4, http://redmediacionartistica.cl/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Revista-Arte-y-pol%C3%ADticas-de-identidad_Entrevista-a-Carmen-M%C3%B3rsch.pdf.

ourselves some questions: What notion of “mediation” (enclosed in quotation marks because widespread use has made the term porous, so that its connotations vary according to the context and the mediating agents) should we work with if we do not want it to be conditioned by the authority of the museum mediator or educator? How can the mediation process go beyond its educational role and also work on the actual organization and presentation of the museum as a container of culture? What mediation methodology could generate a pedagogic relationship with the power to channel new encounters, learning experiences, and practices in an exhibition?⁰⁵ To what extent is a transformative mediation possible, given the often dominant (affirmative, reproductive) nature of museum education?⁰⁶

At the same time, we had to make a few structural shifts before we could rethink the exhibition device as a learning device:

- get rid of the traditional areas of interpretation defined by the museum’s educational activities.
- set up multipurpose spaces in the exhibition rooms where the public activities can take place; this erases the idea of “related activities” and gives them the same status as the artworks.
- promote synergies among the different agents and departments involved in the exhibition—from the educational, exhibition, and public programs departments to museum security and visitor service—in order to extend the debate on mediation in the museum to the museum as a whole.

- work closely with the team of mediators so they can bring a wide range of experiences to enrich group mediation with resources and creativity.

Our mediation project builds on the four key notions of the *Anagrammatic Alphabet* (colearning, new imaginaries, collaborative practices, and pedagogies of the image), which activate four corresponding questions that act as conveyor belts connecting the artworks on display, museum audiences, and social movements. **Why is it useful to learn together? How can we activate the imagination to create a kind of happiness other than that proposed by capitalism? What types of learning spring from social movements? What do images activate politically?**

In addition to stimulating the individual imagination of those who answer them, using questions as a mediation device also challenges our imagination concerning what others could answer in each case. Because of its democratic open structure, the language that the answers are expressed in is likely to be more licit than the more standardized structure of the initial questions. From this perspective, the question-answer approach is open, unpredictable, and multiform in comparison to the discourse that is usually predefined by an educator, curator, or artist. This approach thus activates a notion of voice and listening that critically responds to institutionally authorized knowledge and places the listener and the speaker in the same space of resonance, in a relationship of mutual interpellation.

The four questions also act as catalysts in an exercise in collective dialogue that favors the experience of voices that are doubly “silenced” (by the museum’s security regulations and by its legitimizing preference of expert knowledge over other forms of knowledge).

The four questions, in turn, generate three blocks of activities:

1. Itineraries on what and how we learn.

The first block revolves around four itineraries through the exhibition, which are explained on four visitor-friendly leaflets. Each itinerary includes a selection of works from the exhibition and a proposed dynamic, which may be performative or involve

reflection, and which can be carried out individually or in groups.

The works in the first itinerary triggered by the question “Why is it useful to learn together?” are part of colearning processes that favor “situated” knowledge over the power-knowledge relationships that are inherent to modern standardized thought (which is defined by universality, rationality, abstraction, consciousness, and the noncorporeal). The relationship between those who teach and those who learn is expressed in the form of a horizontal organization in a production and transmission chain for knowledge that consciously avoids being paternalistic and exclusive.

The second itinerary, activated by the question “How can we activate the imagination to create a kind of happiness other than that proposed by capitalism?” includes positions that stimulate the creative capacity of the imagination as a political tool with which to imagine other ways of organizing life and attaining different parameters of social happiness.

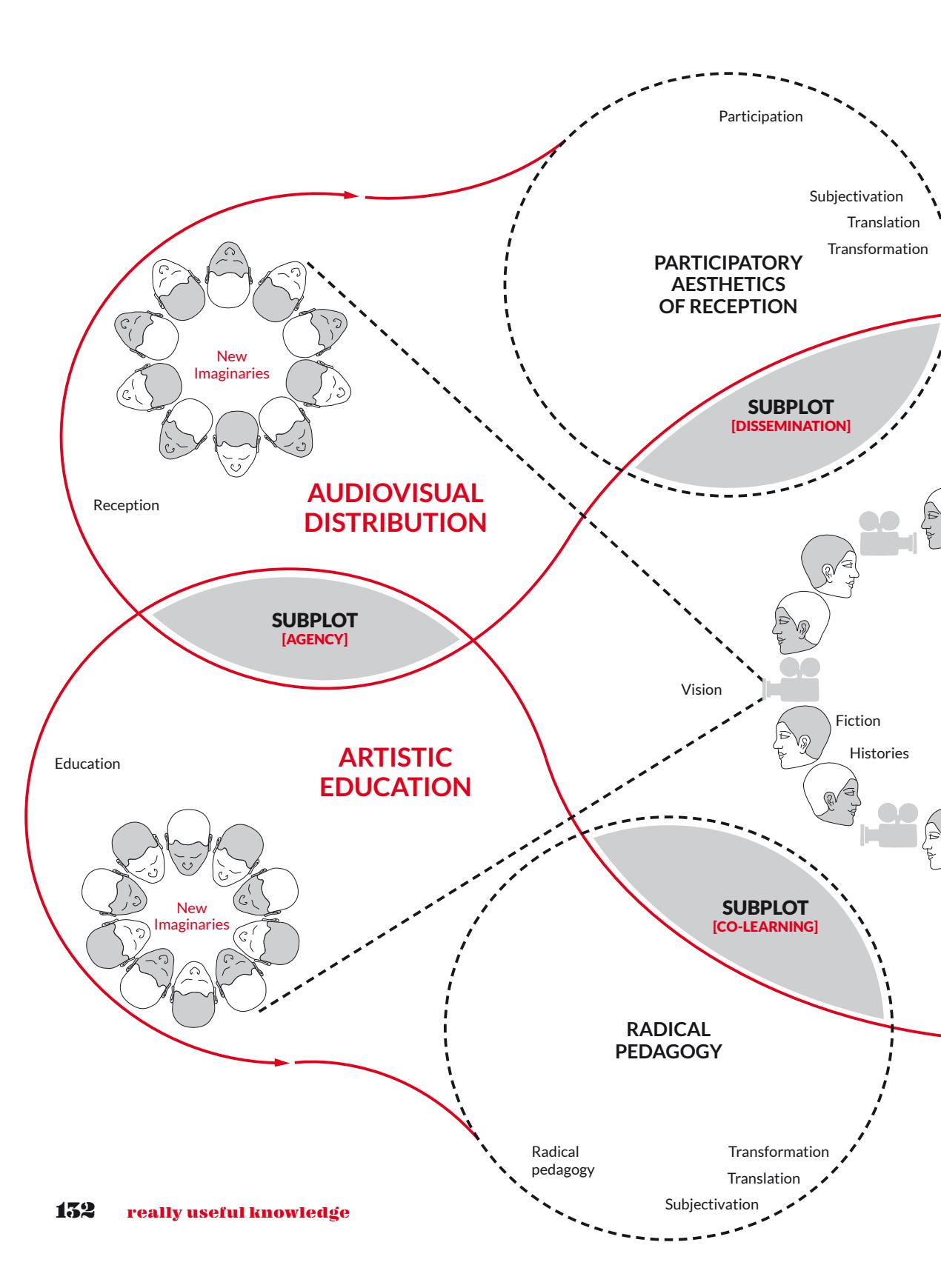
The itinerary that corresponds to “What types of learning spring from social movements?” includes works by authors who participate in knowledge production in the context of social struggles and social movements.

“What do images activate politically?” gives way to the fourth itinerary, in which learning to see the world with images means questioning who sees, who has privileged points of view, and the position from which we look.

2. Actions on really useful knowledge.

This second block consists of a program of public actions in the exhibition rooms and in the vicinity of the museum, undertaken to reinforce the element of performativity that is an integral part of the itineraries. The objective is to invite a series of groups from different social and cultural backgrounds around the country to make some kind of intervention in the exhibition in accordance with their experience in the production of alternative temporalities and forms of knowledge that do not originate in authorized spaces—and which are in themselves a fundamental value of the political.

In an effort to break down stereotypes of the “working class,” Jacques Rancière wrote that the accelerations, delays, and gaps determined by the system forced proletarians who were “secretly in





SUBTRAMAS ANAGRAMMATIC ALPHABET

A project structured around three core areas in a fluid dynamic of mutual feedback: collaborative audiovisual practices, artistic education, and the free distribution of audiovisual production. Their convergence produces three “subplots” (“subtramas”) or processes geared toward social change, which promote colearning, the dissemination of critical knowledge, and the assemblage of individuals and communities.

love with useless things” to experience a fragmented time.⁰⁷ The first step in their emancipation was to reappropriate that fragmentation of time and create forms of subjectivity that would allow them to live at a pace other than that dictated by the system. Contemporary forms of precarious and intermittent work now appear very similar to this experience of the useless.

We take the notions of the nonspecialized and nonfunctional, of aspects of time that cannot be exploited—which are part of what drives the exhibition *Really Useful Knowledge*—and connect them to the communal learning that takes place in social movements and other groups that turn their backs on individualization processes. So this program aims to test a different type of usefulness that is still to come and that can contribute to changing the social structure. Uselessness transferred to a different kind of usefulness that is still to come.

We have grouped the actions into three types (conversing, narrating, instigating), and each type includes four actions that correspond to the four questions described above.

The **conversing** actions are a series of “conversations” about the collective production of knowledge and experiences—and its conflicts and repercussions. Based on the topic in question, the conversation takes the form of a social space in which voices tend to overlap, avoiding leaks of authority over others.

The participants in the four conversations are: the **WHW** curatorial collective with representatives from the **MNCARS** exhibition and public programs departments; the **Contrabandos** independent publishers association with the Bookcamping open, collaborative library; the collectives **Esta es una plaza!** (Madrid), **El Patio Maravillas** (Madrid), **La casa invisible** (Malaga), and **Comuns Urbans** (Barcelona); and **Las Lindes** (CA2M) with the **Cine Sin Autor** collective in collaboration with the **MNCARS** educational department.

The **narrating** actions will be performative, and they will begin with a public reading of texts related to the decolonization of knowledge.

Participants will include the **Declinación Magnética** artists’ collective; **Somatecxs**; **Elvira Siurana** and **Fefa Vila** (as coordinators of the feminist and queer groups involved);

07

Jacques Rancière,
*La noche de los
proletarios*
(BUENOS AIRES:
TINTA LIMÓN,
2010).

and anonymous participants who will read a series of entries from the MNCARS “incidents report.”

The instigating actions will use self-representation strategies and methods to explain the successes of current social struggles.

Participants will include groups from the Green Tide movement in support of public education; groups from the White Tide movement in defense of public health; the platform Yo SÍ, Sanidad Universal; the groups Senda de Cuidados and Territorio Doméstico; and the research group Península.

3. “Video taping in a museum like in an airport.”

In a lucid 1972 interview Godard pointed out that, because filming is prohibited in factories, museums and airports, effectively 80% of productive activity in France is rendered invisible: ‘the exploiter doesn’t show the exploitation to the exploited’ (Jean Luc Godard on *Tout va bien*, 1972). This still applies today, if for different reasons. Museums prohibit filming or charge exorbitant shooting fees. Just as the work performed in the factory cannot be shown outside it, most of the works on display in a museum cannot be shown outside its walls. A paradoxical situation arises: a museum predicated on producing and marketing visibility can itself not be shown—the labour performed there is just as publicly invisible as that of any sausage factory.⁰⁸

Based on a magnificent essay by German filmmaker and theorist Hito Steyerl, the third block of the mediation program entails videotaping all the actions. From a “situated” perspective, we explore the paradoxes and connections that emerge in a collaborative mediation process and its staging within an institution, and we experiment with its potentialities. And lastly, as is now customary

in our work, the edited material will be publicly

accessible on the Subtramas website. **ſ**

08 Hito Steyerl, “Is a

Museum a Factory?”

e-flux no. 7 (June 2009):

n.p., [http://www.e-flux.](http://www.e-flux.com/journal/is-a-museum-a-factory/)

com/journal/is-a-

museum-a-factory/.



What Is Poetry to You?

Cecilia Vicuña

In the brothel: We arrived early one afternoon to interview the girls. At first they refused to take part in the film. They didn't want to be seen there; many were housewives and mothers and had to hide the nature of their profession. But when we explained that the film was about poetry, not prostitution, and that many different kinds of people were being interviewed, they agreed to do it.

M's answer: "I think poetry is what everyone of us feels in his or her own self, that lovely thing you have inside, for me that's poetry. I've read very little poetry, but I feel this, for me this is poetry, what you feel for every being you love, the tenderness a mother feels for a child or, say, when a woman is in love she feels this tenderness, yes, it's like a romance, or something like that. That's what I think. At least, when you look at a flower you feel inside yourself this desire to hold it, like when you have a child and you feel this tenderness towards the child, that to me is poetry, the inner

tenderness you have hidden inside, at the bottom of your soul, like the little birds, like the tenderness Dona Cecilia felt yesterday for the little birds over there, poetry's exactly like that, the pleasure of seeing innocent animals. All that is poetry. Or when you watch a brook flowing, and see the purity of the water, for me that's something so natural, so pure, and I feel it's something very lovely."

"Do you think poetry is something that is written?"

"No, inspired."

"What do you mean, inspired?"

"... well, when poets are going to write a book about poetry, first they're inspired, right? By someone, a tree, a person, a plant, a flower, I imagine that's what happens."

"For me, poetry is something very lovely, very important, and above all very fundamental in a person's, a human being's life ... a distant place where there are no cars making loud noises, only trees, animals, if I'm ever inspired, I know I'll make

great poetry out of it, to write down or record, but here, in all this, no, because right now my mind is on money, that's all."

"But there can be poetry in that too ..."

"Right, of course, there can be poetry in everything, even in feelings, especially, and in every act you make, carry out, think and desire, no?"

There can even be poetry in sex, yes, hmmmm."

"What do you mean?"

"For example, I'm doing it, making love with a client, I can be inspired and make a poem out of it, out of my act at that moment, yes, of course, like I said."

"In other words, when you like it ..."

"No, when I like it and when I don't like it."

"Even when you don't like it?"

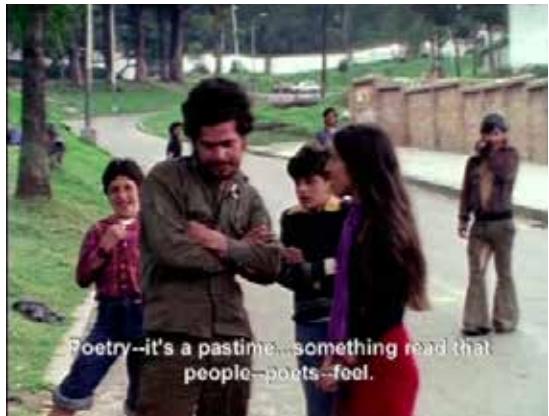
"Of course, it can be a feeling, something more profound. I'm saying it because I feel it, no? I've felt it and I've experienced it ..."

"Then, really, you have the power, every time you make love ..."

"... it can become like something sublime and beautiful, because it's also a sacrifice that you're making, and that sacrifice can inspire you too, everything can inspire you, a sacrifice, an emotion, a moment of happiness, everything, whether you like it or not."

"Does that happen to you often?"

"No, not always, it's something very special."



Poetry--it's a pastime...something read that people--poets--feel.



What is poetry to you?



What is poetry to you?



PAGES 136, 138–139

CECILIA VICUÑA

¿Qué es para usted la poesía?

[What Is Poetry to You], 1980

16mm film transferred to video.

Color, sound, 23' 20"



What is Poetry to You ?

“But do you try to make it happen?”

“No, I don’t try, it just comes alive inside me, and it happens.”

“But you could make it happen by trying too ...”

“Ah, no, the thing is that by trying, all of us, every human being, have the capacity to do whatever we want to be, no? What happens is that we don’t set out to, because every human being, we all have the mental, spiritual and moral capacity to do it if we want, for example if you set out to be a great artist, a great actor, or a writer, if you decide to do it you are certain to do it, because if you feel that mental capacity, you do it. ... Pain and suffering are the most beautiful experience a human being wants, and there’s a high price to pay for experience, isn’t there? Then the person who hasn’t suffered or felt pain, I don’t think he has the same inspiration as someone who has suffered ...”

“... so yes, life is poetry, what each of us feels.” *Jf*

Research Project

See

I propose we take a trip
around the world,
to be officially designated:
“Socialist government
research project.”

You and I will be
the “kissers.”
We kiss better than anyone,
having developed
a meticulous
and carefully researched
method for perfecting the kiss.
There is no woman who kisses like me
nor man who kisses like you.

As THE KISSERS we'll kiss
every person
we meet
to determine
who does it better
and learn accordingly
from their technique,
we'll practice it
and without delay bring it back
to our socialist country,
which will be land of The Kissers.

f

The wound
is an eye,
its gaze
bleeds.

f

Muhammed Ali

(transcription of an oral performance, excerpt)

Last night I was a little sick

and they were watching Ali
they were watching, I said
did you notice that? hmmmm
They. Who was that?
All my Meees
All my Cecilias
you know
Lying
sick
in
bed watching Ali
Do you remember Ali?
The little dancing feet?
Do you remember him?
I remember we were in Santiago
watching him
all of us gathered
hundreds of people
gathered just to watch
one little TV set
this was the original
TV
set
And was there
We was there
watching Ali
the little dancing feet
The unboxing boxer
The unhitting hitter
The undoer doing
My GO----D
And when he said
IIIII am pret-ty,

we felt
WE were pretty
When he said I am black
we felt **we** are black
It was a shock
to come to the U.S.
and realize that we were not black
after all [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]
hmmm

I wonder who narrowed it down

[AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]

We were him certainly
that's for sure

And now I wanted to tell you this story
that's around the Internet
I've no idea whether this is true or not
this is what the web does:
it undoes the web
doesn't it?

A message came
it says Guaicapuro Cuatemoc
had been speaking to the European
Community
on February the 8th,
19
sorry
18
sorry
002.

He said

*UsUUUr a
brothers
YOU
who ask
us to pay you
our debt
YOU are asking
to pay YOU our debt
in reality
I
loaned
you
millions and millions and million and
ME ME ME ME ME
ME-LEE-YONS
of gooold and silver
as a friendly gesture of the Americas
towards the development of Europe
this was our “Marshalltesuma plan”*

[AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]

*plan for the reconstruction
of the barbaric Europe
Poor them
But it failed—look*

[AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]

*In its irrational
capitalistic
ways
they are still at it.
Europe always wants more
they need
more
More
more from us
But time has come for Eur Eur
I can’t even say it—*

*Eu You You You Your
Your-UP.
To return
to us
To return to us
the gold and silver
we so
generously
looooooaned
We ask you
to now sign
a letter of inn-tent
as a way to discipline YOU.
f*

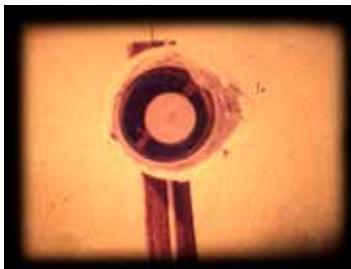
CATARINA SIMÃO

The Mozambican Institute, 2014





Since 2009 Catarina Simão has been researching the film archives of FRELIMO-Mozambican Liberation Front. In 1966 FRELIMO created the Mozambican Institute in Dar es Salaam to fight illiteracy and enable study outside the Portuguese colonial rule. Inspired by the wall newspaper *Jornal do Povo*, which was placed in the public spaces of Maputo for people to read for free, the installation juxtaposes archival materials, images, testimonies, and films related to the Mozambican Institute. **f**











TREVOR PAGLEN & JACOB APPELBAUM

Autonomy Cube, 2014

Plinth, methacrylate cube, and electronic material

PAGES 148–149

TREVOR PAGLEN

Prototype for a Nonfunctional Satellite (Design 4; Build 3), 2013

Polyethylene terephthalate and steel

The Right to Whisper

Conversation between

Trevor Paglen

& Jacob Appelbaum

TREVOR PAGLEN—When we think about the relatively brief history of the Internet and online culture, it's pretty clear that the Internet and global telecommunications technologies in general haven't lived up to some of the early promises of a "networked" world. In the early days of the Internet, we heard a lot of hype about networking technologies that would render borders irrelevant, encourage more radically democratic forms of politics, upend entrenched class relations, and the like. In fact, telecommunications and networking technologies have been instrumental in enabling neoliberal capital to reach orders of magnitude further into our lives, engendering everything from flexible labor regimes that put workers in precarious hand-to-mouth situations to the evisceration of large sectors of the workplace. Since the Great Recession, economic productivity has increased dramatically, but median incomes have fallen: those productivity gains have gone exclusively to the upper class. At the same time, the "millennial" generation has incredibly high unemployment rates in the United States. In places like Spain, it's a great deal worse.

We've also seen networking and communications technologies like the Internet create, perhaps surprisingly, the possibility for an enormous consolidation of state power, which is something you've spent a lot of time working on. The U.S. National Security Agency (NSA), for example, describes the contemporary historical moment as a "golden age" of SIGINT (signals intelligence) in which it can credibly seek to collect, parse, store, and analyze all global communications and electronic transactions, including email, text, phone, financial, medical, geolocation, and the like—numerous internal NSA documents quote former director Keith Alexander's

directive to “Collect it All.” Clearly, these are tools and forms of power that earlier surveillance states, like the German Democratic Republic, couldn’t have dreamed of. In your book *Cypherpunks: Freedom and the Future of the Internet* (coauthored with Julian Assange, Andy Müller-Maguhn, and Jérémie Zimmermann) you introduced (at least to me) the notion of “strategic surveillance,” which I thought was a useful way to describe the difference between the NSA’s “Collect it All” style of surveillance and surveillance practices in the past.

JACOB APPELBAUM—Surveillance in the past is an image of a guy with a pair of headphones listening to audio from the house where someone he’s spying on lives. You imagine one person spying on a family or on a particular person who’s being targeted. Those doing the targeting have specific tactics, and they apply those tactics to, let’s say, bugging a house. I am in my apartment in Berlin right now, and I’ve had some trouble with the locks, and my guess is that the apartment is bugged. In a sense, this is tactical. These guys are very practiced; for example, they replace a wall, and the new wall has a microphone built into it. In the lingo of the tactical surveillance state, that would be “tactical surveillance.” “Strategic surveillance” is kind of a new thing, but not really new. Since the NSA came into existence, it has had a program for monitoring telegrams. It would do keyword searching to look for specific keywords, and if it found something, then it would do a search algorithm—that is a kind of dragnet or mass surveillance. And also an example of strategic surveillance, because the NSA wasn’t just looking at the metadata of telegrams, the “to” and “from” fields; it was looking at the contents of telegrams. With the Internet, as more and more communications move into a machine-readable format, as more and more communications go through specific centralized points for redistribution, the machines, instead of focusing on one person and one house, focus on all people and all houses and then do something with that data. They log it, they transform it, they start an attack on a computer system automatically—those are the basics of strategic, mass, or dragnet surveillance. When combined with tactical surveillance, they’re especially scary because targeted surveillance in the modern era is actually predicated on strategic surveillance.

TREVOR PAGLEN—The metaphors we traditionally use to think about surveillance include things like the Stasi and its index cards, or the NSA intercepting telegrams and trying to read them. We could also look a little further and think about workplace time cards and even surveillance cameras. Are these metaphors misleading? Is something qualitatively different happening now, something that makes the workings of surveillance more obscure? I tend to think that contemporary surveillance practices work in ways we can't have any direct human experience of (the idea of NSA devices scanning real-time telecommunications traffic, for example, is something that has no analogue in everyday lived experience).

JACOB APPELBAUM—Yes, absolutely. My first thought is that when you explain something through analogy you can never truly explain what's happening. With analogy, you understand only an approximation of the phenomenon. I might say that surveillance today is like someone coming into your house and reading every book on your bookshelf. But that involves a very different emotional component. And it also brings to mind issues of scale. Someone could cope with this knowledge by saying, “well, they can't go into every person's house and read every book on every bookshelf; they can't open every letter in every house.” But that is exactly what can happen. And in a sense it does. They've used mass surveillance on physical mail, for the external size of the letters, and they've used mass surveillance of paper mail. In some cases they still are, especially when we talk about the United States. We know they are surveilling mail through the inside and the outside, or the back and the front, of all the letters that go through the U.S. Postal Service. And they tie that into other systems. So, is it useful to talk about the Stasi seeing open mail? Well, I think not, because, you can make comparisons and say things like, “The Stasi used to kill people they didn't like, they used to torture people,” and so on, and you can draw out connections and parallels with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) extraordinary rendition program, but these are just comparisons. They are valuable in one sense, though: when we look at those comparisons, we can see that it was wrong when it happened in one scale and one context with the Stasi and that it is similarly wrong on a different scale and in a different context with the CIA or the NSA.

But the discussion of these things must always move beyond the metaphor and beyond the analogy. Especially if we want to understand the way that something like a “signature” drone strike happens. A signature strike is where metadata analysis of dragnet surveillance-related communications is analyzed to look for the so-called pattern or signature of a “bad guy.” The first time I heard about signature strike, I thought it meant the president signed his name and said, “I’m gonna get this guy killed.” I thought that was bad enough. But then I learned that signature strikes are based on pattern recognition of a bad guy. No court has said, “this pattern is a de-facto guilty pattern, and anyone that exhibits this pattern is sentenced to death.” But that’s exactly what happens. So, let’s compare that to the Stasi: the Stasi had suspicions about people, and in some cases they did do horrible things based on patterns or based on some activities that they may or may not have observed directly or indirectly. Today it’s all about the pattern. They might not even know who the person is, but, in at least some cases, they go ahead and send a flying robot to assassinate him or her in a place where there is no war. No trial has taken place, and the person poses no threat to state security—the person isn’t even in the state. By this point the comparison to the Stasi is veering off in the wrong direction. So, speaking in analogies about those kinds of programs is ultimately unhelpful—except when they help us remember that we were once horrified by things like that. Now we have different dominant programs that are even scarier, even larger, that are, by the same principle, morally reprehensible.

TREVOR PAGLEN—Your ability to bridge that divide between specialized technical understanding and a more vernacular understanding is, in part, what makes your pedagogical practice so powerful. I wonder if having that technical background quite literally allows you to “see” some of this material in ways that are simply unavailable to the rest of us.

JACOB APPELBAUM—If I think about a secret program like CIA renditions, I visualize airplanes picking up and landing and moving around the globe, and so in my mind I see the earth from outer space and imagine these airplanes flying around to different countries. Planes

are landing in different countries with different political situations, different human rights contexts, and, when that is done in secret, the occupants of the plane are doomed to be at the mercy of people who are completely criminal and outside the rule of law, like the CIA. I can visualize that.

When we talk about mass surveillance, I think of it in exactly the same way. I imagine fiber-optic cables crisscrossing the globe. I imagine telecommunications hubs in different cities—I can “see” the Verizon building or the NSA AT&T facility at Second and Folsom in San Francisco. I imagine the cables interconnecting, and I imagine where the NSA installs special hardware to siphon off traffic. I see those things, and I imagine the information flowing to different places. I see the trace routes that go through those machines, and I try to convey to other people those visualizations. Imagine your phone: it talks to the cell phone tower, and in between the phone and the tower is where tactical surveillance takes place. That’s where they pretend to be the tower or intercept the radio waves. Right now, this call we are having, I’m making it from inside my house in Berlin, and there’s a good chance, I suspect, that a lot of people are listening to this call through tactical surveillance. And through strategic surveillance there’s probably a wiretap at the cell phone company’s core backbone. I imagine the call metadata going through that backbone. I imagine the strategic surveillance automatically clicking on and recording. I visualize these very different types of secret programs in exactly the same way because, in some sense, information exists in the context of the physical world. Like my voice here, we encode it and it travels through the world. But when it travels through the world, it travels into one black box and out of another black box; it physically travels through the world as information that is encoded and then sent as light, as electrical signals.

TREVOR PAGLEN—In developing a collective cultural vocabulary with which to think about surveillance, is it good to emphasize the infrastructural aspects and try to move away from the amorphous metaphors we all use—like “the Cloud” or the “information superhighway”? I’ve been learning a bit about telecom infrastructures over the last year, and the experience has really

underlined how mystifying and misleading some of our go-to metaphors can be. Who knows what the hell “the Cloud” is?

JACOB APPELBAUM—Yes, I feel like a lot of those analogies are capitalist branding exercises, and I don’t think they are appropriate. I think a more appropriate thing would be to talk about the Internet as a liminal imaginary space, because that’s what it is in your mind. We also need to talk about it in the context of a police state.

I used to laugh at the notion of a cloud or, before that, an information superhighway. The highway analogy is a great example of how people don’t understand. I once went to a meeting of some politicians in Germany, where they announced to the public that they wanted to have an Internet driver’s license. They thought about using the Internet as driving a car, but they hadn’t considered that I can remotely control their car while they’re driving it. I argued they had no right to issue licenses if they didn’t understand how the Internet worked, that you don’t need an Internet driver’s license because you don’t need permission to speak. When I speak, when you speak, we are modulating air, essentially. When we speak into microphones, like we are right now, that microphone is vibrating, and it’s turning those vibrations into electrical signals. When encoded, these electrical signals become information, pure information. It’s an abstraction, but it’s the same thing. I’m vibrating this air to say what I think. That’s not the same as driving a car. What I’m actually doing is sending information out of my body to you through a bunch of layers of indirection. We change the information in order to send it faster. If I were shouting, you wouldn’t hear me, because we’re halfway around the world from each other. This makes clear that the need for information is a free speech issue. And that’s not an analogy. It simply is the case: I have the right to emit information. This is a fundamental liberty in the United States and a fundamental liberty in most of the so-called Western democracies. I think it’s actually hard for people to understand how that’s true without the technical knowledge. But it is clearly the case that my computer may be an extension of somebody else saying things, because they might control my computer. Ultimately, transmitting information is an issue of speech, and that’s not at all like driving on an information superhighway. No driving is involved there.

TREVOR PAGLEN—Absolutely. And it's not just phone calls and emails.

We're talking about the whole world, from financial transactions to medical transactions and everything in between. How you put it—that we have a right to emit information, that this is a free speech issue, and, by extension, that you would want to have the right to admit information privately, securely to somebody else—this is really useful. I see the link between human rights, free speech, and cryptography, which is something you've done a lot of work with as well. An entire world of human rights activists and free speech activists seems to think that cryptography is a solution to mass surveillance. Why do some people think cryptography could be an effective countermeasure to mass surveillance? And what are its limitations?

JACOB APPELBAUM—I used to say that no amount of violence would ever solve the math problem. If you have a piece of encrypted information, you don't know where it came from. Seven billion people live on the planet, and no matter what you do to them, you won't be able to decrypt that information—short of catching the person who encrypted it and making him or her decrypt it for you—because the encryption rests on fundamentally hard math problems.

You can no longer simply beat someone up and have the encrypted message be meaningful. The only thing that solves the problem is knowledge: knowledge of the secret key, knowledge of some fundamentally hard math problem for which you have to know a special thing in order to unlock the fundamentals of an algorithm and so make something that is encrypted or enciphered meaningful again. So a lot of people argue that the solution to mass surveillance is to encrypt everything.

I'm critical of this. Not because I think encryption has problems (it does), but because I don't think there is any one solution. As an example, without some kind of context setting, encryption could be incredibly dangerous. If it isn't normalized, simply using it might get you targeted.

Politically, I think mathematics matter, but the society and the context of the society also matter. Without fundamental civil liberties, without constitutional protections like the right to free speech, the right to whisper, it becomes increasingly difficult for



TREVOR PAGLEN *Prototype for a Nonfunctional Satellite*, 2013

me to believe that encryption alone can solve the problems of mass surveillance, especially with economies of scale and especially if the encryption is not properly implemented, because agencies like the NSA interfere not only with software but with standardization processes and hardware, in order to undermine encryption.

TREVOR PAGLEN—So, underlying that architecture, policy questions remain. We have a situation analogous to the Internet itself, which is that cryptography, like the Internet itself as a technology, is not going to fundamentally alter the way power is deployed in society through some combination of state power and capitalism. By extension, cryptography is insufficient for reorganizing: it's not going to upend the way power flows through society.

JACOB APPELBAUM—I'm torn, because I do think technology contours the world that spies wish to control, and technology, regardless of policy, will fundamentally alter what policies we can make. Lawrence Lessig talks about this when he says code is law. Code is what really happens, so, no matter what the policies say, fundamentally they won't solve the math problem, they won't solve the street log, they won't solve integer factorization. What does that mean? Well, what



it means is that, even if encryption is illegal, they still can't read the message. They can never decrypt the message unless the math problem is properly solved. But I'm skeptical about whether that solves the larger problem, at scale.

TREVOR PAGLEN—What do you think the limits of mass surveillance are right now? Right now we are having a conversation about mass surveillance of basically everything. What conversation do you think we will be having in five to ten years?

JACOB APPELBAUM—I think the best way to predict the future, as is often said, is to make the future, to create the future. At least part of what is happening now is a sort of renaissance, where everybody wants to deploy this crypto stuff, they want to build certain solutions where they are decentralized, and they want to build things that are distributed and encrypted. One of the things we are going to see played out in the next few years is the drawing of a new set of lines around the world. Take, for example, the Snoopers' Charter back in the United Kingdom. Basically, they want not just to realize mass surveillance but to normalize it. On the other hand, places like Iceland and the Icelandic modern media initiative are moving

in a different direction. In the next five to ten years we're going to see all of this playing out. And what we will probably also see are traditional class structures. We'll have privacy at the top, and the regular people at the bottom will not have privacy. We already see that. Look at time clocks and electronic identification cards. Look at the way people in the prison-industrial complex are treated in America, subject to biological surveillance in the form of urine analysis or blood analysis to test for drugs. Criminals lose their right to biological privacy in the state of California, for example. We're increasingly going to see those sorts of things at national levels. For example, Sweden is pushing for a dragnet or strategic surveillance of the whole country. They've already passed laws so their version of the NSA can do dragnet surveillance at the borders. And clearly they are doing more than that. It's a paradigm shift. We're going to see these lines drawn all over the world between communications security and signals intelligence.

TREVOR PAGLEN—So, the outlines of the surveillance state ten years from now are being created today. Thanks to people like **Edward Snowden**, **Laura Poitras**, and **Glenn Greenwald**, we are now getting a sense of the scale and contours of what a strategic surveillance state looks like and what the global surveillance state we're all living in looks like. What's more, it might not yet be so entrenched that it's no longer possible to reign in, but that time seems to be approaching quickly. That so many companies are starting to take encryption and data security seriously is a positive development, but I am concerned that corporate practices aren't at all the same thing as civic practices. In a fight between Google and the NSA, the public's best interests aren't represented on either side. We are seeing some positive signs in Germany, with huge public opposition to mass surveillance, but we'll see whether that public opposition translates into policy.

I agree with you that the best way to predict the future is to build the future, and I really appreciate your efforts to do just that. **J**



TREVOR PAGLEN *Prototype for a Nonfunctional Satellite (Design 4; Build 3)*, 2013

Polyethylene terephthalate and steel

TREVOR PAGLEN

The multidisciplinary practice of experimental geographer and artist **Trevor Paglen** draws on the social sciences, detective work, surveillance, and astronomy. Developed in collaboration with aerospace engineers *Prototype for a Nonfunctional Satellite* (2013) envisions a more substantial use for satellite technology than being a mere political tool or weapon.

Pursuing the possibility of emancipatory use of technology, **Paglen**, together with **Jacob Appelbaum**, developed *Autonomy Cube* (2014), a public Wi-Fi network that routes its traffic through Tor, the anonymity network widely used by journalists to protect their sources, by corporations to protect their intellectual property, and by international nongovernmental organizations to communicate with their employees. **ʃ**

005.94

A public library is:
free access to books
for every member of society

library catalog

librarian

With books ready to be shared,
meticulously cataloged,
everyone is a librarian.

When everyone is librarian,
library is everywhere.

<http://www.memoryoftheworld.org>

Public Library

Marcell Mars

In *What Was Revolutionary about the French Revolution?*⁰¹ Robert Darnton wonders how a complete collapse of the social order (when absolutely everything is turned upside down) would look. Such trauma happens often in the life of individuals but only rarely on the level of an entire society.

In 1789 the French had to confront the collapse of a whole social order—the world that they defined retrospectively as the Ancien Régime—and to find some new order in the chaos surrounding them. They experienced reality as something that could be destroyed and reconstructed, and they faced seemingly limitless possibilities, both for good and evil, for raising a utopia and for falling back into tyranny.⁰²

The revolution bootstraps itself.

In the dictionaries of the time, the word *revolution* was said to derive from the verb *to revolve* and was defined as “the return of the planet or a star to the same point from which

01 Robert H. Darnton, *What Was Revolutionary about the French Revolution?* (WACO, TX: BAYLOR UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1996), 6.

it parted.”⁰³ French political vocabulary spread no further than the narrow circle of the feudal elite in Versailles. The citizens, revolutionaries, had to invent new words, concepts ... an entire new language in order to describe the revolution that had happened (to them).

02 Ibid.

They started with the vocabulary of time and space. In the French revolutionary calendar used from 1793 until 1805, time started on 1 Vendémiaire,

03 Ibid.

Year 1, a date equivalent to the abolition of the old monarchy on 22 September 1792. With a decree in 1795, the metric system was adopted. As with the adoption of the new calendar, this was an attempt to organize space in a rational and natural way. Gram became a unit of mass.

In Paris, 1,400 streets were given new names. Every reminder of the tyranny of the monarchy was erased. The revolutionaries even changed their names and surnames. Le Roy or Leveque, commonly used until then, were changed to Le Loi or Liberté. To address someone, out of respect, with *vous* was forbidden by a resolution passed on 24 Brumaire, Year 2. *Vous* was replaced with *tu*. People are equal.

Liberté, égalité, fraternité (freedom, equality, fraternity)⁰⁴ were built by literacy, new epistemologies, classifications, declarations, standards, reason, and rationality. What first comes to mind about the revolution will never again be the return of a planet or a star to the same point from which it departed. Revolution bootstrapped, revolved, and hermeneutically circularized itself.

Melvil Dewey was born in the state of New York in 1851.⁰⁵ His thirst for knowledge was satisfied in libraries. His knowledge about how to gain knowledge was gained and developed by studying libraries. Grouping books on library shelves according to the color of the covers, the size and thickness of the ridge, or by title or author's name did not satisfy Dewey's definition of the production of knowledge on knowledge. At the age of twenty-four, he had already published the first of nineteen editions of *A Classification and Subject Index for Cataloguing and Arranging the Books and Pamphlets of a Library*,⁰⁶ the classification system that still bears its author's name: the Dewey Decimal System. Dewey had a dream: for his twenty-first birthday he had announced, "My World Work [will be] Free Schools and Free Libraries for every soul."⁰⁷

04 "Slogan of the French Republic," France.fr, n.d., <http://www.france.fr/en/institutions-and-values/slogan-french-republic.html>.

05 Richard F. Snow, "Melvil Dewey" *American Heritage* 32, no. 1 (December 1980), <http://www.americanheritage.com/content/melvil-dewey>.

06 Melvil Dewey, *A Classification and Subject Index for Cataloguing and Arranging the Books and Pamphlets of a Library* (1876), Project Gutenberg e-book 12513 (2004), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12513/12513-h/12513-h.htm>.

07 Snow, "Melvil Dewey."

His dream came true. “Public Library” is an entry in the catalog of History with a fantastic decimal describing a category of phenomenon that—together with free public education, a public health system, the scientific method, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Wikipedia, and free software, among others—we, the people, are most proud of.

The public library is a part of these invisible structures that we start to notice only once they disappear. A utopian dream—about the place from which every human being will have access to every piece of available knowledge that can be collected—looked impossible for a long time, dependent as it was on the limited resources of rich patrons or the budgetary instability of (welfare) states.

The Internet has, as in many other situations, completely changed our expectations and imagination about what is possible. The dream of a universal approach to all available knowledge for every member of society became realizable, a question merely of

- 08 American Library Association Open Letter to Publishers on E-Book Library Lending,” *Digital Book World*, 24 September 2012, <http://www.digitalbookworld.com/2012/american-library-association-open-letter-to-publishers-on-e-book-library-lending/>.
- 09 Jeremy Greenfield, “What Is Going On with Library E-Book Lending?” *Forbes*, 22 June 2012, <http://www.forbes.com/sites/jeremygreenfield/2012/06/22/what-is-going-on-with-library-e-book-lending/>.
- the meeting of curves on a graph: the point at which the line of global distribution of personal computers meets that of the critical mass of people with access to the Internet. However, even though this moment has been accomplished and even though nobody today lacks the imagination necessary to see public libraries as part of a global infrastructure of universal access to knowledge for literally every member of society, the emergence and development of the Internet is precisely when an institutional crisis—one with inconceivable consequences—began.
- Public libraries cannot get, cannot even buy digital books from the world’s largest publishers,⁰⁸ those e-books that they already have in their catalogs must be destroyed after twenty-six (?!?) lendings,⁰⁹ and they are losing in every possible way the battle with a market dominated by new players such as Amazon.com, Google, and Apple.
- In 2012, Canada’s Conservative Party-led government cut financial support for Libraries and Archives Canada (LAC) by Can\$9.6 million, which

resulted in the loss of 400 archivist and librarian jobs, the shutting down of some of LAC's Internet pages, and the cancellation of the further purchase of new books.¹⁰ In only three years, from 2010 to 2012, some 10 percent of public libraries were closed in Great Britain.¹¹

The combination of knowledge, education, and schooling commodification (which are the consequences of a globally harmonized, restrictive legal regime for intellectual property) with neoliberal austerity politics terminates the possibility of adapting to new sociotechnological conditions, not to mention further development, innovation, or even basic maintenance of public libraries' infrastructure.

Public libraries are an endangered institution, doomed to extinction.

Petit bourgeois pride prevents society from confronting this disturbing insight. As in many other fields, the only perceived way out is innovative market-based entrepreneurship, and some have suggested that the public library should become an open software platform on top of which creative developers will build app stores¹² or Internet cafés for the poorest, ensuring that they are only a click away from the Amazon.com catalog or the Google search bar.

Those who are well-meaning, intelligent, and full of tact will try to remind the public of all the side effects of the phenomenon that is the public library: major community center, service for the vulnerable, center of literacy and informal and lifelong learning, place where hobbyists, enthusiasts, old and young meet and share knowledge and skills.¹³ Fascinating. Unfortunately, for purely tactical reasons, this reminder to the public does not always contain an explanation of how these varied effects arise out of the foundational idea of a public library: universal access to knowledge for each member of the society produces knowledge, produces knowledge about

¹⁰ Aideen Doran, "Free Libraries for Every Soul: Dreaming of the Online Library," *The Bear*, March 2014, <http://www.thebear-review.com/#free-libraries-for-every-soul/c153g>.

¹¹ Alison Flood, "UK Lost More than 200 Libraries in 2012," *Guardian*, 10 December 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/dec/10/uk-lost-200-libraries-2012>.

¹² David Weinberger, "Library as Platform," *Library Journal*, 4 September 2012, <http://lj.libraryjournal.com/2012/09/future-of-libraries/by-david-weinberger/>.

¹³ Shannon Mattern, "Library as Infrastructure," *Design Observer*, 9 June 2014, <http://places.designobserver.com/entryprint.html?entry=38488>.

knowledge, produces knowledge about knowledge transfer: the public library produces sociability.

The public library does not need the sort of creative crisis management that wants to propose *what* the library should be *transformed into* once our society, obsessed with market logic, has made it impossible for the library to perform its main mission. Such proposals, if they do not insist on universal access to knowledge for all members, are Trojan horses for the silent but galloping disappearance of the public library from the historical stage. Sociability—produced by public libraries, with all the richness of its various appearances—will be best preserved if we manage to fight for the values upon which we have built the public library: universal access to knowledge for each member of our society.

Freedom, equality, and fraternity need brave librarians practicing civil disobedience.

Library Genesis¹⁴ is an online repository with over a million books and is the first project in history to offer everyone on the Internet free download of its entire book collection (as of this writing, about fifteen terabytes of data), together with the all metadata (MySQL dump) and PHP/HTML/Java Script code for webpages. The most popular earlier repositories, such as **Gigapedia** (later **Library.nu**), handled their upload and maintenance costs by selling advertising space to the pornographic and gambling industries. Legal action was initiated against them, and they were closed.¹⁵ News of

¹⁴ See <http://libgen.org/>.

¹⁵ Andrew Losowsky, “Library.nu, Book Downloading Site, Targeted in Injunctions Requested by 17 Publishers,” *Huffington Post*, 15 February 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/02/15/librarynu-book-downloading-injunction_n_1280383.html.

the termination of **Gigapedia/Library.nu** strongly resonated in academic and book lovers’ circles and was even noted in the mainstream Internet media, just like other major world events. The decision by **Library Genesis** to share its resources has resulted in a network of identical sites (so-called mirrors) through the development of an entire range of Net services of metadata exchange and catalog maintenance, thus ensuring an exceptionally resistant survival architecture.

Aaaaarg.org, started by the artist **Sean Dockray**, is an online repository with over 50,000 books and texts. A community of enthusiastic researchers from critical theory, contemporary art, philosophy,

architecture, and other fields in the humanities maintains, catalogs, annotates, and initiates discussions around it.

UbuWeb¹⁶ is the most significant and largest online archive of avant-garde art; it was initiated and is lead by conceptual artist **Kenneth Goldsmith**. **UbuWeb**, although still informal, has grown into a relevant and recognized critical institution of contemporary art. Artists want to see their work in its catalog and thus agree to a relationship with **UbuWeb** that has no formal contractual obligations.

Monoskop is a wiki for the arts, culture, and media technology, with a special focus on the avant-garde, conceptual, and media arts of Eastern and Central Europe; it was launched by **Dušan Barok** and others. In the form of a blog **Dušan** uploads to **Monoskop.org/log** an online catalog of chosen titles (at the moment numbering around 3,000), and, as with **UbuWeb**, it is becoming more and more relevant as an online resource.

Library Genesis, **Aaaaarg.org**, **Kenneth Goldsmith**, and **Dušan Barok** show us that the future of the public library does not need crisis management, venture capital, start-up incubators, or outsourcing but simply the freedom to continue fulfilling the dreams of **Melvil Dewey** and **Paul Otlet**, just as it did before the emergence of the Internet.

With the emergence of the Internet and software tools such as **Calibre** and “[let’s share books],”¹⁷ librarianship was granted an opportunity, similar to astronomy and the project **SETI@home**,¹⁸ to include thousands of amateur librarians who will, together with the experts, build a distributed peer-to-peer network to care for the catalog of available knowledge, because

“the public library is:

- * free access to books for every member of society
- * library catalog
- * librarian

With books ready to be shared, meticulously cataloged, everyone is a librarian.

When everyone is librarian, library is everywhere.”¹⁹ **J**

16 See <http://ubu.com/>.

17 “Tools,” *Memory of the World*, n.d., <https://www.memoryoftheworld.org/tools/>.

18 See <http://setiathome.berkeley.edu/>.

19 “End-to-End Catalog,” *Memory of the World*, 26 November 2012, <https://www.memoryoftheworld.org/end-to-end-catalog/>.

VICTORIA LOMASKO

Урок рисования
(Drawing Lesson),

2010–2011

Ink on paper



Victoria Lomasko uses drawing to document demonstrations and trials, producing graphic reportage of different forms of protest in Russia. *Drawing lessons* (2010) retraces her teaching work in juvenile penitentiaries since 2010. *J*

"When I was on the outside,
a lot of things stopped me from
getting smarter."

Andrei

SECTION 1



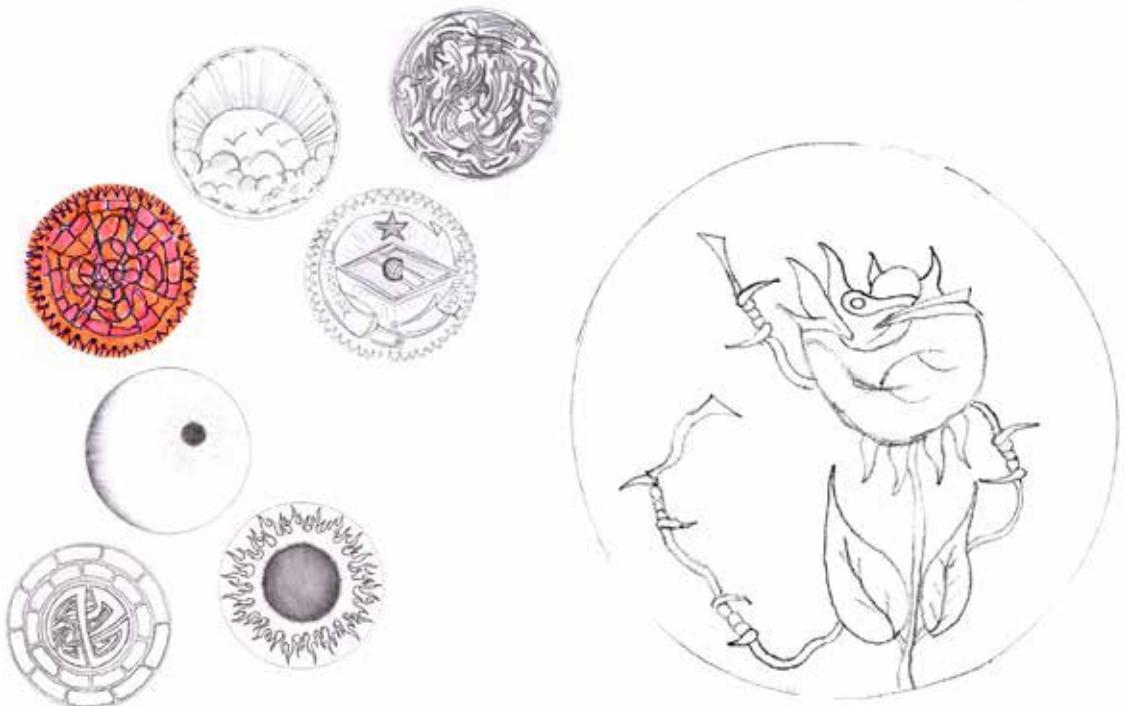
Андрей — тюремный художник, он рисует «марочки» (рисунки на носовых платочках). Андрей хочет рисовать красиво и с чувством, а формальные задания презирает. Зато ему понравился рассказ про концлагерные рисунки. Он читает Солженицына и самостоятельно учится рисовать, копируя иллюстрации из книг местной библиотеки. Перед Новым годом у Андрея закончился срок, но на воле его никто не ждёт.

Andrei is a prison artist who draws *marochki* (drawings on handkerchiefs). Andrei would like to draw beautifully and with feeling, but he hates formal assignments. However, he liked the story about concentration camp drawings. He reads Solzhenitsyn and has learned to draw himself, copying illustrations from a book borrowed from the local library. Andrei's prison term came to an end just before New Year's Day, but he has no family or friends waiting for him on the outside. *ʃ*



I suggested to the lads that they use these patterns in their sketches.

Drawing the sketches was not easy, because the students had difficulty coming up with themes that were not associated with prison. The most respected and authoritative of the colony's young inmate-artists decided to transfer drawings of their *marochki* (drawings of prison symbols made on handkerchiefs and other pieces of cloth) to the plates. The majority wanted to draw FC Spartak Moscow emblems and barbed wire.



Drawing Lesson

Victoria Lomasko

LEFT

**VICTORIA
LOMASKO**

Glazed
ceramic plates,
painted in the
master class
“Painting on
Ceramics,”
2011

In August 2010 I visited the Mozhaysk Juvenile Penitentiary for the first time as a volunteer for the Center for Prison Reform and gave a drawing lesson to inmates. I have continued working with the center, teaching master classes on drawing at the girls’ penitentiaries in Novy Oskol and Ryazan and the boys’ penitentiary in Alekxin, but Mozhaysk is the only place where I have taught inmates more or less regularly.

Almost no funding is available for these trips. We travel by commuter train, carrying everything we need for classes in our backpacks. With rare exceptions, we use the simplest materials—paper and black pens—during lessons.

The center organizes these trips once a month, on particular days. If you miss one trip, you have to wait for the next.

Why do we travel to the prisons? The center’s staff and volunteers bring clothing to inmates who are about to be released on parole, as well as hygiene items, birthday presents, and treats for the other inmates. Staff and volunteers also provide psychological assistance and collect material for preventive publications aimed at troubled teens. Another of the center’s missions is to recruit creative people willing to work regularly with the teens, who need to interact with people from the outside world no less than they need shampoo and socks.

The rotation of inmates at the penitentiary is constant. Some are released on parole; others are transferred to adult prisons. New inmates appear all the time. Over a six-month period, the roster of my drawing group changes completely.



Young inmates from the Mozhaysk Juvenile Penitentiary

Some teens are well educated, while for others everything is completely new. Many have psychological problems.

Teaching classes at a penitentiary is a tricky task: you have to experiment and develop your own lesson plans.

The kids find out about the drawing lessons from their minders or, more often, by word of mouth. Five to ten students come to my classes. Often a self-taught artist is among them and really wants to learn to draw.

I realized I cannot teach someone to draw when lessons are so infrequent. My emphasis is thus on developing analytical thinking (the structure of the drawing) and empathy (working on the image). Helping the kids gain self-confidence is also vital, so all of the pictures are shown at exhibitions. We photograph these exhibitions and then bring the photographs back to the prison to show the kids.

For many obvious reasons the ordinary, classical system of teaching drawing used in children's art schools, studios, and institutions of higher learning is not suitable for juvenile penitentiaries, where frequent classes are extremely difficult to organize, the roster of students constantly changes, and most of the inmates have psychological problems and different levels of development. In such conditions, it is impossible to focus students on solving technical assignments—to train the hand, as art teachers say (i.e., teaching how to measure proportions, draw geometric shapes and then still lifes, make plaster casts and models, shade properly, convey chiaroscuro, and so on).

What can be taught? Awareness. How to see correctly (integrally) and think actively (transforming what you see into a drawing). This should be the starting point of any training in drawing. In art schools, we often see drowsy students meditatively shading their drawings as if they were doing embroidery. However, without a clear understanding of the task—seeing the subject figuratively rather than descriptively, seeing the abstract structure within the real subject—all technical skills and tricks are in vain.

Another special task in teaching drawing in juvenile prisons consists in developing the students' empathy for the characters they portray (and not only them). Initially, the first lesson in my program was called "Stereotype and Image" and involved working on depictions of characters. However, experience has shown that to begin with such assignments is not wise. In the first lesson, you have to dislodge all the usual notions students have about the art of drawing—that it is not about making more or less verisimilar copies of things. In the lesson "Form and Counterform," I show students the utterly simple elements that make up an image, its abstract underside and logic.

In each of my lessons I include assignments aimed at activating vision and thought, as well as developing empathy. All of the lessons are linked and complement one another. **J**

TRANSLATED BY Thomas Campbell

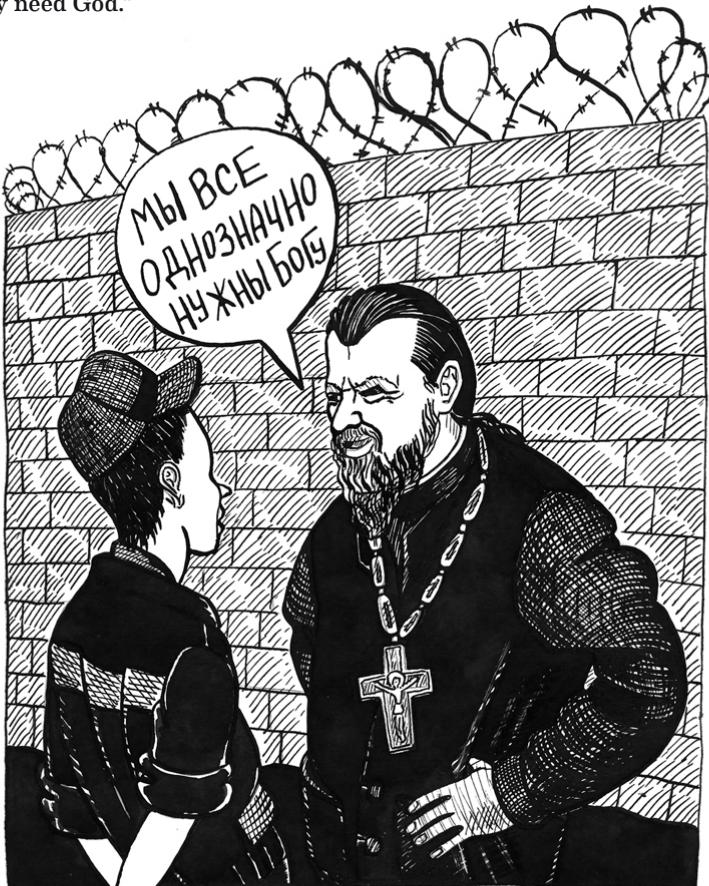
"I'll sing you a song
from the '80s"



В гости к воспитанникам приезжал батюшка Андрей из Храма Святого Духа. Храм знаменит своим настоятелем — бывшим рокером Сергеем Рыбко. Батюшка исполнил несколько песен на тюремном концерте.

Father Andrei from the Holy Pentecost Church came to visit the young offenders. The church is famous for its senior priest, Sergei Rybko—a former rock star. The priest performed a number of songs at a prison concert. **f**

"We all undoubtedly need God."



Как и на взрослой зоне, в детской колонии многие осуждённые становятся верующими. На территории колонии есть маленькая деревянная церковь. В каждом отряде много икон, и даже телевизор в общем холле окружён иконами. На выходные часто приезжают батюшки, чтобы исповедовать, побеседовать или показать фильм про православие. К мальчикам-мусульманам никто не приезжает.

Like the adult prison, many of the inmates in the children's colony become believers. A small wooden church stands on the grounds of the prison colony. Many icons can be found in each of the prison's sections, and even the television in the common room is surrounded by icons. Priests often come to visit during the weekends to take confessions and talk to the inmates and also to show films about the Orthodox faith.

No one comes to see young Muslim inmates. *fr*

Nociones Comunes:

Thinking, Experimenting, and Creating Tools for Self-Education and Critical Reflection

Traficantes de Sueños

Nociones Comunes (Common Nociones; NC) is a self-education project in which participants study the issues of greatest concern to social movements and citizens. Situated outside traditional education systems, our project is construed as a place in which to come together and share knowledge, as well as a space for the agitation of thought—a space in which education and research are discussed and produced collectively.

Creating: Alternatives for “Education in Common”

Nociones Comunes, formed in 2008 as an initiative of the collective **Traficantes de Sueños**,⁰¹ experiments with new self-education and alternative education models. NC designs courses, seminars, and workshops that cover some of the core content relating to the most significant lines of thought that engage with the current moment, including feminisms, postcoloniality, subalternity, the metropolis, technopolitics, and the capitalist crisis.

NC seeks to burst through the virtual monopoly that the university has claimed for itself in the sphere of adult education and to reformulate it as a critical format based on citizen participation. Our ultimate goal is to

01 Traficantes de Sueños is a publishing and critical research collective that has been supporting critical practices and reflection for over fifteen years.

design educational lines that restore knowledge (and its production) to its rightful place in society, while trying to ensure that this process is as collective and participatory as possible.

Experimenting with New Education Formats

NC took shape through participatory methodologies based on meeting and debate. This participatory process was used both in making decisions about the content of the subjects to be studied and in the facilitation of the individual courses. An important aspect of this methodology is attentiveness not only to the needs that can arise at any time but to the demands of particular contexts and political situations.

NC's first step was an assembly. More than forty proposals for courses and lines of research were put forward by the 100 or so participants. Based on these proposals and ideas, working groups formed around a series of core themes, and developed the broad lines that were offered from February 2010 to June 2013.

NC courses consist of various sessions that use a range of participation and learning tools. Audio, video, texts, and oral presentations are used in conjunction with workshops, conversations, interviews, excursions, debates, and other participatory formats. This set of tools favors

and supports a more collective and communal approach to content development.

Creating and Replicating: Other Educational Models

Another key element of our project is our goal of breaking the hierarchical structure that separates those who impart courses from those who receive them, those who organize education from those who wait for proposals. For this reason another core aspect of NC is replicability. Our courses—both their content and their methodologies—must be reproducible in other places and other contexts.

The material dimension of this idea has been organized around the **Fundación de los Comunes**, which has a self-education section that is national in scope, so that its courses can be reproduced in other Spanish cities with complete autonomy. The process has already spread to Barcelona, Terrassa, Zaragoza, Pamplona, Malaga, and Seville. These cities have active nodes to run the courses and are experimenting with forms of open learning that will further increase the replicability of our content. This is done by generating Web-based repositories of the course content, along with audio recordings of each session in every course. All of this material then becomes an archive that can be accessed through

our virtual classroom. More than forty courses will be available as of November 2014.

Key Issues for Critical Self-Education

The paramount aim of NC is to develop content that is useful in carrying out social and political interventions that seek to transform reality. This aim then connects with a widespread desire to continue education beyond institutional channels and, above all, to create shared spaces in which to address issues that can deepen political critique and support the development of alternatives.

For this reason, NC content is not organized into the usual formal study plans that eventually lead to earning an official qualification. Nor is NC content organized for traditional vertical teaching relationships. Instead, the courses are based on content rooted in critical thought and on teaching that takes place through horizontal relationships.

The concept of horizontality is particularly important to NC. Teaching relationships are usually only analyzed from the methodological point of view; that is, in the framework of traditional teacher/student hierarchies. We approach horizontality in education from the perspective of a commonality of interests: the political intentions of those who participate in an educational pro-

cess of this type are mostly likely in tune. This is an essential aspect of NC, even in situations where course sessions take the standard vertical form (i.e., the traditional lecture or talk).

Every session has a strong political component, but this does not mean that the education process is ideologically led. Rather, a consensus is reached within the course. The aim of our education model is to exercise our collective intelligence in order to develop critical thinking. As such, the starting point is not a particular ideological affinity among the participants but a shared positive awareness of the intention that underpins both this knowledge and the proposed self-education model.

Nomadic Truths: Meeting-Workshops for Really Useful Knowledge

NC's work has earned recognition from many cultural and public institutions. The strongest line of collaboration to have emerged is between ourselves (as *Traficantes de Sueños* and as *Fundación de los Comunes*) and the *Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía*. Our participation in the exhibition *Really Useful Knowledge* fits within this framework and takes the form of a workshop based on our course *Nomadic Truths*.

The mission of the workshop is

to demonstrate the possibility of generating knowledge that is useful and necessary for society. During our workshop at the **Reina Sofía**, we will analyze complex situations and identify mechanisms that can transform them, without exclusively turning to figures of technology or power.

The aim of the workshop is to understand how different social and political networks organize their skills and knowledge in order to collectively produce lines of argument and the defense of social rights.

Useful knowledge is, after all, knowledge that—when transmitted or shared—says something about the relationship between each and every one of us and the world around us, and does so by positioning each of us as specific subjects with room to maneuver and with the capacity for change. Without this premise, knowledge is useless. **JF**

RELATED LINKS:

TRAFICANTES DE SUEÑOS: <http://traficantes.net>

NOCIONES COMUNES: <http://traficantes.net/nociones-comunes>

FUNDACIÓN DE LOS COMUNES: <http://fundaciondeloscomunes.net>

VIRTUAL CLASSROOM: <http://aula.fundaciondeloscomunes.net>

HANNAH RYGEN

Liselotte Hermann

halshuggen

[Liselotte Hermann

Beheaded]

1938

Wool and linen



Lise Lotte Hermannshugget 1938



HANNAH RYGGEN

En Fr [A Free One],

1947–1948

Wool and linen

Al-Khwārīddim, or Savoir Faire Is Everywhere

Fred Moten

Stefano Harney

Arhythm is making a world. The time and the space of this rhythm beat out an invitation. It is an invitation to individuation in this world. This is a rhythm that has been around for 500 years. But now it sounds to itself like the only rhythm, the rhythm of the world, and of the individuals who strive to live in this world. It is the rhythm of commodity production by commodities, internally disrupted from its origin. The first beat renders each commodity separate, bordered, isolated from the next. The second beat renders every thing equal to every other thing. The first beat makes every thing discrete. The second beat makes everything the same. Time and space order this rhythm and are ordered by it.

This rhythm has always been set amid, and beset by, the general antagonism, the cacophony of beats, lines, falsettos, and growls, of hips, feet, hands, of bells, chimes, and chants, an undercommon track. But this is a settler rhythm, this one-two of capitalist production, a rhythm of citizen and subject, of dividuation and individuation, of genocide and law. This rhythm sounds out by expropriating any other movement of the beat and asserts nothing else can be heard, nothing else need be felt. This rhythm is a killing rhythm, as Frantz Fanon warns at the end of *Les damnés de la terre*. Yet at the heart of its production is a certain indiscretion, a certain difference that does not separate, an unbordered consolation against isolation, a haptic resonance that makes possible and impossible this

killing rhythm, the undercommon track that remains fugitive from the emerging logistics of this deadly rhythm and will exhaust it.

Still, today this beating of commodity on commodity insists on a world as never before, wraps its beats around the earth, rendering the party regular and compulsory. And it penetrates deep even into what does not appear vulnerable to being forced into its time and space. Its one-two becomes a zero-one, zero-one as it sorts thoughts, affects, flesh, information, nerves, in ever more precise and minute attributes of discretion and equivalence. The rhythm becomes an algorithm. Every thing it captures, every thing it invades, every thing it settles is set with a beat that is compelled to hear itself everywhere, feel itself everywhere. This compulsion drives deeper into the bodies it activates, the information it circulates, the nerves it fires to new connections, new networks of discretion and equivalence. Its arbitrage opens this discretion in what is thought to be indivisible, whole, singular, then closes it in equivalence and clears it for the next beat at the new margins of its rapacious drumming. It forces every thing into the claustrophobia of its world beat, and every thing that is not fugitive is lost.

To be formed is to be formed in this rhythm, to be algorithmically composed, to be compelled to carry this rhythm but also to develop it, to improve it, to export and import it; which is to say, that to be algorithmically composed is not just to be beaten but to beat. This beaten beating is what might be called synaptic labor. To answer the compulsion of logistical capitalism, it is necessary not just to be available to this rhythm but to make this rhythm available, to assail with this rhythm, to prevail in this rhythm against the surrounding informality that unsettles this zero-one, zero-one with a militancy that is neither one nor its absence. What is synaptic labor? In the first instance it is to be opened involuntarily, by compulsion, capriciously, to this rhythm that kills. But this moment of equivalence, of subject embodiment, of exploitable nerve and affect is matched by a degraded discretion, an impulse to take the beating in order to be worthy of holding the whip, an impulse to plot the rhythm upon the earth, to regulate with the rhythm, to form roving beats against fugitive rhythms. To improve the land, to make new the people—these old cries uttered over the killing rhythm come back intensively, invasively, internally in synaptic labor, which

always begins with administering the beat to one's own rhythm by administering a one to own. The drummer is discrete but indifferent.

The rhythm operates by way of a line. This line is two: zero and one. This line is an assembly line where the same is done and the same is improved, as if in courtship with difference, until it is done again. The forwarded email with a comment is the mundane *kaizen* of this rhythm. But this example is deceptive, too, because what is at stake is not action but composure, comportment, algorithmic composition. Improvement occurs in sympathetic labor mostly not through making but through making more available for exploitation, a primitive accumulation of the senses, and expropriation of intention, attention, and tension. Sympathetic labor fires connections in every direction using the raw nerves of readiness, availability, and flexibility. The rhythm works sympathetically, and sympathetic labor works on the rhythm. The rhythm sounds out by way of an assembly line that runs through society, through the social factory, not to make anything in particular but itself. The line of production is its own product. This was the real meaning of *kaizen*, the improvement of improvement: metrics, algorithmic composition for itself. This means another connection must always be made, and another zero-one opened by that connection. Every connection becomes an arbitrage, every nerve is speculative as it fires in synapsis with another connection, discrete, equivalent, discrete again in a nervous metrics of improvement. This metrics is both neurological and pathological in the face of all undercommon measure. And it must pursue such fugitive measure by necessity, in the compulsion to make available and be made available to this rhythm everywhere, all the time, in the where and when of this killing beat.

This is the logistics of algorithmic composition, and the rhythm of logistical capitalism, which envisions and by envisioning envelops and entraps the earth in a world that runs to the end of the earth, and is the end of the earth. Logistics runs the globe, runs after the earth and the logisticality that has developed as a capacity on this earth. Logistics extends, expands, accumulates the space and time of a capitalism driven across the earth by the algorithmic zero-one beat. And by doing so it forces upon the earth, the world. If logisticality is the resident capacity to live on the earth, logistics is the regulation of that capacity in the service of making the world, the zero-one,

zero-one world that pursues the general antagonism of life on earth. The world is posed as the way to live on the earth as the individual is posed as the way to live in the world. To live in the world as an individual is therefore to be logistic, and to be logistic is to settle into a rhythm that kills, to beat out that rhythm over the undercommon track that keeps its own measure. To say that synaptic labor generalizes a certain availability is also to say that insofar as it is derivation, reduction, residuality, it cannot but be less amid its drive to be more and to improve continuously. And so too for the desperate and dangerous acts of individuation, of global analysis, of policy, of settlement, of a finally imperial antipathy to empathy, which is a resonance open before it is opened and after it is enclosed.

What one might call the social life of things is important only insofar as it allows us to imagine that social life is not a relation between things but is, rather, that field of rub and rupture that works, that is the work of, no one, nothing, in its empathic richness. The social work of social life is no work at all, but the madness remains; rub and rupture all but emerge, but in nothing like an emergence, as something imprecision requires us to talk about as if it were some thing, not just discrete but pure. More specifically, almost salvifically, we want to call this “thing” a line, or a pulse, but it won’t be called and it will not come. *Animaterial riddim cutting rhythm cutting method*, microtonality’s overpopulation of measure, *Zaum* preoccupying *Raum* with an extrarational, hyperganjic, dancehallsanskritic, anachorasmiatric, Al-Mashic, all mashed up buzz, this “thing,” our *thing*, the alternate groove we in, the devalued and invaluable local insurgency, disobeys our most loving invocation. This gift of spirit gives itself away and zero-one is left embittered.

The undercommons is not a coalition. It’s an absolutely open secret with no professional ambition. The devaluation of local insurgency takes the form of forgetting, which then manifests itself as mourning for the mass movement that never was. Michael Porter says the fundamental question of strategy is how to get your company out of the market. This exodus takes the form of command, the arbitrary power to make policy but also the regulation and governance of externalities. Policy says: I fixed myself, so I can help you. Meanwhile, we squat planning. Don’t prove; don’t improve; don’t even show. This is the romantic dream of the itinerant barbecue. We

prepare fire table from oil drum, an immanence (that interinanimation of limit and transgression) always there as something more and less than itself, because the linepulse is so much more and less than that and seems to spread and wonder like a spill, like a neither singular nor plural activity of aggressive bordering or demarcation in (violation of) every locale, everywhere but extraterritorial, in touch but way out, the chic but disenchanted *bons temps* of the shipped, who feel remotely.

Algorithm is the imposition—by rule, at scale—of the impossible task of shared abstraction. Scale's bad feel, and the bad feelings the desire for scale requires and induces, are implications of this shared abstraction, this abstracted sharing, this discretionary metaphysics of individuation given in electronic lockstep and brutal (single-)line dance as pulse enforcement's network, instead of contact, improvisation. On all dem other hands, algoriddim is violence to the zero-one, a disruption of its protocols, which form the binary rhythm of the iron system as **Theodor Adorno** accurately described and inaccurately ascribed it. When the senses become theoreticians in their practice, a decomposition of the individual occurs: flesh/blackness, as the end/death of the individual, is the individual's decomposition. The move from logistics to logisticality—from forced availability (“in the flesh,” as **Hortense Spillers** says) to a mechanics of undercommon hapticity—is, itself, spooky action at a distance, the exterior affects and effects of the intramural. We study the relation between the intramural, as **Spillers** reimagines it, and quantum entanglement, as **Denise Ferreira da Silva** reimagines that. They breathe empathy into ethics, and we feel that; they weave difference without separation, and we study that. In the interest of being really useful, we study the minor internal contact and internecine radiation of various quartets, which remain unheard by the ones, you know, the zero-ones who have interests, who are interested in being zero-ones in the interest of some kind of owning, as if owning were a mode of defense. The only defense is openness. The only owning is unowning. Give everything away until you have nothing. Give it all away until you are nothing. You got to give it up. You can't get ahold of it; you gotta hope, against hope, that it gets ahold of you. That's what the zero-ones call stealing, when neither self nor world are graspable; which is to say that the closer you get to grasping either one, the

closer we get to disappearing. But you already know that everything in blurred lines was already there in got to give it up. In the face of this stealing from the stolen, what we continue to receive in them is their stealing away, in undercommon assembly, in the thickness, in varying sharpnesses of drafting and overdrafting, of speculative, anarchitectural, antinational, profanational drawing, of parabolic turns and eccentric, centrifugal, extracircular returns of the drawing of breath, drawn away from it, in and out of itself, off scale, over (and under) rule, (up) against it. Our high-low monastic nothingness is irrectangular blurrrrr, out of line and out of round and out of turn; multiply tabled/terkhed/torqued/twerked/tongued, this is our uncorralled chorale.

So we crossfade, Zo, where the social skills of the antisocial can't compare to the sociality of the unskilled, whose only problem is that they have no problem. The shit they call social skills is an algorithm for managing antisociality. The zero-ones, who can only be where the other ones are, can't compare to the more + less than ones who be everywhere. Sensory processing order is the emergence and hierarchization of things, which is some primitive shit to the more + less than ones who are in the mist, who are the midst, who mix disorder. You the mixer, minor mixmaster in mining, digging with love. I love you don't even begin to say. I think we found each other ain't even close. The overpopulation of the measure. The forming of the pit. The shaping of the palestra. The noninvasive, unaxed clearing. The subatomic trees. The cosmological feast. The jam's facticity. The overcrowding. The zero-ones want a pre-given, accountable, measured formula for reducing something that is only worked in the swarm of provisional, revisional practice, where we have no problem, where the problem disappears in precision and impurity, where we must move in measures like a dancer.

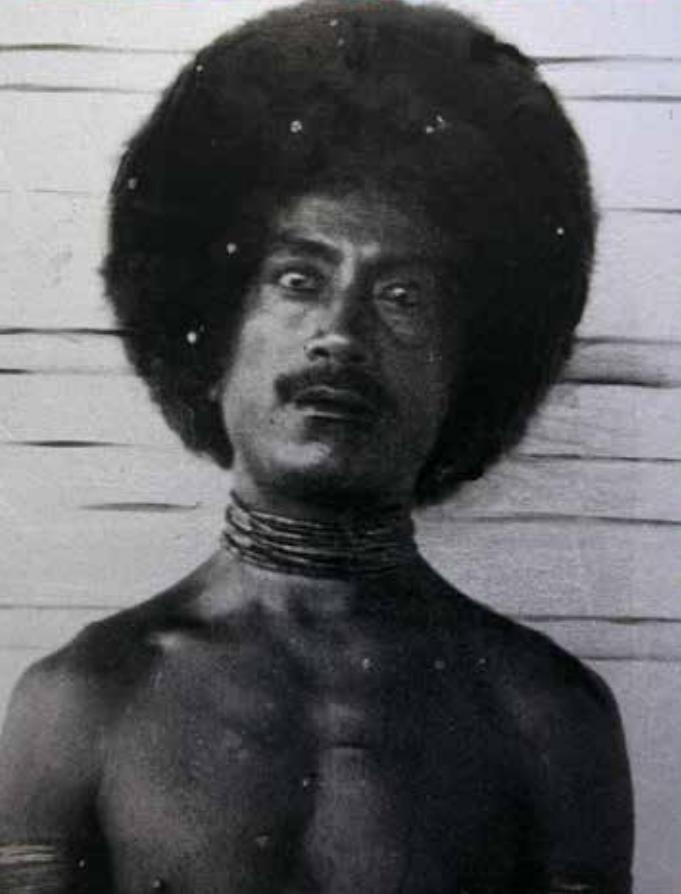
Man! Even in T.S. Eliot, stealing away from, or stolen away in, his bankerish tendencies, as if in some counterspeculative account held and released by Charles Olson's projective embrace,

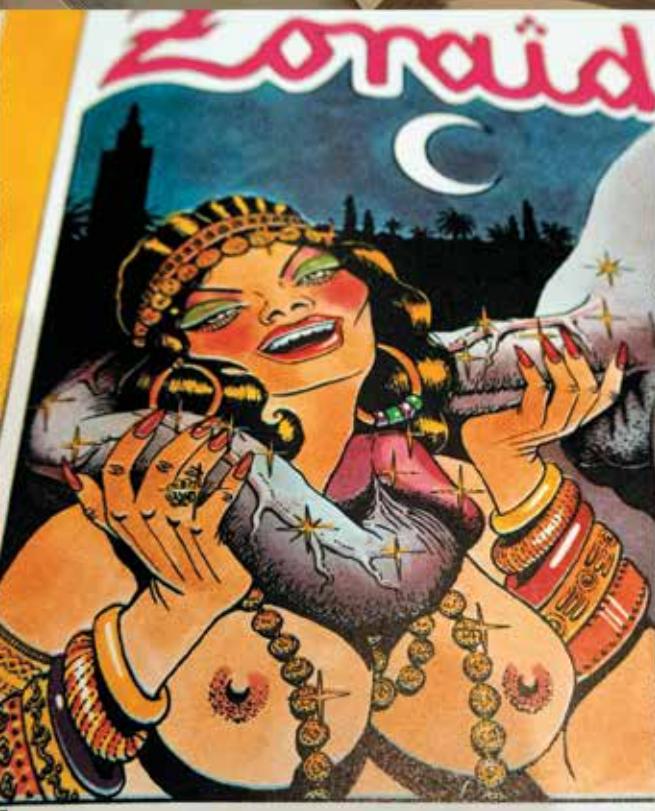
savoir faire is everywhere!⁰¹ *ʃ*

**HANNAH
RYGGEN**
Hitlerteppet
[Hitler's Rug],
1936
Wool and
linen

01 For more on *Savoir Faire*, see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qAXZ-b7qLKp4>.







LA ENGAN





Brook Andrew

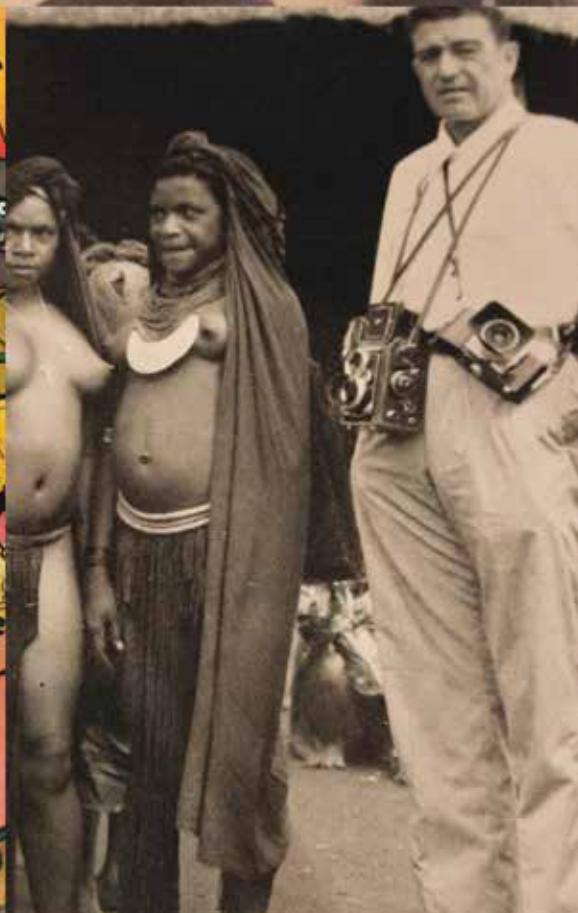
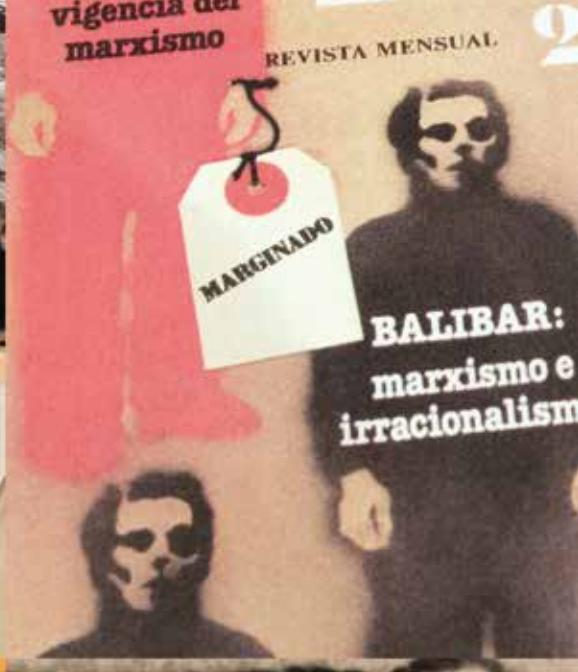
Splinters of Monuments: A Solid Memory of the Forgotten Plains of our Trash and Obsessions

How do we remember the past? Who has the power to create and destroy a monument in remembering contested histories that include fascism, colonialism and alternative revolutionary moments?

This memorial of objects and artworks is immersed within a black and white optical pattern (inspired by the artists Wiradjuri - Aboriginal cultural heritage - of carved trees and shields). of the artists personal, and community archives, and borrowed objects, artworks and documents from the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Museo Nacional de Antropología and the Museo de América, Madrid. The aim is to bring together Spanish, Australian and international institutional and community material regarding 'dark' or hidden stories. The installation considers possible connections between Australian and Spanish histories that collide information to form a web that may reveal conflicted stories, views and finally may have the power to change peoples minds on their own political or cultural views.

Located in the vitrines are press photos, postcards, posters, films, magazine clippings, cartoons, and books which portray the barrage of humanity in strife. These materials document the traumatic legacy of the colonial gaze, anthropology, genocide, science experiments, extreme political and religious views and conflict. Some press photos document science experiments, such as the British nuclear tests in Australia's Monte Bello Islands in 1952. Other images record the effects of genocide, as in the exhumed mass graves of World War II in the Former Soviet Union (1945) and politics of the disappeared and cultural desire in Spanish underground magazines. Many documents have the power to create intense reactions and aimed to subvert dominant educational practices and how we consume education and propaganda.

Australian colonial experience has its own historical hidden wars not so different to international concerns and practices internationally. A popularist cultural smoke-screen exists that portrays Australia as a 'lucky' and thriving country...though the real trauma is the legacy of past and present conflicts such as the colonisation legacy of Aboriginal people. Australia has a continuing undercurrent conflict between those erasing or oblivious to the history wars and those actively remembering.

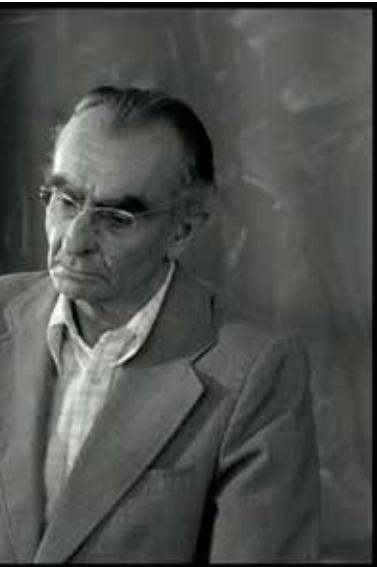




**JEAN-MARIE STRAUB &
DANIÈLE HUILLET**

En rachâchant, 1982

35mm film transferred to video. B&W, sound, 7'



The short film *En rachâchant* centers on Ernesto, a rebellious boy who refuses to go to school. **J**

RUNO LAGOMARSINO

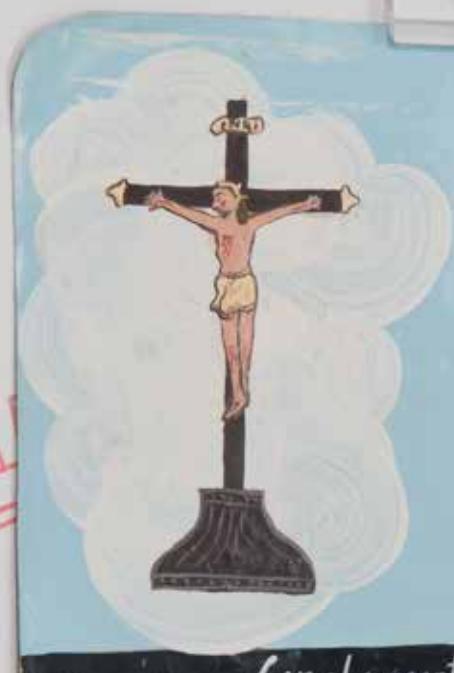
EntreMundos [Between Worlds],

2013

Installation







Con el presente retablo le pido
Que permita que me den mi libertad en E

SAN FELIPE GTO.

Juan Jose Garcia



"This thing called the state" is a series of ex-voto paintings made by anonymous painters and commissioned by Mexican immigrants who had successfully crossed the border between Mexico and the United States. The backdrop to the ex-votos is a wallpaper entitled *EntreMundos*, which shows an equestrian figure that evokes the medieval Crusades and a vessel that represents Christopher Columbus's ships that set sail in 1492. **f**

Certificado de Acciones No. 1

Por 50 Acciones

GÜELL & ORTA CONTEMPORARY ART, S.A.

Con domicilio en la República de Panamá

Sociedad anónima constituida de acuerdo con las leyes de la República de Panamá, según Escritura Pública Número 14,654 del 5 de Junio de 2014, de la Notaría Décima del Circuito de Panamá, inscrita en el Registro Público, Sección de Micropelícula (Mercantil) en la Ficha 835975, Documento Redi 2615519, del día 11 de Junio de 2014.

CAPITAL SOCIAL AUTORIZADO

El Capital Social de la sociedad es de **DIEZ MIL DOLARES (US\$10,000.00)**, moneda de curso legal de Estados Unidos de América, dividido en **CIEN (100) ACCIONES COMUNES**, de un valor nominal de **CIEN DOLARES (US\$100.00)** cada una.

Certificado de Acciones

Consta que NURIA GUELL SERRA es dueño de CINCUENTA (50) acciones de esta sociedad, con un valor nominal de **CIEN DOLARES (US\$100.00)** cada una, totalmente pagadas y liberadas. Cada acción tiene derecho a un (1) voto.

Este Certificado de acciones se expide y lo acepta el tenedor, sujeto a las estipulaciones contenidas en el Pacto Social y en los Estatutos de la Sociedad.

Expedido en la ciudad de Panamá, República de Panamá, a los VEINTICUATRO (24) días del mes de JUNIO del 2014.


Presidente


Secretario o Tesorero

NÚRIA GÜELL & LEVI ORTA

Arte político degenerado. Protocolo ético

[Political Degenerate Art. Ethical Protocol], 2014

Political Degenerate Art. Ethical Protocol

Núria Güell & Levi Orta

- No taxes for companies or private individuals.
- No taxes on profits and dividends.
- Companies are not obliged to submit annual accounts or audits.
- No inheritance tax.
- No minimum capital requirements.
- No VAT payable on transactions.
- No personal income tax.
- No social contributions.
- No social security payments in the country of incorporation.
- No restrictions on capital flows.
- Anonymity is strictly guaranteed.
- Bank secrecy.
- Asset protection against lawsuits, foreclosures, and possible litigation.
- Companies may be established with bearer shares.
- Protect your assets from any government interference.

We enjoy all these benefits at **Güell & Orta Contemporary Art Ltd**, a company created in a tax haven that allows

01 Project produced for *The Text: First Notions and Findings*, a program curated by David Armengol and Martí Manen at Fabra i Coats Centre d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona.

us to evade all taxes on our earnings—in Spain and around the world—taking advantage of the jurisdiction of the country where the company is based. In the first part of the project *Political Degenerate Art* we used the entire artistic production budget to create a public limited company in a territory with a “benign tax system.”⁰¹ We sought advice from specialists at the prestigious ESADE Business School who had also consulted in the three

most recent scandals involving the diversion of public funds by Catalan politicians. (The Catalans were not alone: three years ago the *New York Times* referred to a list handed to the Spanish government by a former employee of the Swiss bank HSBC containing the names of 569 Spanish citizens, including major political figures from the left and the right.)⁰² According to the Spanish tax agency, 74 percent of tax fraud occurs among these groups, resulting in a loss of €44 billion from the state's coffers—which, as it happens, is almost as much as the current shortfall in Spain's public social expenditure when compared with the EU-15 average of €66 billion. These are funds Spain could have spent on health, education, childcare, services for dependent persons, public transport, and so on. Nonetheless, the vast majority of tax fraud investigations carried out by the Spanish tax agency target self-employed workers, whom tax agency officials say are responsible for only 8 percent of the total tax fraud.⁰³ As former president **José María Aznar** said when he was the highest public authority in Spain and a tax inspector on leave of absence, “the rich don't pay” taxes in Spain.⁰⁴

After creating **Güell & Orta Contemporary Art Ltd** in Panama, we decided to extend the *Political Degenerate Art* project and donate the use of one of our company's bank accounts to a group of activists who are working to develop an autonomous society outside of capitalist dynamics. The group is based on mutual support and is working to improve self-management initiatives in the areas of education, health, housing, food, and social currency. Using this offshore bank account allows them to evade the control and regulations imposed by governments, the European Central Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, and protects them from possible governmental measures to restrict capital, like those taken in Cyprus or in Argentina during the Corralito. In this way we defy the financial system monopoly and provide room for an autonomous economy to develop freely. This portion of our project will be subtitled *Ethical Protocol*, and we shall analyze the contradictions inherent in copying capitalist strategies in order to create anticapitalist social dynamics.

02 Raphael Minder,
“Top Spanish Banker
Faces Inquiry on Tax
Charges,” *New York
Times*, 16 June 2011.

03 Vicenç Navarro, “La
banca, el fraude fiscal
y el New York Times,”
SISTEMA, 21 October
2011.

04 José Miguel Larraya,
“Aznar afirma que con
el actual sistema fiscal
'Los ricos no pagan'
impuestos,” *El país*, 22
January 1998.

The procedure used to create a company is simple: you need €3,220.70 and a little bit of paperwork. The people who handle the process require that you submit a letter of reference from a bank (which can be your regular bank; it just has to declare that it has worked with you for some years and that you are a reliable customer), another letter from a law firm (having contacts is ideal here; otherwise you will pay a small fee), and one from a consultancy firm, as well as a certificate of residence and a copy of your national identification document, attested by a notary. If you do not want to use your real identity, you can get around that. The fee for using a nominee director or agent is €250 per person. So for a total of €3990.70, you can have a company and a bank account in a tax haven, under the names of three account holders who may or may not exist. For this amount, the offshore company service will reserve the name of your company, process its incorporation, prepare the power-of-attorney documentation so that a lawyer from the offshore territory can act on your behalf, send you a certificate of incorporation, draft the deeds, print the stock certificate, create the Articles of the Resolution of the Board of Directors naming the first administrators, pay the state incorporation charge, and send you an authorized English translation of the documents along with all the certificates. The company-management services include a registered business address and agents for a one-year period. The offshore service also complies with direct-debiting regulations and ensures that your company is in accordance with the applicable legislation; it also covers the annual state license, the company's apostille (certificate of authenticity), and the cost of couriering the entire package to your home address. The entire process takes only ten working days. ***Js***

Certificado de Acciones No. 2

Por 50 Acciones

GÜELL & ORTA CONTEMPORARY ART, S.A.

Con domicilio en la República de Panamá

Sociedad anónima constituida de acuerdo con las leyes de la República de Panamá, según Escritura Pública Número 14,654 del 5 de Junio de 2014, de la Notaría Décima del Circuito de Panamá, inscrita en el Registro Público, Sección de Micropedulca (Mercantil) en la Ficha 835975, Documento Redi 2615519, del dia 11 de Junio de 2014.

CAPITAL SOCIAL AUTORIZADO

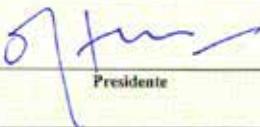
El Capital Social de la sociedad es de **DIEZ MIL DOLARES (US\$10,000.00)**, moneda de curso legal de Estados Unidos de América, dividido en **CIEN (100) ACCIONES COMUNES** de un valor nominal de **CIEN DOLARES (US\$100.00)** cada una.

Certificado de Acciones

Consta que LEVI ENRIQUE ORTA MENDOZA es dueño de CINCUENTA (50) acciones de esta sociedad, con un valor nominal de **CIEN DOLARES (US\$100.00)** cada una, totalmente pagadas y liberadas. Cada acción tiene derecho a un (1) voto.

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Expedido en la ciudad de Panamá, República de Panamá, a los VEINTICUATRO (24) días del mes de JUNIO del 2014.


Presidente


Secretario o Tesorero

NÚRIA GÜELL & LEVI ORTA

Arte político degenerado. Protocolo ético

[Political Degenerate Art. Ethical Protocol], 2014

Offshore: Tax Havens and the Rule of Global Crime

Alain Deneault

Denying the law still means recognizing it.
And a pervert challenges it only so he can
give himself other laws.

—MIKEL DUFRENNE

Who leads? Who decides? This is the political question of the day.

For decades, predatory economic wars have consumed the global South and corrupted heads of state; ships flying flags of convenience have sent arms to the South and returned with the fruits of plunder; mercenaries have been mobilized by persons unknown; the drug traffic has in a few generations built fortunes as large as the GDP of nations; billions of dollars have vanished annually in a Bermuda triangle of dirty money; the originators of these investments have subsequently come forward under the leadership of “investors” in designer suits claiming to grasp everything; the public services of states of the North have been despoiled of funds matching the

staggering profits heads of empires grant themselves; financial scoundrels have swallowed up the savings of entire populations and confronted no obstacles. Over all this time, it is clear that public institutions have lost control of the way the world works. Powerful actors have appeared offshore, outside the bounds of formal politics and law.

The reign of this “offshore sovereignty” implies that the primary decision makers in public affairs are no longer acting in the public arena. Instead, they have set up custom-made political jurisdictions—tax havens—that enable them to exercise decisive influence on the historical course of events without having to comply with any democratic principle. Subordinates in states governed by

the rule of law join in the circus of election campaigns and the theater of legislative assemblies, and then all of that is assembled under the heading of “governance” to satisfy the people who witness these shadow plays. Even if the people don’t believe these lies, it doesn’t matter, because that is all they have a right to.

The effect of tax havens on the world can be measured here and now. Nothing is more erroneous, more restrictive, and more inappropriate than to limit the phenomenon to offshore, the mere negative idea of an “elsewhere” of finance, where capital flees and evades its holders, as though this exodus opened out onto parallel economies that observers insist on presenting as marginal and abnormal. These metaphors do not grasp the reality of tax havens, which are positive and sovereign political bases located offshore, where half the world’s money supply is concentrated. The funds amassed there should not be thought of as the nest eggs rapacious financiers and industrial swindlers have stashed away, as pirates used to bury their treasure on islands. Nor should we think of misers, of which Honoré de Balzac writes in *Eugenie Grandet* that “they make heaps of their money to be able to gaze on it in secret.” On the contrary, this money “works” without hindrance once it is placed

in an offshore account, with no unions or professional regulations, no environmental measures, no bank supervision, no stock market framework, no real control over all kinds of trafficking, no knowledge on the part of the directors of private companies, and of course no taxation.

Along with these new spheres of power, suspect fortunes and dubious combinations grow up whose effects are felt directly in so-called democratic states. For example, companies that sell us retail gasoline are also involved in the arms trade; the banks in whose branches we deposit our savings also handle influence peddling for the benefit of frightful dictatorships. All financial and industrial actors of any size thereby have the opportunity to pay to advertise themselves with the benign face of Dr. Jekyll in the North while indulging offshore in the brew of Mr. Hyde. These “parallel economies” are nothing other than our economies.

In light of this organization of world finance, it is clear that the strict question of tax is the least compromising. To consider the offshore problem exclusively in terms of tax evasion is to overlook the way these transfers of money make it possible precisely to finance organizations, companies, and individuals together with the

structures by means of which it has become ever easier for them to dominate states governed by the rule of law and to conduct their private politics outside the law. Tax evasion no longer means just saving money; it amounts to undermining the financing of public institutions, and hence the very notion of the public welfare, in order to establish offshore hidden centers of decision making on questions of historical importance.

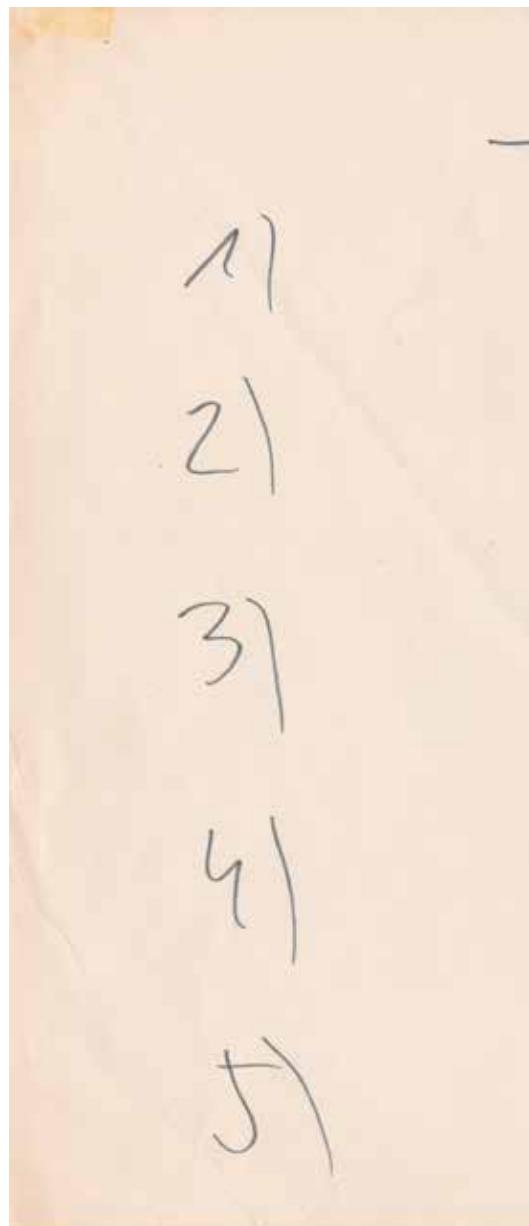
A timid and fearful press, often itself in the pay of offshore interests, reports nothing of this. Concentrating its charges on the narrow problem of taxation in effect bars the press from considering the offshore phenomenon in all its magnitude. The same is true of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which, in the summer of 2009, together with the nations assembled as the G20, focused on and criticized tax evasion. According to the OECD, offshore states were required to provide access to secret accounts under very precise conditions. The United States tax authorities went after the tax-evasion tactics of UBS. That was all it took for the mainstream press to declare an end to the existence of tax havens without having really discussed them previously. States governed

by the rule of law, after serving as providers of social insurance systems for major world banks and other sorcerer's apprentices of finance, were thereby attempting to recover the funds necessary for the minimal financing of their institutional structures—and to look good for public opinion.

But at its heart, the problem is too compromising for governing leaders to apply themselves to describing it, and it is therefore up to critical thinkers to bring these processes to light and reveal their modes of domination. The heuristic methods for accomplishing this are ill defined. Indeed, the offshore problem and the analysis of tax havens cannot be reduced to accounting, tax, or legal considerations. And it is hard to see how to approach it in general terms. To think through the offshore problem, we need a semantic reversal of the common notions of political thought: rule of law, political sovereignty, justice, law, crime, social classes, and economic rationality. In fact, the very meaning of these notions is affected by the worldwide offshore phenomenon. The rule of law as ordinarily understood is made unrecognizable when financial actors transform it from a resolutely domestic characteristic into an extra asset conferred on

them by offshore sovereignty for dealing with world affairs. "Crime" and "illegality" are terms of little import when everything they previously covered is authorized and even encouraged in offshore jurisdictions whose full sovereignty is recognized and which sometimes sit with legitimate states on World Bank bodies or are recognized as full members of the European Union.

History now requires that we reverse our relationship with these words and therefore reconsider the concepts in connection with the way tax havens have affected them semantically. It is not possible to define tax havens without redefining, in light of their nature, the concepts used to arrive at that definition. **f**



Alain Deneault, *Offshore: Tax Havens and the Rule of Global Crime*, trans. George Holoch (NEW YORK: THE NEW PRESS, 2011), vii–xi; originally published as *Offshore: Paradis fiscaux et souveraineté criminelle* (PARIS: LA FABRIQUE ÉDITIONS, 2010).

MLADEN STILINOVIC
Plan rada [Work Plan], 1974
Crayon on paper

PLAN RADA

MLADEN STILINOVIC

An Artist Who Cannot Speak English

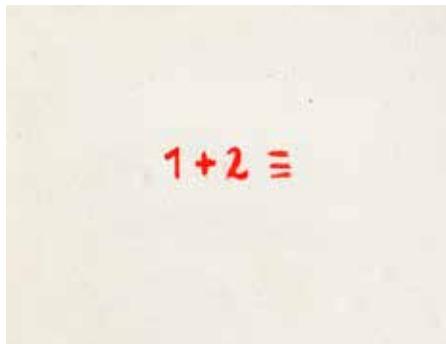
Is No Artist, 1992

Print on plastic



Kolaci (zastava) [Cakes (Flag)], 1983

Acrylic on paper



1 + 2 =, 2005

Acrylic on canvas



PAGE 214

1, 1975

Color crayon on paper



A large, pink fabric banner is draped across a white wall. It features a bold, black, hand-drawn style text that reads: "T WHO CANNOT SPEAK IS NO ARTIST". The letter "A" in "CANNOT" is filled with a solid red color, while all other letters are black.

T WHO CANNOT
SPEAK
IS NO ARTIST



Une promesse de bonheur: Philosophy as the Antecedent of the Nether World of Communism

G. M. Tamás

Iook around you: religious and ethnic wars, territorial conquest, systematic humiliation of women, uprooted and displaced populations, torture, mass executions, large-scale xenophobia, starvation, epidemics. Inequality not seen since the days of Babylon. Indifference to suffering reminiscent of the pharaohs of three thousand years ago.

Bourgeois individualism does not seem to be stirred by secret services' checking people's correspondence, emails, and telephone conversations in nearly all Western liberal states. Constitutional republics allow the obsolescence of the rule of law without the slightest murmur. Power is outsourced to big but still essentially private businesses. Serious resistance is scarce, almost nonexistent. Scholarly and theoretical analysis could be comfortably entrusted to rather unscientific prophets, while the best of our contemporaries were dreaming of a severe philosophy, served by experience: this was disregarded by the many, which seems to call for revenge.

"Therefore shall Moab howl for Moab, everyone shall howl: for the foundations of Kir-hareseth shall ye mourn; surely they are stricken.... And gladness is taken away, and joy out of the plentiful field; and in the vineyards there shall be no singing, neither shall there be shouting; the treaders shall tread out no wine in their presses; I have made their vintage

shouting to cease. Wherefore my bowels shall sound like an harp for Moab, and mine inward parts for Kir-haresh. And it shall come to pass, when it is seen that Moab is weary on the high place, that he shall come to his sanctuary to pray; but he shall not prevail.” (ISAIAH 16:7, 10–12)

That is the hope that is being offered: that others, too, will be cut down and made to beg for mercy, in vain.

One is tempted to say, as so many have done before, “This is the way of the world; it is thus, it was always thus, and it will be so now and evermore.”

Try to refute it.

Priests and sages will tell you that everything is your fault and evil is but the reward for your sins:

“O Lord, my strength and my fortress and my refuge in the day of affliction, the Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity and things wherein there is no profit. Shall a man make gods unto himself, and they are no gods? Therefore, behold, I will this once cause them to know mine hand and my might; and they shall know that my name is

The Lord.” (JEREMIAH 16:19–21)

So everything will be rectified and justified. Everything will burn. The coats of arms of most countries still sport birds of prey and hunting animals. The remaining kings still appear on state occasions in military uniform with ceremonial swords. The main perk of power is still the ability to kill with impunity, in war or at the gallows, and signs of this main privilege are still shamelessly emblazoned over all official surfaces. Police are still mostly armed, and nobody raises an eyebrow. National holidays are still celebrated with military parades and solemn displays of weaponry. Daggers, guns, whips, and hunting crops are still valid symbols of manliness. Expressions like “deadly precision” and “killer smile” indicate what are the intuitive criteria of excellence. *Weak* and *small* and *poor* are still metaphors of inferiority, even in the moral and artistic realms.

These metaphors are contradicted by the best-known rebellious tradition.

They said to him, “Shall we then, as children, enter the kingdom [of heaven]?” Jesus said to them, “When you make the two one, and

- 01** Helmut Koester and Thomas O. Lambdin, trans., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, Rev. Ed., ed. James M. Robinson (SAN FRANCISCO: HARPERSANFRANCISCO, 1988), 129. For an outline of Gnostic morality, see Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (BOSTON: BEACON PRESS, 1991), 47.
- 02** “Jesus’ destiny in the world is inseparable from that of the Word of God. That is why Christ and the Word of God are, I reaffirm, simply one and the same thing.... By announcing to all the Kingdom of God, he is doing no more than observing in his own behaviour the principles he proclaims.... Refusing the Kingdom means refusing the knowledge that Jesus bears—refusing the knowledge of violence and all its works. In the eyes of those who reject it, this knowledge is ill-omened; it is the worst of all forms of violence. This is indeed how things must look from the perspective of the sacrificial community. Jesus appears as a destructive and subversive force, as a source of contamination that threatens the community. Indeed, to the extent that he is misunderstood he becomes just that. The way in which he preaches can only make

when you make the inside like the outside and the outside like the inside, and the above like the below, and when you make the male and the female one and the same, so that the male not be male nor the female female; and when you fashion eyes in place of an eye, and a hand in place of a hand, and a foot in place of a foot, and a likeness in place of a likeness, then you will enter [the kingdom of heaven].” (*GOSPEL OF THOMAS*, II, 2: 22)⁰¹

Jesus would obliterate hierarchy by obliterating difference. The renewal is co-extensive with the suspension of contrast, especially the contrast that would found the usual notion of full-fledged humanity, the distinction between maturity and infancy. The idealization of children in Christendom is tantamount to the rejection of force, independence, self-reliance, and the joined ideals of masculinity, war, and property. Furthermore, this is a refusal of the idea of justice, replaced by mercy.⁰² Justice will have to be imposed, imparted, and upheld; thus, it is in need of might or, at least, in need of differentiation, the ability to tell things (and persons) apart. For this, one needs force. Force is always coercion; that is, making people do things they would not otherwise do. Those in possession of this ability—to tell people apart and to make inferior people do what they do not wish to do—are superior and just. Justice needs the abstract criteria that enables it to be applied to all, but the force of this application comes from outside. The force is based on division (this is precisely the word of Jesus when he describes his social and political mission in “the world,” but this is only the mundane description of that

mission as confronted by “the world”). Division, distinction, differentiation: these are needed to establish merit or the lack of it, and they are all aspects of force, of might—hence no true difference separates difference and hierarchy. The establishment of difference (e.g., between just and unjust) presupposes hierarchy, and this is what is refused (in an unavoidably self-contradictory manner) by Jesus’s preaching.

He divides and confounds his enemies by enunciating nondifferences, such as the nondifference between male and female, reducing it to a conceivably presexual, pregender state of affairs—that of childhood. He further divides and confounds his enemies by the violence of his nonviolence.

Mercy is offered irrespective of merit. Mercy is blind to justice. Mercy is, in sum, the only procedure whereby equality is effected. Mercy is the only idea that might be able to resist the lure of justice—the lure of righteous force, the lure of justified hierarchy, the lure of anointed coercion (church, state, army, property), the lure of ennobled might (of the powerful who are generous, responsible, provident, worldly wise, and brave)—and so capable of allowing human beings to desire and to renounce without guilt. *No guilt* is—or was—a synonym for the divine. But one that is immediately contradicted:

“For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I allow not: for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that do I. If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law that it is good. Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me: but how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.” (ROMANS 7:14–19)

To the idea of mercy the tragic view of human nature is opposed: the

him appear to be totally lacking in respect for the holiest of institutions, guilty of hubris and blasphemy, since he dares to rival God himself in the perfection of Love that he never ceases to make manifest.” René Girard, with Jean-Michel Oughourlian and Guy Lefort, *Things Hidden since the Foundation of the World*, trans. Stephen Bann and Michael Metter (STANFORD CA: STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1987), 206–7. Jesus’s way of affirming ideas is, simply, “because I say so” or “because this is what I am.” Hence it is an absolute rejection of authority, and so again it is a rejection of force, the pride taken in absolute weakness and humility: in the powerlessness of a child.

servum arbitrium, the unfree will whose “maxim” (in the Kantian sense) is the not-willed evil. Human deeds ought to be forgiven because they are intrinsically evil. But see how evil is equated with disobedience in the secular version:

“All that is required, both in faith and manners, for man’s salvation is (I confess) set down in Scripture as plainly as can be. *Children obey your parents in all things: Servants obey your masters: Let all men be subject to the higher powers, whether it be the King or those that are sent by him: love God with all your soul, and your neighbour as yourself:* are words of the Scripture, which are well enough understood; but neither children, nor the greatest part of men, do understand why it is their duty to do so. They see not that the safety of the commonwealth, and consequently their own, depends upon their doing it. Every man by nature (without discipline) does in all his actions look upon, as far as he can see, the benefit that shall redound to himself from his obedience. He reads that covetousness is the root of all evil; but he thinks, and sometimes finds, it is the root of his estate. And so in other cases, the Scripture says one thing and they think another, weighing the commodities or incommodities of this present life only, which are in their sight, never putting into the scales the good and evil of the life to come, which they see not.”⁰³

At this moment, the message of Jesus appears as something external to carnal-temporal life, as a corrective to the mundane truth of “the world,” and this is how it has been mostly understood, clearly in error, and moreover undistinguished from the Old Covenant—which is also quite customary. People look only at their own interests, although they should not. But this is a misunderstanding. For “[t]here is none righteous, no, not one” (ROMANS 3:10). And the celebrated and decisive passage: “For until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law” (ROMANS 5:13). As is well

known, the New Testament goes so far as to imply that law may be the cause of sin. But love and mercy are above sin and righteousness, and this refutes mortality and refutes justice. But this could not be sustained. No

03 Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth*, ed. Ferdinand Tönnies (CHICAGO: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1990), 54.

this-worldly order can survive such a doctrine as its own. Some kind of two-realms theory was urgently needed.⁰⁴ But we are not concerned with this now. What needs to be established is that a solution opposing or ignoring hierarchy, difference, might, and justice was possible which presented itself as the true essence—and not just a scolding or a dressing-down of what appears to “exist.”

According to some, this was often implicit in religion. **Georges Bataille** believed that “expenditure” (*dépense*)—that is, the irrational surplus in any human intercourse—is a general characteristic of all economies. (“The meaning of Christianity is given in the development of the delirious consequences of the expenditure of classes, in a mental agonistic orgy practiced at the expense of the real struggle.”)⁰⁵

The idea of *potlatch*, taken from **Marcel Mauss**, means here that, in contradistinction to **Thomas Hobbes**, reciprocity—that is, duty—is made irrelevant by the superior claims of desire that wants to give freely (this is the originary Christian idea), without recompense or reward.⁰⁶ This, too, is a refutation of justice. The lack of balance and of symmetry will create a situation in which any attempt at a social order is absurd.

Upholding this impossibility is the function—admittedly, the hidden function—of modern philosophy in its central concept of *reason*.

This is hidden not only because of censorship and self-censorship, so that we should constantly read between the lines, heeding **Leo Strauss**’s warning, but also because of the sociological nature of the re-

04 On the incarnation of Logos in this context, see the marvelous remarks of Hans Blumenberg, *Matthäuspassion* (FRANKFURT: SUHRKAMP, 1988), 127. See also, Hans Blumenberg, *Die Sorge geht über den Fluss* (FRANKFURT: SUHRKAMP, 1988), 157–58.

05 Georges Bataille, “The Notion of Expenditure,” in *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, 1927–1939*, ed. Allan Stoekl, trans. Allan Stoekl, Carl R. Lovitt, and Donald M. Leslie Jr. (MINNEAPOLIS: UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS, 1993), 127. See also, Georges Bataille, *The Accursed Share*, vols. 2–3, trans. Robert Hurley (NEW YORK: ZONE BOOKS, 1993), 89–94; and Georges Bataille, *Theory of Religion*, trans. Robert Hurley (NEW YORK: ZONE BOOKS, 1989), 43. For Bataille on death as an imposture, see Georges Bataille, *Inner Experience*, trans. Leslie Ann Boldt (ALBANY: STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK PRESS, 1988), 69–76. Compare all of these passages to an extraordinary note by Bataille, dated February 7, 1937, “Ce que j’ai à dire ...,” in Georges Bataille, *L’apprenti sorcier*, ed. Marina Galletti (PARIS: ÉDITIONS DE LA DIFFÉRENCE, 1999), 324–36. For background, see Anne Roche and Jérôme Peignot, eds., *Laure: Une*

- rupture: 1934* (PARIS: ÉDITIONS DES CENDRES, 1999) (with texts by Laure, Boris Souvarine, Georges Bataille, Pierre Pascal and Jenny Pascal, Simone Weil, and Michel Leiris); and Philippe Blanc, ed., *Troisième convoi* (TOURS: ÉDITIONS FARRAGO, 1998). See also the fascinating and important anthology edited by Denis Hollier, *Le Collège de Sociologie, 1937–1939* (PARIS: FOLIO/GALLIMARD, 1995).
- 06** Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (LONDON: ROUTLEDGE, 1993).
- 07** Leo Strauss, *Persecution and the Art of Writing* (CHICAGO: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1993).
- 08** “Der reine Begriff ist das absolut Unendliche, Unbedingte und Freie. ... Das Wesen ist aus dem Sein und der Begriff aus dem Wesen, somit auch aus dem Sein geworden.” Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Werke in 20 Bänden mit Registerband: 6: Die Wissenschaft der Logik II*, ed. Eva Moldenhauer and Karl Markus Michel (FRANKFURT: SUHRKAMP, 1986), 274. This is preceded by Kant’s famous words on transcendental deduction (A) according to which every conception of philosophical texts.⁰⁷ Philosophy in the modern age had become a *sui generis* political institution, both in bourgeois liberal and in Soviet-style societies, as an academic “specialism” and as a purveyor of ideology, a field in which science and politics are interpreted and in which power clashes are symbolically decided or smoothed out. This rôle of philosophy has been and is still contested by radicals *extra muros* (i.e., those of the **Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, or Guy Debord** type), this contestation being later always incorporated as the discipline’s (and the institution’s) self-criticism. However this may be, and however much philosophy had become one of the “ideological state apparatuses,” an irreducible remainder remained which is concealed in the procedure of abstraction itself. Consider how **Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel** would establish, crucially, the idea of a *concept* (which defines the main characteristics of *reason*): The pure concept, he says, is THE ABSOLUTELY INFINITE, UNCONDITIONAL AND FREE. (The essence is created from being and the concept from the essence. This creation or becoming has the significance of a counterpunch [*Gegenstoß*], so that what has become is rather what has been realized [*das Gewordene*], which is, again, the unconditional and the originary. The concept is the becoming-other or the definite; hence it is the infinite definite referring to itself. So, the concept is first of all the absolute identity with itself, the negation of negation, the infinite unity of negativity with itself.)⁰⁸ One can elucidate this only if one has in mind that which Hegel implicitly opposes. First, he opposes

the conventional or commonsensical idea of a concept (a precisely defined word whose fixed meaning will have to be adhered to throughout the investigation). Second—and this is what matters—the centerpiece of the supreme theory (philosophy) is dialectically unveiled as wholly negative, as an explosively condensed concentration of freedom. How, then, can distinction, differentiation, and hierarchy rationally be formulated through a concept that explicitly rejects them? How can the most potent intellectual instrument of distinction between human beings—law—operate in this manner?

Hobbes foresaw this clearly: “Men are freed of their Covenants two wayes; by Performing; or by being Forgiven. For Performance, is the naturall end of obligation; and Forgivenesse, the restitution of liberty; as being a re-transferring of that Right, in which the obligation consisted.”⁹⁹ Forgiveness is the Christian idea of freedom, which supersedes obligation—nay, it might even obliterate it.

Both the conceptual and the moral formulation of an opening to nondifference (or identity in the Hegelian sense) contributes to the subversion of any variant of hierarchy rooted in either nature or law. Call it charity or mercy or call it “the concept” (the center of reason)—it will end up in canceling duty and sin, which alone can legitimize coercion aiming at distinction and differentiation. What Bataille—in one of the few positive and deliberate theories of communism—calls the renunciation of sovereignty and of dignity (together with the prohibition of racial inequality and of the exploitation of man by man) and the imposition of equivalence

kind of knowledge needs the concept, however incomplete or obscure, which is something general that can serve as a rule. But it can become a rule for phenomena only if it presents the reproduction of their multiplicity and withal the synthetic unity in their becoming-conscious.

“Alles Erkenntnis erfordert einen Begriff, dieser mag nun so unvollkommen, oder so dunkel sein, wie er wolle: dieser aber ist seiner Form nach jederzeit etwas Allgemeines, und was zur Regel dient. ... Eine Regel der Anschauungen kann er aber nur dadurch sein: daß er bei gegebenen Erscheinungen die notwendige Reproduktion des Mannigfaltigen derselben, mithin die synthetische Einheit in ihrem Bewußtsein, vorstellt.” Immanuel Kant, *Werke: 3: Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, pt. 1, ed. Wilhelm Weischedel (DARMSTADT: WISSENSCHAFTLICHE BUCHGESELLSCHAFT, SONDERAUSGABE 1983), 167.

99

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Robert Tuck (CAMBRIDGE, UK: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1992), 97.

10 Bataille, *The Accursed Share*, 327–71. See also G. M. Tamás, “Communism on the Ruins of Socialism,” in *Art Always Has Its Consequences*, ed. WHW (ZAGREB: WHW, 2010), 74–82; published in French as G. M. Tamás, “Le communisme sur les ruines du socialisme,” in *L'idée du communisme*: Vol. 2, Berlin 2010, ed. Alain Badiou and Slavoj Žižek (PARIS: LIGNES, 2011), 264–94.

11 To again state this in a religious manner, however provocative in the present context: “The Satan who is defeated by the Cross is the prince of this world, Satan as a principle of order. We must remember that Satan is also the prince of disorder and this other Satan is still intact, and can even be said to be ‘unleashed,’ not by God, but by the greater and greater loss of scapegoat effectiveness that characterises our world more and more with the passing of time. This world may well come to resemble the man in the Gospels from whom one demon was cast out but who failed to fill his life with divine things and the original demon came back with seven brothers, all more sinister than himself.” René Girard, “Satan,” in *The Girard Reader*, ed. James G. Williams (NEW YORK: CROSSROAD HERDER, 1996), 209.

would, incredibly, mean that conceptuality is tantamount socially to a classless society—which implies a wholesale destruction of boundaries between human categories that were always deemed to have been natural.¹⁰

Bourgeois thought thrives on distinction and has shown recently a propensity for fragmentation and impermanence. This might appear as an end to the mimetic affirmation of class society and its aggressive notions of domination. But, no, this is a generalization of the same idea, transforming it to a molecular omnipresence of domination everywhere, a dissemination of power rather than its revolutionary annihilation.

And here a new task appears: radical—or communist—critique should not be limited to a critique of modernity. The critique of the reified, abstract, and conceptual version of exploitation and oppression (described by the best radical minds from Georg Lukács to Moishe Postone to *Werthkritik*) is not sufficient, as the age-old forms of oppression (based on race, gender, religion, age, health, education, beauty, success, political influence, etc.) not only survive but are rejuvenated by modern capitalism.¹¹

Philosophy is not (and cannot be) solely an opponent of capitalism; it ought to be (and is) an enemy of any and all societies based on distinction and justice—that is, on hierarchy and law. The history of philosophy, of Christianity, and of communism begins with martyrdom, with the state murder of innocent but insurgent talkers. This is, as Joseph Stalin would say, no accident. This opposition between philosophy and

communism on the one hand, and society and the state on the other, is irremediable and something that cannot be mediated by historical development. The rejection, implicit in the concept, of family and property (and the combination of the two: inheritance, the foundation of historical continuity, and the intuitive grounding image of just desserts and hence of a just order) cannot be reconciled with any civilization known to humankind. Humanity, bereft of distinction (*acéphale*, says **Bataille**), of rank, gender, tribe, occupation, private interest, the pursuit of excellence, aspirations of individual liberty (i.e., raising oneself on the shoulders of another)—this is not the humankind familiar to the impartial and illusionless observer. This humanity is counterintuitive, it is unreal, it is unfamiliar—passing strange—like philosophy, which since times immemorial has been described as incomprehensible and practically useless. Genderless, unranked, renouncing violence (is a political term more despised and derided than *peace*?¹²): the idea of reason and the idea of communism must be (and are) greeted with hostility and contempt, so richly deserved.

“You cannot oppose everything,” we are told. Can we not?



Saying that philosophy is impractical contradicts Marx’s eleventh thesis on **Ludwig Feuerbach**. Since then, philosophy is supposed to have changed; it is supposed, *inter alia*, to be “a philosophy of praxis.”

12 The discredited idea of peace is present at the beginning of philosophy, in Empedocles’s *Katharmoi*; it is seen Ἀληθείη πάρα μύθοις in fragment 114. See Empédocle, *Les purifications: Un projet de paix universelle*, ed. and trans. Jean Bolack (PARIS: SEUIL, 2003), 59. The only contemporary author who takes the idea of peace seriously is Günther Anders. See his *Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen*, vols. 1–2 (MUNICH: C. H. BECK, 1994); and a number of other works by him, now unjustly forgotten.

13 See the extraordinary chapter on praxis, poiesis, and work in Giorgio Agamben, *The Man without Content*, trans. Georgia Albert (STANFORD, CA: STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1999), 68–93. Agamben writes about his way of establishing philosophical meaning in his essay “Philosophical Archaeology,” in Giorgio Agamben, *The Signature of Things: On Method*, trans. Luca d’Isante and Kevin Attali (NEW YORK: ZONE BOOKS, 2009), 81–111. (Compare Michel Foucault on rarity, exteriority, accumulation, totality, and plethora in his *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan-Smith [LONDON: ROUTLEDGE, 2002], 133–41.) See also the relevant chapter, mostly on Martin Heidegger, “The Passion of Facticity,” in Giorgio Agamben, *Potentialities: Collected*

Essays in Philosophy, ed. and trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (STANFORD, CA: STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1999), 185–204.

14 To quote the famous but still frequently forgotten words: “The worker becomes poorer the more wealth he produces, the more his production increases in power and extent. The worker becomes an ever cheaper commodity the more commodities he produces. The devaluation of the human world grows in direct proportion to the increase in value of the world of things. Labour not only produces commodities; it also produces itself and the workers as a commodity and it does so in the same proportion in which it produces commodities in general. [We tend to forget, because of constant repetition, what a fantastic statement this is.] This fact simply [!] means that the object that labour produces, its product, stands opposed to it as something alien, as a power independent of the producer. The product of labour is labour embodied and made material in an object, it is the objectification of labour. The realization of labour is its objectification.” Karl Marx, “Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts,” in *Early Writings*, trans. Gregor Benton and Rodney Livingstone (LONDON: PENGUIN/NLR, 1992), 323–24.

The question is, then, what is praxis?¹³ For radicals like Marx—and many others—praxis is the opposite of The Thing, of reification. Genuine praxis, then, is opposed to a regular activity aimed at objects and at the transformation of objects for human use—this would be the bourgeois attitude—which use is nothing else but a thing-related, repetitive doing, done by people being transformed into thing-related agents whose personal aims in practicing this are again thing-related by the way of acquiring things, mediated by the General Thing (money). Praxis is nothing more than a hypothesis according to which a doing is possible which is wholly subjective, its direction determined, too, by wholly subjective (personal and temporal) aims or, even better, done for its own sake—that is, for the beauty, pleasure, joy contained in the doing—and its impermanence and mutability. The philhellene Marx sometimes equated this with play.

Play—in the spirit of classical German humanism, especially that of **Friedrich von Schiller**—is something not subordinated to necessity. Hence the liberating effect of praxis in Marx’s philosophy. **Giorgio Agamben** is quite wrong when he believes that “labor” is Marx’s kind of praxis. On the contrary, it is liberated labor; that is, nonlabor or even antilabor. “Work” is the negative counterpart of modernity in which the paradigm of autonomous, not reified human activity is art. Marx is perfectly clear on this from the beginning.¹⁴ Labor is the evil from which communism is expected to save humankind. Applied science, applied

art, applied philosophy—that is, applied in the service of commodity-producing, alienated labor, the end result of which is capital—is as much an anathema to Marx as it was or would have been Goethe, Schiller, Hölderlin, the Schlegel brothers, Fichte, and the young Schelling.

But Nietzsche says—in section 64 of *Beyond Good and Evil*, IV—that “knowledge for its own sake” is the last trick of morals; we shall be embroiled in it for one last time.¹⁵ “Morals” here is of the genealogical kind: a morals deduced. In Marx, morals do not appear at all—morals justifying reification and commodification would be an abomination—but communism as the opposite of reified labor is not deduced; it is presupposed as a critical instrument in the Kantian style. This—together with the entire German *Klassik*—would have looked to Nietzsche like a naïveté. For him, the impurities of the spirit are appealing because they free the living soul from the tyranny of emasculating morals.¹⁶ *Irrespect* is no stranger to Marx, and he was even less naive than Nietzsche concerning usefulness.

The one thing needful might be the transformation of the critical instrument—communism—into a *Lebensform* (which is slightly more than a way of life). In the 225 years of the Movement, it has been tried—this was the (unrealized) idea of a communist party, of a transcending movement that is the modern successor of a *hairesis*, of a specific philosophical practice—frequently to preempt communism as a situation by a liberated praxis within an oppressive and repressive society. Actually,

15 “Die Erkenntnis um ihrer selbst willen”—das ist der letzte Falsstrick, den die Moral legt: damit verwickelt man sich noch einmal völlig in sie.” Friedrich Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, in *Nietzsche: Kritische Studienausgabe*, vol. 5, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (MUNICH: DTV/DE GRUYTER, 1993), 85.

16 Nietzsche says in his summation of the Goncourts’ journal, “man hat von Zeit zu Zeit das Bedürfniß d’un encanaillement de l’esprit” and “wir sind le siècle des chefs-d’œuvre de l’irrespect.” Friedrich Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente II: 1887–1889*, vol. 13 of *Nietzsche: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari (MUNICH: DTV/DE GRUYTER, 1993), 117, 119.

17 Ernst Bloch knew a thing or two about utopia: “Someone who has it good finds it easy to be good. Hegel does the same thing, but at the wrong place; rather than being good, he finds everything good, in order not to have to be good himself.” Ernst Bloch, *The Spirit of Utopia*, trans. Anthony A. Nassar (STANFORD, CA: STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2000), 179. (In the original German: “Wem es gut geht, der hat es leicht, gut zu sein. Auch

Hegel tut so, aber am falschen Platz, nicht gut seiend, sondern alles gut findend, um nicht selber gut sein zu müssen.” Ernst Bloch, *Geist der Utopie*, 2nd version, in *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 3 [FRANKFURT: SUHRKAMP, 1964], 226.)

“the idea of a communist party” is more utopian than the idea of communism itself.¹⁷ An experimental cell of the future amid the alienated and reified conditions of advanced capitalism? This is where the Comintern and the 1960s—hippies, New Left, *groupuscules*—agreed. All of these needed drugs, whether of the Red Army or the marijuana variety. All ended up in glorying in resistance only.

The communist practice Marx had in mind—*the useful knowledge*—was philosophy. When he is criticizing Hegel’s doctrine of the state, he has this to say: “The bureaucracy can be superseded [*aufgehoben*] only if the universal interest becomes a particular interest *in reality* and not merely in thought, *in abstraction*, as it does in Hegel. And this can take place only if the *particular* interest really becomes the *universal* interest.”¹⁸ What then does “*in reality*” mean? Perhaps that the subjective becomes the general case and that conceptual imagination can steer affective and material life without constraints deemed natural. The general case in bourgeois society—in class society—is neutrality vis-à-vis the particular, since the particular (egoism) is crime, insubordination, something inferior because it cannot be conceptualized, because it is *desire*. And desire is absence; it is *lack*. Hence it is nonautonomous, dependent, servile. But for Marx, this crime, the “concrete” “*in reality*,” is precisely that which is supreme. Here he is close to the Schlegels, to Hamann, to Novalis—to the Romantics. Labor—the life-work of the proletarian—

¹⁸ Marx, *Early Writings*, 109; emphasis in the original.

¹⁹ “The exchange value of labour, the realization of which takes place in the process of exchange with the capitalist, is therefore presupposed, predetermined, and only undergoes the formal modification which every only ideally posited price takes on

is, Marx says, only exchange value for the worker but use value for the capitalist.¹⁹

The “*in reality*” applies thus only to the capitalist. Hence, it is only a partial-particular reality, the reality of a “*Stand*,” of an “estate,” of a “calling” (as Hegel would have it). A content objectified through the agency of another.

But this is perverse; it is the work of critical analysis exercised by those who are only exchange value into themselves—the

philosophical and maybe artistic practice of those whose “calling” in bourgeois society condemns them to the inability of such a practice unless this position is conquered by subversion, preempting the ultimate revolution—by forming themselves into a transgressive subject (“the communist party”) that might become an *intermundium* of an intellectual imitation of an example that does not exist. We know that such attempts historically were instances of asceticism, heroism, fanaticism, cruelty, self-mutilation, terror, maniacal domination, and sheer madness. What has been conquered is not exploitation but banality.²⁰ But what of a transgressive practice that may avoid cruelty toward oneself and others and adopt a symbolic, preemptive routine that does not betray the transcending ambitions of a radical critique while it goes beyond bold gesturing and beyond holding empty metaphoric power in a permissive environment that allows it because it does not really threaten anything of true importance, as so often happens in the “art world” and similar milieus? The usual recipe in the history of the Movement has almost always been the therapeutic and at the same time self-improving road to the downtrodden under the time-honored banner of solidarity, the emancipatory practice of joining partial and local struggles, an exercise in self-abasement and humility—suffering evil gladly in the service of humanity but without trying to reform or ennoble the victims of oppression whose very alienation was a badge of the human condition to be changed, without attempting to dominate (morally and intellectually) the potential rebels with one’s allegedly superior wisdom. This was the admirable way of the nineteenth-

when it is realized. It is not determined by the use value of labour. It has a use value for the worker himself only in so far as it is exchange value, not in so far as it produces exchange values. It has exchange value for capital only in so far as it is use value. It is a use value, as distinct from exchange value, not for the worker himself, but only for capital. The worker therefore sells labour as a simple, predetermined exchange value, determined by a previous process—he sells labour itself as objectified labour.” Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (LONDON: PENGUIN/NLR, 1993). Notebook 3: 306–7.

20

Compare the strange and intriguing chapters on Charles Fourier and Marx in Walter Benjamin’s *Passagen-Werk*. Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. V-2, ed. Theodor W. Adorno, Gershom Scholem, Rolf Tiedemann, and Hermann Schweppenhauser (FRANKFURT: SUHRKAMP, 1998), 764–823.



MLADEN STILINOVIC

Rad je bolest—Karl Marx

[Work Is a Disease—Karl Marx], 1981

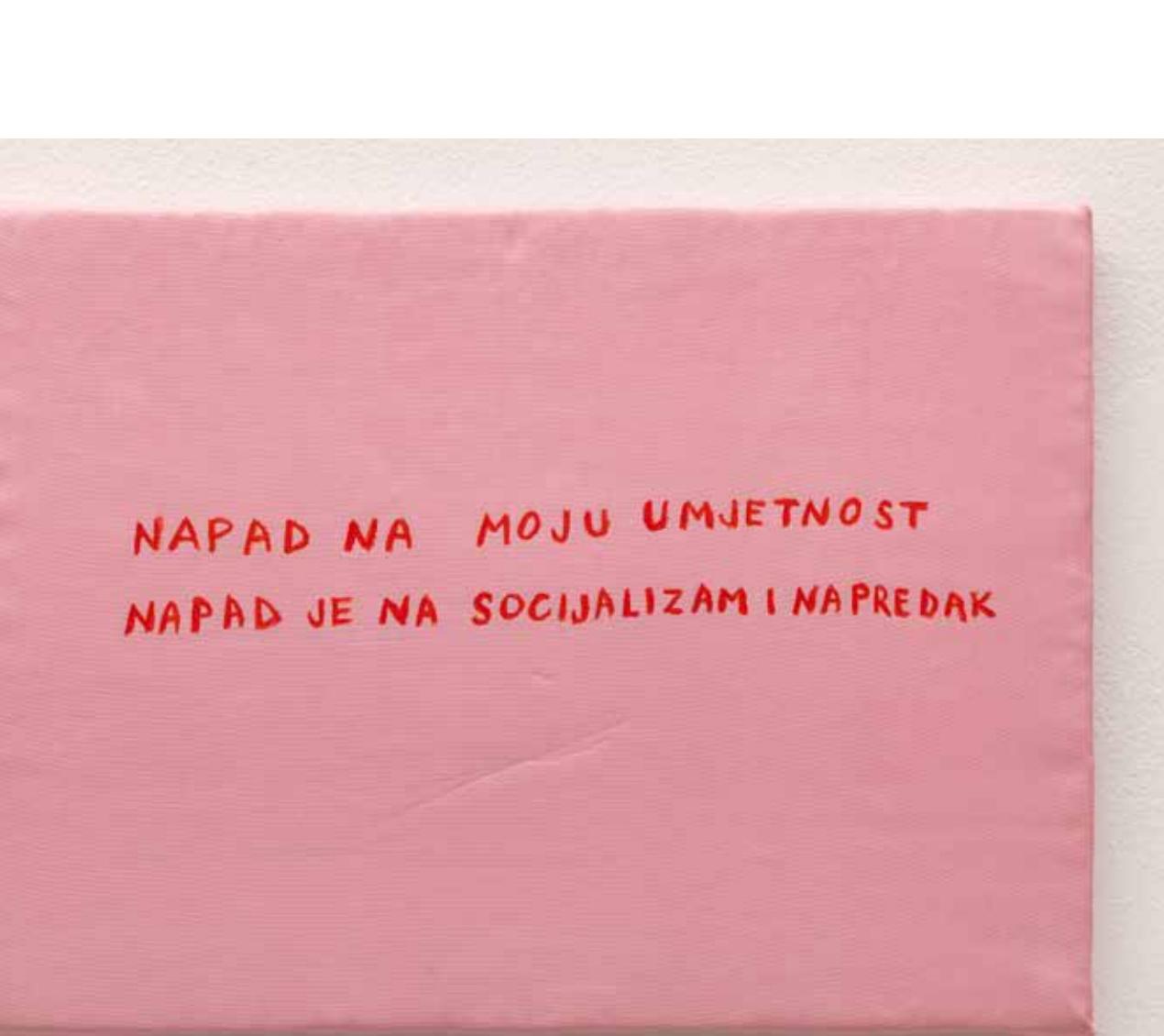
Acrylic on cardboard

century Russian “nihilist” revolutionaries: “going to the people.” But this meant abandoning the last semblance of critique: assuming a general—oppressed—human condition, acquiescing, and ultimately giving up all revolutionary hope. The parallels with Christianity—the postponement of transcendence into another world for the sake of love for the oppressed in this one—are obvious. See the cooperation of white Marxists with “colored” colonial nationalisms, ethnicisms, “communalisms,” tribalisms, and theocracies as exercises in rejecting sinful pride.

Philosophy as a discipline hostile, because of its conceptual and unavoidably universalist nature, to difference—and thus to inequality and hierarchy—is opposed per se to such spiritual adventures. Radical philosophy is no academic specialism: Marx and Nietzsche, Benjamin and Debord were excluded from the university, as were Descartes and Spinoza. Academic philosophy has always been an affair of ecclesiastic hierarchs and, later, their secularized successors, the professors. Philosophy may be a “calling,” but it is still not a profession; it is still extraneous to the serious business of science, of empirical and quantifiable social research, and of historical philology. Like art, it is “heterogeneous” in Bataille’s sense, superfluous to the smooth functioning of the

factory called “present.” Philosophy can be and is frequently falsified and defrauded. Still, it cannot be without open, possibly infinite, questioning, and so—although methodically uncertain and despite doubts as to its ability to deliver any kind of useful “results,” as well as its relevance to reasonable folk—it persists as a problematic self-reflective practice that requires absolute freedom for its continued existence. I cannot conceive of anything more eminently practical. The very absurdity of philosophy is a guarantee for the emergence of possible future liberating discourses, traditionally dubbed “communism,” in order to stress their decided “otherness” and ability (or even likelihood) to cause scandal and elicit hate. If philosophy did not exist, who could rationally combat the suffering and humiliation that is accepted by all those who are worldly wise? Who would try to refute the necessity of a human condition apparently reconciled with domination, injustice, and futility? For these seem to be part of any life imaginable. Who would dare otherwise to inject imagination in the dissection of human affairs? Not so long ago, women and children and people of color were held to be not much more than chattel. People believed that excellent physiological and moral reasons supported such a state of affairs. Those reasons have been successfully demolished by critical philosophy.

Communism is something toward which that demolition work is pointing without the demolition workers being able to tell us—or themselves—what that something really is. *J*



NAPAD NA MOJU UMJEVNOST
NAPAD JE NA SOCIJALIZAM I NAPREDAK

MLADEN STILINOVIC

Napad na moju umjetnost napad je na socijalizam i napredak

[An Attack on My Art Is an Attack on Socialism and Progress], 1977

Acrylic on artificial silk





PARTISAN ART

The project *How to Think Partisan Art?* (2009) by Miklavž Komelj, Lidija Radojević, Tanja Velagić, and Jože Barši involved extensive research and contemporary readings of partisan art in Slovenia.

The presentation in the current exhibition is based on the set up of the permanent collection at the Moderna Galerija Ljubljana, curated by Miklavž Komelj (and others) and designed by Novi Kolektivizem. *JK*

Marijan Pfeifer

Na juriš [Storming], ca. 1945

Gelatin silver print

NEXT PAGE

Slavko Smolej

Okupator je razobesil lepake z imeni ustreljenih talcev [Lists of Hostages

Shot by the Occupiers], 1941

Gelatin silver print





Art of Partisan Resistance

Miklavž Komelj

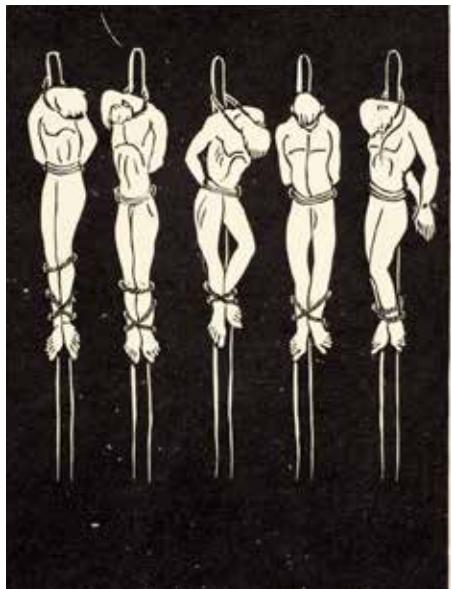
After the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was defeated by the German army in 1941 and its territory divided between German, Italian, and Hungarian occupying forces, leaving part of the power in certain parts of the country in the hands of the local fascists, a mass antifascist folk uprising occurred (the earliest one in Europe). The national liberation struggle of the Yugoslavian peoples merged with a struggle against the social conditions that had led to the rise of fascism; in this, the Yugoslavian peoples united on a new, federative basis and in the spirit of “brotherhood and unity.” At the second meeting of AVNOJ (the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) in Jajce on 29 November 1943, a new federative Yugoslavia was formally founded. In it, Slovenia (which had announced the annexation of the Primorska region by a decree shortly before that) became a federative republic. To achieve its goals, the national liberation struggle had to grow into a full-scale revolution to lay the foundations for a socialist transformation of society. The postwar sociopolitical dynamics of socialist Yugoslavia and its particular path in relation to the West and the East cannot be understood without knowledge of the fact that Yugoslavian socialism, unlike that in the countries of the Eastern bloc, was not introduced by the dictates of the geopolitical division of spheres of interest after the Second World War but stemmed from an indigenous revolution involving the masses.

Partisan detachments were the initial form of armed resistance. During the war they had begun to transform into the army of the new country, with divisions and corps, but the name “Partisan”—which acquired a special meaning in Yugoslavia—also stuck as the name of a new collective subjectivity bringing social transformation.

In other parts of Yugoslavia, the liberation movement was directly controlled by the Communist Party. In Slovenia, however, it was directed by the Liberation Front, an organization that united a variety of antifascist groups, with cultural workers among its founding groups. At first, the Liberation Front was based in Ljubljana, which was in the Italian occupation zone. Later its leaders joined the Partisans. The Liberation Front program listed as one of its goals the transformation of the “Slovenian national character,” meaning a kind of “cultural revolution” (the term used by certain Partisan cultural workers). The awareness of the indispensability of culture and art for social transformation (and even national survival when a society is jeopardized by an occupier’s reign of terror) was closely linked to questions about what such a transformation would bring to culture and art.

The link between the liberation movement and art was not limited to culture alone. On the deepest level, it existed in the very creativity the liberation movement brought to resetting the coordinates of the possible and the impossible—or, as Lenin wrote: **revolution must be treated as an art**. The poet Karel Destovnik Kajuh, who fell as a Partisan, coined the phrase “we, the modern Raphaels” to describe the new collective subjectivity that was taking shape in the Partisan struggle.

Such a concept of the new collective subjectivity demanded that the people who joined the armed resistance develop all their talents and abilities, including those for art.



Lojze Lavrič, *Na kolih* [Impaled], 1943. Linocut on paper



Nikolaj Pirnat, *Bore se hakor levi iz dneva v dan* [Fighting Like Lions, Day after Day], 1944. Etching



France Mihelič, *Mrtvaška ptica* [Deathly Bird], 1945. Linocut on paper

The idea of the Partisan movement also presupposed a systematic political, cultural, and artistic awakening of the common people. Underpinning the process of encouraging everyone to write, draw, and so on (part of this production was published in the numerous gazettes produced even by the smallest combat units) was the conviction that awakening the creativity of the masses—regardless of how crude its articulations—was a far-reaching break in the way art structured society. This break was to enable the emergence of some as-yet-nonexistent great art at a later date. In evaluating this mass culture there was no question of lowering the criteria or proclaiming that anything goes in art; it was instead an awakening of a new critical attitude in relation to the existing art and its social role. This (self-)critical attitude was self-reflexively summed up by Nikolaj Pirnat in the question he posed on behalf of the noted prewar artists who had gathered in Partisan-liberated territory in 1944: “Who gives us license to be art?” **J**

Miklavž Komelj, “Art of the Partisan Resistance,” in *20th Century: Continuities and Ruptures*, permanent exhibition guidebook, ed. Marko Jenko (LJUBLJANA: MODERNA GALERIJA, 2011), 24–28.



Dorde Andrejević Kun, *Na barikadama* (Španski gradanski rat)

[On the barricades (Spanish Civil War)], 1937–1938, Linocut on paper

How to Think Partisan Art?

Miklavž Komelj

The primary aim of our research (which was started in 2008 under the working title “How to Think Partisan Art?”)⁰¹ is not to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of this art, which was created from 1941 to 1945 during the revolutionary antifascist struggle of the Yugoslav nations (which we summarize here under the signifier “partisan struggle”). We are primarily interested in how the partisan struggle (within the process of creating a new revolutionary subjectivity) established new coordinates for thinking art. Partisan art, therefore, interests us mainly as a break, the birthing of an empty space for not-yet-existing work.



Partisan art left the horizon of bourgeois society by breaking with the existing order and joining the revolutionary movement’s struggle, thus entering into the process of building a new world.



- 01 Research was done by Miklavž Komelj, Lidija Radojević, Tanja Velagić, and Jože Barši.
- This process allowed even not explicitly politicized artistic articulation to become deeply political. Since art at that time was not a “substitute” for politics or struggle, its role in this struggle cannot be reduced to instrumentalization. Art has, within this struggle, produced a certain new autonomy, which was not identitary (vulgar instrumentalization of art and ideologies of “absolute art” were rejected as

manifestations of the same logic; **Boris Kidrič** speaks about this clearly) but has emerged as a thematization of the unbearable tension within which this new autonomy heroically defied its own impossibility. This moment connected partisan art deeply to the partisan struggle, establishing new coordinates for the possible and the impossible.



The point of departure for the research in *How to Think Partisan Art?* is the material from the Slovenian People's Liberation Struggle, although our problematic is not set within the confines of national culture but within the context of both the Yugoslav partisan struggle and the worldwide context of the revolutionary movements of the twentieth century. The dialectics of national liberation and revolution, as reflected by partisan art, connected national liberation with liberation from nationalism. *J*

FROM Miklavž Komelj, "How to Think Partisan Art?" in
Political Practices of (Post-)Yugoslav Art: RETROSPECTIVE 01,
exh. cat., ed. Zorana Dojić and Jelena Vesić
(BELGRADE: PRELOM KOLEKTIV, 2010), 36–41.

France Mihelič
Hijena [Hyena],
from the series
"Kravava bratovščina"
[Bloodthirsty
Brotherhood], 1945
Linocut on paper



1945

Hijenu

F. Mihelčík



Lojze Lavrič, *Lutke* [Puppets], 1944

Mixed media

Partisan Puppet Theater in Slovenia

Edi Majaron



In early 1920s, Czech community (Česká obec) puppet stages gave rise to the first Slovenian marionette theaters, “founded by sport and gymnastics organizations, *Sokol*.” By 1939, the number of active Slovenian puppet groups rose to forty-seven. One such ensemble was the puppet theater in the small village of Črni Potok near Čabar, started by Lojze Lavrič (1914–1954) and his supporters in 1933. As this area was under constant pressure from German nationalists, Lavrič and his group considered their operation to also be a political one. Following his release from prison in Italy just before Italy’s capitulation in 1943, Lavrič was made leader of the partisan courier station in Čabar. He carved the theater’s puppet heads in his spare time. In October 1944, Lavrič was moved to the Slovenian Communist Party’s Central Technique studio, which had previously engaged painters Alenka Gerlovič and Ive Šubic; sculptor Milena Dolgan; painters Ivan Seljak-Čopič, France Slana, and Vinko Globocnik; and, for a short period of time, painters France Mihelič and Nikolaj Pirnat. The theater’s marionettes were designed and/or made by Lavrič and Pirnat. The clothing was sewn from the cloth of the Allied forces’ parachutes, which were also used to build the sets. The disentangled parachute ropes served as marionette strings.

The premiere of the partisan puppet theater took place at the Črmošnjice fire station on December 31, 1944, followed by a second performance on New Year’s Day. The show consisted of short variety scenes that began after the theater manager had addressed the public. The program opened with Lavrič’s animation of a gymnast performing in a sailor suit, followed first by a clown act and then by Adolf Hitler barking a speech in Maribor dialect mixed with German words. The program continued with an SS soldier, a fascist, and a member of the White Guard singing the popular ditty



Lojze Lavrič

Luthe [Puppets], 1944

Mixed media



“Paris.” Next on stage was a drunken sailor who sang the old tune “Oh, du lieber Augustin ... alles ist hin” before collapsing under a lamppost. This was followed by a ballerina dancing to the melody of “Lili Marleen” and singing about the fall of the Third Reich. The New Year’s performance finished with a scene about an artillery mule who is fed up with all the heavy loads, poor food rations, and constant kicking; it rebels against a partisan named Pavliha and then breaks into a song and dance to the popular tune of “Bel ami.”

The success of the opening night encouraged the group to perform in Črnomelj, the capitol of the liberated territories, where they opened with *Georgie and the Three Bandits*, a children’s play written by painter Gerlovič. The show told the story of three bandits who carry Georgie’s parents off to a concentration camp and burn down their house. Georgie is taken in by Franca, a girl courted by John, a member of the White Guard. Franca, who does not like the traitorous John, falls in love with partisan Pavliha and joins the partisan movement together with Georgie. They decide to free Georgie’s parents and put a stop to the atrocities caused by the three bandits. Pavliha kills them all with a single bullet. The program also included acts from the original show—such as the clown, the gymnast, “Lili Marleen,” and the artillery mule—as well as an improvised scene in which Pavliha asks the audience whether they should put Hitler on trial. Everyone agrees, so Pavliha brings him on stage and demands that the audience participate in sentencing him to death. Upon the audience’s request, he would shoot Hitler, thereby bringing the show to an end. *sf*

QUOTES FROM Edi Majaron, “Partisan Puppet Theater,” a partial summary of the paper delivered at the international symposium “Culture during WW2 (1939–1945); TRANSLATED BY Darja Marinšek.

New York Stock Exchange Transactions

IBM

New York Stock E

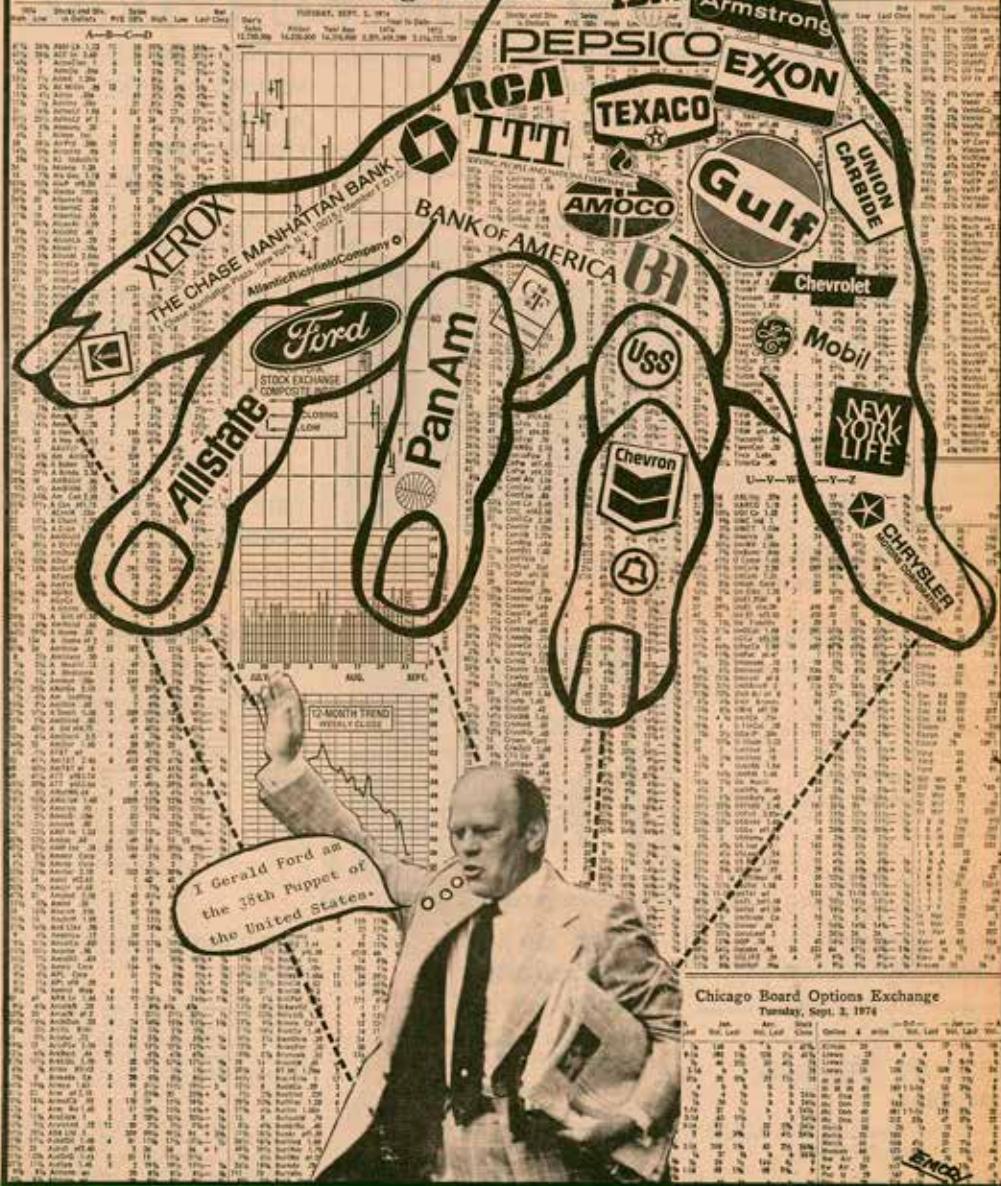


PHOTO COLLAGE BY EMORY

EMORY DOUGLAS

"I Gerald Ford Am the 38th Puppet of the United States," September 21, 1974

Print on paper

Black Panther Party

Platform and Program

1. We Want Freedom. We Want Power To Determine The Destiny Of Our Black Community.

We believe that Black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We Want Full Employment For Our People.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the White American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We Want An End To The Robbery By The Capitalists Of Our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us, and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.



EMORY DOUGLAS

All Power to the People, March 9, 1969

Print on paper

4. We Want Decent Housing Fit For The Shelter Of Human Beings.

We believe that if the White Landlords will not give decent housing to our Black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We Want Education For Our People That Exposes The True Nature Of This Decadent American Society. We Want Education That Teaches Us Our True History And Our Role In The Present-Day Society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We Want All Black Men To Be Exempt From Military Service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the White racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We Want An Immediate End To Police Brutality And Murder Of Black People.

We believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing Black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We Want Freedom For All Black Men Held In Federal, State, County And City Prisons And Jails.

We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We Want All Black People When Brought To Trial To Be Tried In Court By A Jury Of Their Peer Group Or People From Their Black Communities, As Defined By The Constitution Of The United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the Black community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and are being, tried

by all-White juries that have no understanding of the “average reasoning man” of the Black community.

10. We Want Land, Bread, Housing, Education, Clothing, Justice And Peace.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect of the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

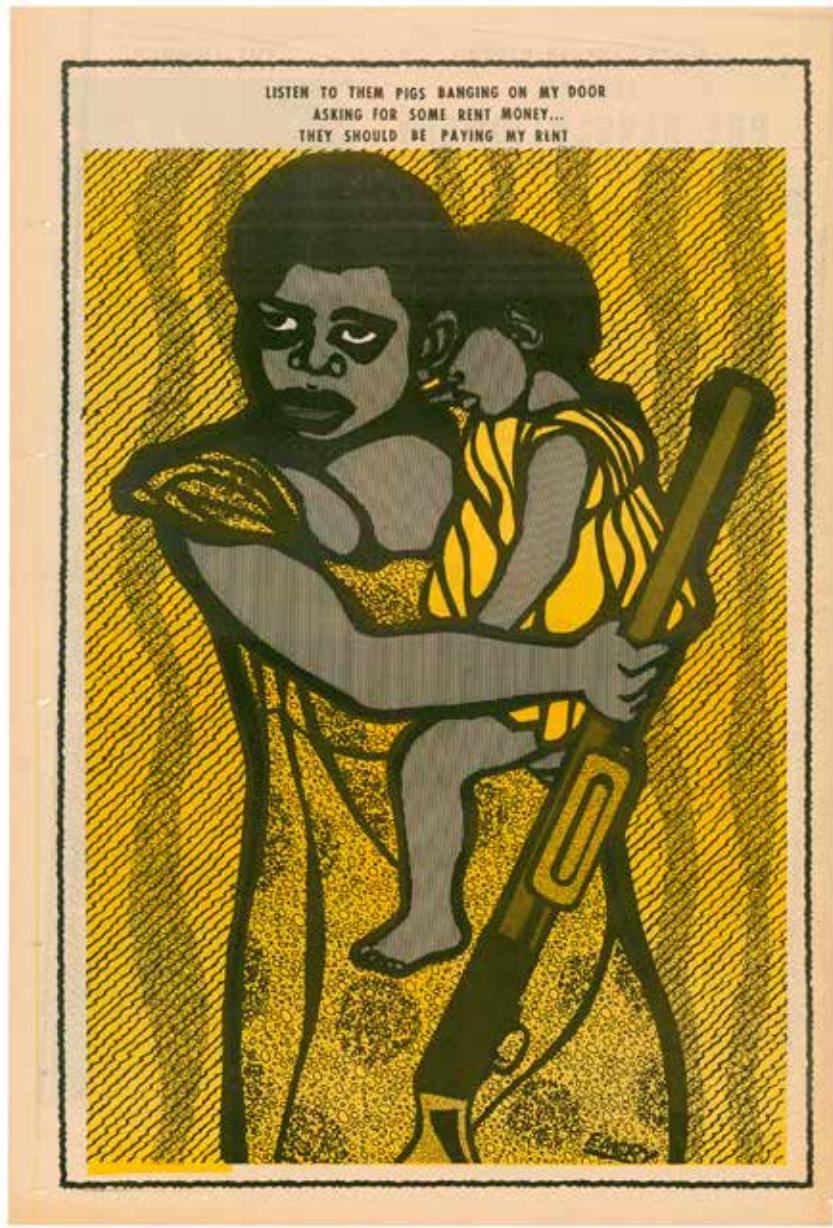
We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. **J**

WRITTEN: October 15, 1966

SOURCE: *War against the Panthers*, by Huey P. Newton, 1980

TRANSCRIPTION/MARKUP & CORRECTIONS: MIM/Brian Baggins

ONLINE VERSION: Marxist History Archive (marxists.org), 2001



EMORY DOUGLAS

“...They Should Be Paying My Rent.” February 27, 1971

Print on paper



**DMITRY GUTOV &
DAVID RIFF**

Институт Лифшица [Lifshitz

Institute], 1993/2013

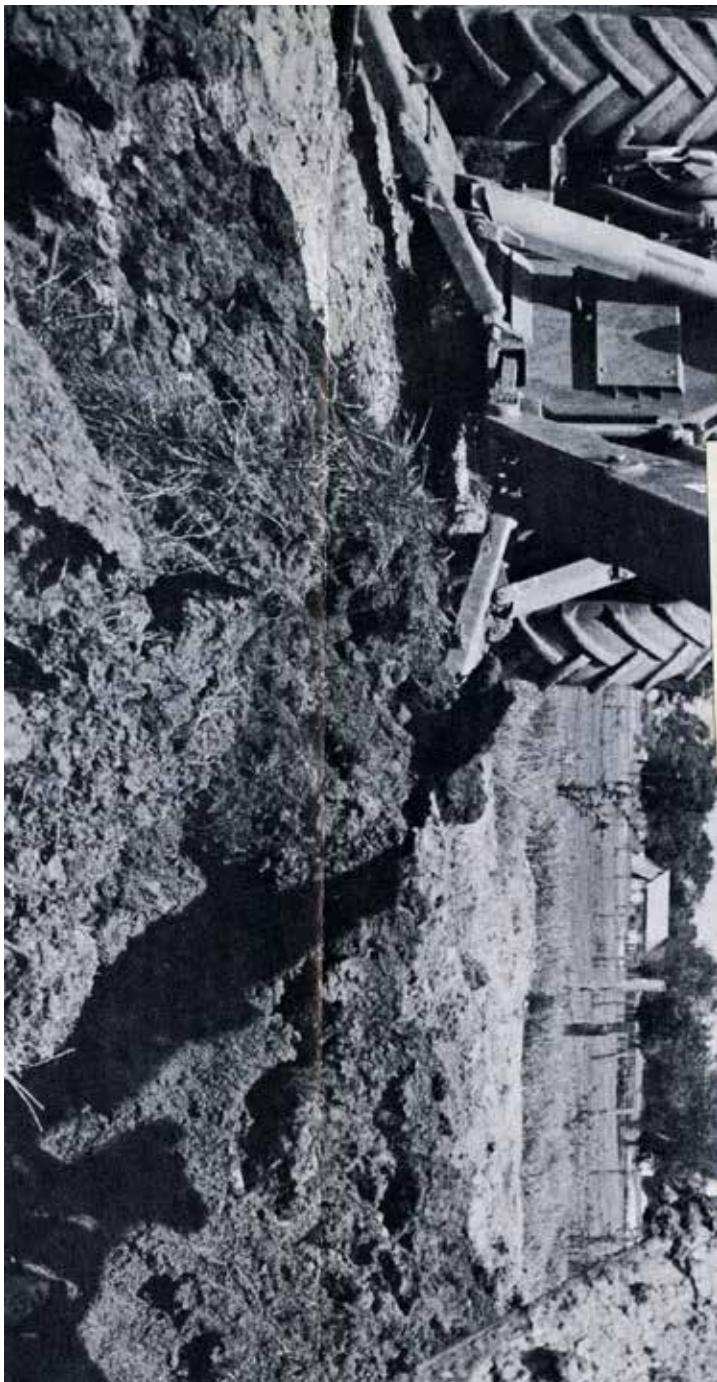
Documents (facsimiles) on panel

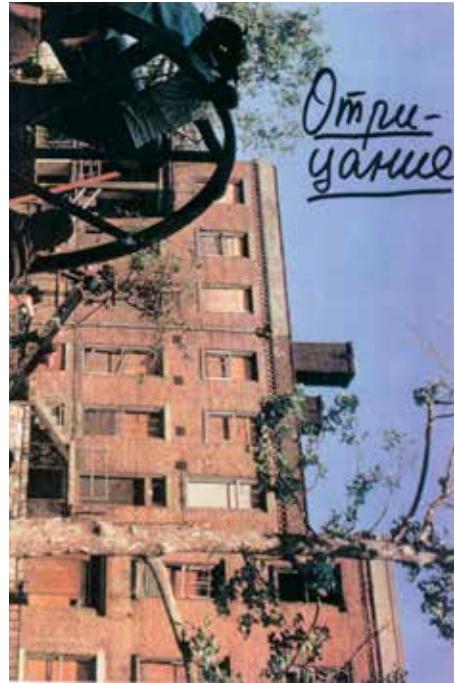
Folder cover from research archive

Pro domo. (On Personal Affairs). 1970s.

Folder cover from research archive.

The Devil. 1970s.





Folder cover from research archive.
Negation. 1970s.

Excerpts from “An Autobiography of Ideas”

Mikhail Lifshitz

Mikhail Lifshitz (1905–1983) was one of the Soviet era’s most original and controversial Marxist aesthetic philosophers, a self-avowed conservative and “ordinary Marxist” with a radical dialectical critique of contemporary culture. Notorious for his highly informative and nuanced polemics against modern art in the 1960s (collected in “The Crisis of Ugliness”), Lifshitz’s main work dates to thirty years earlier and came out of his encounter with Soviet avant-garde art when he was a student and later a lecturer at the Vkhutemas-Vkhutein art school. In the following fragments from an interview made shortly before his death, he describes this encounter and its implications for his work.

Where do I see the real point of departure and the main situation defining my life? I would put it like this: it is a situation of great social change, a change that is not the negation of humanity’s cultural achievements, but their restoration, the negation of negation. By this, I mean the negation of the dissolution of humanity’s intellectual values in the age of the old class civilization’s demise. The popular intellectual tendencies of my youth could not accept such a line of questioning, as I came to realize. It was in their context that I encountered a variety of phenomena, all of them deeply alien to me and all closely interconnected like branches growing from a single tree. This became clearer to me when I gained a deeper understanding of Lenin and as I passed travails of the time. Vulgar Marxism, as

broad as its influence may have been, was saturated with the same spirit of one-sided negation and had the same social grounding as the superficially triumphant fashionable forms of “leftist” art.

Beneath the colorful diversity of avant-garde leftism, there lay, or rather boiled, a certain spontaneous social energy. The revolution, though proletarian in essence, had also dislocated a huge stratum of small property holders and their dependents, who actually made up the majority of old Russia’s population. Half-crazed by the horrors of the modern age, the petit bourgeois philistine is easily seduced by radical demands that, at least in his mind, appear more “leftist” than even the revolution itself. This spontaneous energy gave rise to a multitude of phenomena in politics and culture, all of them called “infantile disorders of ultra-leftism.” In art, these were reflected in various tendencies, all of them in the thrall of a fantastic enthusiasm for destruction and negation. They could not understand Lenin’s idea of the organic alliance of the proletarian revolution with the highest results of older culture. Their avant-gardism was an expression of the greatest danger facing the revolution: the growing pressure of petit bourgeois

spontaneity. It led to economic chaos, disorganization on a mass scale, and all kinds of confusion, and with it came anarcho-decadent rebellion in the cultural field. These were painful symptoms in an epoch of great change. With the revolution, the masses crossed an important historical boundary and came to realize that a new era of humanity was dawning. But those who wanted to control the consciousness of the masses fanatically preached their falsehoods: novelty despite reason, the new for the sake of the new as an anarchist cult.



It was my deep conviction that the communist revolution represents the renewal, purification, and emancipation of the entire sum of morality and culture in people’s lives. The goal was not just to give back to the people the developmental means of science, art, culture, and morality of which they had been deprived. Instead, the revolution would provide the grounds for a revival of morality, art, and culture. I firmly held to the position that genuine culture, if one can call it that, cannot help but bear the stamp of communism. In any case, it can always be translated into the language of communism. On the other hand, there is only a genuine

relation to communist revolution in that which emancipates and gives the broadest of development perspectives to the frozen creative powers of society. I gleaned these ideas from the writings and speeches of **Vladimir Ilyich Lenin** (especially in the period after the October Revolution) and came to understand them as his legacy.

To be truthful, I must say that in the mid-1920s, my convictions still had a utopian aspect. This was the utopia of an immanent synthesis, all too easily leading to a new Renaissance, in which highly developed artistic culture would fuse with the deep popular movements from below. In fact, this fusion demanded many more complicated and contradictory mediating links. My ideas in those years were of course naive. Formally, you could even call them mistaken. But as we know, **Engels** felt that formal-economic “falsehoods” could actually be true in a global, historical sense. In that broader sense, I still have not deviated from that older idea and do not advise anyone to ever lose confidence in it. I have had to suffer some disappointments in my own illusions, but they were never colored by the bitterness of skepticism. On the contrary, a loss of illusion was precisely what allowed me to gain an even greater faith. I

grew even more firmly convinced: to reach the goal that stood at the center of my entire intellectual life, history had embarked on a highly complicated, twisty, long path, and it had plenty of time in reserve. Essentially, only that which goes through such stages of self-immersion can stand. That is, I didn’t just fail to lose my historical perspective but learned from the social and personal experiences since.

Let me return to my philosophical concerns. My main subject was dialectics as a theory of the unity of opposites, and the turn from relativity to the absolute and the eternal, from pure negativity to conservation and creation. The 1920s were characterized by a one-sided understanding of dialectics as the constant negation of the old. But from **Lenin**, I knew that there was another side to the matter. His last works contain warnings against blindly deifying the revolution and exaggerating the idea of negation. This went unheeded by those who spread Marxism in its trivialized form, spoiled by the vulgar sediment of the 1920s.

Another direction in my research, colored by the same conflict with vulgar sociology and formalism, was to restore the system of **Marx** and

Engels's views on aesthetics, which had been considered nonexistent until then. Needless to say, this was no scholastic aesthetic but a philosophy of culture in which an important place falls to the critique of bourgeois civilization from an aesthetico-moral standpoint and the connected question of art's historical fate. This was something new at the time and might even have seemed "non-Marxist."

My goal was to show the presence of that aesthetic or, to put it better, aesthetico-moral basis whose absence is often hypocritically bemoaned by the opponents of Marxism or those who deviate from it so easily. In reality, intellectual-aesthetic content is present in Marxism from the beginning, in the very nature of the theory. Even if it presents a precise, economically founded revolutionary science, the resulting worldview retains a high-humanist reserve of that ideal, revealing it consistently and gradually at all stages, all the way to the heights of political decisions, as one can see in the activities of Marx and Lenin themselves.

The change in my own aesthetic views came with my growing interest in philosophy, and the conflict with conventional taste only deepened. I openly appealed to

the traditions of classical antiquity and the classics of the Renaissance, brushing aside the empty reflection of commonplace innovativeness. But art and literature were dominated by vulgar-sociological and avant-gardist ideas, both equally close to the relativism of a Western "sociology of knowledge" or to the "Marxology" of what was later to become the Frankfurt School, all of them decisively ignorant of Lenin's understanding of how revolution and culture are interrelated.

In that sense, the views I had developed lay in contradiction to the dominant schemes of sociological art history and literary scholarship. I presented them in 1927 in a lecture titled "Dialectics in the History of Art," held for the faculty and students of the Vkhutein. I still have the theses. The lecture was a success but provoked perplexity and ire among the more "leftist" professors, such as David Shterenberg. The second session was visited by an entire brigade of young snobs, students of Vladimir Fritsche from Moscow University, who argued that my line of questioning was outdated. But my student-friends and the more plebeian public supported me.

I continued to prepare my planned sketch of Marx's aesthetic views, whose first rough draft I made in

the same year of 1927. I managed to publish at least a part of it. Today, this attempt of my youth is also part of a collection of my work on Marx's philosophy of aesthetics and culture, written over 40 years, from 1927 to 1967.

Before I talk about the 1930s, the most important period of my activity, I must say that everything I will describe was only an underlying tendency from the previous decade. My ideas had no access to the broader arena of public opinion, and how could they, considering the brutal monopolies exerted by alternating and competing schools, contrary to the accustomed image of the "free 1920s." Such a monopoly in philosophy was exerted by **A. Debórin** and his school, while art history was dominated by **Vladimir Fritsche, V. Pereverziev**, and other smaller scholar-warlords who were feared by even **Anatoly Lunarcharsky** himself. My direction, lacking any and all organized position, had to suffer a defeat sooner or later. That happened in 1929, when I was accused of a "rightwing deviation in art," a strong accusation at the time. To continue became impossible, and I had to leave the Vkhutein. I accepted the invitation of **David Ryazanov**, who had approved of my first attempts on Marx's aesthetic views, and started

to work at the Marx-Engels Institute, where I was no longer responsible for aesthetics but for our larger Marxist endeavor, if one can put it like that. This is where, in 1930, I first met **Georg Lukács**.

Still, I didn't forget about my subject. I remember handing in a memorandum to the director of the institute with the proposal to create an Office for Aesthetics, for the aesthetic views of Marx and Engels. Nothing came of my initiative, which was met with no small irony, even if that irony was well-meaning. Ryazanov did not believe that Marx and Engels had their own system of aesthetic views. Nobody suspected as much back then....



In those years our whole propaganda machine devoted much attention to the analysis and appraisal of literature and art. This was one of the main ways of spreading the Marxist worldview and also one of the ways forward for its own inner development—and not just up above in literary circles but in the country at large. After all, any teacher of Russian literature would need to explain Pushkin or Gogol using the standard curriculum to guide and define the course of his thinking. What were these explanations, these

typical trains of thought? The main idea was that the old literature was a sociohistorical expression of the old class society. The same held true for visual art: when, for example, the Russian artist of the courtly epoch Venetsianov depicts a peasant girl, he presents her in the symbolic image of Primavera. She is wearing a beautiful sarafan, she is simple and fair, an embodiment of labor, joy, and poetry. Of course, it is not hard to prove (more or less convincingly) that such a view of peasant labor and the condition of the peasantry in Tsarist Russia has a courtly-idyllic character useful to the ruling class, that it is an idealization of life, a courtly convention, and a limited view, all of which are unacceptable. But what remains of all previous world culture, in that case? My example is taken at random, but it can be extended to anything; after all, the same holds true for Sophocles, Shakespeare, Goethe, and Pushkin, not to mention Dostoevsky or Tolstoy with their conservative social ideals. What else is there left to inherit for socialist culture and for the people? Formal, technical means, and mastery? Just the formal side?

Indeed, the popular renditions of “abstract” Marxism and pseudoscientific sociological

schools continued to present the cultural legacy of previous epochs as a product of technology, a big trove of formal devices, while the intellectual content of the great works of culture were seen as the dangerous poison of the exploiting class’s ideology. Proponents of this idea tacitly assumed that to take over the legacy of the old culture meant to learn the formal devices used by writers and artists in the past to prove ideas alien or even hostile to the people. True, they had helped to do something bad, but one could learn from the way they defended the interests of their class. Here, there were different shades of meaning. The sociologists of the Pereverzyev school saw all creative acts as something like a boomerang effect from the side of a certain social stratum in the very depths of struggle. Others, on the contrary, condemned such sociological one-sidedness and put more emphasis on the formal side and craftsmanship, to be appreciated and taken over.



In opposition to this mindset, the discussion against vulgar sociology unfolded in 1936 as one of the first big literary discussions of the decade. In short, it touched upon two main questions. What is the intellectual or spiritual content



DMITRY GUTOV & DAVID RIFF

Институт Лифшица [Lifshitz

Institute], 1993/2013

Documents (facsimiles) on panel

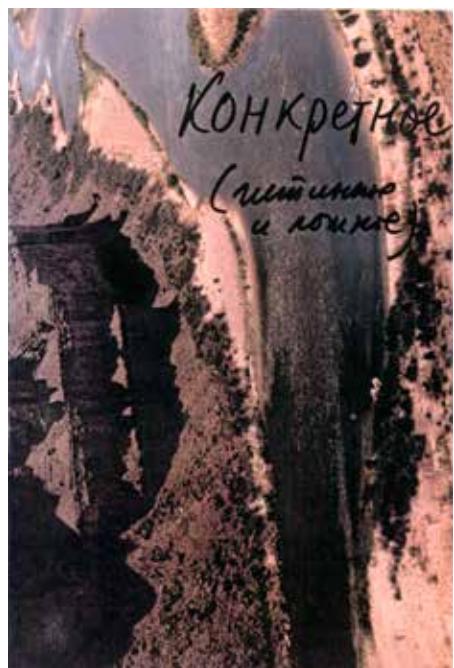
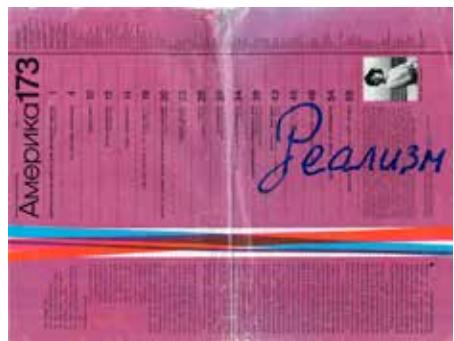
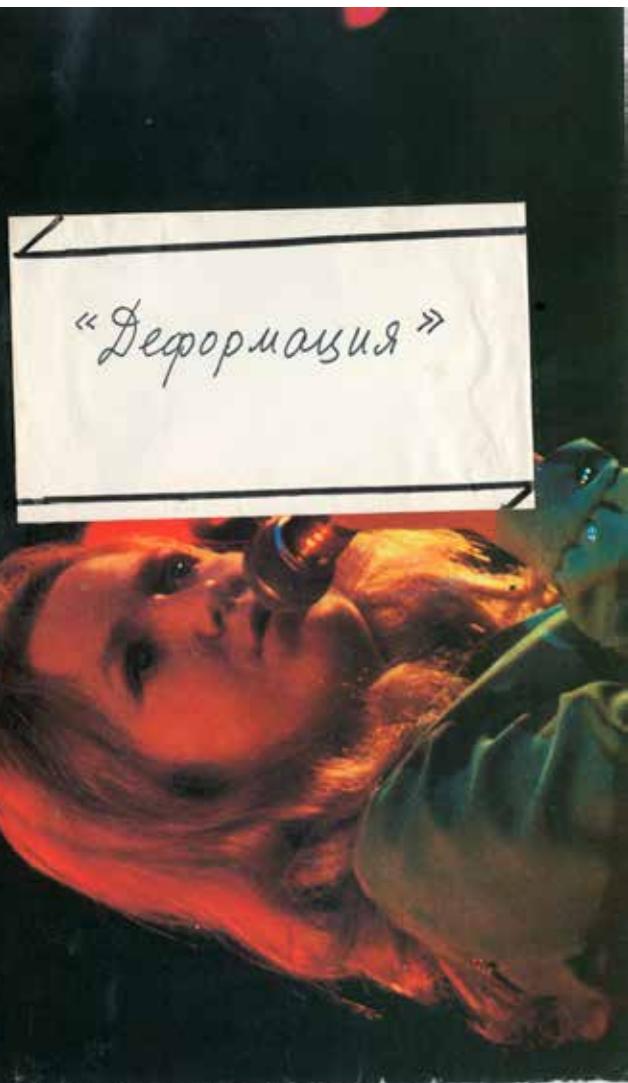
Folder cover from research archive.

Material on Modernism. 1970s.

Folder cover from research archive.

Deformations. 1970s.





Folder cover from research archive.
Realism. 1970s.

Folder cover from research archive.
The Concrete (True and False). 1970s.

defining the actual form of art? Is it objective truth in the broad sense of the word, including goodness and beauty, the truth of life itself, as reflected by the artist? Or is any artistic phenomenon a kind of “collective dream,” experienced by a social subject, class, or stratum as it struggles with other social subjects to divvy up the spoils of society? Is there an inner equality between the greatness of an artwork and its “people-ness,” its *narodnost'*, its relation to the emancipatory struggle of the majority, or are the great works of art no more than ideological documents left behind by slave owners, feudal lords, and capitalists? For us the discussion ran down to proving that artworks are always expressions of socially progressive principles and that the egotistical interests of the exploiting classes never added anything to art except for flaws and limitations. If such a thing as great literature existed in the past, it existed only in spite of those limits.

The result of the discussion of 1936 could be summed up in a general axiom: all craftsmanship is a translation of the truth of its content into the language of art, and not just in the sense of presenting a sum of evidence or knowledge in a pragmatic sense. The truth of art's content should be understood

as fidelity to reality, as justice in the social sense, and as good in the sense of morality. It is impossible for works of art to arise on the ground of reactionary social movements. There is a great opposition between these two phenomena. According to the representatives of the old vulgar-sociological and pseudo-Marxist schools, on the contrary, any ideas at all could lie at the root of the artwork. A special campaign was even waged against Plekhanov, who correctly held that false ideas cannot lie at the root of a genuine artwork. From the vantage of those arguing with that position, any content can form the basis of an artwork. All that matters is that an idea, even if reactionary or false, have a basis in society and that later people be capable of expressing these ideas in art with the necessary strength and craftsmanship.



Everything that came later was a further development and continuation of what I was able to invent and understand in those years. To be truthful, my theoretical insights were incommensurable to the few ideas that found their expression in print as philosophical-historical scholarship, or in publicistic and polemic articles. My major writings of the time were

collected in the first anthology of my work, where my sketch of Marx's aesthetic views appeared together with my articles from 1931–1933: "The Literary Legacy of Hegel," "Hegel and Dialectical Materialism," "Winckelmann and the Three Epoch of Bourgeois *Weltanschauung*." This publication was followed by my articles on Vico's philosophy of history and on Chernyshevsky's philosophical views.

Much of my life was devoted to polemics in the press and to my work as a teacher. I first developed the problem of art's *narodnost'* or "people-ness" in the face of class struggle in an extensive lecture I delivered in 1938. I always tended to spread my ideas in conversations and lectures. My activities also included working as an editor. It was my initiative to publish a series of classic social thinkers who usually did not fit so easily into the rubrics of ordinary academia. These were thinkers in the borderlands between philosophy, social theory, literature, and art, but whose activity clearly expressed the social potential of theoretical thinking. Their work combines a general philosophical scope with the study of man and society; it is hard to be more specific. If these notions were not so rusty, I would call it the

humanistic and anthropological line in the history of world culture and the history of philosophy.

The publishing houses Academia and Izogiz organized and published translations of works by Lessing, Winckelmann, and other authors on the borderline between philosophy and aesthetics, including Goethe, Schiller, and Vico. I was responsible for this series of literary monuments as the editor in chief. A plan to publish Montaigne is, as of yet, unrealized. There was an immediate connection between this editorial work and my theoretical interests, then linked to the compilation of two books with a propagandistic importance: the aforementioned anthology *Marx and Engels on Art* and the analogous *Lenin on Culture and Art*. In these I try to unearth and restore the classical line in the history of thought that had led to Marxist aesthetics and to the Marxist humanist worldview at large. This task necessitated the publication of thinkers whose work had sketched the future as a humanist-aesthetic utopia nothing like what later modernist-decadent writing imagined. Its cornerstones would be the truth of content and the truth of form. In other words, we meant the truth understood as the truth of human consciousness,

the discovery of the reality surrounding us, and as truth-justice, truth in its social, moral, and social senses.

Needless to say the path from the classical tradition to Marxism is one from utopia to science, to the ideal of scientific communism. But I would like to add: to science but not science understood as something detached. This means that certain aspects of the aesthetic utopia should not be lost in science and that the content of classical aesthetics should not be scrapped entirely on the road to the scientific ideal; on the contrary, everything truly valuable in its content should be restored. In a word, I imagine the path from utopia to science as a path to a science that does not cross out the real, living, sensuously rich content of humanity's previous dreams. *J*

SELECTED AND TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN BY David Riff

The full Russian original was published as *Из автобиографии идей*.
Беседы М.А. Лифшица. Контекст 1987. Литературно-теоретические исследования. М.: Наука, 1988. 264–318. For a full selection of Lifshitz's texts, including "An Autobiography of Ideas," in their original Russian, see <http://www.gutov.ru/lifshitz>.

FURTHER READING

- Gutov, Dmitry. "Learn, Learn, and Learn." In *Make Everything New: A Project on Communism*, ed. Grant Watson, Gerrie van Noord, and Gavin Everall. Dublin: Book Works and Project Arts Centre, 2006.
- Lifshitz, Mikhail. *The Philosophy of Art of Karl Marx*, trans. Ralph B. Winn. New York: Critics Group 1938. Reprinted with a foreword by Terry Eagleton. London: Pluto Press, 1973. (Retranslation by David Riff forthcoming.)
- *Ausgewählte Werke. I-II Bände.* B. I. Die dreißigen Jahre. Dresden, 1987
 - *Die Krise des Hässlichen: Vom Kubismus zur Pop-Art.* Dresden, 197. 180 S.; 2. veränd. Aufl. 1972. 160 S.
 - *La estética de Hegel // Historia y sociedad.* Mexico, 19. No. 15. 83–91.
 - *Karl Marx y la estética*, trans. Malena Barro (from the German translation). Havana: Edit. Arte y Literatura, 1976.
 - *La filosofía del arte de Karl Marx.* Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores, 1981. (Translated from the 1938 English translation.)

Stanley Mitchell. "Mikhail Lifshits: A Marxist Conservative." In *Marxism and the History of Art*, ed. Andrew Hemingway. London: Pluto Press, 2006.

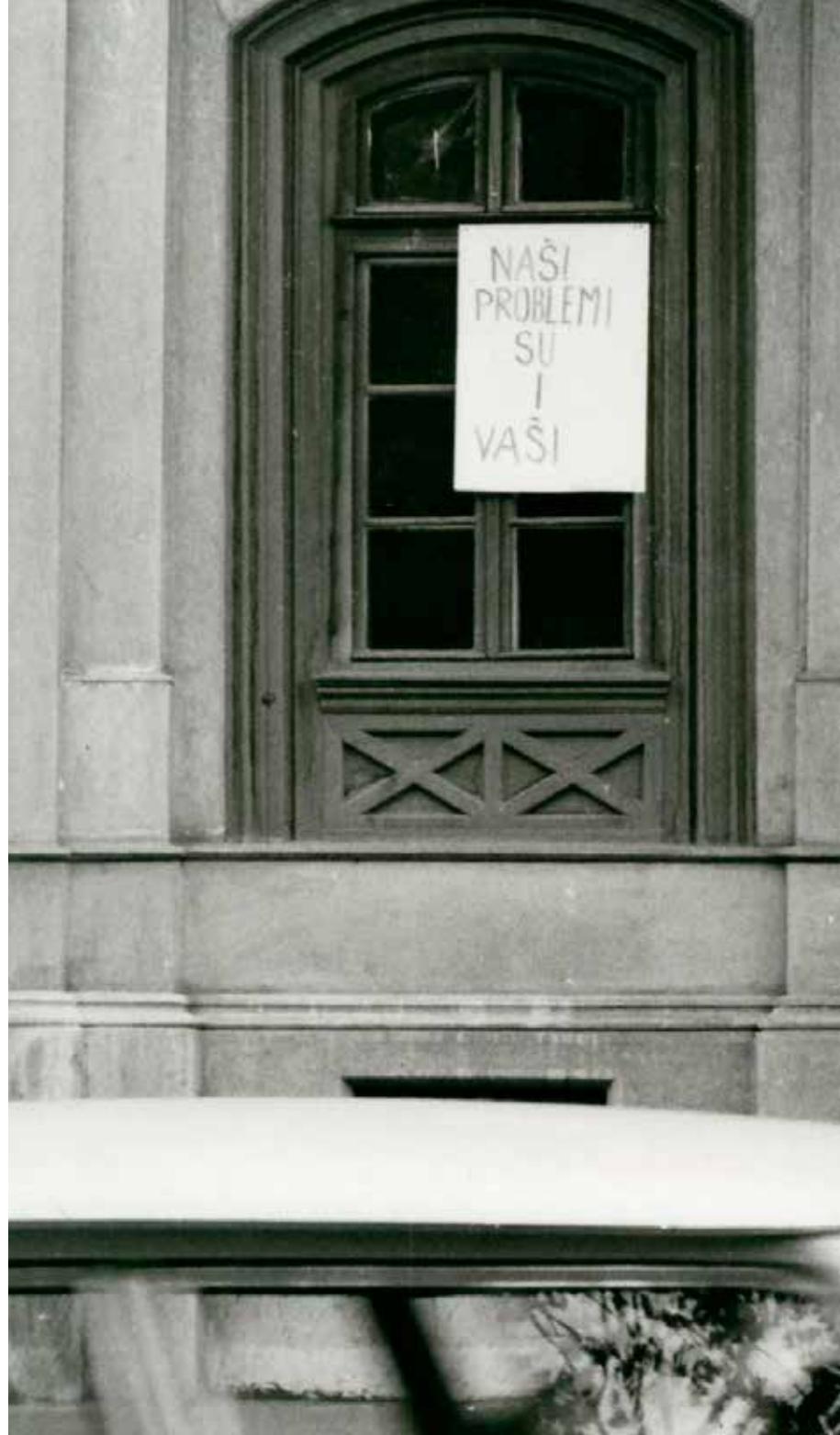
**ŽELIMIR
ŽILNIK**

Lipanjska gibanja

[June Turmoil]

1969

35 mm film transferred
to video. B&W, sound,
10'







June Turmoil documents student demonstrations in Belgrade in June 1968, the first mass protests in Yugoslavia after the Second World War. Students were protesting against moving away from the socialist ideals, “the red bourgeois” and economic reforms that brought about high unemployment and emigration from the country. Prominent public figures and artists joined the protest in solidarity with the students, and the film ends with a speech from *Danton’s Death* by Georg Büchner, delivered by stage actor Stevo Žigon. **f**

"The government of this Revolution is the despotism of freedom against tyranny.

Every sign of false sensitivity appears to me to be sighs that wing their way to England or to Austria. But not content to disarm the people's hands, they also seek to poison the purest sources of our strength through vice. This is the subtlest, the most dangerous and the most abominable attack of all upon Freedom. Vice is the aristocracy's mark of Cain. In a republic, this becomes not merely a moral, but a political crime as well; the man of vice is a political enemy of Freedom.

You will understand me more easily if you recall those persons who once lived in attics but now ride about in carriages and fornicate with former marquises and baronesses. We may well ask whether the people have been plundered, or whether the golden hands of kings have been pressed when we see the legislators of the people parade about with all the vices and all the luxuries of former courtiers, when we see all these marquises and counts of revolution marrying rich wives, giving sumptuous banquets, gambling, keeping servants, and wearing priceless clothes. We may well be amazed when we hear of their empty exhibits of wit, their aesthetic pretensions, and their good manners.

We will have no compromise, no armistice with men whose only thought was to plunder the people, and who hoped to carry out this plan to plunder with impunity, men for whom the Republic was a speculation and the revolution a trade!" *ſ*



Georg Büchner,
"Danton's Death" in
*Complete Plays and
Prose*, translated and
with an introduction by
Carl Richard Mueller
(NEW YORK: HILL AND
WANG, 1963), 13–14.

List of works

BROOK ANDREW

Born in 1970, Sydney. Lives in Melbourne

Splinters of Monuments: A Solid Memory of the Forgotten Plains of Our Trash and Obsessions, 2014

Site-specific installation: wall painting, vitrines, sculpture, objects, and documentary photographs related, selected works from the Museo Nacional de Antropología, the Museo de América, and the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía

Yarruudang II (Dream). H142: First Female Aboriginal Seen and Captured. Camp XL, 2007
Mixed media, 170 × 130 cm
COURTESY THE ARTIST AND GALERIE NATHALIE OBADIA, PARIS/BRUSSELS

Portrait 10, 2013
Mixed media on Belgian linen
70 × 55 cm
COURTESY THE ARTIST AND GALERIE NATHALIE OBADIA, PARIS/BRUSSELS

Portrait 24, 2013
Mixed media on Belgian linen
70 × 55 cm
COURTESY THE ARTIST AND GALERIE NATHALIE OBADIA, PARIS/BRUSSELS

Portrait 33, 2013

Mixed media on Belgian linen
70 × 55 cm

COURTESY THE ARTIST AND
GALERIE NATHALIE OBADIA,
PARIS/BRUSSELS

Anatomy of the Body Record, 2013

Site-specific installation: vitrine and sculpture
272 × 272 × 453 cm

COURTESY THE ARTIST AND
GALERIE NATHALIE OBADIA,
PARIS/BRUSSELS

Australia V, 2014

Mixed media
200 × 300 cm

COURTESY THE ARTIST AND
GALERIE NATHALIE OBADIA,
PARIS/BRUSSELS

Anonymous

Workers of the Diario de Manila's editorial department, 1887

B&W photograph on paper on
cardboard
39.5 × 31 cm

MUSEO NACIONAL DE
ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID

Anonymous

Side view of a sculpture of a man wearing a Philippine hat, 1887

B&W photograph on paper on
cardboard
12 × 17 cm

MUSEO NACIONAL DE
ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID

Anonymous

Group of Philippine people, 1887
B&W photograph on paper on
cardboard

23 × 31.5 cm
MUSEO NACIONAL DE
ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID

Anonymous

Ilocos municipalities in the first settlements of Lepanto, Philippine Islands, 1887

B&W photograph on paper on
cardboard
23 × 31.5 cm

MUSEO NACIONAL DE
ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID

Anonymous

Trench in Silang (Cavite), Philippine Islands, 1887

B&W photograph on paper on
cardboard
21 × 25.5 cm

MUSEO NACIONAL DE
ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID

Anonymous

Joa, his son, and José González, young man from the laboratory. Ashanti exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1897

B&W photograph on paper on
cardboard

18×12.5 cm	B&W photograph on albumin paper	18×13 cm
MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID	MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID	MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID
Anonymous	Anonymous	Anonymous
<i>Portrait of six Ashanti in traditional costumes. Ashanti exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1897</i>	<i>Half-length frontal portrait of an Inuit woman. Inuit small town exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1900</i>	Inuit man dressed in traditional costume. Inuit small town exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1900
B&W photograph on paper on cardboard	B&W photograph on albumin paper	B&W photograph on albumin paper
17.5×12.5 cm	18×13 cm	18×13 cm
MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID	MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID	MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID
Anonymous	Anonymous	Fernando Debas Dujant
<i>Anú, a young Ashanti man dressed in a printed traditional fabric. Ashanti exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1897</i>	<i>Portrait of a seated Inuit girl. Inuit small town exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1900</i>	<i>Portrait of a seated Igorot man, 1887</i>
B&W photograph on paper on cardboard	B&W photograph on albumin paper	B&W photograph on paper on cardboard
29.2×21.5 cm	18×13 cm	14×10 cm
MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID	MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID	MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID
Anonymous	Anonymous	Eduardo Otero
<i>Ashanti dance scene. Ashanti exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1897</i>	<i>Half-length frontal portrait of an Inuit woman. Inuit small town exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1900</i>	<i>Inuit family from Ukasiksalik, seated with dog. Inuit small town exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1900</i>
B&W photograph on paper on cardboard	B&W photograph on albumin paper	B&W photograph on albumin paper on cardboard, 11×17 cm
13×21.5 cm	18×13 cm	MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID
MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID	MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID	MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID
Anonymous	Anonymous	A. S. Xatart
<i>Inuit woman dressed in traditional costume. Inuit small town exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1900</i>	<i>Inuit man dressed in traditional costume. Inuit small town exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1900</i>	<i>Group of Ashanti boys reproducing a school. Ashanti exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1897</i>
	B&W photograph on albumin paper	B&W photograph on paper on cardboard, 17×25 cm
		MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID

A.S. Xatart	Poster on paper	<i>Beware AIDS Kills. Condomise</i> , 2001
<i>Reproduction of a school. Ashanti exhibition in Madrid (Buen Retiro Gardens), 1897</i>	69 × 48 cm	Glazed ceramic, 41 × 41 × 4 cm
B&W photograph on paper on cardboard, 17 × 25 cm	PRIVATE COLLECTION	COURTESY ARDMORE
MUSEO NACIONAL DE ANTROPOLOGÍA, MADRID		CERAMIC ART
Anonymous (Mexican School)	Andrés Senra	
<i>De español e india, mestizo [Of Spanish Man and Indian Woman, Mestizo]</i> , 1775–1800	<i>Sin título (grupo de personas en la puerta del Sol, 1 de diciembre de 1993)</i>	<i>Skeleton AIDS</i> , 2001
Oil on canvas 50 × 64 cm	[Untitled (Group of People in the Puerta del Sol, December 1, 1993)], 1993	Glazed ceramic 26 × 21 × 24 cm
MUSEO DE AMÉRICA, MADRID	B&W photograph	COURTESY ARDMORE
	24 × 31 cm	CERAMIC ART
Anonymous (Mexican School)	COURTESY FEFA VILA NÚÑEZ	<i>AIDS Drinking Vase</i> , 2002
<i>De español y albina, torna atrás [Of Spanish Man and Albino Woman, Tornatrás]</i> , 1775–1800	<i>Gay hotsa: Revista gay de información y cultura = kultura eta informaketa zko gay-en aldizkaria</i> , no. 39 (December/January 1987/1988): 5	Glazed ceramic 44 × 25 × 25 cm
Oil on canvas 50 × 64 cm	Bilbao, EGHAM	COURTESY ARDMORE
MUSEO DE AMÉRICA, MADRID	Magazine, 30 cm	CERAMIC ART
	PRIVATE COLLECTION	
Anonymous (Mexican School)	ARDMORE CERAMIC ART	<i>AIDS Monster</i> , 2008
<i>De albarasado y mestiza, barsino [Of Albarazado Man and Mestizo Woman, Barsino]</i> , 1775–1800	Established in 1985 in KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa)	Glazed ceramic 54 × 40 × 50 cm
Oil on canvas 50 × 64 cm	<i>We Don't Have to Take AIDS as a Joke</i> , 2000	COURTESY ARDMORE
MUSEO DE AMÉRICA, MADRID	Glazed ceramic, 24 × 19 × 26 cm	CERAMIC ART
	COURTESY ARDMORE	
COFLHEE (Coordinadora de Frentes de Liberación Homosexual del Estado Español)	<i>CERAMIC ART</i>	<i>Wonderboy Plate</i> , 2008
<i>28 de junio, día internacional por la liberación gai y lesbiana [June 28, International Day for the Gay and Lesbian Liberation]</i> , ca. 1992	AIDS Is a Big Friend of the Death, 2001	Glazed ceramic 42 × 42 × 3 cm
	Glazed ceramic, set of 8 cups 13 × 10 × 10 cm	COURTESY ARDMORE
	COURTESY ARDMORE	CERAMIC ART
	CERAMIC ART	<i>Wonderboy AIDS Vase</i> , 2008
		Glazed ceramic 44 × 27 × 27 cm
		COURTESY ARDMORE
		CERAMIC ART
		<i>AIDS Monster Piece</i> , 2011
		Glazed ceramic 86 × 65 × 50 cm
		COURTESY ARDMORE
		CERAMIC ART

ARIELLA AZOULAY

Born in 1962, Tel Aviv.

Lives in Rhode Island

The Body Politic—A Visual Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 2014

Site-specific installation.

Vintage and exhibition photographs on wall and Plexiglas structure

300 × 600 cm

COURTESY THE ARTIST

HICHAM BENOHOUD

Born in 1968, Marrakech.

Lives in Marrakech

La salle de classe [The Classroom], 1994–2002

Series of 40 B&W photographs

40 × 50 cm each

COURTESY GALERIE VU,

PARIS, 2014

PHIL COLLINS

Born in 1970, Runcorn (UK).

Lives in Berlin

marxism today (prologue), 2010

HD video. Color and B&W,

sound, 35'

COURTESY SHADY LANE

PRODUCTIONS

use! value! exchange!, 2010

HD video. Color, sound, 21'

COURTESY SHADY LANE

PRODUCTIONS

CAROLE CONDÉ &

KARL BEVERIDGE

Carole Condé: Born in 1940, Hamilton (Canada). Lives in Toronto • **Karl Beveridge:** Born in 1945, Ottawa. Lives in Toronto

Art Is Political, 1975

Panel of 9 B&W photographs.

Exhibition copies, 40 × 50 cm each

COURTESY THE ARTISTS

CHTO DELAT?

Established in 2003, Saint

Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhny

Novgorod

Учиться, учиться и еще раз бороться [Study, Study, and Act Again], 2011–2014

Installation. Stage, shelves, tables and chairs, selection of books, videos, photomontages glued on wall, textile banners, sculptures

Variable dimensions

Sculptures by Alene Petit and Alexey Markin. Graphics realization by Nikolay Oleynikov

COURTESY KOW, BERLIN

Selection of books for *Really Useful Knowledge* made by Traficantes de Sueños and somatecxos.

VIDEO SELECTIONS:

Dmitry Vilensky

Концепция: Отрицание отрицания [Production Line: Negation of Negation], 2003

Video. Color, sound, 8' 9"

Dmitry Vilensky

Tonu Hegru говорим [Toni Negri Speaks], 2003

Video. Color, sound, 28' 48"

Dmitry Vilensky

Кричащие [Screaming], 2003

Video. Color, sound, 7' 21"

Chто Delat?

Cmpoumenu [The Builders], 2005

Video. Color, sound, 8' 16"

EMORY DOUGLAS

Born in 1943, Grand Rapids

(Michigan). Lives in San Francisco

Afro-American solidarity with the oppressed people of the world, 1969

Print on paper.

Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm

COURTESY THE ARTIST

All power to the people, March 9, 1969

Print on paper.

Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm

COURTESY THE ARTIST

In revolution one wins, or one dies, April 20, 1969

Print on paper.

Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm

COURTESY THE ARTIST

Untitled, 1969

Black Panther cover, June 7, 1969

Print on paper.

Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm

COURTESY THE ARTIST

Whatever is good for the oppressor has

<i>got to be bad for us,</i> " July 26, 1969	<i>"All the weapons we used against each other we now use against the oppressor,"</i> July 4, 1970	<i>"People's free health clinics now!"</i>
Print on paper.	Print on paper.	May 1, 1971
Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm	Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm	Print on paper.
COURTESY THE ARTIST	COURTESY THE ARTIST	Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm
<i>Untitled, 1969</i>	<i>Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm</i>	COURTESY THE ARTIST
<i>Black Panther cover, August 30, 1969</i>	<i>COURTESY THE ARTIST</i>	<i>"We shall survive. Without a doubt,"</i>
Print on paper.		August 21, 1971
Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm		Print on paper.
COURTESY THE ARTIST		Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm
<i>"Seize the time," September 13, 1969</i>	<i>COURTESY THE ARTIST</i>	COURTESY THE ARTIST
Print on paper.		<i>"Few black folks die of old age,"</i>
Exhibition copy, 29 × 50 cm		July 28, 1973
COURTESY THE ARTIST		Print on paper.
<i>"Community control of the police," October 18, 1969</i>	<i>Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm</i>	Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm
Print on paper.	<i>COURTESY THE ARTIST</i>	COURTESY THE ARTIST
Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm		<i>"I Gerald Ford am the 38th puppet of the United States,"</i> September 21, 1974
COURTESY THE ARTIST		Print on paper.
<i>"Free all political prisoners," February 17, 1970 / 2014</i>	<i>Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm</i>	Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm
Illustration transferred to wall painting, 490 × 300 cm (approx.)	<i>COURTESY THE ARTIST</i>	COURTESY THE ARTIST
COURTESY THE ARTIST		<i>"For the young, the old, the poor and the black, living in America is brutal,"</i>
<i>Untitled, 1970</i>	<i>February 6, 1971</i>	March 27, 1975
<i>Black Panther cover, March 21, 1970</i>	<i>Print on paper.</i>	Print on paper.
Print on paper.	<i>Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm</i>	Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm
Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm	<i>COURTESY THE ARTIST</i>	COURTESY THE ARTIST
COURTESY THE ARTIST		<i>"Public Housing USA,"</i> July 24, 31, and August 14, 1976
<i>"Our people's army should be built up into a revolutionary force," April 18, 1970</i>	<i>February 27, 1971</i>	Print on paper. Exhibition copy
Print on paper.	<i>Print on paper.</i>	3 parts. 38 × 44 cm each
Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm	<i>Exhibition copy, 38 × 44 cm</i>	COURTESY THE ARTIST
COURTESY THE ARTIST	<i>COURTESY THE ARTIST</i>	

**PRIMITIVO EVANÁN POMA
AND ASOCIACIÓN DE
ARTISTAS POPULARES
DE SARHUA**

(Venuca Evanán Vivanco, Bertha Evanán Vivanco, Julián Ramos Alfaro, Luisa Altez Romani, Norma Quispe Ramos)

Primitivo Evanán Poma: Born in 1944, Sarhua (Peru). Lives in Lima

Series of 10 paintings specifically made for *Really Useful Knowledge Trabajo* [Work], *Música* [Music], *Política* [Politics], *Educación* [Education], *Economía* [Economy], *Lenguaje* [Language], *Raza* [Race], *Salud* [Health], *Vestimenta* [Clothing], *Sexualidad* [Sexuality], 2014

Acrylic on wood

120 × 20 cm each

COURTESY THE ARTISTS

NÚRIA GÜELL & LEVI ORTA

Núria Güell: Born in 1981, Girona. Lives in Vídreres (Girona)

Levi Orta: Born in 1984, Havana. Lives in Havana and Vídreres (Girona)

ARTE POLÍTICO DEGENERADO.

Protocolo ético [POLITICAL

DEGENERATE ART. Ethical Protocol], 2014

Debate congress held at MNCARS in November 2014, along with documentation

COURTESY THE ARTISTS

DMITRY GUTOV

Born in 1960, Moscow. Lives in Moscow

Институт Лифшица [Lifshitz Institute], 2004–2005
Video. Color, sound, 45'
COURTESY THE ARTIST

**DMITRY GUTOV &
DAVID RIFF**

Dmitry Gutov: Born in 1960,

Moscow. Lives in Moscow

David Riff: Born in 1975, London.
Lives in Moscow and Berlin

Институт Лифшица [Lifshitz Institute], 1993/2013
Documents (facsimiles) on panel
12 panels, 100 × 80 cm each
COURTESY THE ARTISTS

ADELITA HUSNI-BEY

Born in 1985, Milan.

Lives in New York

Postcards from the Desert Island,
2010–2011
Wooden structures, oil on canvas,
and single channel video projection
Canvas, 280 × 168 cm
Digital video. Color, sound, 22' 23"

COLLECTION KADIST ART
FOUNDATION

ICONOCLASISTAS

(Julia Risler and Pablo Ares)

Established in 2006, Argentina

La trenza insurrecta [The Insurgent Braid], 2010/2013

Two-color print on paper (reprint)

87 × 123 cm

COURTESY THE ARTISTS

Nuestra señora de la rebeldía [Our Lady of the Rebellion], 2010/2013
Two-color print on paper (reprint)
87 × 123 cm

COURTESY THE ARTISTS

El arbolazo [The “Arbolazo”],
2010/2013

Two-color print on paper (reprint)
87 × 123 cm
COURTESY THE ARTISTS

ABBAS KIAROSTAMI

Born in 1940, Tehran.

Lives in Tehran

Do rah-e hal baray-e yek masaleh
[Two Solutions for One Problem],
1975

Film transferred to video.
Color, sound, 4' 45"

Produced by Kanoon (Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults), Iran
COURTESY DREAMLAB FILMS, LE CANNET, FRANCE

RUNO LAGOMARSINO

Born in 1977, Lund (Sweden). Lives in São Paulo and Malmö

This Thing Called the State (Esto que llamamos estado), 2013
Installation. Retablos on wallpaper
Variable dimensions

INSTALLATION FOR REALLY USEFUL KNOWLEDGE:	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	<i>Retablo of Tivurcia Gallego</i> , 1917
<i>EntreMundos</i> [Between Worlds], 2013 Printed paper, 4.50 × 14.27 cm COURTESY MENDES WOOD DM, SÃO PAULO, AND NILS STÆRK, COPENHAGEN	<i>Retablo of Carmen Ortiz</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 25.5 × 18 cm	Oil on metal, 20.3 × 15.3 cm
	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
	<i>Retablo of F.P. de El Coesillo, San Luis Potosí</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 18.5 × 15.5 cm	<i>Retablo of Macedonia Alvarado</i> , 1924 Oil on metal, 17 × 14 cm
	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
ANONYMOUS RETABLOS:		<i>Retablo of María Aldama</i> , 1926
<i>Retablo of Isaías Carrillo</i> , n.d. Oil on metal	<i>Retablo of Unknown Votary</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 25.8 × 36 cm	Oil on metal, 18.3 × 12.7 cm
COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
<i>Retablo of Elifonsa Durán</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 24.3 × 17.5 cm	<i>Retablo of Juan Jose Sánchez C.</i> , n.d. Oil on metal	<i>Retablo de María Alba Rey</i> , 1940
COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	Oil on metal, 17.2 × 22.2 cm
<i>Retablo of Felipe González</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 24 × 17.5 cm	<i>Retablo of Francisco Senteno</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 21.5 × 15 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	<i>Retablo of Juan Luna</i> , 1942
<i>Retablo of Amador de Lira</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 14.7 × 24.4 cm	<i>Retablo of Virginia Solano</i> , n.d. Oil on metal	Oil on metal, 18.2 × 25.6 cm
COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
<i>Retablo of Tereso López</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 17.8 × 26.3 cm	<i>Retablo of Venancio Soriano</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 15 × 31 cm	<i>Retablo of Bernabé H. y Catarina V</i> , 1944
COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	Oil on metal, 18 × 25.8 cm
<i>Retablo of María Guadalupe Méndez and Son</i> , n.d. Oil on metal	<i>Retablo of María de Jesús Torres</i> , n.d. Oil on metal, 31 × 18 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	<i>Retablo of Unknown Votary</i> , 1948
<i>Retablo of Raúl Ortega</i> , n.d. Oil on metal	<i>Retablo of Virginia Velázquez</i> , n.d. Oil on metal	Oil on metal, 27 × 31 cm
COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
<i>Retablo of Raul Ortega and Family</i> , n.d. Oil on metal	<i>Retablo of Gumercindo Ramírez</i> , 1912 Oil on metal, 18 × 25.7 cm	<i>Retablo of Concepción Zapata</i> , 1948 Oil on metal, 18.5 × 14 cm
	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
		<i>Retablo of Josefina Rivera</i> , 1954 Oil on metal, 22.2 × 30 cm
		COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
		<i>Retablo of Candelaria Arreola</i> , 1955

Oil on metal, 24 × 17.5 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	<i>Retablo of María Marcos Rebolloso and Leonardo Arsola</i> , 1977
<i>Retablo of Concepción Romero Sánchez</i> , 1955		Oil on metal, 25 × 18.5 cm
Oil on metal, 36 × 26 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
<i>Retablo of José Cruz Soria</i> , 1960		<i>Retablo of Josefina Pérez V.</i> , 1979
Oil on metal, 17.2 × 18 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	Oil on metal, 20.5 × 26.5 cm
<i>Retablo of María de la Luz Casillas and Children</i> , 1961		COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
Oil on metal, 17.3 × 26 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	<i>Retablo of Juana Reyes and Socorro Machuca</i> , 1981
<i>Retablo of J. Melquides Murillo</i> , 1961		Oil on metal, 17.8 × 22.5 cm
Oil on metal, 17.9 × 26 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
<i>Retablo of Concepción González Anderson</i> , 1962		<i>Retablo of Victoriano Grimaldo</i> , 1988
Oil on metal, 34 × 27.5 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	Oil on metal, 25 × 30 cm
<i>Retablo of Martha Noel Anderson</i> , 1962		COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND
Oil on metal, 34 × 28.5 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	<i>Retablo of Jesús Enrique Aguilar</i> , n.d.
<i>Retablo of Marcos Ruiz Morales</i> , 1963		Oil on metal, 42 × 24 cm
Oil on metal, 22.5 × 28.2 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	COLLECTION MASSEY-FISKE
<i>Retablo of Paula Martínez</i> , 1964		<i>Retablo of Matías Lara</i> , 1919
Oil on metal, 24 × 18.6 cm	COLLECTION ARIAS-DURAND	Oil on metal, 30.5 × 20.3 cm
<i>Retablo of Marciano Alcocer Castillo</i> , 1967		COLLECTION MASSEY-FISKE
Oil on metal, 24.7 × 31.3 cm		<i>Retablo of Gabriela Yáñez</i> , 1943
		Oil on metal, 25.4 × 17.8 cm
		COLLECTION MASSEY-FISKE
		<i>Retablo of Manuela Sánchez and Children</i> , 1947
		Oil on metal, 22 × 14.5 cm
		COLLECTION MASSEY-FISKE
		<i>Retablo of Unknown Votary</i> , 1954
		Oil on metal, 39.5 × 33 cm
		COLLECTION MASSEY-FISKE
		<i>Retablo of Rosalinda López</i> , 1957
		Oil on masonite, 30.5 × 21.6 cm
		COLLECTION MASSEY-FISKE

<i>Retablo of Maria Socorro Salazar</i> , 1962 Oil on metal, 12.7×17.8 cm COLLECTION MASSEY-FISKE COURTESY JORGE DURAND AND DOUGLAS S. MASSEY	<i>Edwards Grammar School</i> , 10' 10" <i>Mr Trott, English Literature and Language (Study II)</i> , King <i>Edwards Grammar School</i> , 12 '25"	Российский исследовательский центр по правам человека (CENTER FOR PRISON REFORM, MOSCOW)
DARCY LANGE 1946, Urenui (New Zealand)–2005, Urenui (New Zealand)	<i>Mr Harry Deleman</i> , “Industrial Relations—Cooperatives,” King <i>Edwards Grammar School</i> , 31' 58"	<i>Glazed ceramic plates, painted in the master class “Painting on Ceramics,”</i> 2011 17 pieces of glazed ceramics (faience type), 25 cm ø and 32 cm ø
Video selection from <i>Study of Three Birmingham Schools</i> , 1976, from the series <i>Work Studies in Schools</i> , 1976–1977	Photograph selection from the series <i>Work Studies in Schools</i> , 1976 B&W photographs. Exhibition copies	Российский исследовательский центр по правам человека (CENTER FOR PRISON REFORM, MOSCOW)
Video. B&W, sound, 153' 55" (total length) COURTESY DARCY LANGE ARCHIVE, GOVETT-BREWSTER ART GALLERY, NEW ZEALAND	Variable dimensions (each approx. 49 × 29.7 cm) COURTESY DARCY LANGE ARCHIVE, GOVETT-BREWSTER ART GALLERY, NEW ZEALAND	MARCELL MARS Born in 1972, Benkovac (Croatia). Lives in Zagreb (Croatia)
<i>Mr Sewel, English lecture, Leabank Junior School</i> , 8' 5"	VICTORIA LOMASKO Born in 1978, Serpukhov (Russia). Lives in Moscow	<i>Art as Infrastructure: Public Library</i> (http://www.memoryoftheworld.org), 2012–2014 Free access to books for every member of society, library catalog, and librarian
<i>Mr Perks, History class, Ladywood Comprehensive School</i> , 29' 15"	Drawings and ceramics made in the master classes the artist taught at several juvenile penitentiaries.	COURTESY THE ARTIST
<i>Mr Perks, History class, Ladywood Comprehensive School</i> , interview, 29' 15"	<i>Victoria Lomasko</i> 7 drawings from the series <i>Drawing Lesson</i> , 2010–2011 Ink on paper 29.7×21 cm each COURTESY THE ARTIST	AZZEDINE MEDDOUR 1947, Sidi Aich (Algeria)–2000, Algiers
<i>Mrs Greaves, “Data” (Study I)</i> , <i>Ladywood Comprehensive School</i> , 10' 51"	<i>Young inmates from the Mozhaysk Juvenile Penitentiary</i> <i>Drawings made in the master class “Form and Counterform,”</i> 2011 Ink on paper, 21×29.7 cm each	<i>Combien je vous aime [How Much I Love You]</i> , 1985 35 mm film transferred to video. B&W and color, sound, 105'
<i>Mrs Greaves, “Data” (Study II)</i> , <i>Ladywood Comprehensive School</i> , 15' 09"		COURTESY MOUNIA MEDDOUR
<i>Mr Trott, English Literature and Language (Study I)</i> , King		MUJERES PÚBLICAS (Magdalena Pagano, Lorena Bossi, and Fernanda Carriz)

Established in 2003, Buenos Aires	Publication, 100 pp., 21 × 14.8 cm, stapled	METRO PICTURES, NEW YORK; THOMAS ZANDER, COLOGNE
<i>Untitled</i> , 2014		
Video performance. Color, silent, 9'30"	<i>Ejercicio de pronunciación</i> [Pronunciation Exercise]	
COURTESY THE ARTISTS	Video. Color, sound, 20'	
<i>Untitled</i> , 2014	<i>Test de integración en la sociedad</i> <i>española</i> [Integration Test in Spanish Society]	
Documentary installation of actions from 2003 to 2006: <i>Proyecto Heteronorma</i> [Project Heteronorm], 2003, poster and multiple objects	Form, print on A4 paper COURTESY THE ARTIST	Recreation of the <i>Partisan Art</i> installation in the twentieth- century Slovenian art collection of Ljubljana's Moderna galerija, along with a set of puppets used in the Partisan Puppet Theater in the collection of the Muzej novejše zgodovine Slovenije.
<i>Todo con la misma aguja</i> [Everything with the Same Needle], 2003, poster		
<i>Estampita</i> [Small Religious Picture], 2004, multiple objects	<i>Prototype for a Nonfunctional</i> <i>Satellite</i> (Design 4; Build 3), 2013	SELECTION OF IMAGES AND PARTISAN TEXTS (PAMPHLETS, MAGAZINES, MANUALS, POSTERS, ETC.):
<i>Mujer Colonizada</i> [Colonized Woman], 2004, poster	Polyethylene terephthalate and steel, 365.76 × 365.76 cm	<i>Untitled</i> , ca. 1942–1946
<i>Cajita de fósforos</i> [Small Matchbox], 2005, multiple objects	COURTESY THE ARTIST AND ALTMAN SIEGEL, SAN FRANCISCO;	Printing on paper. Exhibition copies, various dimensions
<i>Ni grandes ni pensadores</i> [Not Great Nor Thinkers], 2005, poster	METRO PICTURES, NEW YORK; THOMAS ZANDER, COLOGNE	NARODNI ARHIV SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
<i>Trabajo doméstico</i> [Domestic Work], 2005, poster		
<i>Tetáz</i> , 2006, multiple objects		SELECTION OF ETCHINGS OF VARIOUS AUTHORS:
COURTESY THE ARTISTS		Alenka Gerlovič
DANIELA ORTIZ		<i>Kamnolom</i> [Quarry], 1945
Born in 1985, Cusco. Lives in Barcelona		Linocut on paper.
<i>Estado nación (Parte II)</i> [State-Nation (Part II)], 2014: Manual para superar el test de integración en la sociedad española [Manual for Passing the Integration Test in Spanish Society]	<i>Autonomy Cube</i> , 2014 Plinth, methacrylate cube, and electronic material 35 × 35 × 105 cm COURTESY THE ARTISTS AND ALTMAN SIEGEL, SAN FRANCISCO;	Exhibition copy, 16 × 12.6 cm MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
		Alenka Gerlovič
		<i>V snegu</i> [In the Snow], 1945
		Linocut on paper.
		Exhibition copy, 12.6 × 16 cm
		MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA

Alenka Gerlovič	<i>v mestih (Španski građanski rat)</i>	Linocut on paper.
Ženske, steber našega zaledja [Women, the Pillar of Our Support], 1945	[Destroying the Last Fascist Bases in the Towns (Spanish Civil War), 1937–1938	Exhibition copy, 15.2 × 12.2 cm
Watercolor and ink on paper. Exhibition copy, 29.5 × 29 cm	Linocut on paper.	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Exhibition copy, 16 × 12.6 cm	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
Vito Globočnik	Dore Klemenčič-Maj	France Mihelič
Taleci [Hostages], from the series “Herrenvollk,” 1945	Ranjena zver beži [The Wounded Beast Is Running Away], 1944	<i>Mrtvaška ptica</i> [Deathly Bird], from the series “Krvava bratovština” [Bloodthirsty Brotherhood], 1945
Etching. Exhibition copy, 25.4 × 21.5 cm	Linocut on paper.	Linocut on paper.
MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Exhibition copy, 15 × 12.2 cm	Exhibition copy, 9.6 × 13.5 cm
Vito Globočnik	Lojze Lavrič	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
Triumf [Triumph], from the series “Herrenvollk,” 1945	Na kolih [Impaled], 1943	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
Etching. Exhibition copy, 25.4 × 21.5 cm	Linocut on paper.	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Exhibition copy, 15 × 12.2 cm	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
Dorde Andrejević Kun	France Mihelič	France Mihelič
Na barikadama (Španski građanski rat) [On the barricades (Spanish Civil War)], from the series “Za sloboda” [For Freedom], 1937–1938	Hijena [Hyena], from the series “Kravava bratovština” [Bloodthirsty Brotherhood], 1945	<i>Šhof Rožman in njegovi pajdaši</i> [Bishop Rožman and His Accomplices], 1944
Linocut on paper. Exhibition copy, 16 × 16 cm	Linocut on paper. Exhibition copy, 15.2 × 12.2 cm	Linocut on paper.
MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Exhibition copy, 15.2 × 12.2 cm
Dorde Andrejević Kun	France Mihelič	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
Uničujejo zadnja fašistična oporišča	Kolona v snegu [Walking in Line through the Snow], from the series “Naša borba” [Our Struggle], 1944	from the series “Domovi, ječe, gozdovi” [Homes, Prisons, Woods], 1944
		Etching. Exhibition copy, 19.5 × 15 cm
		MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
		Nikolaj Pirnat
		<i>Bore se kakor levi iz dneva v dan</i> [Fighting Like Lions, Day after Day],
		from the series “Domovi, ječe, gozdovi” [Homes, Prisons, Woods], 1944
		Iz njihove krvi, iz njihovih belih kosti...

[From Their Blood, from Their White Bones...], from the series “Domovi, ječe, gozdovi” [Homes, Prisons, Woods], 1944	10 PUPPETS OF THE PARTISAN PUPPET THEATER:	Jurček, 1944
Etching.	Lojze Lavrič	Mixed media, 30 cm approx.
Exhibition copy, 17.8 × 20.8 cm	Lili Marleen, 1944	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE
MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Mixed media, 44 cm	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
Nikolaj Pirnat	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE	<i>Partisan</i> , 1944
<i>Nedolžne so mučili v ječah</i> [The Innocent Were Tortured in Jails], from the series “Domovi, ječe, gozdovi” [Homes, Prisons, Woods], 1944	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Mixed media, 44 cm approx.
Etching. Exhibition copy, 22.3 × 18 cm	Mule, 1944	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE
MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Mixed media, 24 × 30 cm	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
Nikolaj Pirnat	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE	<i>Partisan Pavliha</i> , 1944
<i>Oroke, žene, starce so gonili z doma</i> [They Were Chasing Children, Women, the Elderly from Their Home], from the series “Domovi, ječe, gozdovi” [Homes, Prisons, Woods], 1944	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Mixed media, 43 cm approx.
Etching. Exhibition copy, 20.4 × 15.1 cm	Mixed media, 40 cm	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE
MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
Drago Vidmar	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	<i>Sailor</i> , 1944
<i>Lokomotiva</i> [Locomotive], 1944	<i>Fascist 1</i> , 1944	Mixed media, 36 cm
Etching. Exhibition copy, 12.2 × 15 cm	Mixed media, 32 cm aprox	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE
MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	<i>Fascist 2</i> , 1944	SELECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS:
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Mixed media, 40 cm	Janez Marenčič
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE	<i>Ob partizanskem ognju</i> [Partisans around a Campfire], 1944–1945
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Gelatin silver print.
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	<i>Fascist 3</i> , 1944	Exhibition copy, 28 × 28.5 cm
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Mixed media, 44 cm approx.	MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE	<i>Viharna noč</i> [Stormy Night], 1944–1945
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Gelatin silver print.
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	<i>Hitler</i> , 1944	Exhibition copy, 28 × 38.5 cm
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	Mixed media, 40 cm approx.	MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA
SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE	

Marijan Pfeifer <i>Na juris</i> [Storming], ca. 1945 Gelatin silver print. Exhibition copy, 28 × 37.8 cm MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	<i>Gru: Fra borgerkrigen i Spania</i> [Horror: From "The Spanish Civil War"], 1936 Wool and linen, 147 × 180 cm NASJONALMUSEET FOR KUNST, ARKITEKTUR OG DESIGN, OSLO	<i>Mozambique Institute Project</i> , 2014 Site-specific installation. Video projection on the pedagogical project of the Mozambican Institute, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. COURTESY THE ARTIST
Slavko Smolej <i>Okupator je razobesil lepake z imeni ustreljenih talcev</i> [Lists of Hostages Shot by the Occupiers], 1941 Gelatin silver print. Exhibition copy, 26.3 × 23 cm MODERNA GALERIJA, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	<i>Hitlerteppet</i> [Hitler's Rug], 1936 Wool and linen, 291 × 171 cm NASJONALMUSEET FOR KUNST, ARKITEKTUR OG DESIGN, OSLO	<i>Effects of Wording</i> , 2014 Video, 29' 40"
Stane Viršek <i>Untitled</i> , 1945 3 photographs of the Partisan exhibition of Črnomelj in April 1945 B&W photographs. Exhibition copy, 24 × 35 cm MUZEJ NOVEJŠE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE, LJUBLJANA, SLOVENIA	<i>Spania / La hora se aproxima</i> [Spain / The Time Has Come], 1938 Wool and linen, 193 × 226 cm NASJONALMUSEET FOR KUNST, ARKITEKTUR OG DESIGN, OSLO	<i>Effects of Wording</i> , from the series <i>The Mozambique Archive Series</i> , 2014 Documentary installation on panel 250 × 210 cm
D.A. PENNEBAKER Born in 1925, Evanstone (Illinois). Lives in New York <i>Opening in Moscow</i> , 1959 Film transferred to DVD. Color and B&W, sound, 45' COURTESY PENNEBAKER HEGEDUS FILMS INC.	<i>Etiopia</i> [Ethiopia], 1935 Wool and linen, 160 × 380 cm NORDENFJELDSKE KUNSTINDUSTRIMUSEUM, TRONDHEIM	The installation includes books and pamphlets generously provided by Teresa Veloso, Frouke Draisma, and Jan Draisma on the occasion of this exhibition: <i>Definição duma política de educação nacional</i> [Definition of National Education Politics], ca. 1965–1975 FRELIMO, D.E.C., ca. 1965–1975 Print on paper, bound and stapled 25.5 × 20 cm
HANNAH RYGEN 1894, Malmö – 1970, Trondheim (Norway)	<i>Liselotte Hermann halshuggen 1938</i> [Liselotte Hermann beheaded 1938], 1938 Wool and linen, 190 × 155 cm NORDENFJELDSKE KUNSTINDUSTRIMUSEUM, TRONDHEIM	<i>Programa político</i> [Political Program] Secondary School of the FRELIMO, 6th Grade FRELIMO, ca. 1965–1975 Typed text on bound paper 25 × 20 cm
	<i>En Fr</i> [A Free One], 1947–1948 Wool and linen, 190 × 200 cm NORDENFJELDSKE KUNSTINDUSTRIMUSEUM, TRONDHEIM	<i>Principais resoluções sobre Educação e Cultura e Instituto Moçambicano</i> [Main Resolutions on Education and Culture and the Mozambican

Institute]	Paper, bound and stapled	2 silk screens on paper
Department of Education and Culture, July 1969	27×20 cm	47×70 cm each
Typed text on bound paper		COURTESY THE ARTIST
25×20 cm		
<i>Leitura (1^a Classe)</i> [Lecture (1st Grade)]	<i>Educar o homem para vencer a guerra, criar uma sociedade nova e desenvolver a pátria</i> [Educating Men to Win the War, Creating a New Society and Developing the Homeland], ca. 1970	<i>Revolucija 5 dinara</i> [Revolution—5 Dinars], 1976
Bagamoyo, Tanzania: FRELIMO, ca. 1970–1971	Political brochure, 20.5×15 cm	Pastel on paper, 21×30 cm
Stapled booklet, 25.5×20.5 cm		COURTESY THE ARTIST
<i>Mozambique and the Mozambique Institute</i> Dar es Salaam: Instituto Moçambicano, 1970	<i>Fazer da escola uma base para o povo tomar o poder</i> [Making the School a Base for the People to Take Power], 1974	<i>Napad na moju umjetnost napad je na socijalizam i napredak</i> [An Attack on My Art Is an Attack on Socialism and Progress], 1977
Printed brochure	Political brochure, 21.5×15.5 cm	Acrylic on artificial silk, 36×50 cm
20×16.5 cm		COURTESY THE ARTIST
<i>Contos Selectos</i> [Selected Tales] Instituto Moçambicano, 1967		<i>Posao je završen</i> [Work Is Done], 1980
Print on bound paper		Acrylic on artificial silk, 36×50 cm
20.5×20.5 cm		COURTESY THE ARTIST
<i>Livro de alfabetização 1</i> [Alphabetization Book 1]	MLADEN STILINOVIC	<i>Rad je bolest—Karl Marx</i> [Work Is a Disease—Karl Marx], 1981
RPM, Ministério de Educação e Cultura, 1978	Born in 1947, Belgrade. Lives in Zagreb	Acrylic on cardboard, 16×58 cm
Offset printing on paper		COURTESY THE ARTIST
28×21 cm	<i>Ocjena</i> [The Note], 1973	<i>Slike groblja</i> [Images—Graveyards], 1982
	Color crayon on paper, 21×30 cm	Installation of 14 pieces, acrylic on paper, Variable dimensions
	COURTESY THE ARTIST	COURTESY THE ARTIST
<i>Livro de alfabetização 1</i> [Alphabetization Book 1]	<i>Plan rada</i> [Work Plan], 1974	<i>Prodajem strah</i> [Fear on Sale], 1983
Bagamoyo, Tanzania, 1972/2014	Crayon on paper, 21×30 cm	Acrylic on cardboard, 15×48 cm
Print on bound paper (original).	COURTESY THE ARTIST	COURTESY THE ARTIST
Reproduction, 25×19 cm		
	<i>1</i> , 1975	<i>Prodajem autocenzuru</i> [Self-Censorship on Sale], 1983
	Color crayon on paper, 21×30 cm	Acrylic on cardboard, 47×44 cm
	COURTESY THE ARTIST	COURTESY THE ARTIST
<i>Conferência do D.E.C.</i> Recomendações [Conference of the D.E.C. Recommendations]	<i>-2</i> , 1975	<i>Kolači (zastava)</i> [Cakes (Flag)], 1983
FRELIMO, September 1970	Color crayon on paper, 21×30 cm	
	COURTESY THE ARTIST	
	<i>Rad ne može ne postojat</i> [Work Cannot Not Exist], 1976	

Acrylic on paper, 50 × 70 cm COURTESY THE ARTIST	<i>Materijalna vrijednost lijenosti</i> [Material Value of Laziness], 2004 Acrylic on cardboard, 20 × 55 cm COURTESY THE ARTIST	LIDWIEN VAN DE VEN Born in 1963, Hulst (Netherlands). Lives in Berlin and Rotterdam
<i>Poor People Law</i> , 1993 Installation, 120 × 310 cm COURTESY THE ARTIST	STRAUB-HUILLET Jean-Marie Straub: Born in 1933, Metz. Lives in Rome and Paris Danièle Huillet: 1936, Paris – 2006, Cholet	<i>Voices</i> , 2014 Site-specific installation. Photographs on wall and video.
<i>Mali papiri</i> [Small Papers], 1992 Paper on cork panel with wooden frame and tacks 38.5 × 59 cm COURTESY THE ARTIST	<i>En rachâchant</i> , 1982 35 mm film transferred to video. B&W, sound, 7'	<i>Cairo</i> , 25/01/2013 (<i>Tahrir Square</i>), 2014 Digital print on paper 240 × 360 cm
<i>Odličan</i> [A] [Excellent (A)], 1993 Collage (bank note and crayon on paper), 21 × 30 cm COURTESY THE ARTIST	COURTESY)INTERMEDIO(DISTRIBUCIÓN	<i>Cairo</i> , 28/02/2014 (<i>Sisi</i>), 2014 Digital print on paper 240 × 360 cm
<i>An Artist Who Cannot Speak English Is No Artist</i> , 1994 Print on plastic 400 × 600 cm (approx.) COURTESY THE ARTIST	SUBTRAMAS (Diego del Pozo, Montse Romani, Virginia Villaplana) Established in 2009, Murcia, Salamanca y Barcelona	<i>Cairo</i> , 11/11/2012 (<i>Moubarak</i>), 2014 Digital print on paper 240 × 360 cm
<i>Oduzimanje nula</i> [Zero Subtraction], 1994 Installation of 14 pieces, acrylic on paper, 18.5 × 13 cm each COURTESY THE ARTIST	<i>Abecedario anagramático de Subtramas</i> [Subtramas Anagrammatic Alphabet], 2011–2014 Site-specific installation. Canvas on stretcher and computer equipment 350 × 300 cm COURTESY THE ARTISTS	<i>Cairo</i> , 28/02/2014 (<i>martyrs</i>), 2014 Digital print on paper 240 × 360 cm
<i>Ugradovima redovi za kruh</i> [Queuing for Bread in the Cities], 1998 Installation of 3 pieces, mixed media on canvas, 24 × 30 cm each COURTESY THE ARTIST	<i>Cuatro preguntas para una utilidad por venir</i> [Four Questions for a Usefulness to Come], 2014–2015 Mediation program and public actions for <i>Really Useful Knowledge</i>	<i>Untitled</i> (<i>Accessories of a Regime</i>), 2014 Digital print on paper 110 x 165 cm
1 + 2 =, 2005 Acrylic on canvas, 15 × 20 cm COURTESY THE ARTIST		<i>Untitled</i> (<i>If I were President Jika</i>), 2014 Digital print on paper 110 × 165 cm
		<i>Untitled</i> (<i>Soad Hosny</i>), 2014 Digital print on paper 200 × 300 cm COURTESY THE ARTIST

CECILIA VICUÑA

Born in 1947, Santiago de Chile.

Lives in New York

¿Qué es para usted la poesía?

[What Is Poetry to You], 1980

16 mm film transferred to video.

Color, sound, 23' 20"

COURTESY THE ARTIST

CARLA ZACCAGNINI

Born in 1973, Buenos Aires.

Lives in São Paulo

Elements of Beauty, 2014

Installation. Wall painting,

vinyl cut, audio guide

COURTESY THE ARTIST

ŽELIMIR ŽILNIK

Born in 1942, Niš (Serbia).

Lives in Novi Sad (Serbia)

Lipanjska gibanja

[June Turmoil], 1969

35 mm film transferred to video.

B&W, sound, 10'

COURTESY THE ARTIST

LIDWIEN VAN DE VEN'S PROJECT
WAS SUPPORTED BY



CATERINA SIMÃO'S PROJECT
WAS SUPPORTED BY



**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
CULTURE AND SPORT**

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What, How & for Whom/WHW

CONSERVATOR IN CHARGE

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Public Actions for *Really Useful Knowledge*

A programme of public actions and activities that accompany the exhibition *Really Useful Knowledge*, designed by the collective **Subtramas** (Diego del Pozo, Montse Román and Virginia Villaplana). The actions will take place in the actual exhibition rooms, with the participation of a various social and cultural collectives.

The programme consists of three types of actions grouped under the titles *Conversing*, *Narrating* and *Instigating*. Each type consists of actions that correspond to the four questions that activate the itineraries.

The Conversing actions revolve around discussions on the collective production of knowledge and experiences, its conflicts and effects.

The Narrating actions entail accounts and readings of texts that come together to form a memory that is critical of established knowledge.

The Instigating actions describe some of the feats and problems of social struggles by means of strategies of self-representation used in some recent campaigns and citizen mobilisations.

ACTIONS

CONVERSING 1

28 October, 2014 • 6:30 PM

Sabatini Auditorium

What, How & for Whom/ WHW, Subtramas (Diego del Pozo, Montse Román, Virginia Villaplana), João Fernandes and Jesús Carrillo, will discuss the idea of art as really “useful” knowledge.

CONVERSING 2

20 November, 2014 • 7:00 PM

Contrabandos (Association of Independent Publishers of Political Books) and the open, collaborative library **Bookcamping** will strike up an open dialogue with the audience on the possibilities of publishing, beyond the cultural industries.

At 4:30 PM on the same day, the two collectives will build a “tree” with books about new political imaginaries, with the participation of the audience.

VENUE: Cuesta de Moyano, stall 20, Madrid.

CONVERSING 3

10 January, 2015 • 11:00 AM

Esta es una Plaza (Madrid), **El Patio Maravillas** (Madrid), **La Casa Invisible** (Malaga), and **Observatorio Metropolitano de Barcelona** will talk about the learning that results from sociocultural and political experiences, and discuss knowledge relating to a new citizenry.

CONVERSING 4

22 January, 2015 • 7:00 PM

Las Lindes (CA2M), the **Cine Sin Autor** collective, and staff from the **MNCARS Education Department** will talk about the creation of audiovisual prototypes in the fields of art and education.

NARRATING 1

17 January, 2015 • 7:00 PM

The artistic research and production collective **Declinación Magnética** will present an action that draws attention to the value of traditional or non-legitimised knowledge.

NARRATING 2

9 January, 2015 • 7:00 PM

23 January, 2015 • 7:00 PM

6 February, 2015 • 7:00 PM
somaticxs. research/production group.

“n actions, bodies, narratives and memories.”

NARRATING 3

31 January, 2015 • 7:00 PM

Me acuerdo... is a collective memorial in which various feminist and queer groups narrate the conquests of sexual diversity rights, and their political learning processes in Spain over the past few decades.

COORDINATED BY: Fefa Vila and Elvira Siurana.

NARRATING 4

Every Thursday and Saturday • 6:00 PM

Performative reading of a selection of the Museum's security incident reports and visitor complaints log. By students from the **MNCARS**

Study Centre.

INSTIGATING 1

17 January, 2015 • 11:00 AM

The collectives **Cidespu, EnterArte** are **Acción educativa**, which work with the **Green Tide** movement, will carry out an intervention in defense of public education.

INSTIGATING 2

14 December, 2014 • 11:00 AM

The Madrid node of **MEDSAP-White Tide** will describe the collective learning arising from their demands in defense of public health.

8 January, 2015 • 7:00 PM

Yo SÍ Sanidad Universal (in defense of inclusive public health and of the collectivisation of knowledge), invites everybody to its monthly “Agora”, which will revolve around “Health Ethics and Practice”.

INSTIGATING 3

22 November, 2014 • 7:00 PM

Eskalera Karakola.

c/ Embajadores 52, Madrid.

Workshop on “Possible Care Regimes and Domestic Struggles” with the groups **Senda de cuidados** and **Territorio Doméstico**.

LIMITED PLACES. FURTHER

INFORMATION AND REGISTRATION:
sendadecuidados@gmail.com

1 February, 2015 • 12:00 PM

The groups **Senda de cuidados** and **Territorio Doméstico** will carry out an action based on the demand for the social restructuring of care regimes.

INSTIGATING 4

30 October, 2014 • 7:00 PM

María Laura Rosa will carry out an intervention based on the artistic and activist practice of the group **Mujeres Públicas** (Argentina).

15 January, 2015 • 7:00 PM

The group **Peninsula. Colonial processes and artistic and curatorial practices** will present an activity related to a critical questioning of colonial images. **J**

The Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía expresses its gratitude first of all to the curators (What, How & for Whom/WHW: Ivet Ćurlin, Ana Dević, Nataša Ilić, and Sabina Sabolović), as well as to all the contributing artists.

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Esta es una Plaza
Concepción García

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