



# ROLAND

*The ICA's Magazine*  
*Issue 7*  
*September—November 2010*

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## COLOPHON

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Chto delat? (What is to be done?)  
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Cover: Chto delat?, film still from  
*The Tower: A Songspiel*, 2010, p. 5:  
Nikolay Oleynikov, *Ulrike Meinhof 2*,  
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Nikolay Oleynikov, *Chernyshevsky as Red  
Skinhead*, 2010, gouache and graphite  
on paper, p. 15: Chto delat?, *Activist  
Club*, 2007, installation view at Van  
Abbe Museum, 2010.

Font by B&P Foundry

The ICA is proud to present the seventh issue of ROLAND, which has been produced to accompany our programme for September and October 2010. During this period the institution presents a number of activities grouped under the title *Dissent*; at the core of this season is an exhibition and an accompanying programme of events revolving around the practice of the Russian collective Chto delat? (What is to be done?). This group poses crucial questions about the connections between art, theory, and militant political life, and the activities within *Dissent* develop these themes to consider contemporary culture's relationship to activism. At a time when public finances are being withdrawn from initiatives across society and an increasing emphasis is placed on private investment, do the arts occupy a viable alternative space for protest and critical thought?

This publication includes introductions to and background material on the Chto delat? exhibition *The Urgent Need to Struggle*, the release in our cinema of documentary film *Collapse* and a series of seminars and talks organised by InC, Continental Philosophy Research Group. We also take a look back at May's architectural workshop *Fantasy Atelier*, and feature new work from Laura Oldfield Ford.



LOTTERY FUNDED

ICA

9 September – 24 October

CHTO DELAT? (WHAT IS TO BE DONE?)

## *The Urgent Need to Struggle*

This autumn, the ICA presents the first major project in the UK by Russian collective Chto delat? (What is to be done?). Formed in 2003 and made up of artists, critics, philosophers and writers, the collective sees its diverse activities as a merging of political theory, art and activism. The group's ideas are rooted in its members' observations of post-Perestroika Russia, and in principles of self-organisation and collectivism. Their work uses a variety of means to advance a leftist position on economic, social and cultural agendas; they publish a regular newspaper, produce artwork in the form of videos, installations, public actions, and radio programmes, and contribute regularly to conferences and publications.

For the ICA Chto delat? has formulated a wide ranging project that extends its identity as 'a self-organising platform for cultural workers', presenting artwork and ideas produced by multiple individual and collaborative practices, as well as a new issue of the *Chto delat?* newspaper. For the exhibition, the group aims to create a didactic installation that reclaims the educational value of art focused on basic activities, such as watching, reading, listening and discussing.

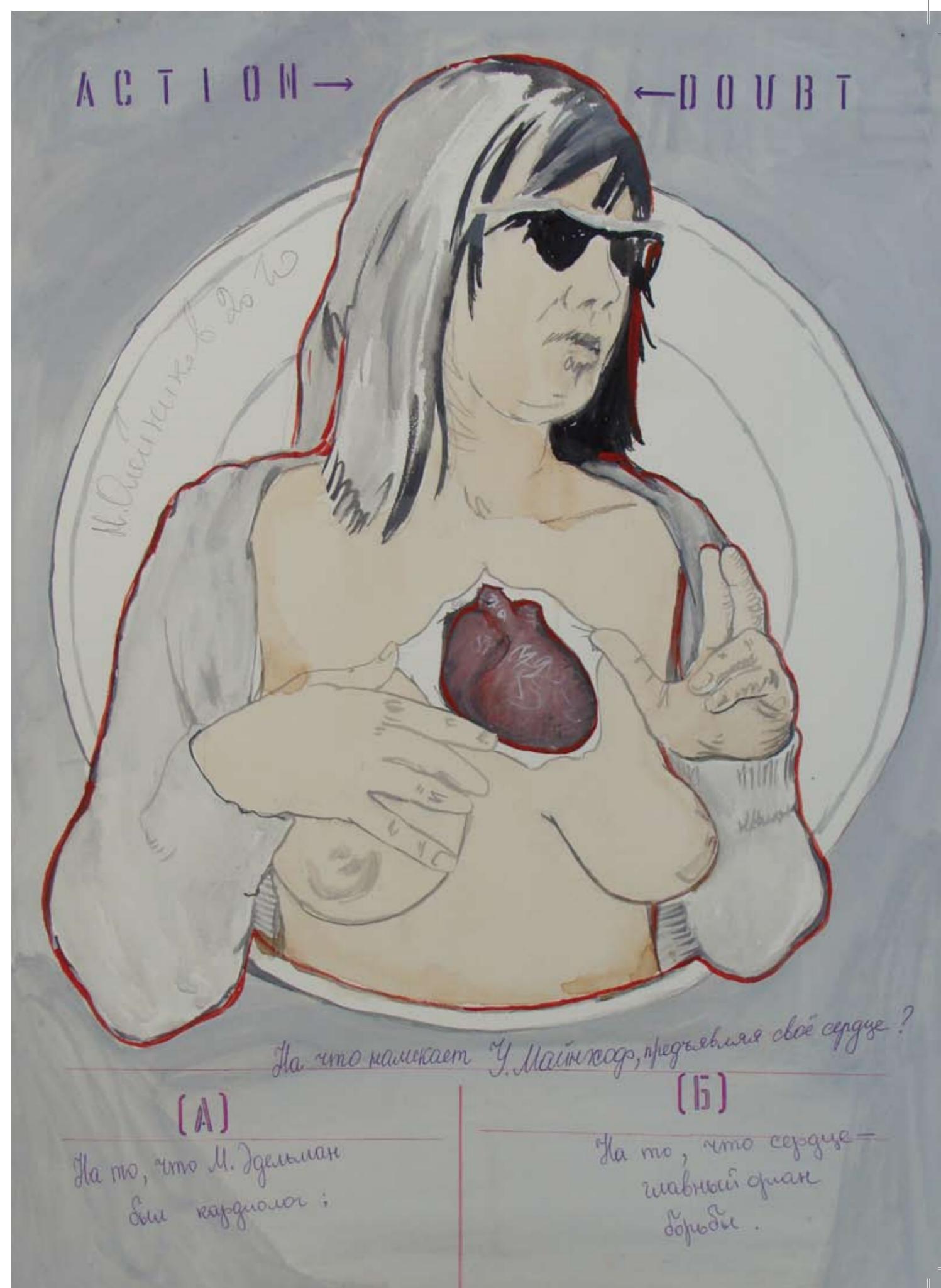
The ICA gallery is structured around a series of display modules reminiscent of Russian Constructivist Alexander Rodchenko's designs for the interior of a workers' club. A three-tiered cinema space serves as a viewing area for *Tower Songspiel* (2010), the most recent work in a trilogy of narrative films that sit at the centre of the collective's visual practice; these 'songspiels' take on a mode of musical theatre developed by playwright Bertolt Brecht and composer Kurt Weill in the early twentieth century,

presenting political and social concerns through the accessible and often humorous form of song. The symbolism within *Tower Songspiel* is echoed in an installation along the ICA's concourse, enlarged red veins conjuring up notions of power and pervasive control.

Leading the visitor through the gallery space is a unique audio guide devised by Chto delat? for the exhibition. The guide is a wry response to the conventions inherent in the institutional presentation of contemporary art. On display in the Reading Room are a series of video works produced by a number of individuals and groups who have links with Chto delat?. These pieces articulate various manifestations of self-organised artistic and educational practice.

Expanding on this gallery presentation, Chto delat?'s collective working practice becomes a platform for a number of events occurring throughout September and October, including a 48-hour 'communal living' seminar occurring across the theatre and galleries, an open-microphone 'Night of Angry Statements' and a weekly screening event addressing political filmmaking. For further information regarding these events visit [www.ica.org.uk/chtodelat](http://www.ica.org.uk/chtodelat).

Chto delat? (founded in 2003 in St Petersburg, Russia) has exhibited and presented its work in many recent projects including *The Idea of Communism*, Volksbühne, Berlin (2010); *The Beauty of Distance*, 17<sup>th</sup> Sydney Biennale (2010); *The Potosí Principle*, Museum Reina Sofia, Madrid (2010); *Morality*, Witte de With, Rotterdam (2010); *A History of Irritated Material*, Raven Row, London (2010); *Plug In*, Van Abbemuseum, Eindhoven (2009); Istanbul Biennial (2009);



# AN ISSUE OF ORGANISATION: CHTO DELAT?

DMITRY VILENSKY & GERALD RAUNIG

Gerald Raunig:

The name of your collective – Chto delat? – seems to come from the title of that old Vladimir Ilyich Lenin text ‘What Is to Be Done?’ (1902), in which Lenin raises some “burning questions for our movement”.<sup>1</sup> It is an essay from the start of what I call the ‘Lenin discourse’. These two words stand here for a discursive machine that emerged in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century, and which developed possible models of radical politics. This machine by no means was defined unequivocally, not even in 1917, but drew instead from a multitude of positions, which explains the flexibility and versatility of Lenin’s own writings and political position. Within a diverse field of socialdemocratic, socialist, communist, individualist, anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist positions continually opening up to new fields of reference, there seemed to be endless possibilities for inventing and recomposing revolutionary machines. If Slavoj Žižek’s book on Lenin, *Revolution at the Gates* (2002), represents an attempt to ‘repeat Lenin’ – specifically the Lenin that has vanished behind the proliferating dogmas of Marxism-Leninism that appeared from the 1920s onwards – I would call more concisely for repeating the ‘Lenin discourse’: the discourse that arose in Europe between the two revolutions of 1905 and 1917 (not exclusively in Lenin’s own writings), and which articulates the debates of the Second International on social democracy and the unions; on the relationship between socialist and anarchist movements; on Bolsheviks and Mensheviks; on suitable forms of organisation, the avant-garde party and the dictatorship of the

proletariat; on the relationship between spontaneous actions and cadre-like organisation; on proletarian and political mass strikes – all of which would be worth ‘repeating’ today, or at least purposely not repeating. I see the name of your group as consciously repeating the old title of a Lenin text from this perspective.

Dmitry Vilensky:

First I should say that it is quite a common misunderstanding in the West to link the question ‘Chto delat?’ directly and exclusively to Lenin. In Russia very few remember this text, but everyone remembers Nikolay Chernyshevsky’s book of the same title from 1863, because it is still in the basic school-reading programme and it has deeply influenced Russian culture and politics. For us the reference to Chernyshevsky is much more important, because at a certain moment in the late 1990s we found ourselves thrown back to the period of primitive accumulation of capital and confronted with new forms of labour slavery. In this situation, the development of left-wing movements paradoxically was comparable to the situation of the first Russian Marxist cells in the mid-nineteenth century. And Chernyshevsky’s novel was a brilliant attempt at writing some sort of a manual on how to construct emancipatory collectives and make them sustainable within a hostile society.

But you are right, we cannot simply skip over the reference to Lenin, because it really is an important text. I agree with Žižek in his evaluation of Lenin’s article, because it problematises the relations between the spontaneity of the working-



Nikolay Oleynikov

*Brecht and Lenin "Who dares say "Never"'*, 2010, gouache and graphite on paper

class struggle and the necessity for organisation.<sup>2</sup> That is why Chto delat? is constructed around issues of production of knowledge in the form of a self-organised educational process.

It also is important to emphasise that the question ‘What is to be done?’ is clearly identified with the Left. It means that we admit that this or that historical situation must be changed, but before acting we ask questions and develop a field for intellectual practice. Right-wing politics

on the other hand normally starts with the question ‘Who is guilty?’. Finally, the name of the group was a means of representing our fidelity to a certain tradition – in order to show exactly which side we are standing on, to clarify our position in the Russian and the international situation, which, to certain degree, helps to establish the space of a ‘common’ that can be shared by anyone who still is interested in such debates and practices.

Excerpt from ‘An Issue of Organisation: Chto Delat?’, *Aferall*, Autumn/Winter, 2008.

1. ‘Burning Questions for Our Movement’ is the subtitle of Lenin’s *What Is to Be Done?*
2. See Slavoj Žižek, ‘Afterword: Lenin’s Choice’, in Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *Revolution at the Gates*. Žižek on Lenin: *The 1917 Writings*, ed. Slavoj Žižek, London and New York, Verso, 2002.

## WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

NIKOLAY CHERNYSHEVSKY

## IV

Véra Pávolvna's shop was quickly established. At first the organisation was so simple that nothing need be said about it. Véra Pávolvna had told her first three seamstresses that she would give them a little higher wages than the stores paid. The three working girls, appreciating the character of Véra Pávolvna, had willingly consented to work for her. They were not at all puzzled at a poor woman's desiring to establish a dressmaker's shop.

These three young girls found four more, choosing them with all the circumspection that Véra Pávolvna had recommended to them: these conditions of choice had nothing in them to excite suspicion, nothing of an extraordinary character. What is there extraordinary in the fact that a young woman should want her shop-girls to be of good and open character? She wants no quarrels, that is all; it is only prudence on her part.

Véra Pávolvna also formed a somewhat intimate acquaintance with the girls newly selected before telling them that she accepted them; this was very natural; she still acted like a prudent woman.

They worked a month for the wages agreed upon. Véra Pávolvna was always at the shop, so that the seamstresses had plenty of time to know her more closely and see that she was economical, circumspect, reasonable, and at the same time good; therefore she obtained their confidence very quickly. There was but one thing further to say – that she was a good employer, who knew how to manage her affairs.

When the month was over, Véra Pávolvna came to the shop with an account book, and asked her seamstresses to stop their work and listen. Then she said to them in simple language things such as the seamstresses had never heard before:

“Now we know each other. For my part, I can say of you that you are good workers and good characters. And I do not believe that you will speak very ill of me. I am going to talk to you without reserve, and if what I say seems strange, you will reflect before deciding upon it; you will not regard my words as futile, for you know me for a serious woman.

“This is what I have to say: “People of heart say that dressmakers' shops can be established in which the

CHTO DELAT?  
INSTANCES OF FRUITFUL  
CRITICISM

RICHARD BIRKETT

In his accompanying notes for the play *The Mother*, written in 1931, Bertolt Brecht states:

*The Mother* was written in the style of a *Lehrstück* (‘play for learning’) ... In the same way as it refuses to tacitly hand over its heroes to the world as though to an inalterable destiny, it also has no intention of handing over the spectator to a ‘suggestive’ theatre experience. Rather its concern is to teach the spectator a most definitely practical conduct that is intended to change the world, and for this reason he must be afforded a fundamentally different attitude in the theatre from that to which he is accustomed.<sup>1</sup>

Within this definition of a ‘play for learning’, Brecht’s proposition that the spectator should be jolted out of complacent submission and re-oriented towards a ‘different attitude’ is a crucial one that questions the manner in which art is received, and equally the way in which art is produced through social relations. What is implied is a non-immersive state of reception; the form and content of the play are engineered towards the creation of active participants who are constantly asked to assume an ‘attitude’ towards the material being presented. It is a definition of a state of persistent critical awareness engendered within both actors and audience, dissolving the boundaries between these two groups of protagonists.

1. Bertolt Brecht, *The Mother*, trans. Lee Baxandall, Grove Press, New York, 1965, p.133.

Equally central to Brecht’s statement is the suggestion that this state of critical awareness is not an inverted one, preoccupied by aesthetic and formal concerns; rather, it is directed towards a wider social sphere, towards ‘changing the world’. The play is a didactic tool, intended to convey ‘most definitely practical conduct’; the proposed attitude is activist in nature, locating a point at which art has a material social function – in the words of Brecht’s poem *On the Critical Attitude*: “Canalising a river/ Grafting a fruit tree/ Educating a person/ Transforming a state/ These are instances of fruitful criticism/ And at the same time instances of art.”<sup>2</sup>

The collective practice of Russian group *Chto delat?* (What is to be done?) came into being through an equivalent desire to locate the production of art and cultural knowledge within an active social and political context. As a fluid assembly of artists, writers, philosophers and activists, this ‘coming together’ has been driven both by local circumstances and urgencies, and a shared fidelity to a leftist tradition and the emancipatory potential within this perspective.

In 2003 the group produced the first of many Russian-English newspapers titled *Chto delat?*, in which they publicised numerous texts around the politicisation of art. In the publication’s editorial, artist Dmitry Vilensky outlined an urgent need for change felt within the Russian intellectual community:

We may find assurance in the fact that coming changes completely depend on our position, on our projections into the future; an intensification of the process of “net-working”, an effort “to get together”, “to be concerned and socially engaged”, to maintain a “feeling of community” and a conviction that “another view is possible” (as expressed with these English-language abstractions) have become the urgent necessities of artistic life in Russia.<sup>3</sup>

In tandem with this first publication of the *Chto delat?* newspaper, the group conducted a public action that encapsulated their desire to re-orient the conditions under which they were working.

seamstresses shall work with greater profit than in the shops generally known. It has been my wish to make the attempt. Judging from the first month, we must conclude that these people are right. Your wages you have had. I am now going to tell you how much profit remains to me after deducting your wages and the running expenses.”

Véra Pávolvna read them the account of the expenses and receipts for the month just over. Under the head of expenses were placed, besides the wages paid, all the over costs – the rent of the room, lights, and even Véra Pávolvna’s carriage-hire in conducting the business of the shop.

“I have so much left”, she continued; “what’s to be done with this money? I have established a workshop in order that the profits resulting from the work may go to the workers; that is why I come, for this first time, to distribute it among you equally. Then we shall see if that is the best way, or if it would be better to employ this money otherwise.”

Having said this, she made the distribution. For some minutes the seamstresses could not recover from their astonishment; then they began to thank her. Véra Pávolvna let them go on, fearing that she would offend them if she refused to listen, which would have seemed in their eyes indifference and disdain.

“Now,” she continued, “I have to tell you the most difficult thing that I shall ever have to say to you, and I do not know whether I shall succeed in making it clear. Nevertheless I must try. Why have I not kept this money? And of what use is it to establish a workshop if not to make a profit from it? I and my husband have, as you know, the necessities: although we are not rich, we have everything that we need and enough of it. Now, if I needed anything, I should only have to say so to my husband; or, rather, even that would be needless, for if I wanted anything, he would perceive it himself and give it to me. His business is not of the most lucrative sort, but it is what he likes best. As we love each other a great deal, it is infinitely pleasant to him to do what pleases me; on my side, I love to do what pleases him. Therefore, if I needed money, he would engage in more lucrative business than he is doing now. And he would find it quickly, for he is intelligent and skillful – but you are somewhat acquainted with him. Now, if he does not do it, that means that the money which we have is enough for me. I have no passion for money; everyone has his passion, which is not always the passion for money. Some have a passion for dancing, others for dress, others for cards, and all are ready to ruin themselves to satisfy their ruling

2. [www.poemhunter.com/poem/on-the-critical-attitude/](http://www.poemhunter.com/poem/on-the-critical-attitude/)

3. Dmitry Vilensky, ‘What is to be done?’ Editorial in *Chto delat?* (*What is to be done?*), Petersburg, Russia, 2003, p.2.

passion; many actually do it, and nobody is astonished at it. Now, I have a passion for the things in which I am engaged with you, and, far from ruining myself for my passion, I spend scarcely any money upon it, and I am happy to indulge myself in it without making any profit thereby. Well, there is nothing strange in that, it seems to me. Whoever thinks of making a profit out of his passion? Everyone even sacrifices money for it. I do not even do that; I spend nothing on it. Therefore I have an advantage over others in that my passion, though agreeable to me, costs me nothing, while others pay for their pleasure. Why have I this passion? This is why: good and intelligent people have written many books concerning the way in which we should live in order that all may be happy; and the principal means that they recommend is the organisation of workshops on a new basis.

“I, wishing to see if we can establish a workshop of this sort, act just as anyone does who desires to build a beautiful house or lay out a fine garden or a hothouse in order to enjoy them; I wish to establish a good dressmaker’s shop in order that I may have the pleasure of watching it. Certainly it would be something gained already, if I confined myself to distributing the profits among you monthly, as I do now. But good people say that we can manage in a much better and more profitable way. I will tell you little by little all that we can do besides, if we take the advice of intelligent people. Moreover, you yourselves, by watching things closely, will make your own observations, and when it shall seem to you possible for us to do something good, we will try to do it, but gradually and in proper season. I must only add that without your consent I shall make no innovations. Whatever is new will be according to your wishes. Intelligent people say that nothing succeeds unless it is done voluntarily. I am of their opinion, and shall do nothing without your consent.

“Here is my last order: you see that it is necessary to keep books, and look out that there may be no useless expenditures. During this first month I have done this alone, but I do not care to do so any more. Choose two of you to help me. I shall do nothing without their advice. The money is yours and not mine; therefore it is for you to watch its employment. We are hardly well enough acquainted with each other yet to know which of you is best fitted for such work; we must make a trial and choose only for a limited time; in a week you will know whether to appoint other delegates or let the old ones continue.”

These extraordinary words gave rise to long discussions. But Véra Pávovna

Titled *The Re-foundation of Petersburg*, the piece was conceived in direct opposition to the official celebrations of the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the eponymous city. In marked contrast to these ostentatious events that largely revolved around the veneration of Vladimir Putin’s presidency, the collective conducted a low-key demonstration in a city-centre train station, and then boarded a train out of St Petersburg, symbolically founding a new centre at their destination in the city’s suburbs. The action gestured towards a notion of collective exodus, of imagining a new context for cultural life divorced from the constraints of the Russian art establishment and the restrictions within the country’s political life.

The manner in which the Chto delat? collective has organised itself since this initial action, has been built around a mutuality redolent of the aspirations at the heart of Brecht’s concept of the learning play. Collaborations between artists, writers, philosophers and other practitioners are conceived within the tradition of the Soviets: grassroots workers’ groups in early twentieth-century Russia that developed unsanctioned forms of self-organisation.<sup>4</sup> Within this structure, the communal development of Chto delat? projects takes equal precedence to the provision of a critical context for individual practices – the collective is constituted through a form of “self-organised educational process”.<sup>5</sup> The variety of projects that make up the group’s activities reinforce this sense of knowledge production through exchange; the ‘work’ of the collective is as likely to occur through a reading group or ‘communal-life’ seminar as in the creation of a film or mural.

In this regard, Chto delat?’s self-appointed description as a ‘platform for cultural workers’, is an apt framework that encapsulates both a local need for a common arena for critical and independent research from different disciplines, and a wider value to the investigation of forms of organisation in the space between cultural production and political activism. In the collective’s activities there is a synthesis between organising against social oppression and inequality, and the production of ‘artwork’ through or in service to this process. As with Brecht’s intent to teach ‘most

4. Workers local councils (Soviets) were first organised in Russia during the 1905 revolution, emerging as independent organisations from officially sanctioned unions. These groups re-emerged under Socialist leadership during the 1917 revolution, and under Communism the term ‘soviet’ extended to any supreme body who gained the authority of a group of soviets, creating a hierarchical structure of decision making.

5. Gerald Raunig and Dmitry Vilensky, ‘An Issue of Organisation: Chto Delat?’, *Afterall*, Issue 19, ed. Charles Esche, Thomas Lawson, Mark Lewis, Dieter Roelstraete, Antwerp/ London/ Los Angeles, 2008, p.6.

definitely practical conduct’, these works exist as didactic tools that represent rallying points for collectivity, and demands for critical awareness.

There is an important shift in the Chto delat? practice between the group’s existence as a local organisation within a Russian social and cultural context and their reception in the global art world. In exhibitions and biennales the presentation of the group’s work – in the form of the discursive and theory-based *Chto delat?* newspapers, graphic and polemic wall paintings, and installations housing film and video works by members of the collective – tends towards the creation of a unified space intent on combining a visual experience with the potential of collective learning and public engagement. This approach to formalising the group’s multi-faceted production within a single space consciously references the aesthetic utilitarianism of Constructivism,<sup>6</sup> and also the graphic and information-based nature of activist literature and media. Chto delat?’s presence on an international stage is self-consciously framed through a dual aim to engage with and represent a historical communist ideology, and to consider how such forms of organisation relate to present-day social movements that resist the cultural hegemony of capitalism. The institutionalised context of contemporary art provides a live space for such considerations; through the contradictions within its radical aspirations, yet clearly defined and controlled hierarchies, it stands as a highly visible and contested arena of knowledge and potential criticality.

Over the last two years, Chto delat? has produced a trilogy of short films that elaborate on the transition from the micropolitics of local struggles to the broader activation of consciousness that occurs in the relationship between an artwork and its audience. These works, collectively labelled ‘songspiels’, reference a form of musical theatre developed by Bertolt Brecht and composer Kurt Weill – the term was coined to describe the use of popular forms of song within a play, as a means to convey social and political themes to a broad audience. The Chto delat? films adopt a

had gained the confidence of the working girls. She had talked to them in a very simple way, without going too far or unfolding attractive prospects before them that, after a temporary enthusiasm, give birth to distrust; consequently the young girls were far from taking her for a crank, and that was the principal point. The business went on very satisfactorily.

Excerpt from Nikolay Chernyshevsky, Chapter IV, ‘Marriage and Second Love’, *What is to be Done?*, Virago, London, 1982, pp. 153–156, first published in 1863.

The novel *What Is to Be Done?* was written by mid-nineteenth century Russian philosopher, journalist and literary critic Nikolai Chernyshevsky while he was imprisoned for criticising the established political order of the time. The book was mysteriously passed by the prison censor, and published in 1863. It became a reference point for revolutionary thinking at the end of the nineteenth century, and particularly inspired Vladimir Ilyich Lenin to write his 1902 political pamphlet also titled *What Is to Be Done?*.

6. See Alexander Rodchenko’s designs for a workers club, originally exhibited at the *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes* in Paris in the summer of 1925. A reconstruction of this space was recently included in ‘Rodchenko & Popova: Defining Constructivism’ at Tate Modern, 2009.

## INSTITUENT PRACTICES

—  
GERALD RAUNIG

*Parrhesia* means in classical Greek 'to say everything', freely speaking truth without rhetorical games and without ambiguity, even and especially when this is hazardous. Foucault describes the practice of *parrhesia* using numerous examples from ancient Greek literature as a movement from a political to a personal technique. The older form of *parrhesia* corresponds to publicly speaking truth as an institutional right. Depending on the form of the state, the subject addressed by the *parrhesiastes* is the assembly in the democratic agora, the tyrant in the monarchical court.<sup>1</sup> *Parrhesia* is generally understood as coming from below and directed upward, whether it is the philosopher's criticism of the tyrant or the citizen's criticism of the majority of the assembly: the specific potentiality of *parrhesia* is found in the unequivocal gap between the one who takes a risk to express everything and the criticised sovereign who is impugned by this truth.

Over the course of time, a change takes place in the game of truth "which – in the classical Greek conception of *parrhesia* – was constituted by the fact that someone was courageous enough to tell the truth to other people ... there is a shift from that kind of *parrhesiastic* game to another truth game that now consists in being courageous enough to disclose the truth about oneself."<sup>2</sup> This process from public criticism to personal (self-) criticism develops parallel to the decrease in the significance of the democratic public sphere of the agora. At the same time, *parrhesia* comes up increasingly in conjunction with education. One of Foucault's relevant examples here is Plato's dialogue 'Laches', in which the question of the best teacher for the interlocutor's sons represents the starting point and foil. The teacher Socrates no longer assumes the function of the *parrhesiastes* in the sense of exercising dangerous contradiction in a political sense, but rather by moving his listeners to give account of themselves and leading them to a self-questioning that queries the relationship between their statements (*logos*) and their way of living (*bios*). However, this technique does not serve as an autobiographical confession or examination of conscience or as a prototype of Maoist self-criticism, but rather to establish a relationship between rational discourse and the lifestyle of the interlocutor or the self-questioning person. Contrary to any individualistic interpretation

theatrical form of narrative presentation similarly integrated with composed song; each piece is shot in a single space, using a basic array of props and a group of performers who fulfil roles as 'typical' members of society, such as businessmen, intellectuals, politicians, workers and revolutionaries. The themes of these works relate to very real moments of political and social contestation, including the transitional days of Perestroika during the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the forced eviction of a Roma community from a site in Belgrade. These events form the basis for a mode of symbolic drama that favours parody and mannered hyperbole over realism.

The most recent work from this trilogy, titled *Tower Songspiel*, takes the controversial development of areas of St Petersburg as its central subject. Despite large parts of the historic city centre being listed as a UNESCO world-heritage site, recent proposals to build a skyscraper as headquarters for the Gazprom corporation have been endorsed by the city authorities.<sup>7</sup> Chto delat's film revolves around an elevated platform on which is seated a group of performers acting out a parodic representation of a Gazprom meeting, involving city officials and others complicit with the development; below the platform are equally generic caricatures of the dissenting general public, from a group of glamorous 'it' girls to immigrant workers and left-wing 'radicals'.

The work is a satirically amplified version of a real and very live public debate within St Petersburg society, yet the bloated portraits of both the powerful and the perceived powerless within this debate suggest a more universal thread of atomisation and self-interest stretching throughout the various stereotypes represented. As the museum curator is easily persuaded to form part of the clique of powerbrokers through the promise of the presence of contemporary art within the development (and, of course, the implication of her required services), so the dissenting rabble she attempts to placate is riven with mutual antagonism and apathy. A cycle of speeches by other Gazprom stooges (including an Orthodox priest and an artist) is met with clichéd responses and

7. The official name of the Gazprom tower is the Okhta Centre. It is designed by British architects RMJM.



especially of later Foucault texts (imputing a 'return to subject philosophy', etc.), here parrhesia is not the competency of a subject, but rather a movement between the position that queries the concordance of logos and bios, and the position that exercises self-criticism in light of this query.

In keeping with a productive interpretation for contemporary institutional critique practices, my aim here is to link the two concepts of parrhesia described by Foucault as a genealogical development, to understand hazardous refutation in its relation to self-revelation. Critique, and especially institutional critique, is not exhausted in denouncing abuses, nor in withdrawing into more or less radical self-questioning. In terms of the art field, this means that neither the belligerent strategies of the institutional critique of the 1970s nor art as a service to the institution in the 1990s promise effective interventions in the governmentality of the present.

What is needed here and now is parrhesia as a double strategy: as an attempt of involvement and engagement in a process of hazardous refutation, and as self-questioning.

What is needed, therefore, are practices that conduct radical social criticism, yet which do not fancy themselves in an imagined distance to institutions; at the same time, practices that are self-critical and yet do not cling to their own involvement, their complicity, their imprisoned existence in the art field, their fixation on institutions and the institution, their own being-institution. Institutional practices that conjoin the advantages of both 'generations' of institutional critique, thus exercising both forms of parrhesia, will impel a linking of social criticism, institutional critique and self-criticism. This link will develop, most of all, from the direct and indirect concatenation with political practices and social movements, but without dispensing with artistic competences and strategies, without dispensing with resources of and effects in the art field. Here, exodus would not mean relocating to a different country or a different field, but betraying the rules of the game through the act of flight: 'transforming the arts of governing' not only in relation to the institutions of the art field or the institution art as the art field, but rather as participation in processes of instituting and in political practices that traverse the fields, the structures, the institutions.

choreographed generic gestures from the floor. As this comedy of delusional power and phantom democracy unfolds, red vein-like forms emerge from the base of the platform. These visceral props slowly engulf and paralyse the multitude: symbolic capillaries that add an element of B-movie bio-shock to the film, and represent the stultifying effects of capitalist power.

With *Tower Songspiel* Chto delat? construct a form of inflated parable that has its roots in both the political bluntness of Brecht's learning plays and 'songspiel', and the narrativised sculptural spaces of Russian-American artist Ilya Kabakov. The piece is hilariously grotesque, however, in its absurdist symbolism and generalisations towards Russian society, and functions through a logic of populist satire that is at once didactic and equivocal in its message. The tale of the Gazprom tower exposes the dominance of a capitalist agenda within a still transitional Russian society; yet the piece does not directly aim to suggest a necessary conduct of counter-activity in relation to this particular episode. Rather, it highlights the very lack of cohesive criticality or shared civic position within post-socialist, nouveau-capitalist Russia, and by extension a broader problematic of how those willing to contest virulent lines of power and exploitation organise and collectivise around this goal.

It is through the structure of the collective, and its transition from a local imperative to an international discourse, that Chto delat? attempt to interrogate and solve this problem. In organising around such a dialectical process, in which absorption within a critical attitude is defined as paramount, the group succeed in asserting their own ground from which to engage and activate a politically conscious public.

1. The oldest example of political parrhesia is that of the figure of Diogenes, who commands Alexander from the precariousness of his barrel to move out of his light. Like the citizen expressing a minority opinion in the democratic setting of the agora, the Cynic

philosopher also practices a form of parrhesia with respect to the monarch in public.

2. Michel Foucault, *Fearless Speech*, Los Angeles / New York, Semiotext(e), 2001, also: <http://foucault.info/documents/parrhesia/>.

Excerpt from Gerald Raunig, 'Instituent Practices: Fleeing, Instituting, Transforming', trans. Aileen Derieg, 2006, <http://transform.eipcp.net/transversal/0106/raunig/en>. also: Gerald Raunig / Gene Ray, eds., *Art and Contemporary Critical Practice: Reinventing Institutional Critique*, London, MayFlyBooks 2009, pp. 3–11.



# THE MOTHER

BERTOLT BRECHT

c. Pelagea Vlasova learns to read

VESOVCHIKOV, in front of a blackboard: So you want to learn to read. I don't understand of course why you people should need it in your position. Some of you are also a little old for it. However, I shall try, as a favour to Mrs Vlasova. Do you all have something to write with? Right, I shall now write three simple words up: sap, nest fish. I repeat: sap, nest, fish. He writes.

SIGORSKI: Why words like that?

VLASOVA, sitting at the table with the others: Excuse me, Nikolai Ivanovitch, does it absolutely have to be sap, nest, fist? We're old people. We've got to learn the words we need quickly, you know.

VESOVCHIKOV, smiles: But you see, what you learn to read by is completely irrelevant.

VLASOVA: What do you mean? How'd you spell 'worker' for instance? That's what interests our Pavel Sigorski.

SIGORSKI: 'Sap' never comes up at all.

VLASOVA: He's a metal-worker.

VESOVCHIKOV: The letters come up in it, though.

WORKER: But the letters come up in the word 'class-struggle' too!

VESOVCHIKOV: Yes, but you've got to start off with what's simplest, not tackle the most difficult straight away. 'Sap' is simple.

SIGORSKI: 'Class-struggle' is a lot simpler.

VESOVCHIKOV: But there's no such thing as class-struggle. We ought to get that straight from the start.

SIGORSKI, stands up: In that case, if you think there's no class-struggle, there's nothing I can learn from you.

VLASOVA: You're here to learn reading and writing, and you can do that here. Reading is class-struggle.

VESOVCHIKOV: All this is nonsense in my opinion. What's that supposed to mean anyway: reading is class-struggle? Why are you talking like this in the first place? He writes. Right then, here we have: worker. Copy it.

VLASOVA: Reading is class-struggle. What I meant by that was, if the soldiers in Tver had been able to read our banners, perhaps they wouldn't have shot at us. They were all peasant boys.

VESOVCHIKOV: Look here, I'm a teacher myself, and cos, like that I've been teaching reading and writing eighteen years, but I'll tell you something. Deep inside me I know it's all nonsense. Books are nonsense. Men are only made worse by them. A simple peasant is a better human being for that reason alone, that he hasn't been spoiled by civilisation.

VLASOVA: So how d'you spell 'class-struggle'? Pavel Sigorski, you have to hold your hand firmly or it'll shake and your writing won't be clear.

VESOVCHIKOV, writes: Class-struggle. To Sigorski: You must write in a straight line and not go over the margin. He who transgresses the margin also transgresses the law. Generation after generation after all has heaped knowledge upon knowledge and written book after book. Science has advanced further than ever before. And what use has it been? Confusion too is greater than ever before. The whole lot ought to be thrown in the sea at its deepest point. Every book and machine in the Black Sea. Down with knowledge! Have you finished yet? I sometimes have lessons in which I sink into total melancholy. What, I ask then, what have such truly great thoughts, which encompass not only the Now, but also the Ever and Eternal, Human Nature, what have they to do with class-struggle?

SIGORSKI, muttering: Thoughts like that are no use to us. As long as your kind are sinking in melancholy, you're exploiting us.

VLASOVA: Quiet, Pavel Sigorski! Please, how d'you spell 'exploitation'?

VESOVCHIKOV: 'Exploitation'! That only exists in books too. As if I'd ever exploited anyone! He writes.

SIGORSKI: He only says that, 'cos he doesn't see any of the profits.

VLASOVA, to SIGORSKI: The 'o' in 'exploitation' is just like the 'o' in 'worker'.

VESOVCHIKOV: Knowledge doesn't help, you know. It's kindness that helps.

VLASOVA: You give us your knowledge then, if you don't need it.

IN PRAISE OF LEARNING, sung by the Revolutionary workers to those who are learning

Learn what is easiest, for all  
Those whose day has come at last  
It is not too late!  
Learn up your ABC, it is not enough but  
Learn it! Don't let it overawe you  
Start now! You must omit nothing!  
It's you who'll have to give the orders.  
Learn on, man put away!  
Learn on, man put in prison!  
Learn on, woman in kitchen!  
Learn on, old age pensioner!  
It's you who'll have to give the orders  
Go off and find a school, if you're homeless!  
Go get yourself knowledge, you who freeze!  
Starving, you reach for the book: it is your best  
weapon.  
It's you who'll have to give the orders.

Don't be afraid to ask questions, comrade!  
Don't be talked into things  
See for yourself!  
What you don't know yourself  
You don't know.  
Study the bill for  
It's you who must pay it.  
Point with your finger at every item  
Ask how it comes to be there.  
It's you who'll have to give the orders.

VLASOVA, stands up: That's enough for today. We can't take all that much in at once any more. Otherwise our Pavel Sigorski won't get any sleep again tonight. Thank you Nikolai Ivanovitch. We can only say you help us a lot by teaching us reading and writing.

VESOVCHIKOV: I don't believe it. By the way, I don't say your opinions don't make sense. I shall come back to that in our next lesson.

12, 19 &amp; 26 September

# THE FUTURE OF PEDAGOGY

THE CONCEPT & THE DISASTER

INC CONTINENTAL PHILOSOPHY  
RESEARCH GROUP

“Thought waits to be woken one day by the memory of what has been missed, and to be transformed into teaching” (Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia*, 1951)

InC (Roberto Cavallini, Sam McAuliffe, Daniele Rugo, David Smith) presents a series of seminars and talks at the ICA throughout September. The programme is the starting point for a reflection on the relationship between critical thinking and pedagogy. On the eve of yet another educational reform, InC focus on the future of pedagogy and in particular on the possibilities of resistance that this offers when actively configured as what philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari call ‘a pedagogy of the concept’. The aim is to consider the conditions through which the pedagogical act is framed within the discourse of universal capitalism.

In *What is Philosophy?* Deleuze and Guattari speak of ‘the three ages of the concept’ – ages that express three varying determinations of the activity of thinking itself.

“The post-Kantians concentrated on a universal *encyclopaedia* of the concept that attributed concept creation to a pure subjectivity rather than taking on the more modest task of a *pedagogy* of the concept, which would have to analyze the conditions of creation as factors of always singular moments. If the three ages of the concept are the *encyclopaedia*, *pedagogy*, and *commercial professional training*, only the second can safeguard us from falling from the heights of the first into the disaster of the third – an absolute disaster for thought whatever its benefits might be, of course, from the viewpoint of universal capitalism.”

There is, then, “a pedagogy of the concept”. As though in the absence of this pedagogical supplement, the concept would cease to be determinable as such. And insofar as it accompanies a concept’s creation, and ensures its efficacy, pedagogy concerns the very possibility of thinking itself, its ‘condition’. For philosophical thought the question of pedagogy is therefore formative.

InC’s seminars at the ICA will look at the question: how would a “pedagogy of the concept” take place *today*? On the basis of what apparatus? Can we continue to say that the pedagogical act retains this capacity for critique with which Deleuze and Guattari unconditionally invest it? Can a distinction between pedagogy and “commercial professional training”, “the viewpoint of universal capitalism” continue to be drawn? If so, then by what means? And if not, does this impinge upon the very possibility of critical thinking itself?

If in the situation of “absolute disaster”, in which “the only people left are administrators”, moments of singular creation are outclassed by the constant improvement of logical apparatuses, what can we expect from the institutions once devoted to the “pedagogy of the concept”? While a certain lexicon seems already to prefigure a change in paradigm, what position will institutions take in the shift from a “pedagogy of the concept” to “commercial professional training”? Will the institution still formulate questions as to the possibility of thinking? The series investigates the occasion for an explicit affirmation of singular interruptions in the face of “absolute disaster”.

# EDUCATION AS THE PRACTICE OF FREEDOM

PAULO FREIRE

If men are unable to perceive critically the themes of their time, and thus to intervene actively in reality, they are carried along in the wake of change. They see that the times are changing, but they are submerged in that change and so cannot discern its dramatic significance. And a society beginning to move from one epoch to another requires the development of an especially flexible, critical spirit. Lacking such a spirit, men cannot perceive the marked contradictions that occur in society as emerging values in search of affirmation and fulfillment clash with earlier values seeking self-preservation. The time of epochal transition constitutes a historical-cultural ‘tidal wave’. Contradictions increase between the ways of being, understanding, behaving, and valuing that belong to yesterday and other ways of perceiving and valuing that announce the future. As the contradictions deepen, the ‘tidal wave’ becomes stronger and its climate increasingly emotional. This shock between a *yesterday* that is losing relevance but still seeking to survive, and a *tomorrow* that is gaining substance, characterises the phase of transition as a time of announcement and a time of decision. Only, however, to the degree that the choices result from a critical perception of the contradictions are they real and capable of being transformed inaction. Choice is illusory to the degree it represents the expectation of others.

While all transitions involve change, not all change result in transitions. Changes can occur within a single historical epoch that do not profoundly affect it in any way. There is a normal interplay of social readjustments resulting from the search for fulfilment of the themes. However, when these themes begin to lose their substance and significance and new themes emerge, it is a

# CRITICAL MODELS: INTERVENTIONS AND CATCHWORDS

THEODOR ADORNO

The armour masks the wound. Reified consciousness installs science as an apparatus between itself and living experience. The more the suspicion grows that the best has been forgotten, the more the operation of the apparatus itself serves as consolation. Again and again I am asked by candidates whether they may, should, must use the secondary literature and what I recommend. Now a familiarity with the secondary literature is always good so that one does not lag behind the current state of research and thus perhaps discover the North Pole all over again. Those who want to acquire academic qualifications must ultimately also demonstrate that they master the ground rules of scientific and scholarly work. But often the concern with secondary literature means something entirely different. First, the expectation that the secondary literature will furnish the thoughts the candidate masochistically believes himself incapable of generating, and then the hope, perhaps not even conscious, of belonging to science’s mystical predestined elect through demonstrations of scholarly folderol, citation, extensive bibliographies and references. The students wish at least to be one of science’s chosen few, because otherwise they are nothing. I have no inclination to Existentialist philosophy, but in such moments it contains an element of truth. Science as ritual exempts them from thinking and from freedom. They are told that freedom must be saved, that it is threatened from the East, and I do not delude myself about the regimentation of consciousness on the far side of the border. But sometimes it seems to me as though freedom were already undermined among those who formally still have it, as though their spiritual habitude has already aligned itself with the regression, even in those areas where it is not expressly regulated, as though something in the people themselves waits to be relieved of the autonomy that once signified all that was to be respected and preserved in Europe. Within the inability of thought to transcend itself there already lurks the potential for integration, for submission to any kind of authority, which is already evident today in the way people compliantly cling to the status quo. Many go so far as to glorify the captivating spell even to themselves, exalting it into what

the jargon of authenticity calls a 'genuine bond'. But they are deceiving themselves. They have not passed beyond the isolation of autonomous spirit, but rather have fallen behind individuation and therefore cannot overcome it as they would like to believe.

The idea of practical progress possesses such an unshakable supremacy for many people that for them nothing else seriously compares with it. Their attitude is one of automatic defensiveness, and for that reason I do not know whether I can reach them at all. One of the characteristics of reified consciousness is that it hunkers down within itself, stubbornly persists in its own weakness, and insists on being right no matter what the cost. I am always astounded by the acumen exhibited by even the most obtuse minds when it comes to defending their mistakes. One could reply, with little risk of being contradicted, that this is all very well known but that nothing can be done about it. In support of this assertion, general reflections could be marshalled such as: where could anyone today find the faintest glimmer of a larger meaning that might illuminate his own work?

[...] The problem of the immanent untruth of pedagogy lies probably in the fact that the pursuit is tailored to its recipients, that it is not purely objective work for the sake of the subject matter itself. Rather, the subject matter is subsumed under pedagogical interests. For this reason alone the children are entitled unconsciously to feel deceived. Not only do the teachers recite for their recipients something already established, but also their function of mediator as such – which is like all circulatory activities in society already a priori a bit suspect – incurs some of the general aversion. Max Scheler once said that only because he never treated his students pedagogically did he have any pedagogical effect. If I may be permitted a personal remark, I can confirm this from my own experience. Success as an academic teacher apparently is due to the absence of every kind of calculated influence, to the renunciation of persuasion.

Excerpt from Theodor Adorno, *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, trans. Henry W. Pickford, Columbia University Press, New York, 1998, pp. 32–3, 181–2.

sign that society is beginning to move into a new epoch. The time of transition involves a rapid movement in search of new themes and new tasks. In such a phase man needs more than ever to be integrated with his reality. If he lacks the capacity to perceive the 'mystery' of the changes, he will be a mere pawn at their mercy.

Brazil, in the 1950s and early 1960s, was precisely in this position of moving from one epoch to another. Which were the themes and the tasks that had lost and were losing their substance in Brazilian society? All those characteristic of a 'closed society'. For instance, Brazil's non-autonomous status had generated the theme of cultural alienation. Elite and masses alike lacked integration with Brazilian reality. The elite lived 'superimposed' upon that reality; the people, submerged within it. To the elite fell the task of importing alien cultural models; to the people, the task of following, of being *under*, of being ruled by the elite, of having no task of their own.

With the split in Brazilian society, the entire complex of themes and tasks assumed a new aspect. The particular meaning and emphasis given by a closed society to themes like democracy, popular participation, freedom, property, authority, and education were no longer adequate for a society in transition. (Similarly, the military *coup* of 1964 required a new perception of the themes and tasks characteristic of the transitional phase.) If Brazil was to move surely towards becoming a homogeneously open society, the correct perception of new aspirations and a new perception of old themes were essential. Should a distortion of this perception occur, however, a corresponding distortion in the transition would lead not to an open society but toward a 'massified' society of adjusted and domesticated men.

Thus, in that transitional phase, education became a highly important task. Its potential force would depend above all upon our capacity to participate in the dynamism of the transitional epoch. It would depend upon our distinguishing clearly which elements truly belonged to the transition and which were simply present in

## DIFFERENCE AND REPETITION

GILLES DELEUZE

The reproduction of the Same is not a motor of bodily movements. We know that even the simplest imitation involves a difference between inside and outside. Moreover, imitation plays only a secondary

and regulatory role in the acquisition of a behaviour: it permits the correction of movements being made, but not their instigation. Learning takes place not in the relation between a representation and an action (reproduction of the Same) but in the relation between a sign and a response (encounter with the Other). Signs involve heterogeneity in at least three ways: first, in the object that bears or emits them, and is necessarily on a different level, as though there were two orders of size or

it. As the link between one epoch in exhaustion and another gaining substance, the transition had aspects of prolonging and conserving the old society at the same time that it extended forward into the new society. The new perceptions did not prevail easily or without sacrifice; the old themes had to exhaust their validity before they could give way to the new. Thus the dynamic of transition involved the confusion of flux and reflux, advances and retreats. And those who lacked the ability to perceive the mystery of the times responded to each retreat with tragic hopelessness and generalised fear.

In the last analysis, retreats do not deter the transition. They do not constitute backward movement, although they can retard movement or distort it. The new themes (or new perceptions of old themes) that are repressed during the retreats will persist in their advance until such time as the validity of the old themes is exhausted and the new ones reach fulfilment. At that point, society will once more find itself in its normal rhythm of changes, awaiting a new moment of transition. Thus the moment of transition belongs much more to 'tomorrow', to the new time it announces, than it does to the old.

See Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1966. A 'massified' society is one in which the people, after entering the historical process, have been manipulated by the elite into an unthinking, manageable agglomeration. This process is termed 'massification'. It stands in contrast to *conscientização*, which is the process of achieving a critical consciousness. (Translator's note).

Paolo Freire, *Education and Critical Consciousness*, Continuum, London, 2007, pp. 6–8, first published by Sheed & Ward Ltd., 1974.

than propose gestures for us to reproduce. In other words, there is no ideo-motivity, only sensory-motivity. When a body combines some of its own distinctive points with those of a wave, it espouses the principle of a repetition that is no longer that of the Same, but involves the Other – involves difference, from one wave and one gesture to another, and carries that difference through the repetitive space thereby constituted. To learn is indeed to constitute this space of an encounter with signs, in which the distinctive points renew themselves in each other, and repetition takes shape while disguising itself. Apprenticeship always gives rise to images of death, on the edges of the space it creates and with the help of the heterogeneity it engenders. Signs are deadly when they are lost in the distance, but also when they strike us with full force. Oedipus receives a sign once from too far away, once from too close, and between the two a terrible repetition of the crime is woven. Zarathustra receives his 'sign' either from too near or from too far, and only at the end does he foresee the correct distance that will turn that which in eternal return makes him ill into a liberatory and redemptive repetition. Signs are the true elements of theatre. They testify to the spiritual and natural powers that act beneath the words, gestures, characters and objects represented. They signify repetition as real movement, in opposition to representation, which is a false movement of the abstract.

Excerpt from Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton, Continuum, London and New York, 2004, pp. 25–6, first published by Athlone Press, London, 1994.

disparate realities between which the sign flashes; secondly, in themselves, since the sign envelops another 'object' within the limits of the object that bears it, and incarnates a natural or spiritual power (an Idea); finally, in the response they elicit, since the movement of the response does not 'resemble' that of the sign. The movement of the swimmer does not resemble that of the wave, in particular, the movements of the swimming instructor that we reproduce on the sand bear no relation

to the movement of the wave, which we learn to deal with only by grasping the former in practice as signs. That is why it is so difficult to say how someone learns: there is an innate or acquired practical familiarity with signs, which means that there is something amorous – but also something fatal – about all education. We learn nothing from those who say: "Do as I do." Our only teachers are those who tell us to "do with me", and are able to emit signs to be developed in heterogeneity rather

1 – 28 October

# COLLAPSE

“The people who have run the planet to this point – and who are running it now – are losing control.” Michael C. Ruppert, *Collapse* (2009)

Coming at virtually the centre point of Chris Smith’s documentary *Collapse* (screening in the ICA cinema throughout October), this simple line casts an ominous shadow over everything that precedes and follows it. Spoken by the articulate and unnervingly convincing doom-monger Michael Ruppert – the film’s subject and sole voice – the idea that not only is the world going to hell in a hand basket but that nobody with any authority has a hope of turning the situation around is sobering, if not outright alarming. Most conspiracy theories or paranoid screeds tend to proceed from the idea that whatever’s going on is part of a plan – that even if what’s going on is bad, at least there’s some method to it. Such a notion seems comfortingly quaint compared to the situation that Ruppert outlines here, over 80 panic-inducing minutes.

Ruppert is a former Los Angeles police officer who left the force after attempting to expose alleged CIA drug-dealing in South Central LA. Speaking out and staying in the public eye became a form of defence mechanism for Ruppert, letting people know he was there so that he couldn’t be totally – terminally – silenced. His subsequent career as an independent reporter and radical thinker led him to question the mainstream media at every turn, interpreting signs of decline and predicting crisis in the financial and energy sectors (specifically the stock market meltdown and

‘peak oil’) on which he reported in lectures, his self-published newsletter *From the Wilderness*, books such as *Crossing the Rubicon* (2004) and now this cinematic storm warning.

In the tradition of such films as Jonathan Demme’s *Swimming to Cambodia* (1987), featuring Spalding Gray, and Errol Morris’s *The Fog of War* (2003), focusing on Robert McNamara, Smith gets out of the way and gives the film entirely over to his subject. Although the filmmaker offers no commentary, his off-screen questions voice some of the concerns that even a semi-sceptical viewer may have: is this guy just a nut-job? What makes him such an expert? Smoking away, Ruppert isn’t ruffled by any of this, working up an impressive head of rhetorical steam as he pieces together his theories (or ‘facts’, as he would define them) in tandem with Smith’s hypnotic editing rhythm. However, one directorial decision feels particularly telling and evocative. The single location – a bunker-like room that has the feeling of both fallout shelter and featureless interrogation cell – gives the film an added atmosphere of paranoia and claustrophobic panic, as if it’s too late and the doomsday scenarios that we’re being asked to envisage have already come to pass. But there, still talking, sits Ruppert. He may be a survivor, he may be a prisoner, but either way we see him as he perhaps sees himself – just one man (and a dog) isolated for telling the truth. Last man standing.

The following pages contain excerpts from Michael C. Ruppert’s muck-raking newsletter, *From the Wilderness*, which he began distributing in 1998.

## SUPPRESSED DETAILS OF CRIMINAL INSIDER TRADING LEAD DIRECTLY INTO THE CIA’S HIGHEST RANKS CIA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ‘BUZZY’ KRONGARD MANAGED FIRM THAT HANDLED ‘PUT’ OPTIONS ON UAL

by  
Michael C. Ruppert

*FTW*, October 9, 2001 – Although uniformly ignored by the mainstream US media, there is abundant and clear evidence that a number of transactions in financial markets indicated specific (criminal) foreknowledge of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. In the case of at least one of these trades – which has left a \$2.5 million prize unclaimed – the firm used to place the ‘put options’ on United Airlines stock was, until 1998, managed by the man who is now in the number three Executive Director position at the Central Intelligence Agency. Until 1997, AB ‘Buzzy’ Krongard had been Chairman of the investment bank AB Brown. AB Brown was acquired by Banker’s Trust in 1997. Krongard then became, as part of the merger, Vice Chairman of Banker’s Trust-AB Brown, one of 20 major US banks named by Senator Carl Levin this year as being connected to money laundering. Krongard’s last position at Banker’s Trust (BT) was to oversee ‘private client relations’. In this capacity he had direct hands-on relations with some of the wealthiest people in the world in a kind of specialised banking operation that has been identified by the US Senate and other investigators as being closely connected to the laundering of drug money.

Krongard rejoined the CIA in 1998 as counsel to CIA Director George Tenet. He was promoted to CIA Executive Director by President Bush in March of this year. BT was acquired by Deutsche Bank in 1999. The combined firm is the single largest bank in Europe. And, as we shall see, Deutsche Bank played several key roles in events connected to the September 11 attacks.

### THE SCOPE OF KNOWN INSIDER TRADING

Before looking further into these relationships, it is necessary to look at the insider-trading information that is being ignored by *Reuters*, *The New York Times* and other mass media. It is well documented that the CIA has long monitored such trades – in real time – as potential warnings of terrorist attacks and other economic moves



### OPENING REMARKS OF MICHAEL C. RUPPERT

for the  
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence  
(WRITTEN STATEMENT WITH EXHIBITS)

Mr Chairman:

On November 15, 1996, I stood at a town-hall meeting at Locke High School in Los Angeles and said to Director of Central Intelligence John Deutch, “I am a former Los Angeles Police narcotics detective. I worked South Central Los Angeles and I can tell you, Director Deutch, emphatically and without equivocation, that the Agency has dealt drugs in this country for a long time.” I then referred Director Deutch to three specific Agency operations known as Amadeus, Pegasus and Watchtower.

Most Americans have been led to believe that the purpose of these hearings is to ascertain whether or not there is any evidence that the Central Intelligence Agency dealt drugs during the Iran-Contra era. If these hearings were about evidence, then the most patriotic duty I could perform would be to quote Jack Blum, who served as chief investigator for the Kerry Subcommittee on narcotics and terrorism ten years ago. He testified before this committee last year and said, “We don’t have to investigate. We already know.” We could save a lot of taxpayer money by just rereading the records of the Kerry hearings. There is more evidence in there than any court in the world would ever need to hand down indictments.

At best, I could just quote you one entry from Oliver North’s diary dated July 5, 1985, which said that \$14 million to buy weapons for the Contras, ‘came from drugs’. I wouldn’t need to mention the 250 other such entries in his diary, which refer to narcotics. Or I could quote Dennis Dayle a senior DEA supervisory agent who said, “In my 30 year history in DEA, the major targets of my investigations almost invariably turned out to be working for the CIA.”

But these hearings are not about evidence. They are about corruption and cover-up. The CIA did not just deal drugs during the Iran-Contra era; it has done so for the full 50 years of its history. Today I will give you evidence that will show that the CIA, and many figures who became known during Iran-Contra such as Richard Secord, Ted Shackley, Tom Clines, Felix Rodriguez and George Herbert Walker Bush, who was DCI when I first became exposed to Agency drug dealing, have been selling drugs to Americans since the Vietnam era. I have been very careful to make sure that what I tell you today is admissible evidence in criminal proceedings.

In a court of law the testimony of an eyewitness is one of the most prized possessions of a prosecutor. It is direct evidence of a crime. I am an eyewitness. Another form of frequently

used evidence is an exception to the hearsay rule in which admissions against the interest of a criminal participant or a material witness are admitted into evidence if given under oath by the person to whom the statements were made. I am under oath and I will provide you today with utterly damning admissions against interest made by people with direct knowledge of these events. There is also documentary and circumstantial evidence and I will present you with that as well.

My evidence will show conclusively that, as a matter of national policy, set at the National Security Council – the White House – elements of the CIA, in concert with elements of the military, and other federal agencies, have dealt drugs to Americans for at least three decades. Major defense contractors like E-Systems have also engaged in such traffic. I will not cover the outstanding work of scholars such as Alfred McCoy of the University of Wisconsin and Peter Dale Scott of the University of California at Berkeley who document this activity back to the 1940s. Nor will I attempt to deliver the material that should be given to you directly by a great many other heroic witnesses including Celerino Castillo, Mike Levine, Dee Ferdinand, David Sabow, Brad Ayers, Tosh Plumley, Bo Abbott, Danny Sheehan, Gene Wheaton, John Mattes, Jack Terrell, Winfred Richardson (formerly of E-Systems), Michelle Cooper (formerly of E-Systems), Bill Tyree and Dois G 'Chip' Tatum. Also this committee should interview two former CIA employees on the subject. Their names are David MacMichael and Ralph McGehee.

The evidence will also show that the CIA has infiltrated and established illegal relationships with a number of police departments around the country. One of the purposes of this has been to protect CIA drug operations from law enforcement. I have personal knowledge of this activity in Los Angeles and New Orleans and have documented such a case in New York City.

All of the exhibits I will present today are among the 250-plus pages of documents I provided to your investigators when they visited me in Los Angeles last year.

contrary to US interests. Previous stories in *FTW* have specifically highlighted the use of Promis software to monitor such trades.

It is necessary to understand only two key financial terms to understand the significance of these trades, 'selling short' and 'put options'.

'Selling Short' is the borrowing of stock, selling it at current market prices, but not being required to actually produce the stock for some time. If the stock falls precipitously after the short contract is entered, the seller can then fulfil the contract by buying the stock after the price has fallen and complete the contract at the pre-crash price. These contracts often have a window of as long as four months.

'Put Options' are contracts giving the buyer the option to sell stocks at a later date. Purchased at nominal prices of, for example, \$1.00 per share, they are sold in blocks of 100 shares. If exercised, they give the holder the option of selling selected stocks at a future date at a price set when the contract is issued. Thus, for an investment of \$10,000 it might be possible to tie up 10,000 shares of United or American Airlines at \$100 per share, and the seller of the option is then obligated to buy them if the option is executed. If the stock has fallen to \$50 when the contract matures, the holder of the option can purchase the shares for \$50 and immediately sell them for \$100 – regardless of where the market then stands. A call option is the reverse of a put option, which is, in effect, a derivatives bet that the stock price will go up.

A September 21 story by the Israeli Herzliyya International Policy Institute for Counterterrorism, entitled 'Black Tuesday: The World's Largest Insider Trading Scam?' documented the following trades connected to the September 11 attacks:

- Between September 6 and 7, the Chicago Board Options Exchange saw purchases of 4,744 put options on United Airlines, but only 396 call options. Assuming that 4,000 of the options were bought by people with advance knowledge of the imminent attacks, these 'insiders' would have profited by almost \$5 million.
- On September 10, 4,516 put options on American Airlines were bought on the Chicago exchange, compared to only 748 calls. Again, there was no news at that point to justify this imbalance. Again, assuming that 4,000 of these options trades represent 'insiders', they would represent a gain of about \$4 million.
- [The levels of put options purchased above were more than six times higher than normal.]
- No similar trading in other airlines occurred on the Chicago exchange in the days immediately preceding Black Tuesday.
- Morgan Stanley Dean Witter & Co., which occupied 22 floors of the World



Trade Center, saw 2,157 of its October \$45 put options bought in the three trading days before Black Tuesday; this compares to an average of 27 contracts per day before September 6. Morgan Stanley's share price fell from \$48.90 to \$42.50 in the aftermath of the attacks. Assuming that 2,000 of these options contracts were bought based upon knowledge of the approaching attacks, their purchasers could have profited by at least \$1.2 million.

- Merrill Lynch & Co., with headquarters near the Twin Towers, saw 12,215 October \$45 put options bought in the four trading days before the attacks; the previous average volume in those shares had been 252 contracts per day [a 1,200% increase!]. When trading resumed, Merrill's shares fell from \$46.88 to \$41.50; assuming that 11,000 option contracts were bought by 'insiders', their profit would have been about \$5.5 million.
- European regulators are examining trades in Germany's Munich Re, Switzerland's Swiss Re, and AXA of France, all major reinsurers with exposure to the Black Tuesday disaster. [AXA also owns more than 25% of American Airlines stock making the attacks a 'double whammy' for them.] On September 29, 2001 – in a vital story that has gone unnoticed by the major media – the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported, 'Investors have yet to collect more than \$2.5 million in profits they made trading options in the stock of United Airlines before the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, according to a source familiar with the trades and market data.'

'The uncollected money raises suspicions that the investors – whose identities and nationalities have not been made public – had advance knowledge of the strikes.' They don't dare show up now. The suspension of trading for four days after the attacks made it impossible to cash-out quickly and claim the prize before investigators started looking.

'October series options for UAL Corp. were purchased in highly unusual volumes three trading days before the terrorist attacks for a total outlay of \$2,070; investors bought the option contracts, each representing 100 shares, for 90 cents each. [This represents 230,000 shares]. Those options are now selling at more than \$12 each. There are still 2,313 so-called 'put' options outstanding [valued at \$2.77 million and representing 231,300 shares] according to the Options Clearinghouse Corp.'

'The source familiar with the United trades identified Deutsche Bank Alex Brown, the American investment banking arm of German giant Deutsche Bank, as the investment bank used to purchase at least some of these options.' This was the operation managed by Krongard until as recently as 1998.

As reported in other news stories, Deutsche Bank was also the hub of insider-trading activity connected to Munich Re just before the attacks.



## THE BUSH DRUG STING, THE SINS OF THE FATHER, THE SINS OF THE SON AND – THE SMOKING AIRPLANE

### WHY DOES GEORGE W. BUSH FLY IN DRUG SMUGGLER BARRY SEAL'S AIRPLANE?

by Daniel Hopsicker and Michael C. Ruppert

It has all the makings of a major box-office thriller: Texas Governor and Republican Presidential contender George W. Bush and his brother Jeb, allegedly caught on videotape in 1985 picking up kilos of cocaine at a Florida airport in a DEA sting set up by Barry Seal.

An ensuing murderous cover-up featuring Seal's public assassination less than a year later by a hit team the members of which, when caught, reveal to their attorneys during trial that their actions were being directed by then National Security Council (NSC) staffer Lt. Colonel Oliver North.

And a private turboprop King Air 200 supposedly caught on tape in the sting with FAA ownership records leading directly to the CIA and some of the perpetrators of the most notorious (and never punished) major financial frauds of the 1980s.

Greek shippers paying bribes to obtain loans from American companies that would never be repaid.

An American executive snatching the charred remains of a \$10,000 payoff check from an ashtray in an Athens restaurant.

Swiss police finding bank accounts used for kickbacks and bribes.

Add to this mix the now irrefutable proof, some of it from the CIA itself, that then Vice President George W. Bush was a decision maker in illegal Contra support operations connected to the 'unusual' acquisition of aircraft and that his staff participated in key financial, operational and political decisions.

All these events lead inexorably to one unanswered question: how did this one plane go from being controlled by Barry Seal, the biggest drug smuggler in American history, to becoming, according to state officials, a favored airplane of Texas Governor George W. Bush?

pp. 31–33 excerpts from *From the Wilderness*, ed. Michael C. Ruppert, 1998–2006.

Looking back

# FANTASY ATELIER

*Fantasy Atelier: A Site of Production* was a weekend of activity held at the ICA in May 2010. The event was conceived by the ICA Learning Team in collaboration with Architectural Designer Erin Bryne, who leads our monthly Play/Works family workshops. *Fantasy Atelier* transformed the gallery and reading room into an experimental playground for adults and children, a site of novel architectural production where invention and experimentation took inspiration from real and imagined worlds.

Over the course of the weekend, designer Toby Hadden constructed a series of structures and partitions from Byrne's plans, including giant prisms, trestles and bench screens. Participants of all ages were encouraged to move and manipulate the props and materials as a way of shaping and testing ideas for play. A series of narratives was simultaneously imagined and created through a number of workshops for primary schools and families, talks for adults and other events, including the ICA's first ever sleepover in the gallery.

As part of *Fantasy Atelier*, artists chris+keir devised a workshop called *Super Perruque! La perruque* is a French term meaning work done for oneself on one's employer's time. During the event, the ICA gallery was filled with a new team of under-age cleaners, sweeping and tidying, whilst secretly building their own 'kingdom'. As part of the series of discussions, Louis Moreno, of UCL's Urban Laboratory, led a talk about the relationship between economic policy, the 'Building Schools for

the Future' government initiative and the way in which economic tendencies have shaped the production of education and urban space.

In another strand of activity, antepress, a collective that explores the contemporary position of art writing, were invited to produce an 'alternative guide' for the weekend of events. The result, *Observation Station*, was a temporary pyramid structure built by antepress and composed entirely of packaging board found on site. The construction proposed a microcosmic structure from which to view the event, but also to write it into existence. This referenced Robert Smithson's re-writing of Alexander Graham Bell's solid outdoor observation station. Playfully adapting the language and object relationships in Bell's research methods, the antepress *Observation Station* instigated an evolving communication network. It housed one 'viewer' or 'writer' at a time, who transmitted observations back to the team for translation. Serving as an experimental logbook and a visual stimulus, the station evolved into a multi-faceted proposition for viewing and writing.

This autumn the ICA galleries are occupied by the collective Chto delat? (What is to be done?). In light of their interests, we invited Moreno, whose research work is part of a wider Marxist discourse within architecture, to lead a discussion with chris+keir about their practice, his work and the notion of 'what is to be done?' A transcript of their conversation appears on the following pages.

## SUPER PERRUQUE AND THE BIG SOCIETY

—  
INTERVIEW WITH  
LOUIS MORENO, CHRIS+KEIR &  
GEMMA TORTELLA

◇ Louis Moreno: Chto delat? raise the issue of the role of art in the reinvention of society. Your piece *Super Perruque!* was a very particular take on community engagement and gallery education. What did it involve?

—Chris: The name was based on the French term *perruque*, taken from the book *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1980) by Michael de Certeau. He talks about strategies associated with places and spaces of power, and about creating a space within these power structures. *La perruque* translates literally as 'the wig-maker', but in this context it means doing your own work while disguising it as work for your employer.

◇ LM: So it's not a strike then?

• Keir: It's not about disrupting your job. It's about doing something constructive, as well as your job.

—C: Keeping it sly. It's not about stealing materials, but using your employer's time as your own.

◇ LM: Your interpretation of gallery learning wasn't along the lines of, "Right, kids, here's the gallery space, now you're all artists." You said, "Right then, here's the gallery, you're sub-contracted cleaners – so clean the space."

• K: We liked this approach of taking over part

of the ICA to discuss who owns this space, who defines who owns it, and why they own it. And we quite like the idea of instilling in children the idea of just taking over – setting up your own state, while doing the job of cleaning the gallery.

—C: That idea comes from the amazing Ealing comedy *Passport to Pimlico* (1949). Some buried treasure is found in Pimlico after the war. The district of Pimlico turns out to be a part of Burgundy owned by a French nobleman. And what happens is that the citizens set up an independent state, rejecting all the post-war rationing restrictions. All of the existing laws go out the window as they set up their own anarchist state.

◇ LM: But why take services as the starting point?

• K: We talked about giving them roles as directors or curators, but how do they enact that? I don't think I could. And, how can you play with it? Being a director didn't lend itself to being playful. So instead we said, "You're a cleaner and here's a broom – but remember, there's something else going on." We told them, "While cleaning, set up your own kingdom in the gallery." Most of them got it. In fact, there was a girl of around seven who we got to tell the next couple of kids who came into the gallery, and then those kids explained to the next two, and so on. It became a simple process; we could all collaborate.



◇ LM: The abstraction of contemporary work interests me. It's a real challenge to communicate what it is many of us do for a living, and why it's valuable. Also, since tools are often software-based, your sense of place has a very ambivalent relationship with your work activity – unless you're doing low-skilled work. So it's easier to ask a child, or even an adult, to understand the activity of what a cleaner does than to imagine what it is the director of a gallery does, or an analyst in an investment bank.

• K: Also, if you tell them they're an artist or a curator, these roles place a weight on people's shoulders. We're more interested in how to make art without people realising it.

◇ LM: It sounds like the children's workshop was set up as a front, and the artwork was all about exploring tactics of resistance to work. How did the parents react?

—C: There was one interesting moment. A woman brought her daughter into the gallery and took her out straight away once she found out they were learning how to clean. She seemed quite upset.

• K: And we asked the kids, "Can we tell your parents about the conspiracy?" They said no, but eventually they allowed us to bring them in. And we managed to push it quite far; we got them to

joke about child labour by asking them to sign away their children's lives. This was important. We may seem like entertainers, but this is a strategy.

◇ LM: Talking of strategy, Gemma, the programme made reference to the ICA's own restructuring. There was discussion about adapting the space of the gallery. Why is the corporate organisation of a gallery something the public would be interested in?

Gemma Tortella: If we in the learning department are to engage with notions of community and engagement in a meaningful way, we need to open up the way the institution works, the processes, people and spaces, so that people can influence it.

◇ LM: That's interesting. Every institution seems to have this preoccupation with the way it's organised and perceived, whether it's an art gallery, school, health authority, even the state. The lumpy phrase 'Big Society' has come into currency, but this aspiration of grass-roots empowerment is preceded by massive top-down cuts in social spending. chris+keir, your work seems to thrive on the ironies and contradictions surrounding the way the state interacts with citizens. Do awkward but dominant concepts like Big Society provide new material for you?



—C: It makes me think of a workshop we did called Protest-School in a place called Hinckley, a white working-class town in Leicestershire. It was with a group of 15 and 16 year olds, and took place over a whole day. We said to the group, "You've got a right to protest or complain if you're not happy about something." It was about using the web and digital technology to get your message across, but also about doing it hands-on.

• K: We got them to protest about ridiculous things, like cheese, or bits in orange juice, or wearing hats in a library. And we got them to make films about their protests. And at one point, two police cars pulled up.

—C: There were 15 or 20 kids, and they were lying down on a Zebra crossing, and some of them had blank placards. People phoned the police, saying the kids were being a nuisance.

• K: The police turned up, and we urged the kids to take photos. But the kids were saying "You can't do that." We asked them where this idea came from, and they said, "From the police."

◇ LM: So you're trying to push to see what the countervailing force to that protest is?

—C: Actually, I thought that we may have gone too far. Were we just inciting them?

• K: But we were trying to be very gentle about the nature of the protest. And we still got the attention of the police.

◇ LM: Returning to this concept of *perruque* – using your time of employment to do something creative for yourself. Don't you think that the table has been turned and the cultural practices of art are being exploited for business?

—C: I see it the other way. Some artists will be pushed into jobs. But they can use this as part of their practice. Most artists don't earn a living as artists, but they use their jobs and the resources for their work.

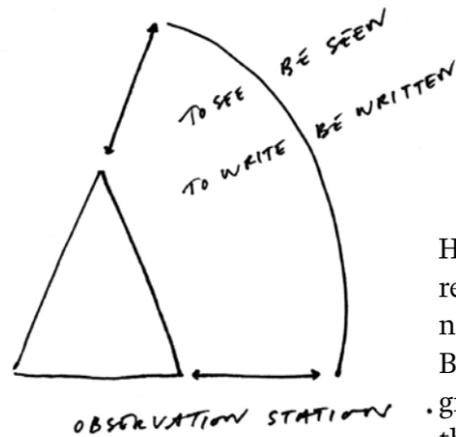
GT: The ICA is packed with people pretty much doing that!

◇ LM: But following the approach of Chto delat?, can art play a political role in disclosing the spread of micro-compulsions and micro-resistances surrounding the new economy – of flexible working, organisational flexibility, accepting pay cuts, doing part time sub-contracted work etc? Is there a new ground for art to bridge these levels, but in a more profound way than simply marketing to identify new audiences? Can these micro-interventions be connected up? Is there an opportunity to revive a utopian, social and political edge?

• K: Connecting the macro and micro levels is important. But I don't think it's the role of artists just to make statements. What we try to do is to create situations where something can happen, where people can develop their own performance strategies. This is why we use naïveté as a starting point. In that way it's not anti-theory, but the theory comes out of the actions we create.

## TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AIR TERMINAL SITE

ROBERT SMITHSON  
(EXCERPT TAKEN BY ANTEPRESS)



He also built a pyramid-shaped outdoor observation station that reminds one of the art of Robert Morris. (Unlike Bell, Morris would not want to 'live' in his art.) From inside the solid tetrahedron Bell surveyed his 'flight' projects – the tetragonal lattice-kites. A grid connection was established by him between ground and air through this crystalline system. The solid mirrored the lattice. The site was joined to the sky in a structural equation. Bell's awareness of the physical properties of language, by way of the telephone, kept him from misunderstanding language and object relationships. Language was transformed by Bell into linguistic objects. In this way he avoided the rational categories of art. The impact of 'telephone language' on physical structure remains to be studied. A visual language of modules seems to have emerged from Bell's investigations. Points, lines, areas or volumes establish the syntax of sites.



Alexander Graham Bell in his outdoor observation station.

Excerpt from Robert Smithson, 'Towards the Development of an Air Terminal Site,' 1967, in *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, ed. J Flam, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1996, pp. 52–60.

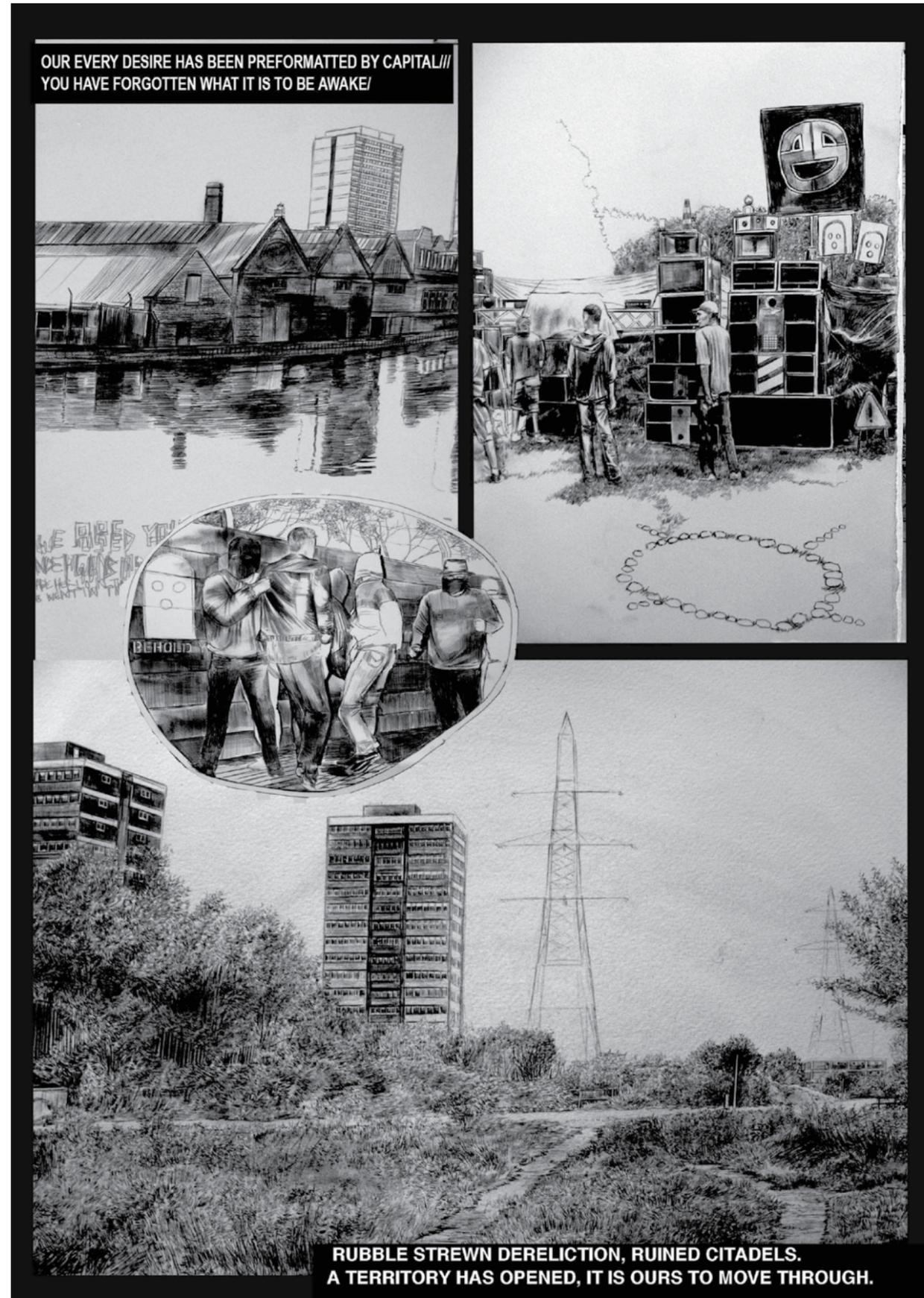
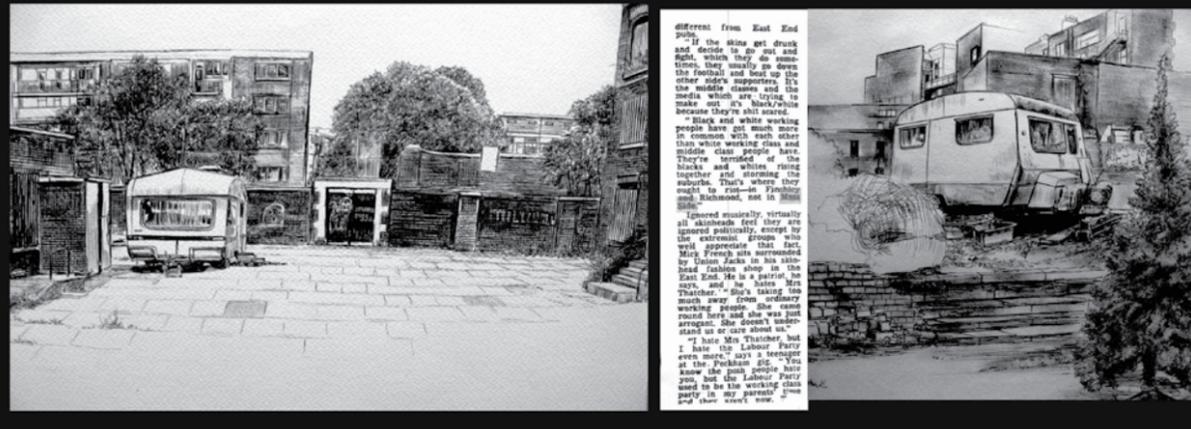
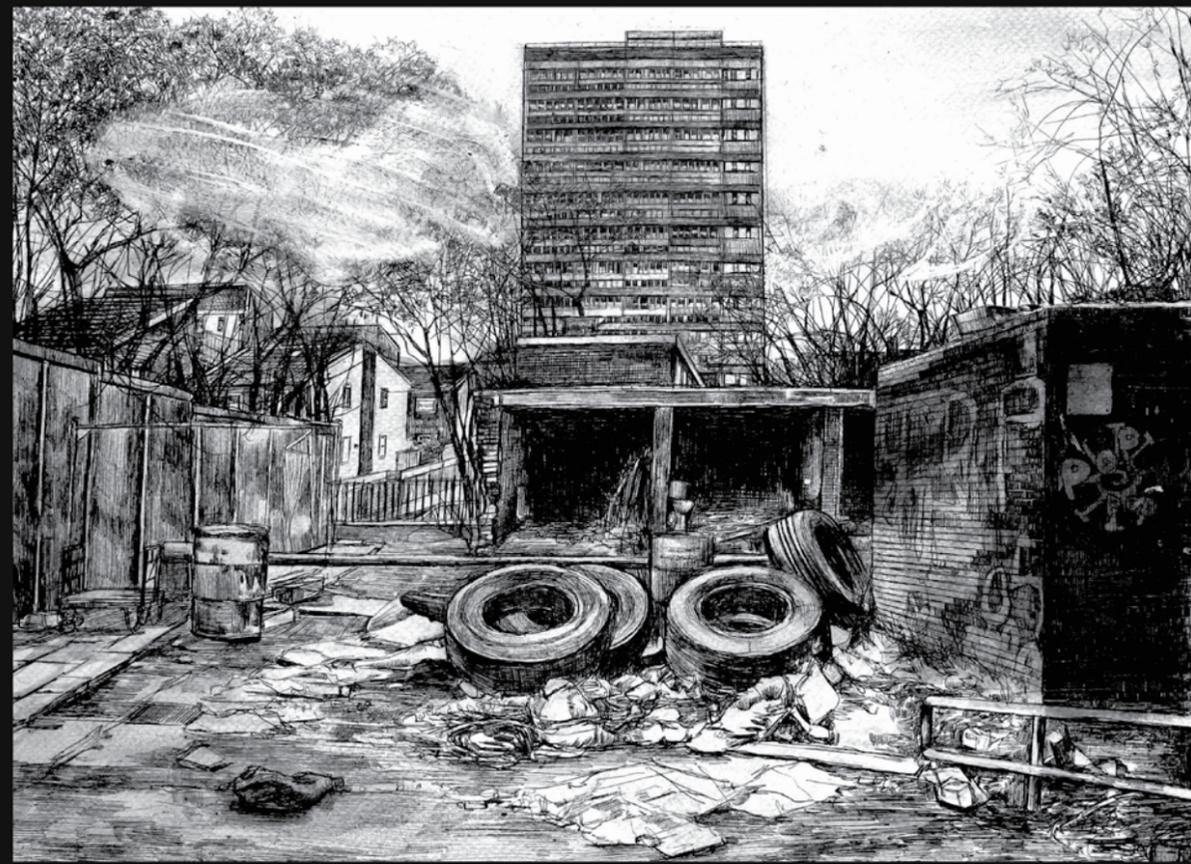
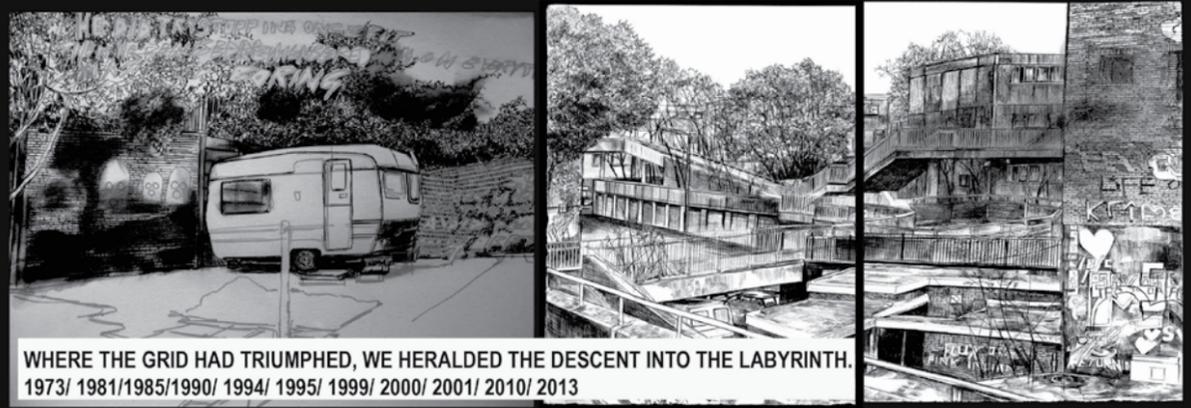
## FATA MORGANA MACHINE

SALAMO FRIEDLAENDER  
(EXCERPT TAKEN BY ANTEPRESS)

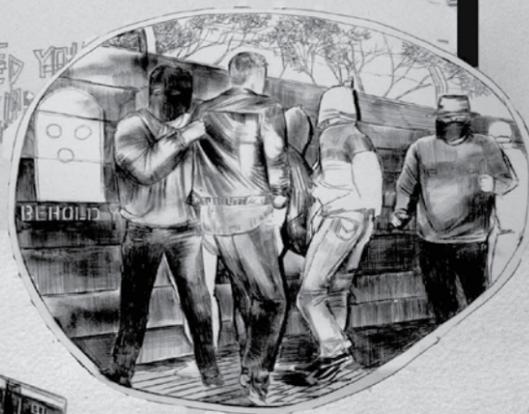
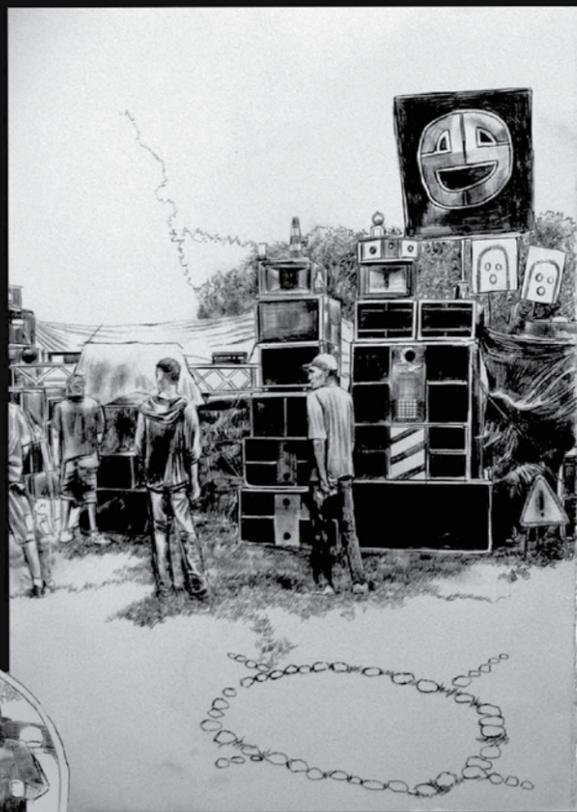
For many years Professor Pschorr had been preoccupied with one of the most interesting problems of film: his ideal was to achieve the optical reproduction of nature, art and fantasy through a stereoscopic projection apparatus that would place its three-dimensional constructs into space without the aid of a projection screen [...]. He variously combined beams of floodlights and switched on a film reel, which began to run. Immediately the terrain transformed: forests became houses, villages became deserts, lakes and ravines became charming meadows; and suddenly one could see bustling military personnel engaged in battle. Of course, as they were stepping or riding into a meadow, they disappeared into a pond or a ravine. Indeed, even the troops themselves were frequently only optical illusions, so that real troops could no longer distinguish them from fake ones, and hence engaged in involuntary deceptions. Artillery lines appeared as pure optical illusions. "Since the possibility exists of combining, precisely and simultaneously, optical and acoustic effects, these visible but untouchable cannons can boom as well, making the illusion perfect", said Pschorr. "By the way, this invention is of course useful for peaceful purposes. From now on, however, it will be very dangerous to distinguish things that are only visible from touchable ones. But life will become all the more interesting for it."

Excerpt from Salamo Friedlaender, *Fatamorganamaschine*, 1920, cited in Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz, 1999, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press.





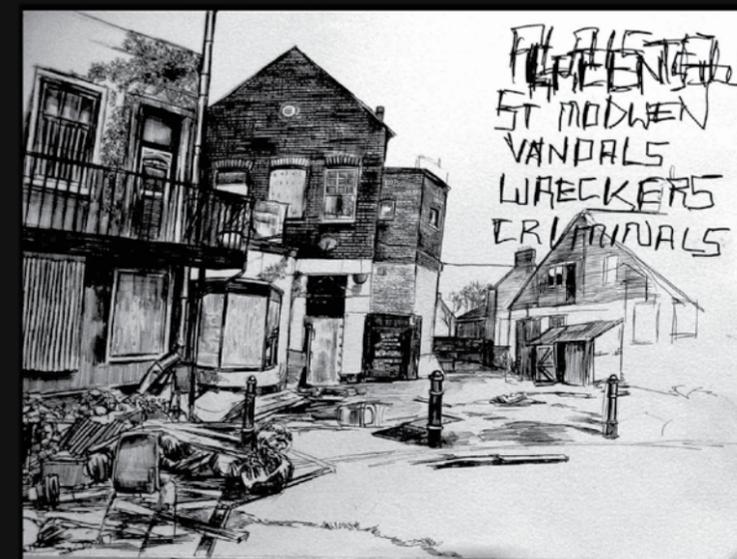
OUR EVERY DESIRE HAS BEEN PREFORMATTED BY CAPITAL//  
YOU HAVE FORGOTTEN WHAT IT IS TO BE AWAKE!



RUBBLE STREWN DERELICTION, RUINED CITADELS.  
A TERRITORY HAS OPENED, IT IS OURS TO MOVE THROUGH.



AEROSPACE REDEVELOPMENT  
ZONE, FROZEN LIKE WESTFIELD  
BRADFORD.





**OUR CITIES EMERGE FROM THE RUINS OF EMPIRE.**



**ABANDON YOUR COLONIAL AMBITIONS**



ST MILDWEN-LENDLEASE—YOUR PROJECTS WILL FAIL!!!  
ELEPHANT AND CASTLE!!! QUEENS MARKET!!!  
HATFIELD!!!

**ART IS THE ENEMY  
OF REGENERATION.**



## THE ICA BOOKSHOP READING LIST

- 1 | *The Verso Book of Dissent: From Spartacus to the Shoe-thrower of Baghdad*, Verso Books, 2010
- 2 | *Descent to Revolution*, James Voorhies, Bureau for Open Culture, 2009
- 3 | *Dissensus: on Politics and Aesthetics*, Jacques Ranciere, Continuum, 2010
- 4 | *Unleashing the Collective Phantoms: Essays in Reverse Imagineering*, Brian Holmes, Autonomedia, 2007
- 5 | *Time. Action. Vision*, Christian Holler, JRP Ringier, 2010
- 6 | *Art and Revolution: Transversal Activism in the Long Twentieth Century*, Gerald Raunig, Semiotext(e), 2007
- 7 | *Lapdogs of the Bourgeoisie: Class Hegemony in Contemporary Art*, Nav Haq (ed.), Sternberg Press, 2010
- 8 | *The Coming Insurrection, The Invisible Committee*, Semiotext(e), 2009
- 9 | *The Communist Hypothesis*, Alain Badiou, Verso Books, 2010
- 10 | [www.ica.org.uk/bookshop](http://www.ica.org.uk/bookshop)

Above is a selection of publications chosen by the ICA bookshop in relation to the ICA's autumn programme. All books are available from the ICA Bookshop. ICA Members receive 10% off all books, branded gifts and ICA films and DVDs.

\* From 9 September to 24 October, the ICA Bookshop hosts Housmans Books, a section of radical publishing, zines and in store events.

# Is society broken ?

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of vitality and  
daring experiment*

HERBERT READ, 1948

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