

Rena Rädle
Vladan Jeremić &



Transformatorium
Transformatorijum



Drawing Megaphone from the newspaper *Fragile Presence*, 2016
Crtež Megafon iz novina *Lomljiva prisutnost*, 2016.

Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić

Transformatorium Transformatorijum



MUZEJ SAVREMENE
MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY
UMETNOSTI VOJVODINE
ART VOJVODINA

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*Model of the Transformative Potential of Artistic Practices,
MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021*

*Model transformacijskog potencijala umetničkih praksi,
MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.*

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović

EKONOMSKA
BORBA



MODEL TRANSFORMACIJSKOG POTENCIJALA UMETNIČKIH PRAKSI

- Ovaj model služi proceni nivoa transformativnosti izloženih umetničkih radova.
- Počeni ideogram je spirala koja predstavlja umetničku praksu. Krajni ideogrami označavaju izlazak iz umetničke oblasti i stapanje sa prakama unutar tri društvena polja.
- Naleprice sa ideogramima možete slobodno zapestiti na zid pored legende svakog od radova čije potencijale želite da vrednujete.

↑ Transformacijski potencijal u ekonomskom polju



← Transformacijski potencijal u političkom polju

Transformacijski potencijal u kulturnom polju

NIVO POTENCIJALA

- A. ABECEDA ŽELJEZARE
- B. CRVENA ZIMA
- C. DIDAKTIČKI CRTEŽI
- D. GLOVE CIPLE
- E. KOTRLJAJUĆA UČIONICA
- F. LOHLJIVA PRISUTNOST
- G. PONOVO U PARISKOJ KOMUNI
- H. POTENCIJALI ZA BORBENO SV
- I. RADNI LISTOVI O ŽIVIM SLIKAMA
- J. STVARNA BORBA, LAŽNA IMAN
- K. TREŠNJEVAČKI MOTIVI



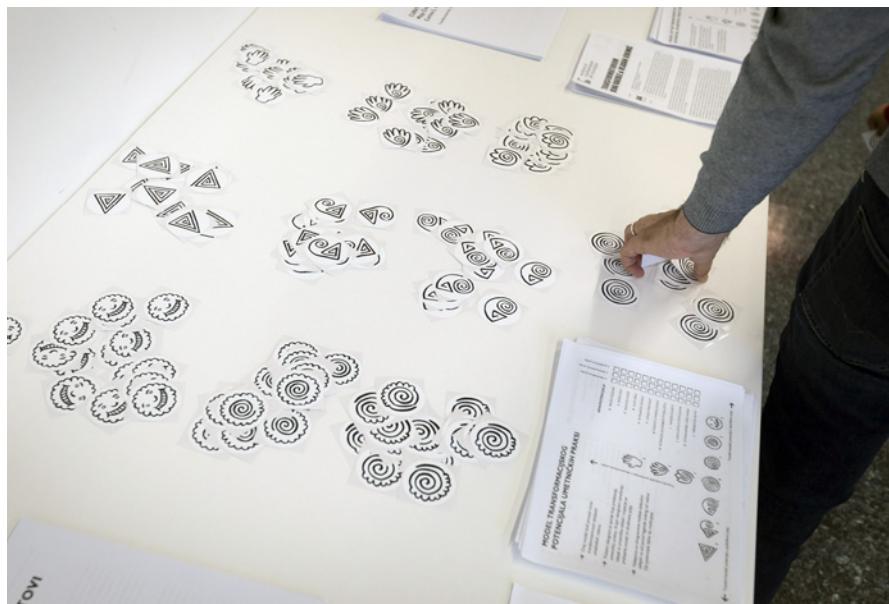
Maja Ćirić

The Making of Transformatorium

Installation view, stickers for the evaluation of works according to the *Model of the Transformative Potential of Artistic Practices*, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Postavka, nalepnice za vrednovanje radova po *Modelu transformacijskog potencijala umetničkih praksi*, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović



MODEL OF THE TRANSFORMATIVE POTENTIAL OF ARTISTIC PRACTICES

- This model serves for assessing the degree of transformativity of the exhibited works.
- The first ideograph is a spiral that represents artistic practice. The highest ideographs signify the exit from the artistic realm and the unification with practices within the three social fields.
- You can pin the stickers with ideographs on the wall next to the description of each work, whose potentials you would like to evaluate.



← Transformative potential in the political field

DEGREE OF POTENTIAL

	in the ideological field	in the economic field	in the political field
A IRONWORKS ABC	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B RED WINTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C DIDACTICAL DRAWING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D DEAF SHOES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E THE ROLLING CLASSROOM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
F FRAGILE PRESENCE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G PARIS COMMUNE REVISITED	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
H POTENTIALS OF MILITANT CREATIVITY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I WORKERS' COLLECTIVE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
J WORKING SHEETS ON LIVING IMAGES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
K REAL STRUGGLE, FAKE ESTATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
L TREŠNJEVKA MOTIFS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Transformative potential in the ideological field →

Transformatorium represents the second show by Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić in the space of the Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina (MoCAV). Twelve years ago at the same space they had a solo exhibition of their heterogeneous “Situationist” *Psychogeographical Research*¹ that belongs to the first period of their joint artistic production spanning from 2002 to 2009. Over the past years Rena & Vladan have been producing, exhibiting and positioning their art as interventions in public space often outside traditional art institutions, though also within them, primarily as a result of initiatives raised by art associations. Their entire artistic practice invites a need for collaboration with public institutions although it is principally oriented towards social transformation. This need is evident since they, above all, use artistic means and the institution of art with all its exhibitional and discursive channels as a platform from which they can reach out to various communities and thus mediate their engaged art.

With this solo show at MoCAV Rena & Vladan have remained faithful to their own method of transformation of political positions into art forms and vice versa, all the while testing their approach via critique as well as extending an invitation for visitors to do the same. The well considered display of the material remains of their “transformative practice”² represents a selection from their activities in the period 2013-2019 with the aim of evaluating them. In this sense *Transformatorium* is also a kind of a test-workshop through which the artists’ knowledge and practices are examined.

The exhibition consists of three parts. The first comprises video documents that depict actions that took place in Norway, Croatia, Albania, Serbia, North Macedonia, Austria,

| The curator of the exhibition *Psychogeographical Research* was Gordana Nikolić, and the catalogue that accompanies it comprises texts by the curator, as well as Sezgin Boynik and Suzana Milevska. See: Rädle & Jeremić, *Psychogeographical Research*, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2009, also available online: https://issuu.com/vladanrena/docs/psychogeographical_research

2 This notion is used by the artists in order to describe their practice. What also needs to be emphasized here is that transformation is not the same as mutation since it includes enlightenment, i.e. a qualitative change from one state into another.

Italy and Estonia. The second represents a depository of “transformative tools” that Rena & Vladan have employed to research the use-value of art. The third consists of an installation with benches placed in front of the Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina. It was originally designed for the space of the Park Stara Trešnjevka in Zagreb in 2018, and it has been relocated to Novi Sad for the purpose of this exhibition.

The broadly conceived transformative practice of Rena & Vladan tackles various subjects and places, for example, the struggles of cultural workers in Oslo for different kind of cultural policies (*Rolling Classroom*, Oslo, 2019) or in Tirana against the demolition of the National Theatre (*Paris Commune Revisited*, Tirana, 2019); the history of the workers’ movement in Norway and of contemporary social struggles in that country, from ecological ones to those waged for emancipation of the Roma people (*Red Winter*, Levanger, 2014); the status of mine workers in Serbia (*Workers’ Collective*, Bor, 2013); the status of migrants and their struggles as well as the injustices they suffer (*Fragile Presence*, Belgrade, 2016 and Graz, 2018); artist as worker and labor conditions in culture (*Didactic Drawings*, Bucharest, 2013 and Trondheim, 2015; *Potentials for Militant Creativity*, Rijeka, 2017); inhuman conditions of factory labor at the periphery of neoliberal capitalism (*Deaf Shoes*, Palermo and Bitola, 2018); the revival of the post-industrial environment (*Ironworks ABC*, Sisak, 2015); the city space and class issues (*Trešnjevka Motifs*, Zagreb, 2018 and *Real Struggle, Fake Estates*, Tallinn, 2016).

On the basis of what is exhibited it is easy to discern the path of Rena & Vladan’s nomadic traces in various local environments, as well as their efforts to engage the wider public in their artistic interventions. The international trajectory of their social practice points to the questions of labor as a universal problem. Nevertheless, the activity of Rena & Vladan can be defined as an ambivalent one since, on the one hand, it is realized within the real workers struggles in which they take part, while, on the other, they act within the art world. Furthermore, they have also developed, like the well-known artist Thomas Hirschhorn, social competence and the ability to articulate specific local political issues alongside their post-production artistic skills.

Model for Assessing Transformativity

This exhibition is not just a set-up of autonomous artworks, but a whole consisting of material remains of interventions and practices that Rena & Vladan have created. The distinctiveness of the *Transformatorium* lies in the fact that Rena & Vladan have developed a special kind of ideograph as a tool for assessing the effects of their practice.³ On the basis of this model they suggest it is possible to examine the degree of transformativity of a certain artistic procedure, while bearing in mind the notion that the intervention can be situated in any of the following three fields of social struggle: the ideological, the economic and the political. The model is conceived in such a way that it can be also applied to other authors' practices as well as to current socio-political situations. It is comprised of micro- and macro-ideographs that illustrate transformativity and which can be attributed to particular works depending on the degree of transformativity achieved in a certain field.

The ideograph placed at the entrance of the exhibition serves to familiarize visitors with the principle that is employed in Rena & Vladan's artistic practice. It depicts a three part, trigonal oriented tube that signifies at its center autonomous artistic practice and from there the effects of economic, ideological and political circumstances. The tube represents the place of the transformative process, i.e. the filtration and transformation that happens when artistic autonomy encounters other environments. After exiting the transformative tube, the artistic practices are transformed into an (non-artistic) intervention and take their concrete place in a social struggle by intervening in it. All the practices contained in the tube – and there are two ideographs for each one of them – are evaluated in relation to actions undertaken in order to arrive at a full rejection of the initial autonomous artistic form. The artists have suggested criteria for each degree of transformativity. For example, if during the passage through the ideological part of the tube it is only a new language that is being articulated, then only the first degree of transformativity is achieved. In the economic field it is the level of rejecting

3 As the curator of this exhibition I discussed the model for assessing transformativity with Rena & Vladan while preparing it. At the same time, this exchange represents the framework for mediating their complex display with the audience as it is expected to participate.

the market mechanisms and the discovery of the use-value of art that are being estimated. Thus, these ideographs are offered as tools for estimating each of the works, which means that we can attach to them the highest marks but only on provision that full transformativity has been completed. Many of the works will obtain only the middle ranking ideographs since it is not that every work has completely fulfilled its potentials. Finally, each work will be assigned three ideographs – one from the ideological, one from the economic and one from the political spectrum – which will represent an answer to the question over what level of social struggle a concrete work belongs to.

Labor as a Topic and as “Method”

The exhibition *Transformatorium*⁴ allows for multiple readings of the potentials it presents. A deep look into the selected materials, that testify to Rena & Vladan’s active engagement both in socio-political and artistic life, reveals that the category of “labor” represents the common denominator in their practice. Even when they are speaking about their own artistic practice, they are using the word labor since they do not envision artistic production as an activity separate from any other activity that humans engage in. Labor and the working conditions of miners, textile workers, migrants, artists as well as precariousness,

4 One of the works whose elements are presented at the exhibition is the intervention *Observations from the Edge*, which was developed by Rena, Vladan and myself at the Astronomical Observatory in Belgrade in 2016. It served as pilot-version for tools that were simultaneously used as artistic and as a catalyst for a certain socio-political discourse. Those tools were placed in the park that stretches around the pavilions of the Observatory and represented a means for discussing current socio-political issues with the audience. If we have then collectively “observed” and tested out the potentials of those tools, in this exhibition, informed by the experiences that we have accumulated in the meantime, we are presenting transformation as a method.

5 In connection with this, it is worth mentioning that Rena & Vladan are the initiators of ArtLeaks (established in 2011) as well as of other platforms for connecting cultural workers. See: Corina L. Apostol’s text about their engagement in organizing workers in culture in this publication: Corina L. Apostol, “Drawing, Writing, Protesting and Becoming Accomplices in the Age of Endless Austerity and Online Organizing” in: *Transformatorium*, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

flexibility and similar aspects constitute the focus of their attention.⁵ This kind of political, but also intimate, attitude towards labor at the same time affects their mode of artistic production, i.e. their artistic procedure that involves the usage of simple, readily available materials, as well as the self-explanatory visual language of their drawings.

To put it in simple terms, Rena & Vladan's production functions via exposure to different social circumstances with the help of the institution of art,⁶ thereby "weaving" threads on the topic of labor. In order to better understand Rena & Vladan's artistic skill of engagement as well as their artistic process we might consider the slogan *homo faber* (humans, the makers).⁷ Their conviction is that by producing and using tools and objects, which they simultaneously treat as artistic and usable objects, they can make visible social struggles around the issues of labor.

One of the basic materials that Rena & Vladan use, in addition to wood, rope and cardboard, is textile fabric. The materiality that they are achieving is of a flexible character: it is simultaneously "tied to the hand" and "tied to knowledge"⁸ and produced in a way that it can be effective in different social fields. This materiality persists in the form of banners and flags made of textiles as well as in the form of objects made of cardboard that make up the essence of the material part of the exhibition and which, according to circumstances, can also serve as means for action outside the exhibition space. Despite the fact that the manual production of objects and drawings comprises only one part of their artistic process and that those objects are later processed and reproduced in new circumstances, the connection with the original manual labor is unbroken. This goes to show how closely connected the artists are with the social fabric that they are engaging with.

6 I use the term institution of art in reference to the knowledge and the establishment of artistic techniques, to art history and similar.

7 It is no coincidence that the Latin word for maker (*faber*) forms the basis for words like to *fabricate* or *fabric*.

8 This distinction is taken from the interview with Danielle Child about her book *Working Aesthetics: Labour, Art and Capitalism*, Bloomsbury, 2019. The interview is entitled *Danielle Child: Working Aesthetics* as an audio podcast available online: <http://petitpoi.net/danielle-child-working-aesthetics/>

Rena & Vladan not only facilitate the visibility of labor through their actions, but also pose questions in relation to knowledge about labor. In this way their practice is transformative in two directions: on the one hand, the social order gets transformed into objects and on the other, those objects are transformed into knowledge. It is those objects and tools that simultaneously represent their stakes and justifications for participating in a certain community, no matter if it is an artistic or political one and no matter what its geographic location might be.

With their slogans displayed on banners and objects, Rena & Vladan are less inclined to give a voice to that what is outside ideology or language as they are seeking to transform that which already has a language. A close look at the entirety of exhibited artistic interventions reveals links with historical artistic practices, such as, for example, with the approaches of Krsto Hegedušić or Gordon Matta-Clark, or with cultural practices from the sphere of labor such as the Sisak Ironworks artists' colony, the worker newspapers *Bor Collective*, or the staging of living images. Yet those relations should not be understood as quotations: Rena & Vladan use existing practices as an entry point to transform their positions and approaches and to adapt them to new contexts. Their tools and objects represent within such an order a certain material for negotiations about a given social issue. A superficial overview of the exhibition, due to the fact that the interventions were made and had a purpose in very different environments and in various languages, produces a "Tower of Babel" effect. Nevertheless, what is common to all those languages is a readily understandable visual language which is consciously designed as rebellious and represents an almost sarcastic "anti-design" within a larger context in which 3D digital aesthetics and hyperrealism practically take the place of totality. Even their slogans, "as the highest condensed form of political language",⁹ seem encrypted since a transformation of the natural order of things¹⁰ takes place during their production. In addition, this kind of unique engineering is realized as a new instrument of knowledge, a new system of logic.¹¹ The materiality of the tools, props and objects is therefore neither political nor apolitical; it mirrors the paradox and the contradiction between the

9 See Rena Rädle's text in this publication: Rena Rädle, "The Language of Political Agitation" in: *Transformatorium*, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

10 One of the first instructions for constituting a logical order of things is found in Aristotle's complex *Organon* comprised of six texts. It is no coincidence that the ancient Greek word *οργανον* means instrument, tool, organ.

11 Francis Bacon was advocating for the logic of induction and experimenting as a method instead of syllogisms in his *Novum Organum*, published in 1620.

natural order and the newly introduced logic. It is important to emphasize that the exhibited materiality is neither of quotation-al character nor is it a representation of an existing object that can be found in reality; it has a certain role in reality only under the provision that it is selected as the new (or more accurately: different) tool for a particular social struggle.

Instead of a Conclusion

The rich and consequent *transformative practice* which is offered to the public by this exhibition in the form of a cognitive-aesthetic, more than an ideological, political or economic experience, seeks not only to show the persistence of labor despite the rattle and hum of struggles that characterize them in a broader social context. The key significance of such a practice consists in pointing to the possibility of transformation of reality by artistic means. The reexamination of the potential of the transformativity of such procedures in the heyday of the pandemic and even graver environmental crisis that we are witnessing will enable us to envisage Rena & Vladan's "transformatorium" as an opportunity for creating a new categorization: the old categories that can no longer survive will be rejected, and new aspects of them that can be taken over and deployed within the current social struggles will be adopted and used in the future. In this way, transformative artistic practices and the use-values of art that are sharply emphasized in Rena & Vladan's work constitute a continuity with the historical avant-gardes after the 20th century crises have ruptured them. This is especially evident in the case of Constructivism, as Rena & Vladan appropriate its principles and develop them in a direction that does not allow for artistic labor to be subjected to any kind of functionalism. Still, there remains a question: Does this exhibition represent a victory of labor achieved with the help of art? The exhibited interventions of Rena & Vladan are undoubtedly a vivid proof of the persistence and intensity of workers' struggles and other social struggles as well as of the unique artistic charge that they have inspired. Many of the old ways have changed since the time when these exhibited works have been made, but it is important

to understand that Rena & Vladan's method is still applicable to a wide spectrum of issues and that it is, despite all the changes since, still very effective due to its flexibility and sharp critical edge.

Translation: Dušan Grlja



Maja Ćirić

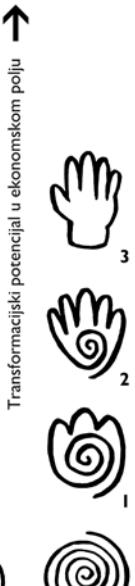
Izrada Transformatorijuma

MODEL TRANSFORMACIJSKOG POTENCIJALA UMETNIČKIH PRAKSI

- Ovaj model služi proceni nivoa transformativnosti izloženih umetničkih radova.
- Početni ideogram je spirala koja predstavlja umetničku praksu. Krajni ideogrami označavaju izlazak iz umetničke oblasti i stapanje sa praksama unutar tri društvena polja.
- Nalepnice sa ideogramima možete slobodno zlepiti na zid pored legende svakog od radova čije potencijale želite da vrednjujete.

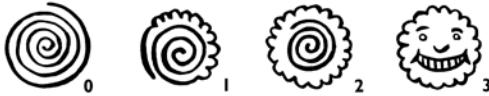


← Transformacijski potencijal u političkom polju



NIVO POTENCIJALA

	u ideološkom polju	u ekonomskom polju	u političkom polju
A ABECEDA ŽELJEZARE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
B CRVENA ZIMA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
C DIDAKTIČKI CRTEŽI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
D GLUVE CIPELE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
E KOTRLJAJUĆA UČIONICA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
F LOMLJIVA PRISUTNOST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
G PONOVO U PARISKOJ KOMUNI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
H POTENCIJALI ZA BORBENO STVARALAŠTVO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I RADNIČKI KOLEKTIV	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
J RADNI LISTOVI O ŽIVIM SLIKAMA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
K STVARNA BORBA, LAŽNA IMANJA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
L TREŠNJIVEĀČKI MOTIVI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



Transformacijski potencijal u ideološkom polju →

Izložba *Transformatorijum* predstavlja drugu smotru radova Rene Rädle i Vladana Jeremića u okvirima Muzeja savremene umetnosti Vojvodine (MSUV), gde su pre dvanaest godina samostalno izlagali svoje heterogeno „situacionističko” *Psihogeografsko istraživanje*,¹ nastalo u prvom periodu njihovog zajedničkog stvaralaštva, od 2002. do 2009. godine. Godinama unazad, svoj rad ostvaruju, izlažu i pozicioniraju kao intervenciju u javnom prostoru izvan tradicionalnih umetničkih institucija, ali i u okviru njih, prevashodno na inicijativu umetničkih udruženja. Potrebu za saradnjom sa javnim institucijama potkrepljuje njihova celokupna praksa, iako primarno orijentisana ka društvenoj transformaciji, jer se oni, pre svega, služe umetničkim sredstvima i instituciju umetnosti sa svim njenim izlagačkim i diskurzivnim kanalim koriste kao platformu kako bi došli do različitih zajednica i posređovali sopstvenu angažovanu umetnost.

Sa ovim samostalnim nastupom u MSUV, Rena i Vladan ostaju dosledni sopstvenoj metodi preoblikovanja političkih pozicija u umetničku formu i obratno, testirajući je kroz ponuđen model za kritiku kao poziv publici da i ona to učini. Na precizno osmišljenoj postavci koja prikazuje materijalne ostatke njihove „transformativne prakse”,² predstavljen je izbor iz njihovih delovanja u periodu od 2013. do 2019. godine, s ciljem da se višestruko testira i procenjuje. U tom smislu, *Transformatorijum* je i jedan vid test-radionice kojom se zastupaju njihova znanja i prakse, a čine je umetnički i drugi materijali nastali za potrebe njihovih ranijih intervencija u javnom prostoru.

Postavka se sastoji od tri celine. U prvom delu se mogu videti video-snimci koji svedoče o akcijama izvedenim u Norveškoj, Hrvatskoj, Albaniji, Srbiji, Severnoj Makedoniji, Austriji, Italiji i Estoniji, dok se u drugom delu nalazi depo

1 Kustoskinja izložbe *Psihogeografsko istraživanje* bila je Gordana Nikolić, a tekstove u katalogu su, pored nje, napisali Sezgin Boynik i Suzana Milevska. Videti katalog izložbe: Rädle & Jeremić, *Psihogeografsko istraživanje*, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2009. Dostupno i na: https://issuu.com/vladanrena/docs/psychogeographical_research

2 Ovaj pojam sami umetnici koriste da bi opisali svoju praksu. Pritom, treba napomenuti i to da transformacija nije isto što i mutacija, jer podrazumeva prosvetljenje, tj. kvalitativnu promenu iz jednog stanja u drugo.

„transformativnih oruđa” uz pomoć kojih su Rena i Vladan ispitivali upotrebnu vrednost umetnosti. Treću celinu čini instalacija sa klupama ispred Muzeja savremene umetnosti Vojvodine, dizajnirana za Park Stara Trešnjevka u Zagrebu 2018. godine i prenesena u Novi Sad posebno za ovu izložbu.

Široko postavljena transformativna praksa Rene i Vladana dotiče se različitih problema i geografskih lokacija, na primer, borbe radnika u kulturi u Oslu za drugačije kulturne politike (*Kotrljajuća učionica*, Oslo, 2019) ili u Tirani, protiv rušenja Nacionalnog pozorišta (*Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni*, Tirana, 2019); istorije radničkog pokreta u Norveškoj i današnjih društvenih borbi u toj zemlji, od ekoloških do romskih (*Crvena zima*, Levanger, 2014); položaja rudara u Srbiji (*Radnički kolektiv*, Bor, 2013); položaja migranata i migrantskih borbi, te nepravdi i nade u tom kontekstu (*Lomljiva prisutnost*, Beograd, 2016. i Grac, 2018); umetnika kao radnika i uslova rada u kulturi (*Didaktički crteži*, Bukurešt, 2013. i Trondhajm, 2015; *Potencijali za militantno stvaralaštvo*, Rijeka, 2017); nehumanih uslova fabričkog rada na periferiji neoliberalnog kapitalizma (*Gluve cipele*, Palermo, Bitola, 2018); oživljavanja postindustrijskog okruženja (*Abeceda Željezare*, Sisak, 2015); prostora grada i klasnog pitanja (*Trešnjevački motivi*, Zagreb, 2018. i *Stvarna borba, lažna imanja*, Talin, 2016).

Na osnovu izloženog, lako se mogu uočiti trase nomadskih tragova Rene i Vladana u različitim lokalnim okruženjima, kao i njihovi pokušaji angažovanja raznorodne publike. Međunarodna putanja njihovih društvenih zahvata ukazuje na pitanja rada kao na univerzalno prisutnu problematiku. Međutim, delovanje Rene i Vladana može se odrediti kao ambivalentno jer je, sa jedne strane, ostvareno u realnim radničkim borbama u kojima učestvuju, dok oni sa druge strane deluju unutar sveta umetnosti. Pritom, oni su poput istaknutog umetnika Thomasa Hirschorna razvili i veštine međuljudskih odnosa i artikulacije lokalno specifičnih političnosti, a tom spisku potrebno je dodati i njihove postprodukcijske umetničke veštine.

Model za procenu transformativnosti

Ova postavka nije samo zbirka autonomnih umetničkih radova, nego i celina sačinjena od materijalnih ostataka intervencija i praksi koje su Rena i Vladan ostvarili. Jedinstvenost *Transformatorijuma* proističe i iz toga što su Rena i Vladan razvili poseban ideogram kao alat za procenjivanje učinaka njihove prakse.³ Na osnovu ponuđenog modela može se ispitati stepen transformativnosti određenog umetničkog postupka, imajući pritom u vidu da data intervencija istovremeno može biti smeštena u trima oblastima društvene borbe: ideološkoj, ekonomskoj i političkoj. Model je zamišljen tako da može da se primeni i na prakse drugih autora, ali i u danas aktuelnim društveno-političkim situacijama. Sastoji se od mikro- i makroideograma koji ilustruju transformativnost, a mogu da se dodele pojedinačnim radovima u zavisnosti od nivoa transformativnosti postignutog u određenom polju.

Ideogram na početku izložbe približava publici princip koji Rena i Vladan primenjuju u svojoj umetničkoj praksi. On prikazuje trodelnu, trigonalno orijentisanu cev koja kreće iz centra autonomne umetničke prakse i predstavlja uticaje ekonomskih, ideoloških i političkih uslova. Ova cev je mesto transformacijskog procesa odnosno filtriranja i preobražaja koji se događa kada umetnička autonomija dođe u dodir sa drugim okruženjima. Nakon izlaska iz transformacijske cevi, umetničke prakse se pretvaraju u (neumetničku) intervenciju i zauzimaju sopstveno mesto u konkretnoj društvenoj borbi, intervenišući u njoj. Sve prakse unutar cevî – a postoje po dva ideograma u svakoj od njih – procenjuju se u zavisnosti od toga šta je urađeno da bi se došlo do potpunog odbacivanja početne autonomne umetničke forme. Umetnici su za svaki stepen predložili kriterijume. Na primer, ako se tokom prolaska kroz ideološki deo cevi artikuliše samo novi jezik, biće dostignut prvi stepen transformacije. U ekonomskom polju procenjuje se nivo odbacivanja tržišta i pronalaska upotrebljene vrednosti. Ideogrami, dakle, nude alatke za procenu svakog rada, što znači da radovima možemo dodeliti krajnje znakove, ali samo ako su upotpunjeni. Mnogi radovi će dobiti samo ideograme srednjeg stepena transformacije, jer nije

3 Diskusiju o modelu za procenu transformativnosti sam, kao kustoskinja, vodila sa Renom i Vladanom tokom pripreme izložbe. Ona je ujedno i okvir za posredovanje njihove kompleksne postavke publici, od koje se očekuje participacija.

svaki rad u potpunosti ispunio svoj potencijal. Na kraju će svaki rad dobiti po tri ideograma – po jedan iz ideoškog, ekonomskog i političkog spektra – što će biti odgovor na pitanje na kojem je nivou društvene borbe taj konkretni rad.

Rad kao tema i „metod”

*Transformatorijum*⁴ omogućava višestruko čitanje potencijala koje prikazuje. Dubinski gledano, iz ovde odabranog materijala, koji svedoči da Rena i Vladan aktivno učestvuju koliko u društveno-političkom toliko i u umetničkom životu, iščitava se kao zajednički imenitelj kategorija „rada”. Čak i kada govore o sopstvenoj umetničkoj praksi, oni koriste reč rad, jer umetnički rad ne vide izolovano od bilo koje druge ljudske delatnosti. Rad i radni uslovi rudara, tekstilnih radnika, migranata, umetnika, kao i prekarnost, fleksibilnost i slični aspekti rada ih zaokupljaju.⁵ Taj politički ali i intimni stav prema radu istovremeno utiče i na njihov način umetničke proizvodnje, tj. na njihov postupak, koji uključuje jednostavne, dostupne materijale, kao i neposredni vizuelni jezik njihovog crteža.

4 Jedan od radova čiji su elementi predstavljeni na izložbi je intervencija *Opservacije sa ivice*, koju smo Rena, Vladan i ja zajedno razvili u kompleksu Astronomske opservatorije u Beogradu 2016. godine. Ona je poslužila kao pilot verzija za alatke koje su se istovremeno tretirale i kao umetnost, ali i kao aktivator društveno-političkog diskursa. Raspoređene između paviljona Opservatorije, po parku koji je okružuje, alatke su bile sredstvo da se aktuelna društveno-politička pitanja pretresu sa publikom. Ako smo tada zajedno „opservirali” i testirali potencijale i naboje alatki, na ovoj izložbi, sa iskustvom koje smo u međuvremenu akumulirali, predstavljamo transformaciju kao metod.

5 U tom smislu, Rena i Vladan su inicijatori ArtLeaksa (nastao 2011), kao i drugih platformi za povezivanje radnika u kulturi. Videti tekst Corine L.Apostol o njihovom angažovanju na organizovanju radnika u kulturi objavljen u ovoj publikaciji: Corina L.Apostol, „Crtanje, pisanje, protestovanje i sudelovanje u doba beskrajnih mera štednje i onlajn organizovanja” u: *Transformatorijum*, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Jednostavnim rečima, produkcija Rene i Vladana funkcioniše tako što oni, izloženi različitim društvenim okolnostima, uz pomoć institucije umetnosti,⁶ „tkaju” društvena vla-kna na temu rada. Da bi se objasnila umetnička veština delovanja Rene i Vladana i da bi se razumeo njihov umetnički postupak, trebalo bi ga ilustrovati krilaticom *homo faber* (radni, delatni čovek).⁷ Oni su duboko uvereni da se proizvodnjom i korišćenjem oruđa i objekata, istovremeno tretiranih i kao umetnički i kao upotreбni predmeti, može učiniti vidljivom društvena borba vezana za pitanja rada.

Osnovni materijal kojim se Rena i Vladan koriste upravo je tekstil, pored drveta, konopca i kartona. Materijalnost koju ostvaruju je fleksibilnog karaktera; istovremeno je „vezana za ruku” i „vezana za znanje”,⁸ proizvedena tako da može da deluje u različitim društvenim poljima. Ona opstaje u vidu transparentata i zastava od tekstila i objekata od kartona koji su suština materijalnog izložbenog projekta, a koji, po potrebi, mogu poslužiti i kao sredstvo za delovanje izvan izložbenog prostora. I pored toga što manuelna izrada objekata i crteža čini samo jedan deo njihovog umetničkog procesa, a oni se kasnije dalje obrađuju i reprodukuju u novim okolnostima, veza s izvornim manuelnim radom nije prekinuta. To govori koliko su umetnici bliski društvenom tkivu kojem se obraćaju.

Svojim postupcima, Rena i Vladan ne samo da olakšavaju vidljivost samog rada nego i pokreću pitanja vezana za znanje o radu. Na taj način je njihova praksa transformativna u dva pravca: sa jedne strane, društveni poredak transformiše u objekte, a njih – u znanje, sa druge strane. Upravo su ti alati i objekti istovremeno i njihov ulog i opravdanje za učestvovanje

6 Institucija umetnosti se ovde misli kao znanje i ustanavljanje umetničkih tehnika, istorije umetnosti i slično.

7 Nije slučajno da se latinska reč *tvorac* (*faber*) prepoznae u osnovi reči kao što su to *fabricate* (izraditi) ili *fabric* (tkanina).

8 Ova distinkcija je preuzeta iz intervjuja Danielle Child povodom njene knjige *Working Aesthetics: Labour, Art and Capitalism*, Bloomsbury, 2019. Intervju je objavljen na: Pierre d'Alancaisez, *Danielle Child: Working Aesthetics*, (audio podcast epizoda). Videti: <http://petitpoi.net/danielle-child-working-aesthetics/>

u zajednici, bilo da je ona umetnička ili politička, bez obzira na njen geografski položaj.

Uz pomoć natpisa na banerima i objektima, Rena i Vladan ređe daju glas onome što je izvan ideologije odnosno jezika, a češće transformišu ono što već ima govor. Detaljan pogled na sveukupnost ovde izloženih umetničkih intervencija prepoznaje česte veze sa istorijskim umetničkim praksama, kao što su na primer postupci Krste Hegedušića ili Gordona Matta-Clarka, ili sa kulturnim praksama iz sveta rada kao što su umetnička kolonija Željezare Sisak, radnički list *Borski kolektiv*, ili izvođenja živih slika. Međutim, pogrešno bi bilo razumeti te relacije kao citate, jer ih Rena i Vladan koriste kao polazište da bi u njima artikulisane pozicije i stavove transformisali i prilagodili novim kontekstima. Njihovi alati i objekti su u takvom poretku izvestan materijal za pregovaranje zadatog društvenog problema. Zbog toga što su intervencije nastale i imale funkciju u različitim okruženjima, sa raznolikim pismima i jezicima, letimičan pogled na celinu izložbe ima efekat „Vavilonske kule”. Ipak, svim tim jezicima zajednički je prepoznatljiv vizuelni jezik, svesno dizajniran kao pobunjenički, gotovo sarkastični „antidizajn”, u poretku stvari u kojem su 3D digitalna estetika i hiperrealizam praktično totalitet.

Čak i njihovi sloganii, „kao najviša kondenzovana forma političkog jezika”⁹ deluju kriptovano, jer se tokom izrade dogodila transformacija prirodnog poretna stvari,¹⁰ pri čemu je taj svojevrsni inžinjering ostvaren kao novi instrument znanja, novi sistem logike.¹¹ Materijalnost oruđa, rekvizita i objekata zato nije ni politička ni nepolitička; u njima se ogledaju taj paradoks i kontradikcija između prirodnog poretna i novopredstavljene logike. Važno je naglasiti da izložena materijalnost nije citatnog karaktera, niti je reprezentacija postojećih objekata iz stvarnosti; ona ima ulogu u realnosti samo pod uslovom da je odabrana kao novi (čitaj: različiti) alat u određenoj društvenoj borbi.

Umesto zaključka

Raznolika i dosledna *transformativna praksa*, ovom izložbom ponuđena publici kao saznajno-estetsko, više nego kao

⁹ Videti tekst Rene Rädle u ovoj publikaciji: Rena Rädle, „Jezik političke agitacije“ u: *Transformatorijum*, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

¹⁰ Prvobitno uputstvo za uspostavljanje logičkog poretna stvari pronalazi se u složenom Aristotelovom *Organonu*, koji se sastoji od šest tekstova. Nije slučajno da na grčkom *οργανόν* znači instrument, alatka, organ.

¹¹ Umesto za silogizam, Francis Bacon se zalagao za logiku indukcije i eksperimenta kao metod. Videti: Francis Bejkon, *Novi organon*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2009. Knjiga je originalno objavljena 1620.

ideološko, političko i ekonomsko iskustvo, ne teži samo tome da pruži vitalnost radu uprkos glasnim borbama koje ga karakterišu u širokom spektru okruženja. Njen osnovni smisao je u ukazivanju na mogućnost preoblikovanja stvarnosti umetničkim sredstvima. Preispitivanje potencijala transformativnosti ovakvoga rada u jeku pandemiske i još veće ekološke krize, kojoj svedočimo, omogućiće nam da Renin i Vladanov „transformatorijum” sagledamo kao šansu za novu kategorizaciju: stare kategorije koje više ne mogu da opstanu biće odbačene, a novi aspekti koje možemo preuzeti i iskoristiti u aktuelnim društvenim borbama biće usvojeni i nadalje korišćeni. Na taj način, transformativna umetnička praksa i upotrebljena vrednost umetnosti naglašene u njihovom radu, uspostavljaju kontinuitet sa istorijskim avangardama, nakon što su ga krize 20. veka prekinule. Ovde posebno ciljam na konstruktivizam, čije principe Rena i Vladana usvajaju, pokušavajući da ih unaprede, ne podređujući umetnički rad funkcionalizmu. Ostaje pitanje: da li izložba prikazuje pobedu rada uz pomoć umetnosti? Izloženi višegodišnji zahvati Rene i Vladana svakako su živopisan dokaz o istrajnosti i intenzitetu radničkih i drugih društvenih borbi, te jedinstvenom umetničkom naboju koji su one inspirisale. Od vremena nastanka radova izloženih ovom prilikom, mnogi stari načini su se promenili, ali je važno razumeti da je Renin i Vladanov metod i dalje primenljiv na široki spektar problema i da je, uprkos promenama, zbog svoje prilagodljivosti i kritičke oštice veoma aktuelan.



Corina L.Apostol

Drawing, Writing,
Protesting and
Becoming
Accomplices
in the Age of
Endless Austerity
and Online
Organizing



Over ten years ago, I was added to a group email thread to draft an Open Letter decrying the toxic leadership of a certain art space in Bucharest that had been exploiting and intimidating its artists and employees for far too long.¹ At the time, I was still in graduate school and the thought of speaking truth to power together with a group of like-minded people felt right and necessary. This was my first introduction to the work of Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić, who were from the beginning involved in the creation of what a year later would publicly be launched as the international art and activism publishing collective ArtLeaks.²

Together, bolstered by the impetus of the Occupy movement that was unfolding on streets, squares, and parks all around the world, while taking inspiration from the famous Wikileaks platform, we decided to “occupy” our own space on the internet. This space was to become open to anyone who had been wronged, intimidated, bullied or suppressed in the art world and wanted to tell her or his story publicly. It was equally a space for the other side to respond and hopefully a space where these exchanges could lead to a more equitable and just art world. In the beginning of the aforementioned lengthy email exchange that included The Bureau of Melodramatic Research, members of Chto Delat and Société Réaliste, as well as Raluca Voinea, Valentina Desideri, Vlad Morariu, Rena & Vladan, and others who did not wish to be named publicly, there were a lot of radical ideas and ideological positions, some disagreements and knocking of heads, but overall there was a lot of excitement that change was indeed visible on the horizon.

1 See Apostol et al. “Pavilion UniCredit 2010/2011 – A Collective Protest Letter”, available online: <https://art-leaks.org/2011/07/10/a-protest-letter-against-pavilion-unicredits-practices>

2 See ArtLeaks’s website and archive of leaks: <https://art-leaks.org>

ArtLeaks emerged out of this long collaborative exchange of a group of concerned art world insiders, where Rena & Vladan have and continue to play a consistent and key part, infusing the platform with their bold ideas, visual creations and seemingly endless energy. Most collectives do not stay together more than a few months or a few years, and I have to admit that our modest yet lively platform would not have lasted as long were it not for their continuous dedication. Looking back things were not always smooth or uncomplicated: arguments over how to publish, differences of opinion over our values, the status of the platform as an unregistered group, contradictions between our mission statement and our own unpaid labor that went into maintaining ArtLeaks played a role in how the platform evolved. These disputes also kept things more exciting and relevant to the endless crisis or crises that followed the 2007–2008 global financial crisis.

Less than two years later I met Rena & Vladan in person. Our exchanges took place across social media, group chats and countless emails, an all too familiar mode of work in today's pandemic reality. Back in 2010, we were one of the only groups to fully embrace the digital medium as our workspace, which has since then become the environment par excellence where most of our exchanges and collaborations take root. This was for us a matter of practicality as we were all then — as we are now — living in countries scattered from Russia to the United States. This also meant that we could stay open to anyone who wished to become a member, contribute and had a working internet connection.

Yet meetings in person were also vital to the growth of ArtLeaks. After an energizing first *Assembly for Art Workers* at Flutgraben in Berlin (2012), where many of us had gathered to witness the Occupy-inspired *7th Berlin Biennale – Universes in Universe*³ and an equally promising assembly at Shkola - Park Isskustv Muzeon in Moscow (2012) under the motto “What art system do we need?”,⁴ Vladan suggested that we seize the momentum and organize a similar assembly in Belgrade, Serbia, which he hosted together with Rena. A contingent (myself, artists Alina Popa of the Bureau of Melodramatic Research, and Stefan Tiron of Paradis Garaj) went there to analyze the

3 The 2012 Berlin Biennale was curated by Artur Żmijewski together with Joanna Warsza and Voina art collective: <https://universes.art/en/berlin-biennale/2012>

4 “Report of ArtLeaks’ Second Public Assembly, Moscow, July 15th 2012”, [artLeaks.org, https://art-leaks.org/2012/07/27/report-of-artleaks-second-public-assembly-moscow-july-15th-2012](https://art-leaks.org/2012/07/27/report-of-artleaks-second-public-assembly-moscow-july-15th-2012)

condition of several key cultural institutions. This was the first time we visited Serbia, discovering that, ironically, the ties between former Eastern European countries were definitely broken in terms of easy access through travel; with no introduction to the art scene in Belgrade, we were thrust into a web of local politics and rumors of corruption and the specter of the former Yugoslavia floating in the air, in the old buildings, in people's memories, circling around Tito's mausoleum.

Back then in 2012, the recently reopened (with another public scandal in 2017)⁵ Museum of Contemporary Art, a truly amazing piece of modernist architecture, has been closed since 2007 and in the shell of a not-yet renovated building a “non-exhibition”⁶ has problematized the museum's condition after more than 5 years of silence on behalf of the management and its director, who has been in power since 2001. With more than 30 employees and four other venues, the main activities of this institution were conducted from Tito's villa in a VIP neighborhood of Belgrade, serving the private interests of the management, while still funded by public money. While visiting the “non-exhibition” inside, we discussed why the Belgrade art community did not just simply occupy this empty museum and create an alternative space where cultural workers could share their knowledge, conduct classes and workshops and construct exhibitions. This could have been a great experiment in building a space for art and culture using a bottom-up approach. Although there were other spaces and people we met later that day, this visit was representative of the difficult local context and many problematic points within the Belgrade scene, but also embodied possibilities that could lead it to become otherwise.

The Assembly we organized was spearheaded by Rena & Vladan and took place at the Cultural Center Rex. It was remarkable for bringing together participants in the local art scene that would not often collaborate and inviting them to sit at the same table. It felt that what we had created online had a palpable offline effect, highlighting the potential of ArtLeaks to back up local struggles of cultural workers through its international dimension and the power of solidarity between art workers of the ex-socialist countries to unveil relations of exploitation and corruption that were covered “under an alliance of silence,”

5 “Artists arrested during opening in Belgrade”, *e-flux conversations*, <https://conversations.e-flux.com/t/artists-arrested-during-opening-in-belgrade/7195>

6 “What Happened to the Museum of Contemporary Art? A non-exhibition of documentation, art interventions and the building interior”, *msub.org*, <https://eng.msub.org.rs/sta-se-dogodilo-sa-muzejom-savremene-umetnosti>

as Rena eloquently put it. This assembly was key in the development of the platform, as several participants brought concrete examples of bad practices but also musings over how to develop solidarity structures at the local and international level.⁷

It is important to situate the visual contribution of Rena & Vladan to ArtLeaks within this initial impetus to establish forms of collaboration, communication and solidarity across artistic and social contexts. As ArtLeaks has alternated between the online and offline the visual production aspect of the project served to capture the shifting array of events we organized and to reflect the changing moods of the 2010s that alternated between moments of amazing solidarity in the streets as well as dissolution of the passionate Occupy movement and the reinstatement of extreme austerity, repression, and the rise of the extreme right.

The wall drawing *The production cycle in neoliberal capitalism – a case of art workers today* (2013) was conceived by Rena & Vladan on the walls of the now-itinerant tranzit.ro/ Bucharest which was run by curator Raluca Voinea at Gazelei 44, in Romania's capital. Importantly, it served as a backdrop to another assembly of art workers and activists from Central, East and Western Europe, which was the first of its kind for many of us there, entitled *Parasites and Prophets*.⁸ How to fight against precarious conditions in contexts where labor struggles are more difficult to localize? Which tactics and models of organizing already exist? How can they be enacted and expanded collectively and publicly? These were some of the questions raised in our multi-day gathering. The questions and debates that followed were visually framed in the space by Rena & Vladan's drawing that followed and also problematized what precarious working conditions meant across different contexts, unpaid project work, economic situation and income, public funding, collaboration, solidarity and labor struggles.

The drawing was simple and bold, visible in black marker as a sort of stage design for debates to take place. Different characters and situations were illustrated in the style of a newspaper comic: cognitive and manual art workers responsible for the production of theory and discourse and for producing works of other blue-chip artists and brands respectively, the illusive hand of the production cycle, the belly of the beast

7 For a more detailed text on the Belgrade assembly please see: "Report of the 3rd ArtLeaks Assembly in Belgrade and Related Events", [artleaks.org, https://art-leaks.org/2012/09/08/report-of-the-3rd-artleaks-assembly-in-belgrade-and-related-events](https://art-leaks.org/2012/09/08/report-of-the-3rd-artleaks-assembly-in-belgrade-and-related-events)

8 Read more about the conference: "PARASITES AND PROPHETS - conference organized by ArtLeaks and tranzit.ro/ Bucureşti", [ro.tranzit.org, https://ro.tranzit.org/en/project/0/2013-10-25/parasites-and-prophets---conference-organized-by-artleaks-and-tranzitro-bucuresti](https://ro.tranzit.org/en/project/0/2013-10-25/parasites-and-prophets---conference-organized-by-artleaks-and-tranzitro-bucuresti)

of exploitation, the figure of the activist calling for the cycle to be broken. The drawing suggests that for the production cycle to be interrupted we have to “free” the revolutionary potential of the reserve army of labor, in the drawing this is illustrated by “drilling” into their ideological balloon, and secondly “cut off” the symbolic hand of structural repression. The drawing was significant as it pointed in a darkly humorous way to the very real situations the conference dealt with on a daily basis, while pointing towards solutions. That were provocative enough to elicit a reaction yet also elusive enough to not impose any one solution that would fit all cases.

At times, the drawings created by Rena & Vladan were more immediate, impactful and communicative than the traditional “reports” that I used to write after each one of these assemblies or workshops, although I also value those texts now in charting the history of ArtLeaks’ evolution. While we never labeled ourselves as an artistic collective, we decided to use the invitations we received for exhibitions to do things a bit differently. The exhibition *A Real Work of Art* (RAM Gallery, Oslo, 2015)⁹ that Rena & Vladan curated and also contributed to as artists, was an opportunity for us to test how we could transform an art space into a space for exchanges and conversations that highlight working conditions in the art system, the corporatization of art financing and the precarious livelihoods of art workers worldwide. In a way, our endeavor, to which we also invited other artists who had contributed to ArtLeaks since its inception (Federico Geller, Focus Grupa, Nikolay Oleynikov, Iulia Toma) was to test how much we can flip what is usually expected of an art exhibition into a debate about the conditions of producing that exhibition. The show itself looked like a joyful protest with ArtLeaks’ banners emblazoned with drawings we had used to spark debate on our online platform, encountering Oleynikov’s constructivist-inspired banners used in actual protests in Moscow, while Geller’s darkly humorous comics stood across from Iulia Toma’s gently sketched out symbolic images of strife and conflict that served to illuminate a melodrama that dramatized recognizable scenarios in the life of an art worker’s, and Fokus Grupa’s retelling of multiple art worker protests through drawings of historical photographs.

⁹ See exhibition documentation: “A REAL WORK OF ART (Oslo, Norway)”, [art-leaks.org, https://art-leaks.org/2015/08/24/a-real-work-of-art-oslo-norway](https://art-leaks.org/2015/08/24/a-real-work-of-art-oslo-norway)
Featuring: Corina L. Apostol (ArtLeaks), Federico Geller, Fokus Grupa, Nikolay Oleynikov (Chto Delat?), Iulia Toma

Additionally, in a reading corner in the space, issues of another collective initiative, *The ArtLeaks Gazette*, invited viewers to flip through the pages and learn about the international initiatives that have been set in motion since at least the mid-nineteenth century to enact meaningful transformation in the evolving art world(s). Since 2012, Rena & Vladan have contributed to this publication through their agitational images that have at times served to solidify different thematicas within the gazette, while at others have been acting as commentary with their unique blend of incisive humor on actual cases presented within. They also designed every issue, matching the visual structure of the publication with a wide array of thematics. This almost-yearly publication has become a staple of ArtLeaks' activities and an important tool for bringing a more diverse roster of voices from all over the world into the platform, and connecting important initiatives that may not have been aware of each other and could potentially learn from each other or act in solidarity.

The power of Rena & Vladan's drawings is also that they can sum up on one page an entire array of discussions that were formative for ArtLeaks over the years. The seminar *Art Production in Restriction – Possibilities of Transformative Art Production and Coalition-Building*¹⁰ that they curated with the support of Anne-Gro Erikstad from LevArt, held in Trondheim, Norway (2015), was one such event. Under the auspices of LevArt we were able to invite, among others, like-minded activists from the US (Gregory Sholette, Noah Fischer/Occupy Museums, Lise Soskolne/W.A.G.E.) and Europe (Marina Vishmidt, Kuba Szreder, Airi Triisberg and Minna Henriksson) who we had corresponded with but never had the opportunity to exchange views with all together in person. The discussions covered a wide range of topics including the definition of (artistic) work into artistic labor as precarious work, unpaid labor that at the same time can be classified as reproductive work and forced labor. Other areas discussed included: differences in the levels of precarity between artistic and non-artistic work; the possibilities and difficulties of coalition-building beyond local and international constraints; art work as a form of class struggle; and economic alternatives within the cultural sphere. The discussions were at times intense but at the same time energizing, and while taking notes and writing

10 See the project website and compilation of contributions: "Transformative Art Production. Online compendium of the seminar Art Production in Restriction. Possibilities of Transformative Art Production and Coalition-Building", held in Trondheim, 2015, available online: <https://transformativeartproduction.net>

our usual online reports kept the findings of our exchanges alive for others to analyze or be inspired by, our “Common Manifesto” came in the form of another drawing. Taking the form of a “family tree,” the eponymous drawing mapped out the people who came together in the Trondheim seminar,¹¹ while also serving as a legend to differentiate suggestions such as direct actions, ideologies, constructive tendencies and feedback/input. These visualizations by the two artists have served to continue the process of mapping out what it is that we have in common when making coalitions for a shared cause, and what necessarily distinguishes us as we all engage with our own contexts.

Over time, we experimented with different formats together with Rena & Vladan and other guest contributors: from distributing free drawings at an opening of an exhibition of young artists working for the Berlin Art Week that would be the first attempt to create a visual dictionary for art workers’ struggles¹² to producing a newspaper¹³ and zines of some of our key cases and most incisive ArtLeaks drawings, which were shown on the walls and windows of exhibitions or handed out to those who were interested in reading them. The *ArtLeaks Wall Newspapers* have usually focused on a collection of texts related to the specific context in which they were shown as, for example, in the presentation that took place at the City Art Gallery Ljubljana, where we presented the case of structural racism and censorship against Roma artist Marika Schmiedt, and her struggle to fight back. In the dire situation refugees face today at the hands of neo-fascist forces in Hungary and Europe in general, this case highlighted the necessity to oppose reactionary processes and forces - not only in the field of art and culture, but also in wider European society. In addition to producing and installing the newspaper, Vladan also gave a public presentation of ArtLeaks at the conference *Inside Out-Critical Artistic Debates Concerning Institutions*, on redefining the existing models of institutions, re-framing their programs, and improving working conditions in art production.¹⁴ Over time, we have come to see these interventions as a way of revealing the invisible architecture of oppression, inequality and silence that still exists at the center of the art world.

Whither the world? Whither activist art? Whither ArtLeaks? As I am writing this, we are in the thick of the

11 Contributors to the seminar were: Anne-Gro Erikstad, Airi Triisberg, Corina L. Apostol, Danilo Prnjat, Gregory Sholette, Ivor Stodolsky, Jean-Baptiste Naudy, Jelena Vesic, Jesper Alvær, Jochen Becker, Kuba Szreder, Lise Soskolne, Lise Skou & Bonnie Fortune, Marina Vishmidt, Marita Muukkonen, Marius Lervåg Aasprong, Minna L. Henriksson, Mourad El Garrouge, Noah Fischer, Raluca Voinea and Sissel M. Bergh.

12 Towards a didactic vocabulary of art workers struggles by Corina L.Apostol, Federico Geller, Vladan Jeremić, Jürgen Stollhans was shared freely at the opening of Artist Fair, (2014) at Galerie im Turm, curated by Naomi Hennig: “Assembly for Art Workers and Opening in Berlin”, art-leaks.org/2014/09/02/art-workers-assembly-and-opening-in-berlin/

13 ArtLeaks Wall Newspaper was introduced at the *Inside Out - Not So White Cube*, (2015) a long-term research and co-curatorial cross-disciplinary project initiated by curators Alenka Gregorič and Suzana Milevska: https://issuu.com/vladanrena/docs/artleaks_wall_newspaper

14 Alenka Gregorič & Suzana Milevska, eds., *Inside Out - Not So White Cube*, Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana / City Art Gallery Ljubljana, 2015.

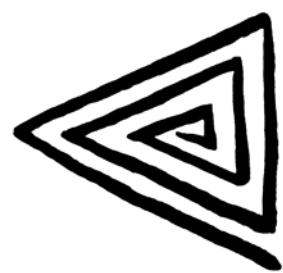
pandemic crisis that is bringing new austerities and deep uncertainties about our future. This crisis has revealed itself to be more complex and harder to grasp in its entirety than the financial crash of 2007–2008, and therefore the critique and solutions have to be sharper and bolder. At the same time, there have been a plethora of like-minded initiatives taking over social media and the internet that are putting at the center of discussion issues in the art world that were considered too taboo to discuss when we published our first leak. With ArtLeaks, journalists and critics always ask us to “show” how we have made a difference in the world, to “prove” our impact. Is it through numbers of visitors that have read our archive of cases, participated in our assemblies or downloaded a protest drawing? For us, showing up and keeping ArtLeaks alive has, at its core, stemmed from our dedication to our mission: responding with openness, anger against abuse and solidarity to authoritarian tendencies, corruption and exploitation.¹⁵ Using our rage, our creativity and our visibility online, I now see our mission as that of accomplices to the next generation of activist-art workers who are emerging, with the hopes that our work over the last decade will bolster their own organization and affirmation.

With the entrenchment of inequality brought on by the crisis of capitalism during the pandemic, socially engaged artists such as Rena & Vladan working in central-eastern Europe are experiencing even more heightened levels of precarity and censorship together with attacks on public institutions of art, culture and education (for example in countries such as Poland, Hungary, Ukraine, Croatia, Russia). Their decision to remain and to work in a context where cultural wars are waged by the powerful far-right, disseminating their finely tuned political drawings in public space, and engaging in topical debates and struggles, is an affirmation of a non-negotiable imperative to fight for justice.

15 See “ArtLeaks Manifesto”:
<https://art-leaks.org/about>

Corina L.Apostol

Crtanje, pisanje,
protestovanje i
sudelovanje
u doba
beskrajnih
mera štednje
i onlajn
organizovanja



Pre više od deset godina, dodali su me grupi koja je kroz elektronsku prepisku sastavljala otvoreno pismo osude tok-sičnog liderstva jednog umetničkog prostora u Bukureštu gde su umetnici i zaposleni već predugo iskorisćavani i zastrašivani.¹ U to vreme, bila sam na postdiplomskim studijama i sama pomisao da s grupom istomišljenika istinu bacim u lice moći delovala je ispravno i neophodno. Tako sam se prvi put upoznala s delom Rene Rädle i Vladana Jeremića, koji su se od početka uključili u stvaranje nečega što će nakon godinu dana u javnosti nastupiti kao međunarodni umetnički i aktivistički izdavački kolektiv ArtLeaks.²

Zajedno, poduprти zamahom Pokreta Occupy, koji se tada odvijao po ulicama, trgovima i parkovima širom sveta, istovremeno inspirisani i čuvenom platformom WikiLeaks, odlučili smo da „okupiramo” svoj prostor na internetu. Prostor je otvoren za svakog ko je u svetu umetnosti pretrpeo nepravdu, zastrašivanje, maltretiranje ili učutkivanje, a želi da svoju priču javno ispriča. Podjednako bi se otvorio i drugoj strani, da odgovori, u nadi da bi te razmene mogле voditi ka pravičnjem i pravednijem svetu umetnosti. Na početku već pomenute poduze razmene imejlova, u kojoj su učestvovali The Bureau of Melodramatic Research, članovi kolektivâ Chto Delat? i Société Réaliste, kao i Raluca Voinea, Valentina Desideri, Vlad Morariu, Rena i Vladan, i drugi koji nisu želeli da im se imena objavljuju, bilo je mnogo radikalnih ideja i ideoloških pozicija, nekih neslaganja i sučeljavanja, ali je sve u svemu prevladalo uzbuđenje što je promena zaista vidljiva na horizontu.

ArtLeaks je proistekao iz duge razmene unutar grupe zabrinutih insajdera u svetu umetnosti, pri čemu su Rena i Vladan imali i nastavljaju da igraju doslednu i ključnu ulogu,

1 Videti Apostol et al., „Pavilion UniCredit 2010/2011 – A Collective Protest Letter”, dostupno na: <https://art-leaks.org/2011/07/10/a-protest-letter-against-pavilion-unicredits-practices>

2 Videti vebajt ArtLeaksa i arhivu slučajeva koji su „procureli”: <https://art-leaks.org>

ubrizgavajući u platformu svoje smele ideje, vizuelne kreacije i naizgled beskrajnu energiju. Većina kolektiva ne ostaje zajedno duže od par meseci ili par godina, te moram da priznam da ni naša skromna ali vrlo živa platforma ne bi opstala tako dugo bez njihove neprekidne posvećenosti. Iz današnje perspektive, stvari nisu uvek tekle glatko ili bez komplikacija: rasprave oko načina objavljivanja, razlike u mišljenju o našim vrednostima, status platforme kao pravno neregistrovane organizacije, protivurečnosti između naše izjave o misiji i našeg sopstvenog neplaćenog rada na održavanju ArtLeaksa, odigrale su svoju ulogu u načinu na koji se platforma razvijala. Ti sporovi su ipak održali uzbudjenje i relevantnost u beskrajinim krizama koje su usledile nakon globalne finansijske krize 2007–2008.

Nakon manje od dve godine, lično sam upoznala Renu i Vladana. Mišljenja smo razmenjivali putem društvenih mreža, grupnih onlajn dopisivanja i bezbrojnih mejlova, što je i više nego dobro poznat način rada u današnjoj pandemijskoj realnosti. Međutim, te 2010. bili smo jedna od malobrojnih grupe koje su u potpunosti kao svoj radni prostor prigrilile digitalni medij, koji je otada sredina u kojoj se većina naših razmena i saradnji prvenstveno ustaljuje. Za nas je to bilo stvar praktičnosti jer smo – kao i sada – živeli u zemljama raštrkanim od Rusije do Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, ali je, takođe, značilo i da možemo ostati otvoreni za svakog ko poželi da postane član i da doprinese, a povezan je na internet.

Ipak, susreti uživo takođe su bili od vitalnog značaja za rast ArtLeaksa. Posle prve *Skupštine za umetničke radnike* u Flutgrabenu u Berlinu (2012), koja nas je ispunila pozitivnom energijom, gde se nas dosta okupilo da prisustvujemo *7. Berlin-skom bijenalu – Univerzumi u univerzumu*,³ inspirisanim Pokretnom Occupy i posle jednako obećavajućeg zbora u Školi u Parku umetnosti Muzeon u Moskvi (2012), čiji je moto glasio: „Kakav umetnički sistem nam je potreban?”,⁴ Vladan je predložio da iskoristimo zamah i organizujemo sličnu skupštinu u Beogradu, u Srbiji, čiji domaćini smo bili zajedno sa Renom. Kontingent koji smo činili umetnici Alina Popa (The Bureau of Melodramatic Research), Stefan Tiron (Paradis Garaj) i ja došao je u Beograd da analizira uslove u nekoliko ključnih ustanova kulture. Tada smo prvi put posetili Srbiju, otkrivši da su, ironično, veze

3 Kustos Berlinskog bijenala 2012. bio je Artur Żmijewski, u saradnji sa Joannaom Warszaom i umetničkim kolektivom Voina: <https://universes.art/en/berlin-biennale/2012>

4 „Report of ArtLeaks’ Second Public Assembly, Moscow, July 15th 2012”, artLeaks.org, <https://art-leaks.org/2012/07/27/report-of-artleaks-second-public-assembly-moscow-july-15th-2012>

među nekadašnjim istočnoevropskim državama definitivno po-kidane kada je reč o saobraćajnoj povezanosti; bez dovoljno zna-nja o umetničkoj sceni u Beogradu, upali smo u mrežu lokalnih politika i glasina o korupciji, dok je avet bivše Jugoslavije lebdela u vazduhu, po starim zgradama, sećanjima, kružeći oko Titovog mauzoleja.

Nedavno je 2017. godine, uz još jedan javni skandal,⁵ ponovo otvoren Muzej savremene umetnosti. Taj zaista zadivlju-jući primer modernističke arhitekture, bio je zatvoren od 2007, pa je za vreme naše posete 2012, unutar još nerenovirane zgrade, jedna „neizložba”⁶ problematizovala zapušteno stanje muzeja po-sle više od pet godina čutanja uprave i direktorke, koja je na tom mestu bila još od 2001. godine. Glavne aktivnosti ove ustanove, sa više od 30 zaposlenih i na četiri lokacije, vodile su se iz Titove vile, koja se nalazi u jednoj od VIP četvrti Beograda, zadovoljava-vajući privatne interese uprave, iako se i dalje finansiraju javnim sredstvima. Tokom obilaska takozvane neizložbe, razmatrali smo zašto beogradска umetnička zajednica jednostavno ne okupira taj prazni muzej i otvori alternativni prostor, gde bi radnici u kulturi mogli da dele znanja, drže časove i radionice i postavljaju izložbe. To je mogao da bude odličan eksperimentalni primer osnivanja prostora za umetnost i kulturu pristupom organizovanja odozdo. Iako smo kasnije u toku tog dana obišli i druge prostore i sreli se i s novim ljudima, ta je poseta bila reprezentant mučnog lokalnog konteksta i mnogih problematičnih tačaka na beogradskoj sceni, ali i oličenje mogućnosti koje su mogle voditi ka tome da postane drugačija.

Na čelu skupštine koju smo mi organizovali bili su Rena i Vladan, a održavala se u Kulturnom centru Rex. Bila je izuzetna i po tome što je spojila učesnike lokalne umetničke sce-ne koji često međusobno ne sarađuju i okupila ih za istim sto-lom. Osećalo se da je ono što smo stvorili onlajn imalo opipljiv oflajn efekat, tako da se istakao potencijal ArtLeaksa da podrži lokalne borbe radnika u kulturi koristeći svoju međunarodnu di-menziju i moć solidarnosti među umetnicima iz bivših socija-lističkih država da pod velom „saveza čutanja”, kako je to Rena rečito formulisala, razotkrivaju odnose eksploracije i korupcije. Ova je skupština bila ključna za razvoj platforme, s obzirom na to da je nekoliko učesnika iznelo konkretne primere loših praksi,

5 „Artists arrested during opening in Belgrade”, e-flux conversations, <https://conversations.e-flux.com/t/artists-arrested-during-opening-in-belgrade/7195>

6 „What Happened to the Museum of Contemporary Art? A non-exhibition of documentation, art interventions and the building interior”, msub.org, <https://eng.msub.org.rs/sta-se-dogodilo-sa-muzejom-savremene-umetnosti>

ali i promišljanja na temu razvoja struktura koje treba da podrže solidarnost na lokalnom i međunarodnom nivou.⁷

Važno je naglasiti Renin i Vladanov vizuelni doprinos ArtLeaksu i smestiti ga u domen ovog inicijalnog podsticaja za uspostavljanje oblika saradnje, komunikacije i solidarnosti koji bi povezivali umetničke i društvene kontekste. Kako je ArtLeaks naizmenično onlajn i oflajn organizacija, vizuelna produkcija u sklopu projekta trebalo je da uhvati tu pokretljivost niza događaja koje smo organizovali i da reflektuje promenljiva raspoloženja druge decenije 21. veka, od momenata zadržavajuće solidarnosti na ulicama do rasipanja strastvenog Pokreta Occupy i ponovnog uspostavljanja krajne surovih mera štednje, tlačenja i uspona ekstremne desnice.

Zidni crtež *Prekid proizvodnog ciklusa* (2013) Rena i Vladan su osmislili za zidove sada izmeštenog udruženja tranzit. ro u Bukureštu, koji u rumunskoj prestonici vodi kustoskinja Raluca Voinea, u Ulici Gazelei 44. Značajno je i to što je crtež poslužio kao pozadina okupljanju umetničkih radnika i aktivista iz centralne, istočne i zapadne Evrope, prvom takve vrste za mnoge od nas u tom delu sveta, koje smo nazvali *Paraziti i proroci*.⁸ Kako se boriti protiv prekarnih uslova rada tamo gde je teže lokalizovati radničke borbe? Kakve taktike i modeli organizacije već postoje? Kako se oni mogu kolektivno i javno sprovesti u delo i proširiti? Ovo su neka od pitanja koja smo potegli tokom našeg višednevnog druženja. Renin i Vladanov crtež, koji prati i problematizuje pitanje značenja prekarnih uslova rada u različitim kontekstima, neplaćen rad na projektu, ekonomsku situaciju i prihode, javno finansiranje, saradnju, solidarnost i radničke borbe, bio je i vizuelni okvir za ta pitanja i rasprave koje su potom usledile.

Crtež je jednostavan i smeо, izrađen crnim markrom kao svojevrsna scenografija za debate. U stilu novinskog stripa, ilustruje različite likove i situacije: umetnike čiji je umni i manuelni rad odgovoran za proizvodnju teorije i diskursa, kao i radova drugih skuplje kotiranih umetnika, a onda i brendova, iluzornu ruku proizvodnog ciklusa, utrobu zveri eksploracije, aktivistu koji poziva na raskidanje tog ciklusa. Crtež sugerise da je za prekid proizvodnog ciklusa potrebno da „oslobodimo“ revolucionarni potencijal rezervne armije rada, što se na crtežu ilustruje „bušenjem“ njenog ideološkog balona, a zatim i da „odsečemo“

7 Za više detalja o skupštini pogledajte: „Report of the 3rd ArtLeaks Assembly in Belgrade and Related Events”, artleaks.org, <https://art-leaks.org/2012/09/08/report-of-the-3rd-artleaks-assembly-in-belgrade-and-related-events>

8 Više o konferenciji na: „PARASITES AND PROPHETS – conference organised by ArtLeaks and tranzit. ro/ Bucureşti”, ro.tranzit.org, <https://ro.tranzit.org/en/project/0/2013-10-25/parasites-and-prophets---conference-organized-by-artleaks-and-tranzitro-bucuresti>

simboličnu ruku strukturne represije. Crtež je značajan jer je na crnoumorni način ukazao na i te kako realne situacije kojima se konferencija svakodnevno bavila, ujedno stremeći ka rešenjima koja bi bila dovoljno provokativna da izazovu reakciju, ali i dovoljno okolišna da ne nameću jedno rešenje kao odgovarajuće za svaki pojedinačni slučaj.

Povremeno su Renini i Vladanovi crteži bili neposredniji, dejstveniji i pristupačniji od tradicionalnih „izveštaja“ koje sam pisala posle svake od tih skupština ili radionica, iako su mi i ti tekstovi sada dovoljno vredni za grafikon istorije evolucije ArtLeaksa. Premda sebe nikada nismo označili kao umetnički kolektiv, odlučili smo da pozive za izložbe koje smo dobijali iskoristimo tako da ih izvedemo na drugačiji način. Izložba *Pravo umetničko delo* (Galerija RAM, Oslo, 2015),⁹ čiji su kustosi bili Rena i Vladan, doprinevši joj i umetnički, dala nam je priliku da ispitamo kako bismo mogli da jedan umetnički prostor preobražimo u prostor za razmene mišljenja i razgovore koji rasvetljavaju uslove rada u umetničkom sistemu, korporacijsko finansiranje umetnosti i prekarne uslove života umetničkih radnika širom sveta. Nastojali smo, u izvesnom pogledu, da ispitamo koliko možemo da uobičajena očekivanja od umetničke izložbe izokrenemo u debatu o uslovima proizvodnje te izložbe, a pozvali smo i druge umetnike koji su doprinosili ArtLeaksu od njegovog osnivanja (među kojima su: Frederico Geller, Fokus Grupa, Nikolay Oleynikov, Iulia Toma) da se tom nastojanju pridruže. Sama izložba je ličila na radostan protest. Na njoj su se mogli videti transparenti ArtLeaksa ukrašeni crtežima koje smo ranije koristili da na našoj onlajn platformi raspisrimo debatu, kao i konstruktivizmom inspirisani transaprenti Oleynikova korišćeni tokom stvarnih protesta u Moskvi, zatim Gellerovi crnoumorni stripovi postavljeni naspram nežno skiciranih simboličnih slika razdora i sukoba čija je autorka Iulia Toma. Te slike su osvetljavale dramatizaciju prepoznatljivih scenarija iz života radnika u umetnosti u formi melodrame, dok je Fokus Grupa izložila crteže nastale na osnovu arhivskih fotografija, stvarajući novi narativ o višestrukim protestima umetnika u prošlosti.

Pored toga, u kutku za čitanje u istom prostoru, nalazili su se primerci *The ArtLeaks Gazette*, još jedne zajedničke inicijative, koje su posjetioc mogli da prelistaju i da se upoznaju

9 Videti dokumentaciju izložbe: „A REAL WORK OF ART (Oslo, Norway)”, [artleaks.org, https://art-leaks.org/2015/08/24/a-real-work-of-art-oslo-norway](https://art-leaks.org/2015/08/24/a-real-work-of-art-oslo-norway) Učestvovali su: Corina L. Apostol (ArtLeaks), Federico Geller, Fokus Grupa, Nikolay Oleynikov (Chto Delat?), Iulia Toma.

sa međunarodnim inicijativama pokretanim makar od sredine 19. veka radi ostvarivanja smislenih preobražaja svet(ov)a umetnosti. Od 2012. Rena i Vladan su za ovu publikaciju prilagali svoje agitacione ilustracije, a one su nekada služile sjedinjavanju različitih tematskih preokupacija lista, a nekada, svojom jedinstvenom mešavinom britkog humora, kao komentari slučajeva predstavljenih u datom broju. Takođe su dizajnirali sve brojeve, povezujući vizuelnu strukturu publikacije sa širokim spektrom tema. Ova publikacija, koja izlazi skoro svake godine, postala je glavna spona aktivnosti ArtLeaksa i važno oruđe za uvođenje raznovrsnosti u spisak glasova iz čitavog sveta na platformi i za povezivanje značajnih inicijativa koje možda ne bi ni bile svesne jedne drugih, a koje bi potencijalno imale šta da nauče jedne od drugih ili da delaju solidarno.

Moć Reninih i Vladanovih crteža ogleda se u tome što na jednoj strani uspešno sažimaju čitav niz rasprava koje su tokom godina formirale ArtLeaks. Seminar *Proizvodnja umetnosti u restrikciji – mogućnosti transformativne umetničke proizvodnje i izgradnje koalicije* (2015),¹⁰ koji su u Trondhajmu, u Norveškoj, održali uz podršku Anne-Gro Erikstad iz LevArta, bio je jedan takav događaj. Pod pokroviteljstvom LevArta, imali smo mogućnosti da pozovemo, između ostalih, aktiviste istomišljene ike iz SAD (Gregory Sholette i Noah Fischer iz Muzejâ Occupy, Lise Soskolne iz W.A.G.E.) i Evrope (Marina Vishmidt, Kuba Szreder, Airi Triisberg i Minna Henriksson) sa kojima smo korespondirali, ali do tada nismo imali prilike da svi zajedno razmenimo gledišta uživo. Diskusije su pokrivale širok raspon tema, uključujući definiciju umetničkog rada u specifikaciju prekarnog, neplaćenog rada koji se istovremeno može klasifikovati i kao reproduktivni i kao prinudni rad. Inače, među oblastima o kojima se diskutovalo bile su: razlike u stepenu prekarnosti između umetničkog i neumetničkog rada; mogućnosti i poteškoće da se nezavisno od lokalnih i međunarodnih ograničenja izgradi koalicija; umetničko delovanje kao oblik klasne borbe; ekonomiske alternative unutar polja kulture. Rasprave su povremeno bile žestoke, ali su nam istovremeno davale energiju. Beleške i naši uobičajeni onlajn izveštaji omogućili su i drugima da analiziraju otkrića do kojih smo došli razmenjujući mišljenja ili da se nije inspirišu, ali je naš „Zajednički manifest“ nastao u obliku još

10 Videti vebajt projekta i kompilaciju priloga: „Transformative Art Production. Online compendium of the seminar Art Production in Restriction. Possibilities of Transformative Art Production and Coalition-Building, held in Trondheim”, 2015, dostupno na: transformativeartproduction.net

11 Saradnici na seminaru bili su: Anne-Gro Erikstad, Airi Triisberg, Corina L. Apostol, Danilo Prnjat, Gregory Sholette, Ivor Stodolsky, Jean-Baptiste Naudy, Jelena Vesić, Jesper Alvær, Jochen Becker, Kuba Szreder, Lise Soskolne, Lise Skou & Bonnie Fortune, Marina Vishmidt, Marita Muukkonen, Marius Lervåg Aasprong, Minna L. Henriksson, Mourad El Garrouge, Noah Fischer, Raluca Voinea i Sissel M. Bergh.

jednog crteža. U formi „porodičnog stabla”, istoimeni crtež predstavlja mapu ljudi koji su se okupili na seminaru u Trondhajmu,¹¹ istovremeno služeći i kao legenda koja omogućava diferenciranje predloga kao što su direktne akcije, ideologije, konstruktivne tendencije i uzajamna razrada ideja. Ove umetničke vizuelizacije poslužile su da se nastavi proces označavanja onoga što nam je zajedničko kada je reč o stvaranju koalicija za isti cilj i onoga što nas nužno razlikuje s obzirom na to da se svako od nas angažuje u sopstvenom kontekstu.

Tokom vremena, zajedno sa Renom i Vladanom i drugim gostujućim saradnicima, eksperimentisali smo s različitim formatima: od deljenja besplatnih crteža – prvog pokušaja stvaranja vizuelnog rečnika za borbe umetničkih radnika¹² – na otvaranju jedne izložbe mlađih umetnika koji su radili za Nedelju umetnosti u Berlinu, do proizvodnje novina¹³ i lista na temu nekih od naših ključnih slučajeva i sa najbritkijim crtežima ArtLeaksa. Oni su se izlagali po zidovima i izložima izložbenih prostora ili se prosleđivali zainteresovanima da ih pročitaju. *Zidne novine ArtLeaksa* obično bi se fokusirale na zbirku tekstova vezanih za kontekst u kojem su izlagane, kao, na primer, kada smo u sklopu izložbe i konferencije koja se odvijala u Gradskoj galeriji u Ljubljani predstavili slučaj strukturnog rasizma i cenzure protiv romske umetnice Marike Schmiedt i njenu bitku protiv toga. U poražavajućoj situaciji s kojom se izbeglice u rukama neofašističkih sila u Mađarskoj i Evropi uopšte danas suočavaju, ovaj je slučaj istakao nužnost suprotstavljanja reakcionarnim snagama i procesima – ne samo u polju umetnosti i kulture, već i u širem evropskom društvu. Pored toga što je napravio i postavio zidne novine, Vladan je u Ljubljani predstavio ArtLeaks, na konferenciji pod nazivom *Naopačke – kritičke umetničke debate u vezi s institucijama*, koja se bavila redefinisanjem postojećih modela institucija, preoblikovanjem njihovih programa i unapređenjem uslova rada u umetničkoj proizvodnji.¹⁴ Tokom vremena, počeli smo da na ove intervencije gledamo kao na način razotkrivanja nevidljive arhitekture tlačenja, nejednakosti i prečutkivanja koja još uvek postoji u centru umetničkog sveta.

Kuda ide ovaj svet? Kuda ide aktivistička umetnost? Kuda ide ArtLeaks? Dok ovo pišem, usred smo pandemiske krize, koja donosi nove mere štednje i silne neizvesnosti u vezi s

12 *Ka didaktičkom rečniku borbi umetničkih radnika* Corine L.Apostol, Federica Gellera, Vladana Jeremića i Jürgena Stollhansa se besplatno delio na otvaranju Umetničkog sajma (2014) u Galerie Im Turm, čiji je kustos bila Naomi Hennig: „Assembly for Art Workers and Opening in Berlin”, artleaks.org, <https://art-leaks.org/2014/09/02/art-workers-assembly-and-opening-in-berlin/>

13 *Zidne novine ArtLeaksa* su prvi put predstavljene u sklopu *Naopačke – ne tako bela kocka* (2015), dugoročnog istraživačkog i ko-kustoskog transdisciplinarnog projekta koji su pokrenule kustoskinje Alenka Gregorič i Suzana Milevska: https://issuu.com/vladanrena/docs/artleaks_wall_newspaper

14 Alenka Gregorič & Suzana Milevska, eds., *Inside Out – Not So White Cube, Museum and Galleries of Ljubljana / City Art Gallery Ljubljana*, 2015.

našom budućnošću. Ova se kriza pokazala kao kompleksnija i teže ju je u potpunosti shvatiti nego finansijski krah 2007–2008, pa stoga i kritika i rešenja moraju da budu i oštrega i smelija. Istovremeno, mnoštvo inicijativa istomišljenika usredstvenih na rasprave o problemima u svetu umetnosti koji su se smatrali tabu-temama u vreme kada smo mi objavili prvi procureli slučaj, prebacilo se na društvene medije i internet. Kada je o ArtLeaksu reč, novinari i kritičari od nas stalno traže da „pokažemo“ kako smo nešto promenili u svetu, da „dokažemo“ naše dejstvo. Da li bi dokaz bili brojevi posetilaca koji su čitali našu arhivu slučajeva, učestvovali u našim skupštinama ili sa sajta preuzimali neki protestni crtež? Što se nas tiče, razotkrivanje i održavanje ArtLeaksa u životu u suštini je poteklo iz naše posvećenosti misiji: iskreno, solidarno i s besom odgovoriti na zlostavljanje, autoritarne tendencije, korupciju i eksplataciju.¹⁵ Imajući u vidu naš gnev, kreativnost i onlajn vidljivost, danas našu misiju vidim kao misiju saučesnika naredne generacije aktivista – umetničkih radnika koji se upravo pojavljuju na sceni, s nadom da će naš rad tokom protekle decenije poduprti njihovu organizaciju i afirmaciju.

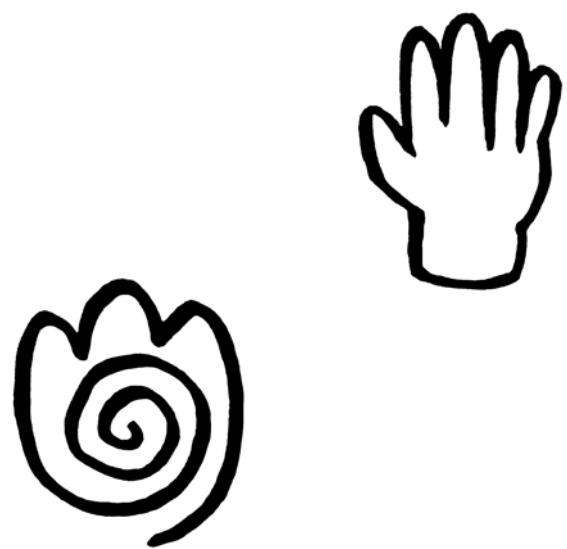
S produbljivanjem nejednakosti koje je izazvala kriza kapitalizma tokom pandemije, društveno angažovani umetnici koji, kao Rena i Vladan, rade u centralno-istočnoj Evropi doživljavaju još više nivoje prekarnosti i cenzure, zajedno sa napadima na javne ustanove umetnosti, kulture i obrazovanja (u država-ma kao što su, na primer, Poljska, Mađarska, Ukrajina, Hrvatska, Rusija). Njihova odluka da ostanu i rade u kontekstu u kojem moćna ekstremna desnica predvodi kulturne ratove, distribuirajući u javnom prostoru svoje dobro podešene političke crteže i angažujući se u aktuelnim debatama i bitkama, jeste potvrda beskompromisnog imperativa borbe za pravdu.

15 Videti „ArtLeaks Manifesto“ na: <https://art-leaks.org/about>

Prevod: Violeta Stojmenović

Rena Rädle

The Language of Political Agitation



With this text I hope to contribute to the understanding of transformative artistic practices. The works discussed here are *Red Winter* and *Rolling Classroom*¹, two connected artistic interventions carried out by Vladan Jeremić and myself in Norway. The relation of art and politics is one of the central issues in our artistic practice and we have gathered substantial experience of how this relation looks and works in practice. Nevertheless, we are also interested in problematizing it theoretically, so as to generate new impulses for our practice. In my contribution I aim to develop a theoretical framework to discuss the conjunction of politics and art. Both works presented here deal with the language of political agitation, while occupying different places on the “passage” from the artistic to the political field. I will elaborate upon these differences, thus demonstrating under which circumstance artistic language can translate into the language of everyday experience, so that it can contribute to political articulation and practice. In short, the question I will try to answer is: How can artistic practice be transformative beyond the artistic field?

Artistic practices that reach out to the political field evolve along manifold contradictions. This is unavoidable, as in political practice, it is necessary to take sides and to deal with changing situations. Likewise, the analysis and critical evaluation of art that expands into both the aesthetic and political field encounters difficulties in finding adequate categories. One of the inevitable concepts that critics, theorists and other thinkers use when it comes to the analysis of *the political* in art, is the notion of artistic autonomy, with the discussion usually revolving around the axis of the autonomy-heteronomy relation. These disputes arise from contradictory readings of the historical avant-garde’s

| *Red Winter* came about following an invitation by Anne-Gro Erikstad, in 2014, in collaboration with LevArt, a project space for contemporary art in Levanger. *Rolling Classroom* was created for the Karnevalet in 2019, in Oslo, upon invitation by the Carnival Union, an artistic collaborative project between Hanan Benammar, Gidsken Braadlie, Camilla Dahl, Marius von der Fehr, Lisa Pacini, Pia Maria Roll and Venke Aure.

legacy in Western art theory production. Often they end up defending artistic autonomy in one or the other way, seeing, in the tradition of Adorno, autonomy as a precondition for critique or truth in art.² Above all, these disputes can't be separated from their structural function in the ideological struggle and are often affected by the "spontaneous ideology of the art field".³

Transformative artistic practice claims to go further than establishing autonomy or critical distance *within the ideological field*. These practices have moved away from criticality and other ideological models⁴ formed by institutional art discourses and the art market. Their socialization and distribution takes place under terms that are extrinsic to the art field. In order to scrutinize such practice, a concept is needed that allows us to comprehend relations between the ideological field and other fields of social production. In order to think the relations that determine artistic practice, I rely on Rastko Močnik's theory of artistic practice as ideological practice and "secondary elabora-

2 Along these lines, the critic Grant Kester describes the defense of autonomy in the discussions of the curator Nicholas Bourriaud and the critic Claire Bishop as "a reaction to growing anxieties about the vulgar taste of an incipient middle class". In: Grant H. Kester, *The One and the Many, Contemporary Collaborative Art in a Global Context*, Duke University Press, 2011, p.14.

3 This phenomenon of ideological argumentation is concisely termed "the spontaneous ideology of the art field" (alluding to Althusser's "spontaneous philosophy of the scientists") by Oliver Marchart, who argues that Rancière's theory of political aesthetics delivers the ideological instrument for keeping explicitly political art out of art institutions. In: Oliver Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics, Artistic Activism and the Public Sphere*, Sternberg Press, 2019, pp. 12-14.

4 Roughly, we can differentiate two tendencies of critical practice in 'contemporary art'. There are art practices that, in the tradition of critical theory, claim autonomy within the ideological field of art, and in this way generate a critical distance from where the artist unmasks the truth about human society, the art system, political corruption, etc. And there are practices that emerged in the 1990s, inspired by the work of thinkers such as Deleuze and Guattari, Nancy and Badiou, that attempt to create prefigurations of ideal (communist) communities. The reflection of 'new communist' thinking from the 1980s in (post-)relational aesthetics is discussed by John Roberts in: John Roberts, "Introduction: Art, 'Enclave Theory' and the Communist Imaginary", in: *Third Text*, 23:4, 2009, pp. 353-367.

tion” of socially determined ideological formations.⁵ To conceptualize transformation and political practice, a dynamic model is needed. For that I propose Nicos Poulantzas’ concept of the *economic, political and ideological* class struggle that figures as the motor of social transformation.⁶ These concepts have in common their description of society as a “complex social whole” (Althusser), where the production of social reality is not exclusively a historical necessity, but also the effect of the “relative autonomy” of ideological operations and political practices. As such, they can help us illuminate the structural place and agency of artistic practice in relation to politics, which is the central subject of this text.

Before going into the details of *Red Winter* and *Rolling Classroom*, let’s look at the language of political agitation, which is a central aspect of both works. The most condensed form of political language are slogans. One of the insights po-

5 Rastko Močnik, drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin and Pavel N. Medvedev, develops his concept of artistic practice on the premise that artistic practice takes place in the sphere of ideology. Every ideological system is conceived as a system of signs that are modified by class interests. Both, sign and system are products of the class struggle, and represent a refraction of the social conditions. Hence, artistic practices do not mirror social reality in the form of a simple representation, but work on existing ideological representations, creating a “secondary elaboration” (Medvedev) of ideologically refracted reality. Močnik further shows, through a model combining Medvedev’s “secondary elaboration” with Levi Strauss’ concept of the “total social fact” (which comprises the object and the subject, or the “thing” and “native representation”, see: Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1987), how the structural place of artistic practice changes during the course of history, in pre-capitalist, bourgeois, socialist and late-capitalist societies. See: Rastko Močnik, “Teorija umetničkih praksi”, in *Teorija sa ideologijom*, FKM, Belgrade 2019, pp. 211-243.

6 Nicos Poulantzas developed a concept of class that tackles the discrepancies between class practice, class consciousness and class determination. Taking up Althusser’s concept of overdetermination, he sees class practice as primarily determined by its place in the dominant mode of production, but also by the ideological and political forces in a specific moment. More precisely, according to Poulantzas it is the ideological, political and economic class struggle that forms and reproduces social classes and institutions. See: Nicos Poulantzas, *Classes in contemporary Capitalism*, NLB, 1975, pp. 15,16, pp. 29-30.

itical activists shared with us in discussion was that a political message is more likely to be understood if it is written down as a slogan rather than symbolized in an artistic manner. This conclusion came from their experience with designing agitation material and involving artists in the development of it. This is certainly true insofar as it would be easier to get someone to repeat the slogan and message if it was written as a simple phrase. Whereas they might not be able to reproduce the message contained in a complex artistic representation of, let's say, the struggle against the privatization of common goods. Anyhow, the way in which people relate to a given repeated slogan, whether they identify with it or not, will depend on their personal mood, ideas and values, the circumstances they are living in and their political interest at that moment.

Let's take for example a slogan from our work *Red Winter*, written on one of the banners put up around Levanger's main square, "Stop oil drilling in the Arctic!". A hypothetical art critic reading the slogan might agree with the message, but could say: "This is bad art, there is no critical reflection, true political art is never explicitly political". Maybe she feels the lack of a metaphysical dimension, or she wants to defend the autonomy of art as the last refuge of critique. The actual reaction of a citizen of Levanger, on the other hand, was quite straightforward. When we handed the *Red Winter* newspaper over to him, he said: "What do you want here? Go away, you are sponsored by Putin". As a member of a political party (as we learned later on), he understood that the slogan undermines Norwegian interest in oil drilling and therefore serves Russian interests.

With these examples I want to sketch the problem of political articulation in the art field, or through artistic processes. In the first example, the political activists expected of art that it would enhance their political message, only to realize that artistic representations are too complex for this purpose. This is because they (as Močnik argues) represent refracted images of reality, which means they don't reflect a social problem as a mirror, but work upon already existing ideas of that problem. When, in the second example, the artistic representation was reduced to a slogan, it was understood as a political message by the politician and the art critic, even though the installation of this slogan

on the public square was nevertheless part of a concrete artistic operation. Let's say then, the effect of the slogan here was a kind of an ideological confusion.

From these examples we could add that the effects of artistic practice are confined to the symbolic field. But we have to take into account that artistic practice itself is "re-worked", or even replaced by other dynamics of social production. In the following text I will try to show how a "passage" from the artistic, ideological field to the political field occurred in *Red Winter* and *Rolling Classroom* while elaborating upon the transformative aspects of these works.

Red Winter

For *Red Winter*, we researched the historical and contemporary emancipatory struggles in Levanger and the surrounding region with the aim to generate figures of political agitators that would deliver speeches on the main square of the city. The idea was that these agitators, equipped with the arguments and worldview of their time and their struggles, would meet today and deliver speeches commenting on the contemporary situation. The point of departure was the three-day-long workers' uprising that took place in 1851 on Levanger Square, which was noticed internationally and covered by the news in Paris and London at that time. It was triggered by the arrest of Carl Johan Michelsen, who agitated for the first Norwegian labor movement led by Marcus Thrane. The figures of the agitators represented the first Norwegian labor movement, the anti-fascist struggle during WW2, emancipatory movements of the Roma and Sami in the last decades and current environmental movements. For the action, banners with slogans were put up all around the square, situated in the center of Levanger, at the historical location of the uprising. The four speeches that we had earlier recorded with actors from the local theater group were emitted through loudspeakers from the square's speakers' pavilion. The newspaper *Red Winter*, containing the speeches, drawings and slogans, was installed at the pavilion's speaker's desk and was distributed to passersby.

Although the work drew on a local tradition of historical folk theater, there was barely any similarity with reenactments of historical events.⁷ There were neither costumes nor actors, only the voices of agitators resounding across the square from the empty pavilion. From their historical positions – but also aware of the present day situation – the speeches referred to the experience of their struggles and analyzed mechanisms of exploitation from then and now. In their speeches, they defended their demands, claimed political, social and economic equality, and called for radical change and revolution.

Here, the transformative aspect of the artistic method lies in the re-articulation of historically existing conceptions of radical change, which were reactualized in the context of contemporary social struggles. In a kind of experimental setting, principles or concepts were elaborated and their operability tested within a wider social context, here on the public square, where the historical uprising started. Herein transformative artistic practice differs from both traditional reenactments and typical methods of contemporary art. A transformative approach doesn't take historically documented speeches or other non-art material and transfer them as a *ready-made* to the art field, but rather reworks the material (here the demands) into tools for an ideological intervention into ongoing struggles. A new constellation occurred that made space for the imagination of a new, contemporary, political subject.

Talking about language, it's worth considering the comment of playwright and author of the historical reenactment *Red Winter*, Thorvald Sund, during the public discussion about our intervention. In order to be truly political, he proposed, we should have written the speeches in the local dialect instead of using Bokmål, the written language that, in his view, was imposed by the Danish occupiers. Without going into the details of the Norwegian language conflict, his comment hints at the general difficulty of politics to integrate local particularities, here expressed in different dialects and in the particular histories of oppression and struggle.

With this critique he, consciously or not, targeted the problem of political representation, which was touched upon, though not concretized in *Red Winter*. The agitators remained

7 The title *Red Winter* was inspired by the dramatic play *Raud Vinter* by Thorvald Sund, based on the Levanger riots in 1851, and performed in Levanger for the first time in 2006.

an abstraction within the work. As there was nobody up there in the speakers' pavilion, the place of the political subject was left empty, which was, at the same time, an invitation to anybody and everybody to occupy this position.

We can say that there is a transformative quality in the speeches of *Red Winter* as they formulate a new political agenda. However, there was no connection made with political forces that could take it up. When we developed the next steps, based on the intervention in Levanger, we tried to get closer towards the political dynamic. In the context of the *Karnevalet* in Oslo, we organized the workshop *Red Winter Oslo* to prepare speeches that would be delivered at the carnival parade. The idea was to involve interested people, addressing issues of importance to them during the parade, in this way politicizing the manifestation.

The Rolling Classroom of Love and Resistance

The carnivalization of protest is a much discussed phenomenon, with social movements sometimes using carnivalesque tactics during protests in order to confuse power relations and try to protect themselves from police repression. The *Karnevalet* in Oslo was not initiated by a social movement, rather it was the joint effort of Oslo's art and cultural scene to reclaim the cultural sphere in a time when the far right rules the parliament and to make a statement for an intercultural society, against racism and discrimination. Our workshops were attended mostly by artists and random visitors of the Intercultural Museum of Oslo, and we discussed how the *Karnevalet* could become a more outspoken political manifestation, identifying issues that should be addressed. In those days we went through a process of learning from and listening to one another, with people expressing feelings of loneliness and alienation in regard to their relations with others and "society", and addressing a sense of injustice and of relentlessness of the political system. While for some, this exchange, in what we came to call the *Collective Classroom of Love and Resistance*, was at the core of the process, others formulated speeches, reached out to other interested groups and organi-

zations, and prepared actions that were to be performed in the streets. For that, we designed the *Rolling Classroom*, a mobile tribune that speakers could talk from, whenever they felt that it was the right moment and place.

The parade departed from the immigrants' neighborhood, Grønland, and stopped from time to time at buildings and squares marking different social struggles, where dance, music and theater performances took place. To keep the *Rolling Classroom* moving within the overall dramaturgy of the *Karnevalet* was a task in itself, and many helped to make it happen, contributing their energy and giving support in all possible ways.⁸

In a kind of prayer to the gods, artist Anita Hillestad, whose speech was performed by Rachel Dagnall, addressed the situation of artists in Norway, living on the edge of poverty in a society designed for the super-rich and called for wages and healthcare for creative workers. Indigenous studies researcher Amanda Fayant formulated a response from the Thunderbird Women to the Indian act of 1867 in Canada, exposing how the implementation of colonial patriarchal law affects the position of women in indigenous communities. Speeches we had written before for *Red Winter* were delivered, and Shahzad Ah and other people with special needs from the UngMetro Fredagsklubben, spontaneously spoke up for their cause, from the tribune. Several inspired passersby climbed up and shouted out their message to the people, one of them calling on people to “take their masks off and show their real faces”, while the carnival parade moved on. Lagging behind the great parade, the *Rolling Classroom* had to take a shortcut to the Parliament, one of the stops of the carnival. When the procession with its loud and meanwhile ecstatic expression disappeared, Eshraq Jah, a survivor of the war in Syria waiting for her request for asylum in Norway to be accepted, started singing without words. Radicalizing her contribution to the workshop, which she had condensed into the slogan “Love is not a feeling but an action”, with this gesture she fundamentally questioned the concept of verbal articulation as a means of making change.

In front of the National Parliament, the last speech was performed by Lina Alvarez Reyes with activists of the Peace

8 Our special thanks goes to Madeleine Park and Shahzad Ah, Rachel Dagnall, Joana Gelažytė and Tim Kliukait, Camilla Dahl and Lisa Pacini, the artists from Nesodden - *Land of the Free*, the activists of Fred i Colombia, the group from UngMetro Fredagsklubben and Halvor Valle.

in Colombia support group. The recording of the speech was shared on the social media page of the group.⁹ It was the testimony of a character called Ursula about the ongoing killings of Colombian indigenous social leaders, three years after the signing of the peace treaty in Oslo, written by Katharina Barbosa Blad and Ileana Alvarez Reyes. This testimony generated a rupture within the flow and creative chaos of the parade. The music and dancing stopped and the carnival crowd and everybody else on the square listened to Lina's voice calling for an end to bloodshed.

A double rupture

What happened was something that could be described as a double rupture. If we understand (with Bakhtin) the carnival as a suspension of imposed norms, where people come together as equals, stripped off their socially determined roles and behaviors, the intervention of the Peace in Colombia group could be seen as a rupture exposing the very reality of life experiences and struggle of the indigenous communities in Colombia. In this moment, the dramaturgy of the carnival as a celebration of a kind of pre-social condition of unity appeared to be a far away utopia. But it also brought about a real moment of strength, where it was possible to open space for political articulation.

While the political subject was abstract in *Red Winter*, it emerged with Lina's speech and the activists of Peace in Colombia. They transformed the *Rolling Classroom* into a stage for political articulation that reached beyond the folklorist expression of the carnival parade. Artistic practice can bring about concepts, methods (here the workshop that involved activists) and tools (here the rolling tribune) that might be used in political struggles, and here is the very moment, when art expands the political. When the transformative artistic act takes place in a politically charged situation, and its method and practical potential is recognized by political actors as a means of struggle, a new quality emerges, which can be expressed in political terms. The institution of art as ideological apparatus is losing importance and institutions in the political field are becoming dominant, with their forms of organizing agency, creating meaning,

9 The recording was shared over 1,500 times and had more than 27,000 views. <https://www.facebook.com/watch/FredlColombia/2190378337958563/>

and distribution of value. These social movements will continue to evaluate the utility of artistic means, and negotiate whether an artistic form or method should enter into circulation, for example to serve educational or propagandist aims.¹⁰

Politics versus Art

The new dynamic that seizes the artwork now, emancipates the artistic method or object from its artist-creator and the ideological field of art, which comes to have hardly any control over its use or misuse. Distributed under new, now non-artistic terms, the political artwork depends on the relations of the political field, and might be subject to modification by it. The moment of “creative expansion” and playfulness has ended and artistic practice is being replaced by political practice. In a worst case scenario, the work could be censored, the artist arrested, blacklisted or even persecuted. Here we arrive at the contradiction of “political art”. Art and politics cannot be conflated, but rather, as I have attempted to demonstrate, they exclude each other. In the introduction, I used the image of the passage of artistic practice from the field of ideology to the field of politics. When moving to the political field, the critical distance artistic practice established within the field of ideology (through the “secondary elaboration” of ideological formations), can only be realized by establishing a critical distance *within the political field*, and therefore the arena of struggle shifts towards art *versus* politics.

Conclusion

Coming back to the question I posed in the beginning, how then can artistic practice be transformative in the political field? If artistic practice wants to expand the political, it needs to participate in politics, establishing a critical distance within the political field. This struggle of “art versus politics” can bring about new concepts and approaches in political practice. To be transformative, artistic interventions need to be created with

10 To put it in Poulantzas' words, at a certain conjuncture, as part of a greater strategy, artistic methods can be integrated into political struggles.

political consciousness and be explicit about what kind of politics an artistic practice advocates, here and now, and with which political forces it is affiliated. To creatively apply Poulantzas here, this consciousness arises from the struggle of antagonistic dynamics of political, ideological and economic practices. Obviously, artistic practices (as other cultural practices) play a role in the formation of class consciousness, but my point is here that they can contribute to a change of consciousness only if they have effects in the political field. That means that artists and other cultural workers need to get rid of the idea of expanding the institution of art and need to understand that it is political practice and the way of political organization that needs to be “expanded” and transformed. And, as social practices, artistic practices can be strong and meaningful only if they emerge out of an ongoing process of mutual learning, consultation, solidarity, and building alliances with others. A particular capacity of artistic techniques in this context might be the translation between languages of subjective and collective experience and the operationalization of abstract knowledge systems in concrete situations. Nevertheless, when it comes to *The Rolling Classroom of Love and Resistance*, it was mostly the non-artistic, non-specialized, apparently unrelated activities and engagements, and the emotional work of all who were involved, that brought about a process of collective knowledge production and mutual education in political articulation.

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Rena Rädle

Jezik političke agitacije



Crvena zima i *Kotrljajuća učionica* su dve povezane umetničke intervencije koje smo Vladan Jeremić i ja sproveli u Norveškoj,¹ a namera mi je da ih ovde prodiskutujem radi sagedavanja metode transformativnih umetničkih praksi. S obzirom na to da se jedno od centralnih pitanja naše umetničke prakse tiče odnosa umetnosti i politike, stekli smo višestruko iskustvo o tome kako u praksi taj odnos izgleda i funkcioniše. Pritom, interesuje nas i da ga teorijski problematizujemo kako bi nastali novi podsticaji za našu praksu, te da pružimo teorijski okvir za razmatranje sprege politike i umetnosti. Oba rada se bave jezikom političke agitacije, mada zauzimaju različita mesta na „prelazu“ između umetničkog i političkog polja. Detaljnije ću objasniti njihove razlike i na taj način pokazati pod kojim uslovima umetnički jezik može da se prevodi na jezik svakodnevnog iskustva tako da može da doprinese političkoj artikulaciji i praksi. Ukratko, pitanje na koje ću pokušati da odgovorim glasi: kako umetnička praksa može biti transformativna i izvan umetničkog polja?

Umetničke prakse koje dosežu do političkog polja razvijaju se uz mnogostrukе protivurečnosti, što je neizbežno, s obzirom na to da je u političkoj praksi neophodno zauzimati stranu i suočavati se sa situacijama koje su promenjive. Takođe, analiza i kritička evaluacija umetnosti koja se istovremeno pruža

I Crvena zima je nastala 2014. godine na poziv Anne-Gro Erikstad, koja vodi LevArt, projektni prostor za savremenu umetnost u Levangeru u Norveškoj; videti: http://raedle-jeremic.net/pdfs/about_red_winter_web.pdf. Kotrljajuća učionica je nastala za Karnevalet u Oslu, 2018. i 2019, a na poziv Carnival Uniona, umetničkog projekta koji su pokrenuli Hanan Benammar, Gidsken Braadlie, Camilla Dahl, Marius von der Fehr, Lisa Pacini, Pia Maria Roll i Venke Aure; videti: http://raedle-jeremic.net/pdfs/about_rolling_classroom.pdf.

u estetskom i u političkom polju nailaze na nedoumice u pokušaju da pronađu zadovoljavajuće kategorije. Jedan od neizbežnih koncepata koji kritičari, teoretičari i drugi mislioci koriste kada se bave analizom „političkog” u umetnosti jeste koncept umetničke autonomije, tako da im se rasprave obično vrte oko ose odnosa autonomije i heteronomije. Neslaganja proističu iz protivurečnih čitanja nasleđa istorijske avangarde u mnogobrojim radovima iz teorije umetnosti na Zapadu. Rasprave se često završavaju odbornom umetničke autonomije na ovaj ili onaj način, podrazumevajući, u adornoškoj tradiciji, autonomiju kao preduslov kritike ili istine u umetnosti.² Štaviše, spomenuta neslaganja se ne mogu odvojiti od sopstvene strukturne funkcije u ideoškoj borbi, a na njih često utiče i „spontana ideologija umetničkog polja”.³

Transformativna umetnička praksa postavlja zahteva da se ide dalje od ostvarivanja autonomije ili kritičke distance „unutar ideoškog polja”. Ovakve prakse se odmiču od kritičnosti i drugih ideoških modela⁴ koje su formirali institucionalni

2 U prilog tome, kritičar Grant Kester opisuje odbranu autonomije u raspravama kustosa Nicholasa Bourriauda i kritičarke Claire Bishop kao „reakciju na porast zabrinutosti zbog vulgarnog ukusa srednje klase u povoju”. U: Grant H. Kester, *The One and the Many, Contemporary Collaborative Art in a Global Context*, Duke University Press, 2011, str.14.

3 Ovaj fenomen ideoške argumentacije sažeо je u izraz „spontana ideologija umetničkog polja” (aludirajući na Althusserovu „spontanu filozofiju naučnika”) Oliver Marchart, koji tvrdi da Rancièreova teorija političke estetike pruža ideoško sredstvo za eksplicitno zadržavanje političke umetnosti izvan umetničkih institucija. U: Oliver Marchart, *Conflictual Aesthetics, Artistic Activism and the Public Sphere*, Sternberg Press, 2019, str. 12–14.

4 Ugrubo, možemo razlikovati dve tendencije kritičke prakse u „savremenoj umetnosti”. S jedne strane su umetničke prakse koje, u tradiciji kritičke teorije, teže autonomiji unutar ideoškog polja umetnosti, te na taj način proizvode kritičku distancu s koje umetnik demaskira istinu o čovečanstvu, sistemu umetnosti, političkoj korupciji i slično. S druge strane stoje prakse koje se pojavljuju devedesetih godina 20. veka, inspirisane radom mislilaca kao što su Deleuze i Guattari, Nancy i Badiou, a koje pokušavaju da stvore prefiguracije idealnih (komunističkih) zajednica. Odraz tog „novog komunističkog mišljenja” iz osamdesetih godina 20. veka u (post)relacionoj estetici razmatra John Roberts u: John Roberts, „Introduction: Art, ‘Enclave Theory’ and the Communist Imaginary”, u: *Third Text*, 23:4, 2009, str. 353–367.

diskursi i tržište umetnosti. Njihovo podruštvljavanje i raspodela odvijaju se pod uslovima koji ne pripadaju umetničkom polju. Da bi se takva praksa preispitala, potreban je koncept koji nam dozvoljava poimanje odnosa između ideološkog i drugih polja društvene proizvodnje. Da bih promislila odnose koji determinišu umetničku praksu, oslanjam se na Močnikovu teoriju umetničke prakse kao ideološke i kao „sekundarne obrade” društveno determinisanih ideoloških formacija”.⁵ Konceptualizacija transformacije i političke prakse zahteva dinamičan model. Stoga predlažem Poulantzasovu koncepciju „ekonomske”, „političke” i „ideološke” klasne borbe u ulozi motora društvene transformacije.⁶ Ovim koncepcijama zajedničko je određivanje društva kao „složene društvene celine” (Althusser) u kojoj proizvodnja društvene realnosti nije isključivo istorijska nužnost, već je i efekat „relativne autonomije” ideoloških operacija i političkih praksi. Takve koncepcije nam mogu pomoći da osvetlimo strukturno mesto i delatnost umetničke prakse u odnosu na politiku, što je centralni predmet ovog teksta.

5 Rastko Močnik, nastavljajući Mihaila Bahtina i Pavela Medvedeva, razvija koncepciju umetničke prakse na prepostavci da se umetnička praksa odvija u sferi ideologije. Svaki ideološki sistem se poima kao sistem znakova koji modifikuju klasni interesi. I jedno i drugo, i znak i sistem, jesu proizvodi klasne borbe i predstavljaju refrakciju društvenih uslova. Društvena realnost se dakle ne ogleda u umetničkim praksama u vidu pukog odraza, jer one razrađuju postojeće ideološke predstave, stvarajući „sekundarnu obradu” (Medvedev) ideološki prelomljene stvarnosti. Močnik dalje, kroz model koji kombinuje Medvedevljevu sekundarnu obradu i Lévi-Straussov pojам „totalne društvene činjenice” (koja obuhvata objekat i subjekat, ili „stvar” i „urođenu predstavu”; videti: Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1987), pokazuje kako se strukturno mesto umetničke prakse menja tokom istorije, u pretkapitalističkim, zatim građanskim, socijalističkim i pozno kapitalističkim društvima. Videti: Rastko Močnik, „Teorija umetničkih praksi”, u: *Teorija sa ideologijom*, FKM, Beograd, 2019, str. 211–243.

6 Nicos Poulantzas je razvio pojам klase koji se upušta u neusaglašenosti između klasne prakse, klasne svesti i klasne determinacije. Preuzimajući Althusserov pojам nadodređenosti, on klasnu praksu vidi prevashodno kao predodređenu mestom koje zauzima u dominantnom načinu proizvodnje, ali i ideološkim i političkim silama u specifičnom trenutku. Preciznije, po Poulantzasu, upravo „ideološka, politička i ekomska klasna borba” formira i reprodukuje društvene klase i institucije. Videti: Nicos Poulantzas, *Classes in contemporary Capitalism*, NLB, 1975, str. 15–16, 29–30.

Pre nego što se pozabavimo detaljima *Crvene zime* i *Kotrljajuće učionice*, obratićemo pažnju na jezik političke agitacije, koji je centralni aspekt oba rada. Slogani su najsazetiji oblik političkog jezika. Jedan od uvida koje su politički aktivisti podešli s nama u toku diskusija jeste da je verovatnoća razumevanja političke poruke veća ukoliko je poruka izrečena u vidu slogana, a ne simbolizovana na umetnički način. Ovaj je zaključak proistekao iz njihovog iskustva kada su uključivali umetnike da razrade materijale za agitaciju. To je verovatno tačno utoliko što je lakše da neko ponovi slogan i poruku ako je poruka bila zapisana u vidu jednostavne fraze. S druge strane, teže će se reprodukovati poruka koja je izražena u složenoj umetničkoj predstavi, recimo, borbe protiv privatizacije javnih dobara. U svakom slučaju, način na koji se ljudi odnose prema sloganu koji se ponavlja, bilo da se s njim poistovećuju ili ne, zavisiće od njihovih ličnih raspoloženja, ideja i vrednosti, okolnosti u kojima žive i njihovih političkih interesa u datom momentu.

Uzmimo za primer slogan iz našeg rada *Crvena zima* sa jednog od tekstilnih banera postavljenih oko glavnog trga u Levangeru: „Prekinite s naftnim bušotinama na Arktiku!” Hipotetička umetnička kritičarka možda bi se, čitajući poruku, s tim složila, ali bi rekla: „Ovo je loša umetnost, nema kritičke refleksije, prava politička umetnost nikada nije eksplicitno politička.” Možda ona oseća nedostatak metafizičke dimenzije ili želi da odbrani autonomiju umetnosti kao poslednje utočište kritike. Stvarna reakcija jednog građanina Levangera bila je, s druge strane, sasvim direktna. Kad smo mu pružili grafički list *Crvena zima*, rekao je: „Šta tražite ovde? Odlazite, vas plaća Putin.” Kao član vladajuće političke partije (što smo kasnije doznali), slogan je shvatio kao podrivanje norveškog interesa u bušenju nafte, što, samim tim, služi ruskim interesima.

Ovim primerima želim da skiciram problem političke artikulacije u umetničkom polju ili kroz umetničke procese. Prvi primer pokazuje kako su politički aktivisti od umetnosti očekivali da ona pojača njihovu političku poruku, da bi shvatili da su umetničke predstave previše komplikovane za to. Reč je o tome da one (kako to i Močnik kaže) predstavljaju prelomljene slike stvarnosti, što znači da ne prikazuju sliku društvenog

problema kao puki odraz u ogledalu, nego da rade sa već postojećim idejama o tom problemu. Međutim, kada je, što pokazuje drugi primer, umetnička predstava svedena na slogan, i političar i umetnički kritičar su je shvatili kao političku poruku, iako je postavljanje tog slogana na trgu i dalje bilo deo konkretne umetničke operacije. Recimo, onda, da je u ovom slučaju efekat slogana bila svojevrsna ideološka zbrka.

Na osnovu ovih primera mogli bismo dodati da su efekti umetničke prakse ograničeni na simboličko polje. Međutim, moramo uzeti u obzir i to da samu umetničku praksu „predrađuju” ili zamenuju druge dinamike društvene proizvodnje. U nastavku teksta ću pokušati da pokažem kako se u *Crvenoj zimi* i *Kotrljajućoj učionici* pojavio „prelaz” između umetničkog, ideološkog i političkog polja, razrađujući usput transformativne aspekte ovih radova.

Crvena zima

Za potrebe rada *Crvena zima*, istraživali smo istorijske i savremene emancipatorske borbe u Levangeru i okolini, s ciljem da osmislimo figure političkih agitatora koji bi držali govore na glavnom gradskom trgu. Ideja je bila da bi se ti agitatori, opskrbljeni argumentima i pogledom na svet svoga doba i iz svojih borbi, mogli susresti u sadašnjosti i održati govore komentarišući savremenu situaciju. Krenuli smo od pobune radnika 1851. godine na trgu u Levangeru, koja je privukla veliku međunarodnu pažnju i o kojoj su izveštavali u tadašnjoj pariskoj i londonskoj štampi. Pobunu je pokrenulo hapšenje Carla Johana Michelsena, koji je agitovao za prvi norveški radnički pokret predvođen Marcusom Thraneom. Naše figure zamišljenih agitatora predstavljale su prvi norveški radnički pokret, antifašističku borbu tokom Drugog svetskog rata, emancipatorske pokrete Roma i Samija u poslednjih nekoliko decenija, te aktuelne ekološke pokrete. Za potrebe same akcije, baneri sa sloganima postavljeni su oko čitavog trga, koji se nalazi u centru Levangera, na istorijskom mestu spomenutog ustanka. Četiri govora koje smo unapred snimili s glumcima iz lokalne pozorišne trupe emitovani su na trgu preko

zvučnika u paviljonu za govore. Na govornici u paviljonu postavljen je grafički list *Crvena zima*, koji sadrži sve govore, crteže i slogane i koji se delio prolaznicima.

Iako se rad oslanjao na lokalnu tradiciju istorijskog narodnog pozorišta,⁷ sličnosti sa konkretnim reizvođenjem istorijskih događaja jedva da je bilo. Nije bilo ni kostima, ni glumaca, samo su glasovi novih agitatora iz praznog paviljona odzvanjali trgom. Iz istorijske perspektive tih agitatora, ali svesnih i današnje situacije, govori su upućivali na iskustva iz njihovih borbi i analizirali mehanizme eksplatacije onda i sada. U svojim govorima, agitatori su branili sopstvene zahteve, tražili političku, društvenu i ekonomsku jednakost i pozivali na radikalnu promenu i revoluciju.

U ovom slučaju, transformativni aspekt umetničke metode leži u reartikulaciji istorijskih koncepcija radikalne promene koje su iznova aktuelizovane u kontekstu savremenih društvenih borbi. U svojevrsnom eksperimentalnom okruženju, razvili smo principe i pojmove i proverili koliko su delotvorni u širem društvenom kontekstu, na javnom trgu, tamo gde je istorijski ustank i počeo. Ovde se transformativna umetnička praksa razlikuje i od tradicionalnih reizvođenja i od tipičnih metoda savremene umetnosti. Transformativni pristup ne preuzima istorijski dokumentovane govore i druge neumetničke materijale na „ready-made” način koji će prebaciti u umetničko polje, već taj materijal (zahteve, u ovom konkretnom slučaju) prerađuje u alate za ideološku intervenciju u tekuće borbe. U novonastaloj konstelaciji pronašlo se mesto za imaginaciju novog, savremenog političkog subjekta.

Kada je o samom jeziku reč, vredi razmotriti komentar dramskog pisca Thorvalda Sunda, autora istorijske reizvedbe *Crvena zima*, koji je izneo tokom javne diskusije o našoj intervenciji. Da bismo bili zaista politični, predložio je, trebalo je da govore napišemo na lokalnom dijalektu, a ne na standardnom Bokmolu, pisanom jeziku koji su, po njemu, nametnuli danski okupatori. Ne zalazeći u detalje jezičkog sukoba u Norveškoj, njegov komentar aludira na napor politike uopšte da integriše lokalne osobenosti, koje se u ovom slučaju ispoljavaju u vidu različitih dijalekata i partikularnih istorija tlačenja i borbe.

7 Naslov rada, *Crvena zima*, inspirisan je istoimenom dramom Thorvalda Sunda, zasnovanom na nemirima u Levangeru 1851. i prvi put izvedenom 2006. u Levangeru.

Ovom je kritikom on, svesno ili nesvesno, naciljao i problem političke reprezentacije, kojeg se *Crvena zima* dotiče, mada ga ne konkretizuje. Agitatori su u ovom radu ostali apstraktni. S obzirom na to da u paviljonu nije bilo nikoga, mesto političkog subjekta ostalo je prazno, što je, istovremeno, bilo i poziv svakome i bilo kome da tu poziciju zauzme. Možemo reći da govori u *Crvenoj zimi* poseduju transformativni kvalitet jer se u njima formuliše nova politička agenda. Međutim, veza s političkim snagama koje bi mogle da je preuzmu nije ostvarena. Kada smo razvili naredne korake, polazeći od intervencije u Levangeru, pokušali smo da se još više približimo konkretnoj političkoj dinamici. U okviru *Karnevaleta* u Oslu, organizovali smo radionicu *Crvena zima Oslo* za pripremu govora koji će se držati tokom karnevalske parade, s idejom da se u to uključe svi zainteresovani, koji bi tokom parade potegli značajna pitanja i na taj način politizovali manifestaciju.

Kotrljajuća učionica ljubavi i otpora

Karnevalizacija protesta je fenomen o kojem se doista govori, s obzirom na to da društveni pokreti ponekad koriste karnevalske taktike tokom protesta kako bi uneli zbrku u odnose moći te pokušali da se zaštite od policijske represije. *Karnevalet* u Oslu nije inicirao neki društveni pokret, već je nastao združenim naporom umetničke i kulturne scene Osla da se u doba kada krajnja desnica upravlja nacionalnim parlamentom povrati pravo na kulturnu sferu i pruži podrška interkulturnom društvu, protiv rasizma i diskriminacije. Naše radionice pohađali su uglavnom umetnici i slučajni posjetioci Interkulturnog muzeja Osla, pa smo diskutovali o načinima na koje bi *Karnevalet* mogao postati izrazitije politička manifestacija, identificujući pitanja koja valja potegnuti. Tih dana smo prolazili kroz proces učenja od drugih i uzajmnog slušanja, u društvu ljudi koji su izražavali osećanja usamljenosti i otuđenja povodom svojih odnosa sa drugima i „društvom”, i ukazivali na osećaj nepravde i na nemilosrdnost političkog sistema. Dok je za neke ova razmena u, kako smo je nazvali, *Kolektivnoj učionici ljubavi i otpora* bila u središtu procesa, drugi

su se bavili govorima, pronalazili druge zainteresovane grupe i organizacije ili pripremali akcije za ulične nastupe. Za te potrebe smo osmislili *Kotrljajuću učionicu*, pokretnu tribinu s koje govornici mogu da se obraćaju kada god osete da je za to pravi momenat i pravo mesto.

Povorka je krenula iz imigrantskog kvarta Grønlanda, zaustavljući se s vremena na vreme kraj građevina i na trgovima, obeležjima različitih društvenih borbi, gde su se izvodili ples, muzika i pozorišne predstave. Nije bilo lako postići da se *Kotrljajuća učionica* sve vreme kreće u skladu sa dramaturgijom celog Karnevaleta a mnogi su pomogli da se to ispuni, doprinosеći svojom energijom i podržavajući nas na svaki mogući način.⁸ U svojevrsnoj „molitvi bogovima”, umetnica Anita Hillestad, čiji govor je izvela Rachel Dagnall, skrenula je pažnju na situaciju umetnika u Norveškoj, koji u društvu skrojenom po meri super bogatih žive na ivici siromaštva, tražeći plate i zdravstveno osiguranje za radnike u kulturi. Amanda Fayant, istraživačica u oblasti indigenih studija, formulisala je odgovor Žene Grom-ptice na Zakon o Indijancima, koji je 1867. donet u Kanadi, razotkrivajući kako primena kolonijalnog patrijahalnog zakona utiče na položaj žena u indigenim zajednicama. Održani su govori koje smo napisali ranije, za *Crvenu zimu*, a Shahzad Ah i osobe s posebnim potrebama iz UngMetro Fredagsklubbena spontano su sa tribine progovorili o svojoj muci. Nekoliko nadahnutih prolaznika popelo se i vikalo svoje poruke, jedan od njih pozivajući ljude da „skinu maske i pokažu svoja prava lica”, dok se karnevalska povorka kretala dalje. Zaostajući za velikom povorkom, *Kotrljajuća učionica* morala je da uhvati prečicu do Parlamenta, jednog od stajališta karnevala. Kada je procesija sa svojim bučnim i ponegde ekstatičnim iskazima nestala, Eshraq Jah, koja je preživela rat u Siriji i čeka odgovor na zahtev za azilom u Norveškoj, počela je da peva bez reči. Radikalizujući svoj doprinos radionici, koji je sažela u slogan „Ljubav nije osećanje nego akcija”, svojim gestom pevanja je iz osnova dovela u pitanje verbalnu artikulaciju kao moguće sredstvo promene.

Ispred nacionalnog Parlamenta, poslednji govor je održala Lina Alvarez Reyes sa aktivistima iz grupe za podršku Peace in Colombia. Snimak govora objavljen je na njihovoј stranici na društvenoj mreži.⁹ Govor je u vidu svedočenja ženskog

8 Posebnu zahvalnost
dugujemo sledećim osobama:
Madeleine Park, Shahzad
Ah, Rachel Dagnall, Joana
Gelažyté, Tim Kliukoit,
Camilla Dahl, Lisa Pacini, kao
i umetnicima iz Nesodden –
Land of the Free, aktivistima
Fred i Colombia, grupi iz
UngMetro Fredagsklubbena
i Halvoru Valleu.

9 Snimak je podeljen 1.500
puta i imao je više od 27.000
pregleda. <https://www.facebook.com/watch/FredIColumbia/2190378337958563/>.

lika po imenu Ursula o ubistvima aktivista u Kolumbiji, koja su se nastavila i tri godine nakon potpisivanja mirovnog sporazuma u Oslu, a napisale su ga Katharina Barbosa Blad i Ileana Alvarez Reyes. Ovo svedočenje izazvalo je pukotinu u bujici i kreativnom haosu povorke. Muzika i plesanje su prestali, karnevalska gomila i svi ostali na tom trgu slušali su Linin zahtev da se krvoproljeće okonča.

Dvostruki prelom

Ono što se tada desilo moglo bi se opisati kao dvostruki prelom. Ako (s Bahtinom) karneval razumemo kao suspenziju nametnutih normi, kada se ljudi okupljaju kao međusobno jednaki, oslobođeni svojih društveno predodređenih uloga i načina ponašanja, intervencija grupe Peace in Columbia mogla bi se sagledati kao prelom koji razotkriva samu stvarnost životnih iskustava i borbe indigenih zajednica u Kolumbiji. U tom momentu, dramaturgija karnevala kao proslave svojevrsnog predruštvenog stanja jedinstva pokazala se kao daleka utopija. S druge strane, intervencija je postigla pravi momenat snage, u kojem je postalo moguće otvoriti prostor za političku artikulaciju.

Dok je u *Crvenoj zimi* politički subjekat bio apstraktan, ovde je on iskrsao s Lininim govorom i aktivistima grupe Peace in Columbia. Oni su *Kotrljajući učioniku* transformisali u platformu za političku artikulaciju koja se emancipuje od folklorističkog izraza karnevalske povorke. Umetnička praksa može dovesti do koncepata, metoda (u našem primeru, to je radionica u koju su se uključili aktivisti) i alata (tribina na točkovima) koji se mogu iskoristiti u političkim borbama i tada umetnost može unapređivati političko. Kada se transformativni umetnički čin desi u jednoj politički nabijenoj situaciji i kada politički akteri prepoznaju metod i praktični potencijal toga čina kao sredstva za borbu, pojavljuje se novi kvalitet koji se može izraziti političkim pojmovima. Institucija umetnosti kao ideološkog aparata gubi na značaju dok institucije u političkom polju, sa svojim formama organizacije delanja, stvaranja značenja i distribucije vrednosti, postaju primarne. Društveni pokreti će nastaviti da procenjuju upotrebljivost umetničkih sredstava i da pregovaraju oko toga da

li neka umetnička forma ili metoda treba da uđe u promet i da, na primer, posluži u edukativne ili propagandne svrhe.¹⁰

Politika protiv umetnosti

Nova dinamika koja sada zahvata umetničko delo oslobađa umetnički metod ili objekat od umetnika – tvorca i iz ideološkog polja umetnosti, koje teško da više ima ikakvu kontrolu nad njegovom upotrebom ili zloupotrebom. Pošto se sada distribuira pod novim, neumetničkim pravilima, političko umetničko delo zavisi od relacija političkog polja, koje ga mogu podvrgnuti modifikaciji. Može se reći da je trenutak „kreativne ekspanzije” i igrivosti prošao a umetničku praksu zamjenjuje ona politička. U najgorem slučaju, može se desiti da se delo cenzuriše, umetnik hapsi, stavљa na crnu listu ili čak progoni. Stižemo tako i do protivurečnosti „političke umetnosti”. Umetnost i politika ne mogu se tek tako pomešati, već radije, kako sam pokušala da pokažem u ovom tekstu, jedna drugu isključuju. U uvodu sam upotrebila sliku „prelaza” umetničke prakse iz polja ideologije u polje politike. Prelazeći u političko polje, kritička distanca kao umetnička praksa ustanovljena u polju ideologije („sekundarnom obradom” ideoloških formacija) može se ostvariti samo uspostavljanjem kritičke distance unutar političkog polja. Samim tim i arena borbe se pomera ka borbi umetnosti „protiv” politike.

Zaključak

Na kraju se vraćamo pitanju koje sam postavila na početku: kako onda umetnička praksa može biti transformativna u političkom polju? Ako umetnička praksa želi da proširi polje političkog, potrebno je da učestvuje u politici, uspostavljajući kritičku distancu unutar političkog polja. Ova borba „umetnosti protiv politike” može dovesti do novih konceptata i pristupa u političkoj praksi. Da bi postala transformativna, umetnička intervencija treba da se stvara s političkom sveštu i da eksplicira vrstu politike koju umetnička praksa zagovara, sada i ovde, te s kojim političkim snagama se povezuje. Ta svesnost, da ovde kreativno

10 Poulantzasovim rečima – u određenim konjukturama, kao deo šire strategije, umetničke metode mogu da se integrišu u političke borbe.

primenimo Poulantzasa, proizilazi iz borbe antagonističkih dinamika političkih, ideoloških i ekonomskih praksi. Očito, umetničke prakse (kao i druge kulturne prakse) igraju ulogu u formiranju klasne svesti, ali je moja poenta u tome da one mogu doprineti promeni svesti samo ukoliko su efektivne u političkom polju. To znači da umetnici i ostali kulturni radnici treba da odbace ideje proširivanja institucije umetnosti i da razumeju da politička praksa i način političke organizacije treba zapravo da se „prošire” i transformišu. Pored toga, kao i sve društvene prakse, umetničke prakse mogu biti snažne i smislene samo ako nastaju iz stalnog procesa uzajamnog podučavanja, savetovanja, solidarnosti i izgradnje saveza. Poseban kapacitet umetničkih tehnika u ovom kontekstu moglo bi biti prevodenje sa jezika subjektivnog i kolektivnog iskustva a na njih i praktična razrada apstraktnih sistema znanja u konkretnim situacijama. U svakom slučaju, kada je o *Kotrljajućoj učionici ljubavi i otpora* reč, uglavnom su neu-metničke, nespecijalizovane, naizgled nepovezane aktivnosti i angažmani, kao i emotivni rad svih koji su se uključili, omogućili proces kolektivnog proizvođenja znanja i uzajamnog podučavanja u nastaloj političkoj artikulaciji.

Tekst je nastao za *Park.Reader* i prvi put objavljen onlajn u: *Park.Reader*, Anne-Gro Erikstad (ed.), LevArtText, Levanger 2021, <http://park.levart.no/2021/01/19/the-language/>

Prevod: Violeta Stojmenović



Transformatorium, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Transformatorijum, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović



Ironworks ABC

Newspaper *Ironworks ABC*, 39 x 28 cm, 16 p., roto print, print run: 1,000

18 banners, various dimensions, acrylic on textile

Year: 2015



Ironworks ABC, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Abeceda Željezare, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Abeceda Željezare

Novine Abeceda Željezare, 39 x 28 cm, 16 str., roto-štampa, tiraž: 1.000

18 transparentata raznih dimenzija, akril na tekstu

Godina: 2015.

This artistic intervention in the workers' neighborhood of the Sisak Ironworks, Croatia, comprised the distribution of a newspaper with graphics and the installation of textile banners with slogans. The Sisak Ironworks, once a Yugoslav giant that employed 14,000 workers, has been all but destroyed over the past few decades, first during the war, and then through the privatization process. Rena & Vladan's research began in the ruined complex of the ironworks, before their attention was diverted to the existing sculpture park in the workers' neighborhood. The sculptures were produced by the *Sisak Ironworks Artists' Colony* and are still standing, as witnesses to the period of self-management in socialist Yugoslavia. The colony was maintained from 1971 to 1990, and the sculptures that were created at that time resulted from a common creative process between the invited artists and ironworks' workers. Although they are somewhat rundown, the sculptures have mostly survived in Caprag's park, without significant damage. The wave of destruction of socialist monuments in Croatia, mostly during the 1990s, has spared them.

On the sculptures, the signatures of not only the artists were engraved, but also those of workers or

Intervencija u prostoru radničkog naselja Željezare Sisak (Hrvatska) podrazumevala je distribuciju grafičkih listova *Abeceda Željezare* i instalaciju transparentata sa sloganima. Željezara Sisak, nekadašnji jugoslovenski gigant sa 14.000 zaposlenih radnika, u proteklim par decenija je praktično uništena, prvo tokom rata, a zatim i procesom privatizacije. Stoga je istraživanje koje su Rena i Vladan sproveli 2015. godine započelo u kompleksu ruinirane Željezare, da bi im pažnju brzo privukao postojeći Park skulptura u radničkom naselju Capragu. Skulpture su nastale u *Koloniji likovnih umjetnika Željezare Sisak*, koja se održavala od 1971. do 1990. godine, a rezultat su zajedničkog stvaralačkog procesa gostujućih umetnika i radnika Željezare. Premda donekle oronule, skulpture su preživele bez većih oštećenja, jer ih je zaobišao talas destrukcije socijalističkog spomeničkog nasleđa u Hrvatskoj.

Na postolju skulptura stoje potpisi ne samo umetnika, nego i radnika ili celokupne radničke brigade varilaca koji su učestvovali u stvaranju objekata sastavljenih od metalnih proizvoda i poluproizvoda Željezare. Na osnovu tih uvida, umetničko istraživanje Rene i Vladana se usmerilo ka jedinstvenoj istoriji nastanka tih skulptura. U postojećem kapitalistič-

entire worker brigades of welders who participated in the creation of works made from the Ironwork's metal products or semi-products. Based on these insights, Rena & Vladan's research has focused on the unique history of these sculptural creations. In the existing capitalist order, self-managing co-operation between workers and artists is difficult to achieve, given that the key difference compared with the socialist period is that most workers do not manage or own the companies they work for. The workers of Sisak Ironworks were the founders and instigators of the colony, and therefore, in practical terms, the contractors of the works created.

The sign system of *Ironworks ABC* is shaped from the contours of the sculptures standing in the park at Caprag. Although their forms helped Rena & Vladan to visualize the form of the letters they developed, the quality they were interested in lay in their joint creation by artists and workers, and less in their varied forms. Through the poetic text, which was published as a newspaper entitled *Ironworks ABC*, Rena & Vladan reconstructed the production history and creative process behind these objects, by finding signs and language forms that can convey this past to the viewing public today. The materials which the sculptures consist of address us in their "speech": iron ore, piping, tin, and steel. As regards the drastically changed historical circumstances, the sculptures tell us about the consequences of privatization, and the precarity of working conditions and debt slavery, as well as the slogans used by social movements active in Croatia.

From its first performance in Caprag in 2015, *Ironworks ABC* has become a kind of program for a whole series of artistic interventions and further research. It has been included in interventions and exhibitions in Rijeka, Berlin, Tallinn, Venice, Osijek and Belgrade. On each of these occasions it has been further sharpened, against varied narratives and spaces, with new demands and interpretations. The research that preceded *Ironworks ABC* began in April 2015 when the artists received an invitation from the artist Marijan Crtalić, the founder of the *Ironworks Festival*, and from the curators of the Miroslav Kraljević Gallery, Zagreb (Ana Kovačić, Lea Vene and Sanja Sekelj) to develop a new work in spring and to participate in the festival in June of the same year.

Ironworks ABC, intervention / Abeceda Željezare, intervencija, Sisak – Caprag, 2015.
Photos / Fotografije: Rena Rädle



For a combative optimism without sentimentality!



United despite the precariousness of work!



kom poretku samoupravljačka saradnja radnika i umetnika teško je ostvariva, s obzirom na ključnu razliku u odnosu na period socijalizma, to jest činjenicu da većina radnika ne upravlja preduzećima, niti ih poseduje. Radnici Željezare Sisak bili su osnivači i inicijatori kolonije, samim tim praktično i naručioci nastalih umetničkih dela.

Znakovni sistem *Abecede Željezare* je izrađen prema obliku skulptura koje stoje u parku Capraga. Iako je njihova forma poslužila za vizuelizaciju znakova *Abecede*, kvalitet koji Renu i Vladana ovde zanima jeste zajedničko stvaranje umetnika i radnika, a manje skup stvorenih predmeta u njihovim raznorodnim oblicima, koje bi trebalo zaštитiti od propadanja. Kroz poetske tekstove objavljene u grafičkom listu u formi novina *Abece-da Željezare*, oni rekonstruišu proizvodnu istoriju preostalih objekata i uslove njihovog nastanka tako što pronalaze znakove i jezik kojima ih je moguće preneti i spoznati. „Govorom“ skulptura obraća nam se materija od koje su one napravljene: ruda železa, cevi, limovi i čelik. S obzirom na drastično promenjene istorijske okolnosti, skulpture nam pričaju o posledicama privatizacije, prekarizaciji uslova rada i dužničkom ropstvu, uz parole savremenih socijalnih pokreta u Hrvatskoj.

Od njenog prvog izvođenja u Capragu, *Abeceda Željezare* je postala neka vrsta matrice za ceo niz umetničkih intervencija i daljeg istraživanja. Ona je sastavni deo intervencija i izložbi u Rijeci, Berlinu, Talinu, Veneciji, Osijeku i Beogradu, i u svakoj od tih prilika brusila se naspram različitih narativa i prostora, s dodatim zahtevima ili tumačenjima. Istraživanje koje prethodi *Abecedi* počelo je u aprilu 2015. godine, kada su umetnik Marijan Crtalić, pokretač *Festivala Željezara*, i kustoskinje zagrebačke Galerije Miroslav Kraljević Ana Kovačić, Lea Vene i Sanja Sekelj uputili poziv umetnicima da tokom proleća razviju novi rad i u junu iste godine učestvuju na festivalu.

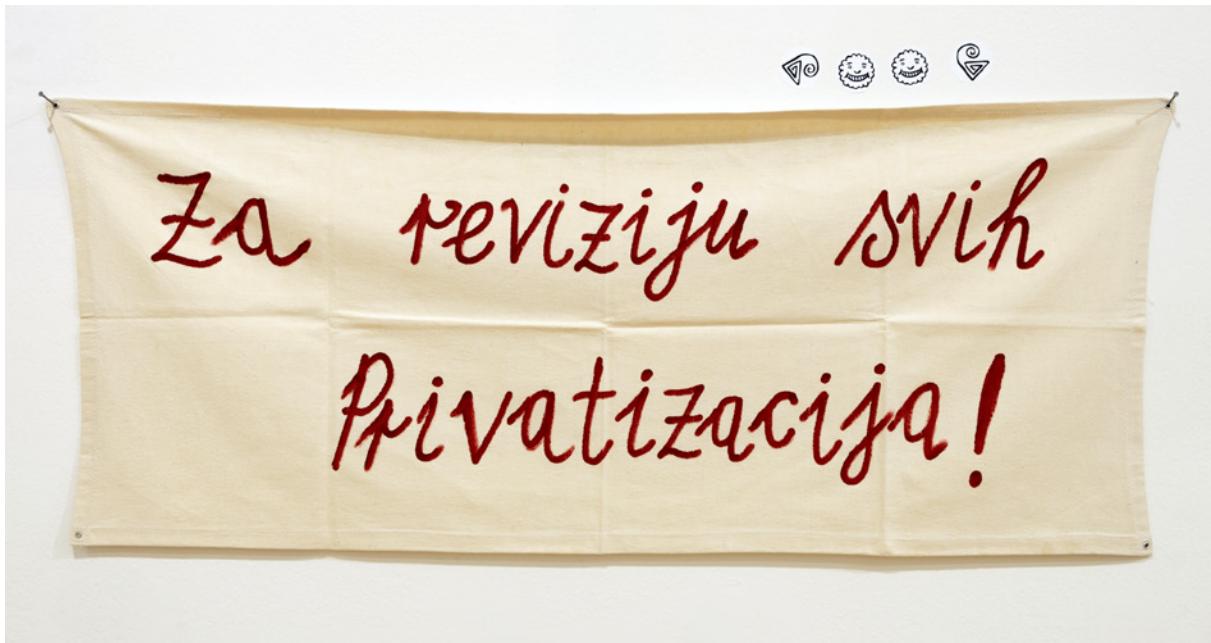




Ironworks ABC, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Abeceda Željezare, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

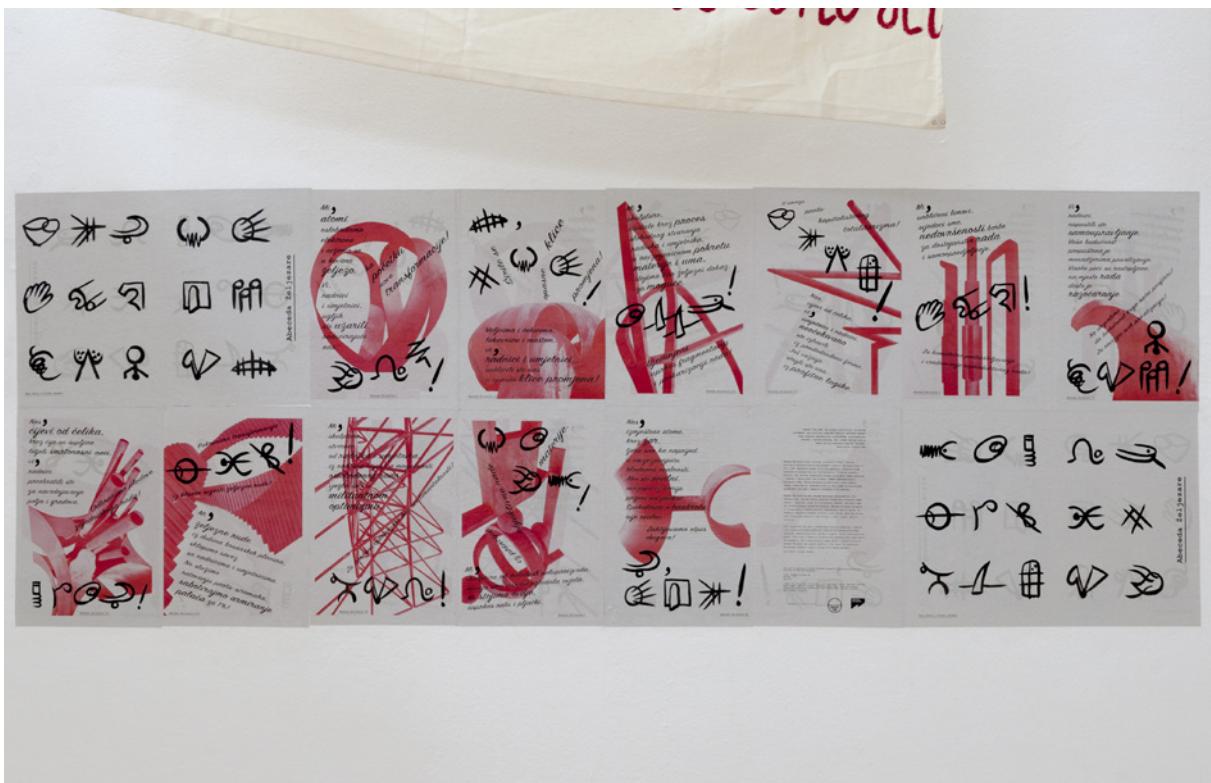
Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović



Ironworks ABC, *For the revision of all privatizations!*, 58 x 140 cm, acrylic on textile, 2015

Abeceda Željezare, *Za reviziju svih privatizacija!*, 58 x 140 cm, akril na tekstu, 2015.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle



Newspaper Ironworks ABC, wall installation / Novine Abeceda Željezare, zidna instalacija, SIZ, Rijeka, 2015.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle



Page from the newspaper Ironworks ABC / Stranica iz novina Abeceda Željezare, Sisak, 2015.

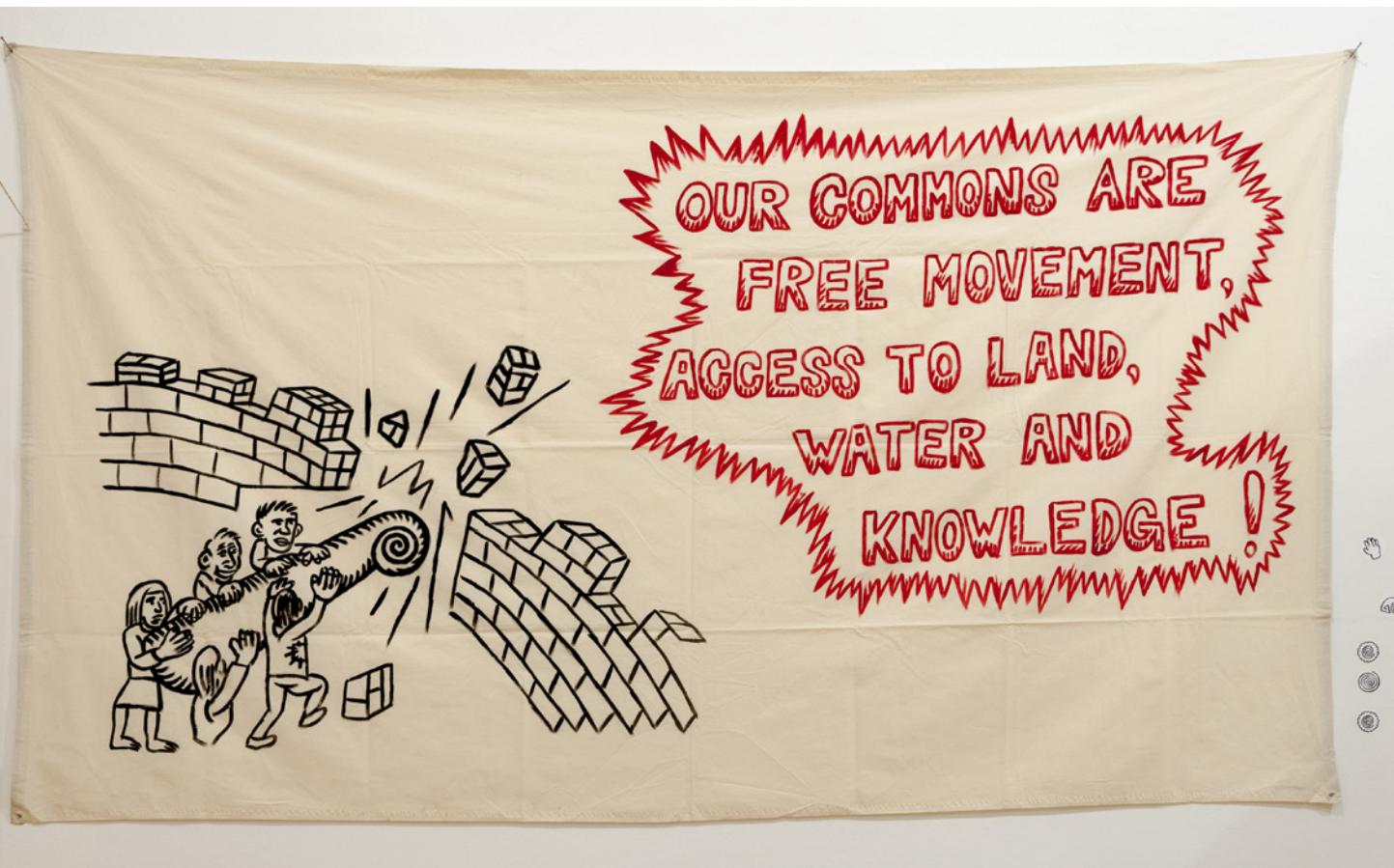
Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Red Winter

Newspaper Red Winter, roto-print, 39 x 28 cm, 16 p., print run: 1,000, 2014

9 banners, acrylic on textile, various dimensions, 2014

Video, HD, 16 min, camera: echomedia, editing: Rena Rädle, 2014



Red Winter, Our Commons, 160 x 245 cm, acrylic on textile, 2014

Crvena Zima, Naše zajedničko, 160 x 245 cm, akril na tekstilu, 2014.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Crvena zima

Novine Crvena zima, roto-štampa, 39 x 28 cm, 16 str., tiraž: 1.000, 2014.

9 transparentata, akril na tekstilu, razne dimenzije, 2014.

Video, HD, 16 min, kamera: echomedia, montaža: Rena Rädle, 2014.

Red Winter is an artistic intervention that incorporates sound installation, banners, and the distribution of a newspaper-format artistic publication. It aimed to create interconnections between contemporary and historical social movements in Norway within the context of worldwide struggles for emancipation. The point of departure for this research into local history was the three-day-long workers' uprising that took place in 1851 on the central square in Levanger, which was both locally and internationally significant. It was triggered by the arrest of Carl Johan Michelsen, who agitated for the first Norwegian labor movement in Levanger, led by Marcus Thrane (1817–1890).

In the central square of Levanger, at the historical location of the uprising, banners were installed. From the wooden pavilion overlooking the square, recorded speeches of four imaginary political agitators from past and present-day movements were broadcast. The speeches had been previously recorded by actors from the local theatre. The artwork was constructed to enable visitors to enter the pavilion and listen to the speeches as they observed the entire square and the displayed banners. The speeches were written following research conducted

Crvena zima je umetnička intervencija koja obuhvata zvučnu instalaciju sa transparentima i distribuiranje grafičkih listova u obliku novinske publikacije. Izvedena je na gradskom trgu u Levangeru i promišlja odnos između savremenih i istorijskih društvenih pokreta u Norveškoj u vidu šire borbe za emancipaciju. Polaznu tačku za istraživanje lokalne istorije predstavlja trodnevni radnički ustank koji se desio 1851. godine na centralnom trgu u Levangeru. Ustanak je imao koliko lokalni toliko i međunarodni odjek, a neposredan povod za njegovo izbijanje bilo je hapšenje Carla Johana Michelsena, protagoniste norveškog radničkog pokreta, koji je tada predvodio Marcus Thrane (1817–1890).

Transparenti su pozicionirani na istorijskom mestu gradskog trga u Levangeru, gde se odigrao ustank radnika. Trgom dominira drveni paviljon, iz kojega su emitovani snimci govora četiri fiktivna politička agitatora, koji su prethodno snimljeni sa glumcima lokalnog pozorišta. Rad je koncipiran tako da su posetioci koji uđu u paviljon mogli da sagledaju celokupan trg na kojem su bili raspoređeni transparenti. Govori su nastali kao rezultat istraživanja koje su sproveli Rena i Vladan, a napisani su i objavljeni, uz crteže i slogane na engleskom i norveškom

by Rena & Vladan and published in English and Norwegian in a newspaper-format publication entitled *Red Winter* that also comprises drawings and slogans, and which was handed out during the intervention.

The first of the speakers represented an activist from the first Norwegian labor movement, while the second was an anti-fascist combatant during the WW2. The other two were female voices representing activists of the Roma emancipatory movement and of the contemporary radical environmental movement. They spoke from their historical positions while being aware of the present-day situation, and shared experiences of their struggles as they analyzed mechanisms of exploitation. They advocated for their causes, demanding political, social and economical equality, while calling for a radical change and revolution.

The title *Red Winter* was inspired by the dramatic play *Raud Vinter* by Thorvald Sund, based on the Levanger riots in 1851, and performed in Levanger for the first time in 2006. Thus the artwork *Red Winter* sought to transform the local tradition of historical people's theatre. Unlike the latter, the purpose of this intervention was not simply to re-enact historical events and to evoke memories. The interaction between drawings and slogans on the banners and the recorded political speeches originating from concrete situations and political contexts was meant to establish a transfer between the past and ongoing social struggles. Through the artistic condensation of the historical material, as well as of the space of the city square and language, this work creates a new perspective on current political positions and opens up a space for a future political program beyond particular interests, identity politics and anthropocentrism.

Red Winter was commissioned by LevArt as a public artwork in the framework of *Deep Sites*, 5–20 September 2014 and curated by Anne-Gro Erikstad.

Red Winter, intervention, Levanger, 2014

Crvena Zima, intervencija, Levanger, 2014.

Photo / Fotografija:
LevArt



Red Winter, intervention, Levanger, 2014

Crvena Zima, intervencija, Levanger, 2014.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle



jeziku, u grafičkom listu u obliku novinske publike *Crvena zima*, koja se delila tokom intervencije.

Prvi agitator predstavlja sledbenika istorijskog norveškog radničkog pokreta, dok je drugi antifašistički borac iz vremena Drugog svetskog rata. Treća osoba je pripadnica pokreta za emancipaciju Roma, a četvrta – savremenog radikalnog ekološkog pokreta. Ovi agitatori iz sopstvene istorijske perspektive i sa sveštu o trenutnoj situaciji, razmenjuju svoja iskustva borbe i razjašnjavaju mehanizme eksploracije. Agitatori brane svoje zahteve, traže političku i društveno-ekonomsku ravnopravnost i pozivaju na radikalnu promenu i revoluciju.

Sam naslov *Crvena zima* je inspirisan dramskim tekstrom Torvalda Sunda Raud Vinter, koji je zasnovan na ustanku u Levangeru 1851. godine i koji je prvi put izведен 2006. godine. U tom smislu, intervencija *Crvena zima* je imala namjeru da transformiše lokalnu tradiciju istorijskog narodnog teatra. Za razliku od istorijskog teatra, svrha ove intervencije nije puko ozivljavanje sećanja na istorijske događaje. Osmišljena interakcija između prikazanih scena i parola na transparentima, te snimljenih političkih govora, koji potiču iz konkretnih situacija i političkih konteksta, teži da uspostavi transfer između prošlih i aktualnih društvenih borbi. Kroz postupak sažimanja istorijskog materijala, prostora trga i jezika, *Crvena zima* nudi jedan pogled na aktuelne političke pozicije i otvara prostor za koncepciju nekog budućeg političkog programa koji će nastojati da prevaziđe partikularne interese, politiku identiteta i antropocentrizam.

Produciju *Crvene zime* je omogućio LevArt u okviru izložbe u javnom prostoru Deep Sites, od 5. do 20. septembra 2014, a kustos je bila Anne-Gro Erikstad.

Red Winter, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Crvena zima, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle



STOPP OLJEUTVINNINGEN
I ARKTIK! ■

OG
LEIE I KOFFRE

SIKKERHETSFIRMAENE
BORT MED DE
SIKTETDØRENE
PRIVATE

OVERVÅKNINGEN
MÅ VÆRE
UT AV
LEIRENE
NEDVÆRLIGT MED
LITT

DAGARBEIDERE, INNHØSTNINGSSARBEIDERE, VASKEHJELPER,-
ELDREOMSORGSARBEIDERE,
DAGMAMMAER,
DAGMAMMAER,
SEXARBEIDERE
ORGANISER DERE !

ER
VÅRE
KAMERATER!

PLANTENE OG MINERALENE

PRONOUNCE
THE REVOLUTION

WITH THE
SOUNDS OF





Page from the wall newspaper Red Winter, SIZ, Rijeka, 2015

Stranica iz zidnih novina Crvena zima, SIZ, Rijeka, 2015.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Didactical Drawings

The Rupture of the Production Cycle, 155 x 210 cm, digital print on textile, 2013

Contradictions and Transformative Trajectory of Art & Labor, 110 x 155 cm, digital print on textile, 2015



Wall painting *The Rupture of the Production Cycle*, 3 m x 6 m, conference *Parasites and Prophets*, Tranzit, Bucharest, 2013

Zidni crtež *Prekid proizvodnog ciklusa*, 3 m x 6 m, konferencija *Paraziti i proroci*, Tranzit, Bukurešt, 2013.

Photo / Fotografija: Vladan Jeremić

Didaktički crteži

Prekid proizvodnog ciklusa, 155 x 210 cm, digitalna štampa na tekstilu, 2013.

Protivurečnosti i transformativna putanja umetnosti i rada, 110 x 155 cm, digitalna štampa na tekstilu, 2015.

Rena & Vladan often paint *Didactical Drawings* directly on the wall and later digitally print them on textile or paper for further distribution. The works entitled *The Rupture of the Production Cycle* and *Contradictions and Transformative Trajectory of Art & Labor* belong to the series *Didactical Drawings*, and deal with the problematic of labor and art. The drawings are used as didactical tools, thematizing the position of artistic work in the production process, and emerging contradictions in the relations between artistic work, institutions and society. The drawings came out of workshops and discussions with colleagues from ArtLeaks, tranzit, F.A.C.K. MSUV and the *Trondheim Seminar*.

The Rupture of the Production Cycle was initially developed for the conference *Parasites and Prophets*, at tranzit in Bucharest in 2013. *Contradictions and Transformative Trajectory of Art & Labor* presents the conclusions of the *Trondheim Seminar* from 2015. This seminar brought together artists, writers, critics, and curators from Europe and the United States who are active in groups that are struggling for better working conditions in the arts and society at large. The aim of the seminar was to come up with a common strategy for organizing and coalition-building. On the invitation of Rena, Vladan and LevArt

Rena i Vladan *Didaktičke crteže* obično izvode u obliku zidnog crteža, a kasnije ih digitalnom štampom prenose na tekstil ili papir radi dalje distribucije. Dva rada pod naslovom *Prekid proizvodnog ciklusa* i *Protivurečnosti i transformativna putanja umetnosti i rada* pripadaju seriji *Didaktičkih crteža*, a bave se problemima rada i umetnosti. Ovi crteži funkcionišu kao didaktički alat i obrađuju položaj umetničkog rada u procesu proizvodnje i kontradikcije nastale u odnosima između umetničkog rada, institucija i društva. Proizašli su iz radionica i diskusija u kojima su Rena i Vladan učestvovali sa kolegama i koleginicama iz ArtLeaksa, Tranzita, F.A.C.K. MSUV i tokom *Trondhajmskog seminara*.

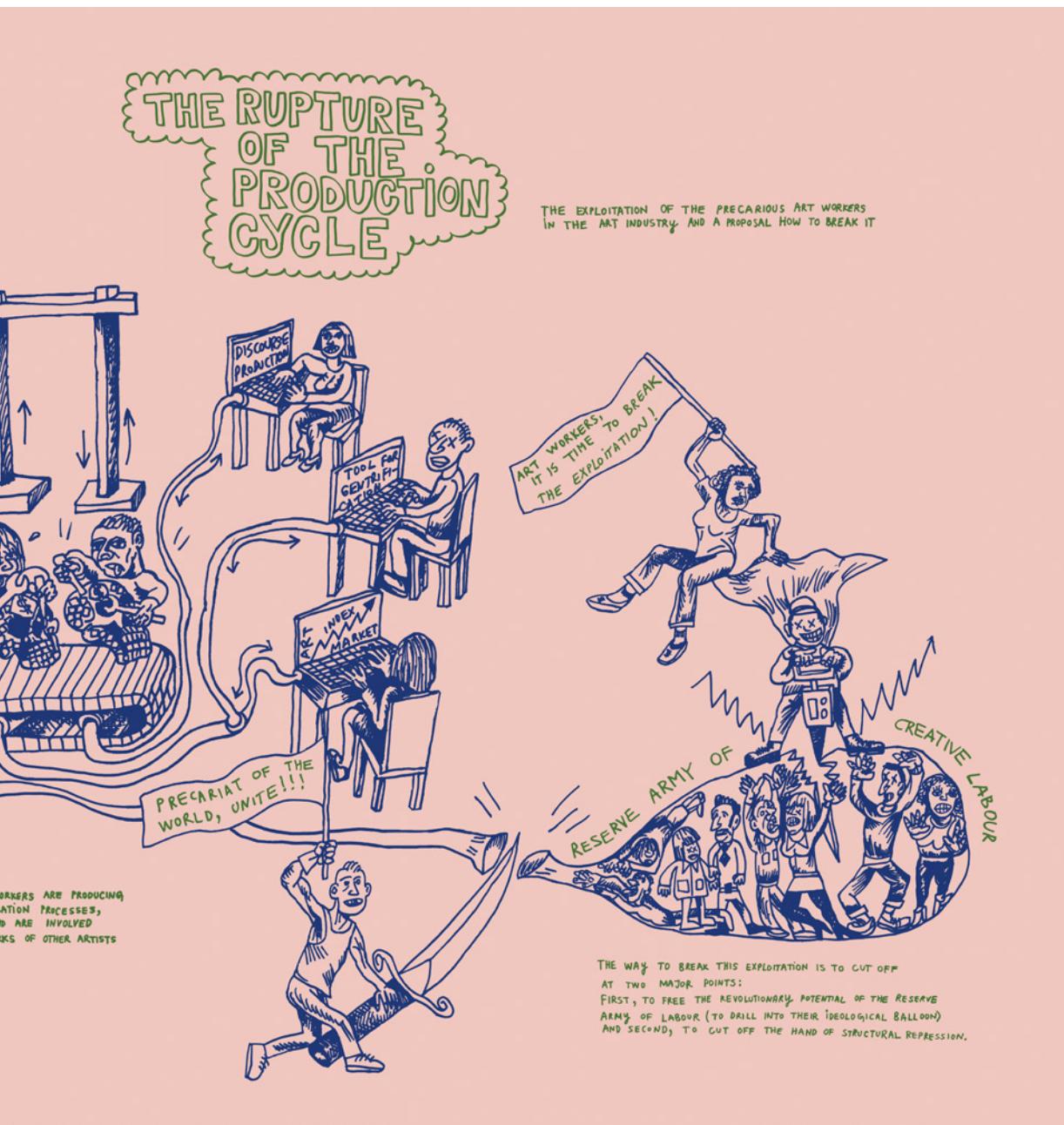
Prekid proizvodnog ciklusa nastao je za konferenciju *Paraziti i proroci*, u vidu zidnog crteža u Tranzitu u Bukureštu 2013. godine. *Protivurečnosti i transformativna putanja umetnosti i rada* predstavlja zaključke sa *Trondhajmskog seminara*, koji je 2015. godine okupio umetnike, pisce, kritičare i kustose iz Evrope i SAD aktivne u borbi za bolje uslove rada u umetnosti i društvu. Cilj seminara bila je zajednička strategija za organizovanje i izgradnju koalicija. Na seminaru su, na poziv Rene, Vladana i LevArta (koji vodi Anne-Gro Erikstad), učestvovali: Airi Triisberg, Corina L. Apostol, Danilo Prnjat, Gregory Sholette, Ivor Stodolsky, Jean-Baptiste

(which is run by Anne-Gro Erikstad)
the following participants contributed
to the discussion: Airi Triisberg, Corina
L. Apostol, Danilo Prnjat, Gregory Sho-
lette, Ivor Stodolsky, Jean-Baptiste Naudy,
Jelena Vesić, Jesper Alvær, Jochen Becker,
Kuba Szreder, Lise Skou, Lise Soskolne,
Marina Vishmidt, Marita Muukkonen,
Marius Lervåg Aasprong, Minna Henriks-
son, Mourad El Garouge, Noah Fischer,
Raluca Voinea and Sissel M. Bergh.



The Rupture of the Production Cycle, 2013
Prekid proizvodnog ciklusa, 2013.

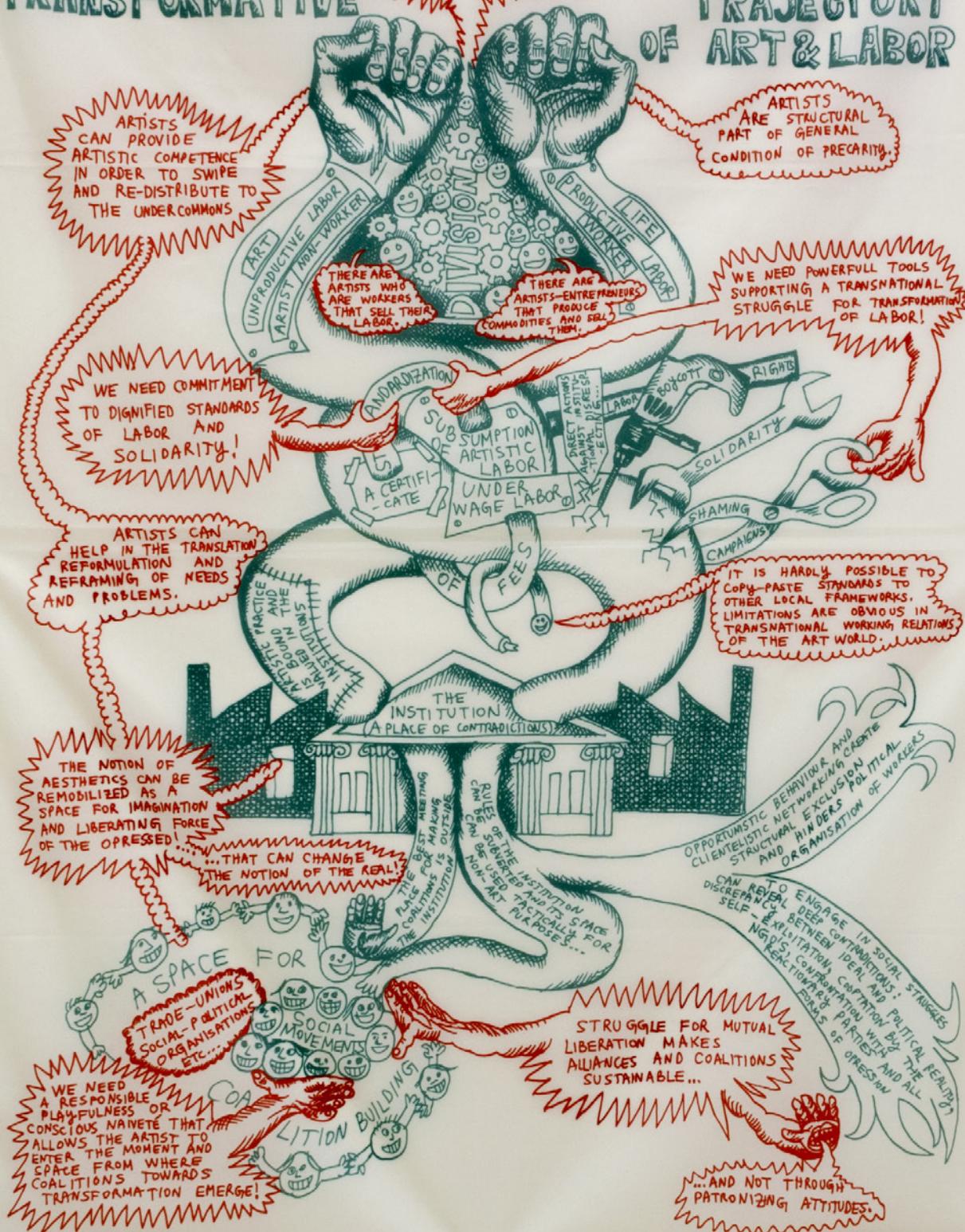
Naudy, Jelena Vesić, Jesper Alvær, Jochen Becker, Kuba Szreder, Lise Skou, Lise Soskolne, Marina Vishmidt, Marita Muukkonen, Marius Lervåg Aasprong, Minna Henriksson, Mourad El Garouge, Noah Fischer, Raluca Voinea i Sissel M. Bergh.



CONTRADICTIONS AND TRANSFORMATIVE

WE CALL FOR ABOLITION OF DIVISION OF LABOR,
FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CATEGORIES
OF ART & LABOR AND FOR THE
REDISTRIBUTION OF WORK!

TRAJECTORY OF ART & LABOR





Transformatorium, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Transformatorijum, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Vladimir Opsenica

Contradictions and Transformative Trajectory of Art & Labor, 110 x 155 cm, digital print on textile, 2015

Protivurečnosti i transformativna putanja umetnosti i rada, 110 x 155 cm, digitalna štampa na tekstu, 2015.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Deaf Shoes

2 banners, 112 x 205 cm, acrylic on textile

Video, HD, 15 min, camera: Cinzia Delnevo, editing: Rena Rädle

Year: 2018



Deaf Shoes, intervention, Palermo, 2018

Gluve cipele, intervencija, Palermo, 2018.

Photo / Fotografija: Cinzia Delnevo

Gluve cipele

2 transparentata, 112 x 205 cm, akril na tekstu

Video, HD, 15 min, kamera: Cinzia Delnevo, montaža: Rena Rädle

Godina: 2018.

Deaf Shoes is an artistic intervention first held in a busy shopping street in Palermo dealing with the production chain of the garment industry operating between Italy and Serbia that encourages and perpetuates very poor working conditions in the shoe industry in Serbia. One of the Italian companies producing shoes in Serbia is Geox, aided by the Serbian government via high grants and tax breaks. It is just one amongst many companies operating within the Outward Processing Trade system, the EU's system of customs free outsourcing of labor-intensive manufacturing to the European periphery.

The dialogue that was performed during the intervention was written by Rena & Vladan in reference to a worker strike that took place at the Geox factory in Vranje, Serbia, against harsh working conditions. The information they refer to regarding labor rights infringements, mistreatment and humiliations by the management, including a ban on trade union organizing relies on statements from workers in the garment industries in Serbia that were published in the local media and collected by researchers for the *Clean Cloth Campaign Serbia*.

The drawings on textile banners used in the intervention depict in a

Gluve cipele su intervencija u prostoru šoping ulice Palerma koja tematizuje proizvodni lanac u oblasti tekstilne industrije između Italije i Srbije, koji prouzrokuje veoma loše uslove rada za radnica i radnike u industriji obuće u Srbiji. Jedna od italijanskih kompanija koja proizvodi cipele u Srbiji je Geox potpomognuta visokim subvencijama i poreskim olakšicama vlade. Ona je samo jedna od kompanija koje deluju unutar sistema pasivnog oplemenjivanja robe, što predstavlja način na koji Evropska unija obezbeđuje bescarinski transfer radno-intenzivne proizvodnje u zemlje evropske periferije.

Dijalog koji se izvodi tokom umetničke intervencije napisali su Rena i Vladan, referišući na događaje iz septembra 2016, kada su radnice iz fabrike Geoxa u Vranju održale štrajk zbog nehumanih uslova rada. Korišćene informacije o kršenju radničkih prava, zloupotrebama i poniznjima od strane uprave, koja podriva sindikalno organizovanje, oslanjaju se na izjave radnica i radnika u industriji obuće u Srbiji, koje su objavili mediji i sakupili istraživači *Clean Clothes Campaign Serbia*.

Crteži na tekstilnim transparentima koji su nastali u sklopu ovoga rada na grafički sveden način pokazuju kako ideo- logija investicija i globalni lanci snabdevanja

graphically reductive manner the effects of foreign investment ideology and global productive and supply chains on peripheral countries such as Serbia. The shoes are deaf to the exploitative history of their making and do not show the traces of their production; they only appear as beautiful and cozy Italian footwear in shops or commercials. *Deaf Shoes* was inspired by Ivan Radenković's research, *Foreign Direct Investments in Serbia*, which focused on the functioning of foreign direct investments ideology.

Deaf Shoes was performed for the first time within *Politics of Dissonance*, a collateral event of Manifesta 12 curated by Mike Watson on 7–9 July 2018 in Palermo, Italy. The intervention was repeated in Bitola, North Macedonia, in collaboration with the artist Filip Jovanovski and labor organizers from the textile industry city of Štip, who regularly publish a newspaper entitled *The Textile Worker*, which was handed out during the *Deaf Shoes* public action.





Deaf Shoes, intervention,
Bitola, 2018

Gluve cipele, intervencija,
Bitola, 2018.

Photo / Fotografija:
Keti Talevska

i proizvodnje utiču na zemlje periferije kao što je Srbija. Cipele su gluve jer se na prvi pogled ne može videti eksplotatorska istorija njihovog nastanka; one se pojavljuju u prodavnici ili na reklami kao lepa i udobna italijanska obuća. Između ostalog, Gluve cipele su inspirisane istraživanjem *Strange direktne investicije u Srbiji*, koje je sproveo filozof Ivan Radenković i u kojem daje uvid u to kako ideologija stranih direktnih investicija funkcioniše.

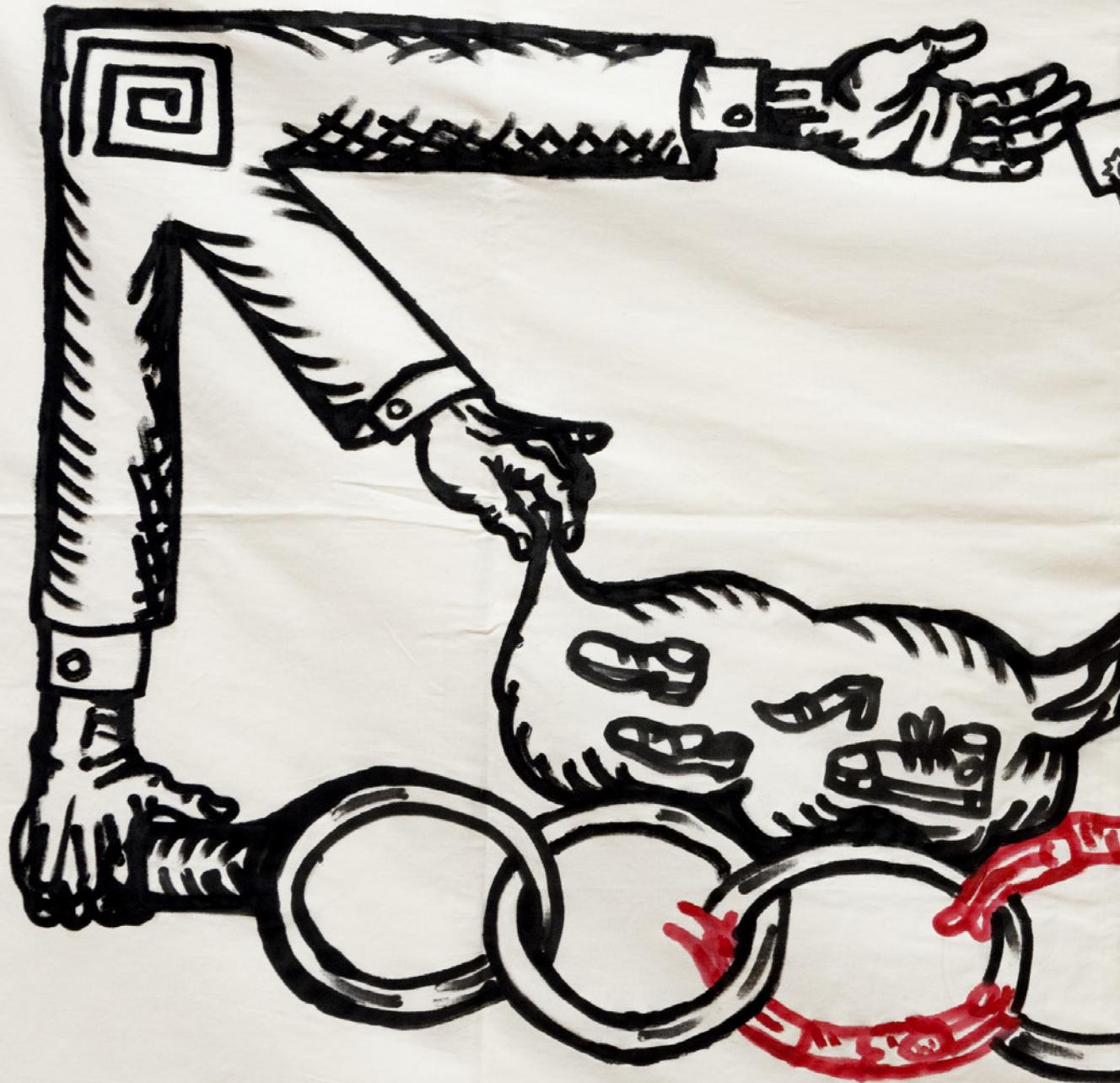
Gluve cipele su prvi put izvedene tokom Manifeste 12 u Palermu u julu 2018. godine, u sklopu programa *Politics of Dissonance*, čiji je kustos bio Mike Watson. Rad je nakon Palerma izведен i u Bitoli u Severnoj Makedoniji, ali ovog puta u saradnji sa umetnikom Filipom Jovanovskim i sindikalnim organizatorima iz grada Štipa, koji redovno objavljaju novine *Tekstilec* o borbi protiv sličnih, teških uslova rada u tekstilnoj industriji u Severnoj Makedoniji, a koje su distribuirane uz izvođenje *Gluvih cipela*.

Deaf Shoes, Strike, 112 x 205 cm,
acrylic on textile, 2018

Gluve cipele, Štrajk, 112 x 205 cm,
akril na tekstuлу, 2018.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

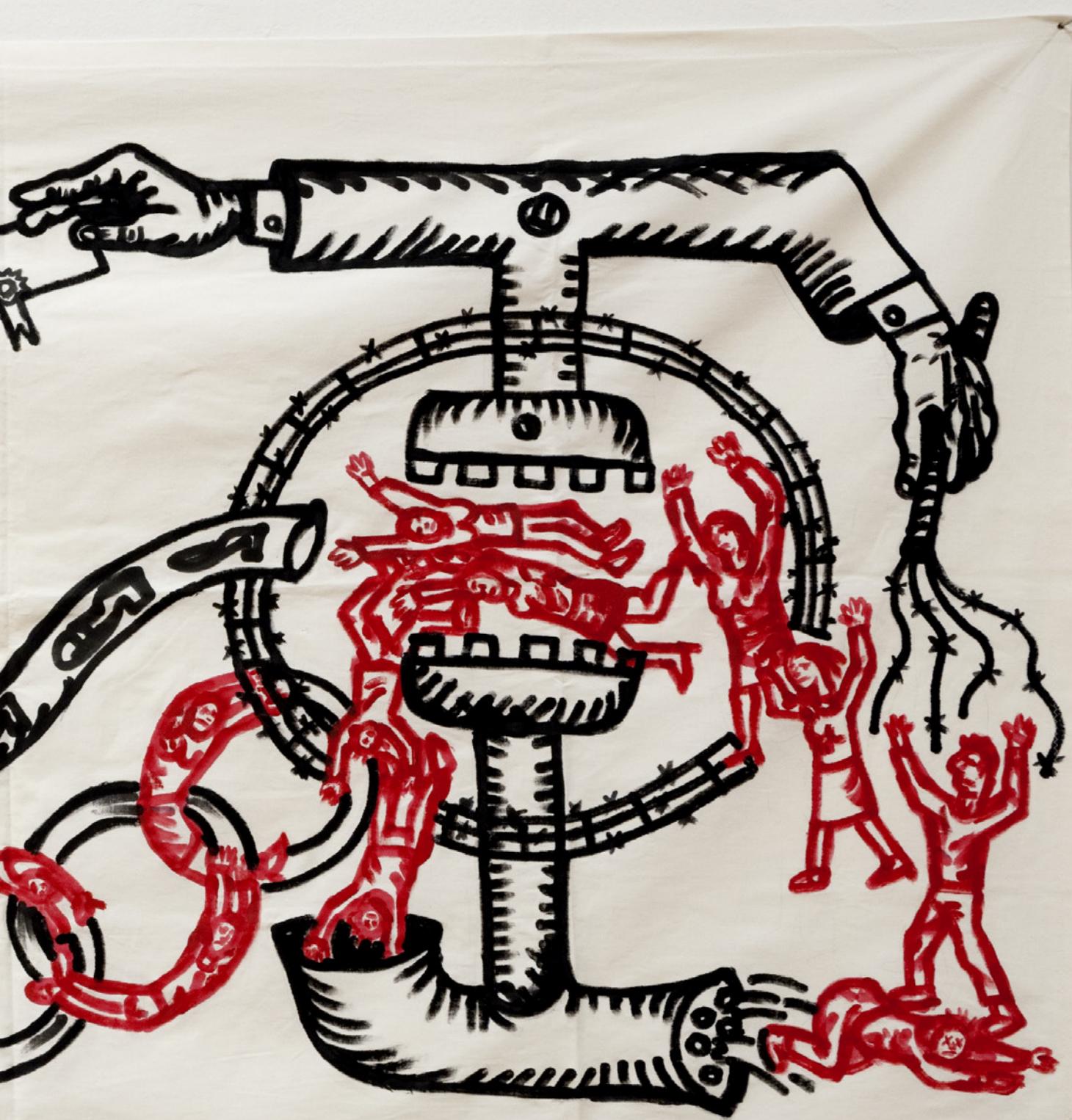




Deaf Shoes, Production Chain, 112 x 205 cm, acrylic on textile, 2018

Gluve cipele, Proizvodni lanac, 112 x 205 cm, akril na tekstu, 2018.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle







UT AM
OERKUNGEN!

DAS ARBEITERE INNOSTRANSEZNAJ ISKE, VOGELNAR LEPER,
DACHAMMAD, ELDRONIC SAR BUDIĆE,
CROATIA, 2021.

Transformatorium, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Transformatorijum, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

The Rolling Classroom

Mobile tribune, 170 x 110 x 120 cm, wood

Banner, 140 x 140 cm, acrylic on textile

Poster in various sizes

Video, HD, 6 min.

Year: 2019



The Rolling Classroom, intervention, Oslo, 2019

Kotrljajuća učionica, intervencija, Oslo, 2019.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Kotrljajuća učionica

Mobilna tribina, 170 x 110 x 120 cm, drvo

Transparent, 140 x 140 cm, akril na tekstu

Plakati raznih dimenzija

Video, HD, 6 min.

Godina: 2019.

Social movements sometimes use carnivalesque tactics during protests in order to introduce confusion into the relations of power while trying to protect themselves from police repression. The *Karnevalet* in Oslo was established as the joint effort of Oslo's art and cultural scene to reclaim the cultural sphere in a time when the far right dominates parliament and in order to make a case for an intercultural society, against racism and discrimination. The intervention *Rolling Classroom* was performed within the framework of the protest carnival with the aim of exploring the distinction between art/carnival and politics.

This work came into being as a result of an invitation by the Carnival Union organization to Rena & Vladan to realize the workshop *Red Winter Oslo* with the participants of the Carnival, which was held in 2018 at the Intercultural Museum. A mutual exchange of ideas, experiences and needs during the workshop inspired the creation of the *Collective Classroom of Love and Resistance*. Through interaction with the participants of the workshop, speeches, symbols, slogans, costumes and prop materials were created and used during the carnival parade. It was intended that the parade departs from the immigrants' neighborhood, Grønland, making

Društveni pokreti ponekad koriste karnevalske taktike tokom protesta kako bi uneli zbrku u odnose moći, te pokušali da se zaštite od policijske represije. *Karnevalet* u Oslu je nastao združenim naporom umetničke i kulturne scene toga grada da se u doba kada krajnja desnica upravlja nacionalnim parlamentom povrati pravo na kulturnu sferu i pruži podrška interkulturnom društvu, protiv rasizma i diskriminacije. Intervencija *Kotrljajuća učionica* je izvedena unutar ovoga protestnog karnevala, nastojeći da problematizuje razliku između umetnosti/karnevala i politike.

Rad je nastao tako što je organizacija Carneval Union pozvala Renu i Vladana da sa učesnicima karnevala realizuju radionicu *Crvena zima Oslo*, koja je održana 2018. godine u Interkulturnom muzeju. Iz međusobne razmene ideja, iskustava i potreba, tokom radionice je proizašla konцепција *Kolektivne učionice ljubavi i otpora*. Kroz interakciju sa učesnicima radionice, izrađeni su govori, simboli, sloganji, kostimi i propagandni materijali koji su korišćeni tokom karnevalske parade. Bilo je zamišljeno da povorka kreće iz imigrantskog kvarta Grønlanda, zaustavljajući se s vremenom na vreme kraj građevina i na trgovima, obeležjima različitih društvenih borbi, gde su se izvodili ples, muzika i pozorišne predstave.

stops from time to time in front of buildings and on squares thereby pointing to different social struggles through dance, music and theater performances.

As a sort of intervention in the parade, Rena & Vladan made the *Rolling Classroom*, a movable artistic object that was used as a tribune for speeches during the carnival. The front side of the tribune rested on wheels, much like a cart, so that one person could easily move it down the street. This tribune was used during the carnival in March 2019 to accommodate people that prepared their speeches in advance as well as those that spontaneously held them. The *Rolling Classroom* was a joint action in collaboration with the UngMetro Fredagsklubben, Fred i Colombia, and the group *Nesodden Land of the Free*. The most significant speech performance, the one given as the carnival parade stopped in front of the Norwegian parliament, was given by Lina Alvarez Reyes against the killing of activists in Colombia.

This work was commissioned by Carnival Union and realized by Rena & Vladan in collaboration with Shahzad Ah, Katharina Barbosa Blad, Ileana Alvarez Reyes and Lina Alvarez Reyes, Rachel Dagnall, Camilla Dahl, Amanda Fayant, Joana Gelažytė and Tim Kliukoit, Anita Hillestad, Eshraq Jah, Lisa Pacini, Madeleine Park and many others.



The Rolling Classroom, intervention, Oslo, 2019

Kotrljajuća učionica, intervencija, Oslo, 2019.

Photo / Fotografija: Vladan Jeremić

Rena i Vladan su zarad intervencije u strukturu same parade konstruisali mobilnu tribinu, koja se mogla koristiti za održavanje govora tokom karnevala. Tribina se prednjom stranom oslanja na točkove, tako da jedna osoba može da je pokreće ulicom poput kolica. Korišćena je tokom karnevala u martu 2019. godine, a pored ljudi koji su na njoj održali unapred pripremljene govore, bilo je i onih koji su ih potpuno spontano izveli. Nastup *Kotrljajuće učionice* je realizovan u saradnji sa UngMetro Fredagsklubbenom, Fred i Colombijom i grupom Nesodden *Land of the Free*. Najupečatljivi govor, koji je za trenutak zaustavio karnevalsку masu ispred norveškog parlamenta, bio je govor Line Alvarez Reyes protiv ubijanja aktivista u Kolumbiji.

U izvođenju i nastanku ovog rada, stvorenog na poziv Carnival Uniona, učestvovali su: Shahzad Ah, Katharina Barbosa Blad, Ileana Alvarez Reyes and Lina Alvarez Reyes, Rachel Dagnall, Camilla Dahl, Amanda Fayant, Joana Gelažytė and Tim Kliukoit, Anita Hillestad, Eshraq Jah, Lisa Pacini, Madeleine Park i mnogi drugi.





The Rolling Classroom,
speech of Ursula, Oslo,
2019

Kotrljajuća učionica, Ursulin
govor, Oslo, 2019.

Photo / Fotografija:
Sebastian Dahl



The Rolling Classroom,
speech of Ursula, Oslo,
2019

Kotrljajuća učionica, Ursulin
govor, Oslo, 2019.

Photo / Fotografija:
Sebastian Dahl



The Rolling Classroom, installation view, Intercultural Museum, Oslo, 2019

Kotrljajuća učionica, postavka, Intercultural Museum, Oslo, 2019. Photo / Fotografija: Audun Severin Eftevåg

Fragile Presence

Newspaper *Fragile Presence*, roto-print, 39 x 28 cm, 16 p., print run: 4,000, 2016

Fragile Presence / Action Space: 8 banners, acrylic on canvas, various dimensions, 2016–2018.

Courtesy of the Belgrade Cultural Center / October Salon Collection

Video, HD, 6 min, camera: Constantin Lederer, editing: Rena Rädle, 2018



Fragile Presence, Liberation, 182 x 123 cm, acrylic on textile, 2016–18

Lomljiva prisutnost, Oslobođenje, 182 x 123 cm, akril na tekstilu, 2016–18.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Lomljiva prisutnost

Novine *Lomljiva prisutnost*, roto-štampa, 39 x 28 cm, 16 str., tiraž: 4.000, 2016.

Lomljiva prisutnost / Akcioni prostor: 8 transparenta, akril na tekstilu, razne dimenzije, 2016–2018. Rad je u vlasništvu Kulturnog centra Beograda / Kolekcije Oktobarski salon.

Video, HD, 6 min, kamera: Constantin Lederer, montaža: Rena Rädle, 2018.

The installation *Fragile Presence* was initially produced for the 56th October Salon in Belgrade in 2016, and it was composed of a large wall painting, cardboard sculptures and takeaway newspapers with drawings. The work represents a visual interpretation of the “March of Hope” that took place in the late summer of 2015 when people on the move set off on foot from a train station in Budapest to the German border. The long journey was taken in order to escape the threat of being detained in migrant camps in Hungary.

The wall painting depicts scenes from the march and the liberation from the camps while the central composition portrays people breaking through the walls of “Fortress Europe”. This breakthrough represents the moment at which a new type of collectivity is brought about, one that succeeds in overcoming obstacles in spite of its own fragility. It is the moment when the dynamic of human bodies breaks down the border regime of the European Union. The work shows the instant at which invisible people, escaping from unbearable living conditions, become visible and vulnerable, exposed to the mechanisms of governance, while their very existence is left to the hatred or solidarity and love of

Instalacija *Lomljiva prisutnost* je prvobitno nastala za 56. Oktobarski salon u Beogradu 2016. godine i sastojala se od zidne slike većih dimenzija, kartonskih objekata i grafičkih listova u formi novinske publikacije aranžirane u prostoru, koju su posetioci mogli da ponesu. Ovaj rad se fokusira na vizuelnu interpretaciju „Marša nade”, koji se dogodio krajem leta 2015. godine, kada su ljudi u pokretu hodali od železničke stanice u Budimpešti do nemačke granice. Oni su preduzeli to dugo i neizvesno putovanje kako bi izbegli zatočeništvo u mađarskim izbegličkim kampovima.

Zidna slika prikazuje scene marša i oslobođanja iz kampa, a centralna kompozicija – proboj zidina „tvrdave Evrope“. Ovaj proboj je predstavljen kao trenutak stvaranja nove kolektivnosti, koja uspeva da prevaziđe prepreke uprkos sopstvenoj krhkosti, kada dinamika ljudskih tela ruši granični režim Evropske unije. Ovaj rad nastoji da prikaže momenat u kojem nevidljivi ljudi, bežeći od nepodnošljivih životnih uslova, postaju vidljivi, ranjivi i izloženi mehanizmima vlasti, dok njihova egzistencija biva prepuštena ili mržnji ili solidarnosti i ljubavi drugih. U tom pokušaju probaja, kolektivitet koji stvara njihova telesna prisutnost pruža im sigurnost i snagu da nastave dalje. To je produženi

others. In this attempt at breakthrough the collectivity of their bodily presence provides them with the security and strength to go on. This is a protracted moment of risk and hope that implies a potentiality which goes far beyond individual lives and biographies. Their movement creates its own time that transcends local temporalities against the linear chronologies of restriction and repression. Their struggle becomes part of other struggles that occupy, open and transform space.

For the exhibition *Guerrilla of Enlightenment* at <rotor> in Graz, Austria in 2018, the installation *Fragile Presence* was transformed into an active space. For this next stage of the work entitled *Fragile Presence / Action Space*, Rena & Vladan created wall drawings on eight textile pieces that can be used as banners. They also built wooden sculptures related to solidarity with the struggles of people on the move, making them monuments of resistance and liberation. The sculptures could be disassembled in a few simple steps to serve as chairs and tables during meetings, workshops and other activities. Thus a space of solidarity and empowerment was created in which people gathered to discuss and organize against the ongoing anti-egalitarian, anti-feminist and anti-democratic turn in our societies. In the autumn of 2018, when the criminalization of civil sea-rescue organizations in the Mediterranean started, the banners were brought out into the streets of Graz for several protest actions.

As the European Union border control system has been more firmly enforced all along the Balkan Route, and as the people who had to leave their homes became prisoners of a system of camps and violent push-backs, hope turned into despair. In this context, the installation in Skopje created for the exhibition *All the Love* at the Museum of Contemporary Art Skopje in 2020 narrated possible practices of solidarity and struggle for all of humanity.

Fragile Presence, Megaphone,
89 x 137 cm, acrylic on textile,
2016–18

Lomljiva prisutnost, Megafon,
89 x 137 cm, akril na tekstilu,
2016–18.

Photo / Fotografija: Thomas Raggam



trenutak rizika i nade, koji potencijalno vodi dalje od individualnih života i biografija. Njihovo kretanje stvara vreme koje, nasuprot linearnej hronologiji ograničenja i represije, prevazilazi lokalnu temporalnost, u kojem njihova borba postaje deo drugih borbi koje okupiraju, otvaraju i preobražavaju prostor.

Za izložbu *Gerila prosvetiteljstva*, koja je održana 2018. godine u Rotoru u Gracu (Austrija), instalacija Lomljiva prisutnost je transformisana u jedan aktivan prostor. Za taj sledeći nivo rada, sada nazvanog *Lomljiva prisutnost / Akcioni prostor*, Rena i Vladan su zidne crteže preneli na osam tekstilnih komada, koji se mogu koristiti kao transparenti. Zatim su napravili drvene skulpture koje se odnose na solidarnost sa borbama ljudi u pokretu, a koje formiraju svojevrstan spomenik otporu i oslobođenju. Te skulpture se mogu rastaviti u nekoliko jednostavnih koraka i poslužiti kao mobilijar za održavanje sastanaka, radionica i drugih aktivnosti. Tako je stvoren prostor solidarnosti i osnaživanja, u kojem su se ljudi okupljali da bi se organizovali protiv tekućeg preokreta u našim društвima, koji je antifeministički, antidemokratski i protiv ravnopravnosti. U jesen 2018. godine, kada je počela kriminalizacija organizacija koje su spasavale ljudе iz Sredozemnog mora, transparenti su izneseni na ulice Graca za potrebe više protestnih akcija.

Kako je Evropska unija zaoštala graničnu kontrolu duž balkanske rute i kako su ljudi koji su morali da napuste svoje domove postali zatočenici sistema kampova i nasilnih deportacija, takozvanih pušbekova, nadu je zamenio očaj. U tom smislu je nova instalacija *Lomljive prisutnosti* u Skoplju, nastala 2020. godine za izložbu *Sva ljubav u Muzeju savremene umetnosti Skoplja*, pokazala jedan mogući narativ solidarnosti i borbe za celokupno društvo.



Protest action / protestna akcija, Graz, 2018.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Transformatorium, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Transformatorijum, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović



Za borbeni optimizam
bez sentimentalnosti





40



Fragile Presence, Hand,
89 x 137 cm, acrylic on textile,
2016–18

Lomljiva prisutnost, Ruka,
89 x 137 cm, akril na tekstilu,
2016–18.

Photo / Fotografija:
Rena Rädle





Fragile Presence, March of Hope,
124 x 284 cm, acrylic on textile,
2016–18

Lomljiva prisutnost, Marš nade,
124 x 284 cm, akril na tekstuлу,
2016–18.

Photo / Fotografija:
Rena Rädle



Fragile Presence, Refugees,
120 x 180 cm, acrylic on
textile, 2016–18

Lomljiva prisutnost, Izbeglice,
120 x 180 cm, akril na
tekstuлу, 2016–18.

Photo / Fotografija:
Rena Rädle



Fragile Presence, Rescue, 125 x 190 cm, acrylic on textile, 2016–18

Lomljiva prisutnost, Spas, 125 x 190 cm, akril na tekstilu, 2016–18.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle



Paris Commune Revisited

Cardboard and wood, various dimensions, acrylic on cardboard, 2019–2021

Video, HD, 14 min, camera and editing: Ne Jemi Teatri activist, 2019



Paris Commune Revisited, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni

Karton i drvo, razne dimenzije, akril na kartonu, 2019–2021.

Video, HD, 14 min, kamera i montaža: aktivista Ne Jemi Teatri, 2019.

The installation *Paris Commune Revisited* was created in Tirana in 2019 and features an image of resistance painted on cardboard boxes that are mounted on wooden constructions. Rena & Vladan's aim was to create art objects that could be transformed into objects that have a use value and to share them as a common good. They met up with different politically or socially engaged groups in Tirana and discussed with them whether these art objects could be of use in their struggles. Finally, the objects were taken over by a protest movement against the privatization of public space which tried to prevent the demolition of the National Theater in Tirana. On the last day of the exhibition, the objects were carried on a protest walk to the occupied theater where they were erected as a kind of barricade, and served as a platform for the speeches of the activists. From then on, they became part of the life of the occupied theater, and were used as a mise-en-scène for protest events, plays and concerts. When Tirana was shaken by a strong earthquake in November 2019, the boxes were used to distribute clothes and food to people who lost their homes. In May 2020, during the ban on assembly due to the pandemic, the National Theater was violently demolished by the government.

Instalacija *Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni* nastala je u Tirani 2019. godine i donosi vizuelni narativ otpora oslikan na kartonskim kutijama povezanim sa drvenim konstrukcijama. Renina i Vladanova nameća bila je da naprave umetničke objekte koji se mogu transformisati u predmete sa upotrebnom vrednošću i da ih podele kao zajedničko dobro. Oni su se sastali sa različitim politički ili društveno angažovanim grupama u Tirani i sa njima diskutovali o tome da li im ti umetnički objekti mogu poslužiti u njihovim aktivnostima. Konačno, objekti je prisvojio protestni pokret koji je nastojao da spreči rušenje Nacionalnog pozorišta u Tirani. Poslednjeg dana izložbe objekti su izneseni u protestnu šetnju do okupiranog pozorišta, gde su postavljeni kao vrsta barikade i okruženja u kojem su aktivisti držali govore. Od tada pa nadalje, oni su postali deo života okupiranog pozorišta i korišćeni su kao mizanscen za protestna događanja, pozorišne predstave i koncerte. Kada je Tirana bila pogodjena razornim zemljotresom u novembru 2019. godine, kartonske kutije su iskorišćene za raspodelu odeće i hrane onima koji su ostali bez svojih domova. Za vreme zabrane okupljanja tokom pandemije, u maju 2020. godine, vlast je nasilno srušila Nacionalno pozorište.

The installation was developed as part of the performative exhibition *Komuna e Parisit Revisited* at the Tirana Art Lab in 2019, curated by Adela Demetja.



Paris Commune Revisited,
intervention, Tirana, 2019

Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni,
intervencija, Tirana, 2019.

Photos / Fotografije:
Vladan Jeremić

Instalacija je nastala kao deo performativne izložbe *Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni* u Tirana Art Labu 2019. godine, čiji je kustos bila Adela Demetja.



Paris Commune Revisited, intervention, National Theater, Tirana, 2019

Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni, intervencija, Narodno pozorište, Tirana, 2019.

Photo / Fotografija: Adela Demetja



Paris Commune Revisited,
installation view, MoCAV,
Novi Sad, 2021

Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni,
postavka, MSUV, Novi
Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija:
Marko Ercegović



Transformatorium,
installation view, MoCAV,
Novi Sad, 2021

Transformatorijum,
postavka, MSUV,
Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija:
Vladimir Opsenica

Paris Commune Revisited, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle





Paris Commune Revisited, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Ponovo u Pariskoj komuni, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović

DAGARBEIDERE, INNHØSTNINGSSARBEIDERE, VASKEHJELPER,
ELDREOMSORGSARBEIDERE,
DAGMAMMAER, ORGANISER DERE!
SEXARBEIDERE

PLANTENE OG MINERALENE
ER VÅRE KAMERATER!



Potentials for Militant Creativity

5 flags, 245 x 140 cm, digital print on textile

Video, HD, 52 min, camera and editing: Igor Paulić, production: SIZ, Red Rijeka Assembly

Year: 2017



Potentials for Militant Creativity, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Potencijali za borbeno stvaralaštvo, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović

Potencijali za borbeno stvaralaštvo

5 zastava, 245 x 140 cm, digitalna štampa na tekstilu

Video, HD, 51 min, kamera i montaža: Igor Paulić, produkcija: SIZ, Zbor crvene Rijeke

Godina: 2017.

With their banners entitled *Potentials for Militant Creativity* Rena & Vladan have advocated for the unification of various struggles of the oppressed. On their front side, the flags feature drawings that depict ongoing struggles and the overcoming of divisions among various types of labor such as precarious or cognitive forms of work. The slogans on the reverse side of the banners include signs the artists originally featured in the work *Ironworks ABC*, which were developed during research into artist and worker cooperatives which highlight the potential of self-management. The flags were placed high above the heads of passers-by at Korzo Street in Rijeka at a location where advertising or tourism banners are usually hung.

The flags were a part of the *Red Rijeka Assembly – Towards an International Combative Production*, organized by artist Nemanja Cvijanović in Rijeka in 2017. During the Assembly, Rena & Vladan collaborated with the ZIP Group from Krasnodar, Russia and they together organized a workshop on militant creativity for children from the elementary school Dolac and other interested citizens.

Svojim zastavama nazvanim *Potencijali za borbeno stvaralaštvo* Rena i Vladan pozivaju na ujedinjenje različitih borbi potlačenih. Na licu zastava se nalaze crteži koji tematizuju aktuelne borbe i prevazilaženje podela na različite tipove rada, poput prekarnog ili kognitivnog. Na poleđini zastava se nalaze sloganji napisani znakovima Abecede Željezare nastali na osnovu istraživanja zajedničkog rada umetnika i radnika, a koji ističu potencijale samoupravljanja. Zastave su bile postavljene visoko iznad glava prolaznika u ulici Korzo u Rijeci, na mestu na kojem obično možemo videti samo reklamne ili turističke banere.

Zastave su bile deo programa *Zbor crvene Rijeke – prema međunarodnom borbenom stvaralaštву*, koji je pokrenuo umetnik Nemanja Cvijanović 2017. godine. Rena i Vladan su za vreme dešavanja razvili saradnju sa Grupom ZIP iz Krasnodara i sa članovima te grupe održali radionicu borbenog stvaralaštva za učenike OŠ-SE Dolac i zainteresovane građane.



Transformatorium, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Transformatorijum, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photos / Fotografije: Marko Ercegović

Potentials for Militant Creativity,
intervention with flags and
workshop with ZIP Group,
Rijeka, 2017

*Potencijali za borbeno
stvaralaštvo, intervencija sa
zastavama i radionica sa
Grupom ZIP, Rijeka, 2017.*

Photos / Fotografije:
Rena Rädle



A white rectangular table with black legs is positioned in the foreground. It holds several framed documents or prints, though the content of the frames is not clearly legible. The table is set against a white wall.



Potentials for Militant Creativity, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Potencijali za borbeno stvaralaštvo, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Workers' Collective

Newspaper *Worker's Collective*, roto-print, 39 x 28 cm, 16 p., print run 1,000

Video, PAL, 5 min, camera: Rastko Popov, editing: Rena Rädle

Year: 2013



Worker's Collective, distribution of newspapers in front of the mine's gate, Bor, 2013

Radnički kolektiv, distribucija novina ispred kapije RTB-a, Bor, 2013.

Photo / Fotografija: Dragan Stojmenović

Radnički kolektiv

Novine *Radnički kolektiv*, roto-štampa, 39 x 28 cm, 16 str., tiraž 1.000

Video, PAL, 5 min, kamera: Rastko Popov, montaža: Rena Rädle

Godina: 2013.

Workers' Collective is an artistic intervention dealing with the historical experience of workers' self-management in Yugoslavia as well as with the possible perspectives of workers' organizing in Serbia today. Rena & Vladan edited a newspaper publication inspired by previous editions of the newspaper *Bor Collective* that is still published as the journal of the Bor Mining and Smelting Complex (RTB). It was distributed among workers in front of the RTB Mining Company gate. The first number of *Bor Collective* came out in 1947 with the establishment of workers' self-management for Yugoslav companies. Although it is still published under the same name, today the *Bor Collective* represents the views of the RTB's management, instead of the voice of the workers. Rena & Vladan used samples from the historical newspaper and photo archives of the National Library in Bor to create an updated version of the first issue, under the programmatically changed name, *Workers' Collective*.

The newspaper *Workers' Collective* includes sections from the old original newspapers that have been transformed in such a way that specific parts are emphasized or that some words have been changed from the original texts, while old political slogans were juxtaposed with new

Radnički kolektiv je umetnička intervencija koja se bavi istorijskim iskustvom radničkog samoupravljanja u Jugoslaviji, kao i perspektivama mogućeg radničkog organizovanja u Srbiji. Za potrebe ove intervencije nastao je umetnički grafički list u obliku novinske publikacije inspirisan ranim izdanjima lista *Borski kolektiv*, koji je tada još uvek izlazio kao glasilo Rudarsko-topioničarskog bora Bor (RTB), najvećeg proizvođača bakra i plemenitih metala u regionu, a danas izlazi kao glasilo korporacije Serbia Zijin Copper. Novi umetnički grafički list je u vidu radničkih novina distribuiran radnicima ispred kapije RTB-a. Prvi broj *Borskog kolektiva* izašao je 1947. godine, sa uvođenjem radničkog samoupravljanja u jugoslovenska preduzeća. Iako je nastavio da izlazi pod skraćenim nazivom *Kolektiv*, list je postao glasilo uprave RTB-a, da bi danas bio zvanično glasilo Ziđina, a ne radnika. Na osnovu sačuvanih primeraka istorijskog lista i foto-archive koju poseduje Narodna biblioteka Bor, nastala je savremena verzija prvog broja pod programski izmenjenim nazivom: *Radnički kolektiv*.

Grafički list *Radnički kolektiv* uključuje delove originalnih novina koji su obrađeni tako što su naglašeni ili su u tekstualnim odlomcima neke reči zamjenjene, a stare političke parole su postavljene naspram novih. Kolaž od ilustracija istorij-

ones. The centerfold features a collage of historical and contemporary practices arising from worker self-organization. It consists of photos of the election for the workers’ councils after the socialization of the mine during the socialist period, mixed with images of mass protests over the last decade, when many branches of the mining company entered the privatization process and stopped production. The last page depicts some particular workers’ protests that emerged after many of the workers lost their wages or pensions. Struggling for their existence and that of their families, the workers blocked the national highway used by the mining trucks and protested with loaves of bread pinned to their banners. There is also a comic strip section problematizing the position of the union leaders. Ironically, the sentences scribbled onto the pictures of the workers’ spokesmen resemble the typical phrases from the management of the portrayed mining companies. The publication also contains a double page edited by a musician and former worker at RTB comprising a collection of workers’ jokes and poetry in several different languages.

Several hundred copies of the newspapers were distributed to the workers in front of the mine’s gate during shift change. The workers were invited to the discussion at the National Library in Bor the same evening. The discussion was organized by Rena & Vladan and included Dragiša Trujkić, president of the Independent Workers’ Union Bor, sociologist Milan Rakita, and philosopher Ivan Radenković. The discussion highlighted the fact that the so-called “democratisation of society” did not lead to an increase but to a total loss of workers’ control in the management of their factories. Another problem that was raised was the corruption of the big trade unions by the political establishment that controls the privatization process and the reforms of workers’ rights legislation. A few weeks after the discussion, Dragiša Trujkić went on hunger strike to protest against corruption in the privatization process of the Mining Company and the director’s attempt to oblige the workers to join his newly founded trade union by threatening them with layoffs.

Workers’ Collective was developed in 2013 on invitation by Dragan Stojmenović and in collaboration with the National Library in Bor.



Worker’s Collective,
distribution of
newspapers,
Bor, 2013

Radnički kolektiv,
deljenje novina,
Bor, 2013.

Photo / Fotografija:
Dragan Stojmenović





skih i savremenih radničkih praksi samoorganizovanja štampan je na duplerici novina. On sadrži fotografije sa izbora radničkih saveta nakon podruštvljavanja rudnika u socijalizmu, uz prizore masovnih protesta tokom prve decenije 21. veka, kada su mnogi pogoni rudarskog preduzeća ušli u proces privatizacije i obustavili proizvodnju. Na poslednjoj stranici je prikazan protest koji se desio kada su mnogi radnici ostali bez plata ili penzija. U borbi da sebi i svojim porodicama obezbede egzistenciju, radnici su rudarskim kamionima blokirali auto-put i protestovali, s veknama hleba prikačenim na svoje transparente. Stripski dodatak u novinama problematizuje ulogu sindikalnih vođa. Rečenice ispisane na prizorima radničkih glasnogovornika podsećaju na fraze tipične za upravljačku strukturu rudnika. Prilog na dve stranice sa izborom radničkih šala i poezije na nekoliko jezika uredio je Saša Lovčić Lovke, pesnik, muzičar i bivši radnik RTB-a.

Za vreme smene podeljeno je više stotina primeraka *Radničkog kolektiva* ispred kapije RTB-a. Radnici su pozvani da te večeri učestvuju u razgovoru u Narodnoj biblioteci Bor. Razgovor su organizovali Rena i Vladan, a vodio se sa Dragišom Trujkićem, predsednikom Nezavisnog radničkog sindikata Bor, sociologom Milanom Rakitom i filozofom Ivanom Radenkovićem. Tokom rasprave je ukazano na to da takozvana „demokratizacija društva“ nije vodila ka povećanju, već ka potpunom gubitku radničke kontrole nad upravljanjem fabrika. Otvorilo se i pitanje korumpiranosti velikih sindikata od strane srpskog političkog establišmenta, koji kontroliše proces privatizacije i reforme zakona o radu u Srbiji. Nekoliko nedelja posle debate Dragiša Trujkić je stupio u štrajk glađu iz protesta zbog korupcije u procesu privatizacije rudarskog preduzeća i pokušaja direktora da prisili radnike pretnjom otkazom da se učlane u novoosnovani „žuti“ sindikat.

Radnički kolektiv je nastao 2013. godine na poziv Dragana Stojmenovića i u saradnji sa Narodnom bibliotekom Bor.





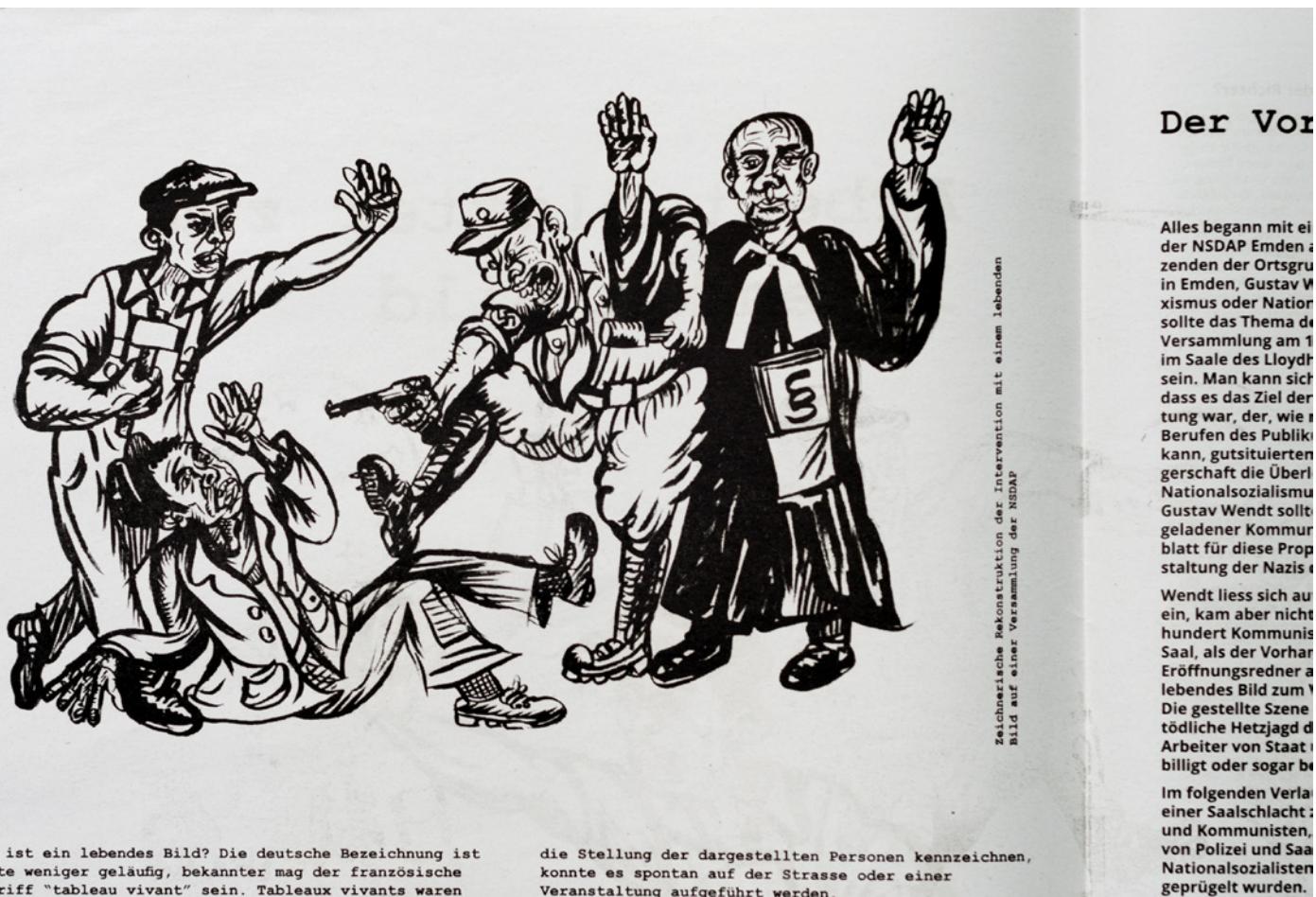


Pages from the newspaper
Worker's Collective, 2013
Stranice iz novina
Radnički kolektiv, 2013.
Photos / Fotografije:
Rena Rädle

Worksheets on Living Images

Newspaper Worksheets On Living Images, roto-print, 39 x 28 cm, 16 p., print-run 1,000

Year: 2016



Was ist ein lebendes Bild? Die deutsche Bezeichnung ist heute weniger geläufig, bekannter mag der französische Begriff "tableau vivant" sein. Tableaux vivants waren

die Stellung der dargestellten Personen kennzeichnen, konnte es spontan auf der Strasse oder einer Veranstaltung aufgeführt werden.

Page from the newspaper Worksheets on Living Images, 2016

Stranica iz novina Radni listovi o živim slikama, 2016.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Radni listovi o živim slikama

Novine *Radni listovi o živim slikama*, roto-štampa, 39 x 28 cm, 16 str., tiraž 1.000

Godina: 2016.

Rena & Vladan's newspaper-format artistic publication *Worksheets on Living Images* (*Arbeitsblätter zum lebenden Bild*), proposes an actualization of the tradition of resistance practices that used living images (*tableaux vivants*) as a form of political education and protest.

During their research on workers' culture, the artists came across the fact that living images represented an integral part of cultural events for the workers' movement in the 19th century, such as the *Lassalle* or *March* celebrations. Various social movements used living images in order to present social contradictions or mediate their own history. Over time, activists transformed living images into a form of public protest and intervention. Rena & Vladan found an example of such an action documented in the court files of a trial that took place in the German city of Emden. On January 13 1930, communists intervened with the performance of a living image at an event organized by the Nazi Party. They staged a Nazi raising a gun against a worker laid on the ground, while a priest and a judge watched on approvingly.

These documents inspired Rena & Vladan to revive the living image as a form used for protest actions. They developed five worksheets with drawings and

Umetnička publikacija u formi novina *Radni listovi o živim slikama* (*Arbeitsblätter zum lebenden Bild*) predlaže aktualizaciju tradicije otpora koja je koristila žive slike (*tableaux vivants*) kao oblike političkog obrazovanja i protesta.

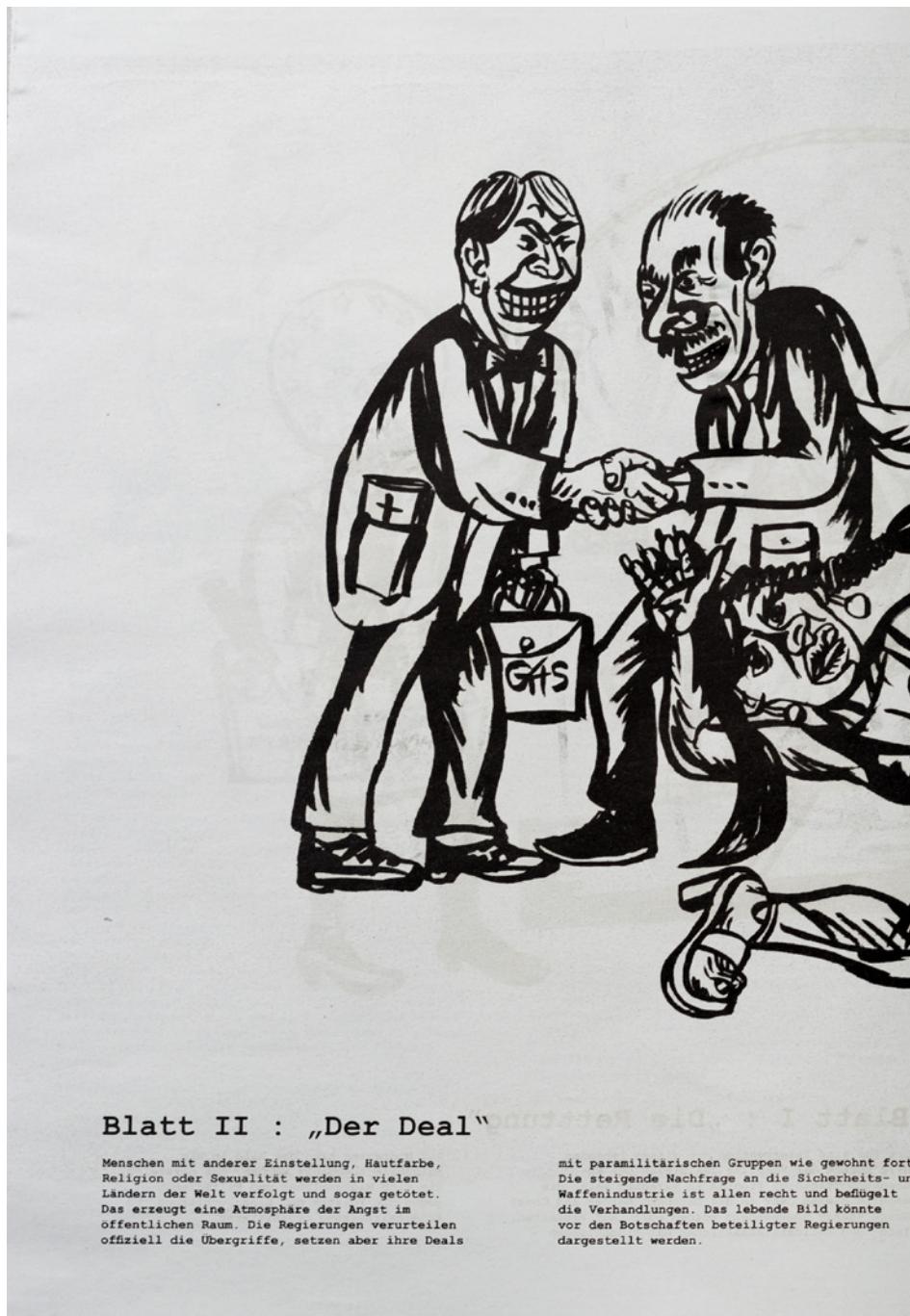
Rena i Vladan su kroz istraživanje radničke kulture naišli na podatak da su žive slike predstavljale sastavni deo kulturnih događaja radničkog pokreta u 19. veku kao što su *Lassalleove* ili *Martovske proslave*. Razni društveni pokreti su koristili žive slike u cilju predstavljanja društvenih protivrečnosti ili posredovanja njihove istorije. Tokom vremena aktivisti su ih transformisali u oblik javnog protesta i intervencije. Rena i Vladan su pronašli primer takve aktivnosti dokumentovan u sudskim beleškama sa jednog procesa u nemačkom gradu Emdenu. Komunisti su 13. januara 1930. godine intervensili performansom tokom događaja koji je organizovala nacistička partija. Oni su inscenirali situaciju u kojoj nacista poteže pištolj na radnika koji leži na zemlji, dok sveštenik i sudija to posmatraju sa odobravanjem.

Ovi dokumenti su inspirisali Renu i Vladana da obnove žive slike kao poželjnu formu koja se može koristi u protestnim akcijama. Oni su napravili pet radnih listova sa crtežima i instrukcijama za žive slike koje problematizuju posledi-

instructions for living images
that problematize the effects of
the financial crisis and austerity
politics, such as the division of
society, the rise of right-wing
parties and neo-fascist ideol-
ogies and the security policy
directed against refugees in
Europe. The photograph of a
living image staged by the artist
Ina Wudtke is printed on the
centerfold of the newspaper.
The Worksheets were distribut-
ed at the lecture performance *A
worker becomes a writer: MASCH,
Agitprop, Margarete Steffin* at the
Karl-Liebknecht-Haus in Berlin
in 2016, which was organized
by Ina Wudtke as a part of
*Undisciplinary Learning: Remap-
ping the Aesthetics of Resistance*,
curated by Janine Halka, Suza
Husse and Julia Lazarus.

Page from the newspaper
Worksheets on Living Images, 2016
Stranica iz novina *Radni listovi
o živim slikama*, 2016.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

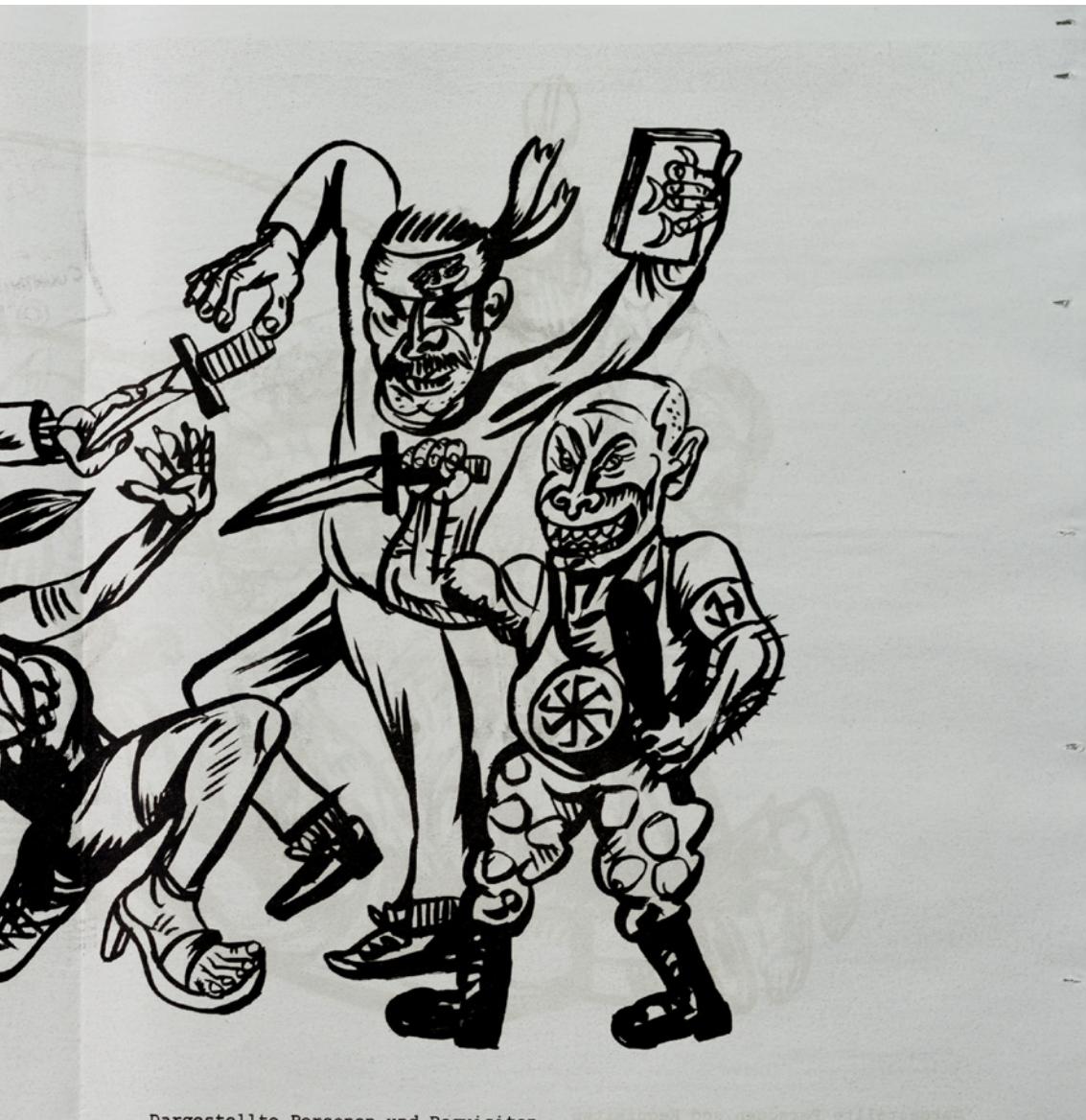


Blatt II : „Der Deal“

Menschen mit anderer Einstellung, Hautfarbe,
Religion oder Sexualität werden in vielen
Ländern der Welt verfolgt und sogar getötet.
Das erzeugt eine Atmosphäre der Angst im
öffentlichen Raum. Die Regierungen verurteilen
offiziell die Übergriffe, setzen aber ihre Deals

mit paramilitärischen Gruppen wie gewohnt fort.
Die steigende Nachfrage an die Sicherheits- und
Waffenindustrie ist allen recht und befügt
die Verhandlungen. Das lebende Bild könnte
vor den Botschaften beteiligter Regierungen
dargestellt werden.

ce finansijske krize i mera štednje, kao što su podele u društvu, uspon de-sničarskih partija i neofašističkih ideologija ili militarizacija granica u Evropi uperena protiv izbeglica. Fotografija žive slike koju je postavila umetnica Ina Wudtke odštampana je na duplerici novina. Radni listovi su deljeni za vreme performativnog predavanja *Radnik postaje pisac: MASCH, Agitprop, Margarete Steffin* u kući Karla Libknechta u Berlinu 2016. godine, koje je organizovala Ina Wudtke u kontekstu *Undisciplinary Learning: Remapping the Aesthetics of Resistance*, koji su kurirale Janine Halka, Suza Husse i Julia Lazarus.



Dargestellte Personen und Requisiten

Gestürzte Person
trägt Kleidung, Badge, Frisur oder
Hautfarbe einer diskriminierten
Gruppe.

Gewalttäter
tragen Messer und Phantasieuniformen
mit Abzeichen türkischer, russischer,
tschechischer, deutscher usw.
Neofaschisten.

Politiker
in Geschäftskleidung. Einer
von den beiden reicht den
Gewalttätern einen Dolch. Auf den
Aktentaschen sind Aufkleber mit
Logos von Sicherheitsagenturen
und Rüstungsindustrie zu sehen.

Bücher
Die Personen können zusätzlich
mit Büchern ausgestattet
werden, die ihre jeweilige
Ideologie referenzieren.

Real Struggle, Fake Estates

11 flags, various dimensions, acrylic on textile

16 digital photographs

Year: 2016



Real Struggle, Fake Estates,
intervention, Tallinn, 2016

Stvarna borba, lažna imanja,
intervencija, Talin, 2016.

Photo / Fotografija:
Vladan Jeremić

Stvarna borba, lažna imanja

11 zastava, razne dimenzije, akril na tekstilu

16 digitalnih fotografija

Godina: 2016.

Changes to the city of Tallinn marked the point of departure for the artistic intervention *Real Struggle, Fake Estates* by Rena & Vladan. The intervention is a reference to Gordon Matta-Clark's *Reality Properties: Fake Estates* that focuses on the critique of private property. In 1973 Matta-Clark bought tiny pieces of unusable and sometimes inaccessible surplus land in the Queens neighborhood of the city of New York. At that time industries relocated their production to the states, offering low wages and an absence of trade-unions. Thus warehouses and the production facilities in Queens became abandoned while its inhabitants were left with no available jobs. The current transformation of Tallinn's workers' quarter Kalamaja into a hipster zone for the creative industries is another example of the appropriation of city spaces by neoliberal interests. Due to the rise in the value of real-estates, the majority of less wealthy inhabitants, such as the unemployed or the members of the Russian minority, will be forced to move out of Kalamaja.

Flags are often used to claim ownership of colonized and privatized land. In opposition to this, Rena & Vladan have made flags that serve an entirely different purpose. *Real Struggle, Fake Estates* comprises flags incorporating signs, slogans

Polazište za umetničku intervenciju *Stvarna borba, lažna imanja* bile su promene kroz koje prolazi grad Talin u Estoniji. Renina i Vladanova intervencija je referenca na kritiku privatnog vlasništva koju je formulisao Gordon Matta-Clark u svom radu *Reality Properties: Fake Estates*. Matta-Clark je 1973. godine kupio usitnjene uske parcele neupotrebljivog i često nepristupačnog viška zemljišta u Kvinsu u Njujorku. U to vreme industrije su preselile svoju proizvodnju u države sa niskim nadnicama u kojima radnici nisu bili sindikalizovani. Skladišta i proizvodni pogoni Kvinsa su napušteni a stanovnici su izgubili predašnje poslove. Preobražaj nekadašnjeg talinskog radničkog naselja Kalamaja u hipsterski kvart za kreativne industrije još jedan je primer podređivanja prostora grada neoliberalnim interesima. Zbog rasta cena nekretnina, većina siromašnijih stanovnika, poput nezaposlenih i pripadnika ruske manjine, uskoro će biti prinuđena da napusti Kalamaju.

Zastave se često koriste za obeležavanje i polaganja prava na kolonizovanu i privatizovanu teritoriju. Nasuprot tome, Rena i Vladan su napravili zastave koje imaju drugačiju namenu. Oblik zastava sa crtežima *Stvarna borba, lažna imanja* izveden je iz oblika parcela u *Lažnim imanjima* Matta-Clarka. Crteži na licu zastava pred-

and drawings derived from the shapes of Matta-Clark's *Fake Estates*. The drawings on the faces of the flags represent the urban struggle or gentrification problem in Tallinn. The signs on the reverse sides of the flags are taken from Rena & Vladan's artwork *Ironworks ABC*, which was developed earlier in reference to a specific creative collaboration between workers and artists during periods of self-management in Socialist Yugoslavia. The artists have located places in Tallinn where real struggles for the facilities and the city's space have taken place and marked each of those locations with their flags. The photographs taken at those places in the city were compiled into a map of the city which depicts each of the locations marked by a flag. In the case of *Real Struggle, Fake Estates*, the flags do not claim physical territory but reclaim the significance of solidarity of cultural workers with all the other workers that are struggling with the precarity and fragmentation of life and work relations.

The artwork was produced with the support of the Contemporary Art Museum of Estonia, 2016, Tallinn, curated by Jussi Koitela within the framework of the *City Agents* exhibition.

Real Struggle, Fake Estates, Digger,
76 x 54 cm, acrylic on textile, 2016

Stvama borba, lažna imanja, Bager,
76 x 54 cm, akril na tekstilu, 2016.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović



Real Struggle, Fake Estates, Icecream,
150 x 96 cm, *Surveillance*, 80 x 55 cm,
acrylic on textile, 2016

Stvarna borba, lažna imanja, Sladoled,
150 x 96 cm, *Nadzor*, 80 x 55 cm, akril
na tekstuilu, 2016.

Photo / Fotografija: Rena Rädle

Real Struggle, Fake Estates, installation
view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Stvarna borba, lažna imanja, postavka,
MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović

stavljaju konkretnu urbanu borbu ili problematiku džentrififikacije Talina. Na naličju zastava se nalaze znakovi preuzeti iz *Abecede Željezare*, koju su umetnici ranije razvili, a odnose se na zajedničko stvaralaštvo radnika i umetnika u SFRJ. Umetnici su pronašli mesta konkretne borbe za objekte i prostor grada Talina, pa su svojim zastavama označili svaku od tih lokacija. Fotografisali su ta mesta u gradu i od fotografija sačinili mapu grada na kojoj je svakoj od lokacija dodeljena po jedna od zastava. *Stvarnom borbom, lažnim imanjem* se ne polaže pravo na teritoriju, već se ukazuje na značaj solidarnosti radnika u kulturi sa svim drugim radnicima koji se bore sa prekarizacijom i fragmentacijom života i radnih odnosa.

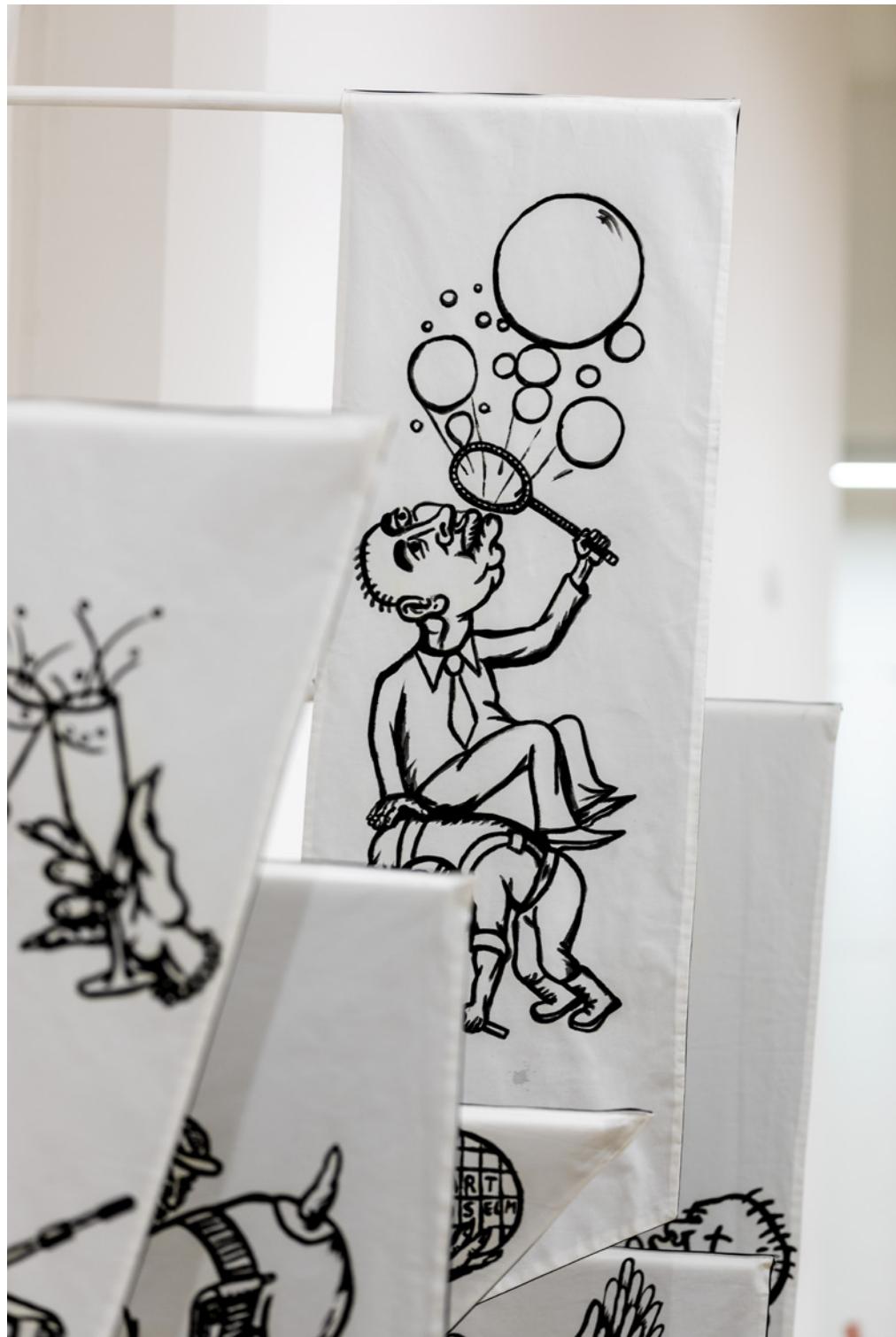
Produciju rada u okviru izložbe *Gradski agenti* 2016. godine omogućio je Muzej savremene umetnosti Estonije, a kustos je bio Jussi Koitela.



Real Struggle, Fake Estates, Bubbles, 150 x 46 cm, acrylic on textile, 2016

Stvarna borba, lažna imanja, Mehurići, 150 x 46 cm, akril na tekstu, 2016.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović



Real Struggle, Fake Estates, Cheers!, 150 x 55 cm, acrylic on textile, 2016

Stvarna borba, lažna imanja, Živelil!, 150 x 55 cm, akril na tekstu, 2016.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović



Trešnjevka Motifs

5 wooden constructions, 230 x 300 x 300 cm

15 panels, 100 x 155 cm, digital print on forex

Year: 2018



Trešnjevka Motifs, installation, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Trešnjevački motivi, instalacija, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović

Trešnjevački motivi

5 drvenih konstrukcija, 230 x 300 x 300 cm

15 panela, 100 x 150 cm, digitalna štampa na foreksu

Godina: 2018.

The series *Trešnjevka Motifs* explores rapid changes in the urban fabric of Trešnjevka, a quarter of Zagreb. After time spent researching there, Rena & Vladan created an installation at Park Stara Trešnjevka in 2018. The work was developed in collaboration with the curatorial collective BLOK (Ivana Hanaček, Ana Kutleša and Vesna Vuković) who related it to socially engaged art in Yugoslavia during the period in between the two world wars:

“In his series *Motifs of Podravina*, published in the form of a book in 1933, Krsto Hegedušić lay bare social reality as a relationship between classes. First in the village – as a relationship between field laborers and landowners, merchants and peasants; and then in the city, where the peasantry of Podravina went looking for jobs and got acquainted with new figures: bosses, construction site supervisors, gentry, benevolent ladies with their necks wrapped in furs. The artist’s stance was revealed in the selection of scenes and details: the drawing was preceded by careful observation, and his keen eye saw the buckle on the dandy’s shoe, the rural architecture of planks and tarpaulin cobbled together, and a patch on the sleeve of a boy accused of skullduggery. In their series *Trešnjevka Motifs*

Trešnjevački motivi istražuju brze promene urbanog tkiva zagrebačkog kvarta Trešnjevka. Nakon boravka u Zagrebu radi istraživanja, Rena i Vladan su 2018. godine osmislili instalaciju u Parku Stara Trešnjevka. Rad je nastao kroz saradnju sa kustoskim kolektivom BLOK (Ivana Hanaček, Ana Kutleša i Vesna Vuković), koji ga je doveo u vezu sa socijalno angažovanom umetnošću u Jugoslaviji u periodu između dva svetska rata:

„U seriji crteža *Podravski motivi*, objavljenoj u formi knjige 1933. godine, Krsto Hegedušić ogoljuje društvenu stvarnost kao odnos klasa. Najprije na selu – kao odnos nadničara, zemljoposjednika, trgovaca i seljaka, a potom i u gradu, gdje podravski seljak/seljanka odlaze u potrazi za posлом, da bi тамо susreli nove likove: šefa, nadzornika gradilišta, gradsku gospodu, milosrdne gospode s krznom oko vrata. Umjetnikov stav otkriva se u izboru prizora i ništa manje u detalju: crtežu je prethodilo pažljivo promatranje kojem nije promakla kopča na cipeli gradskog kicoša, seoska arhitektura od sklepanih dasaka i prikačene cerade, zakrpa na rukavu dječaka optuženog za lopovluk. U seriji crteža *Trešnjevački motivi* oko Rene i Vladana vodi se istim principima. Minuciozno istraživanje guste i raznolike trešnjevačke urbane strukture poslužilo je kao temelj za pet

Rena and Vladan's eyes are guided by the same principles. A painstaking exploration of the dense and varied urban structure of Trešnjevka served as the basis for five triptychs of drawings and verses, including the motifs of an old house, public kitchen, casino, an eviction and an outlet store.

A number of recognizable details are typical of Trešnjevka, but when viewed as a whole they reveal themselves as universal to the peripheries of many post-socialist cities. In the words of Rena and Vladan, 'Trešnjevka is an example of a neighborhood where the cycle of land and housing speculation, which began with the industrialization and migration of people to the city in search of work and accommodation, has not yet been completed. The abolishment of socialism marked the beginning of a new cycle of capital accumulation that forced the owners of small houses to exchange their lots for apartments built by investors. The housing question in Trešnjevka today and 100 years ago is, for many, related to land ownership. With this relationship as the starting point, we employ five images to demonstrate how ruling ideologies conceal the actual losers in these processes, as well as the instruments which the economic and legal system uses to reconcile inherent contradictions.'

It is for this reason that they do not choose a gallery space to exhibit their motifs. The space of mediation is Trešnjevka itself, more precisely Park Stara Trešnjevka, one of the few spaces that can still be called public. In the quarter, whose residents continuously warn of the lack of green areas, private property is protected by visible and invisible fences, and the park is perhaps the only large and accessible city-owned property. The pyramid constructions on which Rena and Vladan position their triptychs are also temporary urban mobiliaries and sign posts of a place for socialization and discussion. Returned to the vibrant tissue of the quarter from which they emerged, the motifs on the pyramids blend in with the postmodern chaos of Trešnjevka, only to show the true face of this chaos in realistic and satirical drawings and verses."

Source: <http://blok.hr>





Trešnjevka Motifs, installation / Trešnjevački motivi, instalacija, Park Stara Trešnjevka, Zagreb, 2018.

Photo / Fotografija: Srđan Kovačević



triptiha u crtežu i stihu, s motivima stare kuće, javne kuhinje, kockarnice, deložacije i outlet samoposluge.

U nizu prepoznatljivih detalja oni su tipično trešnjevački, da bi se tek u cjelini otkrili kao opći, važeći za mnoge periferije post-socijalističkih gradova. Riječima Rene i Vladana, 'Trešnjevka je primer za delove grada, u kojima se krug spekulacije sa zemljištem i stambenim prostorom, a koji je započeo industrijalizacijom i migracijom ljudi u grad u potrazi sa poslom i smeštajem, još uvek nije završio. Nakon ukidanja socijalizma, otvorio se novi ciklus akumulacije kapitala koji je naterao vlasnike malih kuća da zamene svoj plac za stan, koji bi investor izgradio. Stambeno pitanje na Trešnjevcu je danas, kao i pre 100 godina, za veliki broj ljudi vezano za vlasničke odnose nad zemljom. Uzimajući ovaj odnos kao polaznu tačku, kroz pet slika želimo predstaviti kako vladajuće ideologije sakrivaju stvarnog gubitnika u ovim procesima i kojim instrumentima ekonomski-pravni sistem miri inherentne kontradikcije'.

Stoga kao mjesto prikaza svojih motiva umjetnici ne biraju galerijski prostor. Prostor medijacije je sama Trešnjevka, preciznije Park Stara Trešnjevka, jedan od rijetkih prostora koji se može nazvati javnim. U kvartu čiji stanovnici stalno upozoravaju na nedostatak zelenih površina, privatno vlasništvo štiti se vidljivim i nevidljivim ogradama, a Park je možda i jedina lako dostupna, veća slobodna površina u gradskom vlasništvu. Piramidalne konstrukcije na koje Vladan i Rena smještaju svoje triptihe ujedno su i privremeni urbani mobilijar i markacija mjesta za socijalizaciju i raspravu. Vraćeni u živo tkivo kvarta iz kojeg su izrasli, motivi na piramidama mimikriraju se u postmoderni trešnjevački kaos, ali samo da bi tom kaosu u realistično-satiričnom crtežu i stihu pokazali njegovo pravo lice."

Izvor: <http://blok.hr>

Trešnjevka Motifs, installation, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Trešnjevački motivi, instalacija, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Vladimir Opsenica



Trešnjevka Motifs, Eviction,
100 x 150 cm, digital print
on forex, 2018

Trešnjevački motivi,
Deložacija, digitalna
štampa na foreksu, 2018.

Photo / Fotografija:
Damir Žižić



Trešnjevka Motifs, installation,
MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Trešnjevački motivi, instalacija,
MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija:
Marko Ercegović



Trešnjevka Motifs,
Frog, 100 x 150 cm,
digital print on forex,
2018

Trešnjevački motivi,
Žabac, 100 x 150 cm,
digitalna štampa na
foreksu, 2018.

Photo / Fotografija:
Damir Žižić



Trešnjevka Motifs,
Gambling Den,
100 x 150 cm,
digital print on forex,
2018

Trešnjevački motivi,
Kladionica,
100 x 150 cm,
digitalna štampa na
foreksu, 2018.

Photo / Fotografija:
Damir Žižić

Trešnjevka Motifs, installation, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Trešnjevački motivi, instalacija, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

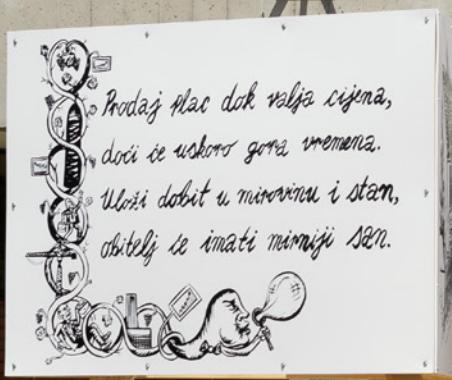
Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović



TRANSFORMATORIJUM RENA REDLE I VLADAN JEREMIĆ

MUZEJ
SAVREMENE
UMETNOSTI
VOJVODINE

4. JUN-4. JUL





Trešnjevka Motifs, Old House, 100 x 150 cm, digital print on forex, 2018

Trešnjevački motivi, Stara kuća, 100 x 150 cm, digitalna štampa na foreksu, 2018. Photo / Fotografija: Damir Žižić



Trešnjevka Motifs, People's kitchen, 100 x 150 cm, digital print on forex, 2018

Trešnjevački motivi, Narodna kuhinja, 100 x 150 cm, digitalna štampa na foreksu, 2018. Photo / Fotografija: Damir Žižić





Transformatorium, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Transformatorijum, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photo / Fotografija: Marko Ercegović





Transformatorium, installation view, MoCAV, Novi Sad, 2021

Transformatorijum, postavka, MSUV, Novi Sad, 2021.

Photos / Fotografije: Marko Ercegović

Appendix: Translations of Texts and Speeches

Ironworks ABC

“Speech” of the sculptures from the newspaper *Ironworks ABC*, 2015, written by Rena & Vladan.

I.
We,
atoms liberating electrons
interlacing ourselves in molten iron.
You,
workers and artists,
made the carbon glow, reducing us
to the beginning of a new transformation!

II.
With cylinders and hammers,
with cunning and imagination,
you,
workers and artists,
shape us into the dangerous germs of change!
The germs of change spread!

III.
We,
sculptures,
formed through the process of emancipated labor
of workers and artists,
in the alternating motion of matter and mind,
we stand as iron-wrought evidence,
of the possible.
United despite the fragmentation and
precariousness of work!

IV.
Us,
steel pipes,
have you,
artists and workers,
unexpectedly delivered from a
predetermined form.
More importantly, you have moved us beyond the
control of profit-driven motives.
United against capitalist totalitarianism!

V.
We,
molded sheets,
are witnesses to
the incomplete struggle
for the dignity of work and self-determination.
For the socialization and valuation of
reproductive work!

VI.
You,
workers,
abandoned self-management.
Your future is left to the managers of privatization.
The furnaces have melted, disappointment flowed
to the workplace.
We are not allowing the future to be woven by
war profiteers!
For the audit of every privatization!

VII.
Us,
steel pipes,

through whose cavity flew deadly bullets,
have you,
workers,
converted to irrigation fields and cities.
Let's defend the fruits of collective labor!

VIII.
We,
iron ore from the deep Bosnian mountains,
make a pact with workers and artists.
We do not serve the war on the poor,
let's sabotage the reinforcement
of palaces for the 1%!
Let's fuel the transformation with the class
consciousness of iron ore!

IX.
We,
sculptures,
created by workers and artists,
from the joyful awareness of the possibility
of liberated work,
exercise a militant optimism.
For a strong optimism without sentimentality!

X.
We,
sculptures of semi-finished metal,
are much more than mirrors of conditions.
We stand here,
despite war and robbery,
on the principle of the objective hope of matter.

XI.
Us,
displaced atoms,
through the heat,
push dreams forward, in the refreshing cold reality.
If you are realistic,
we can progress from theory to practice.
Speculation about bankruptcy is not realistic.
We demand the cancellation of debt!

Translation: Greg de Cuir

Red Winter

Speeches from the newspaper Red Winter, 2014, written by Rena & Vladan.

Levanger's main square is closed to traffic. Banners have been hitched between the trees surrounding the square. Flags are flying from the wooden pavilion with the lectern at the front of the square. The speeches of four agitators can be heard over loudspeakers.

I

The first speaker is a member of the Thrane movement. He took part in the 1851 workers' uprising in Levanger that broke out when one of the agitators of the movement, Carl Johan Michelsen, was thrown into the town prison. 150 years later he awakens, once again standing on Levanger Torg.

Speech by the member of the Thrane movement

Citizens of Levanger!

Some one hundred and fifty years ago, they sent Carl Johan Michelsen and our comrades to jail. Why were they thrown into the dungeon? Because they were hungry!

Because they had no work! Because they wanted to send their children to school, but didn't have the money for it!

Because they no longer wanted to send their children to war as cannon fodder for the gentlemen in power! Because they wanted to have a say in matters concerning them.

Ha! They had to use soldiers to defeat our rebellion; we have given these mighty gentlemen quite a fright! There would be plenty for everyone, if only things were distributed fairly:
Down with the landowners!

Now, one hundred and fifty years later, I stand on Levanger Torg once again. I hear that you have fought for the right to vote and the right to education, and even military service for women. I hear that Norway is a rich country now. I also hear that begging is nowadays banned in Levanger? Is it really necessary for anyone to beg? The more I enquire, the more I realize that you have not achieved the kind of social justice for which we fought in 1851.

You have fought for political equality and equality before the law; Do not stop there! Fight for economic equality as well! Only by fighting against the propertied class can we pave the way for a just society.

I call on you to sow the seed of revolution – transfer our power into the 21st century! Let the revolution start from this place in Levanger.

Let it spread to the south from the periphery of northern Europe and ignite the heart of Europe, which is weakened by the poison of neo-liberalism and neo-colonialism!

Europe with all its riches will have to change its relationship to the world. The wars for resources, the exploitation and plundering of the periphery, the expropriation of land, the internment of the displaced and dispossessed, all this needs to be brought to a halt. That is what we are fighting for, at this moment, in this place!

But before I return to the past, I want to tell you one more thing: As modern socialists, you must not look backward. Do not leave the development of technological progress to the capitalists! Your so-called Facebook and Twitter revolutions will not endure as long as modern technology remains a resource in the hands of the capitalists. You yourselves must take control of technological progress!

Increase the speed of social transformation!

For economic democracy!

II

The second speaker is an activist with the civil rights movement of the Norwegian Roma. Her mother did not want to remain in the labor colony for “Tatere” that was established in 1908 by the Norwegian Mission for the Homeless with the financial support of the benefactors of the Astrup family. Considered to be a social case unfit for integration, the mother was sterilized – a common practice between 1949 and 1970 at the “home” in Svanviken – in order to “save society the expense of any further problem children”.

Speech by the Roma activist

Citizens!

The comrade from the Thrane movement has stepped out of the past and calls on us to continue the fight. I can report to you that our mothers put up resistance!

They ran away when they were to be interned at Svanviken, this labor colony set up by the Astrup family and their pastors for us Roma a hundred years ago. As punishment, my mother was sterilized by the mission. I was put into an orphanage at Rostad on Inderøy. They took away our families, our language and our songs. They taught us that something was wrong with us, that we are a mistake for which we can only blame ourselves.

As an adult, I have fought against forced sterilization. To this day, I fight for the truth about the Roma people in Norway and Europe. For centuries we have lived on the fringes of society, as pariahs, as slaves and servants.

The capitalists of the 19th century, like the Astrup family in this case, the big farmers, the manufacturers, they all needed cheap labor. As an “inferior race” that was to be brought up to become useful members of society, they did not have to pay us Roma. The Parliament passed laws against us. We were destined for extinction. Until the eighties, the Church and the so-called

“welfare system” systematically legitimized and institutionalized the racist and sexist biopolitics against us Roma, aided by science and special laws.

Today, those of us who are left are guaranteed cultural rights. A museum, a music festival, a biotope of cultures. But behind the colorful backdrop, the logic of inequality forges ahead! Competition and exclusion are what keep capitalism alive. By stigmatizing certain groups, capitalists force down the price of labor.

Let us not spin around in the circle of cultural autonomies! We need a coalition of all those who are marginalized, of migrants and refugees!

Day labourers, harvest workers, domestic servants, nannies, elder care workers, sex workers, become organized!

For solidarity with the precarious class! Get out of the camps! We need a Romanistan that breaks down all the barriers!

A Romanistan without limits! A Romanistan in which land, water and air belong to all!

III

The third agitator is a Sami from the mountain regions of Verdal who joined the communist resistance against German fascism and the Quisling government during World War II. His ancestors lived in Norway before the settlers came from the south. In the 19th century, when capitalists bought up whole tracts of land in the region, laws for the assimilation of the Sami people were simultaneously introduced. The leaders of a Sami rebellion in Kautokeino in 1852 were decapitated and their heads sent to Oslo to be preserved at the Royal Frederick University. Not until 1997, with help from the President of the Sami Parliament, did their descendants succeed in securing the release of the remains for burial.

Speech by the anti-fascist resistance fighter

Citizens!

I stood up against the Nazis because I did not want their racist ideology to continue determining our lives. I fought for liberation!

Like many of us working people from Lademoen, I joined the communists in Trondheim. Some of us gave their lives in the fight against fascism in Spain! When the German fascists occupied Norway, we carried out sabotage missions against their labor camps. We succeeded in helping several Yugoslavs and Russians escape across the border to Sweden. Many of us Sami from the Verdal mountains were involved. I was tortured at the Gestapo camp in Falstad to reveal the names of other resistance fighters and their supporters among the population. I almost did not survive.

After the war, our resistance was buried in silence. Many were arrested as spies. Not until last year did some of our fighters receive official honours. The doctrine of superiority of the Norwegian culture and a Christian education have continued to justify the assimilationist policy against us Sami. Its goal has always been entirely mundane: To prevent us from raising any territorial claims to our land! In a long, drawn-out process we have fought for our political rights ever since Alta. But what can the Sami Parliament do against the interests of international oil, mining and fishing corporations? When one per cent have all the wealth, what good is democracy? We demand that everyone have a say in the use of natural resources! But the new logic scoffs at the human rights of the poor and the weak: It touts “all against all” as a fight for freedom!

Be vigilant: the new fascism is prospering under the guise of antiterrorism. Put an end to total surveillance!

Away with private security companies and mercenary armies!

Stop the drone war!

IV

The final speech is held by an environmental activist. In recent years she has fought hard to ensure an extension of the moratorium against oil drilling off the Lofoten Islands. The battle between the fishing industry, the oil industry and the environmentalists dominated the election campaign in 2013. The new coalition government has pledged to protect Lofoten.

Speech by the activist for a radical ecological turnaround

I greet you, my dear friends, in the language of the people of this northern landscape.

Inaudibly for you, I greet the stones under our feet and the distant mountains from which they were hewn. My inner self receives the screeching answers of birds that mingle with the roar of the wind. Fossil capitalism has forged an alliance with death!

Using ever more destructive methods, it forces all natural wealth from our planet. We human inhabitants of Norway are among the infinitely small percentage of living things that immediately and directly profit from the destruction of the earth.

With oil drilling planned in the Arctic, the Barents Sea and off the coast of Lofoten, we endanger our last untouched marine regions. Do we really believe that quick profits such as these will enable our descendants to survive the collapse of the ecosystem? Last year we achieved an important victory in the fight for the Lofoten Islands. But we demand more: Stop all oil production in the Arctic!

I agree with the comrade from the Thrane movement of the 19th century: we need a revolution, and we are the ones who must spark it off! I agree with the Romanian activist that we must not simply retreat into our own biotope, but need to enter into coalitions that rise above homo sapiens as a species!

The resistance fighter from World War II is right when he says that fascism is on its way back. We can see it right in the midst of society: in the racist campaign slogans of so-called patriotic parties, in the pamphlets of young people filled with hate, in the neo-Nazi attacks on migrants and Roma throughout Europe.

If the struggles of the past are not to be in vain, we need to adopt a new and far more radical position! The old logic that places the individual at the centre of the world is too limited. We need a radical, a truly revolutionary change in perspective!

Away with anthropocentrism! The inhabitants of the seas, the skies and the earth are our allies. The plants and the minerals are our comrades!

Let us regard the revolution from the perspective of the sand!

Let us write our slogans in the language of the ocean's depth!

Let us proclaim the revolution with the sounds of all animate and inanimate matter!

The Rolling Classroom

Speeches written by participants of the workshop *The Rolling Classroom*, 2019.

Response to Treaty 4 from the Thunderbird Women

To the Crown representatives: You did not negotiate with us. The leaders and mothers of our communities. We were not included in your treaties. They are not valid without our consent.

To the Crown, You did not receive the necessary approvals to proceed with your treaties. You did not include us.

Indian Act Canada 1867: "an Indian (i) is legislatively defined as a male Indian, the child of a male Indian or the wife of a male Indian".

You gave authority where there should have been acknowledgment. You made deals with the wrong representatives. You had no authority to negotiate without the matriarchs.

We are the life givers. The grandmothers, mothers, aunts, sisters, daughters. We give life and support life, we speak for the moon, the water and for life.

Kikâwy Your mother, Kôhkôm Your grandmother, Kitânis Your daughter, Matriarchs and leaders. The future is thunderbird women.

Response to Treaty 4 and Pictographs:
Inspired by and a response to Chief Paskwa's pictograph of the treaty. The speech was written by Amanda Fayant to be held at the *Rolling Classroom* during the Karnevalet, 2019, Oslo.

Dear Gods of small and large things!

Dear politicians from all parties. Dear those of you who can decide over life and death, house prices, fuel prices, food prices and everything we, here in Norway, are dependent on to survive, down here on earth.

You are sitting warmly and comfortably up there, somewhere. You have forgotten that down here where we normal people live, it's cold, wet and lonely. The food we eat has to be bought with money in shops. We need to have a roof over our heads and warmth so that we don't freeze to death.

You must have also forgotten this somewhere along the way dear Gods. Forgotten about us normal and unusual people who have given our lives to art and culture, to create and improve.

Why dear Gods?

Why can't those who are creative get paid for their work? Those who create art can't live any longer in the city where their art is appreciated. They don't have any place to work either, as workspaces are too expensive.

The Gods up there decide that places to house the art will be built. Museum after museum. Large and impressive cultural buildings. But who will produce the art and culture? Under what working conditions? The people who build the museum get paid. A janitor at a museum will get paid. The driver who transports art gets paid. And so on and so on.

This is all good, dears. But dear Gods, dear dearest Gods: Give the artists also a proper wage. Liberate Art and Culture.

And, we should not forget: What about those who have suffered illnesses and injuries and are unable to work as much as you want? Or maybe not at all? How can those who are sick be well again without any money? Can you be well again by freezing and eating even less food? Is that a recommended diet? Can you be stronger and healthier by being worried? Can you be well and recover from an illness that even doctors say can't be cured? What is it that you know that doctors don't know? Is it a secret? Something only God knows? The Gods of all Gods.

Dear Gods, you are the rich. The rest of us, who have to pay for your wealth, are becoming poorer and poorer. If you do not know this, then we will tell you now: this is not fair. The poor will soon be unable to be robbed of anything more, because there is nothing left. This is robbery, my dears. And it is illegal. Down here. You should not steal. Especially not from the poorest. This, we learned as children, us others. Is this not something that the Gods learn? Then we say this to you, dear Gods of small and large things – and now you know. This isn't working! You can do something about it! You have to do something now!"

Speech written by Anita Hillestad
to be held at the *Rolling Classroom*
during the Karnevalet, 2019, Oslo.

Speech by Ursula

My name is Ursula. I am an indigenous Colombian woman of the Wayuu ethnic group from La Guajira, the northeast region in Colombia.

When I was younger, I lived happily and in peace with my family and friends. The place where I am from is very rich in natural resources. I grew up one with the nature that surrounded me; the sea, the sand and the animals. I was taught that our territory gives us life, and therefore we must learn to live in harmony with it. And we did, for many years. Sadly, that territory is also an area of entry and exit of contraband merchandise, drugs and weapons.

I had to flee my home when the paramilitary forces entered our territory with a list of names of friends and family whom they wanted to kill. They arrived one morning while my brothers and father were out working. The attack was directed towards us women. When they got closer to our home, I managed to run in the other direction with my family and neighbors. There were so many people running with us, I suddenly lost my family. I never saw them again. The group and I hid in the bushes for three days without water or food. I still remember the screams, the cries for help and I saw how they took little girls and women in their cars with hate and torture. When it was safe to go back, I saw many dead people along the way. I lost everything that day, my family and my home.

Many people think that now that the peace agreement has been signed, the war has ended. I am here to confirm that this is far from the truth. They are killing us.

The war affects us because there are armed actors and we're stuck in the middle of them; guerrillas, paramilitaries, drug traffickers and the government. The attack against us is daily, and we, as women, are being attacked for our role in society. Our bodies are targets of sexual violence.

I was at the negotiation tables while the peace agreement was signed because even the victims had the opportunity to give their opinion

and tell their stories. At last, the peace treaty was signed, and we believed in a future country, where peace would allow us to live in the Colombia that we had dreamt of. But now, they are still killing us.

The situation is worse now. The areas where the guerrillas were are now populated by the paramilitaries, and for them there is no law, only that of hatred. I am now a social leader, and my message is a message of peace - that makes me the enemy. That's why they want to kill us. The extermination of people like me, who fight for stable and lasting peace, is systematic. History repeats itself, and the owners of our country are killing us again.

We must declare peace to war. We shall not be defeated. We owe it to the social leaders, their life, we owe it to our country, I owe it to my family and friends. When they attack us with hate, we must respond with strength, with power and with resistance. Look to yesterday with its shadows and lights of hope, transform with courage today the dignity of life, and tomorrow you will reap the fruits of justice.

Speech written by Katharina Barbosa Blad and Ileana Alvarez Reyes to be held at the *Rolling Classroom* during the *Karnevalet*, 2019, Oslo.

Fragile Presence

Since June 2018, the Ministers of the Interior Affairs of Italy, Austria and Germany have hindered the missions of civilian rescue boats in the Mediterranean Sea. Since mid-August any private sea rescue has been stopped. Sea rescue became necessary because state organized rescue missions had ceased.

The Balkan Route has shifted to dangerous mountain areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to the brutal push-backs at the Serbian-Croatian border. The road thousands of people took to escape climate change persecution, war and

poverty in the hope for solidarity and humanity is supposed to end in the Mediterranean Sea or in the camps outside European borders. This is the Fortress Europe, right-wing baiters are dreaming of!

We demand safe routes for refugees! Escape from climate change, persecution, war and poverty is the consequence of centuries of exploitation on which the industrial countries have established their prosperity. Many people in Europe are aware of this fact. Thousands of people have been involved in refugee aid for years, along migration routes and in the Mediterranean Sea, also here in Austria and Graz. They think that solidarity is natural and that all human beings are equal. We want economic and social justice!

This for many self-evident acting in solidarity has now been stopped by governments in Europe. Help for refugees is portrayed by politicians as a criminal act and is juridically obstructed. Escape and helping refugees are not crime!

During these weeks, at the EU-Refugee Conference in Vienna and at the EU Summit in Salzburg, plans are being made to build camps for refugees in Libya and to strengthen the border agency Frontex. These are clear steps toward a militarized migration defence being installed on the African continent. We want safe migration routes instead of isolation! Stop the criminalization of solidarity with refugees! Safe escape routes instead of isolation! Stop criminalization of humanitarian aid!

A good life for everyone! Saving lives is not a crime! Refugees welcome! Save havens! Migration is not a crime! Stop the cause of war! Save the sea-rescue! Freedom to the people, death to fascism! Build bridges not walls!

Speech at protest action against criminalization of solidarity with migrants, Main Station, Graz, Austria, 2018.

Deaf Shoes

Dialogue for the intervention
Deaf Shoes, 2016.

Worker 1: The room was terribly hot and the worst it was next to the machine. I asked the supervisor if we could open the window. She intentionally pointed hot air from the exhaust pipe of the machine towards us and said that we could leave immediately if we were not satisfied. There were many who are waiting to replace us in this job.

Worker 2: Did you know that this factory has air condition? They don't want to turn it on because electricity is too expensive. Three people fainted yesterday and the ambulance came. It's no wonder, because since the taps have been blocked people are simply dehydrating.

Worker 4: You still don't get it, you are here to work and not to ask questions. If air conditioners were to be switched on, they would deduct that cost of electricity from our salary.

Worker 2: They don't let us use the rest room. The supervisor told me to wear nappies if I could not bear it. Is she normal?

Worker 4. Psst! She declared that all of us will end up at the graveyard if the company would leave Serbia. And the company will leave if workers do not meet the quota that is required of them.

Worker 3: If they find out that somebody is not at the assembly line, we will be punished by a reduction in salary and one working hour will be subtracted. I can't stand any longer the constant threats that we will be fired.

Worker 1: You should take tranquilizers. I drink pills for blood pressure because it jumped to 190/100 since I'm working here. Concerning the electricity bill, this month again I did not have enough money to pay it, let alone interest and debt. I'm working 12 hours a day, I work on Saturdays, and yet I don't have enough to live on.

Worker 3: You need to find cheap accommodation somewhere in the countryside. Don't pay the bus, better go to the factory on foot. That's what I do and how I can manage to save a few cents for my son.

Worker 4: Have you heard that the president advertises us as cheap labor? The Serbian government subsidizes investors for every job they open and promises them that trade unions won't complain about violations of workers' rights.

Worker 2: Look at my hand! I've hurt myself at the press. What am I going to do now? I still haven't got my new labor contract, and my old one expired two months ago. The company didn't pay my health insurance and now I can't go to the doctor. I will not be able to work anymore.

Worker 4: Let's get in contact with the union. This morning they told us that we will not be able to go on holiday, because the order has to be completed.

Worker 2: If I turn to the union, they will not give me a new contract, that's for sure.

Worker 3: They canceled our vacation and ordered overtime until we're done. Everybody is angry!

Worker 4: When the second shift comes, we will stop working!

All: Agreed!

This dialogue was written by Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić for the artistic intervention *Deaf Shoes*. It refers to the happenings in September 2016, when workers of the Geox factory in Vranje, Serbia, went on a short-term strike due to harsh working conditions. The information used relies on statements of workers in the garment industries in Serbia that were published in local media and collected by researchers of the *Clean Cloth Campaign Serbia*.

Trešnjevka Motifs

Poems for the installation *Trešnjevka Motifs* written by Rena & Vladan.

1. Old House

Sell your lot while
price is high,
Daylight will soon
turn into night.
Invest in your pension,
buy a flat for your son,
you'll be on the bright side,
when crisis comes.

Where the oligarchs dine,
crumbs do fall,
when the bubble bursts,
troubles will call.
Bitter is the taste
of the market game,
housing for all
must be the same.

2. People's Kitchen

Beans are cheap,
feed them to the homeless,
a heavenly loan
will leave you debtless.
Show some mercy
for the poor and ill,
the world can be saved
with a little good will.

Despite all cuts
to welfare and fees,
charity helps
the situation to ease.
Let's struggle together,
social justice we demand,
the equal society
will raise from our hands.

3. Gambling Den

Bravery and passion,
let your heart jump,
while mills stand still,
wild cards are trumps.
Invest your earnings
in castles and yards,
a bright-colored future
is in your cards.

The money fetish
– an atavistic fact,
triggering transformation
– a joyful act.
The mill of resistance
works all night,
the gentlemen's roulette's
end is in sight.

4. Frog

Eco, ethical,
sustainable and folk
socially responsible,
all at a stroke.
Buy with dignity,
your worries will seem small,
parks and benches
are cozy for all.

Social entrepreneurship
is an oxymoron,
as social justice
goes for everyone.
A roof overhead,
water and food,
care and knowledge
are common goods.

5. Eviction

A suitable credit
is quickly selected,
noble clients
are safely protected.
Order justice
tailored for your needs,
the bailiffs will eliminate
possible risks.

While profiteers destruct
others' lives with ease,
the state helps their wealth
steadily increase.
Where solidarity dwells,
such love is in vain,
socialized property
will shatter their dream.

Apendiks: Prevodi tekstova i govora

Abeceda Željezare

„Govori“ skulptura iz novina *Abeceda Željezare*, napisali Rena i Vladan, 2015.

1.
Mi,
atomi oslobođamo elektrone
i nižemo se u kovano željezo.
Vi,
radnici i umjetnici,
uglijik ste užarili,
reducirajući nas,
ka početku nove transformacije!

2.
Valjcima i čekićima,
lukavošću i maštom,
vi,
radnici i umjetnici,
uobličili ste nas u opasne klice promjena!
Širite se klice promjena!

3.
Mi,
skulpture,
nastale kroz proces slobodnog stvaranja
radnika i umjetnika,
u naizmjeničnom pokretu materije i uma,
stojimo kao željezni dokaz,
za moguće.
Ujedinjeni uprkos fragmentaciji i
prekarizaciji rada!

4.
Nas,
cijevi od čelika,
vi,
umjetnici i radnici,
neočekivano ste izbavili
iz predodređene forme.
Još važnije,
otrgli ste nas,
iz profitne logike.
U savezu protiv kapitalističkog totalitarizma!

5.
Mi,
uobličeni limovi,
svjedoci smo,
nedovršenosti borbe
za dostojanstvo rada
i samoopredjeljenje.
Za kompletno podruštvljavanje i vrednovanje
reprodukтивnog rada!

6.
Vi,
radnici,
napustili ste samoupravljanje.
Vaša budućnost
prepuštena je menadžerima privatizacije.
Visoke peći su rastopljene,
na mjesto rada došlo je razočaranje.
Ne dozvolimo da budućnost kroje ratni profiteri!
Za reviziju svih privatizacija!

7.

Nas,
cijevi od čelika,
kroz čije su šupljine
letjeli smrtonosni meci,
vi,
radnici,
preobratili ste za navodnjavanje polja i gradova.
Odbranimo plodove zajedničkoga rada!

8.

Mi,
željezne rude iz dubina bosanskih planina,
sklopimo savez
sa radnicima i umjetnicima.
Ne služimo ratovanju protiv siromaha,
sabotirajmo armiranje palača za 1%!
Pokrenimo transformaciju iz klasne svijesti
željezne rude!

9.

Mi,
skulpture,
stvorene od radnika i umjetnika,
iz radosne svijesti o mogućnosti
oslobođenog rada,
vježba smo u militantnom optimizmu.
Za borbeni optimizam bez sentimentalnosti!

10.

Mi,
skulpture od metalnih poluproizvoda,
mnogo smo više od ogledala uvjeta.
Mi stojimo ovdje,
usprkos ratu i pljački,
iz principa
objektivne
nade materije.

11.

Nas,
izmještene atome,
kroz žar,
tjera san ka naprijed,
u osviježavajuću hladnoću realnosti.

Ako ste realni,
možemo iz teorije prijeći na praksu.
Spekulirati o bankrotu nije realno.
Zahtijevamo otpis dugova!

Crvena zima

Gовори из новина *Crvena zima*,
написали Rena i Vladan, 2014.

Centralni trg u Levangeru zatvoren je za saobraćaj. Transparenti su zavezani za stabla drveća oko trga. Lepršaju zastave na drvenom paviljonu s govornicom koji se nalazi na čelu trga. Govori četiri agitatora čuju se sa zvučnika.

|

Prvi govornik je pripadnik Thraneovog pokreta. Učestvovao je u radničkom ustanku u Levangeru 1851, koji je izbio kada je Carl Johan Michelsen, jedan od agitatora pokreta, bačen u zatvor. Nakon 150 godina, on se budi i ponovo je na Levangerskom trgu.

Gовор прападника Thraneovog покreta

Građani Levangera!

Pre nekih sto pedeset godina, uhapsili su Carla Johana Michelsena i naše drugove. Zašto su oni bačeni u tamnicu?

Zato što su bili gladni! Zato što nisu imali posla! Zato što su hteli da im deca idu u školu, ali to nisu mogli da plate! Zato što nisu više hteli da im deca služe kao topovsko meso za gospodu na vlasti! Zato što su hteli da imaju reč u stvarima koje ih se tiču. Ha! Morali su da upotrebe vojnike da bi ugušili našu pobunu; pružili smo žestok otpor toj moćnoj gospodi! Svi bi imali dovoljno, samo kada bi se pravedno raspodelilo: Dole zemljoposednici!

A sada, posle sto pedeset godina, evo me opet na Levangerskom trgu. Čujem da ste se izborili za pravo glasa i pravo na obrazovanje, čak i za vojnu službu za žene. Čujem da je Norveška sada bogata zemlja. Čujem i da je u Levangeru prosjačenje sada zabranjeno. Da li neko zaista mora da prosi? Što se više raspitujem, sve više uviđam da niste ostvarili onu socijalnu pravdu za koju smo se borili 1851. Izborili ste se za političku i pravnu ravnopravnost. Nemojte ostati na tome! Borite se i za ekonomsku ravnopravnost! Samo borba protiv vlasničke klase može utrti put ka pravednom društvu.

Pozivam vas da posejete seme revolucije i prenesete našu snagu u 21. vek! Neka revolucija počne ovde, u Levangeru. Neka se proširi na jug, s periferije severne Evrope i rasplamsa samo srce Evrope, oslabljeno otrovom neoliberalizma i neokolonijalizma! Evropa, sa svim svojim bogatašima, moraće da promeni svoj odnos prema svetu. Ratovi za resurse, eksploracija i pljačka periferije, otimanje zemlje, interniranje proteranih i osiromašenih, sve se to mora zaustaviti. Za to se borimo, sada i ovde!

Ali, pre nego što se vratim u prošlost, želim da vam kažem još nešto: Kao moderni socijalisti, ne smete gledati unazad. Ne prepustajte tehnološki napredak kapitalistima! Vaše takozvane Facebook i Twitter revolucije neće zaživeti sve dok moderna tehnologija ostaje resurs u rukama kapitalista. Vi sami morate preuzeti kontrolu nad tehnološkim progresom! Ubrzajte društvenu transformaciju!

Za ekonomsku demokratiju!

II

Druga govornica je aktivistkinja pokreta za prava norveških Roma. Njena majka nije htela da ostane u radničkoj koloniji za „Tatere”, koju je 1908. osnovala Norveška misija za beskućnike, uz finansijsku podršku dobrotvora iz bogataške porodice Astrup. Pošto su je smatrali socijalnim slučajem nepodobnjim za integraciju, sterilisali su je – što je u periodu od 1949. do 1970. bila

uobičajena praksa u „domu” u Svanvikenu – da „društvo ne bi trošilo na još problematične dece”.

Govor romske aktivistkinje

Građani!

Drug iz Thraneovog pokreta je iskoračio iz prošlosti i poziva nas da nastavimo borbu. Kažem vam da su naše majke već pružile otpor! Pobegle su kada je trebalo da ih interniraju u radničku koloniju u Svanvikenu, koju su za nas Rome pre sto godina osnovali porodica Astrup i njihovi sveštenici. Za kaznu, misija je moju majku sterilisala, a mene poslala u sirotište na farmi Rostadu na Inderøyu. Oduzeli su nam porodice, jezik, pesme. Učili su nas da s nama nešto nije u redu, da smo greška za koju smo jedino mi krivi. Kada sam odrasla, počela sam da se borim protiv prinudne sterilizacije.

I dan-danas borim se za istinu o Romima u Norveškoj i Evropi. Vekovima živimo na rubovima društva kao parije, kao robovi i sluge. Svima je trebala jeftina radna snaga – i kapitalistima u 19. veku, kakvi su, u ovom slučaju, Astrupovi, i krupnim zemljoposednicima, i industrijalcima. Pošto smo „niža rasa”, pa nas treba vaspitavati da postanemo korisni članovi društva, nas Rome nisu morali da plaćaju. Parlament je doneo zakone protiv nas. Osuđeni smo na istrebljenje. Do osamdesetih godina dvadesetog veka, crkva i takozvani „sistem blagostanja”, uz pomoć nauke i posebnih zakona, sistematično su ozakonili i institucionalizovali rasističke i seksističke biopolitike uperene protiv nas, Roma.

Danas su nama koji smo preostali zagarantovana prava na kulturu. Muzeji, muzički festivali, stanište su kulture. Ali, kroz tu živopisnu pozadinu probija se logika nejednakosti! Kapitalizam u životu održavaju nadmetanje i isključivanje. Stigmatizujući određene grupe, kapitalisti obaraju cenu rada.

Ne vrtimo se više u začaranom krugu kulturne autonomije! Potrebna nam je koalicija svih marginalizovanih, migranata i izbeglica!

Nadničari i nadničarke, berači i beračice, sluge i sluškinje, dadilje, negovatelji i negovateljice starih, seksualni radnici i radnice, organizujte se! Za solidarnost s prekarijatom!

Izađite iz logora!

Treba nam Romanistan koji ruši sve granice! Romanistan bez ograničenja! Romanistan u kojem zemlja, voda i vazduh pripadaju svima!

III

Treći agitator je Sami iz planinskih područja Verdala koji se pridružio komunističkom otporu protiv nemačkih fašista i Kvislingove vlade tokom Drugog svetskog rata. Njegovi preci živeli su u Norveškoj pre no što su se pojavili doseljenici s juga. U 19. veku, dok su kapitalisti kupovali čitave predele u toj oblasti, istovremeno su se uvodili zakoni o asimilaciji pripadnika naroda Sami. Predvodnicima pobune Samija u Kautokeinou 1852. odsečene su glave i poslate u Oslo da se čuvaju na Kraljevskom univerzitetu Frederik (Det Kongelige Frederiks Universite). Tek 1997, uz pomoć predsednika Parlamenta Samija, potomci su uspeli da dođu do njihovih zemnih ostataka da bi ih sahranili.

Govor borca za antifašistički otpor

Građani!

Ustao sam protiv nacista jer nisam htio da njihova rasistička ideologija i dalje predodređuje naše živote. Borim se za oslobođenje!

Kao i mnogi drugi radnici iz Lademoena, pridružio sam se komunistima u Trondhajmu. Neki od nas dali su živote u borbi protiv fašizma u Španiji! Kada su nemački fašisti okupirali Norvešku, sabotirali smo njihove radne logore. Uspeli smo da pomognemo nekolicini Jugoslovena i Rusa da prebegnu u Švedsku. Uključilo se mnogo nas Samija sa verdalskih planina. Gestapo me je podvrgao mučenju u logoru u Falstadu ne bih

li otkrio imena drugih boraca otpora i njihovih pomagača među stanovnicima. Jedva sam preživeo.

Posle rata, naš otpor se učutkivao.

Mnogi su uhapšeni kao ruski špijuni. Sve do prošle godine, naši saborci nisu dobili zvanične počasti. Doktrina o superiornosti norveške kulture i hrišćansko obrazovanje i dalje su opravdavali asimilacionu politiku prema narodu Samija. Cilj te politike oduvek je bio sasvim prizeman – da nas spriči da polažemo bilo kakvo teritorijalno pravo na svoju zemlju!

U iscrpljujuće dugom procesu, još od Alte, borimo se za svoja prava. Ali, šta Parlament Samija može da učini protiv interesa međunarodnih naftnih, rudarskih i ribarskih korporacija? Kada jedan procenat poseduje sve bogatstvo, čemu demokratija?

Zahtevamo da svako ima pravo na reč u vezi sa korišćenjem prirodnih resursa!

Ali, ova nova logika se ruga ljudskim pravima siromašnih i slabih: reklamira „svako protiv svakog“ kao borbu za slobodu! Pazite: novi fašizam se razvija pod maskom antiterorizma.

Okončajte totalni nadzor! Otarasite se kompanija za privatno obezbeđenje i vojski plaćenika! Zaustavite rat dronovima!

IV

Završni govor drži ekološka aktivistkinja. Poslednjih godina žestoko se borila da se produži moratorijum na naftne bušotine u području Lofotskih ostrva. Bitka između ribarske i naftne industrije i zaštitnika životne sredine dominirala je tokom izborne kampanje 2013. Nova koaliciona vlast obavezala se da zaštiti Lofotska ostrva.

Govor aktivistkinje radikalnog ekološkog pokreta

Pozdravljam vas, dragi prijatelji, na jeziku naroda ovog dalekog severnog predela.

Za vas nečujno, pozdravljam kamenje pod našim stopalima i daleke planine iz kojih je isklesano. Moje unutrašnje biće prima prodoran odgovor ptica, koji se meša s hukom vетра. Fosilni kapitalizam je skovao saveznštvo sa smrću!

Služeći se sve destruktivnijim metodama, on na silu izvlači sva prirodna bogatstva naše planete. Mi, ljudski stanovnici Norveške, spadamo u neizmerno mali procenat živih bića koja imaju neposrednu i direktnu korist od uništavanja zemlje. S planiranim naftnim bušotinama na Arktiku, Barentcovom moru i na obalama Lofotskih ostrva, ugrožavamo svoje poslednje netaknute morske oblasti. Da li zaista verujemo da će takva, brza zarada omogućiti našim potomcima da prežive kolaps ekosistema? Prošle godine ostvarili smo važnu pobedu u borbi za Lofotska ostrva. Ali, sada tražimo i više od toga: Zaustavimo celokupnu proizvodnju nafte na Arktiku!

Slažem se s drugom iz Thraneovog pokreta iz 19. veka: potrebna nam je revolucija i mi smo ti koji je moraju podstaći! Slažem se sa romskom aktivistkinjom da se ne smemo prosto zatvoriti u svoje stanište, već moramo ući u koaliciju koja daleko prevaziđa granice homo sapiensa kao vrste!

Borac iz Pokreta otpora u Drugom svetskom ratu u pravu je kada kaže da se fašizam vraća. Vidimo ga usred društva: u rasističkim kampanjama takozvanih patriotskih partija, u pamfletima mladih ljudi zadojenih mržnjom, u neonacističkim napadima na migrante i Rome širom Evrope. Da naše borbe iz prošlosti ne bi bile uzaludne, moramo usvojiti novu i mnogo radikalniju poziciju! Stara logika, koja pojedinačno smešta u centar sveta, suviše je ograničena. Potrebna nam je radikalna, istinski revolucionarna promena perspektive!

Dole antropocentrizam! Stanovnici mora, neba i zemlje su naši saveznici Biljke i minerali su naši drugovi! Razmotrimo revoluciju iz zrnca peska! Ispišimo svoje parole na jeziku okeanskih dubina! Proglasimo revoluciju zvucima celokupne žive i nežive materije!

Prevod: Violeta Stojmenović

Kotrljajuća učionica

Gовори intervencije *Kotrljajuća učionica*, koje su napisale učesnice radionice, 2019.

Odgovor Žene Grom-ptice na Sporazum br. 4

Predstavnicima Krune: Niste pregovarali sa nama. S predvodnicama i majkama naše zajednice. Niste nas uključili u vaše sporazume. Oni nisu punovažni bez našeg pristanka.

Kruni: Niste dobili odobrenja neophodna za nastavak pregovora. Nas niste uključili. Kanadski Zakon o Indijancima iz 1867. kaže: „zakonodavstvo kao Indijance određuje Indijanca, dete ili suprugu Indijanca”.

Dali ste ovlašćenje umesto priznanja. Sklopili ste pogodbu s pogrešnim predstavnicima. Niko vas nije ovlastio da pregovarate bez matrijarha.

Mi smo životodajne. Bake, majke, tetke, sestre, kćeri. Dajemo i održavamo život, govorimo u ime meseca, vode i života.

Kikâwy – tvoja majka, Kôhkom – tvoja baka, Kitânis – tvoja kći. Matrijarsi i predvodnice. Budućnost su žene grom-ptice.

Odgovor na Sporazum br. 4 i slikovno pismo inspirisan je piktografskim prikazom ovog sporazuma koji je izradio poglavica Paskwa. Govor je napisala Amanda Fayant, a održan je sa *Kotrljajuće učionice* tokom karnevala u Oslu, 2019.

Dragi bogovi malih i velikih stvari!

Dragi političari iz svih partija. Dragi oni među vama koji mogu da odlučuju o životu i smrти, cenama kuća, goriva, hrane i svega od čega ovde u Norveškoj zavisi naš opstanak ovde dole, na zemlji.

Toplo vam je i udobno tamo gore, ma gde da ste. Zaboravili ste da je ovde dole, gde mi normalni ljudi živimo, hladno, vlažno i samotno. Hrana koju jedemo mora se platiti novcem u prodavnici. Treba nam krov nad glavom i grejanje da se ne bismo nasmrt smrzli.

Mora da ste negde usput, dragi bogovi, i ovo zaboravili: nas normalne i neobične ljude koji smo živote posvetili umetnosti i kulturi, stvaranju i unapređivanju.

Zašto, dragi bogovi?

Zašto se kreativnima ne plaća rad? Oni koji stvaraju umetnost više ne mogu da žive u gradu u kojem se njihova umetnost ceni. Nemaju ni gde da rade, jer su radni prostori preskupi.

Bogovi odozgo odlučuju o izgradnji objekata za smeštaj umetnosti. Muzej za muzejom. Velike i zapanjujuće građevine za kulturu. Ali, ko će stvarati umetnost i kulturu? Pod kojim radnim uslovima? Ljude koji grade muzej plaćaju. Domar u muzeju imaće platu. Vozač koji prevozi umetnička dela takođe je plaćen. I tako dalje, i tako dalje. Sve je to lepo, dragi moji.

Ali, dragi, predragi, najdraži bogovi, dajte i umetnicima odgovarajuću platu. Oslobidite Umetnost i Kulturu. I, ne zaboravimo: šta je s onima koji zbog bolesti i povreda ne mogu da rade koliko vi hoćete? Ili možda uopšte ne mogu da rade? Kako da bolesni ozdrave bez novca? Može li vama biti bolje dok se smrzavate i jedete još manje nego pre bolesti? Da li je to preporučena dijeta? Možete li biti jači i zdraviji od briga? Možete li se vi oporaviti od bolesti za koju čak i lekari kažu da je neizlečiva? Šta vi to znate što lekari ne znaju? Imate neku tajnu? Znate nešto što samo Bog zna? Bog nad bogovima.

Dragi bogovi, vi ste bogataši. Mi ostali, na uštb kojih je vaše bogatstvo, sve smo siromašniji i siromašniji. Ako to već ne znate, sad ćemo vam mi reći: to nije poštено. Siromašnima uskoro neće ostati ništa, pa neće imati više šta ni da im se otima. To je pljačka, dragi moji. I nezakonito je. Ovde dole. Ne kradi! Naročito ne od nasiromašnjih. To smo naučili još kao deca, mi drugi. Zar bogovi to ne uče? Čuli ste sad to od nas,

dragi bogovi malih i velikih stvari, tako da sada i vi to znate. Ovako više ne ide! A vi možete nešto da učinite povodom toga! Vi morate nešto da učinite!

Govor je napisala Anita Hillestad, a održan je sa Kotrljujuće učionice tokom karnevala u Oslu, 2019.

Ursulin govor

Zovem se Ursula. Kolumbijka sam i pripadnica starosedelačke etničke grupe Vaju sa poluostrva La Gvajira na severoistoku Kolumbije.

Kada sam bila mlađa, srećno i u miru sam živela sa porodicom i prijateljima. Mesto iz kojeg sam obiluje prirodnim bogatstvima. Rasla sam sjedinjena s prirodom koja me je okruživala; s morem, peskom i životinjama. Učili su me da nas naša teritorija hrani i da stoga moramo znati kako da živimo u skladu sa njom. I jesmo, godinama. Nažalost, ta je teritorija takođe i oblast kroz koju prolaze prokrijumčarena roba, narkotici i oružje.

Morala sam da pobegnem iz kuće kada su paravojne snage ušle na našu teritoriju, noseći spisak imena mojih prijatelja i rođaka koje hoće da ubiju. Stigli su jednog jutra dok su mi braća i otac bili na poslu. Napali su nas žene. Kada su se približili našem domu, uspela sam da porodicom i komšijama pobegnem u drugom pravcu. Toliko je ljudi bežalo sa nama da sam u gužvi iznenada izgubila porodicu. I nikada ih više nisam videla. S grupom sunarodnika krila sam se u grmlju tri dana, bez hrane i vode. Još uvek pamtim vriske i vapaje za pomoć, a videla sam i kako su devojčice i žene, mučeći ih i s mržnjom, strpali u svoja kola. Kada je bilo dovoljno bezbedno da se vratimo, videla sam mnogo mrtvih po putu. Sve sam tog dana izgubila, i dom i porodicu.

Mnogi misle da se sada, kada je sporazum o miru potpisani, rat završio. Ovde sam da potvrđim da je to daleko od istine. Ubijaju nas. Rat nas ugrožava jer su svi akteri – gerilci, paravojne formacije, narko-dileri i vlast – naoružani, a mi smo u škripcu među svima njima. Napadi na nas su

svakodnevni, a nas žene napadaju zbog naše uloge u društvu. Naša su tela mete seksualnog nasilja.

Bila sam za pregovaračkim stolom kada se potpisivao mirovni sporazum, jer čak i žrtve imaju priliku da iznesu svoje mišljenje i ispričaju svoje priče. Napokon, mirovni pakt je potpisana, a mi smo poverovali u budućnost zemlje i da će nam mir omogućiti da živimo u Kolumbiji o kakvoj smo sanjali. Ali, nas i dalje ubijaju.

Situacija je sada još gora. Nekadašnje oblasti gerile danas naseljavaju pripadnici paravojnih snaga, a za njih nema drugog zakona do zakona mržnje. Sada sam jedna od društvenih predvodnica čija poruka je poruka mira – što me čini neprijateljem. Zbog toga i žele da nas poubijaju. Istrebljivanje ljudi koji se, poput mene, bore za stabilan i trajan mir, sprovodi se sistematski. Istorija se ponavlja i vlasnici naše zemlje opet nas ubijaju.

Moramo da objavimo mir ratu. Neće nas poraziti. To dugujemo našim društvenim starešinama, njihovom životu, dugujemo svojoj zemlji, ja to dugujem svojoj porodici i prijateljima. Kada nas s mržnjom napadaju, moramo da odvratimo snagom, silinom i otporom. Osvrnite se na jučerašnje senke i svetlosti nade da biste danas hrabro preobrazili dostojanstvo života, pa ćete sutra požnjeti plodove pravde.

Gовор су написале Katharina Barbosa Blad и Ileana Alvarez Reyes, а одржан је на Kotrljajuće учионице током карнавала у Ослу, 2019.

Prevod: Violeta Stojmenović

Lomljiva prisutnost

Gовор са протестне акције против криминализације солидарности са мигрантима. Главна станица, Grac, Austrija, 2018.

Od juna 2018. italijanski, austrijski i nemački министри унутрашњих послова спречавају слanje civilних чамака за спасавање у Средоземно

more. Od sredine avgusta, заустављен је сваки самоорганизовани покушај спасавања из мора. Спасавање на мору је nužno jer су државе прекинуле организоване спасилачке мисије.

Balkanska ruta је померена ка опасним планинским областима у Босни и Херцеговини због суровог потискивања миграната са границе између Србије и Хрватске. Put на који је, бежећи од последица климатских промена, прогона, рата и сиромаштва, кренуло hiljade и hiljade ljudi treba, izgleda, да се заврши или у Средоземном мору или у камповима ван европских граница. Таква је Тврђава Европа, о којој санђају загрижени деснићари! Заhtevamo bezbedne puteve za izbeglice!

Bekstvo od klimatskih promena, progona, rata i siromaštva posledica je viševekovne eksploracije на којој су industrijske земље засновале своје благостање. Mnogo ljudi у Европи је тога свесно. Hiljade ljudi се годинама уključuje u pomaganje izbeglicama duž migrantskih ruta i na Средоземном мору, као и овде, у Аустрији и Gracu. Oni solidarnost i ravnopravnost svih ljudskih bića smatraju prirodnim.

Tražimo ekonomsku i socijalnu pravdu!

Ovu mnogima samorazumljivu solidarnost сада спречавају владе у Европи. Политичари помaganje izbeglicama prikazuju као криминално дело и постављају правне препреке. Спасавање и помaganje izbeglicama nisu злочин! Tokom ових недеља, dok се одржавају Конференција Европске уније о избегличама у Бечу и Samit Европске уније у Salzburgu, кују се планови да се у Libiji изграде кампови за избегlice и ojača agencija за заштиту граница Fronteks. Све су то јасни кораци ка успостављању војне одbrane од миграција у Африци. Tražimo bezbedne migrantske rute umesto izolacije! Prekinite sa kriminalizацијом solidarnosti sa izbeglicama!

Bezbedni putevi за спасавање umesto izolacije! Prekinite sa kriminalizацијом humanitarne помоћи! Dobar живот за све! Spasавање живота nije злочин! Izbeglice, добро дошли! Sigurna utočишта!

Migracija nije злочин! Zaustavite uzrok rata! Dozvolite спасавање на мору! Smrt fašizmu, слобода народу! Gradite mostove, ne zidove!

Gluve cipele

Dijalog sa izvođenja umetničke intervencije
Gluve cipele.

Radnik I: U prostoriji je bilo užasno vruće, a najgore je bilo pored mašine. Pitao sam nadzornicu da li možemo da otvorimo prozor. Ona je namerno uperila vruć vazduh iz izduvne cevi mašine ka nama i rekla da su nam vrata fabrike otvorena ako nam nešto nije po volji. Mnogo je onih koji jedva čekaju da nas zamene na ovom poslu.

Radnica 2: Da li si znao da ova fabrika ima klima-uređaj? Oni neće da ga uključe jer je struja skupa. Troje ljudi je juče palo u nesvest od vrućine i došla je hitna pomoć. Nije ni čudo, od kada su nam zaključali česme, da ljudi jednostavno dehidriraju.

Radnica 4: Nisi ti ništa shvatio, ovde ima da se radi, a ne da se postavljaju pitanja. Ako bi uključili klima-uređaje, oduzeli bi trošak za struju od naše plate.

Radnica 2: Ukinuli su nam mogućnost da idemo u toalet. Meni je nadzornica rekla da nosim pelene ako ne mogu da trpim. Da li je ona normalna?

Radnica 4. Ćuti, bre, ona je izjavila da ćemo svi redom završiti na groblju ako firma bude napustila Srbiju. Firma će da ode, ako radnici ne ispune kvotu koja se od njih traži.

Radnica 3: Koga zateknu da nije na traci, biće kažnjen smanjivanjem plate, odbiće se jedan radni sat. Ne mogu više da izdržim stalne pretnje da će da nas otpuste.

Radnik I: Uzmi lekove za smirenje. Ja ih pijem za pritisak, jer mi je skočio na 190/100 od kada ovde radim. Što se tiče računa za struju,

ni ovoga meseca nisam imao dovoljno para da ga platim, a kamoli kamate i dug. Radim 12 sati dnevno, radim i subotom, a opet nemam od čega da živim.

Radnica 3: Gledaj da nađeš jeftin smeštaj negde na selu. Nemoj da plaćaš prevoz, nego idi pešice do fabrike. Tako ja radim i uspevam da uštedim poneki dinar za sina.

Radnica 4: Da li ste čuli da nas predsednik reklamira kao jeftinu radnu snagu? Srpska vlada subvencionise investitorima svako radno mesto koje se otvoriti i obećava im da se sindikati neće buniti zbog nepoštovanja radničkih prava.

Radnica 2: Pogledajte mi ruku! Povredila sam se na presi. Šta će sada da radim? Još uvek nisam dobila novi radni ugovor, a stari mi je istekao pre dva meseca. Firma mi nije uplatila zdravstveno osiguranje i sada ne mogu da odem kod lekara. Ovakva neću moći više da radim.

Radnica 4: Hajmo da se obratimo sindikatu. Jutros su nam rekli da nećemo moći na odmor, jer mora da se završi narudžbina.

Radnica 2: Ako se obratim sindikatu, neće mi dati novi ugovor, to je sigurno.

Radnica 3: Otkazali su nam odmor i naredili prekovremeni rad dok ne završimo. Svi su revoltirani!

Radnica 4: Kada bude došla druga smena, obustavićemo rad!

Svi: Dogovoreno!

Ovaj dijalog su povodom izvođenja umetničke intervencije *Gluve cipele* napisali Vladan i Rena. On referiše na događaje iz septembra 2016, kada su radnice i radnici iz fabrike Geoxa u Vranju, Srbija, održali štrajk zbog nehumanih uslova rada. Korišćene informacije se oslanjaju na izjave radnica i radnika iz industrije obuće u Srbiji koje su objavili lokalni mediji a sakupili istraživači CCC Srbija.

Trešnjevački motivi

Stihovi za instalaciju *Trešnjevački motivi*, napisali Rena i Vladan.

1. Stara kuća

Prodaj plac dok valja cijena,
doći će uskoro gora vremena.
Uloži dobit u mirovinu i stan,
obitelj će imati mirniji san.

Gdje gozbuju oligarsi, mrvice padaju,
mjeđuh kad pukne, muke se rađaju.
Slobode tržišta okus je gorak,
jednakost u stanovanju pravi je korak.

2. Pučka kuhinja

Beskućniku dadni, grah nije skup,
kredit na nebu poništit će dug.
Pokažimo milosrđa, malo dobre volje,
svima na svijetu bit će puno bolje.

Dosadašnje stanje dobrotvorstvo drži,
usprkos rezanju socijalne skrbi.
Zajedničkom akcijom ka socijalnoj pravdi,
uporištem ravnopravnosti društvo se gradi.

3. Kockarnica

Smjelost i žudnja novac oplode,
tvornica pusta, džoker pobijedi.
Obrni dobit, dvorac ćeš steći,
imetak leži u genetskoj sreći.

Fetiš novca atavistički je spin,
okidanje transformacije veseo je čin.
Tvornica otpora radi kao zmaj,
ruletu privatizacije vidi se kraj.

4. Žabac

Eko, održivo, etičko i etno,
socijalno odgovorno vrlo je efektno.
Dostojanstveno kupi, zaboravi muke,
za dobrobit svih su parkovi i klupe.

Socijalno poduzetništvo nemoguće je par,
društveno pitanje sviju nas je stvar.
Krov nad glavom, i hrana i voda,
zdravstvo i znanje zajednička su dobra.

5. Deložacija

Slobodno teče protok kredita,
zaštitu ima cijenjena elita.
Naručite pravdu po vašoj mjeri,
rizike otklanjaju ovršitelji.

Profiter gazi život mu tuđi,
država štiti tečaj na burzi.
Podruštvljavanje vlasništva njezin je krah,
gdje stanuje solidarnost umire strah.

Biographies

Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić are artists whose research-oriented work comprises installations and artistic interventions in public space. In their collaborative practice, Rena & Vladan explore the relation between art and politics, unveiling the contradictions of today's societies. They use techniques that are easy to reproduce and distribute such as drawing and prints, and simple materials such as textile, cardboard and wood, and they insist on their artistic production's use value, social and ecological awareness. They develop the transformative potentials of art in the context of social struggles and in collaboration with social movements. They have recently exhibited at MUAC, Mexico City; Brooklyn Museum, New York; Creative Time Summit, Miami; nGbK, Berlin; Trøndelag Senter for Samtidskunst, Trondheim; Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova, Ljubljana; Moscow Museum of Modern Art; Kibla, Maribor; Museum of Contemporary Art, Skopje; Galleria del Progetto, Milano; Contemporary Art Center of Thessaloniki; Tallinna Kunstihooone, Tallinn; Intercultural Museum, Oslo; 49th and 56th October Salon, Belgrade; Cultural Center of Serbia, Paris; EKKM, Tallinn; Autostrada Biennale, Prizren; Kaapelin Gallery and Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki; *Politics of Dissonance* in the framework of Manifesta 12, Palermo; < rotor >, Graz; Borey Art Center, Sankt-Peterburg; Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, Novi Sad; Tirana Art Lab, Tirana; Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

Maja Ćirić is an award-winning curator (Lazar Trifunović Award (2007), ArtsLink Independent Projects Award (2008), ISCP Curator Award (2011), Dedalus Foundation Curatorial Research Award (2013), VAI Visiting Curator Award (2019) and art critic with experience in leading and contributing to international projects since 2003. Maja was the curator of the Mediterranea 18 Young Artists Biennale, in Tirana (2017), and has been both the curator (2007) and the commissioner (2013) of the Serbian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale. Maja holds a PhD in Art Theory (Thesis: *Institutional Critique and Cu-*

rating) from the University of Arts in Belgrade. Her speaking engagements include, among others: MAC VAL (2017), the Centre Pompidou (2018), and the MNAC Bucharest (2018) etc. She has contributed to *Obieg*, *Artmargins Online* etc. Maja's areas of expertise are concerned with the geopolitics of curating through curating as a practice of institutional critique. She is a guest lecturer in the methodology and epistemology of curating and exhibition practices at: *Zlin Digital Exhibition Design Conference*, Zlin, Check Republic, (2021), Oberlicht Association, Chisinau, Moldova (2020); Fine Arts Academy, Taipei, Taiwan (2019) etc. Maja thinks about the art world in terms of criticality and post-globalism and is involved in projects critically examining and articulating links between art and science in the context of the digital turn (Serbian Center for the Promotion of Science, 2020, and Trieste Contemporanea, 2020–2021). She is an Art Glass Advisor for the *Digital Glass Serbia* platform. She is on the editorial board of *The Large Glass* journal published by MoCA, Skopje and she sits on the Board of Advisors to *The Telos Society, Art & Culture Research Lab Observatorium* in Athens. She is a member of AICA, IKT and ICI (Independent Curators International).

Corina L. Apostol is a curator at the Tallinn Art Hall and the curator of the Estonian Pavilion at the 59th Venice Biennale. She curated the Shelter Festival: *Cosmopolitics, Comradeship, and the Commons*, at the Space for Free Arts in Helsinki (2019). She was the Mellon Fellow at Creative Time, where she co-edited *Making Another World Possible: 10 Creative Time Summits, 10 Global Issues, 100 Art Projects* and co-curated the Creative Time Summit: *On Archipelagoes and Other Imaginaries* (2018) in Miami. Corina obtained her Ph.D. at Rutgers University, where she was also the Dodge Curatorial Fellow at the Zimmerli Art Museum. She is the co-founder of ArtLeaks, and editor-in-chief of the *ArtLeaks Gazette*. She has been longlisted for the Kandinsky Prize (2016) and the Sergey Kuryokhin Prize (2020).

Biografije

Rena Rädle i Vladan Jeremić žive u Beogradu. Njihova umetnička praksa obuhvata instalacije i intervencije u javnom prostoru. Kroz zajedničku praksu Rena i Vladan istražuju odnose umetnosti i politike, razotkrivajući goruće društvene protivurečnosti. Oni koriste tehnike koje je lako reprodukovati i distribuirati, poput grafike i štampe, te jednostavnih materijala kao što su tekstil, karton i drvo, insistirajući na upotreboj vrednosti i društveno-ekološkoj svesti svog umetničkog rada. Razvijaju transformativne potencijale umetnosti u kontekstu društvenih borbi i kroz saradnju s društvenim pokretima. Izlagali su, između ostalog, u: MUAC, Meksiko Siti; Brooklyn Museum, Njujork; Creative Time Summit, Majami; nGbK, Berlin; Trøndelag Senter for Samtidskunst, Trondhajm; Muzej savremene umetnosti, Ljubljana; MMOMA, Moskva; Kibla, Maribor; Muzej savremene umetnosti, Skoplje; Galleria del Progetto, Milano; Contemporary Art Center of Thessaloniki, Solun; Tallinna Kunsthooone, Talin; Intercultural Museum, Oslo; 49. i 56. Oktobarski salon, Beograd; Kulturni centar Republike Srbije, Pariz; EKKM, Talin; Autostrada Biennale, Prizren; Kaapelin Gallery i Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki; *Politics of Dissonance* u okviru Manifesta 12, Palermo; < rotor >, Grac; Borey Art Center, Petrograd; Muzej savremene umetnosti Vojvodine, Novi Sad; Tirana Art Lab, Tirana; Muzej Jugoslavije, Beograd.

Maja Ćirić

je nagrađivana kustoskinja (Nagrada Lazar Trifunović, 2007; ArtsLink Independent Projects Award, 2008; ISCP Curator Award, 2011; Dedalus Foundation Curatorial Research Award, 2013; VAI Visiting Curator Award, 2019) i umetnička kritičarka sa iskustvom u vođenju i doprinisu međunarodnim projektima. Između ostalog, Ćirić je bila kustoskinja Bijenala mladih umetnika Mediterranea u Tirani (2017), i kustoskinja (2007) i komesar (2013) paviljona Srbije na Bijenalu vizuelnih umetnosti u Veneciji. Ćirić je doktorirala teoriju umetnosti (teza: *Kustoske prakse i institucionalna kritika*) na Univerzitetu umetnosti u Beogradu. Njeni angažmani bili su,

između ostalog, u MAC VAL (2017), Centre Pompidou (2018) u Parizu i MNAC u Bukureštu (2018). Doprinela je svojim tekstovima *Obieg*, *Artforum* i *Artmargins Online* itd. Uže područje njene ekspertize prostire se od geopolitike kustoske prakse do kustoske prakse kao institucionalne kritike. Redovno gostuje kao predavač istorije, metodologije i epistemologije kustoskih i izložbenih praksi: *Zlin Digital Exhibition Design Conference*, Zlin, Češka, (2021), Oberlicht Association, Kišinjev, Moldavija (2020); Fine Arts Academy, Taipei, Tajvan (2019) itd. Ćirić razmišlja o svetu umetnosti u smislu kritičnosti i postglobalizma. Uključena je u projekte koji proučavaju odnos između umetnosti i nauke, a u saradnji sa Centrom za promociju nauke (2020) i Trieste Contemporanea u Trstu, Italija (2020–2021). Savetnica je za umetničko staklo na projektu *Digital Glass Serbia*. Članica je Saveta *The Telos Society*, Arts & Culture Research Lab Observatorium u Atini, i članica uredništva časopisa *The Large Glass* u izdanju Muzeja savremene umetnosti u Skoplju. Aktivna je članica AICA, ICI (Independent Curators International), IKT (International Association of Curators of Contemporary Art).

Corina L. Apostol

je kustoskinja Kunsthalea u Talinu (Kunstihooone), kao i Paviljona Estonije na 59. Bijenalu vizuelnih umetnosti u Veneciji. Bila je kustos Festivala Sklonište: kosmopolitike, drugarstvo, javno dobro u Prostoru za slobodne umetnosti (Vapaan Taiteen Tila) u Helsinki 2019. Bila je stipendista Fondacije Mellon pri umetničkoj organizaciji Creative Time, za koju je sa Natoom Thompsonom priredila publikaciju *Making Another World Possible: 10 Creative Time Summits, 10 Global Issues, 100 Art Projects*, objavljenu 2020, a bila je i kokustos jednog od samita ove organizacije pod nazivom *O arhipelazima i drugim imaginarnim* u Majamiju, 2018. Doktorsku disertaciju odbranila je na Univerzitetu Rutgers, gde je dobila i stipendiju za kustose Dodge za Umetnički muzej Zimmerli. Jedan je od osnivača ArtLeaksa i glavni urednik *ArtLeaks Gazette*. Bila je u izboru za nagrade Kandinski (2016) i Sergej Kurjohin (2020).

Rena Rädle i Vladan Jeremić
Transformatorijum

Muzej savremene umetnosti Vojvodine
4. jun – 4. jul 2021.

Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić
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Detail of the didactical drawing *Model of the Transformative Potential of Artistic Practices*, 2021



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