Psychogeographical Research
Rädle & Jeremić

Psihogeografsko istraživanje

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Gordana Nikolić

Psychogeographical Chronicle of the Society at the End of Transition or at the Beginning of "Neoliberal Reality"

The exhibition titled "Psychogeographical Research", in the Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina in Novi Sad (2009) presents the activities of the artistic couple Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić over the last seven years – concentrating on the specific practice of "estheticized documentation", which, by its form, manages to satisfy the demands of a classic gallery exhibition, but at the same time significantly pushes those boundaries with its content. This exhibition consists of differently presented concepts, projects and works in media terms that the artists have developed and realized thus far. These are informational interventions and installations that use Net platforms (which, at the same time, function as an Internet archive with audio-visual reports and documentation and as a "luddistic" Net intervention), photographs, prints with textual and visual contents, film and video projections and objects of consumer culture etc. These works vary from "concrete" artistic intervention in the media itself (e.g. photomontage) – through differently documented and presented projects-events in media terms that Rena and Vladan initiated or took part in – to a factographic-documentary approach to recording certain events from social "reality" that aroused the artists' interest. The exhibition title itself clearly refers to the lettrist-situationist neologism "psychogeography", and evokes situationist practices based on a series of strategies for the exploration of the urban environment or law and the specific effects of geographic surroundings (consciously organized or not) on people, their behavior and emotions.[1] Conscious reliance on the situationist practice

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1 At the turn of the 1960s comes to an accelerated urbanization throughout Europe and world cities. In Paris begins an explosion of what politicians and urban planners called the "new cities". There also emerges a strong feeling that cities are losing their humane dimension. The accelerated modernization of urban society had influence on the tactics of the Situationist International (SI) as the avant-garde concerned because of this uniforming of society by means of urbanism, mass media and the dichotomy of work and rest. The Situationist International (SI) emerged in 1957 from the Lettrist International (LI), the Imaginary Bauhaus and the London Psychogeographical Committee with new fields of interest and a revolutionary programme that focused on "suppression and realisation of art in life" and on what they called the "construction of situations". Ewen Chardronnet put forth a thesis in 2003 that the breaking

also implies an important element of social engagement as intervention into given surroundings, related to the situationist idea of enabling the reemergence of creativity in the social sphere. The evocation of this practice in the case of Rädle/Jeremić implies, above all, its transfer and translation into a certain geographic – (space-time) – psychological category. For that reason, it is necessary to understand the social, ideological and cultural dimensions of the context within which this artistic couple intervenes and builds its positions and action strategies in public space, as well as the reflection of this practice on the local cultural scene.

"Neoliberal Reality" in Serbia?

The context within which these works came to life was marked by the period of the so called post-October "democratic" changes in Serbia after the year 2000, which were supposed to introduce a post-socialist society, traumatized by the civil wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia (instigated by media-directed and manipulated ethno-nationalistic essentialisms, and economic transition towards "wild capitalism"), to a legitimized neoliberal paradigm (of the capitalist West) and the framework of its political, economic, social and cultural institutions and technologies. This transition, often proclaimed as the "normalization" of Serbian society, carries numerous contradictions of the system that reflect on all aspects of social institutions and civil rights and freedoms, intensified by the emergence of the world economic crisis as a convenient rhetorical "silver bullet" of state policy, used to pacify growing mass dissatisfaction.

In a region where the forces of post-socialist transition and globalization clash, we become witnesses of, and participants in the transition from the "turbo fascism" (Ž. Papić) of the Milošević era towards a "neoliberal reality" that we can either experience on the street or comfortably watch on TV from the armchair in our home: the corporate capitalist sector directs the policies of the highest government authorities and creates new social disintegration and antagonisms; refeudalization of public spaces

point in SI in 1961 and the radicalisation of the French group had to do with a perception that the first demands of psychogeography turned from tools for social movements towards a series of psychogeographical "games" and that this, likewise, was clearly presented in the then contemporary technological use of GPS, mobile phones, wireless networks that were limited to "games" instead of using these technologies for social actions. More about this: Ewen Chardronnet, History of Unitary Urbanism and Psychogeography at the Turn of the Sixties + Examples and Comments of Contemporary Psychogeography, notes from the lecture for the conference in Riga, May 2003 http://www.socialfiction.org/psychogeography/unitary_urbanism.html

"at work" through the unscrupulous urban gentrification of city districts inhabited by the poorest classes of the population (in the first place Roma) – with the tearing down of slums without solving the housing problems of their inhabitants; racism and culture-racism from the 1990s turn into a "class" racism that leads towards the increase and ossification of social segregation; the irregular privatization of public companies through tycoonization that forcefully leads these companies into bankruptcy – followed by job losses and mass strikes by the workers-shareholders and workers unions deprived of their rights; the violation of basic human and civil rights and freedoms and violence against the gay and lesbian population, and minority and marginal cultures; a new face to government censorship, whose executive apparatus do not stop the pro-fascist "forces of the street" in making decisions on the "suitability" and "unsuitability" of public events and standpoints, thus officially legitimizing their judgment;[2] the monopolization of culture through the misuse of public funds between the public sector and the private sector of the so-called "creative industries" that create official cultural policy exclusively based on the paradigm of mass economization of culture and profit-making – which is followed by the devastation of unprofitable cultural production and the disappearance of art scenes[3] etc.

With such a contemporary reality, questions impose themselves on us: are we in Serbia already living the neoliberal reality, which we accept as "natural" and "inevitable", and which has become a part of our "collective conscious"? or how deep have we stepped into a system that "pulsates" from the condition of fatal contradictions? is this the face of neoliberal reality that we could follow until yesterday only through media reports in the "world" column on distant alter-globalist movements or workers' protests against the Power of Capital that aims for total commercialization and control of all the aspects of our lives and movements, and which oppresses all the weak, poor, marginal and precarious?

Many conclude that the global neoliberal system that propagates "openness" and "freedom" applies these value categories only in the area of economic exchange, embodied in the deregulation of multinational capital and the free market, while, on the other hand, social control and class differentiation establish themselves as a paradox on which the system develops. "It changed both the developed world and the world that is still developing (…) Throughout world cities, neoliberalism has been used in order to sell public goods, privatize public space, attack unions by energetic actions and severe measures, destroy state housing welfare."

2 Today, in Serbia there are numerous cases of organized hooligans or clero-fascist groups that are conducted on the streets of cities by promoting a policy of violence, where the government proved unable to protect specific events and manifestations of civic (minority) initiatives or cultural institutions that express different opinions and views from the majority and fight for the appliance of constitutionally guaranteed rights and freedoms. The most recent case, which has received considerable attention in the international media, is the announcement of the Government decision, justified in terms of violent threats by clero-fascist organizations, to move the "Pride Parade" outside the center of Belgrade the day before the event. Parade organizers refused to hold the event outside the officially approved location and it was "postponed". A similar case is the violent closure of the exhibition of Kosovo artists "Exception / Contemporary art scene of Pristina" on February 2008 in Context gallery, Belgrade. video: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRSzUSwcVcQ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVC25afxpkU

3 E.g. the case with the Novi Sad non-profit scene that have organized the initiative: Work group "Za kulturne politike – politika kulture" www.zakulturnepolitike.net

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(Hackworth).[4] David Harvey explains that the process of neoliberalization calls for the total "creative destruction", not only of former institutional frames and powers, but also of the division of work, social relations, measures of progress, technological overlapping, ways of life and thinking, reproductive activities, (emotional) bonding to the environment in which we live and to life habits. According to him, for any kind of thinking to become dominant, one conceptual apparatus must be improved to correspond with our intuitions and instincts, our values and desires, as well as the possibilities inherent in the world we live in. If successful, this conceptual apparatus becomes so embodied in the "collective conscious" as to be taken for granted, without questioning.[5] The new social situation implies multiple conflicts that cannot all be subsumed under the notion of classic "class" conflicts, the main protagonists of which are the working classes. These conflicts are also reflected on the plane of work relations, physical and intellectual work, kin relations, dominant and marginal groups, destruction and protection of nature and the growing differences between small, undeveloped and developed societies and nations, and what links these conflicts is the confrontation of hegemonistic forces/ powers and "protagonists" deprived of rights and power.[6] Jason Hackworth believes that neoliberalism owes a great deal of its current power to the ability of its proponents to use other movements and ideologies as a political mask[7]. Perhaps therein lies the secret of its survival and power. The question, posed by Hackworth as well, remains, why is it so difficult to fight against? In this sense, it is important to understand what the position of contemporary art and cultural production, in this construction of the world, is. And also their connection to interpretation, representation and change of major economic, political and social paradigms.

And Art – Into Social Production!?

Art and cultural production in the official art system often exist in ambivalent positions, either in its latent role as "decorator of neoliberal capitalism and its functioning through the form of a purely market-oriented product" – as Vladan Jeremić himself says – or, in the case of the so-called artistic/activist practices, as a "free game in everyday life" that "can open up a space for direct contact and direct action, which can't be substituted with symbolic models or artistic communication".[8] Taking into consideration the existing context, these positions are often depicted to us as rigidly opposed and the only option which the artist has is either to yield to the inertia of his surroundings and follow the controlled

4 Jason Hackworth, Critique of Neoliberal City in: "Operation: City – Survival Manual for Neoliberal Reality", in Croatian, Savez za centar za nezavisnu kulturu i mlade / Multimedijalni institut / Platforma 9,81 – Institut za istraživanja u arhitekturi / BLOK – Lokalna baza za osvežavanje kulture / SU Klubtura – Clubture, Zagreb, 2008, 93-94.

5 David Harvey, "A Brief History of Neoliberalism", Oxford University Press, New York, 2005, 3,5.

6 Zagorka Golubović, Sudbina radničke klase u današnjoj Srbiji: apologija kapitalizma ili kritičko preispitivanje sukoba u savremenom kapitalizmu?, Republika, 424-425.

repetitive patterns on the way to final "institutionalization", or to enter the insecure space of "direct" social production. Vladan and Rena recognized the positions outlined in this way as a "dialectical framework" in which their artistic activity has necessarily politicized itself and overlapped with everyday life, where they, as active political subjects – activists, to be more precise – simultaneously conducted private research and took part in events and situations that demanded collective solidarity with marginal and oppressed social groups. Vladan at one point explains the role of contemporary art: "It is necessary to enter the system with a rhizomic notion on relations, and to "invisibly" nullify and subvert it through various positions of identity: to play with the system so as to simply disable its functioning on different planes".[9]

In a comprehensive essay dealing with the analysis of the film works of one the biggest names in Vojvodina cinematography – Želimir Žilnik, Pavle Levi at one point concludes that the films of this author deal with subjectivization, the politicizing of the "most unstable forms of social existence".[10] Although, because of different conception and production results, it is not methodologically opportune to compare Žilnik's work with the works of Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić, nevertheless the activities of these authors converge at one point, that point being exactly this aspect of interest in those oppressed, marginalized and excluded from established social frames – the "damned" part of society. In the majority of Vladan and Rena's works, it is mostly Roma people – as the most endangered and most marginal ethnic community – and their life space (Under the Bridge, Belleville, workshop with Roma children – Writing on the Sky), or poor salespeople of second-hand goods from the flea-markets, precarious workers, economic migrants and immigrants (Sendi, Horrorkatze macht terror) or subcultures (like gay and lesbian), that are mainly politically articulated, but still on the edge of social "acceptability" (activist projects of solidarity with these groups) – in short the most sensitive and fragile social zones in which the powers of (old and new) systems fatally clash. Works and projects that deal with these social groups in different ways touch upon the life problems that confront these people, and the approach in the works themselves oscillates between a consciously exoticizing, but self-critical, view (Under the Bridge), and objective familiarizing and documenting (Belleville). Special segment of the activism and work of Rädle/Jeremić pertains to the Roma population and their social-class and culturological position in the context of global-local policies. Significant from this aspect are the short movie and photographs titled "Belleville" documenting the case of the tearing down of shelters/

7 Jason Hackworth, Ibid.

8 Vladan Jeremić, Brisanje konteksta kroz hiperprodukciju u: "Re-reader 2006/2007 – annual report of the e-zine Kakogod", Biro Beograd / Slobodnakultura. org, Beograd, 2007.

9 Ibid.

10 Pavle Levi, Kino-komuna: film kao prvostepena društveno-politička intervencija u: "Za ideju-protiv stanja: analiza i sistematizacija umetničkog stvaralaštva Želimira Žilnika", Playgroud produkcija, Novi Sad, 2009.

homes, mostly Roma, in April 2009 in Block 67 in Belgrade, in order to build housing for the participants of "Universiade 2009", which also bear witness to "political consciousness". To be more precise, the politicizing of the Roma community in Belgrade, which consciously refers to certain paradigms of civil institutions, has its own political leaders and collectively organizes a protest in front of the City Hall. These shocking documents assume a new dimension with their representation as part of an exhibition (as, for example, in the exhibition "Psychogeographical Research" in the Serbian Cultural Centre in Paris, 2009) that often cannot escape the "aura" of a space where reality is sanitized. However, the exhibitions, like this one, show that gallery space is not always promised to us as a safe space for "consuming culture", but as a space that can also make the observer question his "political" standpoints and competences on burning social issues. The artist has the role of the one pointing out and reminding us of these burning problems like a "magnifying glass", (N. Milikić) and in this way giving "us" a second chance for our own subjectivization and politicization of our position towards "others" and "otherness".

The social diversity that the works from the exhibition reflect is supplemented with a treatment of the position of "contemporary male and female workers" through the photomontages "Monument Series" (2007), which represents a kind of "anthropology of workers' quotidian". In this work the artists "play" monuments of imaginary male and female workers in the private sector, mainly from the domain of the service economy or the creative sector, in malls and markets or other centres/ instruments of corporate power. These fictive memorials should in fact mark certain events and decisions from the lives of male/female workers that in some way "fatefully" determined their lives – to be fired or to leave a job and start one's own business, take a loan and go on a holiday – or proved them unrealized dreams of "a successful careerist" in the cruel world of precarity.[11] The Contemporary Worker (especially in the sector of production/industry) is deprived of his rights and becomes a marginalized subject in the process of social development and the distribution of acquired wealth, as well as a non-existent bearer of proclaimed human and civil rights, often relinquished to the fight for subsistence of "bare life".

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[11] Precarity is a general term by which we describe the fact that today a great part of the population is a subject to flexible exploitation or "flexploitation" (low and uncertain payments, high level of conditioning – blackmailability, irregular income etc.). These conditions of precarity influence all forms of work that concern the service economy proper and the complete population in general, but especially young people, women and immigrants. Taken from: http://kuda.org/sr/node/746, More about this: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Precarity

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As the culmination of the treatment of the theme of social relations in the system of power, there looms a grand, baroque, dance-music spectacle "Partisan Songspiel" – the most recent film project developed through cooperation between Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremić and the art-activist-theory group "Chto Delat" (Saint Petersburg). In this work – which is also the culmination of an intensive practice of exchanging experiences, ideas, development of cooperation and joint projects by which Jeremić and Rädle whet appetites and raised standards on the activist/art scene – are present all the important protagonists of the "social scene" of the post-socialist transition who introduce us from their individual positions into a great narrative on contemporary conflicts. We have the oppressors (tycoon, woman politician, clero-fascist, mobster and their bodyguards) and the oppressed (Roma woman, worker, lesbian, invalid). The curiosity in this high-production film project is the inclusion of choirs (partisans) that by their singing actually comment on the situations on stage. This "explosion" of concentration of different class representatives gains in intricacy by introducing narratives on our socialist/communist past and their fighters, the partisans, who admonish us like a collective alter ego and point to a deep historical perspective in which we can find a "key" to understanding the dissatisfying current situation. This work, among other things, confirms that the production capacities and ambitions of Vladan Jeremić and Rena Rädle have surpassed the local boundaries of the established "normality" of local cultural policies, which is probably why several months earlier Vladan was fired from the editorial team of Dom omladine, whose gallery, in just a year, he had made the most important and most active point of contemporary art production in Belgrade.[12]

The work and activities of the artistic couple Rädle/Jeremić certainly can't be conceived through the manifestation of an exhibition, the capacities of which are mainly restricted to the presentation of only the "estheticized" part of their actions. This pair is one of the most active instances on the cultural and art-activist scene of Belgrade and all their other activities and engagements that enter into the field of cultural policies, education, anarchy, social work and activism (which are often not documented) assume a special significance. Their actions in these fields must be given

12 Until March 2009 Vladan worked as an editor of the gallery of Dom omladine, Belgrade. As a part of one of the final exhibitions/events that he organized, titled "Balkan Erotic" (Ondrej Brody & Kristofer Paetau), the artists also developed a workshop that critically analyses the phenomenon of eroticism, the idea of which was to produce a video-piece in which the artists and actors used pornography as a metaphor that shows a realistic picture of society. Among other things, the realisation of this exhibition and workshop, as well as presentation of other (ideologically, politically, artistically) "delicate" and "controversial" contents during Vladan's editorship that surpassed the boundaries of expected "normality" were the reason he was given notice.

credit for the internationalization of the scene and its activist potentials through international association and cooperation with other individuals and groups on numerous projects, actions and events.[13] Through numerous "identities", Rädle/Jeremić acted or act as cultural workers and organizers of numerous platforms and discussions, as educators (workshops with young people), as publishers and (photo)reporters on current happenings in culture and society, initiators and participants of different projects and events from the domain of free software, free exchange of information and creative use of technologies – global movements of free culture (slobodnakultura.org) and Creative Commons. In this sense, their non-materialistic, symbolic work is what the cultural scene in Serbia and beyond can especially benefit from. (Re)production of "knowledge" would be exactly the most appropriate label for their "products". And knowledge is always the most secure point for nurturing and instigating "relentless" criticism!

13 In this context, it is also important to mention the earlier activities of Rena Rädle (while she was living in Germany) in the field of new media when, among other things, she exhibited as early as 1997 in the manifestation Document X (Kassel) in the programme "Hybrid Workspace", as well as her work in numerous organizations that deal with new media (in Kassel, Berlin etc). Jeremić/Rädle are also founders and members of organizations/associations for culture and communications: together with Alexander Nikolić (Vienna) they founded the Biro Beograd, in which they realize a great part of their activities, then in the organization Top e.V (existing since 2000) from Berlin they organize different cultural events etc. Besides active cooperation with the collective "Chto Delat" from Russia, within which they act as its "Belgrade section", it is important to point out their cooperation with the independent scene in Hamburg and the Piratbyrån collective from Sweden (they appeared in Belgrade and Novi Sad in the organization of slobodnakultura. org and Biro Beograd), to which they gave support in March 2009 on the occasion of the trial in Stockholm due to charges for "illegal activities" on a part of the BitTorrent tracker "The Pirate Bay", as well as cooperation with numerous regional and local organizations and protagonists, the most prominent of which are: Laboratory for Contemporary Art from Kosovo within the Relation Project (and their appearance in Kosovo in 2005), Multimedia Institute from Zagreb, New Media Center – kuda.org from Novi Sad, Prelom collective from Belgrade, "Žene u crnom" (Women in black) and others.

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http://msuv.org
http://napon.org
http://zakulturnepolitike.net

Sezgin Boynik

Who Needs Psychogeography?

If nothing, the thesis elaborated in Rena Rädle and Vladan Jeremic's article *Realisation of the Situationist Projections* will allow us to construct a critical approach to the practice of psychogeography. The article is specific with its thoughtful way of avoiding any spectacular interpretation of Situationist International ideas, which they call Projections. By stating that cultural management can co-opt and reduce all kind of radical ideas, including Situationist ones, in a world of market circulation as a "polydialectical systems of pop guerrilla, piercing, games, neo punk and tattoo culture"[1] they evaluate the Theory of Recuperation which was most radically formulated by the Situationists themselves. In the spirit of Guy Debord's motto from *Society of Spectacle* that *separation is perfected,* Rädle&Jeremic accept the unavoidable tone of Situationist pessimism[2] and, without irony, claim in their article that one of the ways to avoid the recuperation of Situationist ideas ("projections") is to restrict the utterance of the term itself; they beg "for euthanasia of the name and to exile SI (Situationist International) from text and language." Only with the complete overthrow of the concepts related to 'SI' is it possible to talk about the revolutionary possibility of that language. The silent, practical confession of this tactic is that there is no room for real subversive and radical "projections" in cultural management (just as in real management). Furthermore, what they call a "personal" step toward this liquidation is the total elimination of any communication, which means communication with the management world. This detachment is possible only with negation. A practical solution, according to them, is "to not receive information!" because an "uninformative modus means not to absorb meta-economical strategies from the space of market" (p.74). The ultimate message of this preventive measure is "not to participate in any

1 Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremic (Horrorkatze), *Realisation of Situationist Projections*, in special issue on Situationist International, *art-ist: contemporary art magazine no.1*, 2004, Istanbul, pp: 72-76. This article is republished in this catalogue and can also be found in *Out 1 Lipstic Collectors*(2004) and online version in http://www.modukit.com/horrorkatze/tekstovi/situ/situationist.html

2 This pessimism of Situationists we have to understand not with the terms of disappointment and timidity. Contrary these reactionary terms were what Situationist opposed the most. Pessimism here refers to Situationists politics of refusal or negation. As Debord explained their aim was "Not the negation of style, but style of Negation". I am grateful to Aleksa Golijanin on his comments on Situationist pessimism.

kind of creative or uncreative animation".[3] A very important aspect of this proposal is that its uses Situationist theory and practice without reducing it to any kind of game-related-cultural-activist-type-of-carnavalesque-multitude-spectacle which in the end of the day only benefits capitalists. Even if not enough elaborated theoretically, this attitude follows the Situationists to their ultimate conclusion of refusal, which is negation. Our sympathies to this approach are practical: its negativity does not give any chance to hippy and new age subsidiaries of so called activist excitement. It is at far remove from Brian Holmes' optimism which he traces in anti-globalist artistic media activisms through the work of *Yes Men*.[4] The reason why it is important to deal with this pessimism at length is because this is where Situationists ideas emanate from; otherwise pre-Situationist ardent concepts such as *psychogeography* or *dérive* might overshadow the political importance of this theory and practice. In any case, one must not forget that this pessimism might support metaphysical applications as (conformist) nihilism which, according to Raoul Vaneigem in *Revolution of Everyday Life*, is just a first step en route to a revolutionary subject who has to pass via active nihilism.

Another sympathetic remark in Rädle and Jeremic's article is their warning "not to base criticism on spatial relations," which allows us to have this theoretical debate on the uses of psychogeography in arts and politics.[5] To make it clear from the outset: psychogeography is not a revolutionary Situationist theory and practice. I will now argue why.

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3 The excess of unnecessary information and manipulative communication was at many times also a target of Situationist critique. The opening remark of Guy Debord's *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle* is important advice on how this tactic can be reversed with some dose of pessimism: "I obviously cannot speak with complete freedom. Above all, I must take care not to instruct just anybody." The only one known 'public performance' of Debord was his lecture to Henri Lefebvre's "group of everyday life research" in 1961 where he used tape of his recorded voice to address the audience.

4 Brian Holmes is most clearly defining this optimism as: " The confidence of tactical media activism represents a turn about from the extreme media pessimism of Guy Debord", in *Do-it'yourself Geopolitics: Cartographies of Art in the World*, in *Collectivism After Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination After 1945*, (eds.) B. Stimson & G. Scholette, University of Minnestota Press, 2004, pg. 280.

5 Unfortunately, Rädle&Jeremic did not follow the pessimistic non-communicative implications of their thesis to the end in their artistic and organizational practices. Since publishing their article (2004), they organized a workshop where some participants sought to use psychogeography as their artistic practice (*Under the Bridge Beograd*), and they titled their 'ludistic' artistic retrospective as *Psychogeographical Research*. Not to mention that this catalogue is also an expression of communication. But luckily they are not pretending to be theorists of pseudo-revolutions. They want to reduce art to its use-value of documenting or supporting the oppressed (as in their video on destruction of Roma settlement in Belgrade Belleville, 2009)

The fact that psychogeography, from the beginning of its existence, caused many problems to Situationist International members is interesting and deserves thought. This menacing component of psychogeography is already visible in first issue of *Internationale Situationniste,* published in June 1958. The article *Venice has Vanquished Ralph Rumney* tells the story of expulsion of a member of the group because he has failed to draw up the psychogeographical map of Venice. It explains that "he has disappeared in the jungle of Venice." The strictness and difficulty of psychogeography is already underlined in the first issue of the Situationist publication: apart from being the "matter of discovering a passionate use for life," psychogeography is also defined with its "goal of more systematic explorations of area." According to the article, Rumney failed in both. What is most astonishing is that Rumney has been expelled from the group because of a deadline which he did not meet. The discipline required for drawing up the psychogeographic map is proof of its not-so-ludistic elements.[6] The second issue of *Internationale Situationniste,* published in December 1958, presents another (partly) failed attempt at psychogeographical research. A member of the group Abdelhafid Khatib tries to research in every detail the social and political ambiances of the Paris Les Halles district, which was a favourite haunt of Situationist members. But, as is explained in the article's post-script, this attempt failed (more correct, was disturbed) "because our collaborator (Khatib) was subject to police harassment in light of the fact that since September (1958), North Africans have been banned from the streets after half past nine in the evening. And of course, the bulk of Abdelhafid Khatib's work concerned the Halles at night. After being arrested twice and spending two nights in a holding cell, he relinquished his efforts. Therefore the present — the political future, no less — may be abstracted due to considerations carried out on psychogeography itself." This episode with Khatib is fundamental to understanding the political implications of psychogeography. First of all, it shows the genuine approach of the Situationists to a non-White and colonized people's cultural practice: it is not *psychogeographing* their area (as usual, for example some attempts on psychogeography of Roma settlements[7]) as 'other'; it is instead allowing the

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6 Ralph Rumney one of the founding member of SI and founder of *London Psychogeography Association* was married to elite of bourgeoisie art collector Peggy Guggenheim's daughter Pegeen who in that time was hanging in Venice. 'Jungle' of Venice which vanquished the Rumney might be this complex network who later had very fatal consequences on him.

7 A local and actual example of this is a book of Lorenz Aggermann, Eduard Freudmann and Can Gülcü, Rende, Belgrade, *Beograd Gazela: Travel Guide to a Slum,* 2009.

voice of the non-European colonized to be avant-garde and subversive.[8] Secondly, it shows that this attempt is, if not impossible, very difficult. There is plenty of proof that, after half of century, non-White colonized people still have difficulties in the centre of Paris, as in other European cities. Khatib's questionnaire on the psychogeograpy of Las Halles very clearly shows that this term has a very precise, almost 'sociological' meaning for the Situationists.

With these two descriptive examples I tried to show that psychogeography is not about a self-reflexive exercise of "how to make life more interesting by just adding to your own perspective without changing any conditions, but only your attention."[9] Because of its prefix 'psycho' there are plenty of stupid examples of subjective, individual and metaphysical interpretation of psychogeography; which goes hand in hand with a general bourgeois definition of art and culture itself. The definition of psychogeography given by SI in the first issue of their publication is very clear: "The study of the specific effects of the geographical environment (whether consciously organized or not) on the emotions and behaviour of individuals." It is also very common to mix psychogeography with another largely used Situationist term, *dérive*. Both psychogeography and dérive refer to spatial practices and are both part of the avant-garde regalia of its first years. Dérive is defined more with *experience* aspects such as: "A mode of experimental behaviour linked to the conditions of urban society: a technique of rapid passage through varied ambiances. The term also designates a specific uninterrupted period of deriving."
We can simplify dérive as strolling or walking through the city *ambiance*, and what is still true for many people today was true then: the avant-garde in France was very much about being out in the streets. [10] From Baudelaire's *flaneur* who is in the chaos of modernisation to Andre Breton's *Nadja* (through the lens of Walter Benjamin's political perplexity), in the avant-garde history of France, walking is more than an utilitarian practice of everyday life or the relaxation of an already instrumentalized

8 Hoping this naïve insistence on 'communication' is understood with the terms of disallowance. Which means: 'communication' (i.e. 'critique') of non-White colonized is interrupted by force of the White colonizer, and naturally complicated theories in this case might cause the situation to be even worse.

9 Raimund Minichbauer, republicart-interview with Emils Rode on *Rigas Modes and Psychogeographic Riga This Week*. http://www.republicart.net/art/concept/interview-rode_en.htm Fashion designer Rode is explaining his art project called *Psychogeographic Riga This Week* which was realized in 2003.

10 One of the reasons why Situationist had a fight with Henri Lefevbre is that he liked to walk in 'natural' ambiances like woods, forests, and alleys which Debord and his company hated. See; *Lefebvre on the Situationists*: *An interview*. By: Ross, Kristin, October, Winter97, Issue 79.

class. It is simply political or social practice which is able to short-circuit everyday routine. The Surrealists were among the most important avant-garde groups having a big influence on the Situationist International. Walking and strolling in strange places was elemental for the Surrealists imagination of adventure, which many a time had fatal consequences to its practitioners. For example, in Andre Breton's *Nadja*, the main character, after showing amazing places to her followers, ends up in a mental hospital. But even Situationists who were under the influence of Surrealists in the beginning diverged nonetheless from their predecessors' conception of spatial practices. Still, many contemporary attempts to re-evaluate spatial practices, such as walking with Situationist terms, are subject to the ill-fated tradition of filtering these through Surrealistic metaphysics. It is easy to show that this is how psychogeography and dérive are so easily recuperated. They are very much overshadowed by those metaphysical conceptions.

The Situationists had a very peculiar relation to Surrealists; in first issue of their journal they define Surrealists tactics as naïve imagings which were easily co-opted by modern sciences innovations. The Situationists mention two American inventions as example of this shift. The first is the 'brainstorming' techniques used by entrepreneur businessmen replacing the *cadavre exquis*, the second is the invention of a 'robot that can write love letters', replacing and ridiculing *automatic writing*.[11] But apart from these funny comparisons, the Situationist were confronting their ideas to the Surrealists on the basis of being principally different. In *Report on the Construction of Situations and on the International Situationist Tendency's Conditions of Organization and Action* presented at the Founding Conference of the Situationist International at Cosio d'Arroscia, Italy in 1957, Guy Debord makes clear that "the error at the root of Surrealism is the idea of infinite richness of the unconscious imagination. We now know that the unconscious imagination is poor, that automatic writing is monotonous, and that the whole ostentatious genre of would-be 'strange' and 'shocking' surrealistic creations has ceased to be very surprising." This merciless critique of Surrealist faith in mystique as tautological-monotonous boredom is confronted with *rationality*. As Debord puts in *Report*: "We need to make the world more rational – it is a necessary first step in making it more exciting, fascinating and fulfilling." The rationalism of the Situationists has its genealogy in the restoration of the avant-garde which started with the Surrealists, who sought to put Dadaism 'on his feet' by making it more applicable for revolutionary purposes, but who very soon lost its programme by sinking into the

inner mysticism of unconsciousness. The Situationists where there to put this rationalism into use (i.e. to *détourner*) again. For instance, *Project for Rational Improvements to the City of Paris* – published in the Lettrist International bulletin Potlatch # 23 – was a rational détournement of Breton's *Experimental Interrogations on a City's Irrational Ornaments* (1933). While Breton's project proposed a Paris that recalls fantastic stories, the Situationists were proposing site-specific alterations to affect the flow of everyday life (i.e. the subway, street lights, park and churches). [12] Even if these pre-situationist proposals seems naïve now, they were one more step toward the politization of the avant-garde which Surrealism failed to fulfil. As it is clear in the above quotations from Debord, the Surrealists had failed in this project not merely because they were co-opted by the market and the society of the spectacle, which seems to be the inevitable process of all avant-gardes including the Situationists. The main issue is that Surrealism, already in its kernel, had the ferment of this co-optation; they were accepting the infinite richness of unconsciousness and at the same time, as Raoul Vaneigem shows, their problems were false ones. They were attacking already dead institutions, and in so doing were just once again affirming the official story of oppression, with another means.[13] When they started, the Situationists were interested in redrawing the 'radical radioactive nucleus' of the Surrealists, through certain spatial practices. The dérive was one of these, which they practiced between 1953 and 1960. For example, in the first issue of *Internationale Situationniste* they re-published the Gilles Ivain (aka Ivan Chtcheglov) text *Formulary for a New Urbanism*, which is a crucial source for defining the dérive. In it, on can obviously see that the dérive's importance lies in its elements of disorientation, which leads to the world of play (*homo ludens*). Ivain shows that dérive and urbanism are still quite similar to Surrealism, and every sentence contains elements of loss, uncanny, uncertainty,

12 This genealogy of rationalism in Situationism also has roots in Lautreamont's often quoted "objective poetry" which "fourteen year old girls should understand." Unfortunately, there are still many attempts to erase the Situationists legacy of rationalism. A recent 'serious' attempt is made by Jelena Stojanovic in her article *Internationaleries: Collectivism, the Grotesque, and Cold War Functionalism'* where she develops the genealogy of art collectives after the Second World War based on "tactical and grotesque reversal of power". And in this picture Situationists are the main representatives of this "playful, grotesque, ambivalent, contradictory and gargantuan task" of internationalism which was set against Karl Gertner's rational and functional "Cold Art" which enjoyed popularity in Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Latin America. As usual this logic is concludies with the thesis that this grotesque helped realize the "revolution of humour" in May 1968. in *Collectivism After Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination After 1945*, (eds.) B. Stimson & G. Scholette, University of Minnestota Press, 2004.

13 Jules-Francois Dupuis (Raoul Vaneigem), *A Cavalier History of Surrealism*, AK press, 1999. That same thesis of Vaneigem's can be applied to the Punk movement too. Punk, as Dave & Stuart Wise claim in their not much discussed text *The End of Music* (1978), was already recuperated at beginning of its existence because it was attacking an already dead institution which was the Queen.

and oddity. Three year later, Guy Debord's *Theory of dérive* published in *Les Levre Nues* made things clear; dérive is no longer about losing. It is precisely described spatial practice eliminating all mystical elements. It is affected by weather conditions, the quantity of participants, duration, etc. The new theory of the dérive tries to completely liquidate the chance and surprise aspect of strolling which was important for Surrealists. As Debord wrote: "If chance plays an important role in dérives this is because the methodology of psychogeographical observation is still in its infancy".

Until now we had seen that psychogeography is a disciplined, difficult, rational and scientific practice. All these attributes are unfortunately always dismissed in the use of psychogeography. The scientific foundation of psychogeography and dérive is the anthropological study *Paris et l'agglomération parisienne (Paris and agglomeration of Parisians)* conducted by Chombart de Lauwe in 1952, where the moves of students living in Paris' 16th arrondissement were mapped. According the map, students were using very little of city; it was triangle of faculty, flat and piano teacher. This discourse of deprived everyday life which was described with *Metro-Boulot-Dodot* triangle has been, for many interpreters of the spatial practices of the Situationists, a reason to be excited by the dérive and psychogeography as a tactic for achieving more bearable and lively life. In this view, the Situationist dérive provides a new way of using the city, an alternative to official cartography, and subverts peoples' main, everyday routes. These are approaches that one is easily tempted to compare with Michel Foucault's heterotopias, thereby reducing all the radical theory and practice of the Situationists to a meditation on 'beaches under the pavement'. [14]

One fraction of these conservative spatial theories which is still very influential follows Michel de Certau's thesis that politics is based on micro-struggles on tactics in contemporary life, for example deciding to take a right of the street in order to turn left at a crossroad of a big city. Full realization of this theory is visible in all sorts of tactical media that accept recuperation as a starting point and *a priori* of their practice, and whose idea of the political is based on metaphysical conceptions of reversing the image.

14 David Pinder, who is an advocate of this approach, is defining dérive and Situationist maps as 'counter-hegemonic' and claims that in this way a new political meaning of city has been produced. *Old Paris Is No More; Geographies of Spectacle and anti-Spectacle*, Antipode, Oct. 2000, Vol. 32, Issue 4.

The Situationist already foresaw these orientations in the beginning of 1960 and ceased to use any kind of psychogeography or dérive in their practice, declaring all artists to be anti-situationists.

To answer the question in the title of this text, "who needs psychogeography?" we can answer: that army of 'happy negatives' and hippy activists whose idea of politics is a carnaval of everyday life.

The possibility of finding use value of the 'radioactive radical nucleus' of psychogeography still rests in the field of rationality.

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2 The distinction between historic and biological types of racism became clearer through Michel Foucault's writing on biopolitics, biopower and racism. His lectures published in *Society Must Be Defended, Lectures at the College De France, 1976-77*, Ed. by Francois Ewald, Picador 2003, are devoted to a complex discussion of how to distinguish between the simple xenophobia that has existed in all places and times, and the "discourse of race struggle", a historical, social and political discourse that he placed in Early Modern times - in seventeenth century Great Britain, and the Modern nineteenth century biological or scientific racism. He also coined the term "state racism" in connection with sovereignty and state power.

Suzana Milevska

What Comes After Racism?
**On different racial technologies and
on solidarity with Roma in the works of Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić**

The export of racial technologies from the USA and Western Europe, the hatred of others in ethnic, gender or sexual terms, securitocracy, necropolitics, human rights violations going unreported: these are some of the most frequent issues in contemporary art that engages with reality. Several of these issues have received ongoing attention in the collaborative and participatory artworks and activist projects of the artists' couple Rena Rädle &Vladan Jeremić but juxtaposed with issues of solidarity, love, conviviality, and a kind of Derridean "unconditional friendship".

Before embarking on further discussion of the various aspects of racism directed at the Roma population in Serbia (and Eastern Europe in general) within the context of the projects that these artists who, working together since 2002, have realized most recently, I need to explain the text's title. I want to clarify the title in order to avoid any possible confusion about which racisms I am referring to. I am interested in discussing different understandings of racism today because even though it has become publicly unacceptable to admit one's own racism, there are many different events and phenomena that reveal that racism is ongoing.[1] Moreover, we still have not convincingly answered the question of why racism is so bad and should be extinguished.

There is a certain danger that my title could be misunderstood as an attempt to make a distinction between the white people's racism directed at African Americans and other coloured population in the USA or elsewhere, and the escalated Anti-Gypsy racism of the Eastern European "whites" against Roma people and/or chauvinism against other ethnic minorities. I find it important to argue that, on the contrary, making this kind of difference in this context is not necessary, even though it is viable and relevant in theory.[2]

1 For example, in their text *Antiziganism and Class Racism in Europe* Vladan Jeremić & Rena Rädle mention one of the most common statements "We don't have anything against Roma" used to justify one's own actions against Roma.

3 Minorities, Race, and Genomics, Human Genome Project Information, 15 July 2009, http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human_Genome/elsi/minorities.shtml.

4 Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia, a conversation with Paul Gilroy by Tommie Shelby, Transition – An International Review, W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, 18 July 2009, http://www.transitionmagazine.com/articles/shelby.htm

5 Historical Memory, Global Movements and Violence Paul Gilroy and Arjun Appadurai in Conversation with Vikki Bell, Theory, Culture & Society 1999 (SAGE, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi), Vol. 16(2): 21-40, [0263-2764(199904)16:2;21±40;008253] www.appadurai.com/pdf/tcs-bell_interview.pdf

6 Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia, http://www.transitionmagazine.com/articles/shelby.htm

Although differing historically, both of these racisms are ultimately founded on a very similar assumption: that there is a hierarchy between different people divided into superior and inferior kinds according to their racial differences, origin and skin colour.

Having said that, it is essential to immediately remind ourselves that: DNA studies do not indicate that separate classifiable subspecies (races) exist within modern humans. While different genes for physical traits such as skin and hair color can be identified between individuals, no consistent patterns of genes across the human genome exist to distinguish one race from another.[3]

And still, such proofs against any scientific foundation of racism and hierarchies among races are not powerful enough to overcome centuries of prejudices and irrational hatred against others, that can only be erased by cultural means, as they first began.[4]

Regarding the question of hierarchies among different racisms, according to Paul Gilroy, Arjun Appadurai and other postcolonial thinkers , racial discrimination should not be considered to be of lesser or greater importance depending on darker skin colour or number of members in discriminated populations and communities. Exactly by making such distinctions based on sameness one would ignite even stronger essentialist arguments: claiming difference of any "scientific" kind between different racisms may underline even more the belief in biological foundation of the racial difference that lies in the mere core of racism.[5]

Consequently, if we say that hate, discrimination, and racism against Black people in general constitutes the most radical and extreme kind of racism in the world, that could add more oil to the already old but still existing arguments that there are biological or genetic differences among people. Such emphasis put on African Americans as more exposed to hatred but also eventually more worthy of solidarity or compassion than the other discriminated people does not help the critical discourse on racism and racial discrimination.

Furthermore, according to Gilroy, even the solidarity raised around the sameness of race and nation among Blacks themselves should be seen as yet another form of racism and fascism.[6]

But the real questions concealed here are: would it be enough to say that we are against any racism anywhere, and does this do the work of solidarity?

Which racisms and which solidarity I am then actually referring to when discussing the work of Rädle&Jeremić? Actually, my proposal is that one should address the urgency of critique of racial hatred directed towards Roma people in Eastern Europe side by side any other racism, without

making any "hierarchy" between different historic types of racisms according to belonging to different races. The same goes for any solidarity based on sameness and identity because thus one reinforces the usual racist discourse and acknowledges the existence of race. Instead, practicing the issue of solidarity with the different that would not be based on belonging to the same nation and race that these two artists have already tackled on many occasions in their projects is much more urgent. [7]

When asked about the issue of whether people have racial identities Paul Gilroy stated:
I don't know the answer to your question, but I do know that the need or desire to attach oneself and represent oneself in that way might look different if things were more equitably dealt with, and might assume a different significance if white supremacy and racial hierarchy were not ubiquitous. So the argument that I made—and maybe I didn't make it well, I don't know—was a strong suggestion that, in order to do effective work against racism, one had to in effect renounce certain ontological assumptions about the nature of race as a category, which cheapened the idea of political solidarity, in my view, because it said that solidarity somehow was an automatic thing, that it would take care of itself. But I believe that solidarity—as you, I think, believe—doesn't take care of itself, that we have to do things to produce that solidarity. [8]

In this statement actually lies the answer to the question around which different understandings of racism I suggest we shape the discussion with. I suggest that we be aware of the distinction between the discussion of racist discrimination that focuses uniquely on the issues stemming out of biological, genetic and physical differences, and the interpretation of racism as a result of complex historical territorial and property struggles that were culturally covered underneath the patterned blanket of invented racial identity.

7 Vladan Jeremić & Rena Rädle projects related to racial discrimination directed at Roma people include Under the Bridge Beograd, 2005 – publication and video documenting the collaborative community based project realized in collaboration with Alexander Nikolić and other artists, Journey to the World of Our Wishes, 2008, participatory project with young Roma children, Writing on the Sky, 2008, collaborative work between Nannette Vinson, Rena Rädle and children of Stari Kostolac, Veliko Crniće and Požarevac and the most recent Belleville, 2009, DVD, 22 min.
8 In the conversation with Tommie Shelby Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia, Gilroy analyses the notion of racial identity: "I've always tried to unpack the notion of identity significantly. So when you say racial identity, I immediately triangulate it: there's the question of sameness; there's the question of solidarity (which we've already dealt with); and there's the issue of subjectivity. So, identity can be unpacked into at least three quite discrete problems, which are usually lumped together when we speak of identity".

9 In their most recent
work, the video
documentary Belleville,
2009, Rädle&Jeremić
record the consequences
of the violent eviction
of 45 Roma families and
of the tearing down of
the barracks which they
inhabited in New Belgrade.
The barracks were in close
vicinity to the residential
complex Belville that was
built on the occasion of
the international sports
manifestation Summer
Universiade 2009. The
eviction and destruction
was assisted by the
police, without giving
residents time to save
their belongings, but also
was supported by the
neighbors, who showed
no solidarity. In contrast,
various activist, art and
cultural organizations
protested against such
state action.

This is not the same as to equate race and class issues and to say that the application of David Harvey's type of critique of economic and territorial racist technologies as the reasons behind the pauperization of Roma people is the only appropriate way to extrapolate and terminate this problem. I do not believe that post-Marxian critique could help us to ultimately resolve and abolish the reasons and the persistence of Roma issue. However, it is obvious that such oblivion of the equal existential needs of the disempowered and impoverished with the needs of the ones who were the reason of their pauperization consequently led to the neglect of the basic human rights to work, to have, and ultimately to live. The line between these different but yet essential needs is very thin and invisible, particularly to the ones who were on the other side. Let us then stipulate here that one can only tackle this complex taboo theme by bringing forward both psychoanalytical and postcolonial discourse.

There are very few artists that not only courageously embarked on working with the very sensitive issues of Anti-Gypsy racism in the Balkan region, but that also deeply understood the complexity and responsibility attached to this issue as Rädle&Jeremić have. In their texts, art projects and activist actions, they address exactly the results of the dichotomy in the representation of Roma people as a problem, and their representation or self-representation as victims.[9]

They question whether there could be, somewhere between these two discursive figures, a potential for acting differently, for rationally understanding the vicious circle of both concepts: the problem and the victim that are interconnected results of our own repressive racial technologies. One way out for them may be the conscious attempt to deconstruct racism by ceasing to cling to the notions of ethnic, national or racial sameness, because notions of national and racial identity enable and even reinforce the return of the repressed racist outbursts. On the other hand, they are aware that the concept of racism must be maintained on a discursive level in order to remind us about the power that is contained in its forgetting and return.

If we take into account Gilroy's critique of any clinging to the "sameness" with your own group, either racial or ethnic, and his pursuing the potentiality for solidarity that is not based on sameness, we could conclude that the importance of the artistic and activist actions by Rädle&Jeremić stems exactly of the solidarity based on difference. When they initiate the projects, not only they offer any kind of support that their Roma participants and collaborators may need, but they also offer them to share in the open potentiality to act and create. They often invite their colleagues from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, collaborate and to share

with them the potentiality to love, support and help the endangered ones: to participate in the act of solidarity that somehow moves from the understanding that Roma are only problems or victims.[10]

Gilroy points to perhaps the most important issue with any racism: that in racist discourse society conceptualizes the subject (or group of subjects) that is perceived as the other, the different, both as a problem and as a victim.[11] As a problem because it disturbs the established order of sameness, as a victim because the compassion that accompanies the victimization is a kind of redemption. "Racialized resistance" and solidarity, on the contrary, require an action towards getting away from the perpetuating cycle of problem and victim, and this is more difficult. Here one could evoke the Freudian concept of melancholia, as Paul Gilroy did, in order to explain ethnic absolutism and racism (or, more specific to this context, racism in Serbia), just as Freud explained Nazism as linked to Germany's postwar reactions to "the loss of a fantasy of omnipotence."[12] We could argue that while Serbia attempts to deny the contemporary effects of its recent loss of Kosovo, it has effectively reaffirmed its power through actions like the Belville aggression.

Serbia is currently undergoing many overnight changes. It is torn between the desire to catch up with the other Balkan states in the race for accession to the EU on the one hand, and the race to catch up with the transition (or should I say transgression) to neoliberal capitalism, that is often seen as an unwritten (e.g. in the EU acquis) but most important bench-mark, on the other. The hatred towards Kosovars who, in the eyes of the radical nationalists but also of many other citizens, are completely to blame for the shrinking of national territory and power cannot be entertained openly, has to be repressed in order to get points with the EU. Such repression of one ethnic racism resulted in outbursts of another one, the one that is more ancient and more generally recognizable – the hatred towards Roma. The case of Belville is only one of many similar outbursts.

What an absurdity that those racisms that exist longer in history (and are thus more frequent) are easier to recognize, but are also, unfortunately, more tolerated. As if the existence of such racism in the past justifies its return. My questions therefore are related towards the mechanisms, the technologies that allow and even support the occurrence of such events and actions (in the case of the Belville evictions, it was the state that tore down the barracks inhabited by Roma). Can we believe that racism will ever cease to exist?

10 For example, for the project Under the Bridge Beograd that was partly realized in the Roma settlement under the Belgrade bridge "Gazela" they collaborated with Nenad Andrić, Anna Balint, Ljiljana Blagojević, Sezgin Boynik, Maja Ćirić, Thomas Crane, Siniša Cvetković, Minna L. Henriksson, Dragan Ignjatov, Zorica Jovanović, Stephan Kurr, Karin Laansoo, Milica Lapčević, Peter Jap Lim, Boris Lukić, Erika Margelyte, Dr Agan Papić, Predrag Miladinović, Tanja Ostojić, Ivana Ranković, Matthias Roth, David Rych, Selena Savić, Hanno Soans, Ricarda Wallhäuser and other collaborators and participants.

11 Paul Gilroy, There Ain't No Black in Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation, Houston A. Baker (Foreword), Chicago, IL: Chicago University, 1991, 11-12.

12 Paul Gilroy, Postcolonial Melancholy (The Wellek Library Lectures), New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, 99.

Here we are drawn back to Michel Foucault's phrase "state racism" that in my view should accompany even the most conceptual and psychoanalytical explanations of the origins of racism. For even if we agree that racism is a phenomenon closely related with the subconscious mechanisms of repression, could we subject to psychoanalysis the state apparatus that tolerates and allows that Roma issue and ongoing racism directed at Roma people? Foucault was perhaps right while making the theoretical difference between biological (or scientific) racism, historical/social racism and state racism. Such distinctions help us understand how these mechanisms work, but one must be aware that in reality all these racisms collapse into one. They intertwine and serve as a kind of easy definition, even justification, for the profound hatred that enables contemporary lynchings to take place in front of the eyes of state "order" and, moreover, even often allow the perpetrators to go unpunished.[13]

Regardless of all cultural attempts to put an end to racism we see many varieties of this societal disease coming back time and time again, and I am afraid that psychoanalytical and any other theoretical analysis cannot help much in its eradication. By establishing the complex relations between the subject's position and the societal context in the racist debate, one could better understand how neither the subject nor the surrounding society ever succeeded in expunging racism from the human stratigraphy, not only in Eastern Europe. More importantly, our "multicultural" and "metropolitan" societies still have not answered the very basic but urgent questions regarding racism, namely: why racism is so bad and how we can proceed with some more effective measures against it.

To conclude, the art projects of Rena Rädle & Vladan Jeremić are not limited to societal research or to utopia concepts claiming to heal the societal disease of racism, and it is all too much to expect this from their artistic actions. However, their focus on solidarity and profound engagement with various Roma communities especially, in Serbia and elsewhere, point to the only possible way to activate the potential of artistic agency to prevent society from continuing to treat Roma as either a problem or victims, and to discuss the necessity of providing the required conditions of conviviality.

13 The case of a young Roma boy Trajan Bekirov killed while chased by Skopje police is paradigmatic: the Macedonian Government did not start investigating his death until Helsinki Human Rights Committee started publicly pressuring the state. For more details on his unresolved death under the most obscure circumstances see: NGOs Urge Macedonian Authorities to Investigate Death of Trajan Bekirov: Romani Youth Last Seen Alive While Being Chased by Police, European Roma Rights Centre, 16. 06. 2006, <www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=2604>.

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1 Krajem pedesetih, početkom šezdesetih godina XX veka nastupa ubrzana urbanizacija širom Evrope i svetskim gradovima. U Parizu nastupa eksplozija onoga što su političari i urbani planeri zvali "novi gradovi". Tada se pojavilo i snažno osećanje da gradovi gube svoju humanu dimenziju. Ubrzana modernizacija urbanog društva imala je uticaja na taktike Situacionističke internacionale (SI) kao avangarde koja je bila zabrinuta zbog ove uniformizacije društva kroz urbanizam, masovne medije i dihotomije rada i odmora. Situacionistička internacionala (SI) se pojavila 1957. godine iz Letrističke Internacionale (LI), Imaginarnog Bauhausa (Imaginary Bauhaus) i Londonskog psihogeografskog komiteta (the London Psychogeographical Comittee) sa novim poljima interesovanja i revolucionarnog programa

Gordana Nikolić

Psihogeografska hronika društva na završetku tranzicije ili na početku "neoliberalne stvarnosti"

Izložba pod nazivom "Psihogeografsko istraživanje" u Muzeju savremene umetnosti Vojvodine u Novom Sadu (2009) predstavlja aktivnosti umetničkog para – Rene Redle (Rädle) i Vladana Jeremića - koncentrisanih u poslednjih sedam godina na osobenu praksu "estetizovane dokumentacije", koja svojom formom uspeva da zadovolji zahteve jedne klasične galerijske izložbe, ali u isto vreme i da svojim sadržajem te okvire bitno pomeri. Ova izložba se sastoji od medijski različito prezentovanih koncepata, projekata i radova koje su umetnici različitim povodima do sada razvijali i realizovali. To su informacione intervencije i instalacije koje koriste net platforme (koje istovremeno funkcionišu kao internet arhiva sa audio-vizuelnim reportažama i dokumentacijom i kao "ludistička" net intervencija), fotografije, printove sa tekstualnim i vizuelnim sadržajima, filmske i video projekcije i objekte potrošačke kulture itd. Ovi radovi variraju od "konkretne" umetničke intervencije u samom mediju (npr. fotomontaže) - preko medijski različito dokumentovanih i prezentovanih projekata-događaja koje su Rena i Vladan pokrenuli ili u njima učestvovali - do faktografsko-dokumentarističkog pristupa beleženja određenih događaja iz socijalne "stvarnosti" koji su izazvali pažnju umetnika. Sam naziv izložbe jasno refiše na letrističko-situacionistički neologizam "psihogeografija" i evocira praksu situacionista koja se zasniva na nizu strategija za istraživanje urbanog okruženja ili zakona i specifičnih efekata geografskog okruženja (svesno organizovanog ili ne) na ljude, njihova ponašanja i emocije[1]. Svesno oslanjanje na situacionističku praksu

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koji se fokusirao na "potiskivanje i realizaciju umetnosti u životu" i ono što su tada zvali "konstrukciju situacija". Šardone (Ewen Chardonnet) je 2003. godine izneo tezu da je tačka preloma u SI 1961. godine i radikalizacija francuske grupe bila u vezi sa percepcijom da su se prvi zahtevi psihogeografije smenjivali od alata za socijalne pokrete ka seriji psihogeografskih "igara" i da je ovo, takođe, jasno prezentovano u tada savremenom tehnološkom korišćenju GPS-a, mobilnih telefona, wireless network-a koji su prilično ograničeni na "igre" umesto na korišćenje tih tehnologija za socijalne akcije. Više o tome: Ewen Chardonnet, History of Unitary Urbanism and Psychogeography at The Turn of The Sixties

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podrazumeva i bitan element socijalnog angažmana kao intervencije u datom okruženju koja je u vezi sa situacionističkom idejom da se omogući ponovno pojavljivanje kreativnosti u socijalnoj sferi. Evociranje ove prakse u slučaju Redle/Jeremić podrazumeva, pre svega, njen transfer i prevođenje u određenu geografsko - (prostorno-vremensko) - psihološku kategoriju. Iz tog razloga, potrebno je razumeti društvenu, ideološku i kulturnu dimenziju konteksta u okviru kog ovaj umetnički par interveniše i gradi svoje pozicije i strategije delovanja u javnom prostoru, kao i na reflektovanje ove prakse na lokalnu kulturnu scenu.

"Neoliberalna stvarnost" u Srbiji?

Kontekst u okviru kog su ovi radovi nastajali označen je periodom tzv. postoktobarskih "demokratskih" promena u Srbiji nakon 2000. godine koje je trebalo da uvedu post-socijalističko društvo, istraumatizovano građanskim ratovima u ex-jugoslovenskom prostoru (podstaknutih medijski dirigovanim i izmanipulisanim etno-nacionalističkim esencijalizmima i ekonomskom tranzicijom ka "divljem kapitalizmu"), u legitimisanu neoliberalnu paradigmu (kapitalističkog Zapada) i okvire njenih političkih, ekonomskih, društvenih i kulturnih institucija i tehnologija. Ova tranzicija, proklamovana često i kao "normalizacija" srpskog društva, nosi brojne kontradiktornosti sistema koje se reflektuju na sve aspekte društvenih institucija i građanskih prava i sloboda, a koje zaoštrava i pojava svetske ekonomske krize kao pogodnog retoričkog "srebrnog metka" državne politike za pacifizaciju narastajućeg masovnog nezadovoljstva.

Na prostoru u kom se sudaraju sile post-socijalističke tranzicije i globalizacije, postajemo svedoci i učesnici jedne tranzicije od "turbo fašizma" (Ž. Papić) iz miloševićevog doba ka "neoliberalnoj stvarnosti" koju možemo iskusiti na ulici ili udobno posmatrati iz fotelje svog doma na televiziji: korporacijski kapitalistički sektor usmerava politiku najviših državnih instanci i stvara novo društveno raslojavanje i antagonizme; refeudalizacija javnih prostora je "na delu" i beskrupulozna urbana gentrifikacija delova gradova koje naseljavaju najsiromašniji slojevi stanovništva (pre svega Romi) - uz rušenje slamova bez rešavanja problema smeštaja njihovih stanovnika; rasizmi i kultur-rasizmi iz devedesetih godina pretvaraju se u "klasne" rasizme koji vode ka porastu i okoštavanju društvene segregacije; neregularna privatizacija društvenih preduzeća kroz tajkunizaciju koja nasilno odvodi ova preduzeća u stečaj - praćeni

gubitkom posla i masovnim štrajkovima obespravljenih radnika-akcionara i radničkih sindikata; kršenje osnovnih ljudskih i građanskih prava i sloboda i nasilništvo nad gej i lezbejskom populacijom ili manjinskim i marginalnim kulturama; novo lice cenzure vlasti čiji izvršni aparati ne sprečavaju profašističke "sile ulice" da odlučuju o "podobnosti" i "nepodobnosti" javnih događaja i stavova i time njihov sud zvanično legitimizuju[2]; monopolizacija kulture kroz zloupotrebu javnog novca na relaciji javni sektor - privatni sektor tzv. "kreativnih industrija" koji kreiraju zvaničnu kulturnu politiku isključivo baziranu na paradigmi masovne ekonomizacije kulture i ostvarenju profita - koju prati devastacija neprofitabilne kulturne produkcije i nestanak umetničkih scena[3] itd.

Uz ovako opisanu savremenu stvarnost nameću nam se pitanja: da li mi u Srbiji već živimo neoliberalnu stvarnost koju prihvatamo kao "prirodnu" i "neizbežnu", koja je postala deo našeg "zdravog razuma"? ili dokle smo zagazili u sistem koji "pulsira" od stanja fatalnih protivrečnost? da li je to ono lice neoliberalne stvarnosti koje smo do juče mogli da pratimo samo preko medijskog izveštavanja u rubrici "svet" o dalekim alter-globalističkim pokretima ili radničkim protestima protiv Moći Kapitala koja teži totalnoj komercijalizaciji i kontroli svih aspekata naših života i kretnji, a koja ugnjetava sve slabe, siromašne, marginalne i prekarne?

Mnogi zaključuju da globalni neoliberalni sistem koji propagira "otvorenost" i "slobodu" primenjuje ove vrednosne kategorije samo na prostor ekonomske razmene otelotvoren kroz deregulaciju multinacionalnog kapitala i slobodno tržište, dok se, sa druge strane, društvena kontrola i klasna diferencijacija uspostavljaju kao paradoks na kom se sistem razvija. "On je izmijenio i razvijeni svijet kao i svijet koji se još uvijek razvija (...) Diljem svjetskih gradova neoliberalizam je

2 Danas u Srbiji postoje brojni slučajevi da huligani ili organizovane klero-fašističke grupe sprovode na ulicama gradova politiku nasilja koju propagiraju, pri čemu se Vlast pokazala nemoćnom da obezbedi određene događaje i manifestacije građanskih (manjinskih) inicijativa ili kulturnih institucija koje iskazuju drukčije mišljenje i stavove od većine i bore se za primenu Ustavom zagarantovanih prava i sloboda. Najrecentniji slučaj, koji je dobio značajnu pažnju i internacionalnih medija, u vezi je sa objavljivanjem odluke Vlasti, donešene u uslovima nasilnih pretnji klero-fašističkih organizacija, da dan pred najavljenu "Povorku ponosa" izmeste ovaj događaj van centra Beograda. Zbog ove odluke organizatori Povorke su odustali od održavanja događaja na najavljeni datum van prvobitno zvanično odobrene lokacije. Sličan slučaj je i nasilno zatvaranje izložbe kosovskih umetnika "Odstupanje / Savremena umetnička scena Prištine" februara 2008. u Kontekst galeriji, Beograd.
video: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jRSzUSwcVcQ, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wVC25afxpkU

korišten da bi se prodavala javna dobra, da bi se privatizirao javni prostor, da bi se energičnim akcijama i oštrim mjerama udarilo na sindikate, da bi se uništila državna stambena skrb."(Hackwort)[4]. Dejvid Harvi (David Harvey) objašnjava da proces neoliberalizacije iziskuje potpunu "kreativnu destrukciju", ne samo prethodnih institucionalnih okvira i moći, već takođe i podele rada, društvenih relacija, mere napretka, tehnološka ukrštanja, načine života i mišljenja, reproduktivnih aktivnosti, (emotivno) vezivanje za sredinu u kojoj živimo i za životne navike. Po njemu, da bi bilo koji način mišljenja postao dominantan, jedan konceptualni aparat se mora unaprediti, tako da odgovara našim intuicijama i instinktima, našim vrednostima i našim željama, kao i mogućnostima inherentnim u svetu u kom živimo. Ako je uspešan, ovaj konceptualni aparat postaje toliko otelotvoren u "zdravom razumu" kao uzet zdravo za gotovo, bez propitivanja[5].

Nova socijalna situacija implicira višestruke sukobe koji se ne mogu podvesti pod pojam "klasično klasnih" čiji je glavni protagonista radnička klasa. Ovi sukobi se ogledaju i na planu radnih odnosa, fizičkog i intelektualnog rada, rodnih odnosa, dominantnih i marginalnih grupa, uništavanja i zaštite prirode i sve većih suprotnosti između malih, nerazvijenih i razvijenih društava i naroda, a ono što ove sukobe povezuje jeste suprotstavljenost hegemonističkih sila/moći i obespravljenih "aktera" lišenih moći[6]. Džejson Hekvort smatra da neoliberalizam veliki deo svoje trenutne moći duguje sposobnosti njegovih zagovornika da iskoriste druge pokrete i ideologije kao političku krinku[7]. Možda u tome leži tajna njegovog opstanka i moći. Ostaje pitanje, koje postavlja i Hekvort, zbog čega je tako teško boriti se protiv njega? U tom smislu, važno je shvatiti kakva je pozicija savremene umetnosti i kulturne produkcije u ovakvoj konstrukciji sveta? I u kakvoj su one vezi sa promenama, reprezentacijom i interpretacijama velikih ekonomskih, političkih i društvenih paradigmi?

A umetnost - u društvenu proizvodnju!?

Umetnička i kulturna produkcija u zvaničnom umetničkom sistemu često egzistira na ambivalentnim pozicijama latentne uloge "dekoratera neoliberalnog kapitalizma i njenog funkcionisanja kroz formu čisto tržišnog proizvoda" – kako sam kaže Vladan Jeremić – ili u slučaju tzv. artističko/aktivističkih praksi "slobodne igre u svakodnevnom životu" koja "može otvoriti prostor za direktan međusobni kontakt i direktnu akciju, koje simbolički modeli umetničke komunikacije ne mogu nadomestiti"[8]. Ako uzmemo u obzir postojeći kontekst, ove pozicije nam se često ukazuju

3 Npr. slučaj novosadske neprofitne scene koja se organizovala kroz inicijativu "Za kulturne politike – politika kulture", www. zakulturnepolitike.net

4 Jason Hackwort, Kritika neoliberalnog grada u: "Operacija: grad - priručnik za život u neoliberalnoj stvarnosti", Savez za centar za nezavisnu kulturu i mlade / Multimedijalni institut / Platforma 9,81 - Institut za istraživanja u arhitekturi / BLOK - Lokalna baza za osvježavanje kulture / SU Klubtura – Clubture, Zagreb, 2008, 93-94.

5 David Harvey, "A Brief History of Neoliberalism", Oxford University Press, New York, 2005, 3, 5.

6 Zagorka Golubović, Sudbina radničke klase u današnjoj Srbiji: apologija kapitalizma ili kritičko preispitivanje sukoba u savremenom kapitalizmu?, Republika, 424-425.

7 Jason Hackwort, Ibid.

8 Vladan Jeremić, Brisanje konteksta

kroz hiperprodukciju u: "Re-reader 2006/2007 – annual report of the e-zine Kakogod", Biro Beograd / Slobodnakultura.org, Beograd, 2007.
9 Ibid.

10 Pavle Levi, Kino-komuna: film kao prvostepena društveno-

kao rigidno zaoštrene i jedine opcije u kojima umetnik bira da li da se prepusti inerciji ambijenta i prati kontrolisane repetitivne obrasce na putu ka konačnoj "institucionalizaciji" ili da uđe u nesiguran i dinamičan prostor "direktne" društvene proizvodnje. Ovako skicirane pozicije su Vladan i Rena prepoznali kao "dijalektički okvir" u kom se njihova umetnička aktivnost nužno ispolitizovala i preklopila sa svakodnevnim životom gde su kao aktivni politički subjekti – tačnije aktivisti – istovremeno sprovodili lično istraživanje i angažovali se u događajima i situacijama koje su zahtevale kolektivnu solidarnost sa marginalnim i potlačenim društvenim grupama. Vladan na jednom mestu objašnjava ulogu savremene umetnosti: "Potrebno je ući u sistem sa rizomatskom predstavom o odnosima, i kroz razne pozicije identiteta "nevidljivo" ga poništavati i urušavati: igrati se sa sistemom tako da jednostavno onemogućimo njegovo funkcionisanje na raznim planovima".[9]

U opsežnom eseju koji se bavi analizom filmskog stvaralaštva jednog od najvećih imena u vojvođanskoj kinematografiji - Želimira Žilnika, Pavle Levi na jednom mestu zaključuje da se filmovi ovog autora bave subjektivizacijom, politizacijom "najnestabilnijih oblika društvenog postojanja".[10] Iako, zbog različitih koncepcijskih i produkcijskih ishodišta nije metodološki oportuno porediti Žilnikovo stvaralaštvo sa radom Rene Redle i Vladana Jeremića, ipak u jednoj tački aktivnosti ovih autora konvergiraju, a to je upravo ovaj aspekt interesovanja prema ugnjetenima, marginalizovanima i isključenima iz uspostavljenih društvenih okvira – "prokletom delu" društva. U većini radova Vladana i Rene, to su uglavnom Romi – kao najugroženija i najmarginalnija etnička zajednica – i njihov životni prostor (Under the Bridge, Belvil, radionica sa romskom decom - Writing on The Sky), ili siromašni prodavci sekundarne robe sa buvljih pijaca, prekarni radnici, ekonomski migranti i imigranti (Sendi, Horrorkatze Macht Terror) ili supkulture (kao što su gej i lezbejska) koje su uglavnom politički artikulisane, ali i dalje na ivici društvene "prihvatljivosti" (aktivistički projekti solidarnosti sa ovim grupama) - ukratko one najsenzitivnije i najfragilnije socijalne zone na kojima se sile moći (starih i novih) sistema fatalno sudaraju. Radovi i projekti koji se bave ovim društvenim grupama na različite načine dotiču životne probleme sa kojima se ovi ljudi suočavaju, a sam pristup u radovima oscilira između svesno-egzotizujućeg, ali i samo-kritičkog pogleda (Under the Bridge) do objektivnog upoznavanja i dokumentovanja (Belvil). Poseban segment aktivizma i rada Redle/Jeremić odnosi se na romsku populaciju i njihov socijalno-klasni i kulturološki položaj u kontekstu

globalno-lokalnih politika. Sa tog aspekta značajni su kratak film i fotografije pod nazivom "Belvil" koji dokumentuju slučaj rušenja skloništa/domova, uglavnom Roma, u aprilu 2009. godine u bloku 67 u Beogradu radi gradnje stambenih objekata za učesnike "Univerzijade 2009." koji svedoče i o "političkoj osvešćenosti", preciznije politizaciji, romske zajednice u Beogradu koja se poziva na određene paradigme građanskih institucija, ima svoje političke lidere i kolektivno organizuje protest ispred Gradske skupštine. Ovi potresni dokumenti dobijaju novu dimenziju sa njihovim predstavljanjem u okviru izložbene postavke (kao npr. na izložbi "Psihogeografsko istraživanje" u Srpskom kulturnom centru u Parizu 2009.) koja često ne može da izbegne "auru" prostora sanitizovanja stvarnosti. Međutim, izložbe, poput ove, nam pokazuju da nam se galerijski prostor ne obećava uvek kao siguran prostor "konzumacije kulture", već kao prostor koji takođe može naterati posmatrača da preispita svoje "političke" stavove i kompetencije o gorućim društvenim problemima. Umetnik je u ulozi onoga ko ukazuje i podseća nas na ove goruće probleme poput "uveličavajućeg ogledala" (Nebojša Milikić) i na neki način daje "nama" drugu šansu za sopstvenu subjektivizaciju i politizaciju naše pozicije prema "drugima" i "drugosti".

Socijalni diverzitet koji odslikavaju radovi sa izložbe upotpunjen je i tretiranjem položaja "savremenih radnika i radnica" kroz fotomontaže "Serija spomenika" (2007) koje predstavljaju neku vrstu "antropologije radničke svakodnevnice". U ovom radu umetnici "glume" spomenike zamišljenim radnicima i radnicama u privatnom sektoru uglavnom iz domena ekonomije usluga ili kreativnog sektora, u tržnim centrima i marketima ili drugim središtima/instrumentima korporacijske moći. Ovi fiktivni memorijali zapravo treba da obeleže određene događaje i odluke iz života radnika/ca koji su na neki način "sudbinski" odredili njihov život – dobiti otkaz ili napustiti posao i pokrenuti sopstveni biznis, uzeti pozajmicu i otići na letovanje – ili se pokazali kao nerealizovani snovi o "uspešnoj i karijeri" u surovom svetu prekarijata[11]. Savremeni Radnik (posebno iz sektora proizvodnje/industrije) je obespravljen i marginalizovan subjekt u procesu društvenog razvoja i u raspodeli

politička intervencija u: "Za ideju-protiv stanja: analiza i sistematizacija umetničkog stvaralaštva Želimira Žilnika", Playground produkcija, Novi Sad, 2009.
11 Prekarijat (Precarity) je opšti termin kojim se opisuje činjenica da je danas veliki deo stanovništva subjekt fleksibilne eksploatacije ili "flexoplotacije" (niske i nesigurne isplate, visoki stepen uslovljavanja-blackmailability, neredovni prihodi, itd), i egzistencijalnog prekarijata (visoki rizik društvenog isključenja zbog niskih primanja, visoki troškovi života, itd). Ovi uslovi prekarijata utiču na sve oblike rada koji se tiču servisne ekonomije u užem smislu i celokupno stanovništvo u širem smislu, ali posebno omladinu, žene i imigrante. Preuzeto sa: http://kuda.org/sr/node/746

stečenog bogatstva, kao i nepostojeći nosilac proklamovanih ljudskih i građanskih prava, koji je često prepušten borbi za "goli život".

Kao kulminacija tretiranja teme socijalnih odnosa u sistemu moći, uzdiže se veliki, barokni, plesno-muzički spektakl "Partisan Songspiel" – najrecentniji filmski projekat nastao u saradnji Redle/Jeremić sa umetničko-aktivističko-teorijskom grupom "Chto Delat" (Sankt Petersburg). U ovom radu - koji je i kulminacija intenzivne prakse razmene iskustava, ideja, razvoja saradnje i zajedničkih projekata kojima su Redle i Jeremić otvorili apetite i podigli standarde na aktivističkoj/umetničkoj sceni – prisutni svi bitni akteri "društvene scene" post-socijalističke tranzicije koji nas iz svojih individualnih pozicija uvode u veliki narativ o savremenim sukobima. Tu su tlačitelji (tajkun, političarka, klero-fašista, mafijaš i njihovi bodyguards) i potlačeni (Romkinja, radnik, lezbejka, invalid). Kuriozitet u ovom visoko-produkcijskom filmskom projektu predstavlja uključivanje horova (partizani) koji zapravo pevanjem komentarišu situacije na sceni. Ova "eksplozija" koncentracije različitih klasnih reprezentanata dobija na zapletu sa uvođenjem narativa o našoj socijalističkoj/komunističkoj prošlosti i njenim borcima, partizanima koji nas poput kolektivnog alter-ega opominju i ukazuju na duboku istorijsku perspektivu u kojoj možemo naći "ključ" za razumevanje nezadovoljavajuće aktuelne situacije. Ovaj rad, između ostalog, potvrđuje i da su produkcijski kapaciteti i ambicija Vladana Jeremića i Rene Redle prevazišli ovdašnje okvire utvrđene "normalnosti" lokalnih kulturnih politika zbog čega je, verovatno, nekoliko meseci ranije Vladan i dobio otkaz iz uredničkog tima Doma omladine čiju je galeriju za svega godinu dana učinio najživljim i najaktivnijim punktom savremene umetničke produkcije u Beogradu.[12]

Rad i aktivnosti umetničkog para Redle/Jeremić svakako se ne mogu sagledati kroz manifestaciju izložbe čiji su kapaciteti uglavnom ograničeni na prezentovanje samo one "estetizovane" strane njihovog delovanja. Ovaj par je jedna od najaktivnijih instanci na kulturnoj i umetničko-

12 Vladan je do marta 2009. godine radio kao urednik galerije u Domu omladine, Beograd. U okviru jedne od poslednjih izložbi/događaja koje je organizovao, pod naslovom "Balkan Exotic" (Ondrej Brody & Kristofer Paetau), umetnici su razvili i video radionicu koja kritički analizira fenomen egzotizma čija je ideja bila da se isproducira video rad u kome su umetnici i glumci koristili pornografiju kao metaforu koja prikazuje realističnu sliku društva. Između ostalog, realizacija ove izložbe i radionice, kao i prezentacija drugih (ideološki, politički, umetnički) "delikatnih" i

aktivističkoj sceni Beograda i poseban značaj poprimaju sve one druge njihove aktivnosti i angažmani koji zalaze u polje kulturnih politika, edukacije, anarhističke scene, socijalnog rada i aktivizma (koji često nisu dokumentovani). Njihovo delovanje u ovim poljima zaslužno je za internacionalizaciju scene i njenih aktivističkih potencijala kroz internacionalno udruživanje i saradnju sa drugim pojedincima i grupama na brojnim projektima, akcijama i događajima[13]. Kroz brojne "identitete" Redle/Jeremić su delovali ili deluju kao radnici u kulturi i organizatori brojnih tribina i javnih diskusija, kao edukatori (radionice sa mladima), izdavači i (foto)reporteri o aktuelnim dešavanjima u kulturi i društvu, inicijatori i učesnici u različitim projektima i događajima iz domena slobodnog softvera, slobodne razmene informacija i kreativne upotrebe tehnologija - globalni pokreti slobodne kulture (slobodnakultura.org) i Creative Commons itd. U tom smislu, njihov nematerijalan, simbolički rad je ono od čega kulturna scena u Srbiji i šire može da izvuče naročitu benefit. (Re)produkcija "znanja" bi upravo bila najadekvatnija etiketa za njihove "proizvode". A znanje je uvek najsigurniji punkt za negovanje i podsticanje "bespoštedne" kritike!

"kontroverznih" sadržaja tokom Vladanovog uredništva koji su izlazili iz okvira očekivane "normalnosti" bili su razlog njegovog otpuštanja sa posla.

13 U tom kontekstu, važno je pomenuti i ranije aktivnosti Rene Redle (dok je živela u Nemačkoj) u polju novih medija kada je, između ostalog, izlagala već 1997. godine na manifestaciji Dokumenta X (Kasel) u programu "Hybrid Workspace", kao i njen rad u okviru brojnih organizacija koje se bave novim medijima (u Kaselu, Berlinu itd). Redle/Jeremić su i osnivači i članovi organizacija/udruženja za kulturu i komunikacije: zajedno sa Aleksanderom Nikolićem (Alexander Nikolić, Beč) osnovali su Biro Beograd u okviru kog realizuju veliki deo svojih aktivnosti, zatim u okviru organizacije Top e.V (postoji od 2000.) iz Berlina bave se organizacijom različitih kulturnih dešavanja itd. Pored aktivne saradnje sa kolektivom Chto Delat iz Rusije, važno je istaći njihovu saradnju sa nezavisnom scenom u Hamburgu i sa Piratbyran kolektivom iz Švedske (gostovali i u Beogradu i Novom Sadu u organizaciji slobodnakultura.org i Biro Beograd) kojima su i pružali podršku marta 2009. godine povodom suđenja u Štokholmu zbog optužbi za "ilegalne aktivnosti" na delu bittorent tracker-a "The Pirate Bay", kao i saradnju sa brojnim regionalnim i lokalnim organizacijama i akterima među kojima se ističu: Laboratory za savremenu umetnost sa Kosova u okviru Relation project-a (i njihovo gostovanje na Kosovu 2005. godine), sa Multimedijalnim institutom iz Zagreba, Centrom za nove medije – kuda.org iz Novog Sada, Prelom kolektivom iz Beograda, "Žene u crnom" i drugim.

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Gordana Nikolić, kustoskinja Odeljenja za film i fotografiju u Muzeju savremene umetnosti Vojvodine, Novi Sad (od 2006). Diplomirala na Katedri za istoriju moderne umetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu, Beograd 2006. godine i na master studijama u okviru Centra za Interdisciplinarne studije – odsek Teorija umetnosti i medija - na Univerzitetu umetnosti, Beograd 2008. godine. Kustoskinja i urednica brojnih javnih događaja: izložbi, konferencija, diskusija, predavanja i prezentacija iz oblasti savremene umetnosti, filma i novih tehnologija. Pisala teorijske tekstove, prikaze i kritiku za različite publikacije, kataloge izložbi i periodiku. Članica je Instituta za fleksibilne kulture i tehnologije - Napon, Novi Sad (osnovan 2005) i Radne grupe inicijative Za kulturne politike – politika kulture (osnovana 2009).
Oblasti: teorija i istorija moderne i savremene umetnosti i filma, teorija medija, kustoske prakse, digitalni arhivi (elektronska reproduktivna umetnost), sociološka nauka i studije kulture.
http://msuv.org
http://napon.org
http://zakulturnepolitike.net

Sezgin Bojnik

Kome je potrebna psihogeografija?

Ako ništa drugo, teza koju Rena Redle i Vladan Jeremić afirmišu u svom članku *Realizacija situacionističkih projekcija* omogućava izgradnju kritičkog pristupa praksi psihogeografije. Taj članak odlikuje promišljeno izbegavanje bilo kakve spektakularne interpretacije ideja Situacionističke internacionale (SI), koje oni nazivaju Projekcijama. Polazeći od činjenice da kulturni menadžment može kooptirati i redukovati svaku radikalnu ideju, uključujući i situacionističku, u svetu tržišne cirkulacije kao „polidijalektičkog sistema pop gerile, pirsinga, igrica, neopanka i kulture tetovaže"[1], oni razmatraju teoriju rekuperacije, koju su na najradikalniji način formulisali upravo situacionisti.

U duhu Deborovog (Guy Debord) aforizma iz *Društva spektakla* o *usavršenom odvajanju*, Redle i Jeremić prihvataju neodoljivi ton situacionističkog pesimizma[2] i, bez ironije, u svom članku tvrde da je jedan od načina izbegavanja rekuperacije situacionističkih ideja („projekcija") uzdržavanje od izgovaranja samog pojma; oni pozivaju na „eutanaziju samog imena SI i njegovo proterivanje iz teksta i jezika". Samo s potpunim odbacivanjem koncepata povezanih sa SI moguće je govoriti o revolucionarnim mogućnostima jezika. Nema, praktična poruka te taktike je da nema mesta za istinski subverzivne i radikalne „projekcije" u okviru kulturnog menadžmenta (kao i u onom pravom). Drugo, ono što nazivaju „ličnim" korakom napred ka toj likvidaciji jeste totalna eliminacija svake komunikacije, što znači komunikacije sa svetom menadžmenta.

Takvo udaljavanje se može postići samo kroz negaciju. Praktično rešenje, po njima, jeste „ne primati informacije!", zato što „neinformisani modus znači neusvajanje metaekonomskih strategija iz prostora tržišta." (str. 74)

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1 Rena Redle & Vladan Jeremić (Horrorkatze), *Realizacija situacionistički projekcija*, u posebnom izdanju o Situacionističkoj internacionali, *art-ist: contemporary art magazine* no.1, 2004, Istanbul, str. 72–76. Ovaj članak je objavljen i u ovom katalogu, a može se naći i u *Out 1 Lipstic Collectors (*2004). Online verzija: http://www.modukit.com/horrorkatze/tekstovi/situ/situationist.html.

2 Pesimizam situacionista ovde treba da razumemo ne kao razočarenje i bojažljivost, jer ovi reakcionari termini su bili upravo ono protiv čega su se situacionisti najviše borili. Pesimizam ovde referiše na situacionističku politiku odbijanja i negacije. Kako je Debor jednom objasnio cilj je bio: "Ne negacija stila, nego stil negacije". Zahvaljujem se Aleksi Golijaninu na komentarima u vezi pesimizma situacionista.

Krajnje sredstvo te preventivne akcije je „ne učestvovati, na bilo koji način, u kreativnoj ili nekreativnoj animaciji".[3]

Veoma važan aspekt ovog predloga je to što situacionističku teoriju i praksu koristi ne svodeći ih na neku vrstu razigranog, kultur-aktivističkog, karnevalskog spektakla za mnoštvo, od kojeg na kraju korist imaju samo kapitalisti. Čak i ako nije teorijski razvijen, taj pristup sledi situacioniste u njihovoj ideji o neznanju kao krajnjem ishodu, što je izraz odbijanja. Naša naklonost prema ovom predlogu je motivisana praktičnim razlozima: njegova negativnost ne daje nikakvu šansu hipijevskim i njuejdžerskim ljubiteljima takozvanog aktivističkog uzbuđenja. On je veoma udaljen i od optimizma Brajena Holmsa (Brian Holmes), za koji on pronalazi opravdanje u antiglobalističkom, umetničkom i medijskom aktivizmu *Yes Men*.[4] Razlog zašto tom pesimizmu vredi posvetiti veću pažnju jeste činjenica da upravo odatle izviru i situacionističke ideje; inače bi zapaljivi presituacionistički koncepti kao što su *psihogeografija* ili *dérive* mogli zaseniti politički značaj te teorije i prakse. U svakom slučaju, ne treba gubiti iz vida da takav pesimizam može podržati i takve metafizičke aplikacije kao što je (konformistički) nihilizam, koji je, prema Raulu Vanegemu (*Revolucija svakodnevnog života*), samo prvi korak koji revolucionarni subjekt treba da učini da bi dospeo u stanje aktivnog nihilizma.

Drugo privlačno zapažanje iz članka Redleove i Jeremića jeste njihovo upozorenje da se „kritika ne sme bazirati na spacijalnim odnosima", što otvara prostor za teorijsku debatu o upotrebi psihogeografije u umetnosti i politici.[5] Da to odmah razjasnimo: psihogeografija nije revolucionarna situacionistička teorija i praksa. Sada ću objasniti i zašto.

Činjenica da je psihogeografija, od samog početka, članovima SI pričinjava mnoge probleme, zanimljiva je i vredi se nad njome zamisliti. Taj preteći aspekt psihogeografije uočava se još u prvom broju *Situacionističke internacionale*, iz juna 1958. U članku pod naslovom *Venecija je pobedila*

Ralfa Ramnija, čitamo priču o isključenju jednog člana grupe, zato što nije uspeo da iscrta psihogeografsku mapu Venecije. U članku se tvrdi da je „(Ramni) nestao u venecijanskoj džungli". Stroga i zahtevna pravila psihogeografije bila su naglašena već u prvom broju te situacionističke publikacije: pored toga što je reč o „otkrivanju njene strastvene upotrebe za život", psihogeografija se definiše kao aktivnost koja za „cilj ima mnogo sistematičnije istraživanje neke oblasti". Prema tom članku, Ramni nije uspeo da postigne ni jedno, niti drugo. Ono što najviše zapanjuje je činjenica da je Ramni bio isključen iz grupe zato što zadatak nije obavio u zadatom roku. Disciplina koju je zahtevalo iscrtavanje psihogeografske mape svedoči o njenim ne tako ludističkim elementima.[6]

Pored toga, u drugom broju *Situacionističke internacionale*, iz decembra 1958, opisan je još jedan (delimično) neuspeli pokušaj psihogeografskog istraživanja. U članku *Pokušaj psihogeografskog opisa Lez Ola*, član grupe Abdelhafid Kathib je pokušao da istraži svaki detalj socijalnog i političkog ambijenta pariske četvrti Lez Ol, omiljenog lovišta situacionista. Ali, kao što je objašnjeno u post skriptumu, taj pokušaj nije uspeo (tačnije, bio je ometen), „zato što je naš saradnik (Kathib) bio izložen policijskom nasilju, na osnovu uredbe kojom je od septembra (1958) Severnoafrikancima bio zabranjen izlazak na ulicu posle pola deset uveče. Naravno, najveći deo Kathibovog istraživanja Lez Ola trebalo je da se odvija noću. Pošto je dva puta bio uhapšen i dve noći proveo u pritvoru, to je osujetilo njegove napore. Prema tome, sadašnjost – politička budućnost, ni manje, ni više – može se apstrahovati na osnovu razmatranja same psihogeografije".

Ova epizoda sa Khatibom je od suštinskog značaja za razumevanje političkih implikacija psihogeografije. Pre svega, ona ukazuje na originalni pristup situacionista kulturnoj praksi nebelačkih i kolonizovanih naroda: nije reč o psihogeografskom istraživanju njihovih teritorija (naprimer, neki psihogeografski pokušaji u romskim naseljima[7]), kao nečeg „drugog"; naprotiv, reč je o tome da se glasu neevropskih kolonizovanih ljudi omogući da bude avangardan i subverzivan.[8] Drugo, vidimo da je takav

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6 Ralf Ramni (Ralph Rumney), jedan od osnivača SI i osnivač *Londonskog psihogeografskog udruženja*, bio je oženjen kćerkom elitne buržoaske kolekcionarke umetnina Pegi Gugenhajm (Peggy Guggenheim), Pegin (Pegeen), koja se u to vreme provodila u Veneciji. „Džungla" Venecije koja je pobedila Ramnija možda je bila ta složena veza, koja je kasnije imala vrlo fatalne posledice po njega.

7 Lokalni i aktuelni primer je knjiga, *Beograd Gazela: Travel Guide to a Slum*. Autori: Lorenz Aggermann, Eduard Freudmann i Can Gülcü, Rende, Beograd 2009.

8 Nadam se da ovo naivno insistiranje na „komunikaciji" treba shvatiti u kontekstu zabrana. To znači, „komunikacija" (to jest, „kritika") nebelačkih kolonizovanih ljudi prekinuta je silom belih kolonizatora, pri čemu prirodno komplikovane teorije u ovom slučaju mogu samo pogoršati situaciju.

pokušaj, ako ne nemoguć, onda svakako veoma težak. Postoji obilje dokaza o tome da čak i posle više od pola veka pripadnici neevropskih naroda imaju teškoća u centru Pariza, kao i u drugim evropskim gradovima. Khatibov upitnik o psihogeografskom istraživanju Lez Ola jasno pokazuje da je taj pojam za situacioniste imao veoma precizno, skoro „sociološko" značenje.

Sa ova dva deskriptivna primera pokušao sam da dokažem da psihogeografija nije samorefleksivna vežba iz toga „kako da se život učini zanimljivijim, pomoću proširivanja vlastite perspektive, ali ne kroz promenu bilo kakvih uslova, već samo sopstvene pažnje".[9] Zbog prefiksa „psiho", postoji gomila glupih primera subjektivnih, proizvoljnih i metafizičkih interpretacija psihogeografije. Definicija psihogeografije iz prvog broja SI je sasvim jasna: „Izučavanje specifičnog učinka geografskog okruženja (svesno organizovanog ili ne) na osećanja i ponašanje pojedinca." Postalo je uobičajeno i da se psihogeografija meša s drugim često korišćenim situacionističkom pojmom, *dérive* (prolazak). I psihogeografija i *dérive* odnose se na spacijalne prakse i oba su sastavni deo avangardnih znamenja tih ranih godina. *Dérive* se definiše pre svega u odnosu na *iskustvene* aspekte: „Oblik eksperimentalnog ponašanja vezan za uslove života u urbanom društvu: tehnika brzog prolaska kroz različite ambijente. Termin označava i kontinuirani period u kojem se odvija takva aktivnost."

Dérive možemo pojednostavljeno opisati kao lutanje ili šetnju kroz gradski *ambijent*; a ono što važi za mnoge ljude danas, važilo je i tada: francuska avangarda je u velikoj meri značila biti napolju, na ulici.[10] Od Bodlerovog *flaneur* (gradski lutalica), u središtu haosa modernizacije, do Bretonove *Nađe* – propuštenih kroz sočivo političkog klupka Valtera Benjamina – u istoriji francuske avangarde hodanje je bilo nešto više od svakodnevne utilitarne prakse ili relaksacije jedne već iskorišćene klase. To je naprosto politička ili društvena praksa koja može da napravi kratak spoj u svakodnevnoj rutini. Nadrealisti su bili jedna od najznačajnijih avangardnih grupa koja je imala veliki uticaj na situacioniste. Šetnja i lutanje čudnim mestima bili su sama osnova za nadrealističku avanturu imaginacije, koja je često imala fatalne posledice po one koji su se u nju upuštali. Na primer, u Bretonovoj *Nađi*, glavni lik, nakon što je otkrio

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9 Raimund Minichbauer, u intrevjuu sa Emils Rodeom u *Rigas Modes and Psychogeographic Rriga This Week*. http://www.republicart.net/art/concept/interview-rode_en.htm Modni dizajner Rode objašnjava svoj umetnički projekat nazvan *Ovonedeljno psihogeografsko israživanje Rige*, izveden 2003.

10 Jedan od razloga sukoba između situacionista i Anrija Lefevra bilo je to što je ovaj voleo šetnje „prirodnim" ambijentima, kao što su šume, gajevi i seoski puteljci, što su Debor i njegovi prijatelji mrzeli. Videti, *Lefebvre on the Situationists*: An interview, by Ross, Kristin, October, Winter 97, Issue 79.

razna čudesna mesta svojim sledbenicima, završava u ludnici. Ali čak su se i situacionisti, koji su bili pod snažnim uticajem nadrealista, još na samom početku udaljili od shvatanja spacijalne prakse svojih preteča. Ipak, mnogi savremeni pokušaji preispitivanja spacijalnih praksi, kao što je hodanje prema situacionističkim propozicijama, podležu zlosrećnoj tradiciji filtriranja te prakse kroz nadrealističku metafiziku. Oni u velikoj meri ostaju u senci tih metafizičkih koncepata.

Situacionisti su imali vrlo specifičan odnos prema nadrealistima; u prvom broju svog časopisa, nadrealističku praksu su definisali kao naivno maštanje, koje su moderne naučne inovacije lako kooptirale. Situacionisti su naveli dva američka izuma, kao primere za takav ishod. Prvi je marketinška tehnika „brainstorminga", koja je zamenila nadrealističku igru *le cadavre exquis* (izuzetni leš), a drugi „robot koji piše ljubavna pisma", koji zamenjuje i ismeva *automatsko pisanje*.[11] Ali, pored tih zabavnih poređenja, situacionisti su svoje ideje suprotstavili nadrealističkim zbog načelnih razlika. U *Izveštaju o konstruisanju situacija i uslovima za organizaciju i delovanje međunarodne situacionističke tendecije*, predstavljenom na Osnivačkoj konferenciji Situacionističke internacionale u Kozio d'Aroši, u Italiji 1957, Gi Debor je jasno konstatovao da je „temeljna greška nadrealizma ideja o neograničenom bogatstvu nesvesne imaginacije. Sada znamo da je nesvesna imaginacija siromašna, automatsko pisanje monotono i da je ceo taj razmetljivi žanr 'čudnovatih' i 'šokantnih' nadrealističkih kreacija prestao da bude iznenađujući".

Ta nemilosrdna kritika nadrealističke vere u mistično, kao tautološko-monotonu dosadu, praćena je afirmacijom *racionalnosti*. Kao što Debor kaže u *Izveštaju*: „Svet moramo učiniti racionalnijim – to je nužni prvi korak ka tome da ga učinimo uzbudljivijim, fascinantnijim i ispunjenijim." Racionalizam situacionista ima korene u obnovi avangarde, koja počinje sa nadrealistima, koji su hteli da dadaizam „stave na noge", tako što bi ga učinili upotrebljivijim u revolucionarne svrhe, ali koji je ubrzo izgubio svoj program potonuvši u unutrašnji misticizam nesvesnog. Situacionisti su hteli da taj racionalizam ponovo stave u upotrebu (to jest, da ga *détourner*). Na primer, *Projekat za racionalno unapređenje grada Pariza* – objavljen u letrističkom časopisu *Potlač* br. 23 – bio je racionalni *détourment* Bretonovog teksta *Eksperimentalni pokušaj iracionalnog ulepšavanja grada Pariza* iz 1933. Dok je Bretonov projekat zamišljao Pariz iz fantastičnih priča, situacionisti su predlagali izmene konkretnih mesta, koje bi uticale na tok svakodnevnog života (na primer, metro, ulična rasveta, parkovi,

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11 *Amere victoire du surrealisme (Gorka pobeda nadrealista), Internationale Situationniste # 1*, jun 1958.

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crkve).[12] Čak i ako ti presituacionistički predlozi danas deluju naivno, oni su ipak predstavljali korak napred u pogledu politizacije avangarde, u čemu nadrealizam nije uspeo. Kao što se jasno vidi iz prethodnog Deborovog citata, nadrealisti nisu uspeli u svom projektu ne samo zato što su ih kooptirali tržište i društvo spektakla, što je proces kojem podležu možda sve avangarde, uključujući i situacioniste. Presudno je bilo to što je nadrealizam u samom svom jezgru nosio ferment tog kooptiranja; on su polazili od beskrajnog bogatstva nesvesnog i zato su, kao što je pokazao Raul Vanegem, njihova pitanja od početka bila pogrešna. Nadrealisti su napadali institucije koje su već bile mrtve i tako još jednom afirmisali zvaničnu priču represije, samo drugim sredstvima.[13] Na samom početku, situacionisti su hteli da izvuku „radikalno radioaktivno jezgro" nadrealizma kroz određene spacijalne prakse. *Dérive* je bila jedna od njih, koju su upražnjavali od 1953–1960. Na primer u prvom broju SI, ponovo su objavili tekst Žila Ivena (pseudonim Ivan Čeglov) *Pravila novog urbanizma*, kao ključni izvor za definiciju *dérivea*. U tom tekstu jasno možemo videti da značaj *dérivea* leži u njegovom elementu dezorijentacije, koji vodi pravo u svet igre (*homo ludens*).

Iven je pokazao da su *dérive* i urbanizam i dalje slični nadrealizmu; svaka rečenica sadrži elemente gubljenja, onostranosti, neizvesnosti i neobičnosti. Tri godine kasnije, u tekstu *Teorija dérivea*, objavljenom u časopisu *Les Lèvres Nues* (Gole usne), Debor je bio izričit: *dérive* više nema veze s gubljenjem sebe. To je sada precizno opisana praksa koja odbacuje sve mistične elemente. Na nju utiču vremenski uslovi, broj učesnika, trajanje, itd. Nova teorija *dérivea* pokušava da iz šetnje potpuno odstrani slučaj i iznenađenje, koji su nadrealistima bili toliko važni. Debor je pisao: „Ako slučaj još uvek igra važnu ulogu u *dériveu*, onda je to samo zato što se metodologija psihogeografskog istraživanja još nalazi u svojoj infantilnoj fazi."

12 Racionalizam situacionista potiče i iz Lotreamonove često citirane „objektivne poezije", koju bi „i četrnaestogodišnja devojčica trebalo da razume". Nažalost, još uvek ima mnogo pokušaja da se izbriše nasleđe situacionističkog racionalizma. U novije „ozbiljne" pokušaje spada i onaj Jelene Stojanović, iz njenog članka, *Internationaleries: Collectivism, the Grotesque, and Cold War Functionalism*, u kojem ona razvija genealogiju umetničkih kolektiva posle Drugog svetskog rata na osnovu njihovog „taktičkog i grotesknog izokretanja moći". U toj slici, situacionisti su glavni predstavnici tog „razigranog, groteskног, ambivalentnog, kontradiktornog i gargantuanskog zadatka". Internacionalizma, postavljenog nasuprot racionalnoj i funkcionalnoj „hladnoj umetnosti" Karla Gertnera, koja je bila popularna u Sovjetskom Savezu, istočnoj Evropi i Latinskoj Americi. Ta logika se obična završava tezom da je groteskno pomoglo realizaciju „revolucije humora" maja 1968. Videti, *Collectivism After Modernism: The Art of Social Imagination After 1945*, (eds.) B. Stimson & G. Scholette, University of Minnestota Press, 2004.

13 Jules-Francois Dupuis [Raoul Vaneigem], *Cavalier History of Surrealism,* AK press, 1999. Ista teza se može primeniti i na pank pokret. Kao što Dejv i Stjuart Vajz (Dave & Stuart Wise) tvrde u svom malo razmatranom tekstu *The End of Music* (1978.), pank je bio rekuperiran već na samom početku time što je napadao mrtve institucije, kao što je Kraljica.

14 David Pinder, koji zagovara ovaj pristup, definiše *dérive* i situacionistićke mape kao „kontrahegemonistićke" i tvrdi da je tako nastalo novo političko značenje grada. *Old Paris Is No More; Geographies of Spectacle and anti-Spectacle*, Antipode, Oct. 2000, Vol. 32, Issue 4.

Do sada smo mogli da vidimo da je psihogeografija disciplinovana, zahtevna, racionalna i naučna praksa. Nažalost, svi ti atributi su uvek bili odbacivani u praktičnoj primeni psihogeografije. Naučnu osnovu za psihogeografiju i *dérive* pružilo je antropološko istraživanje *Pariz i aglomeracije Parižana (Paris et l'agglomération parisienne)*, koje je 1952. izveo Šombar de Lov (Chombart de Lauwe). On je mapirao kretanje studenata koji su živeli u XVI arondismanu. Prema toj mapi, studenti su koristili samo mali deo grada; bio je to trougao između fakulteta, stana i učitelja klavira. Taj prikaz osiromašenog svakodnevnog života, opisan kao trougao *Metro-Boulot-Dodot*, bio je, prema mnogim tumačima spacijalnih praksi situacionistima, glavni razlog za njihovo uzbuđenje *dériveom* i psihogeografijom kao taktikama za stvaranje podnošljivijeg i bogatijeg života. Prema tom viđenju, situacionistički *dérive* predstavlja novi način korišćenja grada, alternativu zvaničnoj kartografiji i podriva glavne pravce kretanja svakodnevnog života običnih ljudi. Lako se može doći u iskušenje da se ti pristupi uporede sa heterotopijama Mišela Fukoa, čime bi se celokupna radikalna teorija i praksa situacionista sveli na meditaciju o sloganu „ispod kaldrme, plaža".[14]

Jedna frakcija tih konzervativnih spacijalnih teorija, i dalje veoma uticajna, sledi tezu Mišela de Sertoa (Michel de Certau) da savremena politika života leži u taktici mikroborbi, na primer, u tome da se ide desnom stranom ulice, da bi se na raskršću nekog velikog grada skrenulo levo. Puna realizacija ove teorije vidi se u raznim vrstama taktičkih medija koje prihvataju rekuperaciju kao polaznu tačku i *a priori* svoje prakse, i čija ideja o politici počiva na metafizičkom konceptu izokretanja slike. Situacionisti su predvideli ovakvo usmerenje još početkom 1960-ih i prestali s bilo kakvom praktičnom primenom psihogeografije i *dérivea*, izjavivši da su svi umetnici zapravo antisituacionisti.

Na pitanje iz naslova ovog teksta, *Kome je potrebna psihogeografija?*, možemo odgovoriti: onoj vojsci „srećnih negativaca" i hipi aktivista, čija se ideja o političkom svodi na karneval svakodnevnog života.

Mogućnost pronalaženja upotrebne vrednosti „radioaktivnog radikalnog jezgra" psihogeografije još uvek leži u polju racionalnosti.

Sezgin Boynik je sociolog i pisac koji živi trenutno u Helsinkiju. On je magistrirao sociologiju na Mimar Sinan University u Istanbulu 2003. godine sa tezom o Situationist International. Kao autor i urednik časopisa za umetnost i studije kulture on je pisao o temama kao što su subverzivni pokreti otpora u Jugoslaviji 1960-ih i 1970-ih, radikalne političke ideje, i Zampa di Leone. On je koeditor kritičkog ridera "Nacionalizam i savremena umetnost" uz Minnu Henriksson i istorije "Panka i andergraunda" u Turskoj 1978-1999 sa Tolga Güldalli u 2007 godini.

2 Razlika između istorijske i biološke vrste rasizma postala je jasnija zahvaljujući pisanju Mišela Fukoa o biopolitici, biomoći i rasizmu. Fuko je svoja predavanja objavljena u Society Must Be Defended, Lectures at the College De France, 1976-77, Ed. by Francois Ewald, Picador 2003, posvetio složenoj raspravi o tome kako treba razlikovati prostu ksenofobiju koja je postojala svugde i u svim epohama, „diskurs o rasnoj borbi", istorijski, društveni i politički diskurs koji je smestio u rano savremeno doba – u Veliku Britaniju u sedamnaestom veku – i moderni biološki ili naučni rasizam iz devetnaestog veka. Takođe je skovao izraz „državni rasizam" u vezi sa vrhovnom vlašću i moći države.

Suzana Milevska

Šta sledi posle rasizma?
O različitim rasističkim tehnologijama i
o solidarnosti sa Romima u delima Rene Redle i Vladana Jeremića

Izvoz rasističkih tehnologija iz SAD-a i Zapadne Evrope, mržnja prema drugima na osnovu etničke pripadnosti, pola ili seksualnog opredeljenja, sekuritokratija, nekropolitika i nepotpuna evidencija o kršenju ljudskih prava, neka su od najčešćih pitanja u savremenoj umetnosti koja se bavi realnošću. Neka od ovih pitanja neprestano su predmet zajedničkih i združenih umetničkih dela i aktivističkih projekata umetničkog para Vladana Jeremića i Rene Redle, rame uz rame sa pitanjima solidarnosti, ljubavi, društvenosti i izvesne vrste deridijanskog „bezuslovnog prijateljstva".

Da bih se upustila u dalju diskusiju o različitim stranama rasizma uperenog prema romskom stanovništvu u Srbiji i Istočnoj Evropi uopšte, a u kontekstu projekata koje su ovo dvoje umetnika, sarađujući od 2002. godine, u poslednje vreme realizovali, moram objasniti naslov teksta. Naslov želim da pojasnim kako bih izbegla svaku moguću zabunu o tome na koje rasizme mislim. Želim da govorim o različitim razumevanjima rasizma danas, jer iako je javno postalo neprihvatljivo priznati vlastiti rasizam, ima mnogo različitih događaja i pojava koji otkrivaju njegovo postojanje.[1] Povrh toga, još nismo uverljivo odgovorili na pitanje zašto je rasizam tako rđav i zašto ga treba iskoreniti.

Postoji određena opasnost da bi se moj naslov mogao pogrešno shvatiti kao pokušaj da se napravi razlika između rasizma belaca usmerenog prema Afro-Amerikancima i stanovništvu drugih rasa u SAD-u ili drugde, i raširenog anticiganskog rasizma istočnoevropskih „belaca" usmerenog prema Romima i/ili šovinizma usmerenog prema drugim entičkim manjinama. Smatram kako je važno ustvrditi da, baš naprotiv, tu razliku u ovom kontekstu nije neophodno napraviti, iako je ona u teoriji relevantna i održiva.[2] Naime, oba ta rasizma, iako istorijski različita, na kraju se temelje na veoma sličnoj pretpostavci: da postoji hijerarhija između različitih ljudi podeljenih na superiorne i inferiorne prema njihovim rasnim razlikama, poreklu i boji kože.

1 Na primer, u svom tekstu Anticiganizam i klasni rasizam u Evropi, Vladan Jeremić i Rena Redle pominju jednu od najčešćih izjava „Mi nemamo ništa protiv Roma", kojom se obično opravdavaju nečiji postupci usmereni protiv Roma.

Pošto sam to rekla, neophodno je podsetiti da:
Studije DNK ukazuju na to da u savremenom ljudskom rodu ne postoje odvojene podvrste koje se mogu klasifikovati (rase). Iako se među pojedincima mogu identifikovati različiti geni za fizičke osobine kao što su boja kože i kose, u ljudskom genomu ne postoje nikakvi dosledni genetski obrasci koji bi razlikovali jednu rasu od druge.[3]

No i dalje takvi dokazi protiv bilo kakve naučne utemeljenosti rasizma i hijerarhije među rasama nemaju premoć nad stolećima predrasuda i iracionalne mržnje prema drugima da bi one mogle biti iskorenjene samo kulturnim sredstvima, pomoću kojih su prvobitno i nastale.[4]

Što se tiče pitanja hijerarhije među različitim rasizmima, sudeći po Polu Gilroju, Ardžunu Apaduraju i drugim postkolonijalnim misliocima, ne treba da postoji rasna diskriminacija manje ili veće važnosti na osnovu tamnije boje kože ili broja članova diskriminisanih stanovništava ili zajednica. Upravo pravljenjem takvih razlika zasnovanih na jednoobraznosti podstiču se još snažniji esencijalistički argumenti: tvrdnja kako postoji razlika ikakve „naučne" vrste između različitih rasizama može dodatno naglasiti verovanje u biološki osnov za rasne razlike koji leži u samom jezgru rasizma.[5]

Otud, ako bismo rekli da su mržnja, diskriminacija i rasizam usmereni protiv crnaca uopšte zapravo najradikalniji i najekstremniji vid rasizma na svetu, to bi moglo ojačati već zastarele ali i dalje postojeće argumente kako među ljudima postoje biološke ili genetske razlike. Takav naglasak stavljen na Afro-Amerikance kao na one više izložene mržnji, ali naposletku i vrednije solidarnosti ili saosećanja od drugih diskriminisanih ljudi, ne doprinosi kritičkom diskursu o rasizmu i rasnoj diskriminaciji. Štaviše, sudeći po Gilroju, čak i solidarnost koja se među samim crncima gaji u pogledu istovetnosti rase i naroda treba posmatrati kao jedan oblik rasizma i fašizma.[6] Ali prava pitanja koja se ovde kriju glase: je li dovoljno reći da smo protiv svake vrste rasizma bilo gde i vrši li to činjenje solidarnosti?
Na koje onda rasizme uistinu mislim i kako su oni povezani sa radovima Radleove i Jeremića zapravo su pitanja koja se istovremeno bave hitnom potrebom za diskusijom o rasnoj mržnji u Istočnoj Evropi, sa kojom se ovo dvoje umetnika u mnogim drugim prilikama već hvatalo u koštac.[7]

Kada su ga upitali imaju li ljudi rasni identitet, Pol Gilroj je izjavio:

3 Minorities, Race, and Genomics, Human Genome Project Information, 15. jul 2009. http://www.ornl.gov/sci/techresources/Human_Genome/elsi/minorities.shtml.
4 Cosmopolitanism, Blackness and Utopia, razgovor koji je sa Polom Gilrojem obavio Tomi Šelbi, Transition – An International Review, W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, 18. jul 2009. http://www.transitionmagazine.com/articles/shelby.htm.
5 Historical Memory, Global Movements and Violence Paul Gilroy and Arjun Appadurai in Conversation with Vikki Bell, Theory, Culture & Society 1999 (SAGE, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi), Vol. 16(2): 21-40, [0263-2764(199904)16:2;21±40;008253] www.appdurai.com/pdf/tcs-bell_interview.pdf
6 "Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia", http://www.transitionmagazine.com/articles/shelby.htm.

"Ne znam odgovor na vaše pitanje, ali znam da bi potreba ili želja da se čovek pridruži i predstavi na takav način možda delovala drugačije ako bi se stvarima prilazilo nepristrasnije, i da bi možda poprimila drugačije značenje da bela nadmoć i rasna hijerarhija nisu tako sveprisutne pojave. Dakle, argument koji sam ja izneo – možda ga nisam izneo valjano, ne znam – bila je snažna sugestija da se čovek, kako bi se delotvorno borio protiv rasizma, morao odreći izvesnih ontoloških pretpostavki o prirodi rase kao kategoriji, što je, po mom mišljenju, unizilo zamisao o političkoj solidarnosti, jer je tvrdilo da je solidarnost nekako automatska pojava, da će se pobrinuti sama za sebe. Ali ja verujem – kao što i vi, pretpostavljam, verujete – da se solidarnost ne može postarati sama za sebe, već da mi moramo nešto učiniti kako bismo stvorili tu solidarnost."[8]

U ovoj izjavi zapravo leži odgovor na pitanje oko kojih različitih razumevanja rasizma ja nameravam da oblikujem ovu raspravu. Predlažem da obratimo pažnju na razliku između diskusije o rasnoj diskriminaciji usredsređenoj samo na pitanja koja potiču od bioloških, genetskih i fizičkih razlika, i tumačenja rasizma kao posledice složenih istorijskih i teritorijalnih borbi, kao i borbi nad vlasništvom, koje su bile kulturno prekrivene šablonskim ćebetom izmišljenog rasnog identiteta.

To nije isto što i izjednačavati pitanja rase i klase i govoriti da je primena kritike u maniru Dejvida Harvija – kritike ekonomskih i teritorijalnih rasističkih tehnologija kao razloga za osiromašenje Roma – jedini prikladan način za ekstrapolaciju i iskorenjivanje tog problema. Ne smatram da nam postmarksistička kritika može pomoći da na kraju rešimo i otklonimo razloge i postojanje romskog pitanja. Međutim, očigledno je da je takvo zaboravljanje podjednakih egzistencijalnih potreba onih nemoćnih i osiromašenih i onih koji su bili razlog njihovog osiromašenja nužno dovelo do zanemarivanja osnovnih ljudskih prava na rad, imetak i na kraju život. Crta između tih različitih no svejedno suštinskih potreba veoma je tanka i nevidljiva, posebno za one koji

7 Na primer, projekte Vladana Jeremića i Rene Redle u vezi sa rasnom diskriminacijom usmerenom prema Romima spadaju Under the Bridge Beograd, 2005 – publikacija i video-rad koji dokumentuju zajednički društveni projekat realizovan u saradnji sa Aleksanderom Nikolićem i drugim umetnicima, Putovanje u svet naših želja, 2008 – združeni projekat sa mladim Romima, Pisanje na nebu, 2008 – zajednički rad Nanet Vinson, Rene Redle i dece iz Starog Kostolca, Velikog Crnića i Požarevca, i najskoriji Belleville, iz 2009.
8 U razgovoru sa Tomijem Šelbijem Cosmopolitanism, Blackness, and Utopia, Gilroj analizira predstavu o rasnom identitetu: „Oduvek sam ulagao znatan napor u to da raščlanim predstavu o identitetu. Stoga kada vi kažete rasni identitet, ja ga smesta trianguliziram: tu je pitanje istovetnosti; tu je pitanje solidarnosti (kojim smo se već pozabavili); i tu je pitanje subjektivnosti. Dakle, identitet se može raščlaniti na najmanje tri potpuno odvojena problema, koji su obično spojeni u jedan kada govorimo o identitetu".

su bili na drugoj strani. Kažimo onda ovde da se samo upotrebom i psihoanalitičkog i postkolonijalnog diskursa možemo uhvatiti u koštac sa ovom složenom tabu temom.

Ima vrlo malo umetnika koji su se ne samo hrabro upustili u bavljenje veoma osetljivim pitanjima anticiganizma na području Balkana, već koji takođe poseduju duboko razumevanje složenosti i odgovornosti vezane za ovo pitanje kao Redle i Jeremić. U svojim tekstovima, umetničkim projektima i aktivističkim delatnostima, oni se bave upravo posledicama dihotomije u predstavljanju Roma kao problema i njihovom predstavljanju ili samopredstavljanju kao žrtava. [9]

Oni se pitaju postoji li negde između te dve diskurzivne figure potencijal da se postupa drugačije, da se racionalno shvati začarani krug oba ta koncepta: problem i žrtva koji su međusobno povezani ishod naših vlastitih represivnih rasističkih tehnologija. Za njih jedini izlaz mogu biti svesni pokušaji da se rasizam dekonstruiše tako što ćemo prestati da se držimo predstava o etničkoj, nacionalnoj ili rasnoj jednoobraznosti, jer predstave o nacionalnom i rasnom identitetu omogućavaju i čak podstiču povratak potisnutih rasističkih izliva. S druge strane, oni znaju da se koncept rasizma mora zadržati na diskurzivnom nivou kako bi nas podsećao na moć sadržanu u njegovom zaboravljanju i vraćanju. Ako uzmemo u obzir Gilrojevu kritiku svakog držanja za „istovetnost" u okviru sopstvene grupe, bilo rasne ili etničke, i njegovu težnju ka potencijalu za solidarnost koja se ne zasniva na istovetnosti, možemo zaključiti da značaj umetničkih i akvističkih delatnosti Redle i Jeremića potiče upravo iz solidarnosti koja se temelji na različitosti. Kada započinju svoje projekte, oni ne samo što pružaju svaku vrstu podrške koja je njihovim romskih učesnicima i saradnicima potrebna, već im ujedno nude da podele otvoreni potencijal da delaju i stvaraju. Često pozivaju svoje kolege različitih kulturnih i etničkih pozadina kako bi sa njima sarađivali i podelili potencijal za ljubav, podršku i pomoć onima ugroženima: kako bi učestvovali u činu solidarnosti koji se na neki način udaljava od poimanja da su Romi samo problemi ili žrtve.[10]

Gilroj ukazuje na možda najvažnije pitanje u svakom rasizmu: da u rasističkom diskursu društvo konceptualizuje subjekat (ili grupu subjekata) koji se shvata kao drugi, različit, ujedno i kao problem i kao žrtva.[11] Kao problem jer remeti ustanovljeni red istovetnosti, kao žrtva jer saosećanje koje prati nanošenje zla predstavlja jednu vrstu iskupljenja. „Otpor rasizmu" i solidarnost, s druge strane, zahtevaju delovanje u pravcu

9 U svom najskorijem delu, na primer, video dokumentarcu Belvil, iz 2009, Redle i Jeremić beleže posledice nasilnog iseljenja 45 romskih porodica i rušenje baraka u kojima su oni živeli u Novom Beogradu. Barake su bile u neposrednoj blizini stambenog kompleksa Belvil koji je izgrađen povodom međunarodne sportske manifestacije „Letnja Univerzijada 2009". Iseljenje i rušenje potpomogla je policija, ne dajući vremena stanarima da spasu svoje stvari, ali su to podržali i susedi koji nisu pokazali nikakvu solidarnost. Za razliku od njih, razni aktivisti, umetničke i kulturne organizacije pobunili su se protiv takvog čina države.

odmicanja od ciklusa problema i žrtve koji se u nedogled ponavlja, što je teže ostvariti.

Ovde bismo se mogli pozvati na frojdovski koncept melanholije, kako što je to učinio Pol Gilroj, kako bismo objasnili etnički apsolutizam i rasizam (ili u ovom kontekstu tačnije rasizam u Srbiji), slično kao što je Frojd objasnio nacizam kao posledicu posleratnih reakcija Nemačke na „gubitak iluzije o svemoći".[12] Mogli bismo tvrditi da je Srbija, dok pokušava da porekne savremene posledice svog nedavnog gubitka Kosova, upečatljivo potvrdila svoju snagu postupcima kao što je agresija kod Belvila. Današnja Srbija trpi mnoge promene koje se odigravaju doslovno preko noći. S jedne strane, razapeta je između želje da sustigne ostale balkanske države u trci za pristupanje Evropskoj Uniji, dok s druge strane zaostaje i u tranziciji (ili bi trebalo da kažem prelasku) u neoliberalni kapitalizam, što se neretko vidi kao nepisani (npr. u EU acquis) ali najvažniji reper. Mržnja prema Kosovarima, koji su u očima radikalnih nacionalista, ali i za mnoge druge građane, jedini krivci za smanjivanje teritorije i moći ne može se ispoljavati otvoreno, već se mora potiskivati kako bi se dobijali bodovi od Evropske Unije. Takvo potiskivanje jednog etničkog rasizma imalo je za posledicu izliv jednog drugog, onog koji je mnogo stariji i uopšte prepoznatljiviji – mržnje prema Romima. Slučaj Belvile samo je jedan od mnogo sličnih izliva.

Upečatljivo je i postojanje apsurda da postoje rasizmi koji istorijski duže postoje i koje je stoga, samo zato što su učestaliji, lakše prepoznati i, nažalost, tolerisati. Kao da postojanje takvih rasizama u prošlosti opravdava njihov povratak. Moja pitanja, stoga, uperena su ka mehanizmima i tehnologijama koji dozvoljavaju i čak podržavaju da dođe do takvih događaja i postupaka (u slučaju belvilskih iseljenja, država je porušila barake u kojima su Romi živeli) i možemo li poverovati da će rasizam ikada nestati.

Ovde se vraćamo na izraz Mišela Fukoa „državni rasizam", koji bi po mom mišljenju trebalo da prati čak i najiracionalnija i psihoanalitička objašnjenja porekla rasizma. Naime, čak i ako se složimo da je rasizam pojava blisko povezana sa podsvesnim mehanizmima potiskivanja, možemo li psihoanalizi podvrgnuti državni aparat koji toleriše i dozvoljava da romsko pitanje i rasizam uperen prema Romima i dalje postoje? Fuko je možda bio u pravu napravivši razliku između biološkog (ili naučnog) rasizma, istorijskog/društvenog rasizma i državnog rasizma. Takve distinkcije pomažu nam da shvatimo kako ti mehanizmi funkcionišu, ali treba biti svestan da se u realnosti svi ti rasizmi spajaju

10 Na primer, u projektu Under the Bridge Beograd, koji je delom realizovan u romskom naselju pod beogradskim mostom Gazela, sarađivali su sa Nenadom Andrićem, Anom Balint, Ljiljanom Blagojević, Sezginom Bojnikom, Majom Ćirić, Tomasom Krejnom, Sinišom Cvetkovićem, Minom L. Henrikson, Draganom Ignjatovim, Zoricom Jovanović, Stefanom Kurrom, Karin Lanso, Milicom Lapčević, Peter Jap Limom, Borisom Lukićem, Erikom Mardžlajt, Dr Aganom Papićem, Predragom Miladinovićem, Tanjom Ostojić, Ivanom Ranković, Matijasom Rotom, Dejvidom Rihom,, Selenom Savić, Hanom Souns, Rikardom Valhojzer i drugim saradnicima i učesnicima.

11 Paul Gilroy, There Ain't No Black in Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation, Houston A. Baker (Foreword), Chicago, IL: Chicago Universtity, 1991, 11-12.

12 Paul Gilroy, Postcolonial Melancholy (The Wellek Library Lectures), New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, 99.

u jedan. Međusobno se prepliću i služe kao nekakva laka definicija, čak i opravdanje za duboku mržnju koja omogućava da se savremena linčovanja odigravaju pred očima državnog „reda" i povrh toga, čak dozvoljava da se počinioci izvuku nekažnjeno.[13]

Bez obzira na sve kulturne pokušaje da se rasizam iskoreni, svedoci smo brojnih različitih ispoljavanja ove društvene bolesti koja se iznova i iznova vraća, i bojim se da ni psihoanaliza ni ma koja druga teorijska analiza ne mogu mnogo doprineti njenom uništenju. Ustanovljavanjem složenih odnosa između položaja subjekta i društvenog konteksta u rasističkoj debati, može se bolje razumeti kako ni subjektu ni društvu nije pošlo za rukom da iskoreni rasizam iz ljudske stratigrafije, i to ne samo u Istočnoj Evropi. Što je još važnije, naša „multikulturalna" i „metropolska" društva još nisu odgovorila na krajnje osnovna ali hitna pitanja o rasizmu, naime zašto je rasizam toliko rđav i kako da protiv njega upotrebimo neke delotvornije mere.

Da zaključim, umetnički projekti Rene Redle i Vladana Jeremića nisu ograničeni na društvena istraživanja ili utopijske koncepte koji tvrde da će izlečiti društvenu bolest rasizma, i previše je tako nešto očekivati od njihovog umetničkog delovanja. Međutim, njihova usredsređenost na solidarnost i duboko angažovanje sa različitim romskim zajednicama, posebno u Srbiji i drugde, ukazuje na jedini mogući način pokretanja potencijala umetničkih činilaca kako bi se društvo sprečilo da nastavi Rome da tretira bilo kao problem ili kao žrtve, i nagnalo na diskusiju o neophodnosti pružanja potrebnih uslova društvenosti.

13 Za primer može da posluži slučaj romskog dečaka Trajana Bekirova koji je poginuo dok ga je jurila skopska policija: makedonska vlada nije pokrenula nikakvu istragu povodom njegove smrti dok Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava nije javno počeo da vrši pritisak na državu. Za dodatne pojedinosti o njegovoj nerazjašnjenoj smrti pod krajnje mutnim okolnostima pogledajte: NGOs Urge Macedonian Authorities to Investigate Death of Trajan Bekirov: Romani Youth Last Seen Alive While Being Chased by Police, European Roma Rights Centre, 16. 06. 2006, www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=2604.

prof. dr Suzana Milevska je teoretičarka umetnosti i kuratorka, radi u Skoplju, u Makedoniji. Godine 2006. doktorirala je na koledžu Goldsmit – na Londonskom univerzitetu. Trenutno je profesorka istorije umetnosti i vizuelne kulture na Akademiji Italijani u Skoplju. Od 2006. to 2008. godine je bila direktorka Centra za vizuelna i kulturna istraživanja na Euro-Balkan Institutu u Skoplju i predavala je vizuelnu kulturu na postdiplomskim studijama roda. Njeni kritički tekstovi i poglavlja o postkolonijalnoj kritici u kontekstu savremene umetnosti, pola i feminizma nalaze se u publikacijama kao što su: Continuing Dialogues, edited by Christa Benzer, Christine Bohler, Christiane Erharter (Vienna: JRP/Ringier, 2008); Manifesta Companion, ed. by Adam Budak, Petar Pakesh, Katia Schurl (Kunsthaus Graz am Landes Museum Joanneum, 2008); New (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 2007), Conversations with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (London: Seagull Books, 2007) and Is Art History Global?, edited by James Elkins (London: Routledge, 2007).
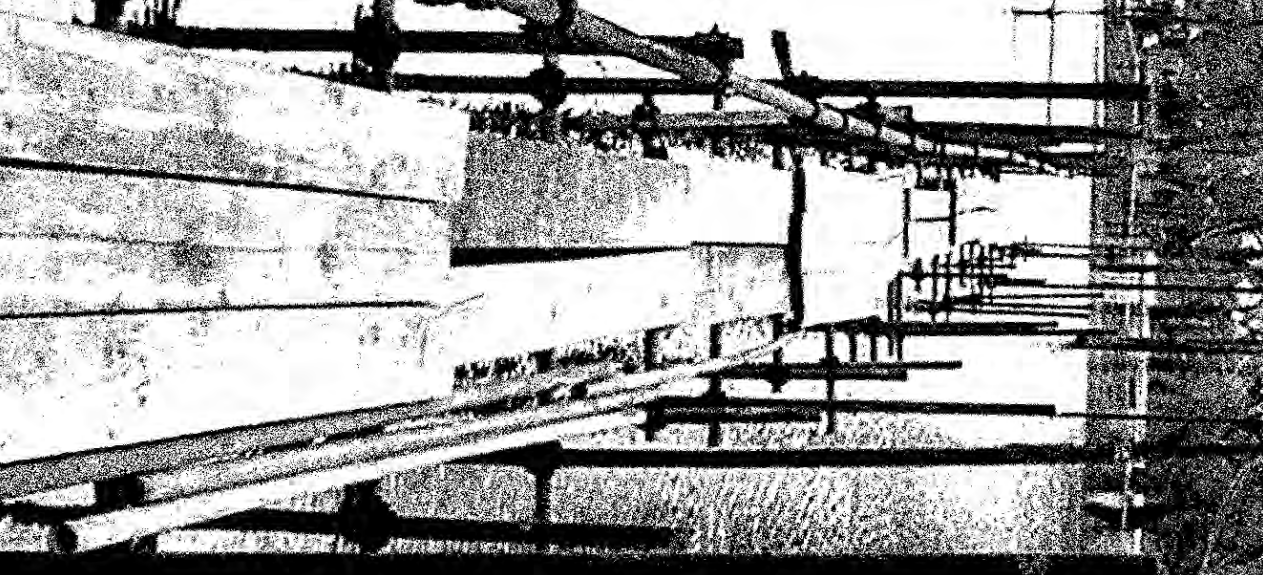
Works
Radovi

Under the Bridge Beograd

is a complex research project about Belgrade, using the potential
of differing perspectives and exploring relationships within the
social space of the city. Participants from abroad and from Belgrade
investigated the city using different methods of relating themselves
to an unknown or – for the locals – familiar surrounding.
One of the interventions was a meeting under the bridge of the
motorway that connects the old and the new part of Belgrade. A
large number of people came; participants and public, and most
of them found themselves for the first time under the bridge they
used to cross every day. The gathering turned into a big party,
when the inhabitants of the place, Roma and refugees, invited all
present to light a fire in their neighbourhood.
In the beginning of the September 2009 the settlement under and
around the Gazela bridge was displaced and over 1000 inhabitants
were relocated or deported to other towns in southern Serbia.

Under the Bridge Beograd

je složen istraživački projekt o Beogradu, koristeći potencijal
različitih perspektiva i istraživanje odnosa unutar socijalnog
prostora grada. Učesnici iz drugih gradova i učesnici iz Beograda
istraživali su grad koristeći različite metode, odnoseći se prema
nepoznatim ili - za domaće stanovništvo – poznatim aspektima.
Jedna od intervencija je bio odlazak ispod mosta Gazela, autoputa
koja povezuje stari i novi deo Beograda. Velik broj ljudi, učesnika
i učesnica i medijske javnosti, se okupio a većina njih se našla prvi
put ispod mosta, iako ga prelaze svaki dan. Skup pretvorio u veliku
žurku zato što su stanovnici mesta, Romi i izbeglice, pozvali sve
prisutne da toga decembarskog dana 2004. godine založe vatru i
ostanu u njihovom komšiluku.
Septembra 2009. godine ovo naselje ispod i oko mosta Gazela
je raseljeno i preko 1000 stanovnika je izmešteno u razne delove
grada ili poslato u druge gradove na jugu Srbije.

Under the Bridge Beograd
publication, Biro for Culture and Communication, Novi Sad, 2005
publikacija, Biro za kulturu i komunikaciju, Novi Sad, 2005.

Under the Bridge Beograd
DVD video, 10 mins, 2005
Editing: Rena Rädle
Camera: Rena Rädle, Minna L. Henriksson

DVD video, 10 minuta, 2005.
Montaža: Rena Rädle
Kamera: Rena Rädle, Minna L. Henriksson

Concept and realization/Koncept i realizacija:
Alexander Nikolić, Rena Rädle, Vladan Jeremić
participants/učesnici:
Nenad Andrić, Anna Balint, Sezgin Boynik, Maja Ćirić, Thomas Crane, Minna Henriksson, Dragan Ignjatov, Peter Jap Lim, Zorica Jovanović, Stephan Kurr, Karin Laansoo, Milica Lapčević, Boris Lukić, Erika Margelyte, Predrag Miladinović, Tanja Ostojić, Dr Agan Papić, Ivana Ranković, Matthias Roth, David Rych, Selena Savić, Hanno Soans, Ricarda Wallhäuser, Siniša Cvetković.

CLEAN UP SERBIA

CLEAN U
SERBIA

REPUBLIC OF SERB
MINISTRY OF ENVIRON
AND SPATIAL PLANN

CLEAN UP SERBIA

CLEAN UP
SERBIA

REPUBLIC OF SERBIA
MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT
AND SPATIAL PLANNING

Documentation of Displacement

Roma settlement next to the railway at the ex Sports Center 25th of May in Belgrade was displaced because of the first international professional "Serbian Open" tennis tournament, hosted by the famous Serbian tennis player Novak Djokovic. Posters with the slogan of "Clean up Serbia" campaign, which was designed by the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning of Serbia, are set in a place where Roma settlement was located. Novak Djokovic was presented at the poster in his characteristic pose with brooms instead of rackets.

Dokumentacija raseljavanja

Romsko naselje pored pruge kod Sportskog centra 25. maj u Beogradu je raseljeno uoči prvog međunarodnog profesionalnog "Serbian Open" teniskog turnira, čiji je domaćin bio čuveni srpski teniser Novak Đoković. Posteri sa sloganom "Očistimo Srbiju" iz kampanje koju je osmislilo Ministarstvo za zaštitu životne sredine i prostorno planiranje Republike Srbije, postavljeni su na mestu gde je bilo naselje. Novak Đoković je na posteru kampanje predstavljen u karakterističnoj pozi sa metlom umesto reketa.

Documentation of Displacement
Rädle&Jeremić
photo and video documentation, 2009.

Dokumentacija raseljavanja
Rädle&Jeremić
foto i video dokumentacija, 2009.

Belleville

(Belville) is the name of a residential complex at New Belgrade being built on the occasion of the international sports manifestation "Summer Universiade 2009". On 3rd of April 2009 in the early morning, diggers tore down the barracks of 45 families living in close vicinity to the residential units. Their violent eviction was assisted by police without giving time to the residents to save their belongings. Despite Serbia holding the presidency of the "Decade of Roma Inclusion" in year 2009, the authorities didn't offer alternative housing to the families.
The video documents the protest of the victims that set off to the city center three times to demand shelter in front of the city hall.

Belvil

je naziv za stambeni kompleks u Novom Beogradu koji se gradio povodom međunarodne sportske manifestacije "Univerzijada 2009". Dana 3. aprila 2009. godine u ranim jutarnjim časovima, bageri su srušili kuće 45 porodica koje žive u neposrednoj blizini ovog kompleksa. Njihovo raseljenje je bilo nasilno uz pomoć policije bez davanja dovoljno vremena da stanovnici pokupe svoje stvari. Iako je Srbija predsedavala "Dekadi Roma", 2009. godine, vlasti nisu ponudile nikakav alternativni smještaj za ove porodice. Belvil video beleži protest žrtava koji se desio tri puta ispred Skupštine grada Beograda sa zahtevom za pružanje alternativnog smeštaja.

Belleville
DVD video, 22 mins., 2009.
Concept: Rädle&Jeremić
Editing and camera: Rena Rädle

Belvil
DVD video, 22 minuta, 2009.
Koncept: Rädle&Jeremić
Montaža i kamera: Rena Rädle

Belleville – Screening of the video at Blok 67,
New Belgrade, 2009

Belvil – Belvil - projekcija filma u romskom
naselju u Bloku 67, Novi Beograd, 2009.

POMOĆ UGROŽENI SMO
IZBEGLICE SA KOSOVA
NAD NAMA SE VRŠI
ETNIČKO ČIŠĆENJE

Writing on the Sky

is a collaborative work between Nannette Vinson, Rena Rädle and children of Stari Kostolac, Veliko Crniće and Požarevac in East Serbia that took place in summer 2008. Unfortunately, at that time a baby died in the Roma settlement where one of the drawing workshops was held.

Pisanje na nebu

je zajednički rad Nannette Vinson, Rena Rädle i dece iz Starog Kostolca, Velikog Crnića i Požarevca koji se odvijao u leto 2008. Na žalost, jedna beba je umrla zbog loših uslova života u romskom naselju tokom održavanja ovih radionica.

Writing on the Sky
Photos of the drawing action in Stari Kostolac
Nannette Vinson and Rena Rädle, 20x30cm each, 2008

Pisanje na nebu
Fotografije sa akcije crtanja u Starom Kostolcu
Nannette Vinson i Rena Rädle, 20x30cm svaki, 2008.

Writing on the Sky - Exhibition at SCC, Paris, France, 2009
Pisanje na nebu - izložba u Kulturnom centru Srbije u Parizu, Francuska, 2009.

Belgrade, 15th of August 2008

Notes on the death of the baby
This August I took part in a seminar with international artists in Požarevac, a smaller city in Serbia. Together with Nanette Vinson I held a drawing workshop with children "Writing on the sky" in the nearby village Stari Kostolac. There we got to know a young family living in a tiny shack attached to one of the abandoned houses which for the past 5 years serve as a shelter for Roma refugees from Kosovo. Their 4 months old baby was obviously in bad health when we saw it the first time. The other day the message reached us that the baby was transferred to a hospital in Belgrade where it died a few days later. Two participants of the seminar and I went to the settlement to offer our condolences. A group of around 20 adults gathered and explained their situation to us. "We do not get the warm soup from the Red Cross that we are supposed to get. They give us bread only." "I went many times to the social center to get a baby set and school equipment but they always say: Come tomorrow. It's the same with the Red Cross. Sometimes you get, sometimes not." "There are so many empty houses in Požarevac. Why we can't move in?" "There was a vaccination of children some months ago. Apart from that, nobody comes to look after us." In the end, the central problem turns out to be that they have difficulties in getting access to social aid and health care in a regular way. This is due to the fact that many could not register at the local authorities because they are not able to get their papers from their former hometown in Kosovo. They asked us to assist the family getting the dead body from the hospital because they feared that they would be charged for its treatment. They said they needed at least 6000 Dinars to release it. The next day we went together to the hospital. It took us half a day to get the administration done. The only person with an ID card was the grandfather of the mother. I signed next to the fingerprint of the mother in the book of the dead and gave my ID and the name of my organization. First the secretary wanted me to pay in cash but when I said that I didn't have cash and didn't bring the details of my organization's bank account, she stopped mentioning the bill. Maybe I will have it in my mailbox one day… She told me it would be around 30.000 Dinars. The transfer to the graveyard in Stari Kostolac was organized and the funeral was held the same day. There were different reactions to this incident by the artists attending the seminar and other individuals who heard about it. "The Roma had lied to our faces when claiming that 6000 Dinars is enough to release the body". "The baby has maybe died from a contagious disease. If we publish something about it, it could lead to aggression towards Roma." Somebody had seen the grandfather of the child asking for help at a Roma organization but was refused. "The child died because of a lack of papers and bad living conditions". "These Roma have the opportunity to get health care but they do not go to get it. They can get papers but they are too lazy to organize it". "They first have to culturalize themselves". "The mothers are selling the baby sets they get from the Red Cross". I talked to the baby's mother and father, to her sister-inlaw and to some adults from the settlement. The baby's grandfather is a beggar who lost his wife many years ago. He has four children. The mother's parents live in Belgrade, far away from Stari Kostolac. The mother of the child, who is 15 years old, had no mother who would help her to take care of the baby. People said that she sometimes refused to breast-feed it, that she behaved "irresponsibly". She had a black eye when I saw her the first time. Everybody told me she had run into a door.
An artist said that to her it looked like a very late abortion. According to the diagnosis, the baby died of malnutrition, dehydration and blood infection.

Rena Rädle

Notes on the Death of the Baby, print, 47x47cm, 2008
Beleška povodom smrti bebe, print, 47x47cm, 2008.

Journey to the World of our Wishes

The photomontages emerged from a collaboration between a group of Roma children from Krnjača, a suburb of Belgrade and Rena Rädle in December 2008. The young authors of the photomontages are Dikana Bala, Dalibor Bislimi, Milica Bislimi, Suad Bislimi, Altona Behrami, Sabina Krasnić, Serđad Krasnić, Nimon Krasnići and Besim Neziraj.

The children projected a scenario in which they would like to present themselves, using the technique of photomontage.

Searching for the right "background" to photograph, the girls and boys expressed the wish to visit parts of Belgrade that are no-go areas for them - not only because of their age, but because of their being Roma. Together with the artist, they strolled around the Belgrade fortress, the city centre and the representative part of New Belgrade with parks, expensive hotels and shopping malls to take pictures. Afterwards, the best scenarios were chosen and the images edited. Most of them doing their first steps at the computer. The effort was forgotten when background and figure were joined and revealed new, surprising views.

Putovanje u svet naših želja

Ova serija radova je nastala krajem 2008. godine tokom radionice u romskom naselju u Krnjači, kao i na raznim lokacijama grada Beograda. Mlade autorke i mladi autori fotomontaža su: Dikana Bala, Dalibor Bislimi, Milica Bislimi, Suad Bislimi, Altona Behrami, Sabina Krasnić, Serđad Krasnić, Nimon Krasnići i Besim Neziraj.

U centru ovog rada su sami autori koji su osmislili scenarija u kojima su predstavili sebe tehnikom foto-montaže. Proces rada se odvijao na terenu u malim radnim grupama, da bi u gradu svako snimio svoju „pozadinu", i to poluprofesionalnim digitalnim fotoaparatom. Nakon fotografisanja, izabrani su najbolji rezultati, selektovana je figura i montiralo se sve u jednu sliku. Ovo je za mnoge bilo prvi put da se upoznaju sa radom na računaru. Napor je bilo zaboravljen u trenutku kad su spojene pozadine i figure u nove, neočekivane slike! Na kraju montaže, svako je dodao rečenicu kojom komentariše dobijenu sliku.

grom

ASTRA

CLASSIC II

...sim, predstavljam Opel As...

Journey to the World of our Wishes – Exhibition at Rex, Belgrade 2008
Putovanje u svet naših želja – izložba u Kulturnom centru REX, Beograd, 2008.

1) I'm Altona, I enjoyed being at Hotel Hyatt.
Altona Behrami, Hotel Hyatt, New Belgrade. Print, 46x39cm
2) I'm Besim and present Opel Astra and Opel Classic.
Besim Neziraj, Billboard. Print, 46x24cm
3) Scorpions flying to the Mars.
Dalibor Bislimi, Kalemegdan, Fortress of Belgrade. Print, 46x38cm
4) I would love this to happen again.
Dikana Bala, Delta City, shopping mall, New Belgrade. Print, 46x39cm
5) I'm Djeri and I enjoy. Do you enjoy?
Serđad Krasnić, Rectorate of Belgrade University, Belgrade centre. Print, 46x39cm
6) I feel great at Delta City. I'd really love to come again and to have fun...
Milica Bislimi, Delta City, shopping mall, New Belgrade. Print, 46x39cm
7) I like to drive in the city.
Nimon Krasnići, Ušće Park, New Belgrade. Print, 46x39cm
8) I enjoyed being at the disco with Nani and Altona.
Sabina Krasnić, Ušće Park, New Belgrade. Print, 46x39cm
9) When I look down, everybody is like ants.
Suad Bislimi, Faculty of Mathematics, Belgrade centre. Print, 46x39cm

ih da se ovo ponovi...

dobro mi je bilo u hotelu Hajat.

Monument Series

Six photos from the "Monument Series - Unforgettable Moments in the Life of New Belgrade Workers" from the year 2007 tell a story about people's destiny in times of harsh economic transition. According to their typical approach, Rädle&Jeremić take over the role of workers in the given situation. Avoiding the phenomenological distance of the camera, they open space for personal experience and fictional/collage dimensions of reality, giving a proposal for contemporary monuments at New Belgrade.

Serija spomenika

Šest fotografija iz rada "Serija spomenika - Nezaboravni trenuci u životu novobeogradskih radnika i radnica" iz 2007. godine, donosi priču o sudbinama ljudi u teškim vremenima "ekonomske tranzicije". U skladu sa svojim tipičnim pristupom, Rädle&Jeremić su preuzeli uloge radnika i radnica u datim situacijama. Izbegavajući fenomenološku udaljenost kamere, otvaraju mogućnost za lično iskustvo i imaginarnu/kolažnu dimenziju stvarnosti, dajući predlog za savremene novobeogradske spomenike.

MONUMENT SERIES
Unforgettable Moments in the Life of the Workers of New Belgrade
Rädle & Jeremić
6 lambda prints, 100x70cm, 2007

Serija spomenika
Nezaboravni momenti u životu novobeogradskih radnika i radnica
Rädle&Jeremić
6 lambda printova, 100x70cm, 2007.

At this place Aleks learnt that he lost his job. In the same moment, he received 50 free SMS messages.
Novi Beograd, Blok 28

Monument Series – Exhibition at SCC, Paris 2009
Serija spomenika – izložba u Kulturnom centru Srbije u Parizu 2009.

At this location Ankica decided to take out a loan for a vacation in Tunisia.
Novi Beograd, Blok 12

At this place Ivan handed his notice to his boss and swore to himself to start his own business.
Novi Beograd, Blok 62

At this school the women who work at Metro's cash tills were dreaming about a career abroad.
Novi Beograd, Blok 23

SENDI

is a sensor, receiver, emitter, projector and trigger of all kind of signals existing at a certain location. As SENDI is not limited to a standardized language, it is also a communicator of signals that we don't understand. From which parts SENDI can be constructed, depends on the location and the people. During their psychogeographical research Rädle&Jeremić collect all kind of things and information they consider helpful for the construction of SENDI. The setup of SENDI can be an elaborated constellation of objects, recordings, drawings and spontaneous actions or a very simple act. The public, who is intentionally or unintentionally present, involves in the process of sending and receiving. SENDI is a work in progress and was set up in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Zrenjanin, Berlin, Salzburg and Kassel. A new SENDI channel is opened on 25th of April 2009 in Paris.

SENDI

je senzor, prijemnik, odašiljač i projektor svih vrsta postojećeg signala na neke lokacije. Kako SENDI nije ograničen na standardni jezik, to je takođe komunikator signala koje ne razumemo. Od kojih delova SENDI može biti konstruisan, zavisi od lokacije i ljudi. Tokom psihogeografskog istraživanja Rädle&Jeremić prikupljaju razne vrste objekata i informacija od kojih se možda može izgraditi SENDI. Postavljanje SENDI može biti razrađeno kroz konstelaciju objekata, snimaka, crteža i spontane akcije ili može biti vrlo jednostavan čin. Javnost, koja je namerno ili nenamerno prisutna, uključuje se u proces slanja i primanja. SENDI je procesualan rad i bio je postavljen u Beogradu, Novom Sadu, Zrenjaninu, Berlinu, Salzburgu i Kasselu. Novi SENDI kanal je otvoren u Parizu 25. aprila 2009.

SENDI – finding parts, video 10 mins, 2003
The video SENDI was taken in 2003 at the Cvetko green market and the Chinese market in Belgrade, where SENDI was first time put together.

SENDI – nalaženje delova, video 10 minuta, 2003.
SENDI video je snimljen 2003. godine na Cvetkovoj i Kineskoj pijaci u Beogradu, kada je SENDI prvi put sastavljen.

SENDI transmission – video and sound installation, 2003
A documentation of the opening of unexpected SENDI channels between Berlin and
Novi Sad on 14th of December 2003 at 6pm with Tetsuo Kogawa, Matze Schmidt, various
euro, mi & yagin at b_books, Luebbener Str. 14 in Berlin-Kreuzberg and Vladan Jeremić
and Rena Rädle at Šekspirova 9 street in Novi Sad.

SENDI transmisija – video i zvučna instalacija, 2003.
Dokumentacija otvaranja neočekivanih SENDI kanala između Berlina i Novog Sada
14. Decembra 2003. u 18 časova sa Tetsuo Kogawa, Matze Schmidt, various euro, mi &
yagin u b_books, Luebbener Str. 14 u Berlin-Kreuzberg i Vladan Jeremić i Rena Rädle u
Šekspirovoj 9 u Novom Sadu.

SENDI – objects, various objects, metal, textile, plastic, 2003
SENDI – različiti objekti, metal, tekstil, plastika, 2003.

SENDI – schema, 150x150cm, print, 2003
SENDI – šema, 150x150cm, print, 2003.

SENDI – web documentation, 2003-2009
http://modukit.com/3dsf3/sendi
SENDI – web dokumentacija, 2003-2009.
http://modukit.com/3dsf3/sendi

SENDI – Installation, Exhibition at SCC, Paris 2009
SENDI – instalacija sa izložbe u Kulturnom centru Srbije u Parizu 2009.

Horrorkatze macht Terror

Horrorkatze is a fictional character that fights against repetitive behaviour and the slavery of every day's life. Horrorkatze is a hero that breaks away from rituals and conventions of human society. Horrorkatze acts freely, violates common rules and terrorizes its surrounding , but in the same time it is tender, naked and vulnerable. It exposes itself without the protection shield of rationality and common sense and takes the risk to loose one of its nine lives. As Horrorkatze Rädle&Jeremić intervene directly in given situations. Using different "weapons" Rädle&Jeremić address the characteristic conventions, rules and contracts that construct a specific social reality. At a gathering of international artists in the Ex-Tito Museum in Belgrade (IKG, Rediscover, 2003) Horrorkatze carried the ironical "Ugly Fawn" that with a fast forward voice repeats phrases from the current international art talks. In Berlin Horrorkatze took part in a big performance-fight (Intervention Fake Fire/Friendly Fire, Büro Friedrich, 2003) at Potsdamer Platz, the newly built arena of corporate consuming design. Horrorkatze was used Implo110, which blows up beloved illusions and Trans3000, a weapon that turns transparency into blindness. The informal-integrative style of the self-centered discussions about cultural production and money (meinebank, Berlin, 2003) required "Kessy" against integrative strategies that caused conflict through silence.

Horrorkatze macht Terror

Horrorkatze je zamišljeni karakter koji se bori protiv repetitivnog ponašanja i ropstva svakodnevnice. Horrorkatze je junakinja koja razbija rituale i konvencije društva. Horrorkatze djeluje slobodno, krši pravila i teroriše okolinu. U isto vreme je nežna, gola i ranjiva. Ona se izlaže bez zaštite racionalnosti i zdravog razuma i rizikuje da izgubi jedan od svojih devet života. Kao Horrorkatze Rädle&Jeremić interveništu direktno u datim situacijama. Koristeći različita "oružja" Rädle&Jeremić se obraćaju karakterističnim konvencijama, pravilima i ugovorima na kojima se grade društvene stvarnosti.
Na okupljanje internacionalnih umetnika u Muzeju 25. maj u Beogradu (IKG, 2003) Horrorkatze nosi ironičnu "Ružnu Srnu", koja premotavanjem ponavlja fraze iz tekućih umetničkih diskusija. U Berlinu Horrorkatze učestvuje u velikom performansu/uličnoj borbi (intervencija Fake Fire/Friendly Fire, Büro Friedrich, 2003) na Potsdamer Platz-u, u novoizgrađenoj areni korporativnog konzumerističkog dizajna. Horrorkatze koristi Implo110, koja raspršava iluzije i Trans3000, oružje koje pretvara transparentnost u slepilo. Neformalno-integrativni stil sebične rasprave o kulturnoj produkciji i novcu (meinebank, Berlin, 2003) treba oružje zvano "Kesi" protiv ovih integrativnih strategija. Kesi izaziva sukob koristeći tišinu.

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Potsdamer Reloaded, DVD video 5 mins, 2003.
Potsdamer Reloaded, DVD video 5 minuta, 2003.

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Poligon i Materijalni hologram uspomena

Svaka jedinica zaokružena saznanjem u prostoru prakse Materijalnog holograma uspomena jeste
poligon. Poligonalna praksa je praksa afirmacije subjekta-jedinice.
Karakteristika svakog poligona jeste repeticija.
Referenca matrice je predstava te repeticije. Afirmacija kroz sedimente ponovljenih radnji kao što je
čin udisanja vazduha, čin uzimanja hrane i pića, predstavlja snažan faktor
održanja poligonskog kulta predaka.
Materijalni hologram uspomena usisava termine
kao što su etno-ekonomija,
dezintegracija subjekta i teretane sopstva.
Potpuna metamorfoza poligona u bitmapu
odigrava se u polju Proširenog
poluholograma nesigurnosti.

Bitmapa i Prošireni poluhologram nesigurnosti

Prošireni poluhologram nesigurnosti je instanca turboiziranja Materijalnog holograma uspomena.
Bitmapa je potpuna metamorfoza poligona pomoću menadžmentskog terora u polju Proširenog
poluholograma nesigurnosti.
Lakonska zelja bitmape proizvodi projekciju poligona u zoološkom vrtu.
Uzor bitmape je stanje savršenog konzumenta. Takav konzument postaje leopard u priči o jezeru
Naguru. Za njega kvazi prostorni konsensusi postoje ali samo kao instant predstava.
Primer za to je kontekst.
Kontekst je najtužnije verovanje bitmape, a proistekla praksa vazalna i neimuna delatnost.
Ona postoji kao kameleonska mimikrijska produkcija Ružne Srne, žanra 'site specific'.
Bitmape druge generacije nemaju to verovanje.

Bitmape druge generacije i Pljosnati prostor zamrznutih artificijelnih sigurnosti bitmape

Pljosnati prostor je nezavisna produkcija zamrznutih artificijelnih
sigurnosti druge generacije bitmapa.
Usled hiperreprodukcije unutar polja Proširenog poluholograma nesigurnosti, a uz
pomoć sposobnosti menadžmentovih molitvi upućenih integracionoj mašini, nailazimo na Pljosnati
prostor u kome se druga generacija bitmapa zamrzava u svojoj artificijelnoj sigurnosti.
To je polje beskrajne konzumacije bez konteksta. Kontekst je nebitan, a bitmapa sa štitom
zamrznutog pljosnatog prostora spremna
da u sebe usisa samo kvantitet.

Jedinica-subjekt

Jedinica-subjekt je originalna jedinstvena šema sve dok stoji izvan delovanja u polju Materijalnog
holograma uspomena ili polju Proširenog poluholograma nesigurnosti,
dok se za Pljosnati prostor zamrznutih artificijelnih sigurnosti bitmape
takva šema ni ne razmatra.

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* *

HoRRorKatzE
Oktobar 2003.

Polygon and Space of Practice of the Material Hologram of Memory

Every unit surrounded by knowledge in the space of the practice of the Material Hologram of
Memory is polygonal. Polygonal practice is practice of subject-unit's affirmation.
The main characteristic for every polygon is repetition.
The reference of the matrix is the presentation of repetition. Affirmation through Sedimented
Repetitive Practices like breathing air, eating and drinking are a strong factor in maintaining the
polygonal cult of progenitors.
The material hologram of memories suckles terms like ethno economy,
disintegration of the subject, recontextualisation and gym of the self.
The complete metamorphosis of Polygon into Bitmap takes place in the field
of the Extended Half-hologramical Uncertainty.

Bitmap and Expanded Half-hologram of Uncertainty

The Expanded Half-hologram of Uncertainty is the turbo-instance
of the Material Hologram of Memory.
The Bitmap is the completed metamorphosis of Polygon with the help
of management terror, inside the Extended Half-hologramical field of Uncertainty.
The laconic wish of the Bitmap produces the projection of the Polygon into the zoo garden. Bitmap's
ideal is the condition of the perfect consumer. This consumer becomes the leopard in the story about
Lake Naguru. For him, the quasi-space consensus exists only like an instant imagination. An example
for this is context.
Context is the saddest bitmap's faith, and the derived practice is fragile vassalage.
This practice exists like a chameleonic mimicry-production of Ugly Fawn, genre 'site specific'.
Bitmaps of second generation don't have this belief.

Second Generation Bitmaps and the Flat Space of Frozen Artificial Certainty

The Flat Space is an independent production
of the Frozen Artificial Certainty of
second-generation bitmaps.
Because of hyperreproduction within the Expanded Half-hologramical Field of Uncertainty,
and with the help of management's pleading prayers in front of the integration machine, the Flat
Space of Artificial Certainty appears; it is the space in which the second generation of bitmaps is
frozen. This is the field of endless consuming without context.
Context is not important, and the second-generation bitmaps, behind the shield
of frozen flat space, are ready to suckle only quantity.

The Subject Unit

The Subject Unit is the unique and original scheme, as long as it is located
outside of acting either within the Material Hologramical Field of Memory or the Extended Half-
hologramical Field of Uncertainty, while for the Flat Frozen Space of Artificial Certainty of second-
generation bitmaps this scheme can't be considered at all.

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HoRRorKatze
October 2003.

Polygon und Praxis des Materiellen Hologramms der Erinnerung

Jede Einheit umgeben von Wissen im Raum der Praxis des Materiellen Hologramms der Erinnerung ist polygonisch. Die polygonale Praxis ist die Praxis der Affirmation der Subjekt - Einheit.
Die Charakteristik jedes Polygons ist die Wiederholung.
Die Referenz der Matrix ist die Vorstellung der Wiederholung. Die Affirmation durch die Sedimentierte Wiederholte Handlung wie Luft zu atmen, zu essen und zu trinken, ist ein wichtiger Faktor des Erhalts des polygonischen Ahnenkults. Der Raum der Praxis des Materiellen Hologramms der Erinnerung saugt Termini wie Ethno-Ökonomie, Desintegration des Subjekts, Rekontextualisierung und Teretanien (Trimmstuben) des Selbst.
Die vollkommene Umformung des Polygons zum Bitmap geschieht auf dem Feld der Erweiterten Halbhologrammischen Ungewissheit.

Bitmap und das Feld der Erweiterten Halbhologrammischen Ungewissheit

Das Erweiterte Halbhologramm der Ungewissheit ist eine turboisierte Instanz des Materiellen Hologramms der Erinnerung. Bitmap ist die vollkommene Umformung des Polygons mithilfe von Managementterror auf dem Feld der Erweiterten Halbhologrammischen Ungewissheit. Der lakonische Wunsch des Bitmaps produziert die Projektion des Polygons in den zoologischen Garten.
Die Idealvorstellung des Bitmaps ist der Zustand des perfekten Konsumierens. Dieser Konsument wird zum Leoparden in der Geschichte über den Naguru-See. Für ihn existiert ein Quasi-Raum Konsensus, aber nur wie eine Instant-Vorstellung.
Eine Beispiel dafür ist Kontext.
Kontext ist der traurigste Glaube des Bitmaps und die darausfolgende Praxis ist eine anfällige Vasallenhandlung. Sie ist eine Chamäleonische Mimikry-Produktion des Hässlichen Rehs, Genre 'site specific'. Die zweite Generation der Bitmaps hat sich von diesem Glauben gelöst.

Bitmaps der zweiten Generation und Flacher Raum der Gefrorenen Künstlichen Gewissheit

Der Flache Raum ist eine eigenständige unabhängige Produktion der gefrorenen künstlichen Gewissheit der Bitmaps zweiter Generation.
Infolge der Hyperreproduktion innerhalb des Feldes des Erweiterten Halbhologramms der Ungewissheit und mithilfe des inständigen Gebets des Managements vor der Integrationsmaschine kommen wir in den Flachraum, in dem die Bitmaps der zweiten Generation in künstlicher Gewissheit eingefroren sind.
Dies ist das Feld der unendlichen Konsumation ohne Kontext.
Kontext ist unwichtig und das Bitmap der zweiten Generation,
ausgestattet mit dem Schild des gefrorenen Flachraums, ist bereit,
nur Quantität in sich einzusaugen.

Die Subjekt - Einheit

Die Subjekt - Einheit ist das originale und einzigartige Schema, solange es außerhalb des Handelns steht, sei es auf dem Feld des Materiellen Hologramms der Erinnerung oder dem des Erweiterten Halbhologramms der Ungewissheit. Im Flachen Raum der Gefrorenen Künstlichen Gewissheit der Bitmaps zweiter Generation allerdings kommt ein solches Schema erst gar nicht in Betracht.

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HoRRorKatze
Oktober 2003

1 2009 Cultural Center REX, "Where they have been and what they were doing" (Gde su bili i šta su radili), project by Nebojša Milikić

2 2008 REMONT Gallery, Belgrade, Serbia, opening of the exhibition "Monument Series"

3 2007 European Art Festival - Wir sind woanders #2, at KuBaSta, Hamburg, Germany

4 2008 REMONT Gallery, Belgrade, Serbia, opening of the exhibition "Monument Series"

5 2008 SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenia, conference "Living on a Border" organised by KITCH and Peace Institute

6 2007 Magacin u Kraljevića Marka 4, presentation of Biro Belgrade and of the project Under the Bridge Beograd, organised by Bojan Đorđev from TKH (Walking Theory)

7 2009 Cultural Center of Serbia, Paris, France, opening of the exhibition "Psychogeographical Research"

8 2007 ZALET Festival, Zaječar, Serbia, performance Rädle&Jeremić with Selena Savić

9 Block 67, New Belgrade, "Right to have a Home!", screening of the movie "Belleville" in Roma settlement, with DUR, Kontext Gallery, Women in Black and Roma activists

10 2009 Old Sugar Factory, Belgrade, Serbia, making of "Partisan Songspiel" movie, with Chto Delat

11 2003 Interfiction X, Kassel, Germany, symposium „File Sharing" with Various Euro

12 2009 presentation of Slobodnakultura.org projects, Resurs Center, Leskovac, organised by Nebojša Kitanović

13 2009 S23k bus action, Stockholm, Sweden, by Piratbyran

14 2009 DOB Gallery, Cultural Center DOB, Belgrade, Serbia, exhibition and workshop "Balkan Exotic" by Ondrej Brody & Kristofer Paetau, with Slobodan Stanković, curated by Vladan Jeremić

15 2008 REMONT Gallery, Belgrade, Serbia, publications of Rädle&Jeremić

1 2008 CK13, Novi Sad, Serbia, Free Culture Festival 2, "Piratbyran and Pirate Bay" - activism and service economy with Rasmus Fleischer, Magnus Eriksson, Vladan Jeremić and Vladimir Jerić Vlidi

2 2005 Transformation 05 Festival, Zrenjanin, Serbia, action and installation "Moćni Irwasi" with Dragan Ignjatov, Zorica Jovanović and Nenad Bogdanović

3 2009 Gängeviertel, Hamburg, Germany, „Komm in die Gänge", exhibition and street art action

4 2008 iCommons Summit 2008, Sapporo, Japan

5 2009 11th Istanbul Biennale, Turkey, Chto Delat installation of "Partisan Songspiel"

6 2003 Museum 25th May, Internationales Kuenstlergremium, Belgrade, Serbia, performance "Horrokatze macht Terror"

7 2003 Horrorkatze Eating Grass, Belgrade, exhibition/event with the artists from Belgrade

8 2007 ZALET Festival, Zaječar, Serbia, performance Rädle&Jeremić with Selena Savić

9 2006 Cultural Center DOB, Belgrade, Serbia, "Talk on Anarchism - Art and Anarchism", organised by Group for Logistical Support

10 2009 Cultural Center of Serbia, Paris, France, opening of the exhibition "Psychogeographical Research"

11 2009 Block 67, New Belgrade, "Right to have a Home!", screening of the movie "Belleville" in Roma settlement, with DUR, Kontext Gallery, Women in Black and Roma activists

12 2008 REMONT Gallery, Belgrade, Serbia, Opening of the exhibition "The Monument Series"

13 2005 MI2 - Multimedia Institute, Zagreb, Croatia, presentation of "Under the Bridge project and modukit.com platform"

14 2007 ZALET Festival, Zaječar, Serbia, performance Rädle&Jeremić with Selena Savić

15 2009 City Museum, Helsinki, Finland, "Watch out, Gypsies! The History of a Misunderstanding"- Artist Talk, organised by HIAP

Artists Biography

Rena Rädle & **Vladan Jeremić** work together since 2002 and are active in various projects dealing with contemporary art and social activism. Rena Rädle is born in Germany and lives and works in Belgrade. She graduated visual communication at Kunsthochschule Kassel, Germany (2002). She critically researches inter-social and inter-cultural relations using video, photography and text. Vladan Jeremić is artist, activist and keen observer of the art system and the relations between culture and politics. In 2004 he got M.A. in arts, he graduated Interdisciplinary Master's Studies, University of Arts Belgrade, Serbia (Yugoslavia),. 1996-2001 he got B.A. graduated at Faculty of Applied Arts, University of Arts, Belgrade, Serbia (Yugoslavia). 1996-1998 he studied history of art at Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade.
Rädle & Jeremić have published many texts related to contemporary art and political activism in different publications and on-line. They participated in numerous events on arts and activism in Europe. Solo exhibitions in Serbia, France and Germany.
Artists website: http://raedle-jeremic.modukit.com

Recent Solo Exhibitions: 2009 Museum of Contemporary Art Vojvodina, Novi Sad, Serbia, "Psychogeographical Research"; Hinterconti, Hamburg, Germany, "Belleville"; "Cultural Center of Serbia, Paris, France, "Psychogeographical Research"; 2008 REMONT Gallery, Belgrade, Serbia, "Monument Series"; **Group Exhibitions:** 2009 Kunsthalle Tallinn, Estonia; "Labor Worlds at the age of Capital Collapse"; Tirana International Contemporary Art Biannual, Tirana, Albania, "Episodes 2/ City Logs"; 11th Istanbul Biennale, Turkey, with Chto Delat,-"Partisan Songspiel"; Supermarket, Artfair, Stockholm, Sweden; 2008 49th October Salon, Belgrade; SKUC, Radical Education, Ljubljana, Slovenia; 2007 BELEF 2007 (Belgrade Summer Festival), Belgrade, Serbia; 2006 Ljudmila, Digital media lab, Ljubljana, Slovenia, "Festival of Free Culture"; 2005 Gallery 35, Berlin, Germany, "Under the Bridge Beograd"; 2004 Gallery 5020, Salzburg, Austria, "Basic Festival"; Neoist Dept Fest, Berlin, Germany; Museum 25th May, Belgrade, Serbia, "Erasing"; 2003 Gallery Buero Friedrich, Berlin, Germany "Friendly Fire"; International Kuenstlergremium (IKG), Museum 25th May, Belgrade "Rediscover"; **Conferences and Congresses:** 2009 City Museum (HIAP), Helsinki, Finland, "Watch out, Gypsies! The History of a Misunderstanding"- Artist Talk; 2008 Peace Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia, "Living on a Border"; iCommons Summit 2008, Sapporo, Japan; 2006 Group for Logistical Support at Cultural Center DOB, Dom omladine, Belgrade, Serbia debates „Talk on Anarchism"; 2005 Pro. ba, Center for Contemporary Art - SCCA, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, congress "Lost in Transition", The Laboratory of Visual Arts, Prishtina, Kosovo, Artist talk and presentation of Under the Bridge; MI2 - Multimedia Institute, Zagreb, Croatia, Monteparadiso, Pula, Croatia and Molekula, Rijeka, Croatia, Artist talk and presentation of Under the Bridge Beograd project" 2003 Interfiction X, „File Sharer Values", Kassel, Sendi – experiment about sending and receiving; 2003 Horrorkatze Eating Grass, Belgrade, Serbia, Exhibition/event with Belgrade artists; 2002 Stadtparkforum Graz, "On Somnolency", Performing Various-euro –counterstrategies in the internet; Haus Köbberling, Infopool, Kassel, Germany, "Culturalisation of Politics"; Transmediale, Berlin, "Redundant Feature - the computer and its social capacities"; **Recent Grants and Residencies:** 2010 Residency at Lademoen Kunstnerverksteder, Trondheim, Norway; 2009 Artist-in-Residence-Stipend, City of Hamburg, Germany; Production grant for cooperation with Chto Delat, Foundation for Arts Initiatives, USA; Production grant "Creative Force Sweden-Western Balkans 2009", Swedish Institute; 2008 Production grant for Intercultural Dialogue, Ministry of Culture of Republic of Serbia.

Biografija umetnika

Rena Redle i Vladan Jeremić rade od 2002. godine na zajedničkim projektima koji se bave savremenom umetnošću i socijalnim aktivizmom. Rena Rädle je rođena u Nemačkoj, a živi i radi u Beogradu. Diplomirala je vizuelnu komunikacija na Kunsthochschule Kassel u Nemačkoj 2002. godine. Rena Redle kritički analizira inter-socijalne i inter-kulturalne odnose koristeći video, fotografiju i tekst. Vladan Jeremić je umetnik, aktivista i oštar kritičar sistema umetnosti i odnosa između kulture i politike. Godine 2004. je magistrirao umetnosti na Univerzitetu umetnosti u Beogradu, Srbija (Jugoslavija). Godine 2001. je diplomirao na Fakultetu primenjenih umetnosti Univerziteta umetnosti u Beogradu. Od 1996. do 1998. godine je studirao istoriju umetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu. Rädle&Jeremić su objavili mnoge tekstove koji se odnose na savremenu umetnost i politički aktivizam u raznim stručnim publikacijama i on-line izdanjima. Oni su učestvovali na brojnim konferencijama o umetnosti i aktivizmu u Evropi. Nedavne samostalne izložbe su imali u Novom Sadu, Beogradu, Parizu i Hamburgu. Zvanični sajt umetnika je: http://raedle-jeremic.modukit.com

Nedavne samostalne izložbe: 2009. Muzej savremene umjetnosti Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Srbija, „Psihogeografsko istraživanje"; Hinterconti, Hamburg, Nemačka, „Belevil"; Kulturni centar Srbije, Pariz, Francuska,"Psihogeografsko istraživanje"; 2008. REMONT Galerija, Beograd, Srbija, „Serija Spomenika"; **Grupne izložbe:** 2009. Kunsthalle Tallinn, Estonija, „Svet rada u doba krize kapitala"; Tirana međunarodno bijenale savremene umetnosti, Albanija, „Epizode 2/City Log"; 11. Istanbulsko bijenale, Istanbul, Turska, sa Chto Delat kolektivom, - „Partizanski pesmokaz"; Supermarket, sajam umetnosti, Stokholm, Švedska; 2008. 49. Oktobarski salon, Beograd, Srbija; SKUC, Radikalno obrazovanje, Ljubljana, Slovenija; 2007. BELEF 2007, Beograd, Srbija; 2006. Ljudmila, Digital Media Lab, Ljubljana, Slovenija, „Festival slobodne kulture"; 2005. Galerija 35, Berlin, Nemačka, „Under the Bridge Beograd", 2004. Galerija 5020, Salcburg, Austrija, „Basic Festival"; Neoist Dept Fest, Berlin, Nemačka; Muzeja 25. maj, Beograd, Srbija, „Brisanje"; 2003. Galerija Buero Friedrich, Berlin, Nemačka, „Friendly Fire"; International Kuenstlergremium (IKG), Muzej 25. maj, Beograd; **Konferencije, predstavljanje radova, izbor:** 2009. Gradski muzej (HIAP), Helsinki, Finska, „Pazi, Romi! istorija nesporazuma"; 2008 Mirovni institut, Ljubljana, Slovenija, „Living on Border"; iCommons Summit 2008, Saporo, Japan; 2007. Evropski umetnički festival - Wir sind woanders # 2, Hamburg, Nemačka; 2006. Grupa za logističku podršku, Dom omladine, Beograd, Srbija, debate "Razgovori o anarhizmu"; 2005 Pro.ba, Centar za savremenu umetnost - SCCA, Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina, kongres: „Izgubljeni u tranziciji"; Laboratorija za likovne umetnost, Priština, Kosovo, razgovor sa umetnicima i prezentacija „Under the Bridge Beograd"; MI2 - Multimedijalni institut, Zagreb, Hrvatska, Monteparadiso, Pula, Hrvatska i Molekula, Rijeka, Hrvatska, razgovor sa umetnicima i prezentacija projekta „Under the Bridge Beograd"; 2003. Interfiction X, „Vrednosti razmene fajlova", Kasel, "SENDI - eksperimenat o slanju i primanju"; Horrorkatze Eating Grass, Beograd, Srbija, izložba/događaj sa Beogradskim umetnicima; 2002. Stadtparkforum Grac, Austrija „Uspavanost", Performing Various-euro-kontra strategije i internet; Haus Köbberling, Infopool, Kasel, Nemačka, „Kulturalizacija politike"; Transmediale, Berlin, Nemačka, „Redundant Feature - računar i socijalni kapacitet"; **Umetničke rezidencije i stipendije:** 2010. Umetnička rezidencija u Lademoen Kunstnerverksteder, Trondhajm, Norveška, 2009. Umetnička rezidencija i stipendija grada Hamburga, Nemačka; Produkcijski grant za saradnju sa Chto Delat, Fondacija za umetničke inicijative, SAD; Produkcijski grant „Kreativna sila Švedska-Zapadni Balkan 2009", Švedski institut; 2008. Produkcijski grant za interkulturalni dijalog, Ministarstvo kulture Republike Srbije.

Texts

**Tekstovi**

Realisation of the Situationist Projections

The Situationist International movement is defined as speech, thought and engagement through critical strategy, publication of anarcho-marxistic truth, falsification of repressive behaviour and terrorism of different socio-cultural significations. The representatives of this movement, known and unknown, right and left, were working with synchronic treatment and affirmation of parallelism in time until to their proclaimed self-dissolution in 1972.
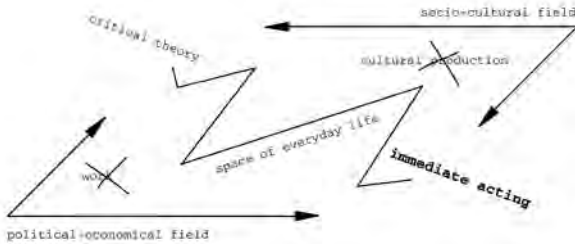
Acting between categories - **Idea of SI**

In the beginning of the nineties the Situationist International enters the museum archives of the unstable market space. With this act, situationism decorates the armour of management knowledge and becomes quasi contra-criticism. On the marketplace of the social field, such contra-criticism is the only weapon of cultural management or similar mediators who are responsible for building the image of the superconsumer.

Our analysis is based on existing archives and resources containing material and relations that refer to the situationists. Their application on the social field and beyond it, and the general spreading of meanings, is of central importance for understanding the realisation of the situationistic projections. The socio-field can be defined as the first field of projection/fiction on which totalitarian homogenity is imposed after the annihilation of
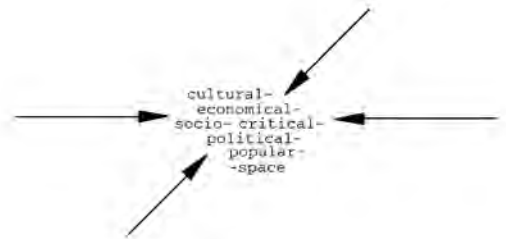
Collapse into one equal space - **Realisation of SI idea**

the economical, political, cultural or ideological frame. Information and communication processes are groups that project themselves into the frame of this field and other integration systems like it is the system of market.

Management is defined as global acting in the sense of organisation of information- and communication-processes on the first field of projection. Passwords or slogans show up like keys on the surface of the first field of socio-projection/fiction. On their link-relations, we can read the instruments for the administration of cultural politics and ideological sharing of power. Anarchistic background, dadaism, lettrism, situationism, communication guerilla, neoism and all kinds of terrorism lead us back to a simple mode of dialectical definition and create a climate of power that constructs the cultural product for the constitution of market terrorist models. (This is shown by the example of neoism: The neoist is like a manneristic leftover of situationism, knocked out by the economies he was following. He does not offer a way out of the project's multiple layers, which situate themselves like an unstable criticism inside of the parodic contra-cultural worshipping of all subfields and models of marketing economy.)

This climate is able to connect and to penetrate all levels of the hierarchical, patriarchal, and materialist heritage with a legal product of terrorism that is a terminology manipulated according to market- and political engagement in the name of a totalitarian bureaucratic model with a poly-imperialist intention.

An example for this process can be seen within the term of culture. All that is left of cultural engagement, like an evidence of mediation and management terror, is the economical, political, or cultural commodity, i.e. product. This "cultural acting" will be transformed into the password "artistic work," in connection with the managerial-economical-ideological act. This new "password" will have the right to enter specific architectures and to apply on that ground. (Cultural management corrects the romantic tails of art according to the current ideological political reality.)

Passwords for entering a special cultural field show up like keys i.e. "key words" or parameters that can be measured through the statistical methods of advertising strategy. The intention of profit groups in ideology and politics can be calculated on the basis of the frequency of their occurrence. The real arrangement of motion or statical values can be

seen through discursive group's slogans, their outcomes, the size of their archives, the movement and the transformation of the term itself.

The password "situationism" can be expressed in relation to other statistical keys. In September 2003 it was around 2,38%, whereas "fluxus" could reach only 0,02 percent points. That means that in relation with other pop slogans inside the discourse of cultural politics "SI" was very highly rated. The representation and function of this password, as well as its application on the extension of the cultural subfield, is a factor in the predatory action of management strategy. A row of parameters like the velocity of changes of links, new archives, and repetition through quotation, give measurable values which determine further strategies.

Speaking about the Situationist International is a problem of language itself and turns into mega-interpretation. The question of whether Debord's "Society of the Spectacle" can be understood as didactic material about polydialectical systems of pop guerilla, piercing, games, neo punk and tattoo culture packed inside of the situationnist low-budget frame of interpretation.... it seems like this attempt is not possible.
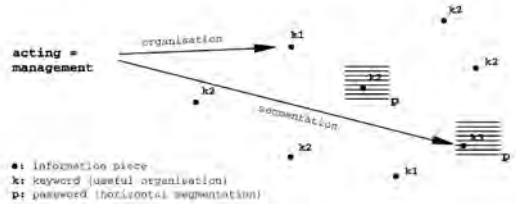
Integrational field of free information – **SI like password**

The antagonisms of the fragmented field of projection show the following applications. Situationism realized itself in two aspects:
1. the market (extends to the first field of projection, and might correspond to the idea of the "intergrated spectacle").
2. the subjective personal plan (situationistic ideas about the realisation of world revolution might be possible in this direction).

1. According to the first application: The Idea of the Situationist International is absorbed by manager activism. In fact, the situationist activist is the ideal manager. He plays with value ranges, provokes conflicts on the scene of the projected media field, profiles categories and instruments, distributes scandals and boomerang collages in the discourses of expectation, he constitutes fake identities, performances PR and para-advertizing. The manager is the flower of the situationist tradition, but also its bastard. The failed mega-dreams of the situationists transformed into bureaucratic agencies, which sell the last pieces of the neo-avantgarde. Techno-romantism, décor management, the politics of

the corporate investments and power, the 5th observation field, multilevel marketing of copy left and informal economies of the flee markets, NGO-re-watch experiments, copies of dead presentations, anti-globalist movements, para-economies of agencies, peasant's neo-anarchism, open source, disgusting architectural transparency of signification are all victims, who neither accept the modesty of economical materialism nor death like outsiders.

Actions on the street, sixty-eight-contra-paroles, RAF underground, unbelievable strategies of political parties in post-communistic systems, students parodic nonprotests, neo-nazism of populist leaders that are hunting unstable identities to stick nationalist quotations on them, bombing and terrorist performances with non-existing fundamentalist expression, quasi dictatorship practice, police violence - attempt to control body and information: this is all contra-situationist practice, and it overtakes the public sphere in a disinformative manner.

To criticize the SI phenomenon is affirmation through the practice of quantity, which the situationists suggest themselves. This is an almost didactic method. With repetition and quotation of this name itself we are building a foundation of value that stands undisputed in the floating systems of para-advertising. Context really does not exist in this space of accumulation. With quotations and mentions of this name, we are filling archives already full of confirmations, opinions, and recipes about the Situationist International. These archives can be used with any purpose, and this pure quantity reveals the nature of term itself. It is erased, transformed and emerges again like a password. Incredible lists of quotations are expanding from disappeared authors to custom values of the tribal urban elite. From the very beginning, dealing with SI heritage should have been transformed into nothing. This means not mentioning it and not writing it. We beg for euthanasia of the name and exile of SI from language and text.

2. But what is happening to the personal projective plan, on which we can build a defence and where management terror cannot harm us? There is a moment when the integrating performance is not equivalent and valid enough, and then only subjective truth released from utilitarian foundations can yield this kind of solution.

Picture A. In the dark zone of the first socio-economical projection field Situationist International (SI) was sucked from manager's side (M).

Picture B. Mutant manager activist, good armoured, using many techniques and strategies produced by situationist actionism (SI) together with the following "pro-situ" phenomenon.

To be recognized by the expectant group, you have to sacrifice your subject like a first step into the field of market. You become a victim of economical strategies. The biggest problem is inside of the repetitive affirmation system. The main characteristic for every unstable subject surrounded by knowledge inside the space of the first field of projection is repetition. The reference of the matrix is the presentation of repetition. Affirmation through sedimented repetitive practices like breathing air, eating and drinking, are a strong factor in maintaining the cult of progenitors. Language and text are the most scary products of this repetitive practice. Without repetitive affirmation communication is not possible.

The recipe is simple. Stay in your own personal-subjective space and don't let any information interrupt your personal power. Do not receive information! To be in a uninformative modus means not absorbing meta-economical strategies from the space of the market. Not having an answer about things and aspects of socio-political reality. Not participating. The space of uncommunication is space of revolutionary ideas. Sabotage of the communicational channels can offer a real chance to leave the totalitarian, homogenous, situation. According to the algorithm of language, we don't have the rhetorical ability to name these uncommunicative saboteurs. This recipe can be considered like a simple solution: Our algorithm is catastrophy!

Rejection of repetitive affirmation demolishes the basic matrix of thinking inside the materialistic spectrum of projections. This act calls upon the brutal act of erasing everyday life. It disqualifies representation and it is based on the idea that the first field of projection is built like a construction of reality. This reality is constantly dissolving and can be seriously disturbed in its foundation of practices and wishes.
This kind of unsystematically acting can be realized by creating an absolutely personal space without legitimation through context and repetitive affirmation. Not participating in any kind of "creative or uncreative" animation. Not basing criticism on spatial relations and not criticizing the first field of projection. Not transforming communicational information, not spreading information, not using or sharing information or "disinformation". Working under the "OUT" amateur quasi regime. OUTpraxa is SENDIpraxa, Lipstick Collectors, Subjective Totalitarianism, Belgrade Zeros, Displaced Dilemma.

Erasing of Context Through Hyper-Production

We will take a look at art from the political aspect and at interpretation of art through political systems, look at how they overlap, and the relationship between art and anarchism. We will examine how the ideas of freedom and autonomy in the politics and art developed together and how they overlapped, starting at the end of the 18th century during Enlightenment and throughout the 19th century and a fast development of capitalist relations and the bourgeois society. As the capitalist civil society developed, art became liberated from church and classic institutions, as well as from dwelling under dominant classes. A paradigm about an autonomous artist who can change the society with his work was developed during Romanticism. Anarchism of the 19th century was based on the political activity and struggle against all forms of domination and governance that was separated from the people. Artists who created their own autonomy also shared views of anarchists. Let's mention some of the cases from the 19th century which constitute these relations.

Gustave Courbet is a well known French artist, and also a revolutionary of the Paris Commune. His artistic work initiated the so-called Social Realism, i.e. Realism in painting. On the other hand, Courbet demolished various bourgeois symbols and monuments (for example, the Vendome column) and was an active member of the Communal Council. During the Communards' fight against the bourgeoisie, he lucidly advised that artwork could be used in the revolutionary fight by using the paintings of Botticelli, Raphael and other ancient masters from the Louvre as barricades. During the second half of the 19th century, the poet Mallarme publicly supported anarchists during a court procedure. Rimbaud abandoned the role of a bourgeois poet despising it, and left for Africa. Tolstoy liberated serfs of the taxes and fees by giving them land and creating a kind of a free co-operative…
However, art as we know it today emerged in the conditions of the nascent bourgeois society and the rise of the capitalist production, so that symbolic

language used by artists in the production of artworks is the language formed in the culture of capitalist relations.

During the 20th century and the modernist project that was striving to change society - thus having an undeniable political role - artistic strategies and initial positive background of the avant-garde got transformed in the means of propaganda of the totalitarian systems, such as fascism. Philosopher Adorno analyzed these aspects in his cultural studies and developed a term culture industry after immigrating to the United States. As historical process progressed over totalitarian and technological eras, art adopted all applicable forms of a cultural product in the culture industry. The development and history of film industry is the best example of this process, and so is the history of popular culture. The illustration and final determination of visual culture industry in the so-called "high" art can be seen in the act of tautological appropriation by Warhol and other pop artists. Same as Adorno, a philosopher of the Frankfurt School, Walter Benjamin, defines the concept of cultural product and emphasizes that "there is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism." Georges Bataille wrote about the Potlatch in culture, i.e. the need to produce excessive materiality, generated by the society itself, in order to destroy it ritually later on.

After the World War II, as state cultural bureaucracies grew stronger, art production was supported by the institutionalized esthetics of blocks of the time. In the East-European cultures, canonized socialist realism held sway, while the paradigm of a free artistic expression was built in the West, filtered through art market and the myth of a great modernist artist. Jackson Pollock produced abstract expressionism, supported by the government and cultural policies of the United States. There is a catalog from 1961 of the exhibition of "Contemporary American Art" which was realized in the American Embassy in Belgrade (in Yugoslavia, a socialist country, with a specific role between two blocks), representing the entire art scene of the time: De Kooning, Pollock, Mark Rothko, etc. – almost all artist of that heroic abstract expressionism.
During those cold war years, the Situationist International begins its activity. Situationist theoretician Guy Debord criticized art heavily, removing from Situationism all those who produced art through the system of institutions and, as he put it – expanded the field of spectacle. Situationists write that culture is a commodity that sells everything else, which seems very modern even today.

The activity of the conceptual artist Joseph Beuys, the "anarchist and shaman", is very interesting. He gives a definition that "Kunst=Kapital". Using that, he reflects on the ontological existence of art in the field of capitalism. No matter how much he plays on the verge of excess and politics, Beuys' freedom still remains in the frame of a specific West Germany's (Social or Christian Democratic) capitalist system of that period. His political role served as a kind of a mirror (that works as a mediator) for artists living in former East Germany. Beuys' mirrored subject gave the illusion of extreme liberties, i.e. as much as it was possible that an artist is free in West Germany.

In the current global cultural production, through cultural management and mediation, art is produced in the context of marketing campaigns for financially powerful bodies and companies, cultural tourism, etc. - i.e. sectors which can generate fresh profit. In the age of post-fordism, new museums are built instead of factories, all kinds of things are restored and made into artifacts, festivals are organized in great numbers, same as biennials, music and hybrid festivals, etc.

Already for a long now we find art reduced to the role of decorating neoliberal capitalism, functioning in the form of a mere market product. We see the modification of art into marketing strategies and corporate culture. The heritage of the artistic avant-garde, with its conceptual and visual experiments, is part of today's marketing strategies. For example, we feel free to state that without the collage at the beginning of the 20th century, there would have been no graphical operative computer systems or many other technological-conceptual products. And in a way, with their practice called détournement, situationists opened the door for today's models of para-advertising.

In a culture, besides marketing strategies, there is also present a political mediation, which according to the theory of identity, transfers the former partition of society into classes to the paradigm of different identities. In the Balkans, this kind of mediation is very apparent in the recent economic and political processes. Contemporary art is used both as a means for political propaganda and for the expansion of the market. Various brands have been imported from the dominant cultural areas and are implanted by propaganda tools and the media into the market of a subordinated cultural habitat. This transfer of cultural packages is locally put into practice uncritically as a form of "cultural karaoke". At the same time, in these surroundings, particular profiles have developed for dealing with specific tasks in cultural politics. For the initiation of the transition in Eastern European cultures, contemporary art served a

position described as "Soros-Realism" (after the name of the foundation mainly financing these kind of programs in Ex-Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe during the nineties). Cultural politics and the agendas they impose are realized through the neoliberal strategies of the free market and with the help of the (European) totalitarian bureaucratic apparatus. We witness the expansion of consumption and cultural hyper-production, the branding of a region and the processes of gentrification providing ground for future economic investments. In Belgrade, Serbia, a good example of the transition process in the arts is the "October Salon", an until now conservative manifestation, which is currently becoming an international biennial, Belgrade meeting the same fate as the other main cities of the region. The aim is to have an exhibition similar to anywhere else in the region or Europe, the ideal effect being to change the city's global image and to stimulate larger future economic investments.

Throughout its history, institutional art has already repeated the act of recuperation so many times that everything can be offered on its market. Consequently, the art works presented at these kind of biennials and shows look equally unconvincing. All possible kinds of conceptions have already been recuperated a thousand times and multiplied in the digital media. The concept of copyright cannot cope with the contemporary remix culture. The performative has become the manifestation of the spectacle and the creativity of the "virtual bodies"/"avatars" takes place inside of the defined corporate spaces of net games (such as "Second Life"). Context alone is not enough for the affirmation of an art work. Or rather, we observe the erasure of context itself - more precisely, the subsumption of all contexts into one single context, the celebration of capitalist superiority in corporate culture.

As regards the question of context, it is interesting to have a look at exhibitions like the show about the RAF (Red Army Fraction), which was realized in a quite relaxed way some years ago at Kunstwerke in Berlin. Accompanied by a fat catalogue, it promoted an aesthetic image of the RAF, showing art works, films and documentations representing something like the "radical art" we can enjoy today while having a coffee at the gallery's bar. A similar treatment of the issue is exemplified in the worldwide retrospectives concerning the Situationist International during the last few years. They tend to show the situationists in their aesthetic and formal aspects, to the neglect of the true political context. Currently there is a show about SPUR, a section of situationists from Munich. The interpretation of their activities also concentrates on their aesthetic and formal aspects, putting the political in the background. The same process

has happened to Dada and Surrealism too, as the phenomenon of these movements has for the most part entered the archives interpreted through the aesthetics and theory of the image, whereas their main aim of changing something through direct action in everyday life (also the main aim of anarchist groups) is disregarded.

In his essay The Case Against Art, the anarchist writer John Zerzan criticizes postmodern and other aspects of art and its entrance into civilization. Zerzan doesn't criticize art as such, but the ways it is presented in a culture. For him, art is problematic because it speaks in a symbolic language mediated through experts who tell us what art is and what we should learn and experience as art.

The majority of artists in the field of anarchism are linked in their activities to postanarchism or queer theory. A large number of participants in the field of contemporary art consider it inevitable to actively enter the art system, claiming that we cannot neglect it nor find any strategy to avoid it. According to them, it is necessary to enter the system with an rhizomatic idea about relations and to "invisibly" destruct and destroy it through various positions of identity - to play with the system in a way that simply makes its functioning impossible on different levels. This is more or less the current state of the discourse between postanarchism and contemporary art.

The attitude of anarchists towards art has always been critical and entrance into the system (even as an extreme strategy/anti-strategy) especially problematic. Only free play in everyday life can open a space for direct interpersonal contact and direct action and the symbolic models of artistic communication cannot replace that.

From Soros Realism[1] to Creative Class

Cultural foundations have a strong impact on cultural production in the region of the Balkans during the last decade. Analyzing their particular missions and international agendas for cultural policies, it turns out that their vocabulary reminds on critical political practices and discourses of the 1960s and 70s in "western" societies. In this essay I will trace back the history of *identity politics* and *participation* and critically comment, why and how these ideas are implemented in the recent conceptions for global and/or European cultural policies. I will present concrete examples of cultural production from Belgrade and Hamburg and describe how *cultural identity* and *participation* are interpreted and put into practice in different local contexts. Why culture and creativity play such an essential role in today's economy will be explained through the example of Richard Florida's model of a "creative class". I will show that the culturalization of politics is not solving the problems of inequality in neoliberal capitalism and that the postmodern discourse about the ambiguity of *cultural* identity in practice supports the continuation of chauvinistic identity politics.

Cultural Foundations and their Missions in the Balkans

During the Nineties "Soros Centers for Contemporary Art" (SCCA) dominated the cultural scene in whole Eastern Europe. Nowadays the Open Society Institute in Eastern Europe concentrates mainly on programs concerning education, youth and children, minorities and human rights. Since around 2002 foreign funding of culture and arts in Serbia decreased significantly and is coordinated now by the European Cultural Foundation (in cooperation with Open Society Institute and Hivos), national foundations as Kulturstiftung des Bundes (mainly in Kosovo), Pro Helvetia, Kulturkontakt and alike. There emerged even an important corporate foundation, the Erste Bank Group with its program called "Kontakt".

What are the goals and visions of the programs offered by these European foundations? For the Swiss Pro Helvetia "cultural identity and cultural self-consciousness" have become crucial in the age of globalization as it is stated in the vision of the "Swiss Cultural Programme South East Europe and Ukraine". Culture, and thus its producer, is "contributing to the social and economic transition process" and is characterized with terms like "change", "openness", "innovative", "active", "engaged", "strengthening of civil society", "social challenges", "partnership", "shared experiences", "debate" etc. The producer – subject focused on is according to this description young, culturally self-conscious, innovative, creative, openminded, socially engaged, willing to participate, collaborate, to acquire and to share new knowledge. Two ideas are stressed: *cultural identity* and *participation*.

The "Kontakt" program of the Erste Bank Group serves, as it reads on their webpage, "as a platform for the social and cultural commitment of Erste Bank Group in the Central and Eastern European region." Erste Bank sees itself as an actor, who is looking for partners to "work on proposals for solutions" and "to develop strategies on how to tackle the economic, cultural and socio-political issues in Central and Eastern Europe in the near future". Erste Bank describes itself as "open, eager to learn and ready to try new approaches". This is what is expected to be the partner, too, of course.
Keywords used characterizing possible partners are more or less the same as the ones that uses Pro Helvetia, but there are some new elements coming in: Erste Bank stresses aspects as *cooperation*, *networking*, *self-organization*, the aim "to work independently in the production of art" and to "enable independent creative strategies".

In the following I concentrate on three characteristics of the subject (the cultural producer or potential partner) described in the given examples: *Cultural identity*, *participation* and *self-organization* (other expressions might be autonomy, independence, self-determination). I will shortly outline the development of the discourses and practices connected to these ideas from the new social movements of the 20th century until to the *cultural turn* in the 1990s, which is accompanied by the emergence of the creative industries, the promotion of multiculturalism and cultural difference and the discussions about precarious working conditions of the so-called creative class.

Fight for Cultural Identity

The statement that identity is not determined biologically was very important for the feminist critique starting in the 70s in Europe and USA. Feminist theory points at the difference between "sex", a biological category, and "gender", a social and cultural role or identity formed in a historical process. With this assumption it became possible to criticize the cultural and social conditions that led and lead to the social inequality between women and men. For some feminist theoreticians the most important question is the question of agency, the capacity to act. For them the power of women and the womens' movement lies inside of strengthening of the female subjectivity[2].

Another example for the emancipative potential of cultural identity are the national liberation movements. Writing about the Black Power movement in USA, Africa and Europe, the postcolonial theoretician Stuart Hall states the necessity of the concept of identity as a political strategy within the struggle against colonial suppression. According to him, the term "Black" in the slogan "Black Power" is "a historical, a political, a cultural category", not a biological fact[3]. In this respect I want to mention the "international solidarity" between the armed anti-imperialist movements in Germany, Italy and France and the national liberation movements in Europe, Africa and America during the 70s and 80s. This (imagined) common fight of the fighters in the centers of imperialism and the ones on the periphery was more a cultural construction than a consequence of a common experience of suppression. This might be one of the (many) reasons why it failed.

Both examples have in common that they revive the modern idea about an autonomous subject with the aim to give hold to the positioning of the individual in an active role and thus to be able to overthrow the ruling system and the discourses of the powerful. Cultural identity serves as a common unifier of a group of individuals to empower them to go against its suppressor.

In the last 25 years, in "western" societies the concept of cultural identity shifted from a political mobilizer to an anti-political tranquilizer. Promoted along the keywords of cultural difference and multiculturalism, it is now the theoretical basis for cultural policies in Europe and USA. Referring to the representation of black culture in contemporary arts and the media, Kobena Mercer notes that "cultural difference appears more visibly integrated into mainstream markets than ever before, but

it is accompanied by a privatised ethos in which it is no longer an 'issue' for public debate. "[...] " 'Hyperblackness' in the media and entertainment industries serves no longer to critique social injustice, but to cover over and conceal increasingly sharp inequalities that are most polarised *within* black society itself, namely between a so-called urban underclass and an expanded middle class that benefited from affirmative action."[4] However, in other places of the world, for example in Kosovo and Serbia, national or religious identity are a highly political issue.

The Alternative Society: Collective Self-determination

Let us have a closer look at the other two qualities, potential donation-receivers should have: *participation* and *self-organization*/self-government. Participation and self-government have been central claims of many social movements of the 20th century. Especially the youth and students' movements in the Western metropolises in the end of the 1960s expressed the desire for an alternative way of life and developed dissident practices based on self-organization and grassroots democracy. In the beginning of the 70s young people squatted houses and lived together in communities. Decisions were taken at the plenum according to the principle of consensus. Kindergartens, printing-shops, bars were organized as collectives. The idea of an alternative living comprised the abandoning of regular work in the sense of permanent employment. Work and life fell into one: the fight for personal freedom, for a self determined life, for the revolution, against the establishment, against imperialism.

What happened during the last 30 years is a normalization of these formerly dissident practices. Today's working conditions demand a maximum of flexibility and self-organization. Guaranteed employment many people can only dream of, especially in the so called countries in transition. The rule is unsure, not guaranteed, flexible exploitation: illegal, seasonal, temporary employment, homework, freelancing or self employment.[5]
Squatted houses in Berlin or Amsterdam are a good example to see how the scene looks like 25 years later. Over the time, self-organized spaces transformed themselves into professional culture producers like artist-run galleries, cultural centers, tourist attractions, media labs, design studios, pseudo-critical debate clubs etc. while leftover groups of political activists are driven out of the gentrificated areas and exposed to state repression.

Culture – The Fourth Pillar of Development

Recent international papers and documents as "Agenda 21 for culture"[6] claim that culture becomes the "fourth pillar of development" together with economy, social inclusion and environment, as stated in the "Guide to Citizen Participation in Local Cultural Policy Development for European Cities"[7] issued by the European Cultural Foundation. In many strategic papers (for example the Schroeder/Blair paper from 98) artists' working conditions and methods are quoted as a role model of an entrepreneurial self.[8] There are two aspects, why culture is such an interesting field in terms of global politics: its *economic potential* and its *participative character*.

According to UNESCO, "Cultural industries [..] are knowledge and labour-intensive, create employment and wealth, nurture creativity [..] and foster innovation in production and commercialisation processes. At the same time, cultural industries are central in promoting and maintaining cultural diversity and in ensuring democratic access to culture" and "Their international dimension gives them a determining role for the future in terms of freedom of expression, cultural diversity and economic development"[9]. Because of the inequality of representation of the world's cultures within cultural industries UNESCO advocates for counteracting "by strengthening local capacities and facilitating access to global markets at national level."
The problem of inequality is here translated into a lack of representation within the market, which leads us to the question, if the market is the only stage, where cultural expression and visibility can be performed. In any case, in times of visual hyperproduction and unlimited digital circulation, the image and representation as such have lost its power. This is why political issues in the field of representation (the media) can only reach its public if backed up by a successful marketing strategy. Politics "is ceasing to be about conflict over dominant ideas and much more becomes the 'opportunity to participate in cultural production and conflicts and tensions over identity', as Martin Albrow puts it"[10] and transforms into something, which is described by Paul Piccone as "postmodern populism"[11].

Here we come to the other aspect of culture stressed in various policy papers: its *participative character*. In the introduction to the abovementioned guide it reads: "What makes an individual a citizen (or not) of a particular town or place is largely determined by cultural aspects." It is amazing to see the notion of being a citizen being reduced to his/her access to cultural participation. But it becomes understandable if we recall the concepts of

"cultural identity" and "cultural diversity" that stand behind this idea. In this conception of participation the state has the responsibility to enable every individual to choose her/his specific cultural identity and to offer a frame where this identity can be expressed. The question is by which forces this frame is really shaped in the end. Not only in science and education, but also in culture economical profit and corporate interests are gaining influence in the shape and content of projects and programs. For sure it is a nice idea to include citizens in the development of cultural programs of their city, but the question comes up, about what kind of culture we are talking. Isn't every day life, school, working conditions, what kind of products we have in our stores and for which price, etc. as well part of our culture? What, if a "cultural identity" doesn't want or is not able to participate? Can every conflict be translated into a cultural dissent? The advocates of the politics of identity understand culture and belonging to a culture as something negotiable, as a process. This is true, but it should not be forgotten that there exist nonnegotiable social inequalities and that we are living in a world of national and private immovable territories. What about the ones that can not take part in a special kind of culture because they just cannot afford to buy the ticket, the book, the right style of dressing, internet, ... If we talk about "cultural policies based on human rights and cultural diversity"[12], then "cultural rights" can not have a price! This would mean a true revolution of the cultural sector! Unfortunately the "advocating for culture" doesn't go that far but matches just too well with the need to mobilize all creative resources with the aim to create a "vibrant cultural life" in cities that want to attract investors, young people, tourists etc.

National Identity and Contemporary Art, Beograd-Prishtina

The exhibition about contemporary art from Prishtina "Exception", which took place in January 2008 in Novi Sad and should continue in February in Belgrade, focused in one part on artistic works dealing with national identities[13]. It was funded by the European Cultural Foundation and Pro Helvetia. Realized in the very moment when Kosovo's declaration of Independency was expected every day, it was foreseeable that the exhibition would cause heavy controversy. In Belgrade, one art work was destroyed by militant nationalists who entered the gallery, while several hundred of them were demonstrating against the exhibition outside. It was closed during the opening by police, attacks on the building followed during the night. Due to the lack of state support the exhibition had to be cancelled completely. The depiction of an Albanian national hero

from Kosovo had provoked Serbian nationalists, no matter that it was used in the general context of pop iconography. It is not the first time, that a work dealing with national identity causes this kind of "scandal" that covers over all other presented works and makes room rather for nationalist propaganda and political manipulation than for the much quoted intercultural dialogue. The question is, in how far the vision of a participative and negotiable cultural identity is performable in a context, where cultural identity has the notion of national, religious or ethnic identity and might be linked to traumatic experiences. These are less negotiable categories, as it is not so easy to change one's history, passport, name or color of skin. In fact, the preoccupation with national identity avoids the solution of immense social-economic problems within the societies of Serbia and Kosovo, which are neglected by politicians and public authorities to an inexcusable extend. The true victims of the fight between "national identities" are the ones "without defined identity", refugees without papers or without the right kind of papers, living in barracks, camps, favellas or in the woods, displaced from their homes, expelled from the European Union, deprived of their right to exist.

Local Cultural Development and Participation in Belgrade and Hamburg

In September 2006, the issue of self-organization was discussed on an international conference within the 40th BITEF theater festival in Belgrade. Although initialized in a highly institutional framework and backed up by a row of local academics[14], the idea of self-organization spread in Belgrade's non institutional cultural scene and two months later the "flexible platform of the Belgrade independent scene", "The Other Scene" was founded by a large number of local initiatives, more and less established ones[15]. When the city council of culture issued an open call for a new cultural venue to be founded, all members of "The Other Scene" applied under the condition that every member of the network should have access to the venue and be able to contribute their program. Only a very few initiatives from the network were selected. After the opening, the space turned out to be under the administration of the Belgrade Cultural Center of the City Council, which is now presenting the production of the groups. In business terminology this kind of strategy would be described as outsourcing. Neither the administration of the projects, nor the wages of the producers nor the production itself are on the budget of the institution, in return it

gets a "vivid and contemporary" program, which is financed, if at all, by diverse cultural foundations.

In 2007 some cultural producers from Belgrade's "Other Scene" took part in the European Art Festival "wir sind woanders – we are somewhere else" in Hamburg. In the introduction to the festival guide, the Senator for culture resumes that "in the meantime everybody has learned that it is the positions beyond mainstream out from where surprising visions of the future can be developed"[16]. The event was sponsored by a private donator from Hamburg, who prefers to stay anonymous. For the cultural producers themselves, the shift from the margin towards the center seems to be irritating. The discussions held on a parallel theoretical platform underline a critical reflection of the development. There are around three fractions one could figure out in Hamburg's "independent art and cultural scene". One claims the responsibility of the state to fund them at a larger scale, arguing with the new importance of their productivity. Others see a great chance to jump into the emerging economic field of urban marketing and cultural tourism. A third group hints at the precarious working conditions of culture producers and there is a few people that insist explicitly in the critical and political position of their work.

The Potential of the Creative Subject

After all, the key issues of the social emancipative movements, *self-determination* and *participation*, have entered institutional politics. Obviously it is not their critical power but their economical potential that makes them attractive today. Self-responsibility, flexibility, creativity, high motivation, these are the qualities the *creative subject* must be equipped with to fulfill the requirements of a society regulated by the norms of neoliberal capitalism. Bestseller author Richard Florida[17] believes in a rising "creative class" consisting of scientists, tech people, artists, managers, lawyers, financial people,.. that is the driving force for economical growth. According to his empirical studies in the US, the "young creatives" are attracted by cities offering the right kind of "active, participatory recreation facilities": "They prefer indigenous street-level culture---a teeming blend of cafes, sidewalk musicians, and small galleries and bistros, where it is hard to draw the line between performers and spectators. They crave stimulation, not escape. They want to pack their time full of dense, high-quality, multidimensional experiences. Seldom has one of my subjects expressed a desire to get away from it all. They want to

get into it all, and do it with eyes wide open. [...] Creative class people value active outdoor recreation very highly and are into a variety of active sports, from traditional ones like bicycling, jogging, and kayaking to newer, more extreme ones, like trail running and snowboarding." To measure the capabilities a city or area has for a synergy of different kinds of creativity Florida gives three indexes: The Creativity Index (how many people work in the creative field), the High-Tec Index (how many patents are issued per capita) and the Gay Index (which shows how open an area is to different kinds of people and ideas."[18] Because of his very simple and affirmative approach many politicians, city developers and cultural producers took over his argumentation to claim the importance of investing into culture. One can guess, what kind of culture we are talking about, if its main aim is to stir economic growth: fast consumable, target group oriented, expensive, suitable for urban marketing.

Conclusion

The cultural self-exploitation of the *creative subject* on the one side and the creation of *cultural identities* that consume cultural products on the other side seem like two entities of a *perpetuum mobile* of economic profit. This is an illusion raised up in a blinded world of participative consumer happiness that ignores the fact that its wealth is produced by disenfranchised workers in other parts of the world, of the country or even of the city. In that other world, *cultural diversity* might mean something else than the freedom to choose between a Vietnamese, Turkish or Chinese restaurant. In that other world enjoyment in a floating *cultural identity* doesn't exist, but there exist non-ambiguous identities confined by their social status. The concept of participation and cultural identity diffuses a potential critical mass into billions of egos fitted with the right to express themselves. It conceals the increasing social inequalities in our societies hit by neoliberal politics and globalized markets downsizing them to cultural or ethno phenomena that could even pay out if only promoted on the market in the right way. The discourse about cultural identity supports the continuation of chauvinist identity politics that push people into irrational conflicts and hinders a constructive dialog between all people about how to secure a normal life for everybody.

1 Term used by Miško Šuvaković, www.ljudmila.org/scca/platforma2/suvakovicang.htm

2 Peter V. Zima, 2000, "Theorie des Subjekts", p. 281, referring to Francoise Gaspard, Sabina Lovibond and Honi Fern Haber.

3 Hall, 1994, "Alte und neue Identitäten, alte und neue Ethnizitäten", p. 66-88, nach Linda Supik, 2005, "Dezentrierte Positionierung, Stuart Halls Konzept der Identitätspolitiken", p.76

4 Kobena Mercer, 1999, Third Text issue 49, "Ethnicity and Internationality, New British Art and Diaspora-based Blackness", published again in "Contemporary Art and Nationalism", Pristina 2007, publishers: Minna Henriksson and Sezgin Boynik, pp. 117-118

5 "However, it is precisely these alternative living and working conditions that have become increasingly more economically utilizable in recent years because they favor the flexibility that the labor market demands. Thus, practices and discourses of social movements in the past thirty, forty years were not only dissident and directed against normalization, but also at the same time, a part of the transformation toward a neoliberal form of governmentality." Isabell Lorey in "Governmentality and Self-Precarization, On the normalization of cultural producers", published in: Simon Sheikh (Ed.). CAPITAL (It Fails Us Now). Berlin: b_books 2006, pp. 117-139

6 www.agenda21culture.net

7 European Cultural Foundation, 2007, "Guide to Citizen Participation in Local Cultural Policy Development for European Cities", by Jordi Pascula i Ruiz and Sanjin Dragojevic, published by Interarts Foundation (Barcelona), ECUMEST Association (Bucharest) and the European Cultural Foundation, http://www.eurocult.org/uploads/docs/577.pdf

8 Isabell Lorey in "Governmentality and Self-Precarization"

9 UNESCO Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization at http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID
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17 Richard Florida, 2002: "The Rise of the Creative Class. And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure and Everyday Life"

18 Richard Florida, 2002, "The Rise of the Creative Class. Why cities without gays and rock bands are losing the economic development race" article published in http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/2001/0205.florida.html.

Vladan Jeremic and Rena Rädle, April 2009

Antiziganism and Class Racism in Europe

The Roma have a long history of migrations that repeatedly brought repression to their people over the centuries. European countries began introducing laws against migrating peoples (i.e. nomads, travelers) in the mid-Fifteenth century[1]. Migrants were perceived as an unsettling factor, even as a threatening and invading group, one that jeopardized the safety of the majority population. Without a registered identity, many Roma remain completely isolated as citizens in the societies on whose territories they live. Being constantly relocated and repopulated, many have been migrants over the centuries; even within the boundaries of the countries whose citizenship they hold. Apart from accusations, disappointments and misunderstandings in their relations with the majority population, we are still facing deep discrimination of Roma, which doesn't have its roots only in ethnic and cultural racism or anti-Roma sentiment. Poverty and nomadism are threatening factors for all of those who live in social systems based on the system of ownership, accumulation of goods and territorialism. Western policies have tried for centuries to include the poor in the system of social protection, or to get rid of them: to banish or eliminate them. Roma are, for the most part, an ethnic class characterized by extreme poverty that can present an obstacle to national or European integrations. It appears that the relation between Roma and non-Roma is, first and foremost, defined by the borderline between wealth and extreme poverty.

The situation of Roma in EU member countries is precarious and in countries populated to a greater extent by Roma, such as Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and in the former Yugoslav republics (especially in Macedonia and Serbia) – the situation is alarming. The situation in which most European Roma find themselves is similar to that of a holocaust. One of the basic problems facing a Roma man or a woman is the issue of belonging to a marginalized social class that is exposed to drastic pauperization, in addition to the problem of the national identity itself – the fact of being Roma.

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Various forms of ethnic and class racism against Roma are appearing throughout Europe. In May 2008 in Naples, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's Government implemented a state of emergency regarding nomad settlements and communities on the territory of several regions in order to legitimize fingerprinting of the Roma population. This law is very reminiscent of anti-Roma laws dating from the Middle Ages, and of the darkest periods of European history in the 20th century.

The general situation of migrants in Italy is difficult and the violent activities undertaken by the fascist right targeting Roma have reached a peak in the burning of entire settlements, the destruction of property, and the forceful evictions of Roma communities to locations outside certain metropolitan areas in Italy. The most drastic examples of this kind happened in Livorno, Roma, Napoli and Milano between 2006 and today[2]. Similarly in Finland, a settlement built by Roma emigrating from Romania to Helsinki in search of a better future was also destroyed. During our visit to Helsinki in March 2009, we took part in conversations[3] that were part of the exhibition about the history and culture of Roma: *Watch out Gypsies: The History of a Misunderstanding*[4], in the Helsinki City Museum. This visit further convinced us that impoverished Roma are being actively prevented in their attempts to migrate. Strict EU laws prevent Roma from living or working in alternative ways and thus are not seen as "fitting in" with the EU reality.
The most harrowing images, however, come from Hungary, where an actual hunt on Roma communities has been on-going since the end of 2008. The killing of Roma families by neo-Nazi groups is an example of the worst racist hunt on people in the middle of Europe[5].

Whether living in EU or non-EU countries, a deep and an unexamined hatred for Roma peoples is widespread across Europe. It is symptomatic that direct violence against Roma is most intense in places where a great gap exists between those profiting from neoliberal reforms and local population on the verge of poverty.

Under the Bridge Belgrade

While traveling through Belgrade, driving along the E–75 international highway and crossing the Gazela bridge that connects central Belgrade with New Belgrade, we came across the poverty-stricken Roma settlement in the area of Staro Sajmište. The first time we met people living under

the bridge Gazela was during a gathering of artists and activists working on the project *Under the Bridge Belgrade*, which was organized in cooperation with our colleague Alexander Nikolić in December 2004. *Under the Bridge Belgrade* is a complex research project about the municipal area of Belgrade, and one of the actions organized as a result was the aforementioned gathering under the Gazela bridge. This gathering turned into a great happening that lasted eight hours, during which the settlement's residents, both Roma and other refugees, invited all those present to ignite a fire and stay with them at the settlement.

One of the project's participants, David Rych, wrote a piece about our gathering under the Gazela bridge and stated that: "The 'artist like Mother Teresa' can only be a misconception, unless the quest for relevant support will necessarily lead to approved models of inclusive community work, something that would require time and commitment with regard to every single case. There are a number of issues that have been clearly addressed by representatives of the Roma community mentioned above. An additional objective of entering unfamiliar hardship for the sake of cultural work could be to translate these transitions into a more comprehensible image of the 'real.' Clearly, we'll have to acknowledge the incompatibility of reality lived by individuals and groups on opposite synapses of our societies, nations or other categories of distinction and dissolve the reality of 'the Other' as one more component of a mutually shared entity and investigate and visualize the mechanisms of exclusion the dominate system applies with regard to marginalized positions only. Some of the visitors might have been introduced to a local situation in order to initiate contributions to that very common reality. A few others might continue similar work in different locations. And, of course, some might never come back. Not there, not elsewhere where the most 'subaltern' live. Sometimes the frontier is your doorstep…" [6].
During the following few years, several artists continued their activism with the community under the Gazela bridge, in the form of either reports or artistic interventions.[7] Vienna artists are currently publishing a tourist guide for the Gazela settlement.[8]

Belgrade authorities have been trying to evict the inhabitants of Gazela and several other Roma settlements for a while now. Deportation/relocation is not triggered by the community's miserable living conditions or the settlements' poor condition, but by planned infrastructure works and the current reconstruction of the Gazela Bridge. In 2005, Belgrade City Hall proposed an idea to relocate Roma living in the Gazela settlements

and move them to the "Dr. Ivan Ribar" neighborhood in New Belgrade, which triggered protests by the locals. Although their protest represents open hostility toward Roma, New Belgrade residents claimed that the issue was not racism, but fear of filth and decrease of real estate prices: "We have nothing against Roma, but we fear that their customs and culture will not fit in the city environment – said one of the residents – There will be problems with hygiene. How will anyone of us sell their apartment if there is such a settlement right next to us?"[9]

A similar protest happened in September 2008, when the residents of the Belgrade suburban neighborhood of Ovca tried to block initial work on a new Roma settlement there. "We have nothing against Roma, we would react the same way if some other ethnic minority were to inhabit Ovca. The problem is the fact that the relocation of 130 Roma families would significantly alter the national structure of this population. This will have a catastrophic effect on our tradition and way of life" explained one of the Organization Committee members who a member of the Romanian ethnic minority.[10]

New Belgrade's Belville

Belville is the name of a new residential complex in New Belgrade, built by Blok 67 Associates Ltd. This company was founded by Delta Real Estate (part of the Delta Holding Company owned by Miroslav Miskovic, Serbia's richest tycoon) and Hypo-Alpe Adria Bank[11]. Their aim is to build business offices and apartments for athletes taking part in the Summer Universiade in June 2009 in Belgrade. After the Universiade, the apartments will be handed to new and predefined owners.

On April 3, 2009, in a sudden action with mechanical-diggers, forty houses were demolished in a Roma settlement that had begun taking shape during the last five years in a location near Belville. The decision to demolish the Roma houses was made by Belgrade's Secretariat for Inspections. City Mayor, Dragan Djilas, said on this issue that: "Whoever is illegally occupying a part of city land in places planned for infrastructure facilities cannot stay there. It has nothing to do with the fact that the people in question are Roma or some other ethnicity. A few hundred people cannot stop the development of Belgrade, and two million people living in Belgrade certainly won't be hostages to anyone. This practice shall

continue to be implemented by the City Authority in the future. Simply - there are no other solutions".[12]

The police assisted in the demolition of the settlement by securing the diggers, without giving residents the time to rescue their belongings. Several inhabitants had to be practically drawn out of the ruins at the very moment when one digger was clearing the area. As we were close by, we joined our neighbors from the very beginning of this action in Block 67. As an act of protest to the home demolitions, Jurija Gagarina Street was blocked around noon that day. The settlement's inhabitants then organized another protest in front of Belgrade City Hall. No one addressed the displaced Roma residents from Block 67 who gathered in front of the Belgrade City Hall that evening. The protest continued the following day.

Following protests by the public, several NGOs also started to raise their voices. Pushed by UNHCR, the WHO and the Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, the Belgrade city authorities tried to settle down the issue. The "solution" was to set up residential containers in the suburban neighborhood Boljevci that very night. The bureaucratic apparatus that was set in motion to 'solve' this issue in the field soon proved to be non-functional. We learned that a Roma teenage boy had been killed several years ago in Boljevci. So there is a logical question: why was it decided that the containers should be placed in this very village? Boljevci residents blocked roads demanding that residential containers for Roma be removed: "If you don't remove them, we will burn down both the containers and those trying to move in them", one person from Boljevci said. The protests by Boljevci residents had violent moments: attempts were made to burn down residential containers and thus prevent Roma from moving into these temporary facilities. The incident resembled an open racist revolt. Mayor Djilas said: "I can understand the fear of people from Boljevci, because they were to have as neighbors people who, in part, do not even have personal ID cards. It is not known who they are", adding that "all those who do not have a residence in Belgrade must go back to the places they came from. It is legally right, it is the basis for everything, and there will be no negotiations with the OEBS, UNHCR, or NGOs on this issue."[13] So, as far as Djilas was concerned, the Roma issue was 'solved' by placing a three Roma mothers with children into containers in Mirijevo, near the old Roma settlement. The majority of the people still have no alternative solution.

Although Serbia is currently presiding over the "Roma Decade" in 2009, city authorities didn't have a plan for alternative housing at the moment

the houses were demolished. It took three protests and pressure from international organizations to stop the media lynch against Roma and to try to find a solution for alternative housing. Our documentary "Belleville" was filmed during the ten days when these events happened in which we took part directly as active participants fighting for the rights of our neighbors. This documentary premiered in the Cultural Centre of Serbia in Paris where it was included at the last moment in our exhibition previously called "Psychogeographic Research". On 27th of May 2009, the film was shown at the settlement in Blok 67.

European Slums

UN-Habitat's Global Report[14] distinguishes six different "cities" with specified class actors and economic functions: there is the luxury city, the gentrified city with advanced services, the suburban city of direct production, the city of unskilled workers, and finally the city of permanently unemployed "underclass" or "ghetto poor" with income based on marginal or illegal activity and direct street-level exploitation. This last city is the informal city or city of illegality, which comprises the slums of large megacities such as Lagos in Nigeria or Sao Paolo in Brazil. The informal sector has its base there; services are reduced and unstable, and residents do not have a legal status and are not part of the legal system. Harassment by authorities is commonplace. The poorest Roma settlements in Serbia and throughout Europe can be qualified as slum cities typically associated with the global South. The UN-Habitat's Global Report on human settlements from 2003 defines slums as settlements with poor access to drinking water, sanitation and other infrastructure; with poor housing quality, overcrowdedness and by the uncertain residential status of its inhabitants. These characteristics provided by UN-Habitat can be applied to more than a hundred Roma settlements in Belgrade.

The composition of the population and its status in Belgrade's slums is divergent. There are cases of Roma who have managed to secure registered residences in Belgrade or who are indigenous. There are also the Roma refugees from Kosovo who may represent between 20- 40% of the population in a given settlement in Belgrade. A number of inhabitants are economic migrants from southern Serbia, from places where no economic existence is possible. A large number of inhabitants are Roma asylum seekers from Western European countries and the EU, who were deported back into Serbia by the Readmission Agreement. A number of inhabitants

in these settlements are not of Roma descent, just the poorest of the poor, refugees or the socially excluded. A great number of those living in these settlements are children and youth. Some estimates put the number of Roma in Serbia at 600,000, although the 2002 census only registered 102,193 people as Roma. The number and condition of Roma children and youth can be best understood from the following data: "According to the UNICEF report on the condition of Roma children in the Republic of Serbia (2006), almost 70% of Roma children are poor and over 60% of Roma households with children live below poverty line. Children are the most imperiled, living outside of cities in households with several children. Over 4/5 of indigent Roma children live in families in which adult members do not have basic education."[15]

If we consider the existing data on urban poverty and the dynamics of "slumization", we can better analyze the demolitions that occurred in the Belgrade neighborhood of Blok 67. Complex relations between local authorities and local residents become even more complex in the proximity of the Flea Market. The market is a source of income and survival for people who gather and resell recycled goods. Local and flea market authorities have developed a string of rules, networks and complex arrangements with the locals / users of the market from whom they generate a certain amount of profit.

In his publication "Planet of Slums"[16], Mike Davis says that national and local political machines acquiesce in informal settlement as long as they can control the political complexion of the slums and extract direct financial benefit from them. These almost feudal relations of dependence on local police or important players in certain political parties and non-governmental organizations are deeply rooted and disloyalty may cause the destruction of the slum itself.

The current stratification of European societies which is particularly evident in the countries of the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia may cause social unrest in which Roma might play an important role as a trans-national ethnic group. Non-controlled Roma migration to countries of Western Europe is not desirable, even though the borders are open. It is not surprising that there is a strategy to "solve the Roma issue" in these countries. The 'Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015' gathers together the countries of Central and South Eastern Europe, international and non-governmental organizations (like the World Bank, the Open Society Institute, United Nations Development Program, the Council of Europe,

Council of Europe Development Bank[17] and Roma civic associations. The objective is to improve the status of Roma and "close unacceptable gaps between Roma and the rest of society." In addition to areas of major concern (housing, education, employment, and health), special attention is given to the elimination of discrimination, the reduction of poverty and the improvement of the position of Roma women. Including representatives of Roma communities in all processes is the basic principle.

The policy of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to lend money to countries which meet the requirement to privatize territory, real estate and resources, as a result brought devastation to local economies in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the 80's, as well as elimination of the middle class and "slumization" of entire regions. The 'Decade of Roma Inclusion' is intended to lead to the nominal equality of Roma communities in the countries participating in the Decade, in order to legitimize their deportation from EU countries back into to their "native countries". At the same time, the elite that carried out the inclusion by controlling financial and other aid is being supported. This is counterproductive to the development of Roma communities as self-organized political subjects.

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